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COURSE GUIDE

INR 232 INTRODUCTION TO FOREIGN POLICY

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MODULE 1

UNIT 1 MEANING, NATURE AND SCOPE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Nation States (in the sense of government endeavor to attain the legitimacy and political stability especially in the Third World in their quest for socio-economic development) are endowed differently with resources. These resources, which are in various forms, and are at different levels, are needed by others for their power, development and survival. Thus the interdependent nature of the relations among nation states (asymmetry in some cases) necessitate the need for states to strategize their policies vis-a-avis others. This must be done in an international environment of the ever-present threat of war and destruction.

In a world where absolute sovereignty, independence and self isolationism, do not exist, the unfolding of events and phenomena transforming the international society have made it even more challenging to International relations itself.

In this unit, we shall examine the boundaries of international relations in its attempt to capture definitions that are much more universal. This will expose the meaning and the nature of the subject, its relevance to the student in terms of objectivity and the overall assessment of the unit self-assessment exercise, Tutor Marked Assignment (TMAs) and references for further reading, are inclusive in this study.

2.0 OBJECTIVE

Objectivity is important for the student of international relations. The student should fairly analyze and appraise the great problems of the world. He should accept without question certain goals and values which may be anything but acceptable to most other societies. This study expects the student to, without prejudice, apply rigid standards to our analyses of international problems and phenomena without abandoning the basic values and principles that we associate with the democratic way of life.

The student should be able to reflect on the present state of the world and embark on the general survey of existing conditions and trends. He is also to keep alert for the appearance of any paradoxes, inconsistencies and conflicting trends that might confront the student of international relations. The student should not be an onlooker but see himself not only as a productive member of his immediate society in some way but also see himself as a significant citizen and a player or potential player that can influence or cause to influence the course of events in the world. The student is expected to become familiar with the interdisciplinary nature of international relations

3.0 MAIN BODY

3.1 Meaning

No nation is an island. Because domestic policies are constantly affected by developments outside, nations are compelled to (rather than sit on the fence or outrightly isolate themselves) enter into dialogue with target or initiating entities or form alliance(s) for the purpose of enhancing their status quo, or increasing their power or prestige and survival in the international system.

Because international relations is in transition following emerging realities in the international system, it has become complex and even more difficult arriving at a more universally acceptable definition of the subject. But this is not peculiar to international relations as there are more intense disagreements over the definition of political sciences itself. Nevertheless scholars have persisted in their attempt to define international relations.

Trevor Taylor (1979) defines International Relations as "a discipline, which tries to explain political activities across state boundaries". According to Ola, Joseph

(1999), "International relations is the study of all forms of interactions that exist between members of separate entities or nations within the international system".

International relations are thus concerned with every form of interaction between and amongst nations. Such interactions can also occur between corporation and social groups. Examples are interactions between member states of the OPEC or the International Human Rights Commissions. The moment such interactions cross a state boundary it is of interest to the study of International Relations. International relations recognize and respond to the fact that the foreign policy goals that nations pursue can be a matter of permanent consequences to some or all of the others.

Seymour Brown (1988) thus defines international relations as "the investigating and study of patterns of action and reactions among sovereign states as represented by their governing elites."

Some scholars see power as the key to International politics. Thus, they define International relations as the subject that deals with those relations among nations, which involve power status. As Stanley Hoffman writes "the discipline of international relations is concerned with the factors and the activities which affect the external policies and power of the basic units into which the world is divided." Thus, international relations is concerned with all the exchange transactions, contacts, flow of information and the resulting behavioral responses between and among separate organized societies. International relations could encompass many different activities- social, economic, religious and so forth in so far as they have implications for international political relations

In the words of Karl Wolfgang Deutsch (1968), "An introduction to the study of international relations in our time is an introduction to the art and science of the survival of mankind. If civilization is killed in the nearest future, it will not be killed by famine or plague, but by foreign policy and international relations."

The point expressed here is that we can cope with hunger and pestilence, but we cannot deal with the power of our own weapons and our own behavior as nation states.

It is important to note that since the end of World War 1, nation states have possessed unprecedented instruments for national action in the form of ideologies and weapons, and they have become even more dangerous vehicles of international conflict, carrying the potential for its escalation to mutual destruction and ultimate annihilation. The nation state holds the power to control most events within its borders, but few events beyond them.

It is thus decisively important for the student of international relations to understand that the world of today is marked by two factors. One fact has to do with the nature of power in the age of the atom; the other concerns the interdependence of mankind in an age of the individual.

3.2 Nature of International Relations

International Relations, like the world community itself are in transition. In a rapidly changing and increasingly complex world, it encompasses much more than relations among nation states and international organization and groups. It includes a variety of transitional relationships at various levels, above and below the level of the nation states. International relations are a multidisciplinary field gathering together the international aspects of politics, economics, geography, history, law, sociology, psychology and more. It is a meta-discipline.

3.3 Scope of International Relations

It is known by now that international relations encompass a myriad of discipline. Attempts to structure and intellectualize it have often been thematically and analytically confined to boundaries determined by data. This segment of the unit will address the core concepts of international relations with their thematic headings i.e. International Organization, International Law, Foreign Policy, International Conflict, International Economic Relations and Military Thought and Strategy. International/Regional Security, Strategic Studies, International Political Economy, Conflict/War and Peace Studies, Globalization, International Regimes.

These have been grounded in various schools of thought (or traditions) notably Realism and Idealism. These headings as stated above are not exhaustive. Besides, each of them has its basic books which can be referred to as supplements. It must be borne in mind that each or a combination of these headings form part of the considerations that joggle for position in a nation's foreign policy formulation and conduct. The schools of thought are treated in subsequent units.

3.3.1 International Organizations

The evolution of international organizations dates back to medieval history, and the modern pattern of international organization has been evolving ever since the nation states system emerged several centuries ago and especially since the Congress of Westphalia of 1648. Westphalia has come to be a term used for separation of the domestic and international spheres such that states may not legitimately intervene in the domestic affairs of another, whether in the pursuit of self-interest or by appeal to a higher notion of sovereignty, be it religion, ideology, or other supranational ideal.

International Organizations are trans-national organizations created by two or more sovereign states regardless of their geographical locations, cultural, political, economic, social or religious differences. Their accredited representatives represent articulated national interests of member states when they meet. Members gather to promote international solidarity in matters that serve the interest of mankind. Such interests would include: health, protection of the flora and fauna of the earth, education, monetary, trade, intellectual property protection, and so forth.

International organization is a product of three lines of development: that humans should live in peace and mutual support, that the big powers have a special responsibility of maintaining order, and the growth of specialized international organizations to deal with narrow nonpolitical issues.

The rapid growth of all types of international organizations stems from increased international contact among states and people, increased economic interdependence, the growing importance of transnational issues and political movements, the inadequacy of state-centered system for dealing with world problems, small states attempting to gain strength by joining together.

International organizations seek to achieve different common goals in pursuit of aims and objectives and in so doing, like nation states, are drawn into the international relations domain. International Organization can be categorized as global e.g. The UN, or Regional EU, AU, OAS, ECOWAS, SADC, ASEAN, SARC. All of these have diplomatic implications when it comes to structures, and institutions not only for foreign policy implementation but also as instrument or vehicle for conducting foreign policy.

3.3.2 International Law

International law is a set of agreements and rules generally recognized by nations as governing their conduct towards each other and towards each other's citizens. International law is primarily the body of rules accepted by the general community of nations as defining their rights and the means of procedure by which those rights may be protected or violation of them redressed.

Felix Oppenheim, a political theorist, defined international law in 1905 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". The expression "civilized states" was used to distinguish the politically independent European nations from the then colonized Third World Countries. In recent times and as the colonies became independent political units; the United Nations replaced the words "civilized states" with "peace-loving states." As all the

countries of the world are civilized states, such usage of words by the European scholars lost application and relevance in the issue of classification.

Malanezuk categorized International Law into three;

- i. *The General or Universal International Law*: these are rules of principles applicable to a large number of states based on multilateral treaties.
- ii. *The Regional International Law*: This applies only to a certain group of states usually within a particular region or locality.
- iii. *The particular International Law*: This is made up of rules principles binding on two or a few countries

The bilateral agreement between Senegal and Gambia -Senegambia is an example of particular international law. The OAU/AU Charter and ECOWAS Treaties are examples of regional international law and the UNO Charter is an example of general or universal international law. This classification only serves as a guide to understanding the different nature of international law.

Sources of International Law focus on Article 38(1) of the Statute of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in The Hague, The Netherlands. It provides for four major categories of sources of International law, viz:

a. International Conventions: These are the same as binding treaties and agreements made by states. Such conventions touch on matters of common interest. Agreements between states are binding according to the doctrine of "pacts sunt servanda" (obligation undertaken must be carried out). In a situation whereby treaties entered into by two states (bilateral) eventually become binding on other states not party to it, there is provision for multilateral treaties. Conventions or treaties have become most powerful sources of international law in contemporary time for engendering co-operation and positive changes in the international system.

International Law now covers a wide range of subjects including territory, the sea, human rights, treaties, dispute settlements, and the use of force. International law relating to territory covers not only demarcation of frontier but air space and outer space. For example, the 1982 Convention on the Law of the Sea provides law relating to shipping, coastlines, territorial water, exclusive economic zones, and rights to resources and responsibilities of states to each other's citizens covers both the care of refugees and asylum seekers and the expropriation and compensation of multinational corporations.

b. International Custom: Custom is one of the oldest sources of international law. For a customs to be regarded as such, it must have evidence of general or universal practice and acceptability or recognition both in nature and in scope. In pre-colonial Africa, whenever a container containing a human head was sent from community A to another Community B, it was an indication of war. The rule that territorial waters extend three miles from the shore grew from the distance a cannon could fire. If you were outside the land-based artillery, then you were in *international waters*.

c. General Principles of Law: The ancient Roman concept of *ius gentium* (the law of peoples) is the foundation of the general principles of law. This law encompasses "external" sources of law, such as the idea that freedom of religion and freedom from attack are among the inherent rights of people. More than any other standard, it is for violating these general principles that Slobodan Milosevic, the former president of Yugoslavia was brought to trial in 2002 at the international tribunal in The Netherlands.

d. Judicial Decision and Scholarly Writing: These are previous decisions of courts whether international or national delivered by eminent jurist. This is known as case law or juridical precedent. These are products of sound judgment or fair judgments that might relatively have general or universal acceptability previous decision of international court taken as precedent and cited in cases among nations.

e. Teachings and Writings of Publicist: These are renowned legal scholars who research and review the philosophy of intentional law and expand such philosophy. Once there is consensus in their arguments, it becomes accepted as sources of international law. Examples of international and legal luminaries include, Taslim O. Elias and Gani Fawehinmi.

International Law is often enforced by multinational political institutions like the UNO, AU, ECOWAS, EU. The law that they enforce implicates the foreign policy objectives, which their individual member nations or a combination of them pursue

3.3.3. Foreign Policy

Foreign policy is essentially the instrumentality by which states influence or seek to influence the external world and to attain objectives that are in conformity with their perceived national interest. Foreign policy is conditioned by environmental or systemic characteristics, actions by others, which impinge on the interests or values of a state or groups of states, and domestic social and economic needs.

Foreign policy as a concept of international relations are being structured into factors, processes, dynamics and goals. These are treated in greater detail in Module 2 and Module 3.

3.3.4 International Conflict

This refers to an act of conscious disagreement between or among different states. It involves the attempt by one state to neutralize the other through maiming or incapacitation usually over the control of scarce resources. Conflict is an inescapable by-product of societal complexities and irreconcilable antagonism found among humans. This is most pertinent and prevalent in the realm of international relations.

3.3.5 International Economic Relations

IER involves how different states relate with one another in economic activities. This involves the examination of the methods and instrumentalities by which states carry on business with each other. A state perceives its international economic interest on the basis of a set of ideas or beliefs about how the world economy works and what opportunities exist within it. Economic factor is thus a major determinant of a nation's foreign policy.

3.3.6 Military Thought and Strategy

This is the strategic study of war, military build-up, armament and so forth. This is done to enhance the status of states and to accord it recognition in the international realm. It is this that affords nation the chance to influence international decision and relations. A nation's general strategy results form a series of cumulative decisions made in an effort to adjust objectives, values, and interests in some conditions and characteristics of the domestic and external environment. External environment is a factor that is considered in the process of foreign policy formulation.

Self Assessment Exercise

- Q1 Why are nation states drawn to play in international relations?
Q2 International relations is a meta-discipline. Briefly discuss.

Possible Answers

Q1 Answer found in 3.1 (Meaning -first paragraph)

Q2 Answer found in 3.2(Nature)

4.0 CONCLUSION

In this unit, you have been introduced to the meaning, nature and scope of international relations. It must be emphasized that the nature and scope of international relations as presented in this course are not exhaustible. It is expected that you begin to apply your mind on the world around as you mentally discard certain conservative and parochial mindset. The unit has given you what you need for the purpose.

5.0 SUMMARY

In summation, apart from learning about the meaning, nature and scope of International Relations in general, you also gained an insight of what international relations is all about. You have by now understood better why nations behave in the way they do when it comes to international relations. Foreign policy is one out of the myriad of concepts of international relations. Some others include International Law, International Organization. The Self Assessment Exercise would help you assess yourself, whether you did really understand what you learnt.

6.0 TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Q1 What do you understand by International relations?

Q2 Discuss the relevance of the study of International relations to the student.

Q3 Write brief notes on the scope of International relations that you have learnt.

Q4 Is International relations a discipline?

Each correct answer carries 2 1/2 marks. The total score is 10 marks.

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MODULE 1**UNIT 2 DEVELOPMENT OF THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS****CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objective
- 3.0 Main body
 - 3.1 World War I - The Organizational Period
 - 3.2 World War II - The Behavioral Phase
 - 3.3 Content of the study
 - 3.4 Concerning Theory and Philosophy of Internal Relations
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor Marked Assignments
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In order to understand the contemporary body of knowledge and the significance of the progress and direction of international relations studies, we need to consider the evolution of the study as it develops into an established discipline. This is largely historical and, theories and philosophies antecedent to the study of international relations have consciously been eschewed until a more advanced level of the course. The study of international relations has continued to transit from one period to another. This unit looks into the contemporary state of the field as it has progressed through time and considering our need in this course.

The unit examines the various aspects of the main body of the study. It concludes and summaries what you have learnt. There is a self-assessment exercise meant for the student to assess him or herself on what has been learnt. The Tutor- Marked Assignments are to be answered and submitted including the form to your tutor for formal assessment. The references/further readings are for you to expand your horizon on the subject of the unit.

2.0 OBJECTIVE

The objective of this study is for the student to familiarize and acquaint him or herself with the historical and perhaps the philosophical perspectives of the development of the study of international relations as it is bifurcated into periods. The student should understand that many of the basic principles and underlying factors of international relations have not altered, but the international environment has changed and is still changing. International relations is attempting to grapple with the changes.

The students would understand that International relations is in transition. Methods of analysis and data processing in research interest have increased even more markedly than interest in theory. Technological advancement by mankind has introduced the use of computers for input analyses to say the least.

3.0 MAIN BODY

3.1 World War I- Organizational Period

Historically, international relations was part of diplomatic history and international law i.e. it was largely historical and legalistic. At the beginning of the twentieth century, renewed interest in international problems had developed among scholars due to the effects of the World War I. In the aftermath of that war, scholars, politicians, lawyers and commentators on public international affairs become interested in preventing a repeat of the calamity of the First World War. This phase in the development of international relations was described as "organizational period".

It was this period that saw scholars devoting their attention to a new set of international institutions. These institutions developed into Treaty of Versailles and the eventual establishment of the League of Nations. This period also saw the establishment of institutes in Switzerland, Great Britain and United States of America such as Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Chatham House in London as well as Council of Foreign Relations in New York. These institutions and foundations provided generous financial support for the study of international relations. During this stage, the overriding purpose of the discipline was the promotion of peace and friendly relations throughout the world. And to do this, knowledge of international problems and international had to be spread. This was the stage of idealism and most of the works that were done were excessively normative. They were normative because they were prescriptions of a moral standard of what "should", "ought" or "must" be, rather than a descriptive

statements of what "is". Normative principles give guidance and show the idealistic of measures of actions. This trend continued until the World War II.

3.2 World War II - Behavioral Phase

In the aftermath of the World War II, the international system witnessed a number of significant changes. These include:

1. The emergence of the super powers (i.e. USA and former USSR)
2. The revolution in technology particularly in the areas of transportation, communication and weaponry
3. The advent of communism

Far-reaching as these developments were, writers and scholars began to discard the earlier approach in favor of more systematic and comparative studies of the processes as well as the forces of international relations.

The study was more analytical and concepts more clearly defined and employed. This period was dominated by the Cold War and colored by controversies over the role of ideology in the study of world politics.

From the 1950s, a new orientation in the social sciences had already emerged. This was known as Behavioral Revolution. The objective of the behavioralists was to bring out patterns and regularities in human behavior and social life as a whole. In order to do this, behavioralists resorted to the methods of the natural sciences.

This developments had a spill-over effect on the study of international relations scientifically. In order worlds, it was possible to discern patterns and regularities in international behavior.

Gradually the study become "scientific" as scholars tried to make generalizations on theories about international relations. This was the behavioral stage or scientific stage in the evolution of international relations. The scholars extended their studies to other areas such as objectives of international relations such as security and expansion processes, diplomacy and trade, means of achieving the goal such as propaganda and subversion. Despite the so-called movement towards post behavioralism, the behavioral approach continues to dominate most of the works in international relations.

By about 1962, the trends discerned earlier had gained greater prominence. There was stress of themes as the ways by which governments attempt to maintain sovereignty and security of nations, and the patterns of behavior, which arise in pursuit of these objectives. Others include the profound effects on all types of

international relations brought about by the spread and growth of science and technology, the network of interactions generated by the continuing increase in world population, the growth of production and consumption of material resources. To these must be included the changing social and technical arrangements in the production, distribution and consumption processes, the concomitant shifts and adjustments of nations between the poles of isolation and international collaboration as they face these economic and social situations. Lastly in the list are about the civilized accomplishments, past and present, of the peoples of Africa and Asia and the psychological responses to international situations.

This list calls attention to the widening dimension of the study of international relations, resulting largely from the impact of the behavioral sciences upon the field. A direct result of this was the explosion in the United States, of scholarly activity directed towards making the study of international relations more rigorous and systematic.

3.3 Content of the Study

The content of the study of international relations is mainly historical. The discipline acquired its own identity after the First World War. Its principal branches additional to theory include: international political economy, international organization, foreign policy-making, strategic (or security studies), and, more arguably peace research. The emphasis is often on relations between states, though other collective actors such as transnational interest groups, international organizations and multinational corporations, also play an important role.

By 1947, five more areas of interest were added to the basic course. These were: i. the nature and operation of the state system; ii. factors which affect the power of the state; iii. the international position and the foreign policies of the great powers; iv. the history and policies of the great powers v. the history of the recent international relations and vi. the building of a more stable world order. Later, a survey under the auspices of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace found that "the following ingredients seem now to appear in most courses": i. the nature and principal sources of international relations, ii. the political, social and economic organization of international life, iii. the elements of national power, iv. the instruments available for the promotion of the national power v. the limitation and control of national power; vi. the foreign policy of one or more major powers and occasionally of a small state; and vii the historical ingredient as a background for other factors and as a history of recent international events.

Other trends noticed were the growing concern with theory, the increased emphasis in the policy-making process, a tendency to draw more heavily upon other disciplines, and the more frequent use of case studies of various types.

3.4 Concerning Theory and Philosophy of International Relations

Theories function to provide analysts in international relations the conceptual lenses through which they look at the level of interactions between nation states. Scientific otherwise known as behavioral theories help actors in international relations to reasonably single out relevant and important variables in foreign policy decisions they want to initiate and apply. This concern with theory reflects the desire to arrive at a more understanding of international relations and foreign policy than is possible through gathering fact about the most recent international problems. Thus, an applicable body of theory is necessary for the conduct of a more effective foreign policy.

This is a course for fresh students of international relations and should not be primarily a course in theory- though arguable- but it should challenge the student to probe for the limitations and the possibilities of some of the theories that have been advanced.

Theory is closely allied to philosophy. Philosophy starts with certain promises and, through a process of reasoning tries to construct a theory of the state and government. In international relations, a philosophy is perhaps even more important than a theory. The subject deals with important aspects of human nature and conduct, with the behavior and standards of groups, with the principles and forces underlying and motivating national and international actions, with ideological considerations, with ends and means, and with values and value judgments and hypothesis.

All of these interests and many related considerations are of deep concern to the social science philosopher. Thus a philosophy of international relations, may be an appropriate term for this area of ideology, visions values, principles, future plans and solutions in the area of international relations.

Self Assessment Exercise

- Q1 What is your understanding of the objective of a study of this kind?
Q2 In what way did the study of international relations become "scientific"?

Possible Answers

- Q1 Answer found in 2.0
Q2 Answer found in 3.2 (fourth paragraph)

4.0 CONCLUSION

In this unit, you have learnt that the development of the study of international relations has a history. The study focuses on how international relations tries to grapple with the ever-changing international environment. This unit prefers the philosophy of the study while not discounting the relevance of theory in the formulation of effective foreign policy.

5.0 SUMMARY

In summary, you learnt about the history behind the development of the study of International relations. You now know that while international relations tries to keep pace with developments in the international environment as they unfold, study attempts to keep tap of the progress and direction of international relations. In historical context, the study of international relations can be located within different and yet related time periods i.e. this units is largely historical. The assessment exercise would help you understand all of these.

6.0 TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- Q1 The study of international relations has continued to transit form one period to another. Explain.
- Q2. Trace the historical development of the study of international relations in the Organizational period.
- Q3 (a) What is the advantage of theory in the study of international relations?
(b) Why did this unit prefer philosophy to theory in the study at this level?
- Q4. What are the three main changes in the international system in the aftermath of World War II

Each correct answer carries $2\frac{1}{2}$ marks. The total score is 10 marks

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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MODULE 1**UNIT 3 APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS****CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objective
- 3.0 Main body
 - 3.1 Traditional/Historical Approach
 - 3.2 Legal/Idealist Approach
 - 3.3 Grand Theory/Realist Approach
 - 3.4 Behavioral Approach
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor Marked Assignments
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The study of international relations involves an objective and systematic approach to the problems of international life. In order to make safe generalizations about international politics, one must learn about the ways policy-makers behave, - how they perceive the external environments, and how psychological characteristics impinge upon policy choices. There are many approaches to the study of international relations. In this course, we consider four of them. This is because they are most central to the others. These four approaches are:

- a. Traditional/Historical Approach
- b. Legal/Idealist Approach
- c. Grand Theory/Realist Approach
- d. Behavioral Approach

2.0 OBJECTIVE

It is important to understand that studying international relations brings into focus not only the relations among nations per se but the areas of interest that have foreign policy implications. These areas could be in defence and security spending, international institutions, communications, international trade and finances, to mention a few, and the difference that we can make. The course introduced students to the contending approaches to international relations. We borrow from other disciplines to help us understand what is going on politically.

Students must keep their emotions apart while carefully analyzing what is happening in order not to color their judgments. It is to introduce the student within a broader and more meaningful theoretical frameworks and to give him more adequate methodological and conceptual tools.

3.0 MAIN BODY

3.1 Traditional/Historical Approach

This approach is also known as the classical approach. The traditional perspective derives from history, law and philosophy and virtually all the earlier writings on international relations up till the middle of the 20th century. Scholars of this approach are concerned with an explanation of what happened, they describe how it happened on this basis, and predict the trend to happen in future. They believe that with a knowledge of what happened, why it happened and how it happened, the likely trend of state's future action can be predicted.

Proponents of this approach attempt to uncover patterns of behavior and elements of recurrence in diplomatic relations. The traditional approach is descriptive and normative. It is largely concerned with preferring practical advice to policy makers. This approach suggests that past events are very relevant to understanding and predicting the future. Scholars of this perspective believe that the past should be reconciled with the present in order to tell the future. The outcomes of the analysis of this approach are usually based on speculations. Prominent scholars known for adopting this approach include: Raymond Aron, Stanley Hoffman as well as Hans Morgenthau.

Limitations /Criticism of the traditional approach are that:

- a. Contemporary international system differs significantly from the earlier system which probably was suited for the international relations of pre-20th century era.
- b. The approach cannot provide conceptualization or explanations on contemporary international phenomena.
- c. Every historical occurrence is unique; the situations in which statesmen construct alliances, decide to go to war, declare independence or make peace are different.
- d. In terms of methodology/concepts, traditionalists' horizon was narrow and limited. The approach was not capable of borrowing from other areas where significant breakthrough have occurred.

- e. Furthermore, the approach either ignores or is not aware of the formidable role played by transnational organization. Because it views states as the sole or main actor in international relations, it is therefore centered on state actions as an explanation for international political events. Trans-national organizations are also as powerful as the nation states hence, in most cases they dictate the trend of policies formulated by one state toward another.

But, regardless of historical or geographical content, policy-makers for different types of political units, whether tribes or modern nation states, have attempted to achieve objectives or defend their interests by fundamentally similar techniques of which the, use of force or constructions of alliances are only the most obvious examples.

3.2 Legal/ Idealist Approach

The significance of this approach was realized after World War II. The American political scientists were instrumental in adopting it. The legal/ idealist approach to the study of international relations first began in the United States who began taking serious interest in international problems following America's involvement in Asian and European politics at the turn of the century. Their studies alongside those of many Europeans before World War I, were oriented largely in the analysis of treaties and principles of international law. The approach assumed that most disputes were raised to be settled, and that peace and international stability, could be constructed through the instrument of democracy or construction of international organizations such as the World Court, with power to enforce their decisions.

Scholars of the legal/idealist approach concentrated on the text of treaties and analysis of the legal powers and procedures of international institutions. They studied the ways in which states use treaty arrangements and international organizations for their purposes i.e. the interaction of law, institutions and politics. The scholars suggest ways to improve this interaction so that it meets both national aspirations and the pre-requisites of international stability. This approach is legalistic and moral in tone. It assumes that conflicts existing between nation-states could best be controlled, managed and resolved through the instrumentality of international organization and international law. This, they hoped, would help in enhancing mutual respect for one another among nation states.

Scholars of the legal/idealist approach among them a one-time president of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, were instrumental to the establishment of the League of Nations. As a result of the ideas sponsored by these scholars, institutes dedicated to the study of international law and organization were formed in Switzerland, Great Britain and the United States.

3.3 Grand Theory/Realist Approach

As a result of the consequences of the World War II, many scholars of international relations became dissatisfied with the earlier approaches (the traditional and the idealistic approaches), because they were descriptive, moralistic and legalistic in orientation. The realist approach is of the view that although treaties and international organizations were important to the study of international relations, issues or objectives such as security and expansion, process such as trade and diplomacy, and means such as propaganda and subversion should be studied. This is because these interests, processes and means as well as their capabilities affect a states foreign policy behavior.

The central focus of the realist approach in the relations among states is the utilization of endowed resources or national power in order to increase national capabilities. They believe that international relations is predominantly the pursuit of power for policy expansions, influence, prestige or survival. Given that the essence of politics is the struggle for power, realists maintain that states and their leaders are virtually compelled to base their foreign policy on the existence of a world in which power is the key to the national survival of the fittest. The realist approach is sometimes called *realpolitik*. One principle of *realpolitik* is to secure your own country's interest first and worry about the welfare of other countries second. They assume that other countries will not help you unless it is in their own interest. Morgenthau (1986), self-sacrificing policies are not just foolish but dangerous because countries that shun *realpolitik* will "fall victim to the power of others". *Realpolitik* is also referred to as "self-help" politics.

On the principle of *realpolitik* or self-help politics, realists encourage countries to practice balance of power politics. By this, their diplomats would achieve equilibrium of power in the world. This would prevent any other country or coalition of countries from dominating the world system. This can be done through a variety of methods including building up your own strength, allying yourself with others, or dividing your opponents. Realists' policy prescription is that the best way to maintain the peace in the world is to be powerful. Thus they believe that it is necessary for a country to be armed because the world is dangerous. Other approaches reply that the world is dangerous because so many countries are so heavily armed. But going by all the approaches, it is doubtful whether there is any escape from conflicts.

3.4 The Behavioral Approach

The behavioral approach to the study of international relations emerged in the 1940s. It was dominant in the United States until the early 1970s. This approach turned always from the other earlier approaches (which we learnt in 3.2, and 3.3)

to the study of behavior of political actors. Behavioral otherwise known as scientific approach adopts quantitative methods and mathematical terms, which are used to explain the relationship between variables.

This scientific approach aspires to a theory of international relations whose propositions are based either upon logical or mathematical proof. They try to build upon strict, empirical procedures of verification. This involves methods and techniques. Common method or procedure for analyzing an issue is to establish some hypothesis and construct a conceptual framework. This is followed by the collection of data and test to accept or do away with such hypothesis. With this approach, a new and radical approach toward analyzing international relations is arrived at. Much of this new approach is due to the contributions of the behavioral sciences.

Behavioral approach emphasizes systematic observation, operationally derived evidence and replicate analytical procedure. The approach is now common in many disciplines but the contribution of fields of the social sciences, notably sociology, psychology, anthropology, administration, economics, mathematics and even biology are also particularly noteworthy. Because of this almost all problems and processes in international relations have to be analyzed within an interdisciplinary framework.

There are however, certain limitations of the behavioral approach. Unlike in the physical science, social phenomena are easily amenable to strict scientific procedures. A lot of issues in international relations cannot be treated with quantitative method. In addition, ambiguity in international relations materials imposes limitation to scientific approach. A number of occurrences are unique and because they are social forces i.e. product of human nature in action, they may not repeat themselves even under similar conditions.

Self Assessment Exercise

Q1 What do you understand as the objective of the study of international relations?

Q2 What is *realpolitik*?

Possible Answers

Q1 Answer found in 2.0

Q2 Answer found in 3.3 (second paragraph)

4.0 CONCLUSION

Our efforts to become knowledgeable about the world and to try to shape its course to our liking are worthwhile because international politics does matter. It plays an important role in our life and we should be concerned. As a result of the new approaches, the study of international relations has become increasingly interdisciplinary, behaviorist, comparative and "scientific". The starting point of international relations is the existence of states or independent political communities. Each of these communities possesses a government and asserts sovereignty in relations to a particular portion of the earth's surface. Each portion has a particular segment of the human population that particular segment of the human population that many make demands, which are political or economic in nature.

5.0 SUMMARY

The impact of international politics and international economics on individuals continue to expand, just as other disciplines continue to impact on the study of international relations. The ties between national and international affairs have become so close that many social scientists now use the term *intermestic* to symbolize the merger of international and domestic concerns. Other countries' roles in the world also affect the decisions about the allocation of huge budget. Some countries spend a great deal on military functions. Other countries spend relatively little on the military and devote almost all of their budget resources on domestic spending. World politics plays a part in determining our finances, our living spaces and so forth. Environmental degradation for example, would require political cooperation to halt or reverse the situation. Your life may be affected by world politics. You may be called on to serve in the military. Whether or not you are. War can kill you. Politics should not be considered as a spectator sport. More than that it should be treated as participant even a contact sport. We can make the difference by voting, joining issue-oriented groups, donating money to causes we support, or even by having our thoughts recorded in political polls.

6.0 TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- Q1 What are the concerns of the Classical Approach to the study of international relations?
- Q2 Why do Grand theorists seek power in international relations?
- Q3 What is the Legal theory's solution to the peace and stability in the world?
- Q4. How is the Behavioral approach more preferable to the other approaches?.
- Q5. What are the limitations of the Behavioral approach?

Each correct answer carries 2 marks. The total score is 10 marks

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MODULE 1**UNIT 4 POWER IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS****CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objective
- 3.0 Main Body
 - 3.1 The National Core
 - 3.1.2 National Geography
 - 3.1.2 A Country's Topography
 - 3.1.4 People
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- 4.0 Conclusion
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Power is a central but much disputed concept in the discussion and analysis not only of domestic but also of international politics. This centrality accords international politics the description as "power politics" that, power plays a crucial part in international relations is implied in terminology as in the "Great Powers" "small powers", "balance of power" and so forth. In this unit, fresh students will be introduced to the various attributes of power in international relations terms and its tangible and intangible aspects.

2.0 OBJECTIVE

At the end of this course unit, the student will learn that is the foundation of diplomacy, diplomacy underpins foreign, policy decisions in a system based on self-interested sovereignty. In our world, the actors that possess t he power to give rewards or inflict punishment are able to influence other actors. Power has many forms. Physical strength is one aspect of power, skill is another. Economic power is also important in diplomacy and the conduct of foreign policy.

3.0 MAIN BODY

In this segment, we will learn about the nature character and- attributes of power in international relations under appropriate themathic headings.

Power is the ability to make people or things do what they would not otherwise have done. Politics is seen to be about power, power is about might, rather than right but might creates right. Power is concerned with which group or persons dominate, get their own way or are best able to pursue their own interests in societies. Power is the possibility of imposing one's will upon the behavior of the other(s). Carl J. Friedrich (1968) sees power as the capacity of an individual or groups of individuals to modify the conduct of others in the manner which he desires. It is the ability to get things done; to make others do what we want even if they do not want to do it.

A variety of means can be used to persuade people to do things, but power always has as its base the ability to reward or punish. Power is an asymmetrical relation between the influencer and the influenced. It is bilateral as well as relational. It is exercised with respect to other(s). For there to be leaders, there must be followers. For someone to have power, there must be those over whom power is exercised.

In international politics, power plays a central role. It is fundamentally an instrument for the achievement of national values, and an indispensable means to national ends and particularly a vital ingredient of foreign policy. Diplomats use power as an instrument in bargaining with other nations. It is the ability of power - military, economic or even psychological - that underpins as a diplomat argues for his nation's policy, voices a protest or presents a claim. The possession of power will often lend credence to a diplomat whose government possesses it in great abundance. As Morgenthau, argues, national. power represents a relationship between two or more political actors where one actor has the ability to control the

main and behavior of other actor(s) in a way different from their original intent. He goes further to define politics both national and international as the struggle for power. To him, power refers to anything that establishes and maintains control of man over man and it covers all social relations by which one mind controls another.

