



**NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA**

**SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**COURSE CODE: INR300**

**3 CREDIT UNITS**

**COURSE TITLE: THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**



**COURSE  
GUIDE**

**INR 300  
THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

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## **COURSE DESCRIPTION**

The study of international relations takes a wide range of theoretical approaches. Some emerge from within the discipline itself; others have been imported, in whole or in part, from disciplines such as economics or sociology. Indeed, few social scientific theories have not been applied to the study of relations amongst nations. Many theories of international relations are internally and externally contested, and few scholars believe only in one or another. In spite of this diversity, several major schools of thought are discernable, differentiated principally by the variables they emphasize. We shall start with the origins of the theoretical study of international relations, the traditional scientific and post behavioral schools in international relations and then move on to the various theories, for example systems theory, functional theory, decision making theory, simulation and games theory. Finally we shall get down to the application and utility of these theories.

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## **INTRODUCTION**

The aim of this course is to provide students with a general introduction to the major theories of international relations. In each case, we will locate the historical context of these theories, show where and how they contribute to an understanding of what international relations is and how it works, and identify their weaknesses and blind spots. By the end of the course, students should expect to have an informed and critical grasp of the way international politics has been, and is being understood. We will consider some of the main concepts that define the theorization of international relations: war and peace, states and nations, societies and systems, empires and colonies, revolutions and resistances. We will examine the theoretical traditions within which they are contested. This includes coverage of mainstream theoretical traditions and various alternative accounts. Students taking the course will receive a broad introduction to IR theories, and their critiques, as well as considering issues of ‘global’ politics more generally. This will enhance students’ analytical skills, both in terms of developing and presenting their own arguments, developing their capacity to engage in informed discussion and argument about complex political questions.

## **COURSE OBJECTIVES**

At the end of the course students should:

- be familiar with the main theories and models applied in the study of international relations, their ambitions, achievements and limitations;
- have substantive knowledge of the cases covered by the course;
- have developed a critical approach to current debates and issues in world politics and the discipline of international relations; and
- have developed transferable skills, including critical evaluation, analytical investigation, written presentation and communication.

### **The specific objectives of this course include helping**

students to interpret and describe international relations, to study a variety of explanations for various events and non-events, and to consider various prescriptions or solutions to different kinds of problems. At a more prosaic level, it is hoped that you will become a more intelligent consumer of news about international issues. As you become familiar with the various approaches to the study of IR, and with their particular strengths and weaknesses, you will be able more readily to identify the options available to international actors and the constraints within which they operate.

## **WORKING THROUGH THE COURSE**

To complete the course, you are required to read the study units and other related materials. You will also need to undertake practical exercises for which you need a pen, a note-book, and other materials that will be listed in this guide. The exercises are to aid you in understanding the concepts being presented. At the end of each unit, you will be required to submit written assignment for assessment purposes.

At the end of the course, you will be expected to write a final examination.

## **THE COURSE MATERIAL**

In this course, as in all other courses, the major components you will find are as follows:

1. Course Guide
2. Study Units
3. Textbooks
4. Assignments

## **STUDY UNITS**

There are 20 study units in this course. They are:

### **MODULE 1 THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**UNIT 1** What is International Relations?

**UNIT 2** Scope and Purpose of International Relations

**UNIT 3** Preconditions for International Relations

**UNIT 4** Is International Relations a discipline?

### **MODULE 2 APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**UNIT 1** Approaches to the Study of International Relations

**UNIT 2** The Analytical Approach

**UNIT 3** The Normative Approach

**UNIT 4** The Scientific Approach

### **MODULE 3 BASIC THEORIES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**UNIT 1** Basic Theories and Concepts in International Relations

**UNIT 2** Liberalism, Neo-Liberalism, Realism, Neo-Realism Theories

**UNIT 3** Marxism, Neo-Marxism, Feminism, the English School

**UNIT 4** System, Game, Integration and Humanitarian Theories

### **MODULE 4 FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS**

**UNIT 1** Analyzing Foreign Policy

**UNIT 2** Problems of Levels of analysis

**UNIT 3** The Concept of Power

**UNIT 4** National and other Interests

### **MODULE 5 WAR AND POLITICS IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM**

**UNIT 1** War: The Human Record

**UNIT 2** Weaponry: Quantity Versus Quality

**UNIT 3** The Changing Nature of War

**UNIT 4** Global Efforts to Control Weapons of Mass Destruction

As you can observe, the course begins with the basics and expands into a more elaborate, complex and detailed form. All you need to do is to follow the instructions as provided in each unit. In addition, some self-assessment exercises have been provided with which you can test your progress with the text and determine if your study is fulfilling the stated objectives. Tutor-marked assignments have also been provided to aid your study. All these will assist you to be able to fully grasp the spirit and letters of Europe's role and place in international politics.

## **TEXTBOOKS AND REFERENCES**

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

## **ASSESSMENT**

Two types of assessment are involved in the course: the Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs), and the Tutor-Marked Assessment (TMA) questions. Your answers to the SAEs are not meant to be submitted, but they are also important since they give you an opportunity to assess your own understanding of the course content. Tutor-Marked Assignments (TMAs) on the other hand are to be carefully answered and kept in your assignment file for submission and marking. This will count for 30% of your total score in the course.

## **TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

At the end of each unit, you will find tutor-marked assignments. There is an average of two tutor-marked assignments per unit. This will allow you to engage the course as robustly as possible. You need to submit at least four assignments of which the three with the highest marks will be recorded as part of your total course grade. This will account for 10 percent each, making a total of 30 percent. When you complete your assignments, send them including your form to your tutor for formal assessment on or before the deadline.

Self-assessment exercises are also provided in each unit. The exercises should help you to evaluate your understanding of the material so far.

These are not to be submitted. You will find all answers to these within the units they are intended for.

## **FINAL EXAMINATION AND GRADING**

There will be a final examination at the end of the course. The examination carries a total of 70 percent of the total course grade. The examination will reflect the contents of what you have learnt and the self-assessments and tutor-marked assignments. You therefore need to revise your course materials beforehand.

## COURSE MARKING SCHEME

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

ASSESSMENT	MARKS
Four assignments (the best four of all the assignments submitted for marking)	Four assignments, each marked out of 10%, but highest scoring three selected, thus totalling 30%
Final Examination	70% of overall course score
<b>Total</b>	<b>100% of course score</b>

## COURSE OVERVIEW PRESENTATION SCHEME

Units	Title of Work	Week Activity	Assignment (End-of-Unit)
<b>Course Guide</b>			
<b>Module 1</b>	<b>The Study of International Relations</b>		
Unit 1	What is International Relations?	Week 1	Assignment 1
Unit 2	Scope and Purpose of International Relations	Week 2	Assignment 1
Unit 3	Preconditions for International Relations	Week 3	Assignment 1
Unit 4	Is International Relations a discipline?	Week 4	Assignment 1
<b>Module 2</b>	<b>Approaches to the Study of International Relations</b>		
Unit 1	Approaches to the Study of International Relations	Week 5	Assignment 1
Unit 2	The Analytical Approach	Week 6	Assignment 1
Unit 3	The Normative Approach	Week 7	Assignment 1
Unit 4	The Scientific Approach	Week 8	Assignment 1
<b>Module 3</b>	<b>Basic Theories in International Relations</b>		
Unit 1	Basic Theories and Concepts in International Relations	Week 9	Assignment 1
Unit 2	Liberalism, Neo-Liberalism, Realism, Neo-Realism Theories	Week 10	Assignment 1
Unit 3	Marxism, Neo-Marxism, Feminism, the English School	Week 11	Assignment 1
Unit 4	System, Game, Integration and Humanitarian Theories	Week 12	Assignment 1
<b>Module 4</b>	<b>Foreign Policy Analysis</b>		
Unit 1	Analyzing Foreign Policy	Week 13	Assignment 1
Unit 2	Problems of Levels of analysis	Week 14	Assignment 1
Unit 3	The Concept of Power	Week 15	Assignment 1
Unit 4	National and other Interests	Week 16	Assignment 1

<b>Module 5</b>	<b>War and Politics in the International System</b>		
Unit 1	War: The Human Record	Week 17	Assignment 1
Unit 2	Weaponry: Quantity Versus Quality	Week 18	Assignment 1
Unit 3	The Changing Nature of War	Week 19	Assignment 1
Unit 4	Global Efforts to Control Weapons of Mass Destruction	Week 20	Assignment 1
	Revision	Week 21	
	Examination	Week 22	
	<b>Total</b>	<b>22 Weeks</b>	

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

This course builds on what you have learnt in the 100 and 200 Levels. It will be helpful if you try to review what you studied earlier. Second, you may need to purchase one or two texts recommended as important for your mastery of the course content. You need quality time in a study friendly environment every week. If you are computer-literate (which ideally you should be), you should be prepared to visit recommended websites. You should also cultivate the habit of visiting reputable physical libraries accessible to you.

## **TUTORS AND TUTORIALS**

There are 15 hours of tutorials provided in support of the course. You will be notified of the dates and location of these tutorials, together with the name and phone number of your tutor as soon as you are allocated a tutorial group. Your tutor will mark and comment on your assignments, and keep a close watch on your progress. Be sure to send in your tutor marked assignments promptly, and feel free to contact your tutor in case of any difficulty with your self-assessment exercise, tutor-marked assignment or the grading of an assignment. In any case, you are advised to attend the tutorials regularly and punctually. Always take a list of such prepared questions to the tutorials and participate actively in the discussions.

## **ASSESSMENT EXERCISES**

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

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

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

## **FINAL EXAMINATION AND GRADING**

The final examination for INR 300 Theories of International Relations will be of two hours duration and have a value of 70% of the total course grade. The examination will consist of multiple choice and fill-in-the-gaps questions which will reflect the practice exercises and tutor-marked assignments you have previously encountered. All areas of the course will be assessed. It is important that you use adequate time to revise the entire course. You may find it useful to review your tutor-marked assignments before the examination. The final examination covers information from all aspects of the course.

## **HOW TO GET THE MOST FROM THIS COURSE**

1. There are 16 units in this course. You are to spend one week in each unit. In distance learning, the study units replace the university lecture. This is one of the great advantages of distance learning; you can read and work through specially designed study materials at your own pace, and at a time and place that suites you best. Think of it as reading the lecture instead of listening to the lecturer. In the same way a lecturer might give you some reading to do. The study units tell you when to read and which are your text materials or recommended books. You are provided exercises to do at appropriate points, just as a lecturer might give you in a class exercise.
2. Each of the study units follows a common format. The first item is an introduction to the subject matter of the unit, and how a particular unit is integrated with other units and the course as a whole. Next to this is a set of learning objectives. These objectives let you know what you should be able to do, by the time you have completed the unit. These learning objectives are meant to guide your study. The moment a unit is finished, you must go back and check whether you have achieved the objectives. If this is made a habit, then you will significantly improve your chance of passing the course.
3. The main body of the unit guides you through the required reading from other sources. This will usually be either from your reference or from a reading section.
4. The following is a practical strategy for working through the course. If you run into any trouble, telephone your tutor or visit the study centre nearest to you. Remember that your tutor's job is to help you. When you need assistance, do not hesitate to call and ask your tutor to provide it.
5. Read this course guide thoroughly. It is your first assignment.

6. Organise a study schedule – Design a ‘Course Overview’ to guide you through the course. Note the time you are expected to spend on each unit and how the assignments relate to the units.
7. Important information; e.g. details of your tutorials and the date of the first day of the semester is available at the study centre.
8. You need to gather all the information into one place, such as your diary or a wall calendar. Whatever method you choose to use, you should decide on and write in your own dates and schedule of work for each unit.
9. Once you have created your own study schedule, do everything to stay faithful to it.
10. The major reason that students fail is that they get behind in their coursework. If you get into difficulties with your schedule, please let your tutor or course coordinator know before it is too late for help.
11. Turn to Unit 1, and read the introduction and the objectives for the unit.
12. Assemble the study materials. You will need your references for the unit you are studying at any point in time.
13. As you work through the unit, you will know what sources to consult for further information.
14. Visit your study centre whenever you need up-to-date information.
15. Well before the relevant online TMA due dates, visit your study centre for relevant information and updates. Keep in mind that you will learn a lot by doing the assignment carefully. They have been designed to help you meet the objectives of the course and, therefore, will help you pass the examination.
16. Review the objectives for each study unit to confirm that you have achieved them. If you feel unsure about any of the objectives, review the study materials or consult your tutor. When you are confident that you have achieved a unit’s objectives, you can start on the next unit. Proceed unit by unit through the course and try to space your study so that you can keep yourself on schedule.
17. After completing the last unit, review the course and prepare yourself for the final examination. Check that you have achieved the unit objectives (listed at the beginning of each unit) and the course objectives (listed in the course guide).

## **CONCLUSION**

This is a theory course but you will get the best out of it if you cultivate the habit of relating it to political issues in domestic and international arenas.

## SUMMARY

'Theories of International Relations', introduces you to the general understanding as regards traditional scientific and the post behavioral schools in International Relations. All the basic course materials that you need to successfully complete the course are provided. At the end, you will be able to:

- be familiar with the main theories and models applied in the study of international relations, their ambitions, achievements and limitations;
- have substantive knowledge of the cases covered by the course;
- have developed a critical approach to current debates and issues in world politics and the discipline of international relations; and
- have developed transferable skills, including critical evaluation, analytical investigation, written presentation and communication.

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## Websites and blogs

There are an increasing number of blogs devoted to international studies, some of which we pay regular visits. ‘The Duck of Minerva’ (<http://duckofminerva.blogspot.com/>) is a collective venture established by a youngish crowd of IR scholars. ‘The disorder of things’ is a group blog set-up by an even younger, and altogether more radical, collective: (<http://thedisorderofthings.wordpress.com/>). ‘Relations international’ (<http://relationsinternational.com/>) is worth bookmarking, as is ‘Political Violence at a Glance’ (<http://politicalviolenceataglance.org/>). For those interesting in philosophy of social science, Daniel Little hosts an excellent site: <http://understandingsociety.blogspot.co.uk/>. e-International Relations (<http://www.e-ir.info/>) is a solid, student-friendly site.

Other useful websites include <http://globetrotter.berkeley.edu/conversations/>, the front-page for the University of California, Berkeley’s ‘conversations with history’ TV programme. The site contains interviews with some of the leading figures in IR theory including Kenneth Waltz, John Mearsheimer, Stephen Krasner and Robert Keohane. <http://www.theory-talks.org/> has a number of interesting interviews, including those with Cynthia Enloe, Ann Tickner, Patrick Jackson, Siba Grovogui and Robert Cox, as well as our own Barry Buzan and Iver Neumann. The ‘World Affairs Journal’ provides up-to-date commentary on international affairs: <http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/>; <http://www.opendemocracy.net/> is a ‘global conversation’ that includes discussion of issues ranging from security to social justice.

The main UK think-tanks working on international affairs are Chatham House (<http://www.chathamhouse.org.uk/>), the IISS (<http://www.iiss.org/>), RUSI (<http://www.rusi.org/>) and the European Council on Foreign Relations (<http://www.ecfr.eu/>). <http://www.brookings.edu/> is the online home of the Brookings Institution, perhaps the main think-tank in the United States devoted to international studies. The more disturbed amongst you may be interested in the ‘suicide attack database’ hosted by the University of Chicago (<http://cpost.uchicago.edu/search.php>). Not for the fainthearted ...

Obviously, this is just the tip of a substantial iceberg. The key point is that websites, blogs and social media are an increasingly common – and powerful – means of conducting, and thinking about, IR theory. So make sure that you are part of the conversation.

## **MAIN CONTENT**

### **MODULE 1 THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**UNIT 1** What is International Relations?

**UNIT 2** Scope and purpose of international Relations

**UNIT 3** Preconditions for International Relations

**UNIT 4** Is International Relations a Discipline?

### **MODULE 2 APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**UNIT 1** Approaches to the Study of International Relations

**UNIT 2** The Analytical Approach

**UNIT 3** The Normative Approach

**UNIT 4** The Scientific Approach

### **MODULE 3 BASIC THEORIES AND CONCEPTS IN IR**

**UNIT 1** Basic Theories and Concepts in International Relations

**UNIT 2** Liberalism, Neo-Liberalism, Realism, New Realism Theories

**UNIT 3** Marxism, Neo Marxism, Feminism, the English School

**UNIT 4** System, Game, Integration and Humanitarian Theories

### **MODULE 4 THE LEVEL OF ANALYSIS PROBLEM IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**UNIT 1** The individual as a level/unit of analysis

**UNIT 2** The nation-state as an analytical unit

**UNIT 3** The dynamics of the international system as a determinant of state behaviour

**UNIT 4** Other intermediate analytical units

### **MODULE 5 WAR IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM**

**UNIT 1** The uses of military power

**UNIT 2** Definitions of war and types of warfare

**UNIT 3** Theories of war causation and actual causes of war

**UNIT 4** Strategies for peace (arms racing, disarmament, arms control and arms reduction, alliance formation, etc)

## **MODULE 1 THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

### **INTRODUCTION**

The Study of international relations is relatively recent in the academic world. It emanates from the development of weapons of mass destruction, the problem of war and how peace can be attained. The term “international relations” has become fashionable in our understanding of the international system and global political phenomenon. Relations among nations may be friendly, hostile, warlike, and so on. Hence, international relations is a complex process through which nations develop, maintain, improve, or at times destroy relationships among members of the global community. Therefore in this module, we shall learn why we study international relations, the origin of the discipline, the scope and purpose and the changing phases of international relations as a field of study.

**UNIT I** What is International Relations?

**UNIT 2** Scope and purpose of international relations

**UNIT 3** Preconditions for International Relations

**UNIT 4** International relations as a discipline

## **UNIT 1 WHAT IS INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS?**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 What is international relations
  - 3.2 International politics and international relations
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

### **1.0 Introduction**

In this first unit of our study we are going to learn what international relations is all about and how it operates. The major occupation of the state is to secure and safeguard its territory, protect its economic interest against exploitation, and so on. Although, the state at the domestic level is primarily responsible for law and order, in an attempt to understand the intricacies of its existence and what ensures its survival, it establishes various relations such as economic, political, cultural and military with other states.