Power is potential, mobilized or actual, and can be sub-divided into economic, political, military, diplomatic, moral and other types. Although the concept of power is central to the study of International Relations, a powerful person or nation-state who either does not know his power, or is unwilling to use it, is for all intents and purposes, powerless. The mere possession of power does not constitute capability except when effectively utilized to achieve specific objectives.

Power is conceptually different both from influence and authority. Though power and influence are closely related they are not the same. Indeed, influence is an integral part of power because the state that possesses enough power intrinsically enjoys the influence accruing to it. While power can be defined as ability to exercise control and achieve the intended result, influence is the ability of a political actor to prevail on the behavior of another actor so as to make the latter (target) behave in a manner acceptable to the former (initiator). While power is closely linked with coercion, influence does not necessarily have to be a form of coercion, though the possession of coercive power may be a factor for successes in exercising influence. It is not necessarily a condition. Influence may be accompanied by persuasion, appeal, cajole and threat.

Influence is a very significant medium of interaction amongst states. It is normal for states to prefer the use of influence because the international system, particularly after the World War II, has developed weapons that now constitute threat both to the states that have them and those who do not have. Consequently, negotiation and bargaining often take the form of manipulation, punishment and reward to influence the behavior of states. It is only when this has failed that the application of force becomes inevitable.

Force in a narrow sense implies a control of the body rather than the person. We can kill, maim or render comatose without being able to get a person's action to conform to our will. Only when they comply because of the threat of force can the relationship be called power and this becomes, strictly coercion. Coercion is perhaps the paradigm form of power and it is said to consist of controlling people through threat, whether overt or tacit, it is, though, extremely difficult to distinguish a threat from other form of relationship.

Authority is sometimes defined as "Legitimate". But it can also be understood as the existence (in various senses) of rights to command and bonding duties to obey. Thus authority is the consent to the right of an individual to issue rules and command which are acceptable and complied with by its subjects or subordinates. It is the quality of being able to do things because they think the individual or group has the right to tell them what to do. Authority is therefore separate from power, though it constitutes a resource for power in the same way as does money. And a capacity for rational persuasion. It can exist in a pure form, without power, as, for instance, the authority of priest over his flock in a secular society.

Persuasion, by which the slave may persuade the emperor or the professor the President. In other words, the powerless may persuade the powerful: the offering of ideas is not control until it creates a dependency, and therefore, the capacity to manipulate.

Manipulate involves control exercised without threats, typically using resources of information and ideas. Usually, people do not realize they are being manipulated, or the process would not work. Arguably, it is a more durable form a power.

Categories of the multitudinous elements of power can be done in many ways. One common way is to distinguish between objective (easily measurable, tangible) elements of power and the subjective (hard-to-measure, intangible) facts of power. Another approach is to group both the tangible and the intangible power assets into various functional categories. Two such categories, the national core and the national infrastructure, are central to the power of all countries because they serve as a foundation for the more utilitarian categories of national power, specifically military power and economic power.

3.1 The National Core

The national core forms the basis of this power element. The essence of a state can be roughly divided into three elements; national geography, people and government. (Rourke and Boyer 2004).

3.1.1 National Geography

The location of a country, particularly in relation to other is significant. Great Britain has always benefited from the fact of its being an island, separated from the rest of Europe by the English Channel. It was this that prevented Hitler from invading England during the World War II. Spain was able to avoid involvement in either world war partly because of its relative isolated from the rest of Europe. Until the advent of air transportation, the United States was sufficiently isolated

from Europe that it could get with a small army. The Chinese army's significance as a power factor is different for the country's relations with the United States and with Russia. The huge Chinese army can do little to threaten the United States, far across the Pacific Ocean. By contrast, Russia and China share a border and Chinese soldiers could march into Siberia. Location can be an advantage or a disadvantage.

Poland sandwiched between Germany and Russia, and Korea, stuck between China and Japan, each has a distinctively unfortunate location. The Israelis would almost certainly be better off if their promised land were almost anywhere else. And the Kuwaitis probably would not mind moving either providing they could take their oil fields with them. (Rourke and Boyer).

3.1.2 A Country Topography

Its mountains, rivers and plains - is also important. The Alps form a barrier that has helped protect Switzerland from its large European neighbors, and spared the Swiss the ravages of both world wars. The rugged mountains of Afghanistan bedeviled British and Soviet invaders in the past; and in 2001 and 2002, they frequently frustrated the efforts of US-led coalition troops to corner and capture or kill remnants of the al-Qaida and Taliban forces.

A country's size is important. Bigger is often better. The immense expanse of Russia, for example, has repeatedly saved it from invasion. Although sometimes overwhelmed at first, the Russian armies have been able to go into the interior and buy time in exchange for geography while regrouping. By contrast, Israel's small size gives it no room to retreat.

A country's climate can also play a powerful role (Eichengreen 1998). The tropical climate of Vietnam, with its heavy monsoon rains and its dense vegetation, made it difficult for the Americans to use effectively much of the superior weaponry they possessed. At the other extreme; the bone-chilling Russian winter has allied itself with Russia's geography and size to form a formidable defensive barrier.

A favorable topography, climate and land-mass may contribute to the possession of natural resources including food products, minerals and industrial raw materials. Large mass generally help a nation to disperse its industrial centers and population, as well as its military installation. The quasi-continental size of the United States, China and Russia affords them advantages of these elements as the elements translate into abundant sources of wealth and power for a nation. Natural resources should be rested on the concept of self-sufficiency.

3.1.3 People

This is a second element of the national core. It consists of a country's human characteristics. Tangible demographic subcategories include member of people, age distribution, and such quantitative factors as health and education.

Population: Like geographic size, the size of a country's population can be a positive or a negative factors. A large population supplies military personnel and industrial workers. Sheer member of people, though do not tell much, area positive power factor.

Age Distribution: A country that has a large number and percentage of its population in the production years, say 15-64, has an advantage. It is a disadvantage for conclusion with booming populations with heavy percentage of children who must be supported or population with limited life expectancy. Finally, some countries are "ageing" with a geriatric population segment that consumes more resources than it produces.

Education: An educated population is important to national power. The huge education disparity between the Economically Developed Countries (EDCs) and the developing countries (DCs) place the EDCc in an advantageous position. There is a sharp contrast between Canada and Malawi and Japan and Bhutan. It may be hard, for example, for DCs to create educational program that will close the gap in research and developments (R& D) scientists' technicians are enormous in number and ratio as compared to those in DCs. To make matters worse, many DCs suffer a substantial "brain drain", and "outflow of highly educated individuals, "to EDCs, where professional opportunities are better.

Health: A healthy nation is a wealthy nation Health problems can sap a country's wealth and power. The health gap between the EDCs and DCs can be supplement by specific health problems that some countries face.. AIDS is a worldwide scourge, but more devastating in Africa. It has created more premature deaths and orphanages in Africa than elsewhere.

Morale: Intangible attribute s of national power includes national character and national morale. National characters are the inherent qualities in a country's citizenry. It distinguishes them from others and usually from a rallying print for all the people of a country. Russia, for example, has a tradition of loyalty to the government and a fear of foreigners. Consequently, the formation of a large military establishment is an acceptable trait of the entire Russian populace.

National morale is the extent to which the government carries the people in both of its domestic and foreign policies. It may be manifest in public opinion. Without

significant support, governments whether democratic or authoritarian can hardly pursue its policies with maximum effectiveness. National morale is important especially when decisions that touch on the survival of a nation is to be taken. Conversely, the collapse of national morale can bring civil unrest and even the fall of governments.

3.1.4 Government

The quality of a country's government is a power element in the natural core, irrespective of the government form. The issue is administrative competence as to a well-organized and effective administrative structure to utilize its power potential fully. The collapse of the Soviet Union was in part from its massive and inefficient bureaucratic structure and Russia continues to struggle under poor governance. Again leadership skill, one of the most intangible elements of national power, also adds to a government strength and can be critical, especially in times of crisis.

Political stability encourages both domestic and foreign investors participation in the state economy. Stability often accelerates development and security. This perhaps explain why most developed countries of the world usually have fairly stable political system while most developing countries have a history that is replete with incessant political instability.

3.2 The National Infrastructure/Economic Power

(Rourke & Boyer) National infrastructure is another group of element that form the foundation of state power. Infrastructure is to a state what a skeleton is to human body. This section will discuss technological sophistication, transportation systems, and information and communications capabilities. Each of these factors strongly affects any a country's capacity in the other elements of power.

3.2.1 Technology

Technology is an overarching factor and a tangible power element. It has revolutionized our life - style and the way we do and value, things. Air conditioning modifies the impact of whether, computers revolutionize education, robotics speed industry, synthetic fertilizers expand agriculture, new drilling techniques allow for undersea oil exploration, microwaves speed information, and lasers bring the military to a pin-point target precision.

3.2.2 Transportation Systems

This does with the ability to move people, raw materials, finished products, and sometimes the military throughout its territory. For example, one of the major huddles that Russia must overcome to invigorate its economy in its relatively

limited and descript transportation system. The efficient and reliable transportation system moves the military - troops forces and logistics on schedule. It also enhance timely delivery of goods and services across the country. Inadequate transportation system is a challenge to developing countries like Nigeria, Bangladesh and Jamaica.

3.2.3 Information and Communication System

A country's information and communications capabilities are increasingly important (Rothkopt, 1998) as satellites and computers have accelerated the revolution began with radio and television. Photocopying machine, then fax machine, and now the internet, have dramatically changed communications. This increases the ability of a society to commiunicate with itself and remain cohesive. It also increase effective and effectiveness the EDCs and the Development countries is wide, and is often called the "global digital divide".

3.3 Military Capability

A nation's military preparedness is a very important element of national power. A country must have a very dynamic and strong military establishment to be able to pursue a realistic foreign policy, in an international system replete anarchy or corporation, as well as, defend its territory against external aggression. The presence of a well-trained and well equipped military with the "state of the art" weaponry is perhaps the most obvious elements of national power.

The military capacity of a nation depends strictly on its level of technological development. Thus, a country that possesses the technology of warfare is always the superior side. It is the factor of military technology that swung power to Europe vis-à-vis both Africa and the Far East, since the fifteenth century. Europe had acquired sophisticated firearms, artilleries and infantry while both Africa and Middle East relied on the Calvary and castle that were apparently inferior to those of Europe.

Both the US and Russia have large quantities of nuclear weapons and the delivery systems for short, medium and long-range missiles. The other members of the nuclear club are: France, China and the UK furthermore, India and Pakistan have tested nuclear devices, and it is generally assumed that Israel, South Africa and North Korea, have nuclear capacity. A number of other countries have nuclear capability though have refrained from going further with the programme. There are High - yield and Low yield nuclear weapons. High-yield nuclear weapons are instruments of indiscriminate mass destruction. On the other hand, low-yield nuclear weapons are those nuclear weapons which had been reduced to the degree that it could be used in a conventional warfare.

Added to the military technology of a nation and the quality of its forces is also the quantity of the leadership of the forces particularly in terms of strategy and tactics of warfare. The leadership must have relevant information about the capabilities and vulnerabilities of the adversary state, its military as well as its economic situation and the internal political position. Little wonder that nations including Nigeria on intelligence alone.

Self - Assessment Exercise

- Q1 What is the place of power in international politics?
 Q2 How is the power conceptually different from influence and authority?

Possible Answers

- Q1 Answers found in 3.0
 Q2 Answer found in 3.0

4.0 CONCLUSION

Social scientist struggle to define and measure power and to describe exactly how it works. This course unit has taken us from the traditional meaning of power through the concept of power in international politics. Yet it is difficult to conceptualize power when it comes to where the emphasis lay. Sometimes the difficulty arises from the nature of the situation for which power is required. Emphasis could be on a stronger navy or outright preference for stronger economic power. In some cases, nature provides the defensive power, and in other cases, it is technology.

5.0. SUMMARY

Power is a central but much disputed concept of politics. Its is defined here as the production of intended effects i.e. the capacity of an individual or group, party, class etc. to get what it wants by security the compliance of other through whatever means. Power is a matter of degree - it can be acquired, conferred, delegated, shared or limited. It may even be based on " consent" or coercion power

may be political, economic, social, legal personal - each may have a process of legitimization or sanction by other.

Power is the foundation of diplomacy in a conflictual world. National power is the sum of a country's assets that enhance its ability to get its way even opposed by others with different interests and goals. Measuring power is especially difficult. The efforts to do so have not been successful, but they do help us see many of the complexities of analyzing the characteristics of power. These characteristics include the facts that power is dynamic, both objective and subjective relative, situational, and multidimensional.

The major elements of a country's power can be roughly categorized as those that constitute (1) its national core, (2) its national infrastructure (3) its national economy and (4) its military. The core and infrastructure are discussed there and form the basis for economic and military power. The national core consists of a country's geography, its people and its government. The national infrastructure consists of a country's technological sophistication, its transportation system, and its information and communications capabilities.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- Q1 What do you understand by the difference between power and authority?
- Q2 In terms of national power elements, what are the advantages of national geography?
- Q3 From what you have learnt, how do people constitute a core element of national power?
- Q4 How does national infrastructure form the foundation of state power?

Each answer carries 2 ½ marks. The total score is 10 marks.

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MODULE 2

UNIT 1

LEVELS OF ANALYSIS

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objective
- 3.0 Main Body
 - 3.1 System Level Analysis
 - 3.1.1 Structural Characteristics
 - 3.1.2 Norms of Behavior in the International System
 - 3.2 State – Level Analysis
 - 3.2.1 Understanding State-Level Analysis
 - 3.2.2 Making of Foreign Policy: Types of Government, Situations and Policy.
 - 3.2.3 Making of Foreign Policy: Political Culture
 - 3.2.4 Making of Foreign Policy: Actors in the Process
 - 3.3 Individual – Level Analysis
 - 3.3.1 The Human Element
 - 3.3.2 Organizational Behavior
 - 3.3.3 Leadership Idiosyncrasies
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor – Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The dissemination in module 2 unit 2 of actors in international relations includes level of analysis as an analytical concept. In finding where to focus our study of relation among nations it becomes fruitful to study the nature of the world (system/level analysis) to study how countries make foreign policies (state-level analysis) or the study of the people as individuals or as persons (individual level analysis), this unit examines system level analysis by discussing it as theory. It then takes up state-level analysis, and lastly focuses on individual-level analysis.

2.0 OBJECTIVE

The objective of this course is to equip students with a capacity of a better understanding of world politics because at one point or the other in this course (INR206) one or more segments units will almost always come into play. By the time this happens, the student would have been familiar with what is going on, and in which level of analysis. At the end of the course, the student will learn the relevance of all the levels of analysis to every level of decision making in the world politics.

3.0 MAIN BODY

3.1 System – Level Analysis

System-level analysis adopts a “top-down” approach to studying world politics. It begins with the view that countries and other international actors operates in a global socio-economic-political-geographic environment and that the specific characteristics of the system help determine the patterns of interaction among the actors. Systems analysts believe that any system operates in somewhat predictable ways-that there are behavioral tendencies that the actor countries usually follow.

Most people do not think much about systems, but they are an ever-present part of our lives. Although each of us has free will, each of us is also part of many overlapping systems that influence our behavior and make it reasonably predictable. These systems range from very local ones, such as your family and school, to much larger systems, such as your country and the world. Whatever its size, though, how each of these systems operates is based on four factors: structural characteristics, power relationships, economic realities, and norms.

3.1.1 Structural Characteristics

All systems have identifiable structural characteristics. These include how authority is organized, who the actors are, and what the scope and level of interaction among the actors is.

(a) *The Organization of Authority:* The authority structure of a system for making and enforcing rules, for allocating assets, and for conducting other authoritative tasks can range from very hierarchical to anarchical. Most systems, like your university and your country, are hierarchical. They have a vertical authority structure in which subordinate units answer to higher levels of authority. Vertical systems have central authorities that are responsible for making, enforcing, and adjudicating rules that restrain subordinate actors. Other systems

have a horizontal authority structure in which authority is fragmented. The international system is one such system with a mostly horizontal authority structure. It is based on the sovereignty of states. *Sovereignty* means that countries are not legally answerable to any higher authority for their international or domestic conduct (Jackson, 1999). As such, the international system is anarchic; it has no overarching authority to make rules, settle disputes, and provide protection.

To see how horizontal and vertical structures operate differently, ask yourself why all countries are armed and why few students bring guns to class. The reason is that states in the international system (unlike students in your college) depend on themselves for protection. If a state is threatened, there is no international 911 number that it can call for help. Given this self-help system, each state feels compelled to be armed.

While the authority structure in the international system remains decidedly horizontal, change is under way. Many analysts believe that sovereignty is declining and that even the most powerful states are subject to an increasing number of authoritative rules made by intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) and by international law.

(b) *The Actors:* Another characteristic of any system is its actors. What organizations operate in the system, and impact do they have on the course of international relations? We can answer these questions by dividing actors into three general categories: nations actors, international actors, and transnational actors. (see unit 2).

(c) *Scope and Level of Interaction:* A third structural characteristic of any political system is the range (scope) of areas in which the actors interact and the frequency and intensity (level) of those interactions. One key to understanding the evolution of the international system is to see that the scope and level of international interaction are very much higher now than they were during the 1800s or even in the first half of the 1900s.

Economic interdependence provides the most obvious example of the escalating scope and level of interaction. It is nonsense today to imagine that any country can go it alone in splendid isolation. Even for a powerful country like the United States, a “fortress America” policy is impossible. Without foreign oil, to pick one obvious illustration, U.S. transportation and industry would literally soon come to a halt.

3.1.2 Norms of behavior in the international system

The widely accepted standards that help regulate behavior are the fourth major element of any system. These standards of behavior, or values, constitute the norms of a system. A caveat is that to be valid, norms must be generally recognized and followed, but they need not be either accepted or practiced universally.

Systems develop norms for two reasons. First, various psychological and social factors prompt humans to adopt values to define what is ethical and moral. Second, humans tend to favor regularized patterns of behavior because of the pragmatic need to interact and to avoid the anxiety and disruption caused by the random or unwanted behavior of others. Over the centuries, for instance, pragmatism led to norms (now supplemented by treaties) about how countries treat each other's diplomats even in times of war. When conflict broke out in the Persian Gulf in 1991, U.S. and other enemy diplomats in Baghdad were not rounded up and executed. Iraqi diplomats in Washington, D.C., and elsewhere were similarly safe from official reprisal.

Changes that occur in the norms of the international system are an important aspect of how the system evolves. What is evident in the current system is that norms are becoming more universal while they are simultaneously being challenged.

The uniformity of norms is the result of the McWorld effect, the homogenization of global culture because of economic interdependence, global communications, and other factors. It would be a vast overstatement to contend that capitalist (free-market) economies, democracy, and the precepts of individual human rights reign triumphant throughout the world. But these and other beliefs about the "right way" to do things have certainly become the dominant theme.

Yet it is also true that the exact nature of these precepts is being modified as a result of the de-Westernization of the international system. Norms that have heretofore influenced the system were established by the dominant countries of the West. Now the countries of Asia, Africa, and elsewhere have become more assertive, and they sometimes disagree with and challenge some of the established values (Lensu & Fritz, 1999).

3.2 State-Level Analysis

State-level analysis, a second approach to understanding world politics, emphasizes the national states and their internal processes as the primary determinants of the course of world affairs. As such, this approach focuses on midrange factors that are less general than the macro analysis of the international system but less individualistic than the micro analytical focus of human-level analysis.

3.2.1 Understanding state-level analysis

State-level analysts, like system-level analysts, believe that states have long been and continue to be the most powerful actors on the world stage. The two approaches differ, however, on how much freedom of action states have.

Unlike system-level analysts, who believe that the international system pressures states to behave in certain ways, state-level analysts contend that states are relatively free to decide what policies to follow. In sum, state-level analysts concentrate on what countries do and how they decide which policy to follow (Bueno de Mesquita, 2002).

Studying what countries do is based on the view, as one study puts it, that “much of what goes on in world politics revolves around interactions between governments—two or more states trying to gauge the rationales behind the other's actions and anticipate its next move” (Hermann & Hagan, 1998: 133). These interactions are called events, and these events and subsequent events (reactions and counter reactions) are studied through event data analysis. This approach is useful for analyzing matters such as reciprocity between countries. For example, if country A upgrades its military (event), how will country B respond (event)? Will an arms race occur?

Decision-making analysis, or investigating how countries make policy choices, is the second concern of state-level analysts. Once again to contrast system and state-level analyses, a system-level analyst would contend that, for example, the 1991 U.S. military response to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait was almost inevitable, given the realities of where oil was produced and consumed in the system. A state-level analyst would differ strongly and insist that the U.S. response depended on the presidential-congressional relations, the strength of public opinion, and other factors internal to the United States. Therefore, state-level analysts would conclude that to understand the foreign policy of any country, it is necessary to understand that country's domestic factors and its foreign policy-making processes (Chittick & Pingel, 2002; Milner, 1997). These factors, state-level analysts say, combine to determine how states act and, by extension, how the international system works as a sum of these actions.

3.2.2 Making Foreign Policy: Types of Government, Situations, And Policy

Most people do not think much about how foreign policy is made, and when they do, many imagine that presidents or prime ministers decide, and it is done. In reality, decision making is usually a complex process. Sometimes the national leader may be pivotal, but more often the leader does not play a decisive role.

The point is that all foreign policy decision makers, whether in democratic or dictatorial states, are limited by an intricate web of governmental and societal restraints. To understand this web, we will explore three general aspects of foreign policy making: (1) how differences in the type of government, the type of policy, or the type of situation influence the policy process; (2) the impact of political culture on foreign policy; and (3) the roles of the various political actors in making foreign policy.

(a) *Types of Government:* One variable that affects the foreign policy process is a country's type of domestic political system. Classifying political systems, such as democratic and authoritarian governments, is an important preliminary step to studying how they vary in policy and process because there is strong evidence that differences in the process (how policy is decided) will result in differences in policy substance (which policy is adopted).

Democratic and Authoritarian Governments. The line between democratic governments and authoritarian governments is not precise. One standard that differentiates the two types, however, is how many and what types of people can participate in making political decisions.

(b) *Types of Situations:* Whatever the form of government, the policy-making process is not always the same. Situation is one variable that determines the exact nature of the foreign policy process. There are a number of ways that political scientists have classified situations to try to study variations in the foreign policy process. Of these classifications, the most widely studied are the differences in policy making that can be observed in crisis situations compared to non crisis situations. A crisis is a circumstance in which decision makers are (1) surprised by an event, (2) feel threatened (especially militarily), and (3) believe that they have only a short time in which to make a decision (Brecher & Wilkenfeld, 1997). The more intense each of the three factors is, the more acute the sense of crisis.

Types of policy: how foreign policy is decided also varies according to the nature of the issue area involved. This type of analysis rests on the idea that different subject areas will be decided by different decision makers and by different process. One theory about policy making holds that presidents and other leaders have greater power to decide foreign policy than they do to determine domestic policy. The latter area is one in which legislatures, interest groups, and even public opinion play a greater role.

3.2.3 Making Foreign Policy: Political Culture

To repeat an important point, the state is not a unitary structure. Even authoritarian states are complex political organisms. Therefore, as one scholar notes, "All foreign policy decisions occur in a particular domestic context. This environment includes the . . . political culture . . . of a society" (Gerner, 1995: 21).

Political culture refers to a society's general, long-held, fundamental practices and attitudes that are slow to change. It has two main sources. One is the national historical experience: the sum of events and practices that have shaped a country and its citizens. The fact that the United States has been invaded only once (in 1812) while China has been invaded many times makes American and Chinese attitudes about the world very different. The second source of political culture is the national belief system: the ideas and ideologies that people hold. Whether it is capitalism in the United States, Shiism in Iran, Sino centrism in China, Zionism in Israel, or Russia's sense of its greatness, these intellectual orientations are important determinants of how a country defines itself and decides its policy (Cooper, 1999; Hudson, 1997; Lapid & Kratochwil, 1996).

Before proceeding, some comments should be made. First, political culture does not usually create specific policy. Instead, political culture is apt to pressure leaders or allow them to move or not move in a general direction (Breuning, 1995). In this sense, political culture is important in establishing a country's broad sense of its national interest. Second, political culture changes; shifts are usually evolutionary, though, because much of a country's political culture is rooted far back in its history and is resistant to change. Third, a society's political culture is not monolithic. American political culture, for example, includes both liberal humanitarian and isolationist impulses.

3.2.4 Making Foreign Policy: Actors In The Process

No state (national actor) is a unitary structure, a so-called black box. Instead, the state is more of a "shell" that encapsulates a foreign policy process in which a variety of subnational actors take part. These subnational actors include political executives, bureaucracies, legislatures, political opposition, interest groups, and the people. It is the pattern of cooperation and conflict among these subnational actors that constitutes the internal foreign policy-making process.

(a) *Political Executives:* The beginning of this chapter showed President Franklin Roosevelt's frustrations with the limitations on his authority. Yet it can also be said that political executives (officials whose tenure is variable and dependent on the political contest for power in their country) are normally the strongest subnational actors in the foreign policy process. These leaders are located in the executive branch and are called president, prime minister, premier, chancellor, or perhaps king or emir.

Whatever their specific title, political executives have important formal powers, those granted by statutory law or the constitution. Most chief executives are, for example, designated as the commanders in chief of their countries' armed forces. This gives them important and often unilateral authority to use the military.

Political executives also frequently possess important informal power. Their personal prestige is often immense, and skillful leaders can use public standing to win political support for their policies.

While the chief executives in most democratic countries possess formal and informal foreign policy powers that are greater than their domestic authority, presidents and premiers are not absolute monarchs. The spread of democracy and the increasingly *intermestic* nature of policy in an independent world mean that political leaders must often engage in a two-level game in which “each national leader plays both the international and domestic games simultaneously.” (Trumbore, 1998: 546; Boyer, 1996).

(b) ***Bureaucracies:*** Every state, whatever its strength or type of government, is heavily influenced by its bureaucracy. The dividing line between decision makers and bureaucrats is often hazy, but we can say that bureaucrats are career governmental personnel, as distinguished from those who are political appointees or elected officials. Although political leaders legally command the bureaucracy, they find it difficult to control the vast understructures of their governments. Bureaucracies often favour one policy option over another based on their general sense of their unit’s mission and how they should conduct themselves. However many given policy will affect the organization is also an important factor in creating bureaucratic perspective. Bureaucrats would often engage in filtering information recommendations of policy options and their implementation.

(c) ***Legislatures:*** In all countries, the policy role of legislatures is less than that executive branch decision makers and bureaucrats. This does not mean that all legislatures are powerless. But their exact influence varies greatly among countries.

(d) ***Political Opposition:*** In every political system, those who are in power face rivals who would replace them, either to change policy or to gain power. In democratic systems, this opposition is legitimate and is organized into political parties. Rival politicians may also exist in the leader's own party. Opposition is less overt and/or less peaceful in non democratic systems, but it exists nonetheless and in many varied forms. One distinction divides opposition between those who merely want to change policy and (those who want to gain control of the government). A second division is between those who are located inside and outside of the government.

(e) ***Interest Groups:*** Interest groups are private (nongovernmental) associations of people who have similar policy views and who pressure the government to adopt those views as policy. The increasingly *intermestic* nature of

policy is changing that, and interest groups are becoming important part of the foreign policy-making process. We can see this by looking at several types of interest groups.

3.3 Individual Level Analysis

Individual level analysis studies international politics by examining the role of human as actors on the world stage. One individual level approach is of fundamental human nature. The second is how people act in organizations. The third is the motivations and actions of specific persons.

3.3.1 The Human Element

The Human Nature approach examines basic human characteristics. These include, cognitive, psychological and biological factors as they influence decision-making.

(a) *Cognitive factors*: include cognitive decision-making, cognitive consistency, wishful thinking, limiting the scope of decision, and using heuristic devices.

(b) *Psychological factors*: primarily include: frustration aggression.

(c) *Biological factors*: are about etiology and gender.

3.3.2 Organizational Behaviour

The organizational behaviour approach studies role factors that is, how people act in certain personal or professional positions. The approach is also concerned with how groups behave and how the interactions affect decisions.

Groupthink is one possible outcome of organizational behaviour, and can lead to bad decisions. Ignoring or suppressing dissidents, discordant information and policy options are all causes of groupthink. Another is the reluctance subordinates to offer discordant.

The individual-level analysis is concerned here with identifying the characteristics of the complex process of human decision-making. This includes gathering information, analyzing that information, establishing goals, pondering options, and making policy choices. The individual – level analysis would include: the human element, organizational behaviour, and leaders and their idiosyncrasies.

3.3.3 Leaders and Their Idiosyncrasies.

The Idiosyncrasies Behavior approach is concerned, with the factors that determine the perceptions, decisions, and actions of specific leaders. A leaders personality, physical and mental health, ego and ambitions, understanding of history, personal experiences, and perceptions are all factors.

Self-Assessment Exercise

- Q1. What is the difference between vertical and horizontal authority structures?
Q2. How is state-level analysis relevant to foreign policy?

Possible Answers

- Q1. Answer found in 3.1.1
Q2. Answer found in 3.2.1

4.0. CONCLUSION

From what we have learnt, we can conclude that this course prevents the levels of analysis as very important in order to better understand what factors can affect decision-making at every level in world politics. It is these factors that influence results, and no result is in its best of forms. This is because the individual or groups involved in decision-making colour the process, with their self-centeredness, and things can go bad.

5.0. SUMMARY

System – level analysis is an approach to the study of world politics that argue that factors external to countries and the world political environment combine to determine the pattern of interaction among states and other transnational actors. Nation-states are often compelled to take certain courses of action by the realities of the world in which they exist. In the systems scope and level of interaction, the current system is becoming increasingly interdependent, with a rising number of interactions across an expanding range of issues.

Economic interdependence is especially significant. Norms are the values that help determine pattern of behaviour and create some degree of predictability in the new countries are, for instance, challenging some of the current norms, of the system, most of which are rooted in the western culture. System-level analysis is a valid approach to the study of world politics. It must, however, be used in conjunction with other approaches in order to understand world politics fully.

States are traditionally the most important political actors. States are political organizations that enjoy at least some degree of sovereignty. Foreign policy is not formulated by a single decision-making process. Instead, the exact nature of that process changes according to the number of variables, including the type of political system, the type of

At the Individual-level analysis, we find that the human role in the world drama can be addressed from three different perspectives: human nature organizational behaviour, and idiosyncratic behaviour. Human nature involves the way in which fundamental human characteristics affect decisions. Organizational behaviour looks at how humans interact within organized settings, such as a decision-making group. Idiosyncratic behaviour explores how the peculiarities of individual decision makers affect foreign policy.

6.0 TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- Q1. What are norms of behaviour in the international system?
- Q2. What is the role of political culture in the making of foreign policy?
- Q3. Which actors are involved in the making of foreign policy?
- Q4. From what you have learnt, what do you understand by human element, organizational behaviour, and leaders and their idiosyncrasies?

Each answer carries 2 ½ marks. The total score is 10 marks.

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MODULE 2**UNIT 2 ACTORS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS****CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objective
- 3.0 Main Body
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 - 3.2 International Governmental Organizations
 - 3.3 Transnational Organization
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

In international relations, actors refer to an individual or group whose goal is to ensure that the state or group of states follow(s) certain policies. Authority and actors are characteristics of any system. In the international system, the states are central participants plus the United Nations and its agencies. In addition to formal organizations, other kinds of new actors have joined, starting from the early 1970s, the number of nongovernmental international organizations have began to grow. This course would outline and introduce the students to the nature of the state and organizations as actors characteristic of the international system.

Some actors make bigger impact on policy decisions than others. However little the impact might be, an actor must have the following characteristics:

- i. It must be clearly identifiable.
- ii. It must have an appreciable degree of freedom of decision and action.

- iii. It must have a capacity to interact with other actors and have a verifiable impact upon their behavior and calculations.
- iv. It must persist over a period of time. In other words, it must have a degree of performance and not just an ephemeral relation.

2.0 OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

The objective of this unit is to introduce fresh students of international relations and foreign policy to a better understanding that a political change is obtained by analyzing the relations between governments and many other actors from each country. Students should understand that global politics also includes companies and non-governmental organizations. All of these actors are commonly categorized as state and non-state. It will introduce students to these categories of actors as they impact on policy decisions in the international system.

3.0 MAIN BODY

There are two major categories of actors. These are state actors and non-state actors.

3.1 State as Actors

The state is an entity that is recognized to exist when a government is in control of a community of people within a defined territory. A State is referred to as being a legal person. Countries (states) are the principal actors on the world stage. State actors include nation states and their agencies i.e. their governments and institutions and officials. Until recently, the international system was conceptualized in terms of its state system. In other words the states were regarded as the role actors in international relations. Only states were credited and presumed to have wills and minds of their own such as the will to survive, the will to power and also the fear of losing their possessions to others in the international system.

The orthodox position has been that knowledge of relations between states sufficiently explains behaviors in the international system as the name of the discipline refers - International Relations i.e. relations among states. And so it is with International Law and International Organizations. International Law recognizes only states as the subject of international law as distinct from objects of the law. Besides membership on such international organizations like the UNO, AU, ECOWAS are still strictly restricted to states. Little wonder that it is the state that articulates the various interests in the foreign policy that it projects abroad.

Yet for all the talk about the pivotal role of sovereign states in the international system, it is also true that states are not the only system level actors. There are international social movements, multinational corporations, and other non-governmental (non-state) actors which are involved as well.

3.2 International Governmental Organizations (IGOs)

This is also known as Governmental non state actors or intergovernmental organizations. Almost all IGOs have a central administrative structure. The United Nations (UN) is headquartered in New York City and has an administrative staff headed by a secretary general. Other examples include: AU, OPEC, ECOWAS, SADC. IGOs refer to institutions that are set up by states for the achievement of certain goals which member states believe cannot be met by individual efforts. These institutions or organizations 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 institutionalized.