### **2.0 Objectives**

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

- a. Explain in detail in detail what is international relations means
- b. Be able to differentiate between international politics and international relations

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 What is International Relations?**

People sometimes tend to equate or regard international relations as simply the relations between governments of states.’ The fundamental attribute of any state is a well- organized government which conducts its foreign relations with other states. In other words, international relations is not intergovernmental relations or relations with non- officials or non-official agencies alone, as people tend to misconstrue it. States at times, establish international governmental organizations (IGOs) like the United Nations, African Union, and so on, for one reason or the other. This is addition to the non-official agencies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Thus, there are strong affinities between the states and these bodies.

However, the states, the international governmental organizations (IGOs), non-governmental organizations and the non-official individuals are regarded as the actors on the international scene. The state constitutes the basic unit of analysis in international relations, since it possesses an influential power — the power of coercion — especially, military power. It commands the

resources — both material and human — which it uses to accomplish its task in the international system.

The major occupation of the state is to secure and safeguard its territory, protect its economic interest against exploitation, and so on. Although, the state at the domestic level is primarily responsible for law and order, in an attempt to understand the intricacies of its existence and what ensures its survival, it establishes various relations such as economic, political, cultural and military with other states.

Contemporary international relations are characterized by a high degree of interaction and interdependence. We have witnessed at a time in world history what is termed as the ‘old order’. Then came the World War I and the World War II. Shortly, after the World War II, the pattern of relations hips was characterized by superpower rivalry, the division between the communists and capitalists, the dependents and independents (or haves and have nots). At another epoch, we saw the “new world” after the end of the ‘cold war’, which was a by-product of the bipolarization of the world into East and West. This explains why it has been argued that contemporary international relations are a study of “the world community in transition”. It is on the basis of this that we explore some of the themes and trends on the development of the field, and the level of analysis which will equip students of international relations with adequate knowledge and understanding of the subject matter.

International relations have two broad meanings — as an academic discipline and as relations among nations. As an academic discipline, it has been viewed from different perspectives. The first school of thought contends that international relations are a subfield of political science while the second holds that it is a separate discipline.

Fundamentally, we can establish that international relations and political science are fields that are concerned mostly with the distribution, structure and exercise of power. However, while political science is concerned with the state’s internal structure and organization, international relations do the same between states. The difference between the two lies basically on their ecology and scope. In international relations, we study the instruments, methods, purposes and processes of international political, social and cultural system.

International relations, as an academic discipline, provides us with a better knowledge of the underlying foreign policies of states Students of international relations are thus concerned with the study of the international political system and the relationship existing among the members of the system.

### **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

What do you understand to be international relations?

**3.2 International politics and international relations** are often used interchangeably. At times there is a semantic Confusion created by some scholars in the use of the two terms. But a brief distinction between the two will suffice at this point, even though we can consciously or unconsciously use the two terms here. International politics is the study of the international

community in a rather narrow sense, which centres on diplomacy and the relations among states and other political units, whereas, international relations is a term Properly embracing the totality of the relations among peoples and groups in the world society . From this simple distinction, it can be simply recognized that international relations is broader in meaning and scope than international politics.

Most scholars subscribe to the view that “international politics” is used primarily to “describe the official political relations between governments acting on behalf of their states.” This view, however, has been challenged because international politics today is conducted between or among nations. Stanley Hoffmann has suggested that, “international relations is concerned with the factors and activities which affect the external policies and the power of the basic units into which the world is divided,”<sup>6</sup> and these include a wide variety of transnational relationships, political and nonpolitical, official and unofficial, formal and informal.

We can therefore attempt to simplify the definitions of international relations at this point. There is a general view that the term denotes the contacts of peoples and states across national boundaries. It can be viewed also as the sum total of activities and intercourse between two or more states. International relations embody private and public activities among individuals and states. The establishment of private and official contact across the national frontiers is mutually inclusive and sometimes complementary. For instance, states establish diplomatic institutions, international organizations, agreements, rules and other official conditions that guarantee ç private and official individuals the right to travel and enter a foreign country to study or trade. Similarly, governments enter into diplomatic relations and international commitments on the basis of the costs and benefits of such undertakings to the citizens.

However, relations between states in many ways resemble relations of groups within a society. They only differ in the following ways:

- a) There is no natural consensus among the various groups which participate in international relations.
- b) Groups lack a universal or widely-shared cultural, social or historical background; hence, they lack similar values for the present and common goals for the future.
- c) Within a state, order is maintained and violence is prevented due to the presence of five conditions namely,
  - i. laws which reflect moral judgement of the community;
  - ii. political machinery which changes these laws when the need arises;
  - iii. an executive body responsible for the administration of these laws;
  - iv. the courts which adjudicate in accordance with the laws, and
  - v. The superior police force which is to deter acts of individual or group violence.

The conditions set above are responsible for order and stability in any political society. They are however lacking in, the international system and thus make it anarchical in nature. Hence, Hedley Bull remarks that “international relations are a complex set of relations among states that form an international society and not simply a system of states.”

## **4.0 Conclusion**

International relations, as an academic discipline, provides us with a better knowledge of the underlying foreign policies of states. Students of international relations are thus concerned with the study of the international political system and the relationship existing among the members of the system.

## **5.0 Summary**

We can therefore attempt to simplify the definitions of international relations at this point. There is a general view that the term denotes the contacts of peoples and states across national boundaries. It can be viewed also as the sum total of activities and intercourse between two or more states. International relations embody private and public activities among individuals and states. The establishment of private and official contact across the national frontiers is mutually inclusive and sometimes complementary.

## **6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment**

In which ways do relations between states differ?

## **7.0 References/Further Reading**

Akinboye S. O. and Ottoh F. O. *systematic approach to International relations* concept Publishers Limited, Lagos Nigeria (2005)

Waltz K. N. *Theory of International Politics* McGraw-Hill, USA 1979

Saleh Dauda *Theories of International Relations*, Aboki Publishers, Makudi Benue State, Nigeria (2013)

Udeoji E. A. and Amanchukwu I. A. *Contemporary Concepts and Theories in International Relations* University of Abuja press, FCT Nigeria (2014)

## **UNIT 2 SCOPE AND PURPOSE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 Scopes of International Relations
  - 3.2 Purpose of International Relations
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

### **1.0 Introduction**

In this unit, we are looking at the Scopes and purpose of International Relations. International relations are preoccupied with an analysis of the special kind of power, force and influence relationships that exist among nation-states over the issues of war and peace. In other words, the study of international relations arises over the problems of war and how peace can be maintained among nations.

### **2.0 Objectives**

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

- a. State the scope of international relations
- b. Explain its purpose

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 Scopes of International Relations**

There is always the problem of delineation of a discipline or field of study in social sciences. Van Dyke has argued that: "Optimum scope is determined not only by conceptions of the subject of inquiry but also by the kinds of purposes that the scholar pursues and the kinds of methods that he is willing to employ."

International Relations, as a field of study, is beset with a number of significant intellectual identity problems. There is the age-long argument on the question as to whether the study is a distinct academic discipline with a clearly identifiable subject-matter of its own. The scope of the discipline and of its subject-matter is closely bound together. Thus, there is a sense in which one can argue with greater intensification that the search for the scope of international relations as well as that of any discipline within the social sciences is an endless intellectual inquiry.

International relations are preoccupied with an analysis of the special kind of power, force and influence relationships that exist among nation-states over the issues of war and peace. In other

words, the study of international relations arises over the problems of war and how peace can be maintained among nations.

**Essentially, the scope of international relations covers:**

- a) Relations that take place across national boundaries;
- b) The issue of the subject matter and the techniques and methods of analysis for dealing with new questions;
- c) Questions that arise in the relations between autonomous political groups in a world system in which power is not centred at one point;
- d) Conflicts, adjustments and agreements of national policies;
- e) Power relationships across national boundaries such as international economic relations, i.e. trade relations, and international law based on voluntary acceptance by sovereign states that make up the international system;
- f) Issues that concern wars and alternative to wars;
- g) Issues of foreign policies of states which can be understood in the light of internal conditions of the states involved. It is not, for instance, possible to understand the course of international events without a careful study of the domestic factors and influences that affect the content of policies.

International relations, in summary, cover essentially six subject areas: International politics, foreign policy analysis, diplomacy, strategic studies, international organizations and international economic relations. These are briefly explained below:

- a) **International Politics:** This essentially deals with all relations that culminate in binding decisions in the international system. It also involves the means of exerting pressure and forms of political relationship between states in the global system.
- b) **Foreign Policy Analysis:** This concerns those explicit goals and objectives which a state sets or designs to achieve beyond its national frontiers. It consists of the sum total of those principles under which a state's relations with other nations are conducted.
- c) **Diplomacy:** This refers to the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between the governments of independent states. It is essentially the techniques often adopted by nation-states in order to achieve their foreign policy objectives.
- d) **Strategic Studies:** This deals with developments in military technology and their impact in the conduct of war. It also focuses on the policies of alliances, warfare, disarmament and arms control in the international system.
- e) **International Organizations:** These are corporate actors that are not nation-states within the global system. They possess some distinct international identities of their own different from the international identity of the group of states comprising them. They may be categorized into universal organizations e.g. United Nations Organization, (UNO) continental organizations e.g. the Organization of American States (OAS) or the African Union (AU), regional organizations e.g. the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), or pluralistic organizations e.g. the Commonwealth of Nations.
- f) **International Economic Relations:** This is an aspect of international relations that deals with economic issues. It reveals the interconnectedness between politics and economics at the international level. Its main preoccupation is with trade relations among states in

the global system e.g. issues pertaining to the World Trade Organization (WTO); finance and capital movement e.g. issues concerning the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank etc; economic cooperation and integration, as in the case of ECO WAS or the European Union (EU). Other issues that fall under discussion in this subdivision of international relations include the debt problem, cartelization and multinational enterprises.

However, knowledge of other disciplines such as economics, sociology, social psychology, anthropology, and so on, is very useful in enhancing understanding of international relations.

Palmer and Perkins hold the view that contemporary international relations is a study of “the world community in transition.” It is seen as not a well-organized discipline or body of knowledge because it lacks a coherent and integrated body of material which makes it difficult for it to have a single approach. In a report in 1947 by the Council on Foreign Relations, there were certain ingredients in the basic course in the discipline. These ingredients are:

- i. Factors which affect the power of a state;
- ii. The international position and foreign policies of the great powers;
- iii. The history of recent international relations; and
- iv. The building of a more stable world order.

Furthermore, the report of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, as articulated by Vincent Baker, stated that the following ingredients seem to appear in most courses.

- i. The nature and principal forces of international politics;
- ii. The political, social, and economic organizations of international life;
- iii. The elements of national power;
- iv. The instruments available for the promotion of the national interest;
- 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 ingredients as a background for other factors and as a history of recent international events.

Baker noted other trends following the growing concern with theory, the increasing emphasis on the policy-making process, a tendency to draw upon other disciplines and the frequent use of case studies of various types which American scholars emphasize.

As time went on, the undergraduate courses in international relations stressed the need to study “the way by which governments attempt to maintain sovereignty and security of nation’s and. the pattern of behaviour which arises in pursuit of these objectives.

This widening dimension or scope of the study of international relations is attributed to the impact of the behavioural sciences upon the discipline. The study of international relations is, however, challenging, because of the multi-dimensional approaches to it.

## **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

State the scope of international relations?

### **3.2 Purpose of International Relations**

There are four purpose of a discipline as dynamic as international relations cannot be overlooked. The study of international relations arises from the variations that exist between nation- states that make up the international system. For instance, in the study of national power, there are variations such as size, population, natural resources, industrial capacity, military strength, climatic factors, technological development, and so on. It is the study of international relations that will enable us to know the various indices of national power and how to measure the strength and weakness of a nation in the international system.

Today, there are many problems that affect mankind which have attracted international attention such as poverty, hunger, disease, infant mortality, ignorance, and the abuse of human rights, to mention but a few. It is through the study of international relations that these problems can be understood and solutions sought to them by the world community. Although these problems may appear to be individual problems of a particular country or region, they may directly or indirectly affect the rest of the world.

The fostering of international cooperation appeals to many people today more than ever before. Thus, the desire to know more about the impact of international events on our lives is central to the study of international relations. The possible threat of nuclear war is most disturbing to the international environment. There is need to discover alternatives to end the threats of nuclear war, and international action against political violence and terrorism.

Furthermore, in our interdependent world, the study of international relations is essential for human survival; for, without an objective and pragmatic approach to human problems, international life would be meaningless. At best, we can say that the study affords the human race a more objective and systematic approach to those problems that have confronted mankind for long.

Students of international relations must strive for objectivity, balance, and perspective. They have to carry on their work, oblivious to the obstacles of prejudice, ignorance, emotional ism and vested interest.' through the study; we would understand that many of the problems of international relations are unsolvable, although, this depends on the prevailing international condition.

### **4.0 Conclusion**

The fostering of international cooperation appeals to many people today more than ever before. Thus, the desire to know more about the impact of international events on our lives is central to the study of international relations. The possible threat of nuclear war is most disturbing to the international environment. There is need to discover alternatives to end the threats of nuclear war, and international action against political violence and terrorism.

## **5.0 Summary**

International relations, in summary, cover essentially six subject areas: International politics, foreign policy analysis, diplomacy, strategic studies, international organizations and international economic relations.

## **6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment**

State the Purpose of International Relations

## **7.0 References/Further Reading**

Akinboye S. O. and Ottoh F. O *systematic approach to International relations* concept Publishers Limited, Lagos Nigeria (2005)

Waltz K. N. *Theory of International Politics* McGraw-Hill, USA 1979

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## **UNIT 3 PRECONDITIONS FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

### **CONTENTS**

1.0 Introduction

2.0 Objectives

3.0 Main Content

3.1 Preconditions for international relations

3.2 The changing phases of international relations as field of study

4.0 Conclusion

5.0 Summary

6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment

6.0 References/Further Reading

### **1.0 Introduction**

In this unit, we shall focus on the preconditions and the changing patterns of international relations. Scholars of international relations were quite engrossed in emotionalism in the early inter-war period and intended to fashion out an international society. The main concern of these scholars, however, was to develop a legal framework to tackle the international problems of war and of economic and social dimensions.

### **2.0 Objectives**

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

- a. Describe the preconditions of international relations
- b. Narrate the changing patterns of international relations.

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 Preconditions for International Relations**

There are four basic elements that can be deduced from the definitions of international relations. These elements are the prerequisites for the conduct of relations among international actors: First, there exists a global international system in which international actors are co-inhabitants. Secondly, there exist different international actors such as states, international organizations, non-state actors such as liberation organizations, e.g. the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), transnational corporations, and so on who are bound together by the fact of territorial location or who are engaged in cooperation or a competition for the acquisition or use of resources.

Thirdly, the international actors, as members of the community within the international system, engage in inevitable interactions among themselves at bilateral and multilateral levels. Finally, the resultant problems of conflict of interests, which are common to many actors and require the concerted efforts of a combination of international actors for solutions, are the basic elements, which have necessitated as well as sustained international relations.

### **3.2 The Changing Phases of International Relations as a Field of Study**

The study of international relations has ostensibly passed through many-phases. According to Kenneth Thompson, it has passed through four stages. “The first stage was before the First World War. The emphasis was then on diplomatic history. The diplomatic historians dominated the field of international studies. They avoided the study of current affairs as well as deducing any universal principles from their descriptive study of facts. The nature of historical study precluded it from evolving a theory of international relations.

The second stage of its development saw the emphasis being placed on the study of current affairs. This began after the First World War. The third stage began also after the First World War and continued to exist throughout the inter-war period and even beyond. This was marked by the study of international institutions. The institutionalization of international relations through law and international organizations is with the belief that international problems could be solved through these institutional mechanisms.

Scholars of international relations were quite engrossed in emotionalism in the early inter-war period and intended to fashion out an international society. The main concern of these scholars, however, was to develop a legal framework to tackle the international problems of war and of economic and social dimensions. Thus, in the third stage, the emphasis shifted progressively from diplomatic history and current affairs during the 1920s to international law and organizations in the 1930s and beyond.

Furthermore, the outbreak of the Second World War marked another turning point and an evolutionary trend in the study of international relations. The emphasis shifted from international law and organization to forces and influences which shape and condition the behaviour of states; such as, determinants of foreign policies, techniques of the conduct of foreign relations, and the mode or resolution of international conflicts. This marked the fourth stage of the development of International Relations as a field of study.

Suffice it to say that this period also saw the emergence of the realists’ school, and considerable efforts were made to develop the scientific theories of international relations. Thus, the changes that have occurred after the Second World War are the result of several factors in international life, such as technological development, the end of colonialism and the rise of new nations, the principle of universal values and the desire for a theoretical order in the knowledge of international affairs.

In the same vein, some changes in international relations can be attributed to a number of factors:

- i. The revolution in the weaponry of war;
- ii. The multifaceted scientific and technological revolution that has been inexorably increasing the interdependence of people;
- iii. The growth of communist power; and
- iv. The anti-colonial revolt and the associated revolution of rising expectations.

### **4.0 Conclusion**

The institutionalization of international relations through law and international organizations is with the belief that international problems could be solved through these institutional mechanisms.

## 5.0 Summary

The changes that have occurred after the Second World War are the result of several factors in international life, such as technological development, the end of colonialism and the rise of new nations, the principle of universal values and the desire for a theoretical order in the knowledge of international affairs.

## 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment

Describe the preconditions of international relations  
Narrate the changing patterns of international relations.

## 7.0 References/Further Reading

Akinboye S. O. and Ottoh F. O *systematic approach to International relations* concept Publishers Limited, Lagos Nigeria (2005)

Waltz K. N. *Theory of International Politics* McGraw-Hill, USA 1979

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## **UNIT 4 IS INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS A DISCIPLINE?**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 Is International Relations a Discipline?
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

### **1.0 Introduction**

In the previous units we defined, described and narrated the changing patterns of international relations but in this unit, we shall deal with the issue of whether international relations is a discipline or not. Since the inception of the subject, there has been an intense debate regarding the distinct nature of international relations as an autonomous area of study in the social Sciences. International relations as a field of study, has been beset with the problem of identity and boundary.