Statements emanating from such organizations often carry more weight than similar statements by their individual members. Also these institutions affect the policy and behavior of their members and in certain respects even that of non-members. However, the above fact does not mean that these institutions have supplanted the role of states as actors in the international system. After all, membership of these institutions is still restricted to states and there is no clause in the instruments of these institutions which can stop any member from withdrawing its membership. Also, resolutions of the UN's General Assembly or AU's Assembly of Heads of State and Governments are still recommendations which states may or may not implement.

3.3 Transnational Organizations I Non-State Actors

Transnational or non-state actors are not government. It means any civil society actor from one country that has relations with any actor from another country or with an international organization. Transnational organizations or corporations (TNCs) possess neither sovereignty nor territory. They are private, but nonetheless are able to affect the course of international events. When this happens, the entities become actors in the international arena and competitors to nation states. Their ability to operate as international or transnational actors may be traced to the fact that men identify themselves and their interests with corporate bodies other than the nation state. The most prominent among these actors are:

- i. Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)
- ii. Multinational Corporations (MNCs)

iii. Individuals/Terror groups

3.3.1 Non-Government Non-state Actors

Non-governmental/Non-state actors are also known as Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs) Unlike IGOs, NGO membership consist of private individuals or group from various countries who share common interests and concerns. They operate across borders with primary aim of advancing their particular interest. They include religious organizations and social welfare or humanitarian organizations. Although they are non-political, their activities have on occasions affected the political behavior of states and other actors in the system e.g. the activities of Amnesty International and other human rights bodies in exposing abuse of human rights by governments in many countries.

The most important aspect of NGOs is that their role in global negotiations and global governance has been emerging steadily and slowly over the last quarter century. This role commonly occurs when numerous NGOs have an interest in one aspect or another of global society link together with supportive national organizations, sympathetic government agencies and IGOs to form what can be called a transnational advocacy networks (TANs). The IGOs that constitute a TANs have shared values. They exchange information and services related to their mutual concern with human rights, the environment or some other subject. Another example of how important non-state actors have become in international politics is when in September, 1987, nearly one hundred states signed an international treaty in which they agreed not to use land mines and to destroy any they had already laid down. Land mines are a weapon that is especially dangerous to civilians. After a war is over, they usually remain hidden in the ground for years, so must of the victims they claim are farmers plowing fields or children at play.

3.3.2 Multinational Corporations (MNCs)

Multinational corporations are also another form of transnational units who have had and continue to have a significant impact on the international system. These are organizations that operate internationally, but whose membership unlike IGOs are private. A note of caution - all companies that import or export are engaging in transnational economic activities, and if they lobby foreign governments about trade, they may become transnational political actors. However, they are not known as transnational companies (TNCs) until they have branches or subsidiaries outside their home country.

Multinational corporations are firms with foreign subsidiaries, which extend the production and marketing of their products beyond the boundaries of one single

country. MNCs do this in their quest for profit maximization from their transnational business activities. Infact, the expansion of international trade, investment and other financial interactions has brought in the rise of huge MNCs. The economic power of these corporate giants gives them a substantial role in international affairs. With their massive wealth, the magnitude of their operations and their near-monopoly of their very sensitive technology, they are capable of altering the economic and/or political structure(s) of weak states.

3.3.3 Individual /Terrorist Groups

A third type of transnational actor is a terrorist group. There is no widely accepted definition of what constitutes terrorism for the simple fact that terrorism means different things to different people. Although their sympathizers view terrorists as freedom fighters, it is, however, important to establish how the word is used here. Terrorism is a form of political violence that is carried out by individuals, nongovernmental organizations or by relatively small groups of covert government agents that specifically target civilians and that use clandestine attack methods, such as car bombs and hijacked airliners. They even subject themselves to carrying out suicide missions abroad. Terrorist organizations bring together private individuals who attack civilians and use other methods to inflict pain on an opponent.

The goal of the terrorist to gain compliance with their wishes by undermining their opponent's morale and by making it seem better than opponents give in to the demands of the terrorist than risk further suffering. Through their networks (cells) scattered all over the globe, they are able to travel and communicate globally with ease. They can also readily move funds from one country to another, sometimes as easily as by using a recharge card or an ATM card.

These are two sources of political terrorism. For our concern here, one is state, the second is transnational terrorism. They are closely linked.

State terrorism is terrorism carried out directly by an established government's clandestine operations or by others who have been specifically encouraged and funded by a country. For example, questions have been raised about Washington's complicity in the alleged state terrorism practiced internally by some U.S client states especially during the anticommunist fever of the Cold War. On the other hand, the U.S Department of State (Foreign Ministry) has repeatedly listed Cuba, Iran, Iraq, Libya, North Korea, Sudan and Syria as countries guilty of state terrorism.

Transnational terrorism is committed because the changes in the world that have given rise to a rapid increase in the number of international nongovernmental organizations have also expanded the number of terrorist groups that are organized and operate internationally. A lot of organizations including AI-Queda and about a dozen others have been labeled terrorist. AI-Queda is surely the most famous of these. AI-Queda was founded by Osama bn Laden from Saudi Arabia. It is charged that prior to the attacks on the World Trade center and the Pentagon in the U.S on 11 September 2001, bn Laden and his followers masterminded a number of other terrorist attacks. Among these were the bombings in August 1998 of the U.S embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar-esSalaam, Tanzania, that killed more than 300 people and injured thousands of others. Terror operatives continue to be active in many countries including Afghanistan, Iraq and recently in Somalia.

Causes of terrorism: State and transnational terrorism have certain commonalities and are closely linked. Perpetrators believe that terrorism like war is effective. It is necessary, proponents say, because it may be the only way for an oppressed group to prevail against a heavily armed government. In the end, terrorism, like most forms of violence, exist because terror tactics sometimes to accomplish their goals. Experts in terrorism believe that terrorism proves a low cost, low risk, cost-effective and potentially high yield means of winning useful tactical objectives for its perpetrators. Such objective include: massive publicity, securing the release of a number of terrorist prisoners from jail, and the extortion of considerable sums to finance the purchase of more weapons and explosive and the launching of a wider campaign.

Self Assessment Exercise

- Q1 Who is an actor in the international system?
Q2 How would you describe government non-state actors?

Possible Answers

- Q1 Answer found in 1.0
Q2 Answer found in 3.2

3.4 Level of Analyses

We have from the beginning of this course seen the international system and how it is shaped by its characteristics: global authority structure actors and power relationships. If we are to predict the future from the system level analysis, can it give us some idea about the world we would experience in future? More than this, we have look at issues and policy systems in global politics. It will include the high politics of peace and security, the UN, IGOs and TNCs. This may not be as simple. It is more useful to analyze global politics in terms of a variety of dimensions describing each policy domain and the actor within it.

If we move from a state centric to pluralist model, in which governments and transnational actors interact with each other bilaterally and multilaterally, then we would be rejecting a static unidimensional concept of power (i.e. only the state should have sole monopoly of power). Actors enter a political process possessing resources and seeking particular goals. To determine influence and explain outcomes requires whether the resources of actors are relevant to the goals being pursued. We then describe the degree of divergence between the goal of the different actors, and analyzing how they are changed by the interaction processes.

4.0 CONCLUSION

From the beginning of this course unit to this point, we can conclude that the state is not the only player in the international arena. For all the strength of state as the principal actor in the international system the dominance of states as the focus of political authority is in decline. Some pressures are pushing the system toward greater corporation. This pressure or movement towards more global structure could be based on the building of political, economic and even ecological forces that demand cooperation and integrations. After all, no nation is an island.

Transnational organizations vying for the loyalty of individuals are in so doing undermining the state. But for now (in spite of the above), the state remains strong, integral unit and the international system will remain state-centric.

5.0 SUMMARY

Authority problem is a characteristic of any system. In the international system, there is no central authority - authority is horizontal rather than vertical in structure. It is based on the sovereignty of states. Jackson, (1999), sovereignty means that countries are not legally answerable to any higher authority for their international or domestic conduct. States or groups that become involved in disputes must ultimately settle them themselves whether by negotiations or

through war. Other states may give helpful advice and exert pressure on the disputants, but there is no central body that can impose a settlement.

Actors are another characteristic of any system. This course is about the organizations that operate in the system, the reasons they operate and what impact they have on the course of international relations. In the absence of a central authority, actors in the international system include: state and non state actors. Non state actors include the transnational organizations. This is further treated as: NGOs, MNCs and individuals/Terror groups. Actors in the international system have individual common goals of advancing their interest abroad such as to influence policy decisions.

6.0 TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- Q1 Explain the implications of state for the study of international actors
- Q2 How could a local women's group have a significant effect upon global politics?
- Q3 What are the different types of transnational actors? Give example of each.
- Q4 How can you become a global actor?

Each correct answer 2 ½ marks. The total score is 10 marks.

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MODULE 2**UNIT 3 FORIEGN POLICY****CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objective
- 3.0 Main body
 - 3.1 Level of Analysis
 - 3.2 International Relations and Foreign Policy
 - 3.3 Meaning of Foreign Policy
 - 3.4 Making of Foreign Policy
 - 3.4.1 Type of Government
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 - 3.4.3 Type of Policy
- 4.0 Conclusion
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Generally speaking, most people neither think much about foreign policy, how it is made or how it affects their lives as individuals. Many imagine that president or prime ministers decide and it is done. In reality decision-making is usually a complex process. Sometime the national leaders may be pivotal, but more often, the leader does not play a decisive role. This course will move a little away from the international system level of analysis but without abandoning altogether the international system (of states) as both are inextricably linked. It will look at the relationship of international relations (as we have learnt in module 1) and foreign policy, the meaning of foreign policy and the making of foreign policy.

The self-assessment exercise is to be done by you. It is meant to test your understanding of what you have learnt in this course. The tutor-marked assignment is to be submitted together with form to your tutor for formal assessment. Reference and further reading will help improve your understanding of this course. Turn to the last page of this unit (which usually contain the references).

2.0 OBJECTIVE

The objective of this course is to bring the term of *Foreign Policy* closer to the fresh student. At the end of the course the student will be able to differentiate, establish similarities or relevance between international relations and foreign policy. They will learn that foreign policy by nature, is like a product "made" at home for consumption abroad. The student should fairly be able to analyze the factor that influence the making of foreign policy. These must include the type of government, situations and types of policy at stake, the linkage of domestic policy and foreign policy and the degree to which political leaders influence which policy.

3.0 MAIN BODY

3.1 Level Of Analysis

Like the system level analysis in unit 4, state level analysis believe that states are the most powerful actors on the world stage. However, both system and state level analyses differ on how much freedom of action states have. State level analysis contend that states are relatively free to decide what policies to follow. Understanding what countries do would be based on studying what goes on in world politics - this revolves around interactions between government - two or more states trying to gauge the rationales behind the other's actions and anticipate it next move. (Hermann and Hyan 1998).

These interactions are referred to as events. Events and subsequent events (reactions and counter reactions) are studied through event data analysis. This approach is useful for analyzing matters such as: reciprocity between countries. For example, if country A upgrades its military (event), how will country B respond (event)? Will an arms race occur? (Rourke and Boyer, 2004).

The second concern of state level analysis is the decision making analysis or investigating how countries make policy choices. This level of analysis would insist that to understand the foreign policy of a country, it is necessary to understand that a country's domestic factors and its foreign policy making processes. These factors combine to determine how state act and by extension, how the international system is a sum of these actions. Thus, while system level analysis is concerned with the international system events or international environment, state level analysis is interested in internal or domestic factors in foreign policy decisions and processes.

In any analysis of foreign policy, student should be mindful of two major limitations:

First, is that there could be lack of reliable information. Even a casual perusal of the literature on foreign policy of some countries can reveal that on the whole the sources are very scanty and unreliable and that supporting evidence for many of the statements is quite unsatisfactory. This was especially so during the cold war period when Soviet foreign policy, for example, was a very guarded secret. Few important documents were available (there still are), the press is government - controlled; public debate on foreign policy is practically non-existent; the value of the report of the foreign correspondent is necessarily lessened by the fact that these correspondents have little access to essential documents, and are not free to move about at all. Moreover, the strict censorship of an earlier era has now been replaced by self-censorship, in some respect an even more restrictive policy since correspondents know that misjudgment will bring expulsion.

3.2 International Relation and Foreign Policy

There are various definitions of these two terms: International Relations and Foreign Policy. It is not considered necessary here to run a repeat of the various definitions of international relations. Suffice it to say that there is little agreement as to where the distinction lies. How a writer defines them is influenced by what he intends to investigate with particularity on approach, model or theory. Generally, international relations and foreign policy are very interrelated. However, we need to understand that international relations is much more holistic in form. International relations is concerned with the conscious promotion of peace among nation - states and the study of enhancement of the mechanism of conflict prevention, management and resolution. International relations include consideration of foreign policies of nation - states, studies of international trade unions, tourism, transportation, communication and so forth. International relations cuts across all areas of human endeavor and could best be described as a conglomeration of all facets of relations between distinct societies.

3.3 Meaning of Foreign Policy

There are as many definitions of foreign policy as there are interested scholars and writers. Though there is no universally satisfactory definition of the term, they have certain common views. Foreign policy of any country deals firstly with preservation of its independence and security, and second, with the pursuit and protection of its economic interest.

In the words of Professor F.S. Northedge (1968), foreign policy is viewed as “an interplay between the outside and inside”. This definition suggests that foreign policy is a reaction to external stimuli while reflecting on domestic realities. Professor Charles Lerche and Professor Abdul Aziz Zaid maintain that the foreign policy of a state usually refers to the general principles by which a state governs

its reactions to the international environment". Again Professor Joseph D. Frankel (1973) sees foreign policy as "a dynamic process of interaction between the changing domestic demands and the changing international environment". This definition sees foreign policy consisting of decisions and actions which involve, to some appreciable extent, relations between one state and other. It is a dynamic process involving interaction between the domestic and the external environment and in accordance with the national interest of the states concerned.

Thus, foreign policy is the analysis of the actions of a nation - state (motivated by its interest) toward the external environment and the domestic conditions under - which these actions are conceived and formulated. In sum, foreign policy is essentially the instrumentality by which states influence or seek to influence the external world and to attain objectives that are in conformity with their perceived national interest. One distinct factor about foreign policy is that it operate in an environment in which the actors do not have control whereas domestic policy has social control through the law.

One indispensable fact is that no nation is an Island - the objective, desires or goals of a nation cannot be achieved within the restricted boundaries of one nation. This means that it is as important as it is necessary that all nations harness their needs and resource within both their countries and outside their national boundaries. Thus every nation, as a matter of obligation, must have both internal and foreign policy. Foreign policy is all about formulating, designing and directing state's policy towards achieving its goals and objective realities that it cannot attain within its domestic domain. As for those desires that are achievable within its domestic sphere, it designs policies and strategies toward their fulfillment. This is referred to as internal or domestic policy.

A nation's level of involvement in various international issues is often the expression of its general orientation towards the rest of the world. Orientation here means a nation's general attitude and commitment towards the external environment. It is important to note that a country's foreign policy, in the past was designed to be weighed against certain ideological poles i.e. non - aligned, pro-West or pro-East until the East-West divide virtually disappeared with the crumbling of the Berlin wall in 1989. But it is also not that necessary for countries to formulate their foreign policies along power venture. Policy makers can decide to design foreign policy that is not necessarily in broad and comprehensive terms. States with such foreign policy orientation hope to be able to react to challenges from the external environment much more effectively should the need arise. In this manners, a country's foreign policy guides and shapes its behavioural tendencies in the international arena.

3.4 Making of Foreign Policy

Foreign policy decision -making whether in a democratic or dictatorial states, is limited by an intricate web of government and social restraints. In this course, we will understand this web in terms of three general aspects of foreign policy making. (1) types of government, (2) types situations and (3) policy

3.4.1 Type of Government

One variable that affect the foreign policy process is a country's type of domestic political system. It is important that we classify political systems such as democratic and authoritarian governments as a preliminary step to studying their variance in policy and process. This is because differences in the process (how policy is decided) results in differences in policy substance (which policy is adopted.).

The differences between democratic governments and authoritarian government is not exact. However, the standard that differentiates the two is how many and what types of people can participate in making political decision(s). For example, in Canada, political participation is extensive, because only few adults are formally excluded from the political process. In other countries such as China and North Korea, participation is limited to an elite based on an individual's political party, economic standard and social or some other factor (Nathan 1998).

The second criterion for judging forms of government is how many forms of participation available: For example, in the United States, political dissent is public, frequent, often strident, and touches on issues ranging from the presidents foreign and domestic policies through his personal life. By contrast, China tolerates very little open disagreements with governments policy. Although the government in Beijing has tried to present a less authoritarian image in recent years, there are still instances of arrest of dissidents, the oppression of minorities (especially Muslims and Tibetans, the lack of democracy, and other restrictions on political and civil rights.

Democracy and Foreign Policy Choices

Although democracies allow greater participation in the political process than do autocracies, their political influence is not equally shared in a democracy. The policies that are adopted in any form of government is influenced by how many and what types of people can participate effectively in making political decisions. But in reality, there is a gap between participation and the influence they exert on foreign policy decisions including in a democracy. There is a gap because who makes decisions do not necessarily have an important influence on what policy is adopted. The problem could border on gender gap, under representation of some group or some other factors.

3.4.2 Type of Situations

Irrespective of the form of government, policy-making process is not always the same. Situation is one variable that determines the exact nature of the foreign policy process. For example, there are differences in policy making in crisis situations compared to non-crisis situations. A crisis is a circumstance in which decision makers are (1) surprised by an event (2) feel threatened (especially military), and (3) believe that they have only a short time in which to make a decision (Brecher and Wilkenfield 1997). The more intense each of the three factors is, the more acute the sense of crisis.

Decision makers usually strive during a crisis to make rational decisions, but their ability to gather and analyze information is hampered by the exigency of time. Anxiety or anger engendered by a crisis often increase the emotional content of decisions. Thus, with limited information, little time to think, and with heightened emotions, leaders rely heavily on preexisting images. The result of these is that only rarely does a coherent picture emerge. This means that decision-makers will respond to a situation according to the images they already have. If leaders, for example, perceive another country as aggressive and if that country mobilizes its forces during a crisis, then decision maker will probably see that act as preparing for attack rather than a preparation for defense.

3.4.3 Types Policy

Policy are of various types. How foreign policy is decided also varies according to the nature of the issue area involved. Analyzing this depends on the idea that issues that address different subject areas will be decided by different decision makers and by different process. Arguably presidents and other leaders have greater power to decide foreign policy than they do to determine domestic policy. Domestic policy is an area in which legislatures, interest groups, and even public opinion play a greater role.

One explanation for this argument may be that many policies are neither purely domestic nor purely foreign. Instead they have elements of both policy types (foreign and domestic), and thus, constitute a third type called *intermestic policy*. Foreign trade is a classic example of an *intermestic* issue because it affects both international relations and domestic economy in terms -of jobs, prices and other factors. The influence of political leaders is less on such *intermestic* issues because they, like domestic issues, directly impact and activate interest groups, legislators, and other sensational actors more than do foreign policy issues. It follows that presidential leadership is strongest on pure foreign/defense policy issues weaker on mixed (*intermestic*) issues, and weakest on pure domestic issues. (Rourke and Boyer, 2003).

Self Assessment Exercise

- Q1 What is the relationship of international relations and foreign policy?
- Q2 A country's foreign policy guides and shapes its behavioral tendencies in the international arena. Explain:

Possible answer

Q1 Answer found in 3.2

Q2 Answer found in 3.3 (Last paragraph)

4.0 CONCLUSION

The foreign policy of any state is shaped by geographical and historical consideration, by her political and social system, her economic strength and military power, by her relative power position, by the policies of other states, and the world government. In foreign affairs nations cannot pursue static objectives. Diplomacy must therefore operate in a fluid medium. Some problem cannot ever be permanently solved, we must live with them. The important thing is motion toward objective.

The line of demarcation which hitherto has existed between domestic and foreign problems is disappearing. People are becoming more conscious of the interconnectedness between domestic and foreign affairs, and of the effects of the one upon the other. But people on occasions show an unwillingness to support wholeheartedly specific foreign policies advocated by their government. This could happen when the foreign policy requires a substantial modification of domestic policies, sometimes to the detriment of local or personal interest. The result is that the government often adopted domestic policies that are incompatible with its stated foreign policies. For example, the heavy burden in which the military budget impose upon the Nigerian economy due mostly to the peacekeeping around the world including Liberia and Dafur in Sudan would indicate that this is an age when foreign policies are of primary importance.

5.0 SUMMARY

This unit is located within the rate level analysis. In this we see that states are

traditionally the most important political actors. States are political organizations that enjoy at least some degree of sovereignty. The fact that many democracies include a greater diversity of sub-national actors in the foreign policy arena has an impact. States are complex organizations and their internal domestic dynamic influence their international actions.

One set of internal factor centers on the policy making impacting various sub national actors. These include political leaders, bureaucratic organizations, legislatures, political parties and opposition, interest groups and the public. Foreign policy is seen as the decisions of a nation-state concerned with defining goals, setting precedents, or laying down courses of actions and the actions taken to implement those decisions as dictated by its interest vis-a-vis other nation-states. Foreign policy is like a product manufactured at home but marketed abroad while preventing others from impinging on the country of manufacture. In other words, foreign policy is meant for consumption abroad while the originating state prevents or controls the consumption of others'. The influence of the country abroad depends primarily upon the strength of the internal political, economic and social structures.

6.0 TUTOR –MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- Q1 How would you analyze foreign policy?
- Q2 What does foreign policy mean to you?
- Q3 In the aspects of foreign policy making that you have learnt, why it type of government considered?
- Q4 In the making of foreign policy, what do you understand by the following:
- (a) Type of situation?
 - (b) Type of policy?

Each question carries 2 ½ marks. The total score is 10 marks.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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MODULE 2

UNIT 4 FOREIGN POLICY AND NATIONAL INTEREST

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objective
- 3.0 Main body
 - 3.1 Vital or Core Interest
 - 3.2 Secondary or Variable Interest
 - 3.3 General Interest or Universal Interest
 - 3.4 Importance of National Interest
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor - Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This course is meant to introduce the fresh students to the relationship of foreign policy and national interest. National interest is an embodiment of the aggregation of a nation's interest as a sovereign political entity. Foreign policy is a vehicle for the projection and realization of the national interest as those interests are defined by politicians and keeping in view the external environment. This course will focus on the meaning of the two terms - foreign policy and national interest, the various aspects of the national interest, and how national interest is used whether for invoking popular support or for analyzing foreign policy. As usual, there is a self - assessment excises which is meant to help you assess yourself on what you have learnt. The Tutor-marked assignment at the end of the course must be submitted along with the form to your tutor for formal assessment. You are encouraged to refer to the list of materials on "Reference/Further Reading at the end of the course to broaden your understanding of the course.

2.0 OBJECTIVE

The objective of this course is to equip the student with the necessary tool that would translate into skill to identify how limited or unlimited national interest is and the beginning of foreign policy, although the temptation to confuse the two is high. At the end of the course, the student would have learnt about the different

categories of national interest: the vital, secondary and the general interest. He should be able to identify or establish the linkage of national interest to foreign policy, and how national interest is used either as rhetoric or in analysis of foreign policy.

3.0 MAIN BODY

National interest is adopted as a means or device for analyzing fundamental objectives of foreign policy of a nation - state. It is regarded as those purposes which the nation, through its leadership pursues persistently through time. National interest is also some ideal set of purposes which a nation should seek to realize in the conduct of its foreign relations.

Foreign policy is predicated on the national interest of a nation state, and any foreign policy that fails to reflect the country's national interests is doomed to the general disenchantment of the populace. National interest covers three outstanding components of national security; protection and preservation of the welfare of the state, and national prestige. National security relates to the defense of a country's territory integrity and political independence. Foreign policy on the other hand is the aspect of national policy that pertains to the external environment and involves the enunciation of principles and also indicates a country's positions on major international issues thus foreign policy is concerned with the substance and conduct of external relations.

National interest is perhaps one of most controversial concepts in International Relations. The controversy is due to several factors. Firstly, the concept has been and continues to be the subject of different interpretation by both analysts and practitioners. Secondly, the concept has been a subject of abuse particularly by politicians and decision-makers all over the world. Thirdly, the concepts is not easily susceptible to analysis. Generally every nation has the foreign policy which -seeks to achieve its national interest..

In the opinion of Arnold Wolfers, when people say that a state's policy should reflect her national interest, what they have in min essentially is that they desired to see the makers of national policy rise about the narrow and special economic interests of parts of the nation and focus their attentions on the more inclusive interest of the whole nation. When statesmen and bureaucrats are expected or required to act in the national interest, it means that they are to take action on issues that improve the political situation, the economic and social well-being, the health and culture of the people as well as their political survival. They are urged

to act on improving the lot of the people rather than pursue policies that will subject the people to domination by other countries.

Joseph Frankel attempted a definition of the national interest from three analytical perspectives i.e. aspirational, operational and polemic. At the aspirational level, the concept refers to the "vision of the good life, to some ideal set of goals which the states would like to realize if this were possible". However, the identifiable ideal goal of the state needs to be attainable immediately as it could be a long term objective. At the operational level, Frankel argues that national interest means the sum total of interests and policies actually pursued.. At the polemic level, the concept refers to "the use of the concept in political argument in real life to explain, evaluate, rationalize or criticize international behavior. It is used to prove one's self right and one's opponent wrong".

Types of Interest

(According to K.J. Holsti) there are three broad categories of interests, namely:

- (i) Vital or Core interest
- (ii) Secondly or Variable interest
- (iii) General or Complementary interest

3.1 Vital or Core Interest

Core value of national interest are those interests which are fundamental to the ability of the nation to play its role as a sovereign nation within the international system. Often these interests are tied to the survival preservation and continued existence of the state. The implication is that a nation must exist as an actor within the international system before it attempts pursuing or realizing any objective or interest in national terms. Thus, core interest is about the kind of interest or objective to which a nation is prepared to make all possible sacrifices, no matter the extent p achieve. The concern of core interest is the 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 institution. These are objective for which states are normally prepared to go was with others. This is why a considerable proportion of the national budget is often committed to national security and defense by all nations.

National welfare is also part of core interest. It is the responsibility of any nation to provide for the socio-economic welfare of its citizens. These necessities compel states to enter into economic intercourse with one another in order to advantageously harness resources to serve domestic needs. No nation, no matter how powerful and richly endowed has ever achieved economic prosperity and

ensures a high standard of living for its citizens without active involvement in the channel of international trade.

Another aspect of core interest is national prestige (e.g. national honor, respect and so forth). The degree of influence a nation can wield on others depend on the extent to which such a state is able to conduct its affairs consistent with a high sense of self - respect, process and national honor. - The implication here is that a state that fails to maintain a high degree of acceptable reputation in the international system risk disrespect and even isolation in the comity of nations.

Secondary or Variable Interest

Secondary or variable interest are less stable. They are not very permanent because interests change more frequently. However secondary interest do enhance or complement the achievement of core interest objective. The most easily identifiable secondary interest involve the task that is given to the Mission of the citizen concerned.

3.3 General or Universal Interest

In the opinion of Thomas Robinson, general interest are usually interest s "which a state can apply to a larger geographical area ,to a larger number of nations, or in several specified fields". General interest is in most cases, interests that cannot be achieved by any state alone and they are by their nature, long terms objectives. Example of a general interest is the foreign policy of Nigeria which seeks to influence the course of development within the international system.

3.4 The Importance of National Interest

The interest of a state usually are defined by its government. The term national interest has been subjected to two broad usages:

- (1) National interest is used by politicians when they seek support for a particular course of action especially in foreign policy. Given the widespread attachment to the nation as a social and political organization, national interest is a powerful device for invoking support. Politicians use the term to seek support for domestic policy objectives, but here it is less persuasive given the normal extent of difference on domestic policy and hence employed less. In foreign policy, in contrast, the term evoke anarchic international system where dangers abound and the interests of the nation are at risk.
- (2) National interest is used as tool for analyzing foreign policy, particularly by political realist (as we learnt in unit 2). Here, the national interest is used as a foreign policy version (in a way) of the term "public interest" - indicating

what is best for the nation in its relation with other states. This use of the term emphasizes not merely the threat to the nation from the international anarchy but also the external constraints, on the freedom of the maneuver of the state from treaties, the interests and power of the states, and other factors beyond the control of the nation, such as geographical location and independence on foreign trade. The analytical usage of the term places much emphasis on the role of the state as the embodiment of the nation's interest. The realist use of the term national interest in evaluating foreign policy has focused on national security as the core of national interest. "Interest of state" and "national security interest" are closely allied terms.

Again, the difficulty with the analytical usage of term is the absence of any agreed methodology by which the best interest of the nation can be tested. Some scholars have argued that the best interest are nevertheless objectively determined by the situation of the state in the international system and can be deduced from a study of history and the success/failure of policies. Other writers concede that national interest is subjectively interpreted by the government of the day. In this version, national interest is similar to the politician's rhetorical usage of the term - national interest is merely what politicians say the national interest is.

Here if we are to continue Morgenthau's analysis, his "vital objective" - that is, the "national interest sharpening to meet particular inter-national situations" - of state's foreign policy vis-a-vis opponents in "the restoration of the balance of power by means short of war". This kind of analysis by no means clearly defines national interest; in fact, it illustrates rather the temptation to define it in terms of particular theories and of generalizations. National interest does not necessarily consist in abstraction. Indeed, in most cases, the question is not whether, but how, to serve the national interest.

That involves the question of what is the national interest in a particular situation. Moreover, there are many a national interest not just one. The difficulties arise in the conflict of one interest with another; for example, in the clash of one interest in peace with the interest in preserving national institutions.

In spite of these difficulties, the concept of national interest is a very useful one which policy-makers should never forget. It helps to place foreign as well as domestic policy on the framework of a national policy, and it is a much needed antidote to political shortsightedness and partisanship. The concept of Nigerian national interest in the diplomatic field centers around security and development on three levels, namely: the West African sub-region, Africa and the World.

However changed, the meaning can be national interest the constraints rather the variables of international relations. It is likewise true that development at home or abroad require a continual reassessment of those interests in order to keep pace with unfolding situations in the international system.

National will, have little meaning unless it represents a widespread consensus and unless it is applied to specific policies. It is also to be remembered that national interest involves not only military security and the nation's economy but also a defense of the nation's values. National security, conceived in military terms alone involves more than maintenance of a strong defense establishment, it also includes military assistance to other friendly nations and much more.

Self Assessment Exercise

- Q1 What do you understand by secondary and general interest?
 Q2 How is the concept of national interest useful to policy - makers?

Possible Answer

- Q1 Answer found in 3.2 and 3.3
 Q2 Answer found in 3.4 (Sixth paragraph)

4.0 CONCLUSION

From what you have learnt in this course, it is obvious that with a fairly hard work, you will be able to define and explain what national interest is all about. You will also be able to apply your understanding of national interest in the analysis of the fundamental objectives of foreign policy. It should by now clear to you that national interest and foreign policy are inextricably linked -one follows the other. And both of them affect our lives both as individuals or as a group and as such, we should be interested/in how our country is governed whether inside or outside.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this course, we see that politicians acting on behalf other state are the one who define thee boundaries of national interest - national interest is such if the state (the politician) think it is. Core interest is the interest that is at the heart of the

nation and is sovereign. Yet national interest is subject to reassessment and together with a dynamic foreign policy, they are driven by domestic realities and the unfolding external events. Most important employment of national interest is national security. It is very important to guard its boundaries against external aggression. It is also important to note, however, that national interest does not shift in proportion to shift in alliance. In the international system, in other words, national interest is much more permanent than friendship.

6.0 TUTOR - MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- Q1 (a) Define national interest according to Joseph Frankel.
 (b) What is core interest?
- Q2 How do politicians utilize the term 'national interest'?
- Q3 National interest is used as a tool for analysis. Explain.
- Q4 How would you summarize what you have learnt in the course "Foreign Policy and National Interest"?

All question carry 2 ½ marks. The total score is 10 marks.

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MODULE 3**UNIT 1 FUNDAMENTAL OBJECTIVES OF FOREIGN POLICY****CONTENTS**

- 3.0 Introduction
- 4.0 Objective
- 3.0 Main body
 - 3.5 Importance of National Interest
 - 3.6 Vital or Core Interest
 - 3.7 Secondary or Variable Interest
 - 3.8 General Interest
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 8.0 Summary
- 9.0 Tutor - Marked Assignment
- 10.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this course is to introduce students to the objectives principles of foreign policy. As policies are made and objectives set, it leaves the policy makers with the responsibility of ensuring that the objectives that they pursue progress in their desired direction. But in spite of the various forms of resources which are employed to make this work, not all foreign policy goals are achieved. In the same international system, every state projects its national interest with its foreign policy seeking to bring in result. Thus the ability of a state to control the behavior of other states to its own advantage involves certain degree of competence. It also involves the nature of the interest involved. Interest could be "core", middle range or general and the challenges they pose differ. Goal achievement could manifest in outright success or in collaboration, conflict or completion. This course would treat all of these.

You should by now know that the self-assessment exercise to be done by you to assess your understanding of what you have learnt. There are the usual tutor marked assignment which you must submit together with the form to your tutor for formal assessment. You are encouraged to refer to the last page of this course for further reading.

2.0 OBJECTIVE OF THE COURSE

This course is designed to equip the student with the analytical skill with which to grapple with the problem associated with interaction between nation states seeking to control or influence the behavior of others in the international system. After learning the different aspects of the objective principles of a states foreign policy, the student will be expected to begin to appreciate the reason states behave in the way they do at home or out there. It could even confer on him some sense of patriotism in a positive way as he can understand how important he is to his country so much so that when he is willing to shed blood in order to protect his life and property as a citizen from a foreign invasion.

5.0 MAIN BODY

National interest is what foreign policy-makers say it is. And as such, no one can say with certainty what the goal of national interest is. There are even policy disagreement due to differences among the same policy-makers about conceptions about what governments or political units are, and what their roles should be. Against this backdrop, we shall in this course use term objective to refer to an image of a future state of affairs and future set of conditions- which governments or political units through individual policy-makers aspire to bring about by wielding influence abroad and by changing or sustaining the behavior of other states". Richard C. Sneider (1962).

The future state of affairs means solid conditions such as passing a resolution in the National Assembly, and so forth. Thus, the term objective is used in the sense of the types of collective interests and values governments seek to achieve in the international system. Scholars have maintained that all nation-states seek to increase their power at the expense of others. Hans J. Morgenthau (1973). Nation states are mufti-purpose entities, whose objectives are varied but which include a desire for power, hence their behaviour in the international system is conditioned by a combination of environmental or systemic characteristics, actions by others both past and present which impugn on the interests of values of a particular state, and domestic social and economic needs.

Though objective is used to describe a collective interest and values that operate in international politics, it should not be assumed that foreign affairs ministers and diplomats spend all of their time carefully formulating logical and coherent sets of collective or private goals to pursue through the rational ordering of means to an end. All too often, policy is the product of random haphazard, or even irrational forces and events. Equally, it is the result of dead locked judgments, and uneasy

compromise formula. Often what appears on the surface as a nation's settled course of action may be due to indecision, unwillingness or inability to act. Sometimes foreign policies are the product of a statesman's passive compliance with strong domestic political pressure—and this product of contending political pressure within the state itself. Finally, a policy may be due to a statesman's abdication of choice and rational judgment in the face of a ruthless and strong external environment.

Thus, as far as the usage of the concept of objective is concerned, it should be of note that nation-states often pursue incompatible collective and private interest and value objectives simultaneously. It is hence the responsibility of policy-makers to choose among conflicting objectives, and determine which is at a point feasible.

3.1 Types of Objectives

So far, we understand that governments seek to achieve a range of collective and private interest and value objectives. Generally, majority of modern states seek to achieve collective objectives of national security, welfare of citizens, access to trade routes, markets, and vital resources, and sometimes the territory of neighbours (through military adventurism or simply expansionist design). From here we distinguish between military, economic, political and ideological objectives. Objectives can also be classified according to geographic area and this would include the objectives of the state toward its neighbours (whether immediate or distant).

The objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy with regards to geographic area, according to section 19 of the 1979 constitution, states that:

"The State (Nigeria) shall promote African unity, as well as total political, economic, social and cultural liberation of Africa and all other forms of international cooperation conducive of the consolidation of universal peace and *mutual respect and friendship among all peoples and states, and shall combat racial discrimination in all its manifestation* "

This same objective is underlined in section 20 of the 1989 constitution of Nigeria. It is not intended here to make general description on action-by-nation policy objectives because it would be repetitive. Rather, we would locate the policy objectives of the diverse nations under three common criteria which include:

- a) The value placed on the objective, or the extent to which policy makers commit themselves and the nation's resources toward and achieving a specific objective.
- b) The time element placed on its achievement, and end result.

- c) The kinds of demands the objective imposes on other states in the international system.

From the above criteria, we derive three major types of objectives, and they include:

- a) Core or vital values and interests
- b) Middle-range goals
- c) Universal long-range goals

It should be noted that this segment has been treated in module 3 unit 1. The only difference is that in the current unit, we consider the same but in a way that is a little different.

3.2 Core Value and Interests

Core value and interests are goals to which nation states commit their very existence and which must be preserved or extended at all times or make ultimate sacrifice. Usually, they are stated in the form of basic "principles" of foreign policy and they become the articles of faith which a society accepts without question. For example, the core values and interest of Nigeria's foreign policy objectives, according to section 19 of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, include:

- a) Promotion and protection of national interest;
- b) Promotion of African integration and support for African unity;
- c) Promotion of International cooperation for the consolidation of universal peace and mutual respect among all nations and elimination of discrimination in all its manifestations;
- d) Respect for international law and treaty obligations as well as the seeking of settlement of international disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration and adjudication;
- e) And promotion of just world economic order

Another core value and interest is ethnic, religious or linguistic unity of the state. Core values and interests are related to the self-preservation -of a political unit of a sovereign nation, because their goals are achieved subject to the political units pursuing them and their own existence. (see unit 2, 3.1).

3.3 Middle-range Goals or Objectives

These objectives usually impose particular demands on nation states. These demands are consequently upon the nation states interaction with others in order to

satisfy both domestic needs and international aspiration. She needs and aspirations border on the socio-economic and political development and these are goals which nations cannot pursue through self-help alone. Example of these include: trade, communication, sources of supply, foreign aid, foreign markets and so forth. Middle range objective also include a state's desire to its prestige. This could be done through diplomatic ceremonies and display of military capabilities against the background of industrial development, scientific and technological skills. Development is a great national goal and it is sought with as much resources as are committed to "core" values and interests.

Other kinds of middle-range objectives include different forms of imperialism i.e. the extension of control by one country over another. This can take the form of colonialism - the attempt to establish over the political control and jurisdiction over another country; neocolonization - control exercised through economic dominance; or cultural imperialism; the destruction or weakening of an indigenous culture and the imposition of an alien one. In other words, imperialism can find expression in forms such as occupation of foreign territory, or seeking advantages, including access to raw materials, markets, trade routes, and eventually establishing spheres of influence. When agents promote their nation state's social, economic, political and cultural values abroad for influence, we say, ideological self-extension has taken place.

3.4 Universal-Long-Range Objectives

Universal objectives are novel and futuristic. They have to do with plans, dreams, and visions concerning the ultimate political or ideological organization of the international system, the rules governing relations in that system, and the role of nations within the international system. The objectives are concerned with reconstitution and the establishment of an international order (see unit 2, 3.3). It is to be borne in mind that certain aspects of the core, middle-range and the universal objectives can overlap and try to interplay seeking to achieve international order. Thus, the conflict that can arise must be effectively managed lest it degenerates into consequential international concern.

3.5 Achievement of Objectives

By now, it is clear that nation states attempt to influence the course of events in the international system through international politics or the game of "Power Politics" (*realpolitik* or self-help politics) in order to achieve, defend or extend their interest, values and *objectives*. In many circumstances, objectives pursued by nation states appear similar so that the success achieved by one becomes advantageous to others, and as such can allow for international cooperation in the form of allowances, organizational cooperation in the form of alliances,

organization of multilateral technical assistance programs to control international narcotic traffic, control of HIV and AIDS, international money laundering, cyber crime and so forth.

The interaction among nation states pursuing their objectives can be expressed in international collaboration, conflict and even competition. When objectives are incompatible, a conflict situation can arise in which one state's gain is at the expense of the other(s). But, when objectives are compatible, one state's gain may bring outstanding advantages to others, and this can lead to cooperation or collaboration "good" types of relationship as in international technical organizations.

Thus, in a collaboration and conflict situation, nation states reasonably alter or maintain the interest and values of others because the degree of influence on other states' behaviour lies the achievement of its own objective.

Competition is different from collaboration and conflict because it does not involve interaction of objectives. In a competitive situation, a country's gain or success does not necessarily lead to another's loss. But competition can give birth to conflict especially when there is scarcity e.g. the scramble for and therefore the partition of Africa by the Europeans as sanctioned by the Berlin Conference of 1885. Conflict can also lead to outright war. Clausewitz (1964) maintains that "war is a continuation of policy by other means".

What this means is that what a country cannot achieve by peaceful negotiation, may be got through war even with former friend. This is why in international politics, there is no permanent friend (or enemy), but permanent interests and objectives.

It is important to note that foreign policy is a dynamic process. It changes with time in response to changes in both the domestic and external environment. This is why foreign policy varies in nature and content from one country to another. Little wonder that some scholars argue that foreign policy is mainly "a reaction to external stimuli." Also, foreign policy does not only involve core, middle-range or universal interests, it can also be aggressive, submissive or economic and so forth. For example, Nigeria's foreign policy under Abubakar T. Balewa was conservative in approach but Muritala Mohammed radicalized it.

Self-Assessment Exercise

Q 1 What is the purpose of the course, module 2 unit 3

Q2 What is the objective of national interest in terms of geography?

Possible Answers

Q1 Answer found in 1.0. (Introduction) and (2.0 Objective). Q2 Answer found in 3.1 (Second paragraph)

6.0 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, we can state that foreign policy objectives are confronted by challenges that emanate from those of other states operating in the same playground called the international system. In the domestic environment rules

governing the social, economic and political "game" are defined, embodied in and presented in the form of constitution. The judiciary is the referee and the police, the custodian of the law. In the international system, the rules are not as largely defined as in the domestic environment. There, the rules are determined by the will of the stronger players in the uneven field of play called the international system.

For a nation to be able to dictate what the rules are, it is necessary to have the capability of "power". In the international system, power means being in credible position to un-authoritatively allocate values across the international political and economic chessboard. In so doing the states are able to control the behaviour of others in their own desired direction. Little wonder that every nation state is in the race to acquire or generate power - National power. From the realist point of view, this is an index of power, prestige and survival as a sovereign state in the international system.

7.0 SUMMARY

A nation state's Foreign policy goal is about being able to control the behaviour of others by all necessary means. The direction and degree to which a target state moves is an index of success or failure of the foreign policy of the initiating state. National interest objectives are generally categorized by certain criteria but must traditionally induce national security interest with military underpinnings at the core. Other interests follow according to their importance to the state's survival as a sovereign nation. Thus, national power influences goal achievement, and goal achievement is linked to national power.

8.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- Q1 From what you have been learnt in this course, who determines the rules in the international political “game”?
- Q2 What do you understand by achievement of objectives ?
- Q3 What do nation states seek power?
- Q4 In this course, how is the success or failure of foreign policy objective determined?

All question carry 2 ½ marks. The total score is 10 marks.

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MODULE 3**UNIT 2 PROCESS OF FORMULATION OF FOREIGN POLICY****CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objective
- 3.0 Main Body
 - 3.1 The Situation
 - 3.1.1 Images
 - 3.1.2 Attitudes
 - 3.1.3 Values
 - 3.2 The Structure and Condition
 - 3.3 Capabilities
 - 3.4 Prevailing Domestic Needs
 - 3.5 Public Opinion
 - 3.6 Organizational Structures
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor – Marked Assignment
- 7.0 Reference/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This course introduces students to the process of foreign policy formulation. The political leadership assisted by his foreign minister has always been at the center of the foreign policy domain. But there are other levels of structures through which information or intelligent gathering are analyzed and filtered. These information can sometimes be distorted because it is colored by the interests, preferences and values of the policy-makers themselves. Their perceptions which can be conflicting according to their self-interest can prove difficult to arrive at a common position. When they do, the difference between image and reality can begin to emerge. This course unit considers the elements that are involved in the process of information of foreign policy.

The self-assessment exercise is given for you to do and in so doing, you assess yourself on your understanding of what you have learnt. You will find at the end

of this course a Tutor- marked Assignment (6.0) which you must submit to your tutor together with your form, for formal assessment. You are encouraged to avail of the reference/further reading (7.0) found at the last page of this course unit.

2.0 OBJECTIVE

The objective of this course unit for the students to know that notwithstanding the levels of impute in the process of foreign policy formulation, the final result has not always been fool proof as one would expect. By 'the end of the course, the student would be able to figure out what may have been a reason in an event of foreign policy failure - foreign policy can fail to bring in the result due to the problem of perception of the external environment among other factors. The student would understand that personal or group interest, the state or systemic forces are all at play in the process of formation of foreign policy. In any case, the final choice is regarded as the best out of the various alternatives.

3.0 MAIN BODY

The process of formulating foreign policy is viewed in terms of the personalities and values of a few key statesmen. Foreign policy is the prerogative of the Head of State, and he is assisted or advised by the foreign affairs minister. Understanding foreign policy objectives and formulation is emphasizing the perceptions, images attitudes, values and beliefs of those responsible for formulation foreign policy of a nation state. There are diverse factors which affect the choice of policy goals and objectives. These factors are spelt out by Richard C. Sneider, H.W. Bruck and Burton Sapinn (1962), under the concept of "definition of the situation".

In foreign policy formulation, the definition of the situation includes all domestic and external, historical and contemporary conditions which relevant and vital to policy-makers in the face of foreign policy formulation challenges. Challenges can

emanate from events abroad, domestic political needs, degree of threat or opportunity perceived in a situation, social values and ideological imperatives, availability of capabilities, expected outcomes or costs - benefits of proposed courses of action and so forth.

It is important to define a situation in the process of formulation of foreign policy in which the following components should necessarily be considered: (a) The images, values, beliefs and personality or political needs of those responsible for establishing goals, and actions needed for them. (b) The structure and conditions in the international system, (c) Government types or national role, (d) Prevailing

domestic needs of the political system; types of regime, (e) Availability of capability, (f) Organizational needs, and traditions.

As important as these considerations are, they depend largely upon the attitudes, judgment and the needs of the individual policy-maker functioning within the policy-making organization constitutionally empowered for the purpose. It is for this reason that different policy-maker respond to the same conditions in different ways, and some statesmen, in spite of differences in ideological orientation and different national constituencies respond in a similar manner. For example, the leaders of Pakistan and India were neither unique in behavior nor in common attitudes during the war over Kashmir in 1965, despite differences in historical circumstances, geography culture, and diplomatic situation, when compared with the behaviors and attitudes the European - leaders of the war in 1914. The onset of World War I can be traced in part to the series of mobilizations and counter mobilizations by Austria Hungary, Germany, Great Britain, France and Russia. Most of these calls for arms were arguably defensive, but they resulted in a spiral hostility based on misinterpretations. Each country steadily increased its readiness in the belief that it must mobilize to defend itself, while simultaneously, other countries were viewing the increased readiness as preparations to strike. We consider the factors in the situation in which these perception of the external environment operates.

3.1 The Situation

3.1.1 Images

Often, statesmen act and react according to their perception (or misperception) of their political environment; and as far as foreign - policy makers are concerned, it is not the state of the environment that really counts, but what policy-makers believe the state to be. According to Holsti (1967);

"image means an individual perceptions of an object, fact or condition, his evaluation of that object, tact or condition in terms of badness or goodness, friendliness or hostility, or value, and the meaning ascribed to, or deduced from, that object, fact or condition".

Because even the most articulate expert in foreign policy making may not be aware of all the relevant factors in a situation, his image (of the situation) would be almost always different from reality. The discrepancy that exists between image and reality is due in part to physical impediment to the flow 'of information, arising from time, faulty communication, censorship, lack of competent advisors and intelligence source. It can also be as a result of distortion of reality caused by attitudes, beliefs and so forth. There have been instances where policy - makers twisted and disregard information that contradicted their preferences and values

thereby allowing their psychological environment to color the definition of the situation and physical environment. The foreign policy formulation in Nigeria between 1985 and 1999 was influenced by disregard to information which contradicted the values of those regimes. Hence Tom Ikimi, a foreign minister of one those regimes was described as being involved in "area-boy diplomacy."

3.1.2 Attitudes

Hitler in his totalitarian system, backed by this foreign number relied on his images and attitudes to take all the decisions that eventually led to the second World War. Attitudes are viewed as general evaluative propositions about a particular object or situation, factor or condition, more or less friendly, desirable, dangerous or hostile. In international relations or politics, policy-makers operate or function with the framework of evaluation assumptions, or hostility or friendship, trust or distrust, fear or confidence toward other governments and people. Thus, attitudes are related to how policy makers react to external stimuli. - (i.e. others states' behavior, actions demands). This reaction is grounded in their perception of other states' intention and capability, and then define or formulate their own objectives vis-à-vis others.

3.1.3 Values

The nature and manner of our family values, political socialization, indoctrination, and our personal experience shape our values because they form the standards against which our conducts and of others are weighed. In the process of formulation of foreign policy, therefore, values serves justification for actions and goals for policy-makers. Belief could be viewed as propositions which policy-makers hold to be true, even if they cannot be verified. In a foreign-policy-making context, such beliefs are valuable because they become the unexamined assumptions upon which numerous policy choices are made.

3.2 Structure And Conditions In The International Political System

Policy-makers of different nations perceive major structural changes in the international political system in almost the same way, and through a series of gathered information tend to at attune their states foreign policies to fit that structure. For instance in a "polar" structure, policy-makers of some newly independent countries have calculated that heir security can best be achieved by alliance with one military bloc leader or other, without an option of neutrality. Thus they are compelled by conditions in the international political system to either on the united states or Russia to safeguard their national security interest in order to survive as nations.

Thus, the structure and conditions in the international political system have manifest significant influence on the newly independent states that they adjust

their foreign policies in conformity with the rules and obligations of the alliance. This in effect does establish the limits of what general foreign policy orientations of the new states are. A major shift in international politics can bring in new power configuration that create new opportunities for many states to recover their freedom from old limitations imposed by unfavorable balance of power in favour of constructing countervailing balance to deter new threats. Here we once again confirm that in international politics, there are no permanent friend (or enemy) but permanent interest.

In the contemporary time, development in the external environment can also influence a states foreign policy because the international system possess some doctrine which transcend national doctrine. The predominant international doctrine and value has come in the form of economic development. The prestige of a nation -state is closely related to the level of its military capability, technology and industrialization. Based on successes of the Western world, nation -states place high value on influence their behavior in the international system.

3.3 Capabilities

The ability of a nation-state to significantly achieve its foreign policy objective greatly influence foreign policy decision-making. Most significant capabilities available include: diplomatic personnel and quality of diplomacy, military capability, technology communication, level of industrialization and so forth. These strongly determine the policy to be formulated within a time frame. Indeed, it is for this reason that developing countries are encouraged to define their interest and objective in terms of nation-building and economic development, and be content with neutrality (non-aligned). It is reasoned that the development of political and economic infrastructure would form a better base for the take off of other elements of power and capability. These are believed to underpin the process of formulation of foreign policy which in turn projects a nations interest abroad.

The above suggest that a country's size, population, distribution of natural resources, climate and topography (geopolitics) do influence socio-Political and economic development, including access to other areas of the world. Also these have military and defense policy implications. The nature of the topography can be particularly attractive for military adventure or outright invasion by predator states. It can also suggest the best line of defense. Economic characteristics and distribution of natural resources determine a nation's autarchy or dependence in wartime as well as during peace. Climate imposes restrictions on the types of warfare that can be conducted in a particular area or kind of farming that can be engage in. determine to improve quality of life, some policy objectives can proceed from the economic and geographic situation to trade expansion. A country with a relatively larger quality population can more easily mobilize and can more

confidently project its foreign policy across the international system with higher expectation of a fairer degree of success. On the other hand, a country whose population is uneducated in modern skills may not easily mobilize to achieve national security and survival goals in a reasonable time frame. Such a state can only be said to possess potential capability.

3.4 Prevailing Domestic Needs

Foreign policy formulation focuses on general social needs and specific interests of domestic groups, political parties and economic organizations because demands and expectations are placed upon the government (state) in its interaction with others. Examples are when a government negotiates a tariff agreement (bilateral or multilateral) to protect its domestic industries, or intervenes diplomatically or militarily in another country to protect the lives and properties of its own citizens. Another is when country A establishes trade links with country B to create an avenue for a steady supply of a natural resource (from country B) population can influence (from process of formulation of foreign policy).

3.5 Public Opinion

In a political system where fundamental human rights and freedom of expression form part of the national life, the role of public opinion in the process of formulation of foreign policy is formidable. There have been instances where public opinion has influenced foreign policy-making. In Nigeria, the Tafawa Balewa government abrogated, in 1962, the Anglo-Nigeria Defense pact entered into in 1958, as a result of the anti-pact demonstration led by the university students at Ibadan. But, it is important to say that the rate at which domestic pressure group influence decision-making is highly dependent on the type of government, such as democratic or authoritarian, informed public opinion about the external environment, and political institutions that enjoy popular political support.

3.6 Organizational Structures

Highly structured and developed bureaucracies do play a role in the process of foreign policy formulation. Traditionally, information comes from and must have already been debated by officials of the relevant agencies that reflect all shades of views. In other words, factors that define a situation are usually complex and diverse because they involve a myriad of rival and competing institutions and interests. Examples of such government agencies include: the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Nigeria Institute of International Affairs (NIIA), the National Advisory Committee on Foreign Affairs or Policy (NACFP).

Self - Assessment Exercise

- Q1 From what you have learnt, outline any five points that are central to the definitions of situation in the process of formulation of foreign policy.
- Q2 How has public opinion influenced the process of foreign policy formulation in Nigeria?

Possible Answers

Q1 Answers found in 3.0 (second paragraph)

Q2 Answer found in 3.5

4.0 CONCLUSION

In this course, it is clear that the process of foreign policy formulation is never as pure and simple as was previously thought. On the contrary, it involves a myriad of processes laden with conflicting interests and values those involved in the

process. Up to this point, we have learnt what those processes are, and how factors impacts on them either individually or collectively. Because irrespective of the direction of the pull, conflict managers including the political leadership have always had to consider the widest possible choice to arrive at commonly accepted policy interest.

5.0 SUMMARY

The political executives, bureaucracies, legislatures political opposition, interest groups and the people are all involved in the process of foreign policy formulation. But irrespective of who is involved, human nature and characteristic factors have always come to the fore. These influence the groupthink, and groups are innumerable. Depending on the type of government and the issue at stake. The overall purpose is to get the best of foreign policy process.

Simplistically, as mentioned in this course, foreign policy is the prerogative of the political leadership and his advisers. The first activity in the process of formulation of foreign policy is to reconcile articulate conflicting domestic interest such that aggregate national objective can emerge. For, example, one issue was when Nigeria joined the organization of Islamic countries in 1987 Amid nation-wide outcry by Christians that the leadership (himself a moslem) was systemically disregarding the secular constitution and was systematically changing the face of

the Nigerian state with Islamism, the military regime of Babangida claimed that the move would enable Nigeria to borrow interest free loans from the organization. Another example is Nigeria's participation and financing of the Economic Community Peace Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) across West Africa, amid unpaid salaries at home.

The second activity, is that you must understand the international policies and attentions of other states and their implications (3) on your aggregate national interest. An example is the Bakassi peninsula crises between Cameroon and Nigeria. Another is the Saddam Hussain's invasion and annexation of Kuwait in his politics of revanchism claiming Kuwait as a renegade province (of Iraq). This led to the Allied intervention that liberated Kuwait in 1991. The interventionists claimed that Iraq had to legitimate reason under international law to involve a sovereign and independent Kuwait. It was also perceived that if Saddam Hussain got away with his action, he would stiffen the flow of oil from the Gulf region that service the Western industries.

The third, is that you proceed to bargain - a process of give and take in which you are expected to bring into operation the repertoire of are resources, incentives and inducements that are at your disposal. You give people (the other state) something they cannot refuse they will give you what you want.

The next activity is to formulate the course of action which has the chance of achieving result. In other to achieve result, course(s) of action(s) must be properly implemented.

Fifth is to wait for international reaction, and you modify as and when appropriate. This implies that foreign policy process is not a one-way affair. There is always a feedback or response to a states action from the international environment. This feedback with determine the future course of action.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- Q1 What do you understand by images, attitudes and values that influence the perception of event in the external environment by foreign policy decision makers?
- Q2 In the international political system, structural conditions do influence the process of formulation of foreign policy. Discuss.
- Q3 What is capacity? How is a nations – state's population relevant and it's capability?

Q4 Explain in simple terms, your understanding of the following: reconciling, understanding, bargaining, formulating, waiting for international reaction, as used in the course.

All question carry 2 ½ marks. The total score is 10 marks.

7.0 REFERENCE/FURTHER READING

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MODULE 3**UNIT 3 INSTRUMENTS FOR CONDUCTING FOREIGN POLICY****CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objective
- 3.0 Main Body
 - 3.1 Diplomacy
 - 3.2 Economic Instrument
 - 3.3 Psychological Instrument – Propaganda
 - 3.4 Military Weapon Instrument
 - 3.5 Cultural Instrument
 - 3.6 Imperialism and Colonialism
 - 3.7 War
- 8.0 Conclusion
- 9.0 Summary
- 10.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 11.0 Reference/further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This course unit, Instrument for Conducting Foreign Policy, is an introductory course for fresh students. After foreign policy is designed and objectives are set, the foreign policy so designed need to be conducted with instruments suited for the purpose. The choice of instruments are made because they have, through history, proven to be most effective for the peaceful conduct of interstate relations. If a war situation occurs in the process, it is because on or more of the instruments put at the disposal of the state for the achievement of peace situation have failed. In this course unit, we shall consider these instruments under the following sub-head: Diplomacy, Economic Instrument, Psychological Instrument, Techniques of Propaganda, Military Weapon & Instrument, Cultural Instrument.

Later in this course, you will find a self -assessment exercise meant for you to assess yourself on what you have learnt. The Tutor-marked assignment should be submitted to your tutor along with the form for formal assessment. You are encouraged to avail of references/further reading so you can broaden your horizon in this course.

2.0 OBJECTIVE

At the end of this course, the student would be able to familiarize himself with the instruments for conducting foreign policy and to match them with the objective of the state. No event in inter-state relations is exactly the same with the other - every event is unique and requires different sorts of foreign policy instruments, in the first instance. In each of the events, the student would be able to 'allocate' an instrument to a particular event even if he is not a decision-maker or a player in the event and even be able to predict the likely outcomes.

3.0 MAIN BODY

The instruments for conducting foreign policy generally refer to the means or mechanism used by states in conducting their relations with other states. These instruments include: diplomacy, economic instrument, military instrument, psychological instrument and cultural mechanisms. They constitute the main body of this course unit as we consider them as below:

3.1 Diplomacy

Of all the means of conducting inter-state relations, diplomacy is of primary importance in international relations. The term diplomacy has many definitions and different perceptions by scholars and practitioners alike. Some have used it as a synonym for foreign policy while others often interchange it for negotiation. There is also the popular usage of the word to mean a special skill or tact, care or politeness, or in an unsavory sense to mean duplicity or guile. In the opinion of Ernest Satow, diplomacy is "the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between government states, extending sometime also to their business with vassal states or more briefly put, the conduct of business between states by peaceful means". Roper describes diplomacy as "the science and art of representing states and negotiations. For example, Nigeria has long been engaged in negotiation with Cameroon over ownership of the Bakassi Peninsula. Because the method of establishing the pre-conditions for permanent peace and calling for permanent peace through accommodation is referred to as diplomacy - and so diplomacy is an instrument of foreign policy. Diplomacy means the promotion of national interest by peaceful means. War occurs because of the failure of diplomacy to achieve its primary objectives.

Diplomacy must employ the means suited to the pursuit of its objectives. It is the task of an intelligent diplomacy, intent upon preserving peace to choose the appropriate means at the disposal of diplomacy are three:

- (a) Persuasion
- (b) Compromise
- (c) Threat of force

No diplomacy relying upon the threat of force can claim to be both intelligent and peaceful. No diplomacy that would stake everything on persuasion and compromise deserves to be called intelligent. Generally, the diplomatic representative of a great power in order to be serve both the interests of his country and the interests of the peace, must at the same time used persuasion, hold out the advantages of a compromise and impress the other side the military strength of his country.

Functions of a Diplomat

1. **Representation:** The ambassador represents both the person and the power of his head of state. He is accorded almost the same courtesy; privileges and immunities as are normally accorded visiting heads of state. He does not speak for himself, but he is expected to carry out faithfully the instruction given him by his government. However, there are legal representation and political representation.
 - (a) **Legal Representation:** He is the legal agent of his country in the same sense in which a domestic corporation is represented by legal agents in other states. Nigeria Ambassador in the United States of America, for instance, performs in the name of the government of Nigeria the legal functions that the constitution of Nigeria and thee orders of the government allow him to perform. He can sign treaties if directed and protects legally Nigerian citizens in his host country.
 - (b) **Political Representation:** The diplomat, together with the foreign office, shape the foreign policy of his country. This is by far the most important function. Upon the diplomats shoulders lies the main burden of discharging at least one of the four main tasks of diplomacy i.e. assessing objectives of his country and those of other nations, getting themselves informed about the government to which they are accredited, evaluate potential influence upon government policies and always keeping his home government informed. He should be able to judge so as to avoid the worse consequences of bad foreign policy and obtain the good ones.
2. **Protection:** Diplomat are expected to protect their national interests and the interests of their citizens in their country of accreditation. This may involve making representations to their host governments or local authorities on behalf of their nationals or firms who have been denied their contractual or international agreement.
3. **Negotiation:** The subject of negotiation can range from treaty to other important agreements such as politics, economy, dispute resolution etc.

4. *Information:* It is a primary task of diplomats to keep their government informed about the conditions at their posts, as well as the policies information to ensure that there will be minimum discrepancies between the objective environment and the policy-makers' image of the environment.

Instruments of Diplomacy

In any state, the machinery of diplomacy is made up of two components. First, there is the home government ministry called various names in many countries. For instance, in Nigeria, it is called the Ministry of External Affairs; in Britain, it is called the Foreign Office and in the U.S.A., it is called Department of State. The second is the numerous diplomatic missions abroad i.e. the embassies, high commissions and consulates.

The Minister of External Affairs is the Chief Executive of the Ministry and he has the basic responsibility for the conduct of foreign policy. However, it should be noted that foreign policy does not emanate from the Ministry of External Affairs alone, rather, other ministries such as Defense, immigration, Internal Affairs etc. Play key roles. The diplomatic mission, which is the center of all diplomat activity headed by an Ambassador, has been described as the eyes, the ears and the mouth of the Ministry of External Affairs. It is the organ responsible for the executing of foreign policy and its day-to-day conduct. It - is also responsible for gathering necessary information about the country in which it is located and for supplying this information to the Ministry of External Affairs.

3.2 Economic Instrument

This constitutes another instrument for conducting inter-state relations. Rather than resorting to war in order to resolve a conflict situation. Certain economic devices could be used. It is an instrument that is widely employed as it is capable of being used in both peace and war, which means that it can be used symbolically as a double-edged sword. It can be used to reward and it can be used to punish. The main basis of a country's product can be manipulated by the suppliers for the purpose of attaining the latter policy objectives. The former also can manipulate the latter where the former has alternative sources of supply. The former can therefore get the latter to adopt policies. Which are beneficial to the former policy objectives.

Trade is the most noticeable and the most widely used instrument of an economic nature. The world today is a network of exchange of goods and services and it is valid to say that we live today in an interdependent world in which hardly any

nation can be said to be totally independent of others in respect to its national needs. The inter-dependence puts in the hands of state a major weapon with which they can manipulate other states to attain desired policy objectives. The normal processes of trade encourage friendship among states, hence states are perpetually involved in promoting trade and sorting out motions arising from such exchanges.

Apart from trade, the other forms of economic instruments are tariff, currency manipulation, Quota, Boycott, Embargo, Blockage, Sabotage, Aid and loans. For instance. Nigeria and other ECOWAS members imposed economic sanctions against the Koromah - led military government in Sierra-Leone for illegally seizing power from a democratically elected government of President Tejan Kabbah. In the same token, economic sanctions were imposed on Nigeria during Sanni Abacha regime by the European Union, Commonwealth of nations and the United States, following the country's poor human rights record, particularly the killing of the activist playwright - Ken Saro Wiwa and his eight other kinsmen.

One unique feature of the economic instrument of foreign policy is its flexibility or maneuverability. It can be used almost simultaneously to reward one state and punish another. A state may be given preferential trade terms by another state in order to encourage friendship and support while other may be deliberately excluded from such suppliers of preferential treatments in order to create problems for their economy and domestic interest capable of altering the policies of states or in fact bringing about a change of government.

The economic instrument is also useful and used in war situation as states at war known to engage in activities which are intended to undermine the economic capacities of their enemies and hence reduce the enemy's ability to fight back. Example is Iraq war, where each country targeted areas such as oil field and petroleum refinery tanks, was intended to undermine the economic base of military power.

3.3 Psychological Instrument-Propaganda

Psychological instrument comprises the various attempts and means by which government agitate the minds and emotions of people in other states. Basically, the psychological instruments are used to appeal to people rather than to government. Although, the ultimate intent is to get image on policy on the part of government by using their people as the pressure point.

One of the most used psychological instruments is propaganda. Propaganda is basically a verbal instrument i.e. articulated in word and it is the systemic method of influencing the minds, emotions for a specific purpose.. In its simple term,

propaganda refers to the manipulation and distortion of information in order to achieve one's interest and defeat the interest of an opponent. It is used to make favourable image of one self and unfavourable image of others. Some countries can be painted bad in the international milieu. Its is also used to persuade other to see things in one's way. Propaganda is often selfish to attain its policy objective.

This can be done through radio, film, pamphlets and other instruments for creating favorable image for a country's foreign policy objectives. It involves extensive use of mass media. Iraq used propaganda to project a bad image of U.S. in the hostage issue and Reagan also used it to damage the prestige of Libya. Also, past and present governments in Nigeria have often resorted to this means whenever they wanted to justify their actions on certain sensitive issues that have ramifying effects on other states or the international community.

Most states today, maintain external broadcasting services such as VOA. BBC external services. Some of these stations are less exploited in the propaganda function than others. For example, the BBC and the VOA appear to give detailed information on world events. But for the most parts such information can be so doctored and so detailed as to undermine the credibility of the information supplied by domestic radio stations within the existing constraints of governmental censorship.

Basically, there are two types of propaganda., namely; external propaganda and internal propaganda. External propaganda is one in which countries image could be projected badly or favourably outside and within the international realm. This is done with the intention of making such a country take a define course of action. Internal propaganda is done within a nation -state on issues that are domestic nature or an issue that deal with domestic policy and decisions. Propaganda techniques include:

1. *Name Calling:* This is projecting individuals or individuals states bad names. For example, Gaddafi of Libya was once named the “mad man of Middle East” by U.S. States can be given such names so as to curb its excesses.
2. *Glittering Generality:* This is done to describe policies and ideas. It is a way of putting across one's policies and ideas to the outside world in such a way to make them attractive. Acceptable and command both sympathy and respect.
3. *Systematic dismantling,* elimination or obstruction of rival sources of news and information through the process of condemning and banning publication from a rival group or actor.
4. *Telling lies in the guise of truth:* It was used by Hitler.
5. *Institutional advertising:* This is to make favorable and damaging in the

newspaper, radio and television. It is a way of educating people to win them to one's side.