### **2.0 Objectives**

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

- a. State categorically whether international relations is a discipline or not
- b. Quote authors in support of their arguments

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 Is International Relations a Discipline?**

This question is so pregnant, as an attempt to answer it either in the affirmative or otherwise will attract some criticisms. Since the inception of the subject, there has been an intense debate regarding the distinct nature of international relations as an autonomous area of study in the social Sciences. International relations as a field of study, has been beset with the problem of identity and boundary. Quincy Wright explains that,

“The discipline of international relations has developed synthetically and this has militated against its unity. Other disciplines, he observes, have developed through the analysis and subdivision of older disciplines, and that these disciplines began with a theory and developed from an initial unity. In international relations, on the other hand, he argues an effort is being made to synthesize numerous older disciplines, each with a specialized point of view into a unity.”

International relations, as a field of study, can be defined, demarcated and distinguished for analytical purposes and therefore can be classified as an autonomous discipline in the social

sciences and not a subfield of political science. Stanley Hoffmann explains that it is intellectually and analytically possible to distinguish and demarcate the field of study without necessarily being taught in a separate department. Morton Kaplan, on the other hand, argues that international relations is a sub discipline of political science in the same sense in which astrophysics is a sub discipline of physics. As he puts it bluntly: "I know of no convincing discussion that a specifically international relations discipline exists."

In looking at the various strands of international relations scholars, notably Quincy Wright, Morton Kaplan and Stanley Hoffmann, one is persuaded to argue that the three were only accomplishing the task of being intellectuals. If we agree that a discipline must have a set of skills, and techniques, a body of theories and propositions, and a subject matter, then, do all these criteria merit every field of study to be autonomous? Wright tries to elaborate when he said: "a discipline implies Consciousness by writers that there is a subject with some sort of unity, a concept of the scope of the subject and the boundaries which separate it from other subjects; a certain consensus on its subdivisions, its organization, and its methods; and some recognition of the persons who are expert on the subject and of the criteria for establishing such expertness."

Cyril Roseman, Charles Mayo and F. B Collinge, identify what is called 'ideal ingredients' which confer disciplinary status on any field of study. These include specialization of differentiated subject-matter, a body of generalizations on abstraction, disciplinary self-consciousness, standardized methods of analysis and concepts peculiar to the field of study.

Trygre Mathisen observes and comments on the methodological implication of specialization which is identified as one of the ingredients. In his view:

Every discipline tends to develop its own way of looking at things, and this departmentalized mental technique may assuredly have great value. Each discipline can provide penetrating insight into that part of international affairs of what it treats. But there is also the possibility that the technique of a specialty may prove to be a barrier, reducing the student's capacity for grasping other aspects of the field or for forming an overall picture.

There has even been a contention that international relations is not a discipline because it is not well-organized and lacked a clear-cut conceptual framework and a systematic body of applicable theory; and is dependent on other well organized disciplines like political science, history, law, sociology, to name but a few.

An attempt to equate international relations with science runs counter to what a discipline is supposed to mean. Dale Fuller, for instance, defines a discipline as that which requires "a body of data systematized by a distinctive analytical method and capable of permitting predictions with exactitude."

The central argument is that if disciplines like political science, history, sociology and so on are differentiated as distinctive fields of study, and then international relations still qualifies to be described as a discipline in the academic field of study. It is true that there is no theoretical

explanation of historical events at the early stage of the development of the discipline and yet it was accorded full autonomy. The interdisciplinary approach- in the study of political science, sociology, and so on, makes one to argue that those subject matters are not independent, just like international relations.

It is on this basis that we regard international relations as a field of study and research, and therefore, is seen as a discipline. This is because it has a distinctive methodology, theories and a subject matter, notwithstanding the issue of its boundaries and autonomy.

#### **4.0 Conclusion**

The central argument is that if disciplines like political science, history, sociology and so on are differentiated as distinctive fields of study, and then international relations still qualifies to be described as a discipline in the academic field of study.

#### **5.0 Summary**

The interdisciplinary approach- in the study of political science, sociology, and so on, makes one to argue that those subject matters are not independent, just like international relations.

#### **6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment**

State categorically whether international relations is a discipline or not  
Quote authors in support of their arguments

#### **7.0 References/Further Reading**

Akinboye S. O. and Ottoh F. O. *systematic approach to International relations* concept Publishers Limited, Lagos Nigeria (2005)

Waltz K. N. *Theory of International Politics* McGraw-Hill, USA 1979

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## **MODULE 2 APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

### **INTRODUCTION**

It is at times bewildering to most students of international relations to decipher between approach and theory. In this module, an attempt is made to discuss some approaches and theories that are employed in international relations research. There have been some controversies amongst scholars on the use of the terms 'approach' and 'theory'. It is important to synthesize these divergent views on the use of the terms 'approach' and 'theory', because there is no clear boundary between both. All we can say is that an approach sets a standard governing the inclusion and exclusion of questions and data of academic purposes. Approach implies that there is some degree of agreement in terms of definition, scope of activity, methods and or paradigms. The nature of theory is determined by the approach. An approach is characterized by generalization, explanation and prediction; theory also does all these functions.

**UNIT 1** The Historical and Descriptive Approaches

**UNIT 2** The Analytical Approach

**UNIT 3** The Normative Approach

**UNIT 4** The scientific Approach

# UNIT 1 APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

## CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 approaches to the study of international relations
  - 3.2 The Historical Approach
  - 3.3 The Descriptive Approach
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

### 1.0 Introduction

In this unit, we shall focus attention on the Historical approach. Padelford and Lincoln observe that: “No scholar has yet made a synthesis encompassing all the essential components of the various approaches into a satisfactory general theory of international politics. Various theoretical approaches do not provide useful tools of analysis, but neither singly nor together do they form a complete ‘tool kit’ for the complexities of today’s world.”

### 2.0 Objectives

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

- a. Elucidate on the historical approach to the study of international relations
- b. Criticize on the descriptive approach to the study of international relations

### 3.0 MAIN CONTENT

#### 3.1 Approaches to the Study of International Relations

Scholars of different schools of thought adopt approaches that are suitable for research analysis in international political studies. Our task here is to simplify issues and not to distort reality by discussing the approaches in five broad perspectives which are: historical, normative, descriptive, analytical and scientific, although some scholars may want to classify them into two: the traditional and behavioural approaches. Despite this division, there is no clear line of demarcation between the traditional and the behavioural approaches. It will amount to self-deceit and an act of misleading others, while we find ourselves in intellectual jail by sticking to a particular approach.

Padelford and Lincoln observe: “No scholar has yet made a synthesis encompassing all the essential components of the various approaches into a satisfactory general theory of international politics. Various theoretical approaches do not provide useful tools of analysis, but neither singly nor together do they form a complete ‘tool kit’ for the complexities of today’s world.”

Hoffman identifies four significant components to be focused upon in the field of world politics in his article “International Relations: The Long Road to Theory”. These are:

- 2.1 The political structure of the world at any given moment;
- 2.2 The forces that are cutting across the units of this structure and, maybe, reinforcing or changing it;
- 2.3 The relationship between domestic and foreign policies of the respective units and;
- 2.4 The resultant patterns of relationships among the first three components, which are properly called international relations.

The approaches discussed here are not mutually exclusive, but are within two broader categories — traditional and behavioural. The combinations of some of these approaches are found useful in the analysis of international relations. The traditional approach takes the historical, descriptive, analytical and normative forms and is used to describe some aspects of the international system like the United Nations, Organization of African Unity (now African Union). The behavioural approach, on the other hand, attempts to predict human behaviour for which the behaviouralists developed a scientific theory of international relations. It provides the theoretical foundation to explain relationships between variables and predicts the future on the basis of the reoccurrence of international events.

### **3.2 The Historical Approach**

This is the principal traditional approach to the study of international relations, dealing with the chronological account of events. The international system may be studied historically or from the point of view of contemporary world politics. In other words, in international relations, we learn about the history of events within the international system.

At the early stage of the development of international relations, emphasis was on diplomatic history. The study and understanding of diplomatic history was important as it revealed certain aspects of the success and failure of the past statesmen. It was important also to study how the kings and statesmen conducted their relations with other kings or kingdoms, how wars were waged and fought, and how peace was reached. As the 19th century was dominated by wars and, empire-building, historians, therefore, were interested in knowing the causes of wars and how peace was made. This explains why at the early stage of development of the discipline, the emphasis was on diplomatic history. The views and precedents of the past helped to project the future after looking at the present, most fundamentally, the principles and practice of inter-state relationship.

The utility of this approach lies with the exposition given to changes which have taken place since the last two centuries, most especially because diplomacy was restricted to political relationships. Notwithstanding the failure of the diplomatic historians to study current events and in spite of their inability to deduce any universal principles from their descriptive study of facts, diplomatic history can still serve as a useful guide for studying the evolution of international relations. It helps to trace the courses of different policies, programmes and responses in their historical context.

The historical approach enables us to examine the extent to which the practice of nations has

conformed to norms and goals as the bases of policies. History, however, helps to discover how decisions were reached by looking at various inputs and outputs in the decision-making process. Besides, the history of international conflict and the causes of instability within the international system can best be understood by making reference to history.

International relations scholars who use the historical approach to describe contemporary political events in the narrative style usually undertake case studies, but the argument is that readers are often overwhelmed by details arising from many case studies whose findings may not be properly codified. Although an historian may provide a lot of information about a particular political phenomenon, he neither generalizes nor compares to find similarities and differences in his and other people's narratives.

The limit of this approach further stems from the premise that history cannot tell statesmen how men will act or react under new circumstances and with different actors. It cannot teach decision-makers what they ought to decide in any given situation. Despite these limitations, the approach tends to emphasize that changes will always occur and that there is no permanent direction to which politics operates.

### **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

Examine the historical approach to the study of international relations

### **3.3 The Descriptive Approach**

Social scientists hold the view that, for a study to be scientific, it must be able to describe facts accurately and establish the relations between the facts. The descriptive approach is very similar to the historical approach to the study of international relations. In other words, the knowledge of history is very important for one to understand the fundamental issues of international politics, apart from the legal, institutional or strategic approaches.

The use of the descriptive approach is assumed to give an objective depiction of a certain state of affairs. Hence, the difference between the historical and descriptive approaches lies in the relative lack of concern with time frame by the former. In adopting the descriptive approach, the intention will be to explain unfolding international political events, rather than attempting to explain the time the events occur in the international system. Again, the overall detailed descriptions of international political institutions and agencies are the major preoccupation of this approach, which is not only interested in the explanation of political phenomena, but with the description of the structure of the international system and the various institutions that operate within the international system.

Thus, in the operation of the United Nations Security Council, the General Assembly can be vividly described. The description of these two organs may centre on their functions and composition, and the internal dynamics that are likely to impair their functionality. It is through descriptive analysis that one can ascertain the factors that have diminished the role of the international institutions. For instance, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was described by some as a moribund, toothless bulldog because of certain factors such as its seeming inability

to protect national sovereignty which member-states tend to emphasize; hence its dissolution and replacement by the African Union AU)in 2001.

The approach however, places emphasis on understanding the structure, the role, the real world, the national policies and international politics. It is both pragmatic and analytical as it provides a clearer understanding of international relations in an area where complexity and dynamic changes are the cardinal features.

The limits of this approach are that the description of such international organisation as the UN, AU, NATO etc are always biased. As is the case with historical approach, it is not unusual in primarily-descriptive works to go into why? Again, the acceptance or rejection of propositions depends on epistemological assumptions, such as the acceptance of the scientific approach. There are certain events on the international scene that are indescribable or that cannot be described accurately and so make it more difficult to establish the relations between facts. The behaviours of states are often difficult to explain because the individuals acting for these states sometimes allow sentiment and excessive emotionalism to becloud their judgement. In other words, human passion cannot be described vividly, just as it is impossible to predict human behaviour.

#### **4.0 Conclusion**

The approaches discussed here are not mutually exclusive, but are within two broader categories — traditional and behavioural. The combinations of some of these approaches are found useful in the analysis of international relations. The traditional approach takes the historical, descriptive, analytical and normative forms and is used to describe some aspects of the international system like the United Nations, Organization of African Unity (now African Union). The behavioural approach, on the other hand, attempts to predict human behaviour for which the behaviouralists developed a scientific theory of international relations.

#### **5.0 Summary**

The limits of this approach are that the description of such international organisation as the UN, AU, NATO etc are always biased. As is the case with historical approach, it is not unusual in primarily-descriptive works to go into why? Again, the acceptance or rejection of propositions depends on epistemological assumptions, such as the acceptance of the scientific approach.

#### **6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment**

Elucidate on the historical approach to the study of international relations  
Critically analyze the descriptive approach to the study of international relations

## **7.0 References/Further Reading**

Akinboye S. O. and Ottoh F. O. *systematic approach to International relations concept* Publishers Limited, Lagos Nigeria (2005)

Waltz K. N. *Theory of International Politics* McGraw-Hill, USA 1979

Saleh Dauda *Theories of International Relations*, Aboki Publishers, Makudi Benue State, Nigeria (2013)

Udeoji E. A. and Amanchukwu I. A. *Contemporary Concepts and Theories in International Relations* University of Abuja press, FCT Nigeria (2014)

## **UNIT 2 THE ANALYTICAL APPROACH**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 The Analytical Approach
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

### **1.0 Introduction**

This approach shares similar features with the descriptive approach as both enable us to unravel the complexity of international relations. They both describe the actors, their objectives, the measures taken by them to attain the objectives, and the results attained.

### **2.0 Objective**

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

- a. Evaluate the analytical approach to the study of international relations

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 The Analytical Approach**

This is a way of looking at a subject from a particular perspective. Our thoughts and information are organized, relevant data or facts are equally organized and arranged in an intelligible way, and this will enable us to interpret and understand reality or “what is going on”. For instance, if we focus on the state system and the balance of power that becomes the perspective in which the study is organized.

This approach shares similar features with the descriptive approach as both enable us to unravel the complexity of international relations. They both describe the actors, their objectives, the measures taken by them to attain the objectives, and the results attained. The analytical approach, however, helps to bring out typical events that occur frequently in international contexts. It also provides the framework for international events. For instance, we describe international systems as “bipolar”, “multipolar” “polycentric”, and so on.

A person employing the analytical approach in international relations in contrast to the one employing the historical or descriptive approaches considers values held by nations and people and the ways in which they perceive themselves, others and their environments generally.

The analytical approach deals with concepts, consequences and relationships. For instance, it might examine the Karl Marx concept of surplus value or V. I. Lenin’s explanation of imperialism for their coherence and consistency. When the analytical approach is employed in a research, the researcher draws upon the common logic to make his case instead of on documents,

letters and other materials of the historian. This is not to say that the researcher could not use all the data collected from the raw materials, but the primary aim would be logical coherence and application.

The approach is useful in asking some questions which will be needed for the purposes of comparison. The external behaviour of states is analyzed as it focuses on the behaviour of the human 'decision-makers' who are involved in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy. However, the linkage approach offers some useful concepts and develops analytical tools for the investigation of the perennial problems of the nexus between domestic and foreign policy.

Consequently, the research based on the analytical approach is predicated on an assumption, which may be philosophic in character. Certain conclusions may, however, be made, based on communication and agreement among persons using this approach, which also depends on the mutual acceptance of the hypothetical assumption that an analysis will be made.

#### **4.0 Conclusion**

A person employing the analytical approach in international relations in contrast to the one employing the historical or descriptive approaches considers values held by nations and people and the ways in which they perceive themselves, others and their environments generally.

#### **5.0 Summary**

The analytical approach deals with concepts, consequences and relationships.

#### **6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment**

Evaluate the analytical approach to the study of international relations

#### **7.0 References/Further Reading**

Akinboye S. O. and Ottoh F. O. *systematic approach to International relations* concept Publishers Limited, Lagos Nigeria (2005)

Waltz K. N. *Theory of International Politics* McGraw-Hill, USA 1979

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## **UNIT 3 THE NORMATIVE APPROACH**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 The Normative Approach
- 7.0 Conclusion
- 8.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

### **1.0 Introduction**

In the previous units, we have dealt with traditional, descriptive, analytical approaches to this study and here we shall focus on the normative approach. The normative approach to international relations is characterized by statements which purport to explain what should or should not be valued. This approach is closely related to ethical and philosophical methods in orientation.

### **2.0 Objectives**

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

- a. Provide relevant examples of the normative approach to the study of international relations.
- b. Mentions authorities in the field of normative approach to the study.

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 The Normative Approach**

There are four dominant aspects of the normative approaches, namely: legal, realist, idealist and cosmopolitan, and these are rooted in the classical political philosophy represented by Plato and Aristotle, the church fathers, St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Augustine, and also modern philosophers like Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Rousseau, Kant, Hume, Burke and Mill. These philosophers asked some normative questions that concern international relations as a field of study. The questions border on the issues of justice, rights, duties and obligations.

The normative approach to international relations is characterized by statements which purport to explain what should or should not be valued. This approach is closely related to ethical and philosophical methods in orientation. It sets to examine the forces operating upon or within an entity or group of entities, and focuses on certain definable guidelines for the conduct of inter-state affairs.

Niccolo Machiavelli, in *The Prince*, enunciated how rulers should deal with other rulers if they are to advance the interests of the state. In other words, sovereign heads should employ whatever means necessary to attain the goals of the state, which is, national interest. Immanuel Kant, in *Perpetual Peace*, proposed an organized international society in order to get out of the state of

nature which breeds conditions of war. He argued that states having relations with one another can only escape the condition of war by renouncing their uncivilized lawless freedom, and subjecting themselves to compulsory public laws, thus forming an international state which would gradually extend and finally include all the peoples of the world.

The legal institutional approach focuses on the international law and organizations as a normative orientation, which attempts to codify norms of international conduct. Hugo Grotus' treatise on the Law of War and Peace, laid the basis for systematic inquiry into the relations between states, with a view to discerning principles and practices having the force of law.

International relations originate as a normative-reformist search for a remedy to the problem of war in an international system that lacked an overarching political authority. The desire, therefore, to build a 'Commonwealth of Nations' based on international law and international organizations became a slogan as summed up thus; 'peace through law' and 'peace through institutions', which form the central kernel of the legal approach.

In the jurisprudential theory, "law is the key to order and should be observed by nations in their interests", authorities like Hans Kelsen", and Judge P. C. Jessup' of the International Court of Justice, reasoned that the 'rule of law' is the essential ingredient to international order and there is an obligation upon states to abide by it and advance it. It goes with the doctrine of *ubi societas, ibi jus* (whenever there is society, there is law).

The realist-idealist approach is another normative approach which emphasizes power politics. The history of political thought is replete with contest between these two schools — idealist and realist. They both contend for recognition as the approach to the study of international relations. The fathers of this school included Reinhold Miebuhv, Thompson, Kennan, Hans Morgenthau, Arnold Wolfers and, F. Schuman. Professor Hans Morgenthau's work, *Politics among Nations*, provides an elaborate discussion on political realism. Politics is governed by objective laws that have their roots in human nature. The improvement of the society depends on the understanding of the laws. There is a distinction between truth and opinion in politics — what is true objectively and rationally supported by evidence and what is only a subjective judgement divorced from the facts.

The fundamental basis of political realism is the concept of "interest defined in terms of power." It assumes that, in the formulation of foreign policy, what matters is the interest of the nation. The idea of interest is of the essence in politics and it is forever there through time and place.

It will amount to an overstatement to say that realism is without moral content. As Godwin' argues, the realist approach is saturated with normative presuppositions that accord moral primacy to the state and its security interest. Morality is embodied in the ideals of justice and equality, and can only be defined in the context of a well-ordered society. The political realists are aware of the existence and relevance of standards of thought other than politics, but they try to subordinate these to those of politics. Political realism, however, aims at developing politics into an autonomous science. The principle is anchored on the need for policy-makers to be empirical in their approach and to give politics the separate and definite context within which it must be conducted.

Political idealism, on the other hand, believes that a rational and moral political order derived from universally-valid abstract principles can be achieved. Idealism is seen as the underlying principles of an international system based on law and effective international organization. State actions are judged by the same standards that are applied to individuals in the society, that is, the moral 'goodness' and 'badness' or 'rightness' and 'wrongness' in contrast to the seemingly-intractable impersonal and moral nature of power politics. The philosophical content of idealist dispositions of international politics is intended to enrich the thought of man, but for the failure of establishing a universally- acceptable theory of international relations. Justice Holmes stated that: "general propositions do not decide concrete cases", which seems applicable in the world of international affairs today.

In concrete terms, the realist-idealist approach is wrapped in abstraction as it does not have validity on the study of international politics. The pursuit of limited national objectives, the separation of foreign policy from domestic policy, the conduct of secret diplomacy, the use of balance of power as a technique for the management of power, and the pleas for nations to place lesser emphasis on ideology as a condition of international conduct, have little or no relevance to the contemporary international system.

The cosmopolitan approach is the general approach to normative thinking in international relations. This seeks to extend the framework of morality and just action beyond the borders of the state, trying to develop the idea of a non-state international morality that can be applied globally and not just to the state or within the state. It is conceived as a principle based on non-intervention and self-determination, and the autonomy of states. The non-philosophical content, on the other hand, is seen in the Brandt Reports, peace research works of authors, such as J. Galtung. In a nutshell, the cosmopolitan approach is a post-war approach which started in the late 1970s and the early 1980s as international relations as a discipline became cognizant of and got concerned with issues such as human rights and the economic inequalities in the world society.

The normative approach generally is faced with some problems: there is no empirical way of distinguishing what is 'good'; international law deals on legal issues but issues in international politics are political in nature, and therefore, cannot be settled through legal means; and the international bodies lack an enforcement machinery to impose its will, as most often, states fail to conform to agreed code of conduct which is contrary to international legal norms. Stanley Hoffmann has argued that the international organization approach is inadequate. To him, the existence of different international organizations cannot solve the fundamental issue of security. International politics, from the 1950s, has emphasized cooperation among members, as power politics is no longer acceptable in the relations among nations.

#### **4.0 Conclusion**

International relations originate as a normative-reformist search for a remedy to the problem of war in an international system that lacked an overarching political authority. The desire, therefore, to build a 'Commonwealth of Nations' based on international law and international organizations became a slogan as summed up thus; 'peace through law' and 'peace through institutions', which form the central kernel of the legal approach.

## **5.0 Summary**

The normative approach to international relations is characterized by statements which purport to explain what should or should not be valued. This approach is closely related to ethical and philosophical methods in orientation. It sets to examine the forces operating upon or within an entity or group of entities, and focuses on certain definable guidelines for the conduct of inter-state affairs.

## **6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment**

Provide relevant examples of the normative approach to the study of international relations. Mentions authorities in the field of normative approach to the study

## **7.0 References/Further Reading**

Akinboye S. O. and Ottoh F. O *systematic approach to International relations* concept Publishers Limited, Lagos Nigeria (2005)

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## **UNIT 4 THE SCIENTIFIC APPROACH**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 The Scientific Approach
  - 3.2 Elements of Scientific Research in International Relations
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

### **1.0 Introduction**

The scientific approach relies on an interdisciplinary approach to the study of international relations. This interdisciplinary approach provides analytical tools for examining changing social structures and distribution of political power, that is, the borrowing from other fields or disciplines such as psychology, sociology, communication, organizational theory, and philosophy of science enables us to draw analogies between international behaviour and behaviour in other realms.

### **2.0 Objection**

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

- a. Provide relevant examples of how scientific approach to the study of international relations is carried out.
- b. State categorically the elements of Scientific Research in International Relations

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 The Scientific Approach**

This is the direct application of all the tools of science in the study of international relations for proper description, explanation and prediction of international events. In other words, this approach attempts to predict human behaviour. The scholars in this school are James Rosenau, Karl Deutsch, Morton Kaplan. They attempt to develop a scientific theory of international relations.

In the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s, international relations was dominated by and studied through the traditional approach. From the 1950s to the 1970s, there was a behavioural revolution which sought to adopt systematic procedures for data collection and analysis. The behaviouralists did not agree with the traditionalists on the ground that it does not provide adequate theoretical interpretation of international relations.

The scientific approach relies on an interdisciplinary approach to the study of international relations. This interdisciplinary approach provides analytical tools for examining changing social structures and distribution of political power, that is, the borrowing from other fields or

disciplines such as psychology, sociology, communication, organizational theory, and philosophy of science enables us to draw analogies between international behaviour and behaviour in other realms.

The objective of science in world politics is to make theories explicit and findings cumulative. The scientific view of world politics tends to debunk the traditional view that world politics was a unique field of human action which has no government to keep orders. The relations among states and other international actors can be studied in a systematic way by understanding them and making predictions of their future trend, such as the use of mathematics or quantitative methods to explain relationships between variables and the use of some rules of deduction in scientific research. Some scholars opined that only quantitative method could be objectively free from bias and produce accurate and verifiable empirical studies of the behaviour of international actors. This implies that politics can be studied beyond laws and formal institutions but through the process of quantification.

Furthermore, a scientific research proceeds with the formulation of hypotheses and construction of a conceptual framework or a model of the international system. Data is collected and tested, to enable the researcher accept or reject the hypotheses formulated. The adoption of quantitative analysis will enable the researcher to predict events within the international system with some degree of accuracy.

The utility of this approach is that it will influence the behaviour of international actors, as well as shape and control events in international relations. The scientific approach emphasizes careful, scholarship and analytical precision. Its goals are to substitute verifiable knowledge for subjective belief, testable evidence for intuitive explanations and data for appeal to “expert” or “authoritative” opinion.

The scientific approach will enable us to observe many forms of state behaviour through the collection of data, and the conclusions drawn there from. Besides, citizens are provided reliable information about other states hitherto unknown to them. In other words, it establishes a relationship between facts. As facts are organized, it seeks to generalize about the behaviour of states and other political actors in the international arena. Take, for instance, the causes of war, on which scholars or theorists tend to generalize. The validity of such generalization must be testable in relation to the ‘previous behaviour of states’.

### **3.2 Elements of Scientific Research in International Relations**

Before concluding this section, it is necessary to briefly espouse the elements of scientific research in international relations. These include:

- 1) In studying human behaviour, psychologists and behavioural scientists employ mathematical or quantitative techniques, field study and laboratory experimentation. The field study is the actual observation of the relevant social situations and drawing conclusions from the information gathered. For instance, in the study of the armed race, Lewis Richardson applied mathematical methods, and the use of the cause-and-effect relationship

- 2) The study of human behaviour employs the use of the data-gathering techniques in research, which include: observation, interview, aggregate data analysis, content analysis and experimentation, sample survey and statistical analysis.
- 3) A study becomes scientific when theory is formulated upon the basis of facts which are sought and interpreted, and upon which a theory is formulated. This theory must be consistent with what we know about human behaviour and social organizations at all levels. This will be possible by drawing widely on the behavioural sciences.
- 4) Generalizations or theories are likely to explain or predict political phenomena at the international level. This largely depends on the validity or verifiability of such generalizations which oftentimes are subjected to empirical tests and observations.
- 5) Science is attributed to be value-free. Values, however, are objects appreciated or disliked by state actors. It is rightly or wrongly asserted that: "International Politics is free from moral questions, the issues that are before states in their relationships are political".
- 6) In the conduct of international relations research, there has to be the element of systematization; that is, the research must be theory-oriented, theory-directed and method-oriented. These key elements are subsumed under simulation, data-gathering, quantification and prediction. The gathering of data requires facts and information which are systematically screened and codified, and procedurally followed. The researcher employs a standard notation which would include a 'trend line' that measures the central statistical tendency of the time series and the standard deviation.
- 7) Another fundamental attribute of scientific study is predictability-prediction means forecasting into the future. In the short-range and long-range, predictions are carried out in choosing among perceived options; that is, in making projections, it increases awareness of the trend of events and thereby enables us to determine, with greater precision, the range of possibilities and the parameters of action.

There are generally basic limitations to the scientific approach. The adoption of the interdisciplinary approach to the study of international relations makes it difficult to produce theories of international political behaviour. The scientific approach, which aims for precision, tries to redefine political concerns, thereby creating vagueness in the use of certain concepts. The argument of traditionalists is sufficient at this point to discard the enthusiasm of the scientists. The traditionalists have argued that man is a creative being who can envision the world yet unknown and can strive purposively for their attainment.

In spite of the usefulness of simulation, it still suffers some drawbacks. Simulation tends to simplify issues and in the process distorts reality. This is because, as the operators aspire for precision, it may then result in distortion. Its usefulness also as a teaching device is negated by the fact that it is impossible to measure the effectiveness of the learning process. Inasmuch as it can be applied in policy-making, it does not help in day-to-day and long-range policy-making.

Simulation is further criticized as being at variance with the real world. As Patrick Morgan puts it: 'It produces war without pain', 'reduces days to minutes and weeks to hours', 'creates decision-makers largely free of fatigue, illness or depression, and decisions without consequences'.

The scientific approach is also attacked on the basis that scientists adopt abstruse jargon, incompetent use of mathematics, and the trivialization of important matters in the effort to broaden the study of politics beyond laws and formal institutions through the process of quantification and new methodologies. Mathematical models are limited based upon fixed assumptions and it is possible to disguise prejudices by mathematical symbols.

Again, mathematical presentation confers a phony aura of 'scientific' accuracy upon the argument and thus obstructs its critical assessment. It is most likely to relate the quantified theory to the 'cold-war' phenomenon and nuclear balance where the thinking is carried out in rather simplistic military terms. We also share the view of Joseph Frankel that mathematical methods will be used in international theory as it is in other social sciences, but the result will not be accurate; he asserts that "no hard data can produce a substitute for political wisdom and there can be no methods of judging the other state's intention in conflict situation."

David Singer, who is an acclaimed quantifier, observes that "there is no phenomenon of interest to the social scientists that is not in principle quantifiable. It is practically impossible to apply quantitative methods in the foreign policy-making process. Anatol Rapoport has criticized his fellow scientists for constructing theoretical systems that depart from reality which statement will find difficult in adopting as a practical guide to policy formulation. As Morgan observes," . . . most present social scientific studies of international relations are irrelevant not only to the American policy-makers, but also policy makers in other governments and, indeed, to anyone concerned with policy making."

Almond and Genco, have argued that "political science has tended to treat political events and phenomenon as natural events leading themselves to the same explanatory logic as physics and other hard sciences." International affairs are beset with chance, accident, human choice and other factors that make events rather more unique and unpredictable than the scientist would like to believe. It is argued further that human beings do not possess a degree of similarity. This is quite different from the case of particles in physics where Heisenberg's Principle of Indeterminacy states that: "the very process of trying to observe tiny particles inside the atom alters the situation being studied." Heisenberg's principle is analogous to real-life situation in which the behaviour of state officials changes when they are under observation. Political regularities do not follow statistical regularities, that historical change alters apparent regularities at frequent intervals; and that social learning (including learning the results of research) also alters behaviour.

#### **4.0 Conclusion**

The scientific approach will enable us to observe many forms of state behaviour through the collection of data, and the conclusions drawn there from. Besides, citizens are provided reliable information about other states hitherto unknown to them. In other words, it establishes a relationship between facts. As facts are organized, it seeks to generalize about the behaviour of states and other political actors in the international arena.

## **5.0 Summary**

Science is said to be value-free; this is an incorrect and objective rationalization of international politics as the scientists merely adopt the value-free concept to suit their own subjective preferences and personal predilections under the guise of objectivity.

## **6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment**

Provide relevant examples of how scientific approach to the study of international relations is carried out.

State categorically the elements of Scientific Research in International Relations

## **7.0 References/Further Reading**

Akinboye S. O. and Ottoh F. O *systematic approach to International relations* concept Publishers Limited, Lagos Nigeria (2005)

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## **MODULE 3 BASIC THEORIES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

Scholars have interpreted the term ‘theory’ in different ways. Indeed, the concept has been used so indiscriminately and imprecisely by social scientists in general that it is virtually in danger of losing any meaningful content’. What is central, however, is that a theory should always have scientific propositions which, when tested, are certified to be valid. Its predictive value should be rated high.

Secondly, a theory should have universal applicability, and one should be able to make generalizations on it. As Thomas Jenkin opines, “... a theory about anything is an abstracted generalization. As such, it is primarily and initially a matter of mind rather than a matter of fact.” Furthermore, a theory should be capable of guiding research. In the words of Stanley Hoffman, theory is understood as “a systematic study of observable phenomena that tries to discover the principal variables, to explain the behaviour, and to reveal the characteristic types of relations among national units”. The third module of this material focuses specifically on theories of international relations.

## **MODULE 3 BASIC THEORIES AND CONCEPTS IN IR**

**UNIT 1** Basic Theories and Concepts in International Relations

**UNIT 2** Liberalism, Neo-Liberalism, Realism, New Realism Theories

**UNIT 3** Marxism, Neo Marxism, Feminism, the English School

**UNIT 4** System, Game, Integration and Humanitarian Theories

# UNIT 1 BASIC THEORIES AND CONCEPTS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 Concept of theory
  - 3.2 Theory and International Relations
  - 3.3 Traditional and Behavioural Theories
  - 3.3 The Behavioural School
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

### 1.0 Introduction

A number of reasons justify the construction of theories. Firstly, theories are relative and not absolute, in the sense that they are neither true nor false. They can only be explained in terms of their utility value. Secondly, theories are tentative and not permanent. They are tentative to the extent that they can easily be reformulated in the light of changing reality.

### 2.0 Objectives

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

- a. Explain the concept of theories in international relations.
- b. Situate theory in the study of international relations
- c. Critically analyze both the traditional and the behavioral schools in international relations.

### 3.0 MAIN CONTENT

#### 3.1 Concept of Theory

Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff also describe a theory as an intelligible system of enquiry which enables us to organize and offer a guide for the achievement of a research objective. In their words, “theory is a way of organizing our knowledge so that we can ask questions worth answering, guide our research toward valid answers, and integrate our knowledge with that of related fields.”<sup>4</sup> They explain further that a theory represents “a symbolic construction, a series of interrelated hypotheses together with definitions, laws, theories and axioms...it sets forth a systematic view of phenomena by presenting a series of propositions or hypotheses which specify relations among variables in order to present explanations and make predictions about the phenomena.”

Similarly, a theory, they contend, comprises a group of laws which are deductively connected, and that some of the laws constitute the premises from which various other laws are deduced, and those laws that are deduced from the axioms constitute the theorems of the theory. They conclude, however, that whether or not a law is a theorem or an axiom depends strictly on its position in a theory.

A number of reasons justify the construction of theories. Firstly, theories are relative and not absolute, in the sense that they are neither true nor false. They can only be explained in terms of their utility value. Secondly, theories are tentative and not permanent. They are tentative to the extent that they can easily be reformulated in the light of changing reality. Thirdly, theories assist in simplifying reality. In this case, the objective is to enhance one understands so as to be able to control reality. Thus, there is a dialectical linkage between theory, on the one hand, and practice, on the other hand. A good theory must start with a thorough knowledge of the events that one intends to predict, describe and explain.

Generally, a theory helps the researcher to; understand a given phenomenon e.g. the concept of democracy helps one to know what democratic governance is all about. Significantly, a theory must also describe, explain and have the capability of prediction. It must as well possess the ability to acquire knowledge-knowledge that is impersonal, retraceable and testable. Indeed, for a theory to have a universal meaning, it must be testable; otherwise, it would lose its validity.

### **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

Explain the concept of theories in international relations

### **3.2 Theory and International Relations**

Theory, in general, has had various meanings in the social sciences and, particularly in international relations. Some of the definitions that the term has elicited include the following.

- a. Deductive systems in which propositions are set forth, which purportedly contain internal logical consistency.
- b. A taxonomy, classificatory scheme, or conceptual framework which provides for the orderly arrangement and examination of data.
- c. A series of propositions about political behaviour inductively derived either from empirical studies or the comparative examination of case materials from the past.
- d. The development of a series of statements about rational behaviour based upon a dominant motive such as power. Such a theory provides a description of the political behaviour of rational actors.
- e. A set of norms or values indicating how political actors ought to behave.
- f. A set of proposals of action for the statesman.

A renowned scholar of international relations, Quincy Wright has defined a general theory of international relations as “a comprehensive, coherent, and self-correcting body of knowledge contributing to the understanding, the prediction, the evaluation, and the control of relations among states and of conditions of the world.” In his elaboration of this definition, Wright argues that the theory must necessarily cover all aspects of the field. It should, according to him, be expressed in generalized propositions in a very clear and accurate manner; and as few as possible. This, in essence, means that “the theory should be parsimonious, and not as diffuse and complicated as to be confusing.” Other ideal requirements that a general theory of international relations should fulfill include the following.