3.4 Military Weapon/Instrument

This is a major weapon or mechanism for conducting inter-state relations. It involves the use of force, terrorist attack and military coercion in conducting foreign policy objective of states. Because of its violent nature, it is often used as a last resort when, for instance, diplomacy and other mechanisms of achieving peaceful settlement of disputes failed.

Military instrument of policy can sometimes be classified under economic policy, because it aids or supplements the resources of states in their military programmes. For example, a state may receive a subsidized consignment of military hardware. This will free some of its resources for some of its programmes of economic development. However, military instruments of policy have enough unique features for us to categorize them separately.

The most important role of military instrument is that of providing a background of assurance and stability for diplomacy. This means that military power is a major accompaniment of diplomacy or the ability to attain policy objectives. Military instrument can be used for or against. It can also be used a threat.

In 1991, the United Nations Allied forces led by the United States went to war against Iraq when series of negotiation failed to resolve the Gulf crises between Iraq and Kuwait.

The following is the list military instruments:

- Military agreements either bilateral or multilateral, either loose or solid or in defence pact.
- Supply of military hardware at subsidies rate
- Supply of military technical assistance and advice.
- Supply of domestic military assistance such as military presence to a country in crisis or conflict with another.
- Direct participation as an alloy in other people's wars.
- Provision of military intelligence to other countries.
- Military subversions, coups d'etat, assassinations etc.
- War is also an instrument of policy as von Clausewitz "is an admixture of Policy".

3.5 Cultural Instrument

This is becoming increasingly useful in conducting inter-state relations. It is often used as a major political weapon in sports and other cultural activities. For

instance, in 1976, Nigeria led other members of the Organisation of Africa Unity (OAU) to boycott the Montreal Olympic Games to protest the tour to apartheid South Africa by New-Zealand's Rugby players and the refusal of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) to excluded New Zealand. Similarly, in 1978, Nigeria led other African countries in the Commonwealth of Nations to boycott the Edmonton Commonwealth Games to protest New-Zealand sporting-links with apartheid South Africa, which contravened United Nations embargo on such links. Nigeria, in 1996 boycotted the African Nations. Cup competition held -in-:South Africa to protest that country's hard-line towards the killing of Saro-Wiwa and his other kinsmen. Imperialism and, colonialism and, war are also instruments for the conducting foreign policy.

3.6 Imperialism and Colonialism

Imperialism can be seen as the domination or control by one country or group of people over others. Imperialism is "...employments of the engines of government and diplomacy to acquire territory, protectorates, and or spheres of influence occupied usually by other race or peoples, and to promote industrial trade, and investment opportunities". Charles A. Beard (1946). The precise nature and the causes of imperialism, its consequences, and the period, which exemplifies it, are all disputed.

Defenders of modern imperialism and colonialism long pleaded their case in terms of the White Man's Burden. They argue that it was the obligation of advanced nations to help the people of "Backward" nations – to "civilize" and "Christianize" them, to teach them the dignity of labour, and to impress upon them the beauties of their own (the metropolises) concepts of law and order. They added that colonialism was a necessary prelude to the emergence of most of the free and independent states of the world and to the twentieth – century awakening of Africa, Asia and Latin America. They talked about roads, medicine, schoolhouses, trade and self – government.

Critics view imperialism differently. Their indictment was filled with such words as war, brutality, exploitation, misery, hatred and degradation. The so-called new imperialism was the imposition of colonial rule by European countries especially in the "scramble for Africa" by about 1886,centuries after Arab conquest and domination of parts of Africa. In terms the motivating forces of imperialism, Vladimir Lenin focused on economic factors, the national pursuit of new markets and sources of raw materials. Lenin argues in *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1917), that imperialism is an economic necessity of the industrialized capitalist economies, seeking to offset the declining tendency of the rate of profit, by exporting capital. It is the monopoly stage of capitalism.

Informal imperialism is said to render direct political control unnecessary, in the presence of other ways of exercising domination, for example, through technological superiority of the free trade imperialism of a leading economic power, and cultural imperialism.

“Economic imperialism” and “cultural imperialism” would appear to be special kinds of imperialism. Foreign trade, foreign investments, and transnational companies are everywhere, and some aspects of the cultures of many states have found their way into many other states. In Africa, particularly in Nigeria, the increasing demand for hamburgers and Chinese fried rice and noodles account for the penetrative cultural influence of America and Asia respectively. These influences on the economic and cultural lives of target state(s) form the policy instrument of the predator state(s).

Because of the fruit of imperialism - the subordinate areas variously called possessions, colonies, protectorates, semi-protectorates, and dependent states - have long been regarded as valuable to the controlling state - they have been eagerly sought. The motives and techniques of modern imperialism were enormously varied and complex. The leading motives appear to have been : economic gain, national prestige, “the White Man’s Burden”, national defence, surplus population, and in the Marxist - Leninist view, the expansion of capitalism.

Colonialism is the policy and practice of a strong power extending its control territorially over a weaker nation or people. Colonialism is more often thought of as an attribute of the made nineteenth - century imperialists who conquered large tracts of land around the globe (vast empire) and began projecting themselves as people with a “civilizing” mission. It is usually used pejoratively to denote an unwarranted sense of racial superiority and set of attitudes, beliefs and practices that sprang from this sense. It has been often argued that racism and xenophobia are colonialism brought home. Colonialism has also its modern dress in the form of economic control, intellectual control and actual physical control by a small but alien community within a nation.

The most significant thing about imperialism and colonialism (Palmer and Perkins, 2001) is not that they cannot be precisely defined or that they cannot always be distinguished from each other. It is that both terms refer to a superior - inferior relationship, and that hundred of millions of people, particularly in Africa and Asia, have resolved to abandon their historic role as inferiors and to assert their equality with the people of the erstwhile colonial powers. In the current practice, the two wars are used almost interchangeably. We shall not try to preserve the distinction in the present discussion

Slavery and Colonialism are also of concern to us. Agwuncha Arthor Nwankwo (1995), in his vivid historical account writes that some forms of internal slavery existed in Africa at the very earliest times, but slavery as an organized trade, and as the causative factor in the large-scale depopulation, dislocation, and dispersal of entire peoples and civilization came to Africa from the Arabs. Nwankwo writes that from the end of the Eleventh Dynastic period in the greater Egyptian Empire to the revolt of the white slaves in 1250 AD, a large section of Africa came under Arab rule. Consequentially, the remnants of Black population in these arrears were enslaved as manual laborers. Similarly, occasional slave raides were conducted in the southern region, which were Black. Inevitably, slavery received a great boost with the ascendancy of Islam in the 7th century AD.

Ultimately, Arab adventurism and Islamic expansionism created a slave-oriented imperialism that is today understood as the trans-Saharan slave trade. It may not be possible to quantify the exact African loss in material terms in all this periods of Arab domination wars and enslavement, but it is safe to say that millions of lives were lost, while billions of dollars worth of material, economic and natural resources were exploited, carted away or destroyed. Resent examples of the collapse of the ancient Ghana, Mali and Songhai empires, the dominant position of Islam in the subsequently conquered entities and its strategic foothold in various parts of the Western Sahara, Nigeria, Sudan, Somalia, Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania are legacies of Arab imperialism, enslavement and colonialism. In some of these states, systematic Arabization and Islamization of native African population have been a source of dissent and civil wars. Thus, the Arabs have humiliated Africans unwarrantedly several centuries before the arrival of the Europeans in Africa, and as such, any examination of conquest, imperialism and colonialism must necessarily begin with the Arabs and then the Europeans and the trans-Atlantic slave trade that eventually followed.

3.7 War

War is thought to involve armed conflict between two or more parties usually fought for political ends. The main focus of the idea of war is on the use of force between large-scale political units such as states or empires, usually over control of territory- its all about power. War makes anything like normal existence impossible. It destroys and ruins lives, it imposes immense burden on national economies and imperils the freedom of everyone, it endangers man's very existence on this planet. It is the great cause of the international society, the endemic disease of the nation-state system. Today, the term "war" is used in many different ways, as for example, cold war, hot war, limited war, total war, conventional war, unconventional war, civil war, guerilla war, preventive war, political warfare, propaganda war, psychological war fare, race war, tribal war,

gang war and so forth. The Communists often use such terms as “imperialist war”, “economic war”, “trade war” and “wars of national liberation”.

Some of these are metaphors exploiting the image of ruthless and violent conflict over political ends taken from international relations and transferred to actors, other than states. In a legal sense, states can be at war without actually using force against each other, but merely by declaring themselves to be in a state of war (phoney war). Conversely, states can be using force against each other in quite a large-scale without actually making formal declaration that they are in a state of war. The political element in wars blurs messily between the international system and civil wars, preventing any clear location of the phenomenon at the inter-state level. At both levels, wars are often about dispute over sovereignty and territory. The other face of “war” could be seen in the fact that Arab and European imperialists and colonizers of Africa came armed with brutal force and thus, put the territories in a state of war, but without formally declaring it.

Self - Assessment Exercise

- Q1 What are the three means at the disposal of diplomacy as an instrument of foreign policy?
- Q2 What are the military instruments used for the implementation of foreign policy?

Possible Answers

- Q1 Answers found in 3.1
- Q2 Answer found in 3.5

4.0 CONCLUSION

You have been introduced to the conduct instruments used for conducting foreign policy. It is the responsibility of the political executives to make effective use of the instruments because if they fail, a war as policy by other means, can occur. War is a costlier instrument of pursuing a national interest objective because enormous resources are brought to bear including ultimate sacrifices. It's even worse to lose a war. We also learnt about the importance of diplomacy among other instruments. All of this is located mostly within the framework of a democratic state vis-à-vis the international system. Authoritarian- governments are

likely to disregard the full stretch of diplomacy in favour of other options including coercion, force or threat of force.

5.0 SUMMARY

There are various instruments for conducting foreign policy. Diplomacy is the most important peaceful means. Other means assume the nature of economic, psychological, propaganda, military, cultural and even imperialism and colonialism. Depending on the situation of the external environment, military means is almost always the last option.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- Q1 Define diplomacy. What are the functions of a diplomat?
- Q2 In the implementation of foreign policy, economic instrument can be a double - edged sword. Explain.
- Q3 How is the psychological instrument used in the implementation of foreign policy that you have learnt?
- Q4 (a) What are the techniques of propaganda?
(b) Give an example of cultural instrument.

Each answer carries 2 ½ marks. The total score is 10 marks.

7.0 REFERENCE/FURTHER READING

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MODULE 3**UNIT 4 STRUCTURES AND INSTITUTIONS FOR FOREIGN
POLICY IMPLEMENTATION****CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objective
- 3.0 Main Body
 - 3.1 Political Executives
 - 3.2 Ministries/Bureaucracy
 - 3.3 Legislatures
 - 3.4 Interest Groups
 - 3.5 Diplomatic Corps
 - 3.6 Law Enforcement Agents
 - 3.7 Armed forces
 - 3.8 Miscellaneous
 - 3.9 Requirements for successful Foreign Policy
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor – Marked Assignment
- 7.0 7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

There are two major stages of the process of foreign policy-the making and the implementation (or the carrying out) of policy. As we have learnt, the making of foreign policy is the exclusive business of government. So important is foreign policy to the achievement of the national interest of the state, that most political executives will oversee and control the policy process. Having made the key decisions, they then hand them over to their foreign departments for implementation. In this course, we shall be concerned with the structures and institutions involved in foreign policy implementation - prominent among them are: the political executives, the ministries/Departments/relevant ones), the Diplomatic Corps, the law enforcement agents, the Armed Forces and the Miscellaneous factors. There is a self-assessment exercise for you to assess

yourself. You must do the Tutor-marked assignment and submit together with the form to your tutor for formal assessment.

2.0 OBJECTIVE

The study is meant to inculcate to the student the idea that, it is not enough to initiate, and process foreign policy. Foreign policy has to be operationalized before it can bring in the expected results. For this to happen, there are structures and institutions that are specially involved. This study introduces the student to the established and informal inputs to the implementation of foreign policy. The student learns that implementation requires skillful employment of human, financial and other resources in order to achieve the desired objective.

3.0 MAIN BODY

3.1 Political Executives

These are the Hand of Government and his Ministers particularly the Foreign Affairs minister (who assists the leadership of his country in the process of foreign policy making) while other ministers assist mainly in ironing out foreign policy and balancing it with domestic policy. These executives perform the relevant clerical functions.

Most chief executives are for example, designated as the commanders in chief of their country's armed forces. This gives them important and often unilateral authority to use the military political executives also possess important informal powers. Their personal prestige is often immense, and skilled leaders can use their powers and can go ahead to implement them. As noted earlier, the informal standing of the chief executive as leader can be particularly powerful during times of crisis when other action leaders, legislatures and public opinion tend to rally in support of the chief executive and whatever policy that leader has chosen to respond to the crises.

Thus, while the chief executive in most democratic countries possesses formal and informal foreign policy powers that are greater than their domestic authority, they are not absolute monarchs. The spread of democracy and the increasingly *intermestic* nature of policy mean that political leaders must often engage in a two-level game in which each national leader plays both the international and domestic games simultaneously. (Thurmbore 1998: 546, and Boyer 1996). The strategy of a two-level game is based on the reality that to be successful, diplomats have to negotiate at the international level with the representatives of other countries and at the domestic level with the legislators, bureaucrats, interest groups and the public in the diplomat's- own country. The object is to produce- a "win-win"

agreement that satisfies both the international counterparts and the powerful domestic actors, such as to "capture" the willingness of both to support the accord.

3.2 Ministries/Bureaucracies

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (or the Department of State in the case of USA), or Foreign and Commonwealth Office in the case of UK), and similar institutions serve as the link between each country and the outside world. It provides the manpower and the relevant channels of communication for the implementation of foreign policy. Other ministries lend their support if and as at when due. For example, Ministry of Internal Affairs will be involved in a policy relating to aliens whether legal or illegal. It also controls the Police Force and the immigration and customs, deportation of foreigner and so forth. As we already learnt, bureaucrats often favor one policy option over another based on their general sense of their unit's mission and how they should conduct themselves. How a policy will affect the organization is also an important factor in creating bureaucratic perspective. Often what a given bureaucracy will or will not favor makes intuitive sense. The military of any country will almost certainly oppose arms reduction or cuts in defense spending because such policies reduce the military bureaucracy's resources and influence. Yet it is important to state that the stereotypic view that the military is always happy to go to war is not accurate. Irrespective of where the flashpoint or troubled spot is in the world, the military has been a main center of opposition to intervention within the government, and especially to the use of ground forces. As former US chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General (and latter Secretary of State), Colin Powell puts it "politicians start wars, soldiers fight and die in them".

Implementation is a powerful bureaucratic tool. The bureaucracy influences policy through the manner in which they carry it out. To a substantial degree, bureaucrats have discretion to carry out policy within broad parameters set down by decision-makers. When they have options, it is normal for an official to choose the one that fits with his or her policy outlook. That implementation may inadvertently vary from what policy makers might have wished. At times, bureaucrats can consciously attempt to delay, change, or ignore -a decision or try to seize the initiative and act on their own.

3.3 Legislatures

It is known that the leadership has historically run foreign policy in virtually all countries, especially in, time of war and other crises. There is that axiom that "politics should stop at the water's edge". The belief is that a unified national voice is important to a successful foreign policy. Even more commonly, *intermestic* issues are involved that directly affect constituents and interest groups in the

legislator's electoral districts and spark legislative activity which include the manner in which the foreign policy issue at stake is implemented.

3.4. Interest Groups

Interest groups are seen to be insignificant when it comes to implementation of foreign policy. The reality is that though they may not contribute as significantly as the formally established government structures and institutions, they do involve in the foreign policy implementation in various ways. Many countries have ethnic, racial, religious or other cultural groups that have emotional or political ties to another country. For instance, as a country made up of immigrants, the United States is populated by many who maintain a level of identification with their African, Cuban, Irish, Mexican, Jewish, Polish and other heritages and who are active on behalf of policies that favour their ancestral homes.

Economic group are another form of interest activity. They make demands though often contradictory for both protection from foreign competition and for pressure for other governments to open up their markets. As international trade increases, both sales overseas and competition from other countries are vital markets to many companies. They lobby their home governments for favorable domestic legislation and for support in conflict or dispute situations with the government of a host country in which it is operating.

Another category of interest groups is the issue-oriented group. These groups are not based on any narrow socio-economic category such as ethnicity or economics. Instead, they draw their membership from people who have a common policy goal. The concern of issue-oriented group run the gamut from the very general to the specific issues. For example, the United Nations Association of the United States brings together Americans who support the UN. At the general end of the spectrum, the Council on Foreign Relations draws together some 1,500 influential (elite) Americans who hold an internationalist point of view, and the council's journal, "Foreign Affairs" serves as a forum for circulating the views of the elite. During late 2001, the military campaign against the Taliban was not the only one waged by the Northern Alliance of Afghanistan. The coalition also hired a US lobbying firm, spending -at least. \$150,000 to have Philips Smith E. Associates help persuade officials in Washington to grant the Northern Alliance a strong role in the post -Taliban government of Afghanistan. Rourke E. Boyer (2003).

3.5 Diplomatic Corps

These are made up of ambassadors, high commissioners, military advisers and their staff-the clerical. Their job is mainly to pass information from their home government to the host government and vice-versa as regards decisions taken at home that affect the host government and its citizens. It is important to state that a state's missions abroad do not just pass information from home to the host

country, but by and explain and educate the government and people of their host countries regarding the policies of their home government. They do this in many ways with the ultimate aim of projecting a positive image of their home governments. It can also be stated that some embassies and high commissioners do more than just exchange information between governments, some are fully involved in espionage activities. Functions of diplomats are treated in the earlier unit, and Diplomacy is treated later in this course (206).

3.6 Law Enforcement Agents

They participate in foreign policy execution whether internal or external. The police, for example, will be involved in the expulsion of unwanted elements - most of whom could be aliens. However, this policy can attract a retaliatory response from abroad. The international police (Interpol) are involved in the execution of orders of indictment of persons the circumstances of which are of international nature. There can be counter expulsion and confiscation of other nation's assets. When in Uganda, Idi Amin expelled the British citizens, Britain confiscated Ugandan properties as a counter measure

3.7 Armed Forces

Armed forces constitute the power base for executing foreign policy. Nations that lack credible military power base do not have foreign policy in the real sense because when all else fail, the determinant of who stands is the military. The Arabic-Islamic factor in West African history involved military action of some sort. The military is also used in executing ideological policy. During the cold war, the USSR drive for areas of influence in areas in the world including Africa, and the United State's policy of containment of that ideology, all had military element in them. In Tanzania, the Nyerere's policy on Idi Amin's regime was finally executed by the military invasion of Uganda. The colonization and subjugation of African societies in the days of colonialism were effected by Military might. Africans were unable to match the European onslaught with superior firepower.

3.8 Miscellaneous Factors

The people are necessary in implementing foreign policy. This can be done in several ways including these two: First, giving government the necessary home base support and also in helping to execute foreign policy especially where it concerns war (enlist in armed forces) intelligence service - underground agents in foreign policy execution. People can identify foreign enemy and also help nations overthrow government they do not want.

3.9 Requirements for A Successful Foreign Policy

A nation's foreign policy is said to be successful to the extent that it has achieved its objectives without sacrifices that outweigh their resources and surpass their

objectives. As such, success in foreign policy depends on the nation or person viewing it. This said, the requirements for success include the following:

- a) Foreign policy must be based on accuracy for realistic assessment. In other words, to be able to assess whether a foreign policy succeeds or not, such policy must have been executed as accurately as possible with all diligence on the part the personnel concerned.
- b) It must be firmly anchored on public i.e. foreign policy must meet the appeal of the domestic public and leaders alike.
- c) Foreign policy must be backed by adequate resources. Financial resources and influence are the backbone of foreign policy. Therefore in order to maximize foreign policy success, it must be backed with substantial resources.
- d) Finally, fortune must "smile" on a state's foreign policy i.e. irrespective of the amount of resources committed, it still need good luck. This is very important in the sense that there are several instances whereby two or more states pursue similar objectives but while one was successful, the other was not, even though they both put the resources at their disposal towards the attainment of such objectives.

Self-Assessment Exercise

Q1 From what you have learnt, about foreign policy implementation, national leaders play *intermestic* game simultaneously comment.

Q2 What role do people play in the implementation of foreign policy?

Possible Answers

Q1 Answer found in 3.1 (Third paragraph)

Q2 Answer found in 3.8.

4.0 CONCLUSION

This unit has taken us through the making and the implementation of foreign policy. It also highlighted the various levels of authorities associated with the subject. It is now clear that it is one thing to process foreign policy, and implementing it is another. It is even equally important that responses from the external environment are taken into account because it is important to "test the water", and the adjust the policy so formulated before it can be projected. And, there are requirements for a successful foreign policy.

5.0 SUMMARY

A set of structural and institutional factors are at the center of implementation of foreign policy both from within and from the outside. These include the political executives, bureaucratic organizations, interest groups, the diplomatic corps, law enforcement agents, armed forces, and miscellaneous factors. The study concludes by wading into the requirement of a successful foreign policy.

6.0 TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- Q1 How is foreign policy implementation is a powerful bureaucratic tool.?
- Q2 How do interest groups partake in the implementation of foreign policy?
- Q3 What is the role of armed forces in the implementation of foreign policy?
- Q4 What makes a successful foreign policy?

Each answer carries 2 ½ marks. The total score is 10 marks

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MODULE 4**UNIT 1****NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY****CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objective
- 3.0 Main Body
 - 3.1 Nature of Nigeria's Foreign Policy
 - 3.2 Objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Apart from the generalities of foreign policy interests and concerns, states both strong and weak all have foreign policy ingredients that are peculiar to his historical facts, ideology and geo-political circumstance. There are factor that states must consider in their response to external stimuli. This course introduces fresh students to the role of these factors in the determination of the objectives, principles and determinants of Nigeria's foreign policy.

2.0 OBJECTIVE

The objective of this course is to bring the study of foreign policy home. The student learns to compare (and perhaps contrast) what he has learnt earlier about foreign policy in general terms and what he is about to learn in particularistic terms. At the end of this course unit, he should be able to locate Nigeria from the standpoint of her foreign policy posture, in and among the comity of nations.

3.0 MAIN BODY

3.1 Nature of Nigeria's Foreign Policy

From the dictates of the circumstances of Nigeria's geographic contiguity Nigeria's geopolitical and strategic situation, size and stature of her national power, Nigeria, is known for her Diplomatic option in the resolution (or at least in the management) of regional as also international conflict. On those occasions when Nigeria has picked up arms, they have been for peace-keeping or peace monitoring purposes - it has never been involved in armed conflict with any sovereign and independent country since her independence in 1960. Although prior to 1960, it was involved in other wars including the world war II, it did so under the British flag. In her conduct of foreign policy, Nigeria has always availed of functional vehicles in the nature of ECOWAS, OAU/AU, UNO, OPEC, Non-Alignment and so forth. Her advocate of good-neighborliness and peaceful resolution of conflict among other things has earned her a place of pride as opinion leader in regional African affairs, and to some extent, in the world. Consequently, Nigeria has and has never failed to use her capacity to influence outcomes positively at least at the regional level.

It can also be stated that so long as Nigeria remains on track with her magnanimity towards her neighbors and does not abandon her belief in peaceful settlement of disputes as well as operate a foreign policy that is not perceived to be antagonistic to the big powers lurking around her borders, Nigeria could enjoy a period of relative peace. However, a non-antagonistic policy towards the big powers presupposes that Nigeria's national interest will, or do coincide with those of the big powers operating in and around Nigeria or out-rightly in the international system. This is certainly not so and it will be seen in the subsequent units.

3.2 Objective of Nigeria's foreign policy

The main objective of Nigeria's foreign policy and on which others are anchored is the promotion of the national interest of the federation and of its citizens in its interaction with the outside world. This in essence means that Nigeria's foreign policy like that of any other country ought to be fundamentally guided by its national interest. There is a general agreement in Nigeria that these national interest include:

- The defense of our sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity.
- The creation of the necessary political and economic conditions in Africa and the rest of the world which will facilitate the defense of the independence and territorial integrity.
- The creation of the necessary political and economic conditions in Africa and the rest of the world which will facilitate the defense of the

- independence and territorial integrity of all African countries while at the same time, foster national self-reliance and rapid economic development.
- The promotion of equality and self-reliance in Africa and the rest of the developing world.
- The promotion and the defense and respect for human dignity especially the dignity of the blackmen, and
- The defense and promotion of world peace and security.

Nigeria's foreign policy operates within three concentric circles. The inner most circle consists of Nigeria's policy towards its neighbors in West Africa, the inner one is her policy towards the rest of Africa and the outer circle is policy toward the larger international system. Indeed, in practical terms and for security and political reasons, the federal government authorities consider the entire West Africa as Nigeria's security and political sphere, hence its policy towards and relations with its neighbors as of utmost priority. Driven by this and other reasons, for example, Nigeria initiated the establishment of the Chad Basin. Commission and the River Niger Commission in 1964 and the Economic Community of West African States in 1975.

African is regarded as the second area of priority chiefly because of Nigeria's geographic location in the continent, her vast natural including mineral resources and also partly out of Pan African sentiment. These reasons largely account for Nigeria's various attempts to promote unity, solidarity and, cooperation in both within and outside what was the Organization of African Unity OAU (now known and called the African Union (AU)). The third area of priority is policy toward the rest of the world.

3.3 Principles of Nigeria's Foreign Policy

Since independence, twelve different regimes have emerged in Nigeria: Balewa, Ironsi, Gowon, Muritala, Obasanjo, Shagari, Buhari, Babangida, Shonekan, Abacha, Abubakar and Obasanjo and now Yar' Adua. In spite of their different orientations and leadership styles, the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy has been publicly proclaimed by them to be guided by the same principles which are also in conformity with the well-established principles of traditional law as well as the charter of the organization of African Unity OAU or AU). They are:

- Sovereign equality of all states
- Respect of territorial integrity and independence of other states
- Non-interference in the internal affairs of other states.
- Commitment to self-determination and independence of other states

- Commitment to functional approach as a means of promoting co-operation and peaceful co-existence in Africa and the whole world known as multilateralism.
- Non-alignment to any geopolitical power bloc. Commitment to Africa as the cornerstone and nerve-center of Nigeria's foreign policy.

We will highlight these as below:

1. *Sovereign Equality of all States:* As an independent sovereign state, Nigeria has always emphasized the principle of legal equality of all states. This is in conformity with her conviction that a well-ordered and peaceful society requires mutual and reciprocal respect for the interests and opinions of most if not all the national actors. The principle is also to protect the small and or relatively weaker states like Nigeria, which are highly susceptible to control, dominance and coercion by the more powerful and industrialized states. Hence Nigeria, since the Balewa government in 1960 up to the present dispensation of Yar 'Adua in 2007, has through her foreign policy pronouncements and actions that in spite of comparative advantage in size, population and resources over many other countries in Africa, particularly in West Africa, she would neither seek to dominate, other countries nor carry out aggressive military action against them comparative advantage in size, population and resources over many other countries in Africa, particularly in West Africa, she would neither seek to dominate, other countries nor carry out aggressive military action against them. Rather, Nigeria prefers to play a leadership role. This has governed Nigeria's relation with Cameroun despite many provocations on Bakassi claim.

2. *Respect of Territorial integrity and independence of other states.* This is related to the sovereign quality of other states. It is in the belief of Nigeria that the independence of any sovereign state must be respected, and that the territorial integrity of any states must be jealously guarded and not jeopardized.

3. *Non-Interference in the Internal Affairs of other states:* This principle is perhaps one of those that have never been maintained by successive administrations in Nigeria. One of the reasons often cited for this is the protection of the nation's security interests. This accounted for Nigeria's intervention in the Chadian internal crisis involving Goukoni Wedeye and Hissain Habre in the 1980s. It was the lunch of the Nigerian government that the conflict in a neighboring state posed security problem for her. On the other hand, Nigeria's intervention in the Liberian and Sierra Leonean domestic crises was essentially to justify her regional power stations and perception of her leadership role in the sub-region.

4. *Commitment to Self-determination and Independence of other states:* This is a principle that Nigeria has always maintained since independence. It is for this reason that she has remained persistent in her commitment towards decolonization in Africa and her active role in support of Liberation struggle particularly in Southern Africa. It was indeed in recognition of this role in African liberation that Nigeria was consistently accorded the chairmanship of the United Nation's Committee on Anti-Apartheid for several years.

5. *Commitment to Functional Approach as a means of Promoting Cooperation and Peaceful Co-existence in Africa:* This is the principle of multilateralism. Driven by her strong belief and commitment to this principle, Nigeria has sought membership in various international organizations at both global and regional levels. Upon her attainment of independence in 1960, the country instantly joined the United Nations Organization (UNO). Nigeria also played active role in the formation of OAU in 1963, and propelled, in collaboration with Togo, the establishment of ECOWAS in 1975. The country has been playing a front line role in these organizations. For instance, she has been both chairman of the UN General Assembly and a member of the Security Council on different occasions. Nigeria has also been chairman of both the OAU and ECOWAS on a number of occasions.

6. *Non-alignment to any Geopolitical Power Bloc:* It is a foreign policy principle when rejects formal military alliance with and routine political support for the west or the East in the post-world War II, Cold war international system. At independence, Nigeria under Balewa was perceived to behave in the principle of non-alignment. The belief was however, contradicted at the country was flagrantly allying with Britain, the erstwhile colonial power. The most practical manifestation of alignment and pro-western policy of the Balewa government was the Anglo-Nigeria Defence pact of 1961 which was only abrogated in 1962 as a direct result of criticisms and violent protest by student organization. However, the experience of the nations civil war in which the Western countries were not fourth coming to assist Nigeria in the way she wanted changed the country's perception about these countries and since 1968, up to the end of the civil war, Nigeria was playing an active role in the Non-aligned movement.

7. Another operating principle of Nigeria's foreign policy is that Africa is the corner-stone and nerve centre of Nigeria's foreign policy. In recognition the historical and geographical facts that Nigeria belongs to Africa and convinced of what Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe called "the historic mission and manifest destiny of Nigeria on African content", the various Nigerian governments have been consistent that Africa must and would claim first attention in Nigeria external relations and occupation.

3.4 Determinants of Nigeria's Foreign Policy

Certain basic factors influence a state's foreign policy. As F. S. Northedge has already demonstrated earlier in module 2 of this course, "The foreign policy of a country is a product of environmental factors - both internal and external to it".

3.4.1 Domestic Environment

Under the domestic environment, the factors are as follows:

1. *Political Structure of the Country:* This is an important determinant of Nigeria's foreign policy. Nigeria's federal structure reflects a multi-ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious setting. The political elites who have virtually unrestricted influence on the country foreign policy are products of the multi-ethnic and traditional forces. Their perception of foreign policy is this a reflection of these domestic realities. This among others was exemplified during the debate on Nigeria's membership of the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) and the resumption of diplomatic relations with Israel.

2. *Economic Factor:* The structure of a state's economy is a major determinant of its behaviour vis-a-vis the external environment. In general terms, economic development has been one of the principal objectives of the various Nigeria administrations. The result is that Nigeria's foreign policy has been conditioned by economic considerations. Strong economic base underpins the foreign policy of any country. It is a strong potential in pursuing virile and vibrant foreign policy. Economic independence and self-reliance matter much in foreign relationships. If one depends on others, then they will determine one's decision, policies and therefore one's destiny.

Nigeria's economy is largely neo-colonial in structure, depending on export of primary products and imports of finished goods. This has located the economy within the international division of labour frame-work and as such has remained under developed and has in turn stalled a dynamic foreign policy.

However, the Mohammed/Obasanjo administration of the 1980s was able to maximize the opportunities presented by the oil boom period of the 1970s to pursue actively a dynamic foreign policy. Thereafter, Nigeria has suffered economic down turn beginning 1985. Although Nigeria is richly endowed with human, natural and material resources, the problem has been one of transforming these potential power into actual power. The point is that by the reason of weak economic base, she looks to Europe and America for financial and developmental assistance. Hence, a dependent economy such as Nigerian would almost always be challenged in its conduct of self-based vigorous and dynamic foreign policy abroad.

3. Military Factor: The ultimate arbitrator in cases of interactions and disputes between states is military force. States that are more militarily powerful usually hold the day. The possession of seaports and aircrafts for the purpose of war can be used for adventurous foreign policy. A well-trained, well-equipped and well fed military personnel are much effective in decisive military action. More importantly, intelligent people should be in charge of military decisions.

In the absence of a reasonably credible military, Nigeria is challenged to pursue a dynamic, revolutionary or radically progressive foreign policy. Due to lack of national military industrial complex, the Nigerian military has had to rely on institutions for its inventory. Because the Nigerian military relies on the West Countries.

3. Geopolitical Location of the Country: The position and location also influences the foreign policy of a state. The physical resources of such countries can also determine their behaviour in the external world. A country that has access to the Sea is more endowed and advantageous than a land locked one. In this context Nigeria has access to the sea and as such, it has a geo-political advantage. This can be a reason that land-locked states like Chad and Nigeria would not afford a hostile foreign policy posture vis-à-vis. Nigeria, on the other hand, a combination of national power including geo-political location afford Nigeria to position itself as a rallying point in African regional affairs.

4. Biographic Factors: This refers to the character and culture of the governing elite. A major determinant of Nigeria's foreign policy is the character of the political leadership whether in a democratic or authoritarian rule. The dynamism or otherwise, the ideology or self-interest of the rulers all influence a country's foreign policy in varying degrees. For instance, during the first republic, Balewa's foreign policy was largely conservative and pro-Western, whereas the Mohammed/Obasanjo government had a dynamic, active and aggressive foreign policy posture in the late 1970s.

5. Public Opinion and Pressure Groups: Governments whether socialist, communist, capitalist, democratic or military do not take decisions which are largely at variance with the wishes of the generality of the people including the civil society, the press, civil servants, trade unions, academics and so forth. In a democratic society, the position of the opponent is also taken into account. Again the abrogation of the Anglo-Nigerian Defense Pact of 1962 represented government's response to group pressure. However, as a practical matter, Nigerian decision makers have often formulated on an exclusive basis, relying mainly on the kitchen cabinet.