- a. Every part of the theory should, as a matter of necessity, be logically consistent with every other part;
- b. The theory should be formulated in a style that is conducive to continual improvement and updating;
- c. Instead of being purely speculative, its theses should be capable of consistent verification on the basis of available evidence;
- d. It should contribute to an objective understanding of international reality, rather than one distorted by national perspective;
- e. It should enable us to predict at least some things; and, lastly,
- f. It should also help us to arrive at value judgments.

As Wright concedes, there is no doubt that it would be extremely difficult and perhaps impossible to achieve a perfect theory that could fulfil all the ideal requirements enumerated above.

### **3.3 Traditional and Behavioural Theories**

Traditional (historical cultural) and behavioural (scientific) theories constitute the two major theoretical schools of thought in international relations. Each of the two perspectives has its own spectrum of methodology. Both of them also have the pluralistic dimension which stems from the fact that varying units of analysis exist within them. For instance, while some traditionalists focus their attention on the state as their unit of analysis, others base their analysis on power as the sole explanatory variable in the study of international relations. Similarly, the behaviouralists have developed different approaches in their analytical framework. Thus, there exist systems, games, integration, and cybernetic approaches (among others) to the study of international relations.

#### **The Traditional School**

The traditional school of thought is as old as the subject of international relations itself. The school monopolized the study and practice of the discipline from the 18th century till immediately after the Second World War. It institutionalized the study of international relations, placing special attention on the ideals, values and vision of what should be and not what is. Its approach to international relations is basically historical, normative and legalistic. The traditionalists based their analysis of inter-state relations on wisdom, experience and history. They reviewed state actions in the light of their own judgement based purely on their perspective, wisdom and experience. Whatever solutions they arrived at are therefore subjective, as they are of the opinion that human behaviour is unique and unpredictable and cannot therefore be subjected to scientific analysis.

For instance, in their view, laws of political behaviour cannot be stated for a sentient creature such as man, for he is free to modify his action in keeping or violating such laws once they are made known. Traditionalists are also of the opinion that, while there might be need for the use of hypotheses and theories, strict adherence to this notion may obstruct rather than advance research. According to them, overtly critical and unrealistic standards may limit rather than

advance the pursuit of knowledge, and that there are, for instance, areas where a purely descriptive technique remains legitimate and therefore has an important role to play in inquiry.

### **Critique of the Traditional Approach**

The behavioural school emerged as a result of the dissatisfaction of its members with the state of the discipline. Prior to the emergence of the behaviouralism, the traditional method in existence was mainly institutional, philosophical, normative, value-laden and unscientific. It was mainly concerned with what ought to be and not what was *a priori*.

The behaviouralists contend that the traditional approach, being purely descriptive and unscientific, cannot therefore advance knowledge in the understanding of politics at the international level. They argue further that the traditional approach is value-laden and posit that a more scientific method which adopts the scientific methodology of observation, data collection and analysis, explanation, generalization and prediction, should be more useful in understanding and explaining behaviour on the international scene.

Behaviouralists emphasize that the individuals within the nation-states should be the focus of study and not the institutions within the nation states as contended by the traditionalists. They argue that institutions cannot be studied in isolation of the individuals within them and that an understanding of the behaviour of individuals would help in explaining the behaviour of nation-states.

It is however interesting to note that, as heated and divisive as the argument of the two schools have been, it is no doubt paramount in the development of the international relations discipline: The contemporary view is that whether the behaviouralists have been more scientific and value-free in their judgement or the traditionalists have been less scientific and value-laden, the traditional method cannot be completely discountenanced.

The argument, therefore, is that both schools are not only mutually exclusive but symbiotic and complementary to each other. For instance, the use, by the traditionalists of major political events to explain relations among states, has proved just as useful as the quantification methods adopted by the behaviouralists.

### **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

Give at least four definitions of theory in international relations

### **3.4 The Behavioural School**

The behavioural or scientific school of thought is quite different in outlook, prescription and purpose. The paradigm emerged as a result of the criticisms leveled against the traditional school in terms of its rigidity in method of analysis. As against traditionalism which is considered theoretically hollow and sterile, behaviouralism is viewed as theoretically grounded. The theoretical frame of the behaviouralists is anchored on concepts, consequences and relations in their attempt to predict human behaviour. Hence, Adeniran asserts “the study of international

relations has been moved in terms of content, methodology and purpose to a stage which accords it some complexity and a general form and predictive orientation attained to a direction of science.”

Indeed, the behaviouralists are scholars that have faith in the development of a science of international relations. They were generally propelled by other behavioural disciplines such as economics, sociology and psychology, which also adopt the scientific method to study human behaviour. The behaviouralists therefore try to make use of scientific models and methods in studying international relations. Furthermore, because they are hostile to the intuitive methodology of the classical school, they aim at making international relations intensive by the use of variables, assumptions, hypotheses, and qualitative tests of the hypotheses. The scientific point of view arises from the conviction that there are many new things to learn about international behaviour and those discoveries about the flow of interaction in international relations are possible.

### **Critique of Behaviouralism**

Apologists of the traditional paradigm have roundly criticized the behaviouralists for grossly contradicting themselves in their theoretical postulations. They hold strongly the view that the scientific and empirical methodology of the behavioural school has resulted in intellectual chaos without any objectivity to international relations. To them, the attempt by the behaviouralists to scientifically and theoretically study international relations so as to explain and predict events has been brazenly disastrous and disappointing. Furthermore, the traditionalists submit that the formulated theories of the behaviouralists are fragile, unreliable and manipulative. To them, the attempt by the behavioural lists to dehistoricize the study of international relations has had a debilitating consequence on explaining the forces and processes at play in the international system. To further buttress this point, they argue that the policies of the scientific school have not been able to explain change because it relegates history as it concerns the field to nothing.

In spite of these criticisms, however, it is pertinent to observe that behavioural theories of international relations have been of intense utility to the discipline, as nation-states take adequate cognizance of it in their decision-making.

The game theory, for instance, furnishes us with ways in which countries interact within the international system and helps nation-states to take rational decisions based on the perception and position of other nation-states. Furthermore, the claim of the traditionalists on the fragility and unreliability of the behavioural theories can be easily faulted. For example, the ability of the behaviouralists to predict the outcome of relations, even in crisis situations, through their scientific and empirical methodology, repudiates the claim of fragility and unreliability.

In general, it is interesting to note that, in contemporary political discourse, the traditional method really cannot be completely discountenanced because there are certain kinds of research or political analysis for which the approach is effective and useful. In-as-much as the behaviouralists have exposed most of the weaknesses of the traditionalists, they cannot completely claim that the traditionalist approach is as inexact and value-laden as they do not portray it to be nor can they assert categorically that their own approach is as value- free and

objective as they want to present it. Hence, there is no fundamental justification for discountenancing the intellectual contributions of any of the two methods or approaches. Rather, in studying contemporary provocative issues, the two methodological approaches should be regarded as complementary and not mutually exclusive.

#### 4 Conclusion

The behavioural or scientific school of thought is quite different in outlook, prescription and purpose. The paradigm emerged as a result of the criticisms leveled against the traditional school in terms of its rigidity in method of analysis. As against traditionalism which is considered theoretically hollow and sterile, behaviouralism is viewed as theoretically grounded.

#### 5 Summary

There is no fundamental justification for discountenancing the intellectual contributions of any of the two methods or approaches. Rather, in studying contemporary provocative issues, the two methodological approaches should be regarded as complementary and not mutually exclusive.

### 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment

Critically analyze both the traditional and the behavioral schools in international relations

### 7.0 References/Further Reading

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## **UNIT 2 LIBERALISM, NEO-LIBERALISM, REALISM, NEO REALISM THEORIES**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 Liberalism
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  - 3.4 Realism
  - 3.5 Globalism: The Transnationalist view
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
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### **1.0 Introduction**

This unit will dwell on one of the earliest theories of International Relations i.e. Liberalism, Neo-Liberalism, Democratic Peace theory, Realism and Neo Realism

### **2.0 Objectives**

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

- a. Discuss articulately the theories of Liberalism, neo liberalism and the democratic peace theory.
- b. Explain what they understand by Realism and neo realism.

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 Liberalism**

Liberalism is one of the early approaches to the study of International Relations. It was dominant from the early 1900s through to late 1930s. The approach was motivated by the desire to prevent war. However not all idealists believed that the economic principles of free trade would lead to peace. Hobson (1902) argued that imperialism — the control of foreign people and their resources was becoming the primary cause of conflict in International Politics. The outbreak of the First World War shifted Liberal thinking towards a recognition that peace is not a natural phenomenon, but is one that can be constructed. In a severe critique of the idea that peace and prosperity were part of a natural order. Luard (1992:465) argued that peace and prosperity required consciously devised machinery. But the most famous advocate of an international authority for the management of international relations was Woodrow Wilson, the former President of the United States of America. According to him peace could only be secured with the creation of an international institution to regulate international anarchy. Security should not be left to secret bilateral diplomatic ideals and a blind faith in the balance of power. Like domestic society, international society must have a system of government which has democratic procedures for coping with disputes and international forces which could be mobilized if

negotiations fail. In his famous fourteen points speech addressed to congress in January 1918, Wilson argued that:

A general association of nations must be formed to preserve the coming peace (cited in Dunore, 200 1: 167).

The League of Nations was an organization that was formed which the Liberalist scholars believed will usher in peace. For the League, however, to be effective, it must have the military power to deter aggression and when necessary to use force to enforce its decision. This was the idea behind the collective security system which was central to the League of Nations. Collective security refers to an arrangement where each state in the system accepts that the security of one is the concern of all and agrees to join in a collective response to aggression (Roberts and Kingsbury, 1993:30). It can be differentiated with an alliance system of security, where a number of states join together usually as a response to a specific external threat (sometimes known as collective defense).

The first assumption of Liberalist scholars was that national self-determination within Europe would remove one of the major sources of war. Each nationality should be organized as an independent state. A second assumption was that war often resulted from secret agreements between states, and that, if citizen of these states were aware of such agreements, they would not be tolerated. The liberalists called for an end to secret diplomacy and urged greater public participation in the conduct of foreign policy. Thirdly, the liberalists called for an end to balance of power in favour of a system of International Collective security that would require states to reduce their military preparedness to the lowest possible level and to rely on the combined military capability of the world community for their security against armed aggression. It also assumed that:

- i. A world governing body would exist to determine whether aggression had occurred and to coo ordinate a global response.
- ii. States would automatically join in collective responses to aggression anywhere in the world (Maghoori, 2002:10).

Basically, the liberalist embraced a world view based on the follow belief:

- i. Human nature is essentially good or altruistic and people are, therefore, capable of mutual aid and collaboration;
- ii. The fundamental human concern for the welfare of others makes progress possible;
- iii. Bad human behavior is not a product of evil people, but of evil justifications and structural arrangement that encourage people to act selfishly and to harm others including making wars;

- iv. War is not inevitable and its frequency can be reduced by eradicating the institutional arrangement that motivate people to act selfishly, and to harm others;
- v. War is an international problem that requires collective or multilateral rather than national efforts to eliminate it;
- vi. International society must reorganize itself to eliminate the institutions that make war to likely occur

### **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

What are the beliefs of the Liberalists?

### **3.2 Neo Liberalism or Liberal Institutionalism**

In the 1980s a new Liberal critique of Realism became dominant. The approach stressed the importance of international institutions in reducing international conflict and tension. The argument is based on the core liberal idea that seeking long term mutual gain is often more rational than maximizing individual short term gains. The approach became known as “neo-liberal institutionalism” or Neo Liberalism.

The neo-Liberal concedes to realism several important assumptions — among them, that states are unitary actors rationally pursuing self-interest. However, the neo-liberalist argued that states do cooperate with one another, because it is in their interest to do so. States can also use institutions to facilitate the pursuit of Mutual gain (Goldstein, 2001:113).

In spite of many sources of conflict in International Relations, states do find ways to cooperate with one another. States can create mutual rule, expectations and institutions to promote behavior that enhances the possibilities for mutual gain.

Neo-Liberalists acknowledge that cooperation between states is likely to be fragile, particularly where enforcement procedures are weak. However in an environment of increasing regional and global integration, states, can often find out without any external force — a coincidence of strategic and economic interest which can be turned around into a formalized agreement determining the rules of conduct. In such areas such as environmental degradation and the threat of terrorism, the necessity for formalized cooperation between states is evident.

Liberal Institutionalism suggest that the way to peace and prosperity is to have independent states pool their resources and even surrender some of their sovereignty to create integrated societies to promote economic growth or respond to regional challenges. The European Union is one such institution that started as a regional community for encouraging multi-lateral cooperation in the production of coal and steel in the 1950s. The European Union today is a model of success in regional integration.

Another key aspect of liberal institutional scholarship was the trans-nationalism and complex inter-dependence of the 1970s (Keohane, Nye 1972, 1977). Scholars in this camp argued that the world had become more pluralistic in terms of actors involved in international interactions and that these actors had become more dependent on each other. Complex inter-dependence presented a world with four characteristics. (i) increasing linkages among states and non-state actors (ii) a new agenda of international issues with no distinction between low and high politics (iii) a recognition of multiple channels for interaction among actor across national boundaries; (iv) the decline of the efficacy of military force as a tool of statecraft. Complex inter-dependence scholars would argue that globalization represents an increase in linkages and channels for interaction (Lamy, 200 1:188).

### **Sociological Liberalism**

Another neo-Liberal variant is known as sociological liberalism. Scholars in this group argued that the notion of community and the process of interdependence are important elements. As trans-national activities increase, people, in distant lands are linked and their governments become more interdependent As a result it becomes more difficult and more costly for states to act alone and to avoid cooperation with neighbors. The cost of war or other unwholesome behavior increase for all states and eventually, a peaceful international community is built (Lamy, 2001:189).

### **Trade and Inter-Dependence or Commercial Liberalism**

This type of Liberal theory holds that, it is in a state's best interest to pursue free trade and economic interdependence; doing so increases levels of wealth and security. Normal Angell made the first definitive statement of this Liberal Approach in his 1913 work *The Great illusion*. The illusion to which Angell referred is that war making is the best means to achieve power, wealth and security. Among Angell's points were that you cannot destroy people and resources without destroying the wealth that you are trying to obtain, that internationalization and interdependence have made war unprofitable, and that regular and permanent gains from cooperation and trade more than offset the losses of foregoing empire, occupation and war booty.

A more recent (1980) statement of trade and interdependence theory argues that this view is even more appropriate now than in Angell's day. Richard Rosecrance (*The Rise of the Trading State*) reiterates Angell's assertion that the benefits of trade outweigh those of war and conquest. This is especially so in the post-1945 period. Technological and industrial developments — especially the advents of nuclear weapons — have made war more dangerous and destructive than ever before. Advances in technology and industry have simultaneously made free global trade and interdependence more profitable than ever before. According to Rosecrance, the primary objective of the nation-state is exchange and trade. A state does not need a large population, tract of land, or army to achieve this. States are wisest to pursue technological and commercial specialization that give them important, wealth-generating riches in an inter-dependent world.

## **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

Discuss articulately the theories of Liberalism and neo liberalism

### **3.3 Democratic Peace Theory**

Democratic Peace Theory is an extension of Liberal theory. It is perhaps the most widely known Liberal theory of International Relations. It holds that democracies do not go to war with one another, and a more democratic world is therefore a more peaceful world. Democratic Peace theory is a core idea underpinning national security policies of democracy promotion. Democratic Peace theory works in two ways. First and most simply, war is often considered to be inconsistent with Liberal-democratic values. Democracies do not fight one another because it is morally/ethically the wrong thing to do. Secondly, the structure of democratic governments makes it more difficult for leaders to wage war. Unlike dictators, democratic leaders face governmental checks and balances, require some level of public support, and worry about the electoral consequences of their actions. Democracies are believed to be more peaceful countries because of these constraints on leaders.

Several scholars have written about the Democratic Peace theory, yet perhaps some of the most important observations are provided by Professor John Owen of the University of Virginia. Owens's (1994) academic article "How Liberalism Produces Democratic Peace offers the first concerted attempt to explain how Democratic Peace actually works (or in more academic terms, the causal sequences of the Democratic Peace Theory). In so doing, he challenges the common notion that democracies are automatically more peaceful. For Owen, Liberal ideas and values are the starting point. These ideas and values lead to Liberal-democratic political structure (such as democratic government) which produce foreign policies that are friendly toward other Liberal and democratic countries. While such ideas and values tend to preclude war between Liberal democracies, Owen finds that such ideas coupled with democratic decision-making procedures can encourage conflict between Liberal democracies and non-democracies. Liberal-democratic publics can be belligerent; voters, members of congress, and even members of a President's cabinet can capture war fever. It is entirely possible that such force may push a country toward rather than away from war, especially with a country that it views as violating its Liberal-Democratic values. Furthermore, Immanuel Kant argued in "Perpetual Peace" (1795) that the spread of democracy to all countries would eliminate war. Kant reasoned that a democratic peace would occur because,

If the consent of the citizens is required in order to decide that war should be declared, nothing is more natural than that they would be very cautious in commencing such a poor game, decreeing for them all the calamities of war".

In other words "democracies do not fight each other" (Gartzke, 1998; Gleditsch & Hagre, 1997; Thompson & Tucker, 1997) Contemporary studies have established that "democracies are unlikely to engage in any kind of militarized disputes with each other or to let any such dispute escalate into war". Russelt, 200:232; Schultz, 1999). However, some democratic peace theorists argue that "democracies do go to war, although only with autocracies. The easy example is the

United States, which is both a leading democracy and the country (super power) that has most often been at war since 1945 (Capriole, 1998).

From this perspective, even if a world in which all countries were democratic did not produce perpetual peace, as Kant thought, it might produce proponents of peace and, thus, should be promoted (Huntley, 1998; Oneal & Russelt, 1999).

## **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

State the view of Professor John Owen of the University of Virginia in Owens's (1994) academic article on democratic peace theory.

### **The Evolution of Liberal Thought**

Liberal theory became prominent during the First World War. For Liberals like U.S. president, Woodrow Wilson, World War I was "the war to end all war". He was convinced that another terrible war would erupt if states resumed practicing power politics. Liberals were set out to reform the international system. The Liberal or Idealist generally fell into three groups. The First Group advocated creating international institutions to reduce the struggle for power between states. The establishment of the League of Nations was the embodiment of this line of thought. Its founders hoped to prevent future wars by organizing a system of collective security that would mobilize the entire international community against any future aggressor. The League founders states that peace was indivisible; an attack on one member of the League would be considered an attack on all. Kegley and Raymond (2007:33). Because no state was more powerful than the combination of all other states, aggressor would be deterred and war averted.

A second group called for the use of legal procedure to settle disputes before they escalated to armed conflict. Adjudication is a judicial procedure for resolving conflict by referring them to a standing court for a binding decision. Immediately after the war several governments drafted a statute to establish a permanent Court of International Justice. Liberal advocate of the court argued that the permanent Court of International Justice would replace military retaliation with a judicial body capable of bringing the facts of a dispute to light and giving a just verdict. A third group of liberal thinkers followed the biblical injunction that state should beat their swords into plowshares and sought disarmament as a means of avoiding war. Their efforts led to the 1921 and 1922 Washington Naval Conference which tried to reduce maritime competition among the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France and Italy by placing limitations on battleships. The aim of this group was to reduce international tensions by promoting general disarmament which led them to convene the Geneva Disarmament conference in 1932.

### **3.4 Realism**

As a political theory, realism's intellectual root can be traced to the following figures. Thucydides (460- 406 B.C.) and Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527). The insights that these figures provided have been grouped under the doctrine of *raison d'état* or reason of state. Writers associate *raison d'état* with providing a set of proposition to leaders on how to conduct their foreign policies so as to ensure the security of the state.

According to the historian, Friedrich Meinecke, *raison d'état* is the fundamental principles of international conduct, the state first law of motion, it tell the statesman what he must do to preserve the health and strength of the state (Meinecke, 1957:1). Most importantly, the state which is identified as the key factor in international politics must pursue power, and it is the duty of the state to calculate rationally the most appropriate steps that should be taken so as to perpetuate the life of the state in a hostile environment. For realists, the survival of the state can never be guaranteed, because the use of force leading to war is a legitimate instrument of state craft.

Realists, unlike idealists, do not subscribe to the view that universal moral principles exist. And therefore, warn states' leaders against sacrificing their own self-interest in order to adhere to a notion of ethical conduct. Moreover, realists, argue that the need for survival requires state leaders to distance themselves from traditional morality which attaches a positive value to caution, piety and the greater good of human kind (Dunne & Schmidt 2002:142).

The realist subscribe to the view that the state is the only actor in the international system. This is often referred to as state-centric. Statism is the term given to the idea of the state as a legitimate representative of the collective will of the people. Outside the boundaries of the state, realist argue that a condition of anarchy exists. By anarchy, what is often mean is that international politics takes place in an arena that has no overarching central authority above the individual collection of sovereign states. In a state of anarchy, states compete with one another for security, market influence, etc. And the nature of the competition is often seen in zero-sum terms; in other words, more for one actor, less for another. This competitive logic of power politics makes greener: on universal principles difficult. Given that the. First: move of the state is to organize power domestically. And the second is to accumulate power internationally, what then is power? According to Morgenthau (1948:26), "Power means man's control over the minds and actions of other men".

Two important points are clear about the concept power. First power is a relational concept. One must exercise power in relation to another entity. Second Power is a relative concept; calculations need to be made not only about one's own power capabilities, but about the power that other state actors possess (Dunne & Schmidt, 2002:152).

The realist argued that the pursuit of national power was a natural drive and that those who neglect to cultivate power actually invite war. The realist upheld the sovereignty of the nation-state right to pursue power and relied on the balance of power system to constraint the competition among states. Leading exponents of the Realist school include Morgenthau (1984); Carr (1939); Thompson (1958); and Kissinger (1984).

The Realist ideas can be summarized as follows:

- i. That history teaches that human beings are by nature sinful and wicked;
- ii. The possibility of eradicating the instinct for power is a utopian aspiration;
- iii. That under such condition, international politics is as the English philosopher Thomas Hobbes put it as a "struggle for power", "a war of all against all";

- iv. That the primary obligation of every state in this environment — the goal to which all other national objective should subordinates — is to promote the “National Interest” defined as the acquisition of power;
- v. That the nature of the International system necessitates the acquisition of military capability sufficient to deter attack by potential enemies of state;
- vi. That one should never entrust the task of self protection to international organization or to international law; and finally
- vii. That if all states seek to maximize power, stability will result from maintaining “a balance of power” lubricated by a fluid alliance system.

The realist thinking that came to dominate academic discourse in the 1940s and 1950s fit the mood of that period; World War II, the outset of the rivalry between the U.S.A. and the former Soviet Union, the expansion of the Cold War, confrontation between the emergent super powers in the struggle between East and West, the stock piling of nuclear weapons, the periodic crises that threatened to erupt into global crises, all confirming the realist image of world politics.

### **Neo-Realist**

The Neo-realist school of thought developed after the realist. They focus on the anarchic nature of the international system based on competition among sovereign states rather than on human nature as the factor that shapes world politics. According to the neorealist, the international system is based on sovereign states which answer to no higher authority in providing security and order. The result of such a self-help system is that each state must rely on its own resources to survive and flourish. But because there is no authoritative impartial method of settling disputes — that is no world government — state are their own judges, juries and hangman, and often resort to force to achieve their security interest (Zakaria 1993:22).

The core arguments of the neo-realist are as follows:

- i. States and other actors interact in an anarchic environment. This means that there is no central authority to enforce rules and norms to protect the interest of larger global community;
- ii. The structure of the system is a major determinant of actor behavior;
- iii. States are self-interest oriented and an anarchic and competitive system pushes them to favour self-help over cooperative behavior;
- iv. State are rational actors, selecting strategies to maximize benefits and minimize losses;
- v. The most critical problem presented by anarchy is survival;

- vi. States see all other states as potential enemies and threats to their national security. This distrust and fear create a security dilemma, and this motivates the policies of most state (Lamy, 2002:187).

## **SELF ASSEMENT EXERCISE**

What are the core arguments of the neo realists?

### **The Evolution of Realist Thought**

The intellectual roots of political realism dates back o Ancient Greece. It extends beyond the western world to India and China. There is discussion on power politics in Arthashastra and India treatise on statecraft written during the fourth century B.C. Kautilya as we as in work written by Hanfei and Shanyang in Ancie China.

Modern Realism emerged on the eve of the Seem World War, when the belief in a natural harmony interest among nations came under attack. Almost decade earlier, this belief in the natural harmony interest has led to the signing of the 1928 Kelloa Briand pact which outlawed war as an instrument c national policy. Later with Nazi Germany, Fascist Its and imperial Japan all violating the treaty, E.H. Carr, a British historian and a diplomat argued that the assumption of a universal interest in peace has allowed too many people to evade the unpalatable fact of a fundamental divergence of interest between nations desirous of maintaining the status quo an nations desirous of changing it.

International Relations scholars such as Reinhol Niebur (1947) and Hans J. Morgenthau (1948) challenge the views of the idealist and argued that the human nature is largely selfish.

The realists' picture of international politic appeared particularly convincing after World War The rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union, the expansion of the Cold War into a wider struggle between East and west and the periodic crises that threatened to erupt into global violence supported the realist emphasis on international conflict as inevitable, and the poor prospects cooperation.

The classical realist sought to explain state behaviour by drawing upon factors located at the individual level of analysis, the next scholars of International relations dwelt on the systematic level of analysis, Kenneth Waltz (1979), the leading exponent of what has come to be called structural realism, argued that international anarchy not the evil side of human nature — explained why state were locked in struggles with one another, The absence of a world government was the defining structural feature of the International system. Vulnerable and insecure state behaved defensively by forming alliances against perceived threats. According to Waltz (1979) Balances of power form automatically in anarchic environments.

The most recent type of realist theory also resides it the systemic level of analysis. This variant argued that the ultimate goal of states is to achieve military supremacy not merely balance of power. For John Mearsheimer (2001) and other exponents of offensive realism, the anarchic structure of the international system encourages states to

maximize their share of world power. A state with an edge over everyone else has insurance against the possibility that a rogue state might someday pose a security threat (Kegley and Raymond, 2007:2)

### **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

According to Waltz (1979) Balances of power form automatically in anarchic environments

Discuss.

### **3.5 GLOBALISM: THE TRANSNATIONALIST VIEW**

Globalism or transnationalism is another theory in International Relations. The globalist argued that the present international system is different from the one that existed before the outbreak of Second World War. The significant change has been the decline in the role of the nation-state. Several reasons have been given to explain this phenomenon. Technological revolution and its impact on inter-state relations have been the main sources of this transformation in the global system. According to Young (1972:125):

Rapid and continuing developments in a variety of areas such as communications, transportation and military technology have caused an effective shrinking of the world and have led to a situation in which the state, nation state and state system are increasingly obsolescent and ineffective structure for the achievement of human security and welfare.

The “shrinking of the world” has been caused by the emergence of inter-dependence. The globalist sees this increase in inter-dependence as inconsistent with the traditional assumptions of the state as the main actor in international politics. The state is no longer the effective agent of political and economic security. Furthermore, technical development, particularly nuclear power, has made the state even less viable, for it cannot protect its citizens.

Globalists view the proliferation of international organizations as an important development in world politics. They argued that many of the international organizations function effectively to influence the lives and welfare of people in almost every country of the world and that international interaction via International organization is rapidly becoming an even more important feature of world politics today. The result of this development is that the international system cannot be regarded as anarchic.

The globalists are also of the opinion that the growth and development of multinational corporations is a significant development in world politics. Their emergence will eventually result in the decline of nation-states. Multinational corporations will facilitate movement of capital, profit and good across international boundaries. However, within the globalism, there are two opposing views: one group views the changes in the international system with considerable optimism. They are referred to as “optimist globalist”. The other recognize the changes but

seems alarmed about their impact on world politics. These groups are referred to as “pessimist globalist”. The optimist-globalist believes that:

if the level of interdependence in the system continues to raise this will eventually lead to the emergence of world community or a world culture which will in turn lead to the development of a world state capable of managing the rising level of inter-dependence.

On the other hand, the pessimists argued that the emergence of interdependence could result in an increasing level of conflict because the rise of interdependence will create opportunities for conflict. Also, the pessimist globalist recognizes the importance of the multinational corporations in the international system but regrettably acknowledged the fact that the MNCs drive for higher profits force it to go overseas, this results in taking away employment from the mother country. The multinational companies serve as agents of foreign domination and exploitation in third world countries.

#### **4.0 Conclusion**

The “shrinking of the world” has been caused by the emergence of inter-dependence. The globalist sees this increase in inter-dependence as inconsistent with the traditional assumptions of the state as the main actor in international politics. The state is no longer the effective agent of political and economic security. Furthermore, technical development, particularly nuclear power, has made the state even less viable, for it cannot protect its citizens.

#### **5.0 Summary**

All the theories discussed above one way or another explain something about the subject of international relations.

#### **6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment**

What do you understand by the “shrinking of the world” ?

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## **UNIT 3 MARXISM, NEO MARXISM, FEMINISM, THE ENGLISH SCHOOL**

### **CONTENTS**

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- 2.0 Objectives
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### **1.0 Introduction**

In the previous unit, we discussed the theories of realism, neo realism, Liberalism, neo liberalism and the democratic peace theories but in this unit we shall discuss Marxism as a theory of International Relations. The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 and the triumph of western liberal democracy and capitalism over socialism, would have led to the collapse of Marxism. However Marxist ideas continue to be relevant even in the realm of International Relations.

### **2.0 Objectives**

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

- a. Define Marxism
- b. Explain the Marxist core arguments
- c. Differentiate between Marxism and neo Marxism
- d. Define Feminism and state its core arguments
- e. Discuss the power theory and the Balance of Power theory

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 MARXISM**

According to Karl Marx, the social world should be analysed as a totality. For the Marxist the academic divisions of the social world into different fields of study i.e. history, philosophy, economics, political science, sociology, and international relations etc. is both arbitrary and unhelpful. Rather none can be understood without knowledge of the others. The social world had to be studied as a whole. In his seminal work volume 1 of Capital, Marx's methodological solution was to start with the simplest of social relations and then proceed to build them up into more and more complex picture. He therefore justified the need to address the totality of

relationships. There can be no doubt that for Marxist theorists, the disciplinary boundaries that is evident in contemporary social sciences need to be transcended if we are to have a proper understanding of the dynamics of world politics (Hobden and Jones, 2001:202).

Another important idea of Marxist thought which stress his concern with interconnection and context is the materialist conception of history. The main argument here is that processes of historical change are ultimately a reflection of the economic development of society i.e. economic development is effectively the engine of history. The central idea that Marx identifies is the extension between the means of production and relations of production that together, form the economic base of a given society. As the means of production develop, for instance through technological advancement, previous relations of production become outmoded and indeed become fetters restricting the most effective utilization of the new productive capacity. This in turn leads to a process of social change whereby relations of production are transformed in order to better accommodate the new.

Development in the economic base act as a catalyst for the broader transformation of society as a whole. This is because as Marx argues:

The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life process in general. Thus the legal, political and cultural institutions and practices of a given society reflect and reinforce in a more or less mediated form-the pattern of power and control in the economy. It follows logically therefore that change in the economic base ultimately leads to a change in the legal and political superstructure.

Class plays an important role in Marxist analysis. (contrary to liberals who believe that there is an essential harmony of interest between various social groups, Marxists argue that society is constantly engage in class struggle. In the communist manifesto which Marx Co-authored with Engels, it is argued that:

The history of all hitherto existing societies is the history of class struggle.

In capitalist society the main conflict is between is bourgeoisie (the capitalist) and proletariat (the workers).

### **Neo-Marxism**

Neo-Marxism is another strand of Marxism that offers explanation on international relations, Whereas realism focuses on the international system of anarchy and state competition for power, the neo-Marxist perspective pays more attention on the international system of capitalism, the competition among economic lasses and the relationship of politics and society to capitalist production.

For this perspective, economics is the driving force for world politics. While Marx dwelt more on class conflict within countries, neo-Marxists concentrate on global class conflict. According to neo-Marxists the global economy has always been divided into a core (the 'haves'). In which the most advanced economic activities take place and wealth is concentrated and a periphery (the 'have'). In which the less advanced economic activities are located and wealth is scarce. Overtime particular country economies may move from periphery to core or vice versa. However, what is constant across history is that the world is split into this core-periphery international division of labour and the economic conflict that is embedded. In this divide, according to Thompson (1988:12):

As a consequence the core receives the most favorable proportion of the system's economic surplus through its exploitation of the periphery, which in turn is compelled to specialize in the supply of less well rewarded raw materials and labour.

The core has primarily consisted of the economies of Europe and eventually North America and the periphery has consisted of raw-materials production economies of Africa, Latin America and the Middle East.

The international division of labour did not develop arbitrary but as a result of the historical expansion of European powers. European powers colonized most parts of the world and changed their economies. The economics of the periphery were disarticulated to meet the needs of the core. They were made raw materials producing ones to feed the industries in the core countries. This created a permanent dependency syndrome. Even after the attainment of political independence the core countries continue to dominate and exploit them through neo-colonialism.

### **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

Define Marxism

Explain the Marxist core arguments

Differentiate between Marxism and neo Marxism

### **3.2 FEMINISM**

Feminism as a theory of International Relations became dominant in the 1990s. This theory introduced gender as a relevant analytical tool for understanding International Relations. Feminism shifts the study of international relations away from a singular focus on inter-state relations towards a comprehensive analysis of transnational actors and structures and their transformation in global politics. With their emphasis on non-state actors, marginalized people and alternative conceptualization of *power*, feminist perspective sheds more light on International Relations.

Feminist scholarship encompasses a variety of strands of work, but all have in common the insight that gender matters in understanding how international relations works-especially in issues relating to war and international security. Feminist scholarship in various fields of study seeks to find to study international relation. Some feminist scholars have argued that the core

assumption of realism-especially of anarchy and sovereignty reflect the ways in which males tend to interact and to see the world. In this view the realist approach simply assumes male participants when discussing foreign policy, decision making, state sovereignty or the use of military force. According to feminist, women influence International Relations (more often through non-state channels than male do)-influences often ignored by realism (Goldstein, 2001:127).

Beyond the common understanding that gender is important, there is no single feminist approach. There are several such approaches. Each moves forward on its own terms and although they are interwoven (all paying attention to gender and to the status of women) they often run in different direction. These strands or approaches are as follows:

### **Standpoint Feminism**

The standpoint feminism emphasise or value the unique contribution of women as women. Because of their greater experience with nurturing and human relation, women are seen as more effective than men in conflict resolution as well as in group decision making. Standpoint feminists believe there are real difference between gender that are not just social constructions and cultural indoctrination. This perspective creates a platform from which to observe, analyse and criticize the traditional perspective on International Relations.

### **Liberal Feminism**

Liberal feminists are seeking to end women's exclusion from or under-representation in office, power and employment, they seek women's equal rights in the military including in combat. They see women Protection as a way of keeping them from power and their dependence on men as compromising their claims to full citizenship which is usually understood to include fighting for one's country.

Other feminist are critical of Liberal feminists as seeking equality in masculinist institutions on men's terms. In different ways, they seek to change the institutions themselves to be women friendly (Pettman, 2001:587).

### **Radical Feminism**

Radical feminism argues that women's subjugation is universal though taking different forms at different times. Some see women as a sex class, systematically and everywhere subject to men's sex right. Violence against women is seen as key to keeping women resource less and in their place (Pettman, 200 1:587).

### **Socialist Feminism**

Socialist feminist put together class and gender, arguing that a class analysis alone leaves out much that women experience. It cannot explain why women are those responsible for reproductive and family labour, why women are so over-represented among the poor, or why

gender inequities often re-enforced by violence against women continue even where women are integrated into the workforce.

### **Women in International Relations**

Liberal Feminism pay more attention on the integration of women into the overwhelmingly men dominance in foreign policy making and the military. In most states, these vacations are the exclusive preserve of men. For example, in 1995, the world diplomatic delegation to the UN General Assembly was 80 percent male overall, and the heads of those delegation were 97 percent male. Senior managers at the International Monetary Fund were 92 percent male. The US military with one of the highest proportion of women anywhere in the world is still about 85 percent male (Joni, 1997).