6. *Demographic Factor*: Population constitutes an important indicator of a country's power potential and thus influences its foreign policy. The human resources and even more important, the quality of the population all influence a country's foreign policy. The articulate nature of the citizenry, for instance, influences the foreign policy decisions that are taken on certain sensitive issues. The more enlightened the citizens, the higher their level of understanding of foreign issues and the greater their willingness to influence government decisions on those issues. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) loan was rejected by Nigeria in 1986 following intensive debate by intellectuals and other pressure groups of whom the implications of the loan for the country was understood.

7. *Domestic Political Situation*: A stable political system is necessary for pursuing a dynamic and coherent foreign policy. The political instability of the 1960s marred Nigeria intention to play actively in global politics, and again between 1985 and 1999, the same was the case by the same reason.

3.4.2 External Environment

1. *International Law*: International Laws have implications for external behaviour of countries. There are laid down rules, and regulations that guide interaction between and among states in the international arena. Sanctions can be applied to erring states. Hence, foreign policy of Nigeria is guided by International law.

2. *The Cold War and New Understanding*: Nigeria achieved independence at the height of the Cold War between the East and the West. As a result, Nigeria opted for the non-aligned posture to guide her foreign policy the cold war seem to have ended. We are witnessing a new era of understanding between the East and the West, as they are now talking of co-operation and collaboration and away from confrontation. In a world dominated by one country often through the instrumentalities of the United Nations, the non-aligned movement would have to define its future.

3. *The United Nations*: The principles and objectives of United Nations influence the foreign policy of Nigeria. The character for example, recommend peaceful settlement of disputes, collective security, friendly relations among nations, respect of territorial integrity and non-interference to all member nations.

4. *Foreign Aid*: Foreign aid is often used to influence the foreign policies of stakeholders. Thus, the instrumentalities of economic aid does dilute the foreign policies of African counties including Nigeria in relation to the Aid donors.

Self-Assessment Exercise

- Q1 How would you describe the nature of Nigeria's foreign policy?
Q2 What is the role of Non-alignment in the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy.

Possible Answers

- Q1 Answer found in 3.1
Q2 Answer found in 3.3

4.0 CONCLUSION

This course is limited to the Nigerian foreign policy posture in response to the nature and character of the external environment at any given time. This is underpinned by all the factors whether Natural or human which are at her disposal. It tries to reconcile these resources with her needs, values and preferences in foreign policy conduct.

5.0. SUMMARY

The unit focuses on Nigeria's foreign policy, the factors and influences that are considered in shaping the instruments. It focuses on the country's foreign policy objectives, principles and determinants keeping in view its natural location and manifest destiny both at the sub-regional, and level and also in the world.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- Q1 What are the objectives of Nigeria's foreign Policy?
Q2 Write on any five principles of Nigeria's foreign policy?
Q3 Write any four domestic determinant of Nigeria's foreign policy
Q4 Policy that you have learnt, what do your understand by Domestic Environment?

Each answer carries 2 ½ marks. The total score is 10 marks.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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MODULE 4

UNIT 2 AFRICA AS THE CENTRE-PIECE OF NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objective
- 3.0 Main Body
 - 3.1 Policy of Good-Neighborliness
 - 3.2 Support for OAU
 - 3.3 Nigeria's Commitment to Peaceful Settlement of Inter-State Disputes
 - 3.4 Anti-Colonial Pre-Occupation
 - 3.5 Total Identification with Anti –Apartheid Front
 - 3.6 Promotion of Inter-African Economic Development
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor – Marked Assignments
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

As we already learnt, Nigeria's foreign policy is couched on three concentric circles beginning with the West African sub-region, the African region and the rest of the world.. As the foreign policy posture is Afro-centric, this course unit focuses on those elements in Nigeria's foreign policy on the main bases of which Africa is known as the center-piece of Nigeria's foreign policy.

As with the others, this course unit a self - Assessment Exercise for you which is meant to assess yourself on your understanding of what you have learnt.. You will also find a Tutor-Marked Assignment which you must submit to your tutor at the end of the course along with the form for formal assessment.

2.0 OBJECTIVE

This course is meant to introduce the fresh student to the fact of Africa as a region being the centrepiece of Nigeria's foreign policy. At the end of the course, the student would be able to identify and substantiate the points on which Nigeria's efforts and initiatives have helped African states attain freedom and independence. How Nigeria's beliefs and African peoples' aspirations meet to pursue a common

African regional unity, strategy for emancipation and collective response to the intra and extra-regional environments. In the end, the student would determine how and why Nigeria has influenced outcomes in African affairs.

3.0 MAIN BODY

From a global perspective, Nigeria could be seen as a regional power. But it is within Africa that her influence is much more pervasive particularly affecting the cause of events in the region. Of course beyond the African region, Nigeria's influence in global affairs is quite considerable. It is a prominent member of the movement of the Non-aligned States and to a reasonable degree of the United Nations. It has chairmanned the OPEC, and for more than a decade, Nigeria served as the chairman of United Nation's Anti-apartheid Committee. Hence the main focus of this study is on her African policy and the way this policy affects her security and survival as a state.

The focus on Nigeria's Africa policy has another justification. Nigeria, has since Yakubu Gowon military government, regarded Africa as the pivot of her foreign policy. The Afro-centric foreign policy is further strengthened by the 1979 President Constitution. In the relevant section, the Constitution enjoins Nigeria "to promote African unity, total political, economic, social and cultural liberation of Africa", as well as "combat racial discrimination in all its manifestations".

The Afro-centric orientation of Nigeria's foreign policy can be explained within the context of a move toward making African affairs the bed rock of its foreign policy. This places Africa very high value and this of primary of importance in Nigeria's conduct of relations with her immediate neighbors in West African sub-region and African region. Among several efforts made by Nigeria to demonstrate her Afro-centric foreign policy orientation are as follows:

3.1 Policy of Good Neighborliness

Good neighborliness - friendly and cordial relationship with its neighbors became part of the core value of the Nigerian foreign policy especially when sequel to the Nigerian civil war, it realized that its continued existence as a united strong sovereign state lingers on its ability to cultivate and maintain health relationship with her immediate neighbours. This is intended to help check destabilizing factors that can emanate directly or indirectly from immediate neighbors against Nigeria. These factors can manifest in the form of whipping up of anti Nigeria sentiments by Nigeria's neighbors or creating a situation of internal political squabble within the country by foreign countries resentful of Nigeria's foreign policy on Africa with the cooperation of her immediate neighbors. Furthermore, a relationship of mutual understanding and cooperation between Nigeria and its

immediate neighbours is so important as to diffuse the fear of smaller neighbour who view Nigeria as having imperialist designs.

The principle of good neighborliness has been one in which Nigeria tries to encourage throughout Africa. To lead the way, it has developed cooperative ventures with a number of African States. Apart from her immense contribution to the activities of the OAU, she has a record of bringing succor, in the form of financial and material aid where they are needed in Africa. For instance, during the Sahelian drought which also hit northern Nigeria itself, Nigeria found herself giving considerable financial support to the other states affected.

3.2 Support for the OAU/AU

Arising from the conception of the Organization as the foremost continental machinery for articulation and aggregation of African interests and demands, harmonization of African interest and demands harmonization of African policies and the conduct of African diplomacy Vis-à-vis the rest of the world. Successive Nigeria governments have given political, financial and diplomatic support to the OAU. Nigeria has been consistent and has always uphold the view that resolutions to interstate and intrastate problems in Africa should be sought within the framework of the established principles, processes and machinery of the OAU before such problems are referred to the United Nations. Thus, the main feature of Nigeria's Africa policy includes, in part, increased attention to Africa's problems.

If the international system is based on equity and justice we see that Nigeria's Africa policy posture is in tune with genuine Africa aspiration. It tends towards Africa's self realization, freedom and dignity apart from Nigeria's demonstrated commitment to Africa's independence and integration, it foreign policy touches on the issue of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa. The policy was designed to restore democracy, human dignity and the principle of the equality of all races to which the international community subscribes. But, the Nigeria's foreign policy does not operate in a perfect world system. As we learnt earlier in this course, the international system (of states) is replete with *realpolitik* or power politics. In it, every state is involved in a characteristic survival of the fittest - no equity and no justice in a zero sum political game. Thus, every scholar should be watchful because what might seem innocuous or Africa-friendly foreign policy posture, from our perspective, might represent the exact opposite for other countries. States that prospered from the apartheid system in Southern Africa would certainly have perceived Nigeria's Africa policy antagonistic in posture and will have designed counter-measures to it.

3.3. Nigeria's Commitment to Peaceful Settlement of Inter-State Disputes and Conflicts

This commitment is consistent with the obligation of the United Nations Charter and that of the OAU. Nigeria has urged the adoption of preventive approach to any type of conflict arising from the territorial boundaries imposed by the departing colonial powers. Though they are artificial, Nigeria has emphasized the need for their acceptance and respect for their sanctity as international frontiers. Nigeria has been involved within the machinery and conflict resolution process of the OAU and ECOWAS in a number of disputes in Africa. For example, Nigeria participated in the search for peace in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Chad, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea. Nigeria was the first country in the world to commit peace - keeping troops in Darfur in Sudan, during their internal crises. Nigeria is also currently involved in seeking solution to Zimbabwean internal crisis under Robert Mugabe.

3.4 Nigeria's Anti-colonial Pre-occupation.

Colonialism is the policy and practice of a strong power, extending its control territorially over a weaker nation or people while neo-colonialism refers to the domination or control of one country or group of people over others. This is synonymous with imperialism. Inspired by the UN resolution on granting independence to colonial countries and the anti-colonial obligation of the OAU, Nigeria committed itself frantically to ridding Africa of all forms of colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Since the early 1970s, Nigeria sent aid and material assistance directly to the freedom fighters notably the frontline states of Southern Africa, in addition to that sent through the OAU Liberation Committee. Nigeria adopted two main strategies to achieve rapid decolonization in Africa. One has been to work through the UN and other global agencies for collective international action. This action features in particular the mobilization of global pressures on the colonial powers and the call for economic sanctions, trade boycotts and termination of foreign investments against South Africa. The second strategy, was the endorsement of an total support for armed confrontation by liberation movements against the colonial and white racist regimes with political, economic, and material assistance from African countries.

Nigeria's anti-colonial pre-occupation of African states would be a common ideological basis for the advancement both of African independence and of collective security in all it's form. The primary goal is the unity of all African peoples in one independent political community. It would embrace all ethnic groups and all national groups and free from political, economic and racial domination. The Charter of the OAU itself states that the founding fathers of the organization are "inspired by a common determination to promote understanding among our and cooperation among our States in response to the aspirations of our

peoples for brotherhood and solidarity, in a larger unity transcending ethnic and national differences". Despite differences in political, economic, and cultural outlook, this emphasis on collective action and unity has remained- the core of African strategy in world politics.

African security cannot be separated from independent development. It is in this context that the relationship between neo-colonialism and the policy of non-alignment must be understood. African conception of neo-colonialism is couched in a broad theoretical framework that incorporates the policy of non-alignment. The essence of the theory is that since neo-colonialism represents the worst form of imperialism, the policy of non-alignment provides the African states with the opportunity to control their own destiny, resources, development options and security plans. African states would break out of the viscous circle of poverty and dependence. Whereas neo-colonialism means exploitation and domination of Africa by the hegemonic economies of the predator world, the policy of non-alignment would impose on her the obligation to 'shop around', since it is based on cooperation with all states whether they be capitalist, socialist or have mixed economy. In this sense, the policy of non-alignment is at the root of African strategy for political and economic development.

Self-reliance is the basis of Africa's survival. The argument is not that of African isolation from political and economic entanglement with Europe as an approach to security. This argument is rather of the need for self-reliance as the most appropriate strategy for linking domestic and foreign policies both to meet the challenges of African development and to maximize the benefits of African participation in international politics dominated by great powers.

From this pragmatic pedestal, self-reliance has emerged as an important doctrine of African security and development. In other words, the doctrine of self reliance appears as a theory development and a strategy of conflict. As a theory of development, it synonymous with a with a world in which (a) there is complete absence of exploitation (b) the major means of production and exchange are under the control of the Africans (c) democratic government chosen and led by the Africans, and (d) the principle of self-reliance is practiced as a way of life by the people.

As a strategy of conflict, self-reliance aims at strengthening national power and independence as opposed to uncritical acceptance of monetarist economics and external aid, which jeopardize national independence. Self-reliance, it is believed, can be achieved through commitment to national values, policies and African-led non violent revolution in socio-economic, political, and military spheres so as to bring to end the state of dependence, exploitation, oppression and humiliation.

3.5 Total Identification with Anti- Apartheid Front

This involves a moral and political commitment to the restoration of human dignity, particularly black man's dignity in southern Africa. Series of efforts were made to discredit the supporters of apartheid South Africa which reduced, in particular, the confidence of the British and American governments of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan, respectively. Three ramifications of Nigeria's anti-apartheid policy are discernible. Firstly, Nigeria's foreign economic policy prohibited trade and economic relations with South Africa. Secondly, Nigeria's was in the forefront of the anti-dialogue debaters who dialogued with South Africa as a complete betrayal of the black African people. Thirdly, Nigeria's anti-apartheid policy manifested itself openly in the country's moral, political, financial, material and diplomatic support, and assistance to the main Liberation Movements in South Africa especially the African National Congress (ANC), and majority rule was achieved in 1991.

Nigeria has made considerable effort at promoting African integration at both the economic and security levels. Nigeria's enthusiasm in Pan-African pursuit started under the military government of General Yakubu Gowon. It has sustained this pursuit though with fluctuations in the tempo that are due to the style and dynamism of the leadership of the time. For example, Generals Mohammed/Obasanjo regime pursuit of the (Monrovia version of) Pan-Africanism was vigorous while it was moderate during the Second Republic under Shehu Shagari.

3.6 The Promotion of Intra-African Economic Co-operation

This is the sixth major pre-occupation of Nigeria's Africa policy. This came about from the lessons of the civil war. Nigeria realized the need to give serious attention to the issue of economic co-operation in her commitment to strengthen the principle of good neighborliness. Probably, the best demonstration of Nigeria's new commitment to inter-state economic co-operation were the role he Gowon Government in the creation of ECOWAS in 1975, and Obasanjo's role in the transformation of the OAU to African Union in 2001. The promotion and even the hosting of the first OAU Economic Summit in Lagos in April, 1980, that produced the African development document generally referred to as the Lagos Plan of Action, was of President Shagari's initiative. Babangida's military regime's successful establishment of Africa Economic Community in Abuja, in June, 1991, further underlines the position of inter-state economic co-operation and the development of Africa in Nigeria's foreign policy orientation.

Self-Assessment Exercise

- Q1 Since when has Nigeria made Africa the bedrock of her foreign policy?
- Q2 What do you understand by the policy of good neighborliness?

Possible answers

Q 1 Answer found in 3.0

Q2 Answer found in 3.1 last paragraph, 3.3

4.0 CONCLUSION

This course has located Africa as the bedrock of Nigeria's foreign policy, and has traced its genesis to its experience, and a clearer understanding of the international environment. Guided by these and its enormous natural and other resources, it generated the power and strength to assume a position of leadership in various manifestations in African affairs. From the position of political, economic and diplomatic strengths, Nigeria has continued to enjoy commanding heights in African international relations.

5.0 SUMMARY

The summary of this course unit would include the main features of Nigeria's Africa policy such as: increased attention to African problem, greater initiative in matters affecting rather than leaving it to others as was the case during in the First Republic. There was substantial increase in financial and technical assistance to needy African states. The Afro centric policy showed total involvement in the liberation struggle but short of sending Nigerian troops to participate in the actual fighting, and promotion of African integration. Categories that are fundamental to an understanding of Nigerian Africa policy which is linked to African security includes Pan-Africanism and its concomitants of independence and self-reliance, neo-colonialism and nonalignment as well as freedom, equality, justice and the legitimacy of force vis-à-vis negotiation.

6.0 TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Q1 How did Nigeria support OAU now All?

Q2 How did Nigeria pre-occupy herself with anti-colonialism?

Q3 How does self-reliance serve Africa's interest?

Q4 Nigeria has been engaged in the promotion of African economic co-operation especially since 1975. Explain

All answer earnings 2 ½ marks each. The total score is 10 marks.

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MODULE 4**UNIT 3 NIGERIA AND ECOWAS****CONTENT**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objective
- 3.0 Main Body
 - 3.1 Nigeria and The formation of ECOWAS
 - 3.2 Main objectives of ECOWAS
 - 3.3 Nigeria's Interest in ECOWAS
 - 3.4 Nigeria and Developments in ECOWAS
 - 3.5 Main challenges of ECOWAS
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

One of the most important developments in the field of International Relations since World War II has been the proliferation of regional organizations. A region is broadly defined as a group of countries linked together by historical, geographical, cultural economic and other ties. It could also be thought in terms of eco geographical region defined as "a unit made of living and non-living components that interact to form a life-support system". Regional organizations, systems or doctrines are indications of the existing reality global interdependence. An indispensable common feature of any regional organization is the exercise of sovereignty in setting up of a co-operative association. In West Africa, regional association has come to be expressed in the formation of ECOWAS in May, 1975. The success of ECOWAS has always hinged on the degree of the determination and commitment of the stronger members.. Nigeria is manifestly the strongest member.

This course unit takes students through the role played by Nigeria in the formation and operation of the regional arrangement. There is a self-Assessment Exercise at the end of this unit. It is meant to assess your understanding of what you have learnt by yourself. The Tutor-Marked Assignment should be submitted along with the form to your tutor for formal assessment. You can avail of the References/Further Reading to broaden your horizon on the course.

2.0 OBJECTIVE

Students may have known ECOWAS merely as a West African regional organization under which citizens can traverse ordinarily without restrictions. At the end of the course unit, the fresh student would learn about the formative years of ECOWAS. The student would learn about the role the founding fathers played and are still playing for ECOWAS to remain afloat. He would be able to identify the place of Nigeria as the most leading member and his place as a citizen of that regional leader among others. He would be educated on the aims, progress, direction and the challenges of West Africans as a community and that all of this point to the concept of regional development and collective security and deterrence policy.

3.0 MAIN BODY

3.1 Nigeria and the Formation of ECOWAS

It is a fact of history that Nigeria played a prominent role in the formation of the Economic community of West African States (ECOWAS). Balewa government had talked of formation of an Economic community of West Africa in 1964. Nigeria actively involved itself in the series of conferences sponsored by the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) between 1966 and 1968 for economic cooperation in Africa. Nigeria and Guinea were chosen by the Monrovia summit of 1968 for economic co-operation in Africa. Nigeria and Guinea were chosen by the Monrovia summit of 1968 to study on priority areas for cooperation between the members. Their report which was submitted in 1969, was not considered partly because of the weak leadership of Pan West Africa of that time.

Soon after the civil war, Nigeria rekindled the enthusiasm for a West African Economic Community. First, Gowon administration sent letters to the other West African governments seeking for their co-operation to form the Economic Community and to start with a consideration of Nigeria-Guinea Report of 1969. With little result even with Gowon's personal diplomatic follow-up, Nigeria and Togo settled for a modest and realistic approach in a treaty in 1972 establishing what president Eyadema called "Embryo of West African Economic Community". Second, Nigerian government began chocking out areas of cooperative development while not abandoning an earlier interest in the abolition of tariff

barriers between states. Third a ministerial level meeting was to convene in Lome in November 1973 to discuss these areas of co-operation but it was aborted following president Pompidou of France's meeting with Francophone West African leaders. Nigeria's fourth strategy was increased bilateral trade pacts with many West African States. To these, a fifth may be added. Nigeria employed unofficial tactics in the formation of an Economic Community when Gowon government, encouraged the Nigerian Chamber of Commerce and Industry. The federation's meeting in Accra in October, 1972 passed a resolution on the creation of Economic Community.

3.2 The Main Objectives of ECOWAS

The climax of the series of efforts particularly of Nigeria and Togo in a creation of a regional economic unit, was the signing of the Economic Community of West African states (ECOWAS) Treaty in Lagos on May 28, 1975. It comprised 15 states in West Africa. Cape Verde Islands later joined after it became independent. The main objectives of ECOWAS are:

To promote co-operation and development in fields of economic activity including industry, transport, communication, energy, ..agriculture,, natural resources, commerce, monetary, financial, social and cultural matters, with a view to

- (1) raising the standard of living of West African citizens
- (2) increasing and maintaining economic stability of member countries
- (3) fostering closer relationship among members
- (4) contributing to the progress and development of African continent in general.

The establishment of ECOWAS is purposed to primarily provide a forum for joint economic and industrial planning by West African States. Should Nigeria's present commitment to strength ECOWAS succeed, many salutary outcomes could be expected including these three; First, it will make the small economies within the region collectively viable. Secondly, it will enhance the spirit of collective self-reliance among the member states and reduce the level of external dependence. Thirdly, the success of ECOWAS could encourage other African states to engage in similar regional economic groupings which will have the cumulative effect of reducing Africa's external dependence. Fourth, it would control or prevent both the internal and external forces of destabilization in the sub region. ECOWAS would then leverage in wider room for confidence in the success of West African regionalism.

3.3 Nigeria's Interest In ECOWAS

Nigeria's interest in the formation of ECOWAS are based on political, military and economic considerations. For political reasons Nigeria wanted an arrangement that will put an end to colonial division in West Africa. It was Nigeria's belief that such a step would reduce border disputes and will contribute to African unity; among other interest that are political in nature.. On the security front, Nigeria also realized that good neighborliness was basic to Nigeria's national security because they (the neighbours) are not likely to serve as platforms for the promotion of political instability. Most West African neighbours are non-viable relatively weak and heavily dependent on extra-African powers, including France for their Military, political and economic survivals. They can be manipulated against Nigeria - hence one of the forces driving Nigeria's intense campaign for ECOWAS was to reduce dependence on extra-African countries.

Also in Nigeria's view, ECOWAS bargaining position vis-à-vis the EEC now EU could be strengthened if the sub-region speaks with one voice. But the economic justification has been a subject of controversy. As critics argue, Nigeria's economic interest in ECOWAS would yield little gain. The economic situation of West Africa provides validity for this opinion. Firstly, all the 16 member states are underdeveloped secondly, only Nigeria and Ghana have a population of over six million. And all of them have slow growth rate. Thirdly, they have common trade partners in Europe and North America. Some have therefore argued that in view of the Economic size of Nigeria, its energies should be directed in her internal market potential.

On the other hand, those who laud the economic campaign under ECOWAS expect economic benefits that Nigeria could derive in the regional arrangement if only in the long run. For example, ECOWAS could give Nigeria access to some raw materials which are either not available or available in poor quality. Savings in foreign exchange could be made in joint industrial projects involving Nigeria and its, sub-regional neighbours. Such projects would make it unnecessary and unwise to import certain good from elsewhere. As the pace of industrialization increase Nigerian political leaders see the necessity to make the country the industrial centre for Africa.

The establishment of ECOWAS was perceived as part of the politic-economic restructuring needed to enhance co-operation and collective self-reliance basic to redressing the problems of regional underdevelopment. With large revenue from Nigeria's crude oil, it emerged as a regional power, and had no difficulty in becoming the architect of the formation of ECOWAS.

3.4 Nigeria and Development in ECOWAS

Developments in ECOWAS have been to a large extent dictated by developments in Nigeria. The ECOWAS Treaty arrangements was signed when Nigeria's economy was booming. But the ECOWAS then became characterized by lack of protocol implementation when the Nigerian economy stagnated especially from 1979. A development blamed on world economic recession but mostly due to domestic economic mismanagement.

However, initiatives began again in a number of areas in 1999. As a first step towards the abolition of obstacles to movement of persons, services and capitals, travel visas for short time stay have been abolished. At the 24th ECOWAS Summit in Bamako, Mali in December 2000, the ECOWAS passport was launched. A special fund for telecommunication has been established and annexed to the ECOWAS Fund. Its purpose is to guarantee loans and make subventions for the improvement of telecommunications. A voluntary fund has similarly been established for energy resources development. Two bodies, a West African Clearing House and the Committee of West African Central Banks perform for ECOWAS several of its functions in respect of monetary cooperation envisaged in Article 17 and 39 of the ECOWAS Treaty.

The economic interest of Nigeria is unique in the region. Its population accounts for 75% of the region. However, inspite of the massive earnings from the oil sector, Nigeria is still within the bottom category of developing countries. Although Nigeria may not have been seen to engage in dramatic diplomatic activity, it is no doubt one of the most leading actors in the region. The Gowon government had sensitized the nation to the relevance of integration in the region and the continuous role which the country must play if the regional arrangement is to survive. Nigeria actively support the formulation of such regional institutions as West African Clearing House and ECOWAS Bank. In addition, bilateral steps have been taken to invest in some economic ventures of some member states.

Nigerian investments in iron-mining, cement and sugar projects in Benin, Uranium in the Republic of Niger and petrochemicals are some examples. Also a number of joint economic commission have been set up between Nigeria and several member states of ECOWAS. ECOWAS peace monitoring group (ECOMOG) was sent to Liberia from 1989 to 1991 and later to Sierra Leone up till 2001.

The ECOWAS-ECOMOG intervention in the Liberian crises progressed from mediation to arms embargo, economic sanctions, humanitarian missions, selected air strikes by the planes of ECOWAS- anything short of the use of armed force of the kind that might risk substantial casualties.

The ECOWAS initiative in creating ECOMOG, whose operations did give the people of flash points in West Africa, including Liberia, some respite. This has shown what organized intervention force can do. The ECOWAS –ECOMOG resolved to achieve peace and stability in the West African region has the best result the world has ever witnessed in modern history.

The ECOWAS peace plan for Liberia was unique in many ways. First, it was the first ever regional organization to dispatch a peacekeeping force (ECOMOG), to help restore peace and stability in a member country devastated by a civil war that also threatened regional security and development. Second, it represented the first ever peace enforcement of any international organization of the UN – ECOWAS kind. In this respect, ECOWAS has come to be viewed as Africa's flag ship in international peace keeping and peace enforcement. It is, perhaps, the finest demonstration of Africa's initiative, Africa's responsibility and Africa's capacity in resolving an African problem. Third, it has been acclaimed by the UN Security Council as the best possible framework for resolving the Liberian crisis peacefully.

The ECOWAS – ECOMOG approach was a legal safety measure to conflict resolution. It was later formalized by the adoption of the two Community Protocols on Non Aggression and Mutual Assistance in Defence Matters in 1981. ECOMOG was, thus, created and funded by ECOWAS to restore and defend peace in the region. It is noteworthy that the Nigerian military has produced peace mission commanders with distinction including: General Joshua Dogonyaro, General Victor Malu, to mention a few.

To maintain Nigeria's position as the dynamo of West African regionalism, Nigeria has had to confront challenges which include: Both Cote de Noire and Senegal have on occasions express discontent over Nigeria's increasing influence in the region. There is fear of Nigeria's domination by reason of its population and wealth. Secondly, Nigeria's support for the less developed member states diminished with rising expectations and the effects of the world economic recession and drought. Third, the mass expulsion of illegal aliens from Nigeria in 1981 and 1985 as well as the closure of Nigerian borders in 1984 to bring smuggling under control all took their toll on the spirit of integration. Nigeria was portrayed as a country which put self before regional interest. Fourth renewed French influence in the region was crippling the coordination of

strategies of regional integration. ECOWAS transforms into a Commission at its 32nd Summit in Abuja on 15th June, 2007, common currency is slated for 2009.

3.5 Main Challenges of ECOWAS

For the success of ECOWAS, both ECOWAS and Nigeria would have to confront common problems including:

- i. ECOMOG was established to address a specific crisis and was neither structured nor equipped for the maintenance of regional security.
- ii. Underdeveloped infrastructure especially in the areas of transport, communication and energy.
- iii. Disparities in development between member states and the problem of commitment and equity.
- iv. Problem of littoral and land-locked states
- v. Limited supply of exportable surplus.
- vi. Lack of fiscal and monetary integration.
- vii. Difference in fiscal structure and fiscal policies and incentives.
- viii. Problem of language and culture.
- ix. Poor mass support. The nationals of Anglophone and Francophone divide still nurse mutual suspicion.
- x. Weak political will and weak political support from social groups such as industrialists.
- xi. Fear of domination of weak members by the strong.

In West Africa, the problem of ethnicity, for example, in Liberia, Mauritania and Nigeria, socio-cultural concerns, the rift between Ghana and Togo over the Ewes and the dispute between Cameroon and Nigeria over the Bakassi Peninsula have not diminished even with ECOWAS in place. West African super-ordinate goals are not comprehensive enough. There is the problem of cross-cutting loyalties on the part of local political units to ECOWAS central authority. West Africa is still regulated by a threat system. Threat to regional stability emanate from internal and external sources. It must be addressed with the instrumentality of credible ECOWAS.

Self - Assessment Exercise

Q 1 What did you learn at the end of this course unit?

Q2 What are the objectives of ECOWAS?

Possible Answers

Q1 Answer found in 2.0

Q2 Answer found in 3.2

4.0 CONCLUSION

ECOWAS is an organized and structured regional institution with a Secretariat at Abuja, Nigeria. This course unit has given fresh students a historical background of ECOWAS and the formation thereafter. It has showed the degree of commitment and the direction that it is headed. If the member-slates, particularly the founding fathers show diligence in ECOWAS, the community arrangement would emerge as a role model, in a way, that other regional organizations can emulate. Notwithstanding the challenges confronting the individual members" or collectively of them.

5.0 SUMMARY

ECOWAS is the brain child of Nigeria and Togo. Nigeria has remained the driving force of the regional organization aimed as regional self-reliance, self-preservation and all round security. Regionalism with a defined entity and shared interest is believed to be an effective way of tackling economic problems, inter-state conflicts and hegemonic pressures of the stronger slates within or without the region. The proliferation of regional doctrines has a risen from the need to engage in community-building across national boundaries in an. age of rapid communication, technology and pluralism.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Q1 From what you have learnt, How did Nigeria rekindle its interest in the formation of ECOWAS after the civil war?

Q2 In the formation of ECOWAS, what constitute Nigeria's political, military and economic considerations?

Q3 What problems has Nigeria had to confront to maintain its leadership position in West African regionalism?

Q4 What are the main challenges to ECOWAS?

Each answer carries 2 ½ marks. The total score is 10 marks.

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MODULE 4**UNIT 4 CONCEPT OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY****CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objective
- 3.0 Main Body
 - 3.1 Regional Infrastructural Security
 - 3.2 Economic Security
 - 3.3 Environmental Security
 - 3.4 Political – Military Security
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor – Marked Assignment
- 7.0 Reference/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The concept of foreign policy in International Relations has its ramifications in the pursuit of peace, security and the survival of the state as sovereign within the dictates of the international system. When nations mostly of a common geographical space perceive threats that are common to their national survival, they are compelled to collectively strategize a threat warding-off or control mechanism often threat to security is understood with military connotations alone. In West Africa (as elsewhere in Africa), threats range from problem of economy in its manifestations, environment, ethnic and border conflict, to military security.

2.0 OBJECTIVE

At the end of the course, the student would be better able to establish, (1) the relevance of regionalism as an approach to the regional security of West Africa. (2) that security encompasses military and includes areas such as infrastructure, economic, environmental, socio cultural and so forth (3) that security and survival underpins the concepts national interest, foreign policy and the relation of nations within the international system.

3.0 MAIN BODY

Security is a contested concept. But there is a consensus that it implies freedom from threats to core values (for both individuals and groups). Most writings on the concept are dominated by the idea of national security and tended to keep the individual and international security at bay. Most recently, however, this idea of security has been criticized for being ethnocentric (culturally based) and too narrowly defined. It is arguable for an expanded conception of security outward from the limits of parochial national security to include a range of other considerations. (Barry Buzan). A view of security would include political, economic, societal, environmental as well as military aspects, and which is also defined in broader international terms. This involves states overcoming excessively self-referred security policies and thinking instead, about the security interests of their neighbors. Regional arrangements for collective defense and for other purposes establish a collective security system. But the arrangement could conceivably be an important part of a broader collective security system (could be under the UN flag).

The concept of collective security, though appear to be simple and almost self-explanatory, is in reality, a complex and elusive one. It has been defined by Georg Schwarzenberger as "machinery for joint action in order to prevent or counter any attack against an established international order". It implies collective measures for dealing with threats to peace. But not all collective action is collective security. Again whereas collective action may mean the limited collaboration of a few states on an ad hoc basis, collective security implies far reaching commitments and obligation on the part of the majority of the states of the world including all or at least most of the great powers.

The concept of collective security is a bye-product of WW II experience. It is a responsibility conferred on combined efforts in the direction of checking a crisis situation, so as to avoid a degeneration into an uncontrollable proportion.

Collective security is a concept premised on the contention that a crisis or war situation, which is not promptly stemmed would possibly escalate and or exacerbate to engulf the entire international system. The main objective of collective security is to save mankind from thee brink of another World War. It is believed that if the would-be aggressors are aware that they are likely to face the collective forces of international community they would retract their conduct consistent with the norms of international system.

Collective security and selective security also known as alliance are two crucial but different concepts in international relations. Selective security, as different from collective security, is an arrangement within some state to join their forces,

when the need arises, to ensure the protection or security of every member of the alliance. Usually, selective security takes the posture of a "gang up" by nations with common interest and ideological orientation, in readiness for any eventual attack. The selective arrangement is implicitly based on the principle that an attack on any of the member of the selective security, is deemed an attack on the entire members, hence, all are obliged to resist. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Warsaw Pact, formed by the United States and the Soviet Union, respectively, are examples of selective security. Others include the Central Treaty Organization (CTO) comprising members like, Britain, Iran, Pakistan and Turkey with the United States as an associate.