According to the liberal feminists, the consequences of this gender imbalance are that apart from the effect that such discrimination has on the status of women is to waste talent. Liberal feminists are of the opinion that women have the same capabilities as men; the inclusion of women in traditionally male occupation (from state leader to foot soldier) would bring additional capable individuals into those areas. Gender equality would thus increase national capabilities by giving the state a better pool of diplomats, generals, soldiers and politicians.

In support of their argument that on average, women handle power just as men do, Liberal feminist point to the many examples of women who have served in such positions. There, is nothing particularly feminist in their behavior in office that distinguishes these leaders from their male counterpart. Female, state leaders do not appear to be any more peaceful or any less committed to state sovereignty and territorial integrity than are male leaders. It has even been suggested that women in power tend to be more it aggressive in policy to compensate for being females and traditionally male roles. A clear example is Margaret Thatcher of Britain in the 1980s. She went to war in 1982 to recover the Falkland Islands from Argentina. Among middle powers, Indira Ghandi led India against Pakistan in 1971, as did Israel's Golda Meir against Egypt and Syria in 1973.

### **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

Radical feminism argues that women's subjugation is universal though taking different forms at different times. Discuss.

### **3.3 THE ENGLISH SCHOOL**

The English school is a term that became popular in the 1970s, to describe a group of predominantly British or British-inspired writers for whom International Society is the primary bases of analysis (Jorres, 1971; Linklater and Suganami, 2006). Its most influential members include; Hedley Bull, Martin Wight, John Vincent and Adam Watson. The English School remains one of the most important approaches to International politics.

The Main argument of the English School is that sovereign states form a society, even though an anarchic one in that they do not have to submit to the will of a higher power. The fact that states

have succeeded in creating a society of sovereign equals is for the English School one of the most interesting dimensions of International Relations. There is they argue, a surprisingly low level of violence between states given that their condition is one of anarchy (in the sense of the absence of a higher political authority).

The English School, however do not ignore the phenomenon of violence in relations between states. Its members regard violence as part and parcel of the international system. They also stressed that violence is controlled to a reasonable level by International Law and morality. Members of the English school maintain that the International political system is more civil and orderly than realists and neo-realists suggest.

### **Order and Justice in International Relations**

The English school is interested in the process which Transforms systems of states into societies of state and the norms and institutions which prevent the collapse of law and order. There are various theories on how to ensure order and justice in International Relations one of the theories' is the Solidarist International Society theory as espoused by Nicolas Wheeler (2000) in his classic work *Saving Strangers* to explain intervention in states bedeviled with crises.

The Solidarist theory of International Society falls within the English School of thought. Interestingly, the English School offers the concept of "international society" as an alternative to both the realist concentration of power as- the defining force in international relations and the utopian demand to revolutionize the state-based international system. According to English School theorists, the structure of "international society" is shaped by recurrent patterns of state interactions that are embodied in rules and often expressed as "common interest" and "common values" (Bull, 1966).

Disagreement about the legitimacy of humanitarian intervention reflect two different conceptions of international society that were first identified by Hedley Bull; pluralism and solidarism. Both conceptions agree that the state system is actually a society of states, which includes commonly agreed values, rules and institutions. There is disagreement, however about the normative content of this society. A society of states (or international society) exists when a group of state, conscious of certain common interest and common value, form a society in the sense that they conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions (Bull, 1979:13).

Pluralists insist that international society is founded on acceptance of a plurality of actors and the existence of a constitution as the best guarantor of the protection of the actors (Rengger, 2000:105). International Society permits, the diffusion of power to peoples via the plurality of states allowing each nation and state to develop its way of life. The normative content of such an international society is limited to a mutual interest in the continued existence of the society. Thus, pluralist international society rests on mutual recognition of state sovereignty and the norm of non-intervention. For pluralists, states are unable to agree about substantive issue such as human rights but do recognize that they are bound by the rules of sovereignty of non-intervention (Dunne, 1998:106; Linklater, 2000:20).

State sovereignty and non-intervention are powerful norms that combines state interests, moral principles, and formal laws. Pluralists' international society then "establish a legal and moral framework which allows natural communities to provide their diverse ends with the minimum of outside interferences" (Link later 1998:59).

The minimalist conception of international society prompt pluralist writes to doubt the legitimacy of humanitarian intervention. Pluralists argue that there is no agreement or any possibility of agreement-about what constitutes a supreme humanitarian emergency that may necessitate the use of force. They argue that human rights are constructed within a specific cultural context and are not universal. Moreover, proposals for Universal ethics or common standing of humane governance are always culturally biased. Pluralists argue that sovereignty is often the only protection that weak states have against the strong and that interventionism is illegal and illegitimate because it offends against the foundational norms of international society. Finally, pluralists reject both the empirical claim that a legitimate right of humanitarian intervention is developing in customary practice and the normative claim that such a right should be developed. According to them intervention lists practice even well-intentioned, threatened international order of (Bellamy, 2003).

In contrast, the Solidarist conception of international society holds that diverse communities can and do reach agreement about substantive moral standards a% that international society has moral agency to uphold those standards. A Solidarist international society is one in which states have a responsibility to protect the citizens of other states. The use of force in such a society would be considered legitimate if fulfilled either one of two purposes; the defence of a State against the crime of aggression (collective security) and the upholding of the society's moral purpose (Dunne, 1998:100). Solidarists therefore claim that there is agreement in international society about what constitutes a supreme humanitarian emergency. They find evidence for this in the sophisticated contemporary human rights regime that includes agreed and detailed standards of human behavior, accepted methods of governmental and non-governmental surveillance, and increasing acknowledgment of universal criminal culpability. Just as this consensus has grown overtime, so too has state practices developed towards a growing recognition that there is indeed the right of intervention in extreme cases (Bellamy, 2003).

Solidarists argue that a precedent was set after the Gulf War by the operation to provide comfort in northern Iraq (Wheeler, 2000), They argue that this operation was authorized by UN Security Council resolution 688, which itself marked a revolutionary period in international society because it implied that human suffering could constitute a threat to international peace and security and hence warrant a collective armed intervention by society of states, Solidarists argue that the subsequent interventions in Bosnia, Somalia and Rwanda reinforce this new norm. Sovereignty, they argue, is not a veil that the human rights abuser can hide behind. They insist that extreme cases of human suffering constitute a legitimate exception to the rule of non-intervention when states fail to live up to these obligations and create human suffering on a massive scale (Wheeler, 2000).

It is also important to look at the views expressed by other scholars of the Solidarist School. English School Solidarists like Vincent (1974) have recognized that "states should satisfy certain basic requirement of decency before they qualify for the protection which the principle of non-

intervention provided (Vincent and Watson). Moreover, Vincent suggests that if states systematically and massively violated human rights, ‘then there might fall to the international community a duty of humanitarian intervention’ (Vincent).

Waizer (1978) argues that ‘morality’, at least, is not a bar to unilateral action so long as there is no immediate alternative? Humanitarian intervention for Walter is justified when it is a response (with response expectation of success) to acts “that shock the moral conscience of mankind” (Walzer, 1978:107). The argument is not that the rule of sovereignty and non-intervention should be jettisoned since these remain the constitutive rule of international society. Instead, Waltzer’s Solidarist argument is that states should be denied protection in those extraordinary cases where governments are committing acts of mass murder, since they are guilty of “crimes against humanity (Walzer, 1978), At this point states are morally entitled to use force to stop these atrocities, and for some Solidarists like Vincent, the obligation is even stronger and the society of states has a duty (o act.

Wheeler’s contribution to the theory of international society is the main focus of this society. He maintains that the principles for interaction in international society are not fixed but, instead, are susceptible to change, as are their normative ‘underpinnings. The Solidarist approach “looks to strengthen the legitimacy of international society by deepening its commitment to justice”. Wheeler explains:

Rather than see order and justice locked in a perennial tension, solidarism looks to the possibility of overcoming this conflict by developing practice that recognizes the mutual interdependence between the two claims.

Wheeler applies this Solidarist version of the English School in assessing “how far the society of states has developed a new collective capacity for enforcing minimum standard of humanity” (Wheeler, 2000:12).

The manner in which Wheeler substantiates this claim is through an elaboration of a provocative Solidarist theory of humanitarian intervention that distinguishes between degrees of legitimacy, combined with a careful examination of the leading Cold War and Post-Cold War cases. To qualify as both legitimate and humanitarian, an intervention has to meet four key requirements, all derived from the Just War Tradition (Wheeler, 2000:33-37); there must be just cause, or what Wheeler prefer to call supreme humanitarian emergency, because it capture the exceptional nature of the case under consideration, secondly, the use of force must be a last resort; thirdly, the use of force must be proportionate to the harm that it is designed to prevent or stop; and, finally there must be a high expectation that the use of force will achieve a positive humanitarian outcome.

Looking at the four requirements as stated by Wheeler, it would appear that the Somalia crises met and even surpassed the need for the international community in the name of humanity to bring the Somali debacle to an end. The issue of humanitarian intervention arises in cases what a government has turned the machinery of the state against its own people, or where the state has collapsed into lawlessness, as in the case of Somalia to handle their complex problem alone,

Turning to the first criterion, there is no objective definition of what to count as a supreme humanitarian emergency, but some claim will be more persuasive than others. It is not good trying to define an emergency in terms of the number killed or displaced, because this is too arbitrary. Supreme humanitarian emergency exists when the only hope of saving lives depends on outsiders coming to the rescue. It is incumbent upon those who wish to legitimate an armed intervention as humanitarian to make the case to other governments and international public opinion that the violation of human rights within the target state had reached such a magnitude.

It is important to distinguish between what we might call the ordinary routine abuse of human rights that tragically occurs on a daily basis and those extraordinary acts of killing and brutality that belong to the category of crimes against humanity. Genocide is the only obvious case but state sponsored mass murder and mass population expulsion by force also come into this category.

Foreign or humanitarian intervention is clearly justified in these situations, but if we wait until emergency is upon us, it will come too late to save those who have been killed or forcibly displaced. This raises the vexed problem of how early rescue should be.

Solidarism establishes that humanitarian intervention is not only morally permitted but it also morally required. Wheeler cites the examples of the decision of bystanders not to rescue a child. Assuming that the individual can swim, would argue that the individual failed in his or her duty to rescue the child. And in some European states such as France and Germany it is written into law that individuals should act as rescuers in such circumstances. The story of the rescuers is conflicting moral imperative, and it is the same with the claim that foreign intervention is a moral duty.

In connection to Somalia, Wheeler is suggesting that the international community led by the UN, USA have a moral duty to intervene in Somalia, and bring the country back to its footing. Refusal of the international community to solve the Somali problem has continued to be a scar on the conscience of the world, and a setback to the common humanity we all share.

Solidarism agrees with realism that states have a responsibility to protect the security and well-being of their citizens, but it parts company with it on the question of whether this obligation is an obligation to non-citizens. The debate within Solidarist international society theory is over the character of these obligations. Solidarism argues that states committed to these principles of good international citizenship are not required to sacrifice vital interests in defence of human rights but they are required to forsake narrow commercial and political advantage when this conflict with human rights. The hard question is whether solidarism requires state leaders to risk and lose soldiers' lives to save non-citizens, Solidarist battle cry that leaders are burdened by the defence of human rights begs the question of how this balances against their responsibility to protect the lives of citizens (Jackson, 100).

The Solidarist argument advanced in Wheeler's *Saving Strangers* is that in exceptional cases of supreme humanitarian emergency, state leaders would accept the risk of casualties to end human suffering. In developing this argument Wheeler applies Waltzer's notion of 'supreme emergency'. In *Just and Unjust Wars*, to the moral choices facing state leaders in their decisions on interventions. Waltzer's book is a powerful defence of the principle of non-combatant humanity in the just war but, having built up the argument as to why war cannot escape moral discourse, he argues that

exceptional circumstances (an arise where the survival of the state require leaders to violate the prohibition against killing civilians, A supreme emergency exist when the danger is so imminent, the character of the threat so horrifying and when there is no other option violating the rule against targeting civilians. He gives the examples of Britain in the 1940s, where British leaders employed strategic bombing against Germans ties a their only defence against the evil of Nazism (Walzer 101).

We can apply this theory to Somalia, the survival of the state is at stake just as the case of Britain in 1940. There is also a supreme emergency for those human beings facing genocide, mass murder, and ethnic cleaning. Supreme humanitarian extraordinary situations where civilians in 'state are in imminent danger of losing their life c facing appalling hardship, where the indigenous f; cannot be relied upon to end these violation of human rights. As Waizer argues in relation to supreme emergencies, state leaders find themselves confronted with these situation only on rare occasion. But, how they do, they are confronted with the ultimate choice between realist and Solidarist conception of moral responsibly in statecraft. The latter demand that the leaders over ride their primary responsibilities not to play citizens in danger and make the agonizing decision that saving the lives of civilians beyond - border requires risking the lives of those who serve in the armed force. Having decided that humanitarian intervention is morally required, state leaders mu still satisfy themselves that using force meets requirement of necessary and proportionate and there is every expectation that the use of force will successful.

In his exhaustive study of the practice of humanitarian intervention, Wheeler thus charts h international society has become more open t "Solidarist theme" (Wheeler, 2000:285). If we look states' deed rather than their words, Wheeler urge we will see support emerging for a developing international norm of humanitarian intervention, indeed, to the extent that humanitarian concerns hay gained influence over decision making and stat behavior, there has already been a significant normative shift.

Despite the level of sophistication of the Solidarist theory of international society by Wheeler (2000) and co, it cannot escape sharp criticism. Contrary to conventional wisdom, Wheeler claims that the humanitarian motives for interventions are not necessary, provided that the means adopted do not jeopardize a positive outcome. However, one might object that stripping motive altogether from the criteria for adjust intervention fails to consider the realist view that states intervene only when the "national interest" clearly is involved. But for Wheeler this is not a problem as long as positive effects are achieved. There remain, then the problem of 'defining "humanitarian outcome"'.

Wheeler is clearly content to follow the widely accepted idea that humanitarian intervention, when embarked upon, should be aimed at stopping massive violation of human rights (Wheeler, 2000:37). He failed *i* appreciate that the conflict that motivated external intervention are not simply human rights problems but political problems that require a political solution beyond the immediate cessation of human rights violence. Indeed, without a clear political solution, humanitarian crises are deemed to repeat themselves. In Uganda, for example, the overthrow of Idi Amin stopped massive killing but did not prevent the establishment of the second Obote

regime, whose atrocities could be comparable to those of his predecessors. Had Tanzania had clearer humanitarian motive perhaps Milton Obote (a protégé of Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere) might have been prevented from taking power, or had his action limited. In any case, Wheeler rules out motives as part of the requirement for an intervention to be humanitarian. The second Obote regime in Uganda is not even mentioned in saving strangers (Roberto Belloni, 2003).

Wheeler fails to consider motives and the way they affect political outcomes. If motives are largely non-humanitarian, then it is unlikely that the intervening state would be involved in any way in a post-v transition, because the principle that led to the intervention are only superficially altruistic. If however, an intervening state decides to involve after a war that ended human suffering in the target state, then this is probably due to compelling national interest, as in the case of Vietnam's lengthy occupation of Cambodia. In other words, there is much we can learn by considering the reason to intervene, beyond the official statements of convenience of the intervening state(s). Wheeler by excluding motive from the key requirement for just intervention, misses this important aspect. As a result his theoretical framework lends itself to an ex-post-factor assessment of limited value concerning the authorization to intervene (Belloni, 2003).

One may debate whether Wheeler's conclusion remains valid after the September 11th terrorist Attacks and the U.S. declared war on terrorism". Many commentators have of those developments, human rights humanitarian norms have been jettisoned in favour of US national security consideration (Mutua, 2002). Today, a real danger exist that human right a humanitarian norms are being hijacked and corrupted by the interest of a few powerful states, The United States' failure to apply human right to its own action in the war on terrorism" send a dangerous message to international society. Mutua (2002) warn that:

The failure gives credence to the view that human rights are convenience which can be dispensed with once they get in the way of 'hard and vital interest... What then is to prevent states which are less inclined to protect human rights from violating them, if their most vigorous advocate rhetorically speaking — acts with such brazen hypocrisy and duplicity (Mutua, 2002:11).

Mutua makes an important point about the negative impact of inconsistent and exceptional usage of human rights; for if consistent and applied to one's own behavior, it may also elicit positive result. Human Rights and humanitarian ideas do serve an instrument Function; their protection can bring about something else (in the UN Charter, for example, human rights tire linked to peace).

Nonetheless, just as the strength of the Solidarist Theory of international society is linked to the English school approach, so is its criticism. The English School has been criticized for taking the nexus of morality and politics as an unexamined assumption. I without analyzing centrally important issues; exploring the origin and exact nature of this nexus determining who benefits from moral discourse in the political sphere, when, and why; and addressing possible critiques of the view that morality substantively informs the structure of international society (Berta Esperanza, 2002).

More so, the English School has been criticized reifying existing international norms, values a institution in a way that obscures their social and. politically contested nature, and which there for obscures the significant role of social movement the reproduction of world politics (Alejandro Colas. 2001). International nongovernmental organizations are also largely overlooked in English School analysis. as is their role in the construction of the structure and norms of international society (Boli and Thom 1999).

## **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

Discuss The Solidarist argument advanced in Wheeler's saving Strangers

### **3.4 The Power Theory**

The power theory is one of the most pertinent and fundamental theories of international relations. This is obvious in the fact of its centrality to the analysis of relations among states within the global system. Indeed, as John Stoessinger contends, "it is the most crucial of all the concepts in the study of international relations." While the definition of power varies, it has been summed up in a more simplistic manner by one of the exponents of the theory, Hans Morgenthau, as man's control over the minds and actions of thers. Arnold Wolfers also contends that power is the ability to move others or to make them do what one desires, and not to do what one does not require that they do; and that it (power) is the ability to move others by the threat or infliction of deprivation. Similarly, Joseph Frankel (1973) considers it as the ability to get -one's wishes carried out inspite opposition, and the ability to influence the actions of others in accordance with one's own ends. In his own analysis, Stoeesinger sees power in international relations as the capacity of a nation to use its tangible and intangible resources in such a way as to affect the behaviour of other nations. He also defines power as the sum total of a nation's capabilities. However, this definition poses some limitations in the sense that while power involves capabilities, it concerns other dimensions as well.