The West African collective security arrangement came to be expressed in the form of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). A view of the elements of the ECOWAS concept of security will encompass the conventional militarized term to include security in infrastructure at the West African regional level, economic, environment, ethnic and border dispute, and military aspects security. These are equally significant because they complement each other as they interdependently provide what can be conceived of as security.

3.1 Regional Infrastructural Security

Infrastructure here is in the sense of institutional capacity, that is the extent or level to which common institutions have been developing for a region. Institutions are sought usually for the effect they are likely to have on social and economic conditions through governmental policies or the critical outcomes that affect peoples' lives.

The ECOWAS Treaty also known as the Treaty of Lagos, begins with a preamble, which stresses its aim in prompting co-operation and development leading to establishment of an economic union in West Africa.. This, it is believed would raise the living standards of the people, maintain and enhance economic stability foster closer relations among member states and contribute to the progress and development of the African continent and of the globe. The treaty seeks to harmonize and coordinate national policies and promote integrative programs and projects for collective self-reliance, understanding and appreciation of their common as well as individual problems.

The institutional framework today consists of a multi-tier structure, with a permanent secretariat at Abuja, Nigeria. The tiers include: the Head of State or Government (at the summit), the Council of Ministers the Community Parliament, the Economic and Social Council, the Community Court of Justice, the Executive Secretariat, the Fund for Cooperation, Compensation and Development,

Specialized (technical) Commissions, and any other institution that may be established by the authority of community.

Apart from the secretariat and functional organs ECOWAS has projects such as the West African Monetary Agency (WAMA), Transport and Telecommunications Network, the Energy sector, Regional Floating Weeds Control, Regional Interaction, ECOWAS Rural Water Supply, Democracy and Human Rights, West African Women's Association (WAWA), West African Clearing House (WACH) and many more.

Most of the problems are interlinked and do not respect sovereign boundary. This informs the quest for the collective solution to the collective problems. The institutions are thus programmed to see the problems and the solutions as such. In all of these, the interdependent nature of the global system has underpinned the progress and direction of political and economic institutions employed to serve a people.

3.2 Economic Security Problem

Insofar as contemporary international relations is characterized by degrees of interdependence and involving certain reductions in state autonomy, governments face trade-off between their objectives of welfare and autonomy. Thus economic security interdependence like a two edge sword, involves costs as well as benefits. If it is to reduce cost and increase benefits, a certain measure of cross-national regulation becomes essential as the basis for the regional with focus on economic security.

This security will hinge on the following: (1) growth - the ability to produce increasing amount of goods and services, (2) distribution - broadening patterns of consumption of goods and services. (3) efficiency the ability to produce more goods with fewer inputs of factors of production, (4) price stability - some sense of predictability and protection of future consumption, (5) employment - assurance of ability to earn and participate in the economic system (6) environmental quality - some assurance against the debasement of the quality of one's surroundings and (7) the capacity of an authority to effectively pursue these goals.

3.3 Environmental Security Problem

Parallel to increasing economic interdependence is the planet's growing environmental interdependence. The link among the Earth's natural systems of land, water, air and living nature are often global. Disturbance in any one of them affects the other in complex and unexpected ways that can be distant in both space and time. Emission of industrial chemicals deplete the Earth's protective ozone layer, and fossil fuel use damage even distant forest, land degradation and

desertification and multifarious pollutants contribute to climate change and have become sources of insecurity. These problems threaten our security in ways that many current policies and structures of governance become less and less tenable.

Thus, the state is no longer the subject of security, even with the application of military force. Despite the fact the industrial countries are the world's primary environmental offenders, we also need to focus proportionate attention on the developing countries. Thus, environmental concerns can hardly ever be detached from the demands of regional security interests. It is as well all-inclusive in any holistic studies of interconnectedness and integration propelled by the desire for security.

The fact is that some environmental security problems are global, and this best dealt with at the highest possible level of governance. But the state level may be too restricted for solving problems, which require international action. Because in most developing regions, ecological needs are at mercy -of haphazard development, poor economic growth, managerial incompetence and bureaucratic rigidities, these problems may be wide to require a sub national approach. Regionalist environmental coalition becomes imperative therefore for a high moral ground solution - seeking.

3.4 Political - Military Security

Although security is a concept with universal application, it cannot be usefully encompassed by a single universal definition. Instead definitions must derive from sets of interests particular to the actors concerned. In this course security will be regarded as a matter of safeguarding the primary values of a state (or states) against foreign or domestic military and non military threats or aggression. These values could include: the territory and natural resources, population, regarded as an adverse geopolitical environmental condition, which extracts a price and penalty from the Target State or region that fails to build its own warding-off mechanism.

Threat can emanate from within the state, from the region of West Africa and or from extra regional sources. There exists in West Africa a perception or misperception of both internal and external threats to national security most of which have had some spillover effects on neighbors while others threatened to engulf the whole region.

The threats include: colonial overload, shift to new power centers, foreign military assistance to member states contradiction of organizing principle between two or - more states, matters of language, culture, military intervention by extra-regional forces outside functional organization, political/military meddling among others.

In part, the practical application of collective security is limited by problem such as:

1. The nature of power as provided in Chapter VII, Article 27 (3) of the United Nations Charter grants the right of veto to each of the permanent members of the Security Council -The United States, Britain, France, Russia and China.
2. This veto vote arrangement only makes small and medium powers direct victims of the collective security system more so that they are also not permanent members of the Security Council.
3. Definition of aggression is ambiguous. All nations are obliged to take collective steps to resist and frustrate acts of aggression by any state within the international system, in the absence of a laid down standard for measuring aggressor from the victim.
4. The more important reason that collective security fails, is the unwillingness of countries to subordinate their sovereign interests to collective action. Thus, governments have generally maintained their rights to view conflict in terms of their national interest and to support or oppose UN action based on their nationalist points of view. Collective security therefore exists as a goal, not as a general practice. A point of note is that only the UN authorized intervention in Korea (1950 -1953) and in the Persian Gulf (1990 -1991) came close to fulfilling the idea of collective security.

Self - Assessment Exercise

Q1 What is the concept of collective security?

Q2 What is the West African collective security arrangement?

Possible Answers

Q1 Answers found in 3.0

Q2 Answer found in 3.0

4.0 CONCLUSION

This erase has made case for regionalism as an approach to a measure of order and stability in West Africa. It has highlighted some of the main standard sources of threat to the security collectivity of the West African states and their survival as sovereign political entities. The course stimulates the question as to whether regional security arrangements are more preferable to global or national ones even within the contexts of the New International Economic Order (NIEO).

5.0 SUMMARY

A combination of states each relating harmless itself might have a serious power threat migrated by the perception (or misperception) of the actions, intentions and the credibility of an adversary. The situational and circumstantial compulsion to build an effective prevention or control mechanism and/or be part of a coalition warfare becomes the inventible outcome.

ECOWAS is an expression of the need for a West African regional development and security arrangement. It as an arrangement that is believed to better grapple with the range of threat problem that do cut across international boundaries.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- Q1 Why collective security?
- Q2 In which way are collective security and alliances deferent?
- Q3 From what you have learnt, what are the factors that contribute to instability in the case of West African?
- Q4 What are the various dimensions of threats to the regional security of West Africa?

Each answer carries 2¹/₂ marks. The total score is 10 marks.

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MODULE 5**UNIT 1 GLOBAL AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY:
TRADITIONAL ROAD****CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objective
- 3.0 Main Body
 - 3.1 Unconventional Warfare
 - 3.1.1 Arms Transfers
 - 3.1.2 Special Operations
 - 3.1.3 Terrorism
 - 3.2 Conventional Warfare
 - 3.3 Weapons of Mass Destruction
 - 3.4 Nuclear Weapons Deterrence, Strategy and Arms Control
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Traditionally, security or thought of security has always been underpinned by thought of war or winning wars. And war itself is as ancient as humanity. There can be little doubt that many have occurred throughout history. Till date war is seen to constitute violence, whether it is authorized or not. In Realist views, the decisive means for politics whether domestic or international, is violence. Anyone who fails to see this is ... a political infant (Porter, 1994:303).

They also agree that war is in an inherent part of politics. Liberals would rejoin that human can learn to leave without war. Whoever is right, the fact for now is that countries continue to rely on themselves for protection and sometimes use threats and violence to further their interests. Thus, it becomes important in this unit to discuss military power and to grasp the role that force plays in foreign policy decisions and the conduct of international politics. It also discusses

deterrence, disarmament and arms control as means of achieving international peace and security.

2.0 OBJECTIVE

At the end of this course, the student would learn how traditionally the thinking about security is underpinned by military force and strategy. And it is security that drives foreign policy. A successful foreign policy implicates the quest for the survival of state and sovereignty in the international system - the anarchic society.

3.0 MAIN BODY

It should be recognized that conflict is a fact of international politics. Conflict if not managed effectively breeds war. For a successful execution of a war, adequate level of forces is required. It is to be recalled at this point that war is politics by other means and force is a political instrument. Force is brought to bear according to the level of violence. Levels can range from intimidation to attack. Thus, a country's military power may be used in several escalating ways. These range from serving as a diplomatic backdrop that creates perceived power to direct use of military forces to defeat an opponent. It also should be noted that the options provided by the five levels of violence (as below) from a multiple menu. That is, they are often exercised concurrently.

- *Diplomatic backdrop:* Military power does not have to be used or overtly threatened to be effective. Its very existence established a diplomatic backdrop that influences other countries (Freedman, 1998). "Diplomacy without force is like baseball without a bat," one U.S. diplomat has commented. One obvious role of military strength is to persuade potential opponents not to risk confrontation. Military power also influences friends and neutrals. One reason why the United States has been, and remains, a leader of the West is because massive U.S. conventional and nuclear military power creates a psychological assumption by both holder and beholder that the country with dominant military power will play a strong role. This reality is what led the U.S. ambassador to China to put a photograph of a U.S. aircraft carrier on his office wall with the caption, "90,000 tons of diplomacy."
- *Overt threats:* A step up the escalation ladder is overtly threatening an opponent. That is what President Bush did in his address to Congress on September 20, 2001, when he declared, "The Taliban must act and act immediately. They will hand over the terrorists, or they will share in their fate." The Taliban refused and, as Bush predicted, they shared a similar

- fate. The president also, if a bit less precisely, threatened other countries when he vowed, "From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime"
- *Indirect intervention:* There are a number of techniques that can be used to apply military power while avoiding a commitment of your armed forces to direct combat. One approach is supplying arms and other military material or training and advisers to another government or to dissident forces. A second form of indirect intervention is sending military forces or non uniformed operatives into another country secretly to conduct clandestine operations. Such operations can involve terrorism when the weapons supplied or the operatives sent in are involved in attacking targets beyond those that are of clear military utility.
- *Limited demonstration:* A further escalation involves overtly wielding restrained conventional force to intimidate or harass rather than defeat an opponent. In 1996, for example, the United States attacked Iraqi military installations with about 30 cruise missiles in an effort to persuade Baghdad to end its military operations against Kurdish areas in the northern part of Iraq.
- *Direct action:* The most violent option involves using full-scale force to attempt to defeat an opponent. Within this context, the level of violence can range from highly constrained conventional conflict to unrestricted nuclear war. (Rourke and Boyer, 2004)

Conditions for Success: The next question, then, is, when does force succeed and when does it fail to accomplish its goals? There is no precise answer, but it is possible to synthesize the findings of a variety of studies and the views of military practitioners to arrive at some rudimentary rules for the successful use of military force, especially in cases of intervention when a country has not been directly attacked. In cases of intervention, success is most likely when a country's use of military force is:

- I. Taken in areas where it has a clearly defined, preferably long-standing, and previously demonstrated commitment.
2. Supported firmly and publicly by the country's leaders.
3. Supported strongly by public opinion
4. Used to counter other military force, not to try to control political events.

5. Applied early and decisively, rather than by extended threatening and slow escalation.
6. Meant to achieve clear goals and does not change or try to exceed them.

These correlations between military action, political circumstances, and success are only preliminary and do not guarantee success. They do, however, indicate some of the factors that contribute to successful use of the military instrument.

The Changing Nature of War:

Warfare has changed greatly over the centuries (Lawrence, 1998). Three factors are responsible: technology, nationalism, and strategy.

Technology has rapidly escalated the ability to kill. Successive "advances" in the ability to deliver weapons at increasing distances and in the ability to kill ever more people with a single weapon have resulted in mounting casualties, both absolutely and as a percentage of soldiers and civilians of the countries at war.

As a result of technology and nationalism, the scope of war has expanded. Entire nations have become increasingly involved in wars. Before 1800, no more than 3 of 1,000 people of a country participated in a war. By World War I, the European powers called 1 of 7 people to arms. Technology increased the need to mobilize the population for industrial production and also increased the capacity for, and the rationality of, striking at civilians. Nationalism made war a movement of the masses, increasing their stake and also giving justification for attacking the enemy nation. Thus, the lines between military and civilian targets have blurred.

Strategy has also changed. Two concepts, the power to defeat and the power to hurt, are key here. The power to defeat is the ability to seize territory or overcome enemy military forces and is the classic goal of war. The power to hurt, or coercive violence, is the ability to inflict pain outside the immediate military sphere. It means hurting some so that the resistance of others will crumble. The power to hurt has become increasingly important to all aspects of warfare because the war effort depends on a country's economic effort and, often, the morale of its citizens.

In the modern era, the power to defeat has declined in importance relative to the power to hurt. Terrorism, guerrilla warfare, and nuclear warfare all rely extensively on the power to hurt to accomplish their ends. Even conventional warfare sometimes uses terror tactics to sap an opponent's morale. The use of strategic bombing to blast German cities during World War II is an example.

The changing nature of war, the increased power of weapons, and the shifts in tactics have all made classifying warfare more difficult. Studies of war and other uses of political violence divide these acts into a variety of categories. The exact boundaries between various types of wars or other political phenomena are imprecise. Therefore, you should be concerned mostly with the issues involved in planning for and fighting wars. This segment divides international conflict into three categories: unconventional warfare, conventional warfare, and weapons of mass destruction warfare.

3.1 Unconventional Warfare

Of our three categories of force, unconventional force is the one that usually has the most limited geographical scope and involves the least powerful weapons. It is possible to use a variety of the instruments of violence at this level. Three ways for an outside country to apply its military power in local conflict are through (1) arms transfers, (2) special operations, and (3) terrorism.

3.1.1 Arms Transfers

The international supply of arms is big business involving huge sums of money annually. There are several motivations. Whatever the cause, however, the global flow of arms can be properly considered as a form of intervention because, whether intended or not, it has an impact on events within countries and between countries (other than the supplier). Moreover, arms transfers frequently either supply dissidents using unconventional warfare to battle a government, or they supply a government battling dissidents. In such scenarios, the international flow of weapons is an indirect way to intervene abroad, and it also promotes unconventional military action.

3.1.2 Special Operations

Not all military action involves the use of large numbers of uniformed troops against other organized military forces in classic battle scenarios. In addition to this type of force, there are approaches to violence that fall under the heading of special operations.

Special operations include overtly or covertly sending one's own special operations forces, intelligence operatives, or paramilitary agents into another country to conduct such small-unit activities as commando operations and intelligence gathering. When these actions are aimed at an opponent's armed forces or other or other military targets, then the activity falls under the general heading of special operations warfare.

The use of special operations forces and techniques as a form of military intervention has increased in recent decades for several reasons. First, there has been an increase in civil strife within countries. Second, attempts to topple

governments or to create separatist states are now usually waged using guerrilla tactics, rather than the conventional tactics that were usually used in the past. More than any single reason, this change in tactics has occurred because the preponderance of high-tech weapons available to government forces makes it nearly suicidal for opposition forces to fight conventionally. Third, covert intervention avoids the avalanche of international and, often, domestic criticism that overt interventions set off. Fourth, clandestine operations allow the initiating country to disengage more easily, if it wishes, than would be possible if it overtly committed regular military forces.

Covert operations also have drawbacks. Escalating involvement can be a major problem interventions can begin with supplying weapons. If the arms flow does not bring victory, then the next step may be to send in advisers and special operations forces. Even if the supplier country has its doubts about wanting to commit its own armed forces, the process of intervention often causes that country's prestige to become associated with the fate of the recipient country or rebel group that is being supported. Therefore, if things continue to go badly for the recipient country or rebel group that is being supported. Therefore, if things continue to go badly for the recipient, then the supplier may be tempted to engage in limited combat support, and, finally, to commit to a full-scale military intervention with its own troops. This is how the United States wades ever deeper into the quagmire in Vietnam and how the Soviet Union fell into the abyss in Afghanistan in 1979.

3.1.3 Terrorism

One of the challenges of examining terrorism is that there is no widely accepted definition. The difficulty of coming to a common understanding of what is and is not terrorism has been underlined by the inability of the United Nations in the aftermath of the 9-11 attacks to move forward with a proposed Comprehensive Convention Against Terrorism. "The simple fact is that terrorism means different things to different people." The world could not find common political ground on several issues despite the fact that the entire world is preoccupied with international terrorism.

Therefore, it is important to establish how the word is used here. To that end, terrorism is defined as: (1) a form of political violence that (2) is carried out by individuals, by nongovernmental organizations, or by relatively small groups of covert government agents that (3) specifically targets civilians and that (4) uses clandestine attack methods, such as car bombs and hijacked airliners. (See module 2 unit 2).

In determining what constitutes terrorism, intent is important. The terrorist intends to kill noncombatants. With rare exception, uniformed personnel attack military or

hostile targets. Noncombatant casualties may occur, but they are not the object of the attack.

Sources of Terrorism:

There are two sources of political terrorism that concern us here. One is state terrorism. The second is transnational terrorism. As we shall see, they are closely linked. Transnational terrorism is again already discussed in module 2 unit 2.

State Terrorism:

To argue that most acts, even if horrific, committed by uniformed military tactics are not properly regarded as terrorism does not mean that countries cannot engage in terrorism. They can through state terrorism. This is terrorism carried out directly by an established government's clandestine operators or by others who have been specifically encouraged and funded by a country. From the U.S. perspective, the State Department has repeatedly listed Cuba, Iran, Iraq, Libya, North Korea, Sudan, and Syria as countries guilty of state terrorism. Each of these countries vehemently denies being involved in terrorism.

3.2 Conventional Warfare

The most overt form of coercive intervention is for a country to dispatch its own forces to another country. That intervention can range from such limited demonstrations of power as the numerous U.S. aerial and cruise attacks on Iraq since 1991 to the global warfare seen during World War I and World War II. With the exceptions of the U.S. atomic attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 and some use of chemical weapons, wars have been waged using conventional weapons.

The conventional warfare that has been the norm throughout most of history is distinguished from other types of warfare by the tactics and weapons used. The overt use of uniformed military personnel, usually in large numbers, is what separates conventional tactics from special operations and terrorism. As for weapons. It is easier to indicate what conventional weapons are not than what they are. Generally, conventional weapons are those that rely on explosives or impact but are not nuclear / radiological, biological, or chemical weapons.

The classic statement on the proper goal of war was made by German strategist Carl von Clausewitz in *On War* (1833). He argued that "war is not merely a political act, but also a political instrument, a continuation of political relations, a carrying out of the same by other means." Thus, given the dangers of escalation and the prudence of keeping limited wars limited, it is very important to understand how to avoid unchecked escalation. At this point we look at the UN's authorized armed intervention to prevent or control violent conflicts. This comes

traditionally in the form of peacekeeping and peace-making. This is usually possible in conventional wars.

Peacekeeping: What the United Nations has been able to do more often is implement a process commonly called peacekeeping. Apart from using military force, peacekeeping is quite different from collective security. The latter identifies an aggressor and employs military force to defeat the attacker. Peacekeeping takes another approach and deploys an international military force under the aegis of an international organization such as the UN to prevent fighting. Usually by acting as a buffer between combatants. The international force is neutral between the combatants and must have been invited to be present by at least one of the combatants.

Some of the data regarding the use of UN peacekeeping forces and observer groups to help restore and maintain the peace can be found in the UN area offices. Suffice it to state here that during its first 55 years (1945 through mid-2000), the United Nations sent over 8,900,000 soldiers, police officers, and unarmed observers from more than 120 countries to conduct 54 peacekeeping or truce observation missions. Over 1,760 of these individuals have died in UN service.

3.3 Weapons of Mass Destruction Warfare

The world's history of waging war primarily with conventional weapons does not guarantee a continuation of that restraint. Science and technology have rapidly increased the ability of countries to build, deploy, and potentially employ weapons of mass destruction. These nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons in the amounts and potencies that are available to national militaries can cause horrific levels of death and injury to enemy forces or civilian targets.

How a Nuclear War Might Start:

For all its potential horror, nuclear war is within the realm of possibility. Strategic analysts envision many possible scenarios, including (1) an accident, (2) an irrational leader, (3) an unprovoked attack, (4) a last-gasp defense, (5) an inadvertent error in judgment, and (6) an escalation. Two preliminary points should be made here. One is that these scenarios are not equally likely. Inadvertent war and escalation, for instance, are much more likely than an accident. Second, the six are not necessarily mutually exclusive. They may combine into multipath scenarios. For example, a crisis on the China-Russia border with the possibility of escalation to war could lead to partial release of nuclear weapons safety controls, thereby increasing the chances of accident war.

3.4 Nuclear Weapons, Deterrence Strategy And Arms Control

Deterrence is derived from the literary word "deter" meaning making an individual action less attractive or preventing an individual or enemy from taking particular line of action. Deterrence would be defined as an attempt to dissuade potential action from resorting to an open arm conflict.

The reality that nuclear weapons exist and could be used makes it important that we discuss their deterrence, disarmament and arms control in the pursuit of global and international peace and security. In trying to avert nuclear conflict, the concept of deterrence has been and remains at the center of the strategy of all the nuclear powers. Deterrence is persuading an enemy that attacking you will not be worth any potential gain. Deterrence is based on two factors: capability and credibility.

Capability: Effective deterrence requires that you be able to respond to an attack or impending attack on your forces. This capability is what India claimed it was seeking when it openly tested nuclear weapons in 1998. "Our problem is China," said an Indian official. "We are not seeking (nuclear) parity with China ... what we are seeking is a minimum deterrent. Just having weapons, however, is not enough. Since there is no way to defend against a missile attack once it is launched, deterrence requires that you have enough weapons that are relatively invulnerable to enemy destruction so that you can be assured that some will survive for a counterattack. Of all the strategic delivery systems, SLBMs are the least vulnerable: ICBMs in silos are the most vulnerable.

Credibility: It is also necessary for other states to believe that you will actually use your weapons. Perception is a key factor. The operational reality will be determined by what the other side believes rather than by what you intend. We will see, for example, that some analysts believe that some analysts believe that relying on a second-strike capability may not always be credible.

Arms Control

Apparently, arms control and disarmament are identical but are actually, two different concepts. Hence, disarmament is a clarions call to nations to avoid the complete production or acquisition of arms. Arms control, on the other hand is a request that nations should limit, minimize and constrain the degree of arms acquired or produced. Arm control is meant to direct the resource of international system more to the maintenance of the citizen's welfare than a constant production of arms, which could have negative consequence on the amount of the national income accruing to the people. This idea implies that if war cannot be completely avoided in the human society, then there should be a maximum standard of arms a nation can possess.

The idea is that in the event of war, the enormity of damage will be minimized. There are ideally three conditions under which arms reduction has worked in human history. Where none of these conditions are available arms control will never be consented to, to the letter by nations.

1. That the nations consenting to the agreement are not engaged in competition for power with other nations.
2. Arms control is possible where both nations possess a clear-cut advantage in terms of military strength over the other.
3. Arms control can be successful where some nations are convinced that it is more in their interest to regulate the extent of their arms race rather than engage in an immitigable scramble to increase their military strength.

Self - Assessment Exercise

- Q1. What factors are responsible for the changing nature of war.
 Q2. What is Arms Transfers?

Possible Answers

- Q 1: Answer found in 3.0
 Q2: Answer found in 3.1.1.

4.0 CONCLUSION

It can be concluded that most of the measures to bring about peace and security at the global and the international levels are based on the Realist tradition i.e the will of the nation-state to co-operate. This will is governed by the self-interest of the nations. Results have been dismal. For example, that nation states resort to war in the pursuit of security has not ended wars. The UN authorized peacekeeping mechanism has not been very attractive to many nation-states, who feet-drag to commit troops for the purpose or even pay up their assessments. Inspite of the deterrence strategy and arms control, the global peace is still threatened by the

availability of nuclear weapons in the first place. This, thus, suggests a rethinking about the way we strategize global and international peace and security objective.

5.0 SUMMARY

War is organized killing of other human beings. The study of force involves several major questions: when and why does war occur? How effective is it? What conditions govern success or failure? And what options exist in structuring the use of force?

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- Q1 From what you have learnt, discuss any three levels of violence.
- Q2 In unconditional warfare, what do you understand by special operations?
- Q3 How might a nuclear war start?
- Q4 What is Deterrence Strategy and Arms Control?

Each answer carries 2 ½ marks. The total score is 10 marks.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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MODULE 5**UNIT 2 GLOBAL AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY:
ALTERNATIVE VIEWS****CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objective
- 3.0 Main Body
 - 3.1 Social Constructivist Theorists
 - 3.2 Critical Security Studies
 - 3.2.1 Critical Theory and Emancipation
 - 3.2.2 Feminist Approaches
 - 3.2.3 Post-Modernist Views
 - 3.3 Globalist Views of International Security
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
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- 7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

To feel safe with safety should be guaranteed by the political dispensation in such a way that war may be less likely and normal conditions among states may prevail. International security also envisages preparation for all sorts of defense which may appear as preparedness for war or arms race. Security is not just the absence of war; it is about the pursuit of freedom from threat. "In the context of the international system, security is about the ability of states and societies to maintain their independent identity and their functional integrity". This unit focuses on three main alternative views about international security, These would include: The social constructivist theories, critical security theories and the globalist views.

At the end of this course unit, you will find a self-assessment exercise meant for you to assess yourself on what you have learnt. The Tutor -marked assignment is to be done and submitted including the form to your tutor for formal assessment. This unit is by no means exhaustive. The references/further reading are for you to expand your horizon on the subject.

2.0 OBJECTIVE

The objective of this course is to expose fresh students to the fact that views about international politics and international security are variegated. The course takes the student beyond the traditional view of the role of the state as the center of the studies about international security to other unfolding events at the global stage. A combination of the events cripple the state's ability to grapple with the problem of national security. At the end of the course, the student would understand the need to move from the standpoint of *realpolitik* to a globalist approach to security, and to what a scholar envisions as "utopian Realism".

3.0 MAIN BODY

3.1 Social Constructivist Theorists

The notion that international relations are affected not only by power politics or real politic or "self-help" because states are distrust in each other but also by ideas is also shared by writers who describe themselves as "Social Constructivist Theorists'. According to them, the international structures of international politics are social rather than material. This leads social constructivist to argue that changing the way we think about international relations can bring a fundamental shift towards greater international security.

Social constructivists like Alexander Wendt (1992) accept many of the major Realist assumptions about international politics i.e. that states are the key element in the study of international politics and international security; that states often have offensive capabilities; that states cannot be absolutely certain of the intentions of other states; that states have a fundamental wish to survive; and that states attempt to behave rationally. Realists also tend to view structure in terms of the distribution of material capabilities.

On the other hand, social constructivists think that structure is the product of social relationship. Social structures, they argue, are made up of elements, such as shared knowledge, material resources, and practices. This means that social structures are defined, in part, by shared understandings, expectations, or knowledge (Baylis and Smith, 2006 Ch. 13). A regional security arrangement can be seen as a security community. A security community structure from the material capability structure of the realists. It is composed of shared knowledge in which states trust one another to resolve disputes without war.

Social constructivists emphasize on structures. Structures would include material things like tanks and economic resources, but these acquire meaning in a structure where knowledge is shared. The idea of `self-help" politics does affect the way

states behave, but does not describe all inter-state behavior. Because states are also influenced by other ideas, such as the rule of the law and the importance of institutional cooperation and restraint. The idea of *realpolitik* has meaning to the extent that states except the idea of a basic rule of international politics.

The "logic of reciprocity" means that states acquire a shared knowledge about the meaning of power and act accordingly. Policies of reassurance can also help to bring about a structure of shared knowledge which can help to move states forwards a more peaceful security community.

Social Constructivists agree on the central role of the state in debates about international security. They also argue that security dilemmas are not acts of God, but they differ over whether they can be escaped. For some, even though structures are socially constructed, it does not mean that they can be changed. (Wendt 1995: 80).

Others are more optimistic. They point to the changes in idea introduced by Gorbachev during the second half of the 1980s which led to a shared knowledge about the end of the cold war. Once both sides accepted the cold war was over, it really was over. According to this view, understanding the crucial role of social structures is important in developing policies and processes' of interaction which will lead towards cooperation rather than conflict (Baylis and Smith, 2006).

3.2 Critical Security Studies

Apart from the social constructionist theorist, there are other theorists who, however, believe that the state has been given too much prominence. (Krause and Williams 1997). These theorists also share the wish to de-emphasize the role of the state and reconceptualize security in a different way. Their "alternative" security studies includes a number of different approaches such as; critical theory and emancipation; feminist approaches, and post-modernist approaches.

3.2.1 Critical Theory and Emancipation

Critical theory is used here not necessarily as defined by the early crop of theorist like Adorno, Frank Honkheimer, Marcuse, Jurgen Habermas and Marx who were associated with the Frankfurt School founded in 1923. The theory is discussed here as it relates to international security studies. In this Robert Cox draws a distinction between Problem solving and critical Theories. Problem solving theorists work within the prevailing system. They take the existing social and political relations and institutions as starting point for analysis and then see how the problem rising from these can be served and ameliorated. (Smith 2000). In contrast, critical security Theorists focus their attention on the way these existing

relationships and institutions emerged, and what might be done to change them. They say that the state should not be the center of analysis because they are not only extremely diverse in character but also often part of the problem of insecurity to the international system (Baylis and Smith). They can be providers of security, but they can also be a source of threat to their own people. In their view, therefore, attention should be focused on the individual rather than the state.

With this as their main standpoint, writers like Booth and Wynn Jones argue that security can best be assured through "human emancipation" defined in terms of freeing people as individuals and groups, from the social, physical, economic, political and other constraints to their carrying out what they would freely choose to do. This focus on emancipation is designed to provide a theory of progress, a politics of hope and a guide to a resistance (Booth 1999). Critics fault the concept of emancipation as vague because of the difficulty of individual based theories to analyze international and global security (Rengger 2000).

3.2.2 Feminist Approaches

Feminist writers, among them Tickner (1992) also challenge the traditional emphasis on the central role of the state in the studies of international security. They also argue that works on international politics and international security have been written from a masculine point of view. Feminist writers argue that women have seldom been recognized by the security literature despite the fact that the vast majority of casualties and refugees in war are women and children more than men.

She points to the recent war in Bosnia and argues that the rape of women is often used as a tool of war. She also challenges the concept of "national security", arguing that the use of such terms is often designed to preserve the prevailing male-dominated order rather than to protect the state from external attack.

Feminist writers argue that if "gender" is given increased recognition in the study of security, new issues and alternative perspectives will be added to the security agenda, and, the result will be a fundamentally different view of the nature of international security. According to Jill Stearns (1998), rethinking security would "involve thinking about militarism and patriarchy, mal-development and environmental degradation". It also involves thinking about the relationship between poverty, debt and population growth, and about resources and how they are distributed. (Smith 2000).

3.2.3 Post-Modernist Views

In recent years there have been the emergence of post-modernist approaches to international relations has produced a distinctive perspective towards international security (Baylis & Smith). Post-modernist writers are of the view that ideas,

discourse and the logic of interpretation are crucial to understanding of international politics and security. Post-modernists join other who adopt the critical security studies approach and see Realism as one of the central problems of international security. This is because Realism is a "discourse of power and rule" which has been dominant in international politics in the past and which has encouraged security competition between states. Power politics is seen as an image of the world that encourages behaviour that help bring about war. Also the attempt to balance power is itself part of the very behaviour that leads to war. According to this view, alliances do not produce peace, but lead to war. The aim of many post-modernists, therefore, is to replace the discourse of Realism or power with a different discourse, and an alternative interpretation of concepts such as "danger" and what counts as a threat to "national security".

Post-modernists argue that there are no secure, timeless and unconnected foundations for making choices about interpretation. Realism is viewed both as a statistic ideology, largely out of touch with the globalizing tendencies which are occurring in world politics, and also as a dangerous discourse which is against efforts to establish a new and more peaceful hegemonic discourse. The reason is because Realism purports to provide a universal view about how the world is organized and what states have to do if they wish to survive. Post modernists reject what they see as preposterous certainty or Realism. In their view, the enormous complexity and indeterminacy of human behaviour across cultural, religious, historical and linguistic diversities means that there can be no single interpretation of global reality (Baylis & Smith).

According to the post-modernist view, the problem with Realism is that if the complexities of world politics are reduced are reduced to a single rigidly (i.e. the character and nature of Realist discourse) ordered framework of understanding, alternative interpretation and approaches the international security are ruled out. As Jim George argues, in the post-cold war strategic discourse, attention has been focused on the growing sense of insecurity concerning state involvement in military-industrial affairs and the perilous state of the global economy.

Post-modernist writers believe that it is essential to replace Realism with a communitarian discourse, and that it is an achievable objective. Because experts and especially academic writers have an important role to play in influencing the flow of ideas about world politics, it vital for them to play their part in the process of transforming language and discourse about international politics (Baylis & Smith).

3.3 Globalist Views of International Security

Writers from the global society school of thought have increasingly challenged the fact that in the past, the state has been the center of thinking about international relations. The scholars argue that at the beginning of the twenty-first century, the process of globalization (which has been developing over the centuries) has accelerated to the point where the clear outlines of a global society is now evident. The emergence not only of a global economic system but also of global communication and the elements of a global culture, have helped to provide a network of social relationships which "transcend state frontiers", and encompass people all over the world. This has led to the obsolescence of territorial wars between the Great Powers. This is happening at a time when new risks associated with the environment, poverty, and weapons of mass destruction are facing humanity, and when the nation-states are in crises. (Baylis & Smith).

The "global society" school accepts that globalization is an uneven and contradictory process. They point to the end of the cold war as being characterized not by an increasingly global awareness and the creation of a range of global "social movements" but also by the fragmentation of nation-states. This has been more so amongst the former communist states such as the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and (Czechoslovakia). Much of the pressures have also been felt in Western democratic societies with key institutions like the monarchy, the churches and the family. This has been what Martin Shaw (1994) has described as "a crisis of Western civil society." (Baylis & Smith). As Shaw argues, "the ideological cement of the Western civil society has dissolved". As a result, communities including villages and towns, ethnic groupings and their ways of life, traditions and their forms of social organizations - are threatened along with the lives and well-being of individuals. With these, the statehood cannot somewhat be characterized as fractured.

The result of this "fracture" has been a movement away from conflict between the Great Powers to new forms of insecurity caused by nationalistic ethnic and religious rivalries within states and across state boundaries - as in Bosnia, Russia, Somalia, Rwanda, Yemen and Kosovo during the 1990s. Mary Kalidor (1999) has described these conflicts as "new wars" which can only be understood in the context of globalization. She argues that the intensification of interconnectedness has meant that ideological and/or territorial cleavages of an earlier era have increasingly been supplanted by an emerging political cleavage between "cosmopolitanism" based on inclusive multicultural values and the politics of particularist identities. The cleavage between those who are part of the global processes and those who are excluded gives rise to wars which are characterized by population explosion caused by means such as mass killings, forcible

resettlement and refugees, as well as a range of political, psychological and economic techniques of intimidation. (Baylis & Smith).

Such conflicts can be critically problematic for the international community as to whether to intervene in the domestic affairs of a sovereign state to safeguard minority rights and individual human rights protect democracies and address global inequalities. This dilemma reflects the historic transformation of human society which is taking place at the beginning of the twenty first century. Although states continue to limp along, it is now increasingly necessary to think of the security of individuals and of the groups within the emergent global society. This is not reflected by the traditional focus of national or state security and sovereignty. What is needed according to the Globalist school of thought is a new politics of global responsibility. Thinking in such globalist terms will lead to more effective action, including intervention where necessary to deal with the risks to security which exist in the world community at present.

The globalist approach to security has been referred to by Anthony Giddens (1990) as "utopian Realism". This view holds that it is realistic to envisage the radical transformation of the international politics, as we have known it in the past. Indeed, such a transformation, it is argued, is already taking place. Given the trend towards globalization, it is realistic to envisage the expansion of the regional security community. At the root of such a vision, it is a process of

Self - Assessment Exercise

- Q1 From what you have learnt, what are the major Realist assumptions about international politics as accepted by Social Constructionists?
- Q2. Why is Realism viewed as a statist ideology and a dangerous discourse?

Possible Answers

- Q1 Answer found in 3.1
- Q2 Answer found in 3.2.3.

4.0 CONCLUSION

From the foregoing, the course has shown that the traditional view of the state as the center of international security thinking is shifting to a more globalist view.

The reason being that the state system and "its self-help" orientation is failing to deliver the individual and the groups embedded in it from insecurity. The failure of statehood is giving way to globalism. Globalist view of security is thought to be a more realistic and effective way of thinking about international relations and not in state-centric terms.

5.0 SUMMARY

There are three main alternative views of international and global security. First is the "Social constructivist" theory. This thinkers base their arguments on two main assumptions (1) That the fundamental structures of international politics are socially constructed; and (2) that changing the way we think about international relations can help to bring about greater international security social constructivists can be pessimistic or optimistic, about changing international relations, and achieving international security.

The second, alternative view of international and global security is the critical security studies. This has three segments to it. The critical theory and emancipation - critical security theorists argue that too much emphasis is given by most approaches to the state, while neglecting approaches relevant to the emancipation of the individual. (2) Feminist approaches - Writers argue that gender tends to be left out of the literature on international security, despite the impact of war on women and children. (3) Post-modernists - They emphasize the importance of ideas and discourse in thinking about international security. They aim to replace the discourse of Realism with a "communities and the development of a growing consensus on norms and beliefs". These are disputes about whether globalization will contribute to the weakening of the state, or simply to its transformation, or over whether a global society can be created which will usher in a new period of peace and security.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- Q1 What do social constructivists mean by "structure"?
- Q2 How do constructivist critical security theory differ from the feminist views about international security?
- Q3 Has increasing globalization brought more or less global security?
- Q4 What will be the role of "gender" in the study of security?

Each answer carries $\frac{2}{2}$ marks. The total score is 10 marks

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MODULE 5

UNIT 3 THE UNITED NATIONS: POLITICAL AND SECURITY ISSUES

CONTENT

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objective
- 3.0 Main Body
 - 3.1 Political Issues
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- 7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The United Nations has been charged with vast responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security. According to Article I of the Charter, it is expected "to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by lawful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace." The procedures available for the discharge of these stupendous obligations are laid down in the Charter in elaborate detail, particularly in Articles 33-51. The chief responsibility rests with the Security Council, but the General Assembly has played an increasingly significant role in this field.

The UN also has great responsibilities in dealing with what are called "security problems. These relate not to one state's charges of aggression or other misconduct against another state but to the UN's obligation to promote conditions of general security so that breaches of the peace by any state will become less likely, and so that effective sanctions can be invoked if breaches do occur. More particularly, its responsibilities pertain to the performances of three specifically as signed security duties: (1) the placing of military forces at its disposal, (2) the regulation of armaments, and (3) the international control of atomic energy. We shall examine in the next segment the UN's record in the handling of both political and security problems

2.0 OBJECTIVE

The objective of this unit is to look at the changing role of the UN in addressing matters of peace and security. As it also focuses on how the UN's role has evolved in response to changes in the global political context, and on the problem it still faces. And then the appraisal. These are discussed here for the student to gain an insight of the state of the world government - the United Nations.

3.0 MAIN BODY

3.1 Political Issues

The most difficult task of the United Nations has been the adjustment of political disputes. In evaluating its work in this field certain broad considerations should be borne in mind. In the first place, it should be recalled that the Charter imposes primary responsibility on the Security Council but that under certain conditions the General Assembly may take a hand. We shall observe this in a number of instances. Second, it should be remembered that the Security Council is bound to no specific procedure; it is authorized to use any or all of several indicated ways of reaching a settlement, or it may devise ways of its own. Its preference is to induce the disputing parties to settle their differences by direct negotiation. Third, the distinction between political disputes and legal disputes should be kept in mind, but it should not be disputes go to the Security Council and/or the General Assembly and legal disputes to the International Court of Justice, but any attempt to divide all disputes into these two categories would lead to confusion.

The peacekeeping operations have been perhaps the most dramatic and the most highly publicized of the multifarious activities of the United Nations. The "operations undertaken to date can be classified into four categories, although these are by no means clearly delineated: (1) observer groups to supervise cease-fires and truce lines, (2) military forces interposed between armies and used to patrol frontiers, (3) military forces with a mandate to curtail military conflict by all

necessary means, and to assist in maintaining internal order, and (4) a military presence to prevent the expansion communal conflict.

The record of the United Nations in dealing with the large number of political disputes brought before it has been varied. While no spectacular successes have been scored, the UN, as we shall see, has contributed, directly or indirectly, to the settlement of several controversies which might otherwise have become serious threats to world peace.

Other Political Disputes

Many other political issues have come before the Security Council or the General Assembly, or both. In some cases, as in the Soviet blockade of Berlin in 1948-49 and the fighting in Yemen between "royalists" and "rebels" supported rather substantially by Saudi Arabia and the U.A.R. respectively and UN's efforts to resolve the disputes have been quite ineffectual. In major crises, such as the disputes between Indonesia and the Netherlands over West Irian and between Indonesia and Malaysia, the direct confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union over Cuba in October, 1962, and the crisis in the Dominican Republic in May 1965, the UN has played a useful, but peripheral, role. On other delicate issues, such as the *apartheid* policies of the Republic of South Africa and Portuguese policies in Angola and Mozambique, the General Assembly has passed strong condemnatory resolutions and other UN agencies have gone on record in a similar vein, stronger action in the form of economic sanctions or military measures has not been attempted. Other important political questions have come before the Security Council or General Assembly without effective UN action.

Among these have been the following: a complaint by Syria and Lebanon in 1946 about the slowness of Britain and France in withdrawing troops from their territories; measures against the Franco regime in Spain; charges by India that South Africa was discriminating against the sizable Indian population in that country; a request by Egypt for the assistance of the Security Council in forcing Britain to evacuate her troops from the Suez Canal area and to terminate the joint Anglo-Egyptian rule in the Sudan; a complaint of the Nizam of Hyderabad against India; the events leading to the Communist coup in Czechoslovakia in February, 1948; complaints of violations of human rights in Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, and the U.S.S.R.; a charge by Nationalist China that the Soviet Union was aiding the Chinese Communists; an allegation by Communist China that the United States had committed "armed aggression" against her; British claims against Iran during the dispute over oil nationalization; and complaints by Arab-Asian countries against French policies in North Africa.

3.2 Security Issues

Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter defines the broad area of "security problems". These provisions, contained in two articles, relate particularly to military security. Article 47 provides for the setting up of a Military Staff Committee, to be composed of the chiefs of staff of the five permanent members of the Security Council (the Big Five) or their representatives, "to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to the Security Council's military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, the employment and command of forces placed at its' disposal, the regulation of armaments, and possible disarmament' ; and Article 26 places upon the Security Council final responsibility on cumulating plans "for the establishment of a system for the regulation of armaments." for the regulation of armaments." We shall discuss the attempts to implement these provisions and to deal with the problems raised by the development of weapons of mass destruction under three heads: armed forces for the United Nations; the regulation and reduction of armaments; and the control of atomic energy.

3.2.1 Armed Forces for the United Nations

The Military Staff Committee was established by the Security Council on January 25, 1946, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter. It was then specifically directed to undertake an examination of the military aspects and implications of Article 43, paragraph 1 of which reads as follows.

All members of -the United Nations, in order to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, undertake to make available to the' Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements, armed forces, assistance, and facilities, including the rights of passage, necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security."

This was certainly a large order: it was designed to give "teeth" to the UN. While Article 43 did not call for a real international police force it did provide that strong national contingents should be made available to the Security Council.

Most of the twenty-five meetings held in 1946 were devoted to consideration of the basic principles which should govern the organization of the national contingents and to work on a standard form of agreement to be used in negotiations between the Security Council and member states of the UN for the provision of "armed forces, assistance, and facilities". On April 30, 1947, the committee submitted a lengthy report to the Security Council. It revealed that little progress had been made by the military experts of the Big Five and that serious differences of opinion had arisen between the representatives Soviet Union and the other members of the committee. The Soviet member insisted that under Article

43 each of the Big Five should make available to the Council armed forces of exactly the same strength and type. While the Western powers also favored a balanced force, with a comparable overall contribution by each of the Big Five, they favored different contributions in land, sea, and air components. Later various estimates showed the major powers to be far apart in their views of the strength and approximate composition of the armed forces which in their opinion should be made available by their nations to the Security Council Committee, rather than Security Council's Military Staff Committee, would prepare for the application of sanctions.

The military units to be at its disposal, however, would not be true United Nations forces but "national armed forces elements" made available by previous agreement -- in effect, a return to the League of Nations system of voluntary contributions. A few states, mostly small ones, have earmarked units of their armed forces for possible UN use, but the response of most UN members to the proposal was "characterized in the main by vague approval but polite refusal to undertake any specific commitments" The Collective Measures Committee produced three reports-in 1951, 1952, and 1954-but it has been largely inactive since these years. Beginning with the Korean action in 1950, military operations have been carried on under the UN flag on several dramatic occasions. The Korean case represented a departure, unlikely to be repeated, from the conception that the UN would not attempt to apply the principle of collective security to (crises involving great powers. In the Gaza Strip and in the Congo, the UN undertook its first peacekeeping operations - under Chapter VI and not Chapter VII of the Charter. In these instance it mobilized military units from several of its member states - with the great powers excluded from a major role - with results which were generally regarded as helpful in dealing with critical situation, hut which imposed such strains on the UN itself that the desirability or capacity of operating further peacekeeping operations was very much in question. In Cyprus the UN was also able to establish a peace keeping force at a critical stage of affairs on that troubled island; but this operation was limited, and most of the expenses. were met by the United States, the states which Provided troops, and voluntary contributions.

3.2.2 Disarmament and Arms Control

Article 11 of the United Nations Charter authorizes the General Assembly to consider "the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments"; Article 26 makes the Security Council, with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee, responsible for the formulation of "plans ... for the establishment of a system for the regulation of armaments"; and Article 47 provides for the creation of the Military Staff Committee, "to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to," *inter alia*, "the regulation of armaments, and possible disarmament." In general, however, the Charter did not emphasize the functions or

responsibilities of the UN in the vital areas of disarmament and arms control. "The Charter's provisions may be interpreted as a sober recognition of the facts that disarmament is peculiarly dependent upon agreement among the major powers, and that the potential role of international agencies in bringing about such accord is sharply limited". But the UN could hardly ignore what has, been termed "the most urgent and vital issue confronting the world," and it has been almost continuously involved, either directly or peripherally, in disarmament negotiations. At its first session, in 1946, the General Assembly established, first, an Atomic Energy Commission, and then a Commission on Conventional Armaments, both directly responsible to the Security Council. In 1952 these two commissions were merged into a single Disarmament Commission, which has sometimes been the main theater of disarmament and arms control negotiations, and which at other times has been largely ignored.

3.2.3 The Control of Atomic Energy

We are here to make a choice between the quick and the dead. That is our business. Behind the black portent of the new atomic age lies a hope which, seized upon with faith, can work our salvation. If we fail, then we have damned every man to be the slave of Fear. Let us not deceive ourselves: We must elect World Peace or World Destruction.

With these vigorous words Bernard M. Baruch, United States representative on the Atomic Energy Commission of the United Nations, opened his address at the first session of the commission on June 14, 1946. A year before, when the final touches were being put on the United Nations Charter, the statesmen at San Francisco had been unaware that a new era was soon to be born. Less than two months later, however, the terrifying secret was disclosed when atomic bombs were dropped on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima (August 6) and Nagasaki (August 9), with devastating effect.

Realizing that atomic control could not be accomplished on the national level, the President of the United States and the Prime Ministers' of Great Britain and Canada, representing the governments which had collaborated during the war in the development of the atomic bomb, met in November, 1945, and issued an Agreed Declaration urging that international action for the control of atomic energy be taken under the auspices of the United Nations. The Soviet Union endorsed the declaration. In January, 1946, the General Assembly established the Atomic Energy Commission, composed of one representative of each of the states on the Security Council and one from Canada. The Council was to issue directives to the AEC, approve its reports, recommendations, and rules of procedure, and transmit such of these as it chose to other UN agencies. In the same resolution the Council instructed the commission to proceed.

3.2.4 UN: Agenda For Peace

In the early 1990s, after the end of the cold war, the UN agenda for peace security expanded quickly. Secretary-General Boutros Ghali, outlines the ambitious role of the UN in his seminal report: An agenda for peace. The report described interconnected roles for the UN to maintain peace and security in the post-cold war context that include:

- ***Preventive diplomacy:*** involving confidence-building measures, fact finding and preventive development of UN authorized forces.
- ***Peacemaking:*** designed to bring hostile parties to agreement, especially through peaceful means. However when all peaceful means have failed, peace enforcement authorized under chapter VII of the charter may be necessary. Peace enforcement may occur without the consent of the parties.
- ***Peace-keeping:*** the development of a UN presence in the field with the consent of all parties, this refers to classical peace-keeping.
- ***Post-conflict peace building:*** to develop the social political and economic infrastructure to prevent further violence and to consolidate peace.

3.3 An Appraisal

While one must admit that the United Nations has failed to "settle," definitively, a single dispute brought before it, this is not to say that it has not relieved tensions in many crucial situations. That it has failed to achieve any of the three major objectives of the security provisions admits of less qualification.

Two points should be mentioned in defense of the UN's record of limited success in dealing with political disputes. (1) Few inter-territorial disputes are really "settled," but they may be compromised, postponed, or otherwise prevented from leading to serious international crises, and with the passage of time may lose much of their explosive character. UN can play, and has played, a useful role in "defusing" disputes that might otherwise lead to international explosions. (2) The United Nations encourages the parties to a dispute to "seek solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice" (Article 33 of the Charter). In other words, the role of the UN is an intermediary one, and only when all other procedures for peaceful settlement have been exhausted is the Security Council requested to invoke the more stringent provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter. Moreover, it is well to note again that the Council cannot act unless all the great powers are ready and willing to support its action.

Although the UN does not have many striking successes to its credit in the handling of political disputes, its services as a mediator have been valuable in several instances. The work of the UN Committee of Good Offices in Indonesia, the services of various UN commissions, dealing with Greek frontier incidents, India and Pakistan, and Palestine, and the indefatigable labors of Count Bernadotte and Dr. Ralph Bunche in the delicate negotiations between Jewish and Arab spokesmen - all these deserve high commendation, much more than has yet been accorded. Although the efforts of other commissions and committees, such as the UN Temporary Commission on Korea and the Technical Committee on Berlin Currency and Trade, were less fruitful, they were nonetheless conscientious and zealous, and their limited results were due to circumstances beyond their control. In all of the political disputes which have been discussed in this chapter, the UN played a useful and significant and sometimes a peripheral and limited role. The value of the UN presence in such crisis areas as Kashmir, Korea, the Gaza Strip, West Irian, the Congo, and Cyprus can hardly be denied, although it is sometimes overlooked or denigrated.

In dealing with security problems, however, the UN has run into obstructions just as real as, and even more serious than, those faced in political disputes. The main security agencies of the Security Council- the Military Staff Committee, the Commission for Conventional Armaments, the Atomic Energy Commission, and

the Disarmament Commission - prepared elaborate plans which the majority approved, but all of these plans encountered the great power deadlock that has frustrated every effort to implement the international cooperation everywhere in the postwar period. If the failure to provide armed forces for the United Nations and to regulate and reduce armaments is particularly serious - as it certainly is - what shall be said of the complete impasse in the efforts to set up an effective system for the international control of atomic energy? Atomic control may well be the central problem in the international relations of our time. Even if the choice is not so inexorably between "one world or none," as many scientists tell us, or between "the quick and the dead," to use Bernard Baruch's phrase, the problem is still a crucial one. Until some answer is found to the question of the control of the power of the atom, an answer which, we can be sure, must be sought on the international plane, insecurity and ever-present danger will be the lot of the people of the world.

It would be unfair to blame the United Nations for this most tragic of failures on the international scene. The roots of this failure lie deeply embedded in nationalism, sovereignty, and nation-state psychology, and also in the perversities of the human race. The United Nations has made a thorough study of the technical and political requirements for the effective control of atomic energy; beyond that it

cannot go unless the peoples of the world, or at least those of the great powers, are willing to support its efforts on their behalf.

Self Assessment Exercise

Q 1. What are the 4 main activities of peace keeping operation of the UN?

Q2. What are the main points of the UN agenda for peace?

Possible Answers

Q1 Answers found in 3.1

Q2 Answer found in 3.2.4

4.0 CONCLUSION

The United Nations is the only global institution with the legitimacy that derives from universal membership, and a mandate that encompasses security, economies and social development, the protection of human rights, and the protection of environment. Yet the UN was created by states for states and the relationship between sovereignty and the limits of UN action has remained key issues.

Despite the growth in UN activities, however, there are some questions about the relevance and effectiveness of the UN. The failure, for instance, to get clear the UN Security Council authorization for the war in Iraq in 2003, led to well publicized criticism of the UN and a crises in international relations.

5.0 SUMMARY

The United Nations reflects the hope for a just and peaceful global community. The UN is charged with the responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security.

One of the most difficult tasks of the UN has been the adjustment of political disputes. The Security Council is bound to no specific procedure, it is authorized to use any or all of several indicated ways of searching a settlement, or it may device ways of its own.

Secretary-Generals have in their turns put forward their proposals or agenda for peace, but whether they are pursued, and or realized become another question.

All in all, UN has scored some successes in some areas of functional activity including in security, social, morals and so forth.

6.0 TUTOR - MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- Q1. With reference to Article 1 of the UN Charter, what is expected of the United Nations?
- Q2. How does chapter VII of the United Nations define the broad area of "security problem."?

Each question carries 5 marks. The total score is 10 marks.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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MODULE 5

UNIT 4 INTERNATIONAL REGIMES

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objective
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 - 3.1 Defining Regimes
 - 3.2 Meaning of Regime
 - 3.3 Globalization and International Regimes
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 - 3.3.4 Economic Regime
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- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

An important dimension of globalization has been the establishment of worldwide regimes to foster rule-governed activity within the international system. Although international rule-governed activity predates the emergence of the modern state it is only during the course of the twentieth century that regimes can be regarded as a global phenomenon, with states becoming enmeshed in increasingly complex sets of rules and institutions which regulate international relations around the world. There is now no area of international intercourse devoid of regimes, where states are not circumscribed, to some extent or other, by the existence of mutually accepted sets of rules. Indeed, many regimes are so firmly embedded in the system that they are almost taken for granted.

Only when something goes drastically wrong, as, for example, in 1983, when the Soviet Defense Forces shot down the civilian South Korean airliner, KAL-007, killing all 269 persons on board, is our attention drawn to the fact that international relations are, in practice, extensively regulated by complex regimes negotiated and policed by states. International terrorism is, as a consequence, particularly disturbing because terrorists do not consider themselves bound by regimes. It is because the use of regimes to promote everything from arms control to the enhancement of global economic welfare seems to be so self evidently-beneficial, that the difficulty of securing regimes requires some explanation. Sadly, there is no agreed answer.

The concept of a regime is relatively recent, coming into common parlance in the 1970s. From the 1970s onwards a series of global developments, to be discussed below, have encouraged theorists in International Relations to focus on the rapid expansion of regimes in the international system. The new breed of regime theorists have spawned an enormous literature. (Levy et al. 1995), with increasingly complex and diverse research now being conducted across the globe (Rittberger 1993).

In this unit, we learn about the benefits of regimes in international relations and global governance in an age of increasing globalization; and how they affect our lives as individual or groups or simple as citizens of the world.

There are self-assessment exercise to test your understanding of this course unit. It is compulsory to do and submit the tutor-marked assignment which must be submitted together with the form to your tutor for formal assessment. You are encouraged to avail yourself of the list of references/further reading on the last page.

2.0 OBJECTIVE

The objective of this unit is to familiarize fresh students with yet another phenomenon of global reality increasing making its way arguably as a sub field of international relations after international political economy (IPE). It is in fact reflecting the increasing globalization of myriad of international issues. By the end of this course, the student will have learnt about the various standpoints of the proponents and opponents of international regimes and how they seek to address the issues confronting mankind.

3.0 MAIN BODY

3.1 Defining Regimes

Regimes are identified by Krasner (1983:2) as sets of implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules, and decision making procedures around which actors' expectations converge in a given area of international relations.'

The four defining elements of a regime

1. *Principles* are represented by coherent bodies of theoretical statements about how the world works. The GATT operated on the basis of liberal principles which assert that global welfare will be maximized by free trade.
2. *Norms* specify general standards of behaviour, and identify the rights and obligations of states. So, in the case of the GATT, the basic norm is that tariffs and non-tariff barriers should be reduced and eventually eliminated. Together, norms and principles define the essential character of a regime and these cannot be changed without transforming the nature of the regime.
3. *Rules* operate at a lower level of generality than principles and norms, and they are often designed to reconcile conflicts which may exist between the principles and norms. Third World states, for example, wanted rules which differentiated between developed and underdeveloped countries.
4. *Decision making procedures* identify specific prescriptions for behaviour, the system of voting, for example, which will regularly change as a regime is consolidated and extended. The rules and procedures governing the GATT (now WTO), for example, underwent substantial modification during its history. Indeed, the purpose of the successive conferences was to change the rules and decision making procedures (Krasner 1985: 4-5)

3.2 Meaning of regime

Regime means a system of government administration. The most common use of this term in recent years has been in the phrase "military regime". So while any government may be termed a regime, be it monarchical, aristocratic, republican, or tyranic, the term unavoidably conjures memories of tanks in the streets of Latin America, Eastern Europe or in Africa, particularly Nigeria. This is to be regretted since the term regime has two more technical sense. First, when governments come and go with bewildering frequency as in the nineteenth century Spain or in the post 1945 Italy and elsewhere, in the twentieth century, there may still be an absence of fundamental or revolutionary change. In these circumstance, it may be possible to speak of regime continuity. Alternatively or more, rarely, a change of regime from constitutional monarch to tyranny or from federalism to unitary.

Secondly, in international relations, the difficulty of, accommodating the use of non-state actors such as NGO within state-centric realist models of explanation has led to the use of the term "regime" to cover norm-bound interactions relating

to issues such as the global environment of human rights in which states, international organizations, transnational corporations, individuals and worldwide pressure groups like Greenpeace or Amnesty International all take part.

3.3 Globalization and International Regimes

During the course of the last two centuries the advancement of technology made it possible for more and more people to come into increasingly close contact across the globe. Worldwide communication is now instantaneous in many areas of activity. As we move through the twenty-first century, however, it becomes increasingly clear that not every aspect of this globalization of world politics is beneficial.

Technology has made it possible to build weapons with the potential to wreak global devastation and to pollute the atmosphere with chemicals that could possibly have irreversible and certainly very dangerous global consequences. Our impact on the world we inhabit is both frightening and exciting. But either way it is becoming increasingly apparent that if we are all to benefit rather than suffer from globalization, it is becoming increasingly apparent that if we are all to benefit rather than suffer from globalization, it is essential to manage the process. No one thinks that this task will be easy; pessimists doubt that it is even possible. Regime theorists, on the other hand, see grounds for optimism. They believe that survival depends upon our capacity to regulate global activity by means of regimes; and, as we demonstrate in this section, although not in any comprehensive fashion, the evidence indicates that states can establish regimes across a wide range of activities. Some of the major range of activities is discussed here in the forms of security, environmental communication and economic regimes.

3.3.1 Security Regimes

Although security regimes are primarily a twentieth-century phenomenon, permitting states to escape from the security dilemma it is possible to identify earlier examples. The Concert of Europe for instance, constitutes a regime formed by the conservative states of post-Napoleonic Europe to counter future revolution and conflict. At the same time, on the other side of the Atlantic, the British and Americans established the Rush-Bagot agreement in 1817 to demilitarize the Great Lakes. But whereas the tacit regional regime in Europe began to decay soon after it was formed, the full-blown bilateral regime in North America became steadily stronger until, eventually, the long border between Canada and the United States was permanently demilitarized.

Regular attempts to establish full-blown security regimes, however, only started to proliferate during the twentieth century, particularly after the onset of the cold war. But the effectiveness of these regimes has often been questioned. Jervis

(1983b), for example, argues that some of the major regimes, such as SALT 1 (1972) and SALT 2 (1979) designed to bring the arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union under control, were effectively dead-letter regimes. Despite the prolonged negotiations and detailed agreements, there was no evidence that they brought the arms race under control, because neither superpower expected the other to desist from developing new weapons technology.

Nevertheless, there are arms control agreements that do seem to have established fragile security regimes. The Partial Test Ban Agreement of 1963 has undoubtedly encouraged a prohibition of atmospheric testing. And the 1968 Nonproliferation Agreement continues to act as a restraint on any increase in the number of nuclear weapons states. The agreement had been signed by 187 states in 2004, the vast majority of states in the international system, with only India, Pakistan, Israel, and Cuba persisting as non-parties to the Agreement. Although fragile, the regime enjoys a very broad measure of support, so despite the fact that the regime has been breached, and further breaches are possible, the regime helps to reinforce the widespread expectation that nuclear weapons will not spread.

3.3.2 Environmental Regimes

As scientists have become increasingly aware of the damage being done to the global environment, so the importance attached to environmental regimes has steadily risen. Oil pollution, global warming, and damage to the ozone layer are the issues that have attracted most public attention, but regimes have been established in a wide range of areas in the attempt to protect the global environment. For example, international conventions to save endangered plant and animal species can be traced back to the 1970s, and a comprehensive Convention on Biological Diversity came into force in December 1993. There have also been attempts since the mid-1980s to regulate the international movement of hazardous waste material, with the Basle Convention establishing a complete ban in March 1993 on the shipping of hazardous waste from countries in the developed world to countries in the under-developed world.

Despite the wide range of agreements intended to protect the global environment, it is unlikely that many will consolidate into full-blown regimes. Instead, there is a perennial danger that they will degenerate into dead-letter regimes. Even agreements that are effective may turn out not to have solved the original problem. For example, attempts to deal with the ozone layer can be traced back to 1977 when the United Nations Environment Programme established a Coordinating committee to deal with the ozone layer. With the accumulating pollution, concerned states eventually agreed to implement the Montreal protocol in 1989, which put forward a raft of measures to protect the ozone layer. Despite the rapid

implementation of these measures, scientific evidence in 1996 indicated that the situation was continuing to deteriorate. The initial measures were proving to be inadequate and it was clear that the rules established in the original regime would need to be reviewed.

3.3.3 Communication Regimes

Prior to the nineteenth century, the most significant areas of international communication regulated by regimes were concerned with shipping and postal services. With further developments in technology, however, the need for regimes extended to the international regulation of aircraft and telecommunications. Collectively, the resulting network of regimes can be seen to provide an essential part of the infrastructure underpinning the modern international economy. Without this infrastructure, international trade, foreign investment, and the worldwide monetary system could not be sustained.

The need for a regime governing shipping can be traced back to the technological developments in shipbuilding in the sixteenth century that permitted in subsequent centuries - an extraordinary expansion of international trade. This expansion could not have gone on, however, without the consolidation of a tacit regime ensuring, among other things, the freedom of movement for shipping on the high seas and the right of innocent passage through territorial waters under the sovereign jurisdiction of maritime states. The bulk of international trade continues to be transported by sea and these central norms remain in place. However, key rules operating under these norms have undergone change. In the third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), which went on from 1973 to 1982, for example, territorial waters were extended from three to twelve miles, but this new rule left the underlying norm about innocent passage undisturbed.

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries a range of organizations emerged to manage and strengthen the regimes that secure international communications. In 1863 the major industrial states came together to establish a standardized system for postal communication and this was formalized with the establishment of the Universal Postal Union in 1874. In 1865, the International Telegraph Union came into existence to regulate telegraphic communication and this evolved into the International Telecommunications Union in 1932 to cope with the increasingly complex technological developments in communications. Finally it is worth noting a range of organizations such as the International Maritime Organization and the International Civil Aviation Organization that have helped to maintain the regimes which operate in the areas of shipping and aircraft.

3.3.4 Economic Regimes

It is often argued that the regimes in the economic arena are firmly entrenched than those in any other. As already noted, however, the international economy could not function in the absence of the infrastructure provided by the communication regimes. The two sets of regimes are inextricably linked. Indeed, over the last decade, as the regimes governing the international economy have become ever more firmly established, the underlying liberal principles governing these regimes have started to impinge on the communication regimes. This development is reflected in the growing attempts to open postal services, telecommunications, and national airlines to greater competition. This development is leading to a modification of the basic principle underlying these regimes which in the past has always favoured state control over the rules regulating these activities.

It is not possible to provide even a brief survey of the complex economic regimes established in the era after the Second World War. But it is worth noting that they reflect the determined effort made by the United States, in particular, to consolidate a set of regimes built upon liberal principles. In particular, the United States wished to establish a trading regime established on free trade principles and, as we have seen, the GATT, now the World Trade Organization, was established to achieve this goal. At the same time, however, the United States also recognized that trade requires stable domestic economies and a stable monetary system to flourish. A range of international organizations, such as the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development were established after 1945 to promote an environment where trade could flourish. Although there were fears that the economic regimes established by the United States would collapse as weaknesses in its own economy became apparent in the late 1960s, the economic regimes brought into existence after 1945 have proved to be surprisingly resilient.

Self Assessment Exercise

- Q1 In defining a regime, what elements must be born in mind?
- Q2 What does International Regime mean to you?

Possible Answer

Q1 Answer found in 3.1

Q2 Answer found in 3.2

4.0 CONCLUSION

It can be acknowledged that regimes are an important feature of the international system. The need for regime arises because there is always a danger in the anarchic international system that competitive strategies that are otherwise seen to be the national response within an anarchically structured system.

Realists link the emergence of regimes to situations where there is a mutual desire to cooperate, but where anarchy generates a problem of coordination. Even then, Realists assume that there is no incentive to defect once coordination has taken place.

The two approaches also adhere to divergent conceptions of power. For liberal institutionalists power may be used by a hegemon to pressure other states to collaborate and conform to a regime. But it is also acknowledged that states can establish and maintain regimes in the absence of hegemonic power. Collaborative strategies are pursued and maintained because of the "shadow of the future" - a mutual recognition that if any state defects from a regime, it will result in mass defection on a "tit for tat" basis and states moving from an optimum to sub optimum outcomes. There is no doubt that "lead" states do establish regimes in the expectation that other states will follow. For example, in 1987, 22 states signed the Montreal-Protocol agreeing to reduce CFC gases - which erode the Ozone layer - by 50 percent by 1998. But in 1990, the timetable was accelerated, and the signatories expanded to 81, all agreeing to eliminate CFCs by 2000. But, how far they have succeeded can be located in a different research report.

5.0 SUMMARY

Regimes represent an important feature of globalization. There is a growing number of global regimes being formed. Liberal institutionalists have developed competing approaches to the analysis of regimes.

Regime is an attempt initiated in the 1970s by social scientists to account for the existence of rule-governed behaviour in the anarchic international system. Regimes have been defined in principles, norms, rules and decision-making procedures. Regimes now help to regulate international relations in many spheres of activity.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- Q 1 What are the defining elements of a regime?
Q2 Is a regime the same as an organization?
Q3 Why did the study of International regimes develop in the 1970s?
Q4 What characteristic features do the Realist and Liberal Institutional approaches to regime analysis share?

Each answer carries 2 ½ marks. The score is a total of 10 marks.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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