Thus, while capabilities are objectively measurable, power must in every case be considered and evaluated in more subtle psychological and relational terms which must be recognized as hardly less significant than the objectively measurable capabilities.

Viewed from the relational perspective, relational power exists between one country and another as long as both countries are unequally-knitted. Thus, power is apparent in the relations between Nigeria and the Niger Republic. Nigeria is considered by the governments and peoples of both countries as more powerful than the latter, given the former's buoyant economy, larger and better-equipped military, and a relatively stable political system.

From the psychological viewpoint, a nation's power may depend, in a considerable measure, on what other nations think it is or even what it thinks other nations think it is. In this regard, Nigeria can be regarded as powerful because it thinks that other nations see it as a regional power, that is, within the West African sub region; and even as a power that cannot be ignored in African affairs. Hence, it can be argued from the psychological perspective, that every nation is powerful; but the difference lies in the degree of the power exercised by one nation in relation to others.

Power politics constitutes an aspect of the power theory, which simply means politics of force or 'real politic'. Essentially, it refers to the conduct of international relations by the use of force or the threat of force without consideration for the right of justice. It explains a situation in which, irrespective of the right and/or wrong of a case, one side obtains what it wants and the other accepts what it must. This crudely defines the role that the United States of America played in the Gulf crisis of 1990—91 in which the United States obtained what it wanted and Iraq accepted what it must.

A prominent school that subscribes to the idea of power politics is the realist school of thought which puts power at the root of international politics and uses it as a tool of analysis. Hans Morgenthau is a foremost advocate of 'realism' and, for him, power is the theoretical core of international politics. As he puts it, "all politics is a struggle for power." He argues further that the desire to dominate is a constituting element of all human associations. Thus, regardless of aims and goals, the immediate objective of all states' action is to obtain or increase power. For Morgenthau and other realist scholars, power occupies such a pervasive position in their writing.

In international relations, power is considered as relative to the goals for which it is used. It has been conceptualized to include tangible factors such as military capabilities as well as intangible elements such as political will. Notwithstanding, the measurement of power — actual and potential — no matter how difficult, has been, and indeed remains a central concern of various governments in all parts of the global system. It also "will become increasingly complex as a result of the increased salience of its economic dimensions and as a greater variety of weapons' systems of unprecedented accuracy and range become available to a larger number of actors."

### **Critique of the Power Theory**

For a very long time, much of the literature or writing on international politics was essentially a debate between the power theorists (realists) and their critics. Just as the realists emphasize power as the cynosure of international politics, there is however another school, which downplays the role of power in the interaction of states and stresses such other factors as values, international morality and institution.

Like any other theory in international relations, there are a number of objections against any theory of international relations oriented towards power politics. Critics of the power approach condemn it as generating a 'single-factor' theory and that the concept does not explain all forms of state interaction, in that a lot of relationships have nothing to do with force and that there is considerable order in international politics.

While the power theorists believed that the exercise of, or threat of force is the main tactic used by states in the pursuit of their objectives, the critics believed that there is considerable order in the international system. They pointed to other tactics or techniques used by states in the pursuit of their objectives. These include persuasion, manipulation, propaganda, as well as the use of economic instruments like rewards, grants and other forms of assistance.

In spite of these criticisms power is still fundamentally an instrument for achieving the objectives of states. As a result of its pervasiveness, uses and abuses, there has been a tendency to

degenerate power, thereby giving it an unfair, negative connotation. Such concepts like balance of power and power politics are all derivatives from the uses and abuses of power.

### **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

What are the principal arguments proffered against the Power theory?

### **3.5 The Balance-of-Power Theory**

Balance of power has been one concept in the study of interstate relations for which there is no precise definition. However, the fact that a precise definition is yet to evolve does not preclude balance of power as an important tool of maintaining peace, particularly during the classical European era.

The incessant quest for power among nation-states must of necessity lead to a conflict of interests. Sometimes, this situation degenerates into open armed conflicts between nations. As a mechanism of power politics, the balance-of- power system provides the means by which the relative power position of a nation may be analyzed, adjusted and used as bases for action. It assures that there is a continual maneuvering among states in competing for power, thus seeking to equilibrate the disequilibrated power situations among nation-states. The ultimate aim is to ensure an equitable proportion in the power capabilities of nation-states so that no one nation-state emerges dominant over another or a group of others.

The balance-of-power system was for centuries a European expedient. It gained prominence between the 1648 Peace Treaty of Westphalia and the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. The main participants were European states because, outside of Europe, there was no nation capable of exerting an influence in the balancing process.

Interestingly, throughout its years of flourishing, no one nation emerged dominant over others. However, America's participation in the First World War brought an outsider prominently into the picture for the first time. Thus, after the war, balance of power politics could not ignore the U.S. and Japan. Soon after the Second World War, the U.S., with a monopoly of atomic weapons, held a surplus and used it as a deterrent against aggression. However, in the early 1950s, Russia broke the U.S. monopoly and embarked on the manufacturing of nuclear weapons and missiles. The offshoot of this was a race for supremacy — a situation in balance-of- power politics that was detrimental to world peace.

Today, despite the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the collapse of communism, the United States and Russia remain the two major protagonists of balance-of-power politics. Lesser roles are played by Britain, France and Germany (that used to be the major actors), China, Japan and a few others. Indeed, with the prevailing globalization in the international system, the world is fast becoming a global village, and events everywhere are watched with greater international interest. Hence, to threaten the balance anywhere is to threaten it everywhere.

## Patterns or Techniques of Balancing the Power Situation

There are certain techniques or patterns of balancing the power situation. These include: (a) Armament (b) Alliance, and (c) Divide-and-Rule.

- a. Armament:** This refers to a situation in which two nations competing for power embark on an arms build-up or arms race so as to outdo the other or maintain equipoise. A typical example of this occurred during the “Cold War” between the East and West i.e. the defunct Soviet Union and the United States after the Second World War. The problem in this type of situation however is that, more often than not, it creates instability in the international system. It also leads to a huge budgetary expenditure on military hardware, thus neglecting the social and economic welfare of the citizens. The fact that balance of power employed armament as a technique of balancing power was what made the use of force in maintaining peace admissible. This was indeed what caused the First World War in which about 10 million people died and the Second World War which claimed about 50 million lives.
- b. Alliance:** As a pattern of balance of power, alliance constitutes one of the most important functions of the theory. Under this situation, Nation A, for instance, may decide to undermine the power of Nation B by going into an alliance with Nation C; or Nation A may equally undermine Nation C’s power by withdrawing from an alliance. An example of this occurred during the Second World War when the Allied Nations united in alliance against Germany and her allies. During the Gulf War of 1990/91, the U.S. led a United Nations allied force against Iraq to liberate Kuwait from Iraqi occupation. A nation may go into alliance with another because of the perceived benefits it stands to enjoy, or it may withdraw either because of cost consideration or for the simple fact that it can go it alone. Britain and the United States are examples of nations that have refused to go into peacetime alliance with other nations.
- c. Divide-and-Rule:** This is a situation in which a nation is kept at loggerheads with another so as to reduce their combined power potential. Divide-and-rule can occur in the actual division of a country among certain powers so as to maintain equilibrium in their power base. A typical example is the division of Poland among the three great powers, Prussia, Austria and Russia. Territorial compensation was in this way used to maintain balance in Europe then. Poland was an independent country that balances of power balkanised to the interest of the great power. Also, during the scramble for its partition in 1884—85, Africa was a victim of this balance-of-power policy as the European powers of Great Britain, France, Italy and Belgium extended their quest for power balance to the African continent and carved the continent into spheres of influence among themselves.

The balance-of-power system has found the European characteristic setting conducive to its existence. Firstly, there were diffused powers amongst the European states without any one of them emerging strong enough to dominate; secondly, the state of military technological development was still low as it did not have the capacity to quickly mobilize and overwhelm its enemies and; thirdly, there was a stated limitation to the powers of a state within their midst.

The utility of the balance-of-power system has found its greatest expression at the domestic level. This is best manifested in the American federal constitution which states the various

limitations to the three levels of government legislature, executive *and* judiciary. One cannot extend its power beyond the stipulations of the constitution.

### **Weaknesses of the Balance-of-Power System**

In spite of its utility, the balance-of-power system has been sharply criticized. The tactic of divide-and-rule, which constitutes a basic feature of the system, is considered as one of its fundamental weaknesses. Furthermore, in spite of the existence of the balance-of-power-system, the Second World War still broke out, thus indicating that balance of power, as a device for preventing war, has failed, since it could not avert the catastrophe that befell the human race as a result of that war. A corollary of this is the inherent weak point in the device of balance of power. To restore an equilibrium in the power status of nation-states, most often, a war has to be fought which leads to the disturbance of the equilibrium first before the restoration of the equilibrium later. This has been perhaps the greatest undoing of the theory. Finally, in the post-cold-war era, which has seen the United States of America emerge as the ultimate single superpower, the greatest challenge to the theory of balance of power in international relations is how to redress the present power configuration on the international scene without upsetting or disturbing the present balance which tilts in favour of the United States. The question is, will another powerful nation emerge without a war that would lead to another major catastrophe for the human race breaking out?

In spite of its weaknesses, the balance-of-power theory is yet to face a challenge from any other theory aimed at redressing the global power configuration. As Morgenthau has observed, balance of power is “not only inevitable but is an essential stabilizing factor in a society of sovereign states.”<sup>21</sup> Hence, the system may still hold relevance until the emergence of an alternative international relations system tested and warranted by all experts in the field of international relations to replace it.

### **4.0 Conclusion**

Power politics constitutes an aspect of the power theory, which simply means politics of force or ‘real politic’. Essentially, it refers to the conduct of international relations by the use of force or the threat of force without consideration for the right of justice. It explains a situation in which, irrespective of the right and/or wrong of a case, one side obtains what it wants and the other accepts what it must. This crudely defines the role that the United States of America played in the Gulf crisis of 1990—91 in which the United States obtained what it wanted and Iraq accepted what it must.

### **5.0 Summary**

Today, despite the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the collapse of communism, the United States and Russia remain the two major protagonists of balance-of-power politics. Lesser roles are played by Britain, France and Germany (that used to be the major actors), China, Japan and a few others. Indeed, with the prevailing globalization in the international system, the world is fast becoming a global village, and events everywhere are watched with greater international interest. Hence, to threaten the balance anywhere is to threaten it everywhere.

## 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment

Mention and explain the techniques or patterns of balancing the power situation.

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## **UNIT 4 SYSTEM, GAME, INTEGRATION, AND HUMANITARIAN THEORIES**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
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  - 3.1 Systems theory
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  - 3.3 The Game theory
  - 3.4 The Humanitarian theory
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
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### **1.0 Introduction**

In the previous unit we discussed Marxism, Feminism, The English school, The Power theory and The balance of Power theory but in this unit, we shall focus on Systems theory, The Integration theory, The Game theory and The Humanitarian theory thereby rounding up our discussions on major theories in international relations.

### **2.0 Objectives**

- At the end of this unit students should be able to
- a. Identify the basic theories in international relations
  - b. Discuss exhaustively the Game theory
  - c. Evaluate the Humanitarian theory

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

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

Various scholars, using different theoretical formulations, have succinctly evaluated the systems theory as a tool of analysis. While the abstract part of the general systems' theory is traced to the natural sciences, especially biology, the theory in its operational mode has found strong relevance in the social sciences. The intellectuals who have developed the systems' theory in international relations include Karl Deutsch, Morton Kaplan, David Singer, Charles McClelland, and Kenneth Boulding. Others that have contributed immensely to the theoretical development of systems' analysis include a renowned political scientist, David Easton and a foremost sociologist Talcott Parsons.

Indeed, Parsons has exercised the greatest influence on the use of the systems' theory in political analysis. His idea was adapted and developed by a number of political scientists including David Easton, Karl Deutsch and Gabriel Almond. Hence, he has been described as a 'system builder'. This is exemplified in his development of the action system in which he conceives the society as an interlocking network of acting system. He identified three levels of analysis, each of which has 'forming' or 'limiting' characteristics for the others, and is a function of the others as well. According to him, the first is cultural system or learned attitudes, belief value and orientations;

while the second is social system or the interrelationships of actions based on networks of roles. The third is the structural system comprising the structure of human personality, needs and gratification.

Parsons then came up with four functional prerequisites, which must be performed, in a given social system. These, he regards as the functional imperatives on which social order rests. They are: (a) pattern maintenance, (b) adaptation (c) goal attainment, and (d) integration.

The first, which Parsons called pattern maintenance, means the capacity of the society or social system to maintain itself against a hostile environment, which could be disastrous. The second, adaptation, refers to the ability of the system to maintain a stable equilibrium irrespective of the disturbances within the environment. In other words, it is the ability of the system to adjust itself to changes in the environment. Goal attainment, which constitutes the third prerequisite, refers to the ability of the system to satisfy the needs of its members and also to achieve whatever goals it has set for itself. The fourth prerequisite, integration, refers to the continuous interaction between the components or subsystems of the whole, for better overall performance of the system. This function is performed mainly by means of socialization e.g. ideology, religion and formal education.

Talcott Parsons further submits that an understanding of the interconnectedness of the subsystems will enhance human understanding and appreciation of the dynamics of the social system. Among the systems' theorists, he seems to have exercised the greatest influence on political scientists for his effort to specific roles and patterns of interaction within the political system. His position on the functional imperatives on which order in the social system rests was adopted by David Easton in his "framework for political analysis" to explain how authoritative decisions are made within a given political system.

David Easton, a political scientist, imported Parson's idea into political science, and defines political system as a system in which binding decisions or authoritative allocations of values are made. He sees the political system as the interaction of the subsystems of the society for the effective functioning of the whole political system, which allocates values. Using the input — conversion — output — feedback model in his analysis of the political system, Easton divided the political system into four, namely: input, conversion, output, and feedback. According to him, input represents the demands made on the political system by the citizenry, which may include the provision of infrastructure such as water, electricity, and wage increases. However, he argues that since the political system alone cannot meet all these demands, it is accompanied by support. He also submits that 'there must be gatekeepers who should not allow the political system to be overloaded, such as the civil servants and bureaucrats who control what goes into the political system.

The conversion, says Easton, is done by the political system by a processing of the various demands from the citizenry, as allowed into it by the gatekeepers whose role it is to ensure that the political system is not overloaded.

The output, he contends, refers to what comes out of the political system, which have been converted to decisions and policies in the form of exacting taxes, and so on. As a matter of fact,

the political process or system cannot respond positively to all the demands made on it because of the available limited resources; hence, what is left undone is also communicated to it via the demand and support, i.e. input.

The feedback in Easton's analysis is what goes back to the political system through the same gatekeepers. This is a way of letting the political system realize that it was yet to meet all the demands the citizenry made on it. The process continues because David Easton sees the political system's work of conversion as that of an authoritative allocation of value utility based on the Parsons and Easton model.

A close examination of Talcott Parsons and David Easton's populations reveals a lot of relevance of the systems theory to the analysis of the political system. The theory gives a clear understanding of the nature of society and how it functions. It reveals a lot about the interaction of the various components in the society and the influence of the society on such interactive and interrelated variables. The theory has also been useful to the understanding of the various components and structures of the international system in global politics. It is particularly relevant to foreign policy making in which many professional and interest groups (individual subsystems) contribute to making or shaping the foreign policy of a state as a whole.

### **Weaknesses**

The theory conceives the international system as a unique environment, but this is not so in reality because, as Hans Morgenthau submits, politics among nations is the struggle for power that is devoid of morality. The international system is also anarchical and chaotic. The theory also emphasizes peace and stability, which is not quite so. Again, international rules and decisions are not authoritatively binding, and there is no enforcement agency that can ensure the compliance of such decisions.

In spite of all these weaknesses, however, the theory is very relevant to the understanding of systems' analysis in international relations.

### **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

Identify the basic theories in international relations

What are the contributions of Talcott Parsons and David Easton as regards the systems theory?

### **3.2 The Integration Theory**

Integration is certainly one of the central themes in the interdisciplinary approach to international relations. Modern states, especially new emergent ones, cannot afford the luxury of isolationism. This is more true and relevant to contiguous and neighboring states. Hence, integration constitutes an instrumentality of the modern multistate system. Indeed, a functioning international system necessarily requires a high degree of integration while scholars are sharply divided on the definition of integration, there appears to be a consensus that, to integrate, in general, denotes making a whole out of parts. In other words, as contended by Karl Deutsch, it simply means "turning previously separate units into components of a coherent system."

Integration also designates “a relationship among units in which they are mutually interdependent and jointly produce system properties which they would separately lack.”

Kaplan sees integration as occurring “when units join together or cooperate under conditions which do not appear to permit satisfaction of their system needs in any other way. Thus, merging to form a larger unit may seem the only way to maintain some aspects of the old identity or to satisfy some of the old needs or values. Haas, in his analysis, conceptualizes integration as “the process whereby political actors in distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities toward a new centre, whose institutions demand jurisdiction over the preexisting national states.” Influenced by Haas’ notion of integration, Lindberg defines the concept in a similar vein as “the process whereby political actors in several distinct settings are persuaded to shift their expectations and political activities to a new centre.”

In spite of the above and other numerous definitions that the concept has elicited, the overall consensus that emerges from the writings of the integration theorists seems to indicate that: “Integration consists of a merger of separate institutions and communities, usually within a specific geographic region into a larger unit.”

### **Approaches to the Integration Theory**

Basically, integration studies embrace four major schools of thought, which constitute the four main approaches to the integration theory. These are the federalist, pluralist or communications, functionalist and Neo-functionalist. Each of these is briefly espoused below:

#### **(i) The Federalist Approach**

As an approach to integration, federalism, just as its definition indicates, is essentially the coming together of diverse national entities in order to create a central unit to which they relinquish their sovereignty, thus leading to the creation of a supranational entity. The state, in the words of Charles Pentland, “possesses sufficient political authority and coercive and material power to satisfy the member states’ needs for collective defence, internal security and economies of scale, while still permitting them to maintain their individual identities and to exercise local autonomy in appropriate fields of policy.” Thus, federalists consider integration as a rapid process of change occurring from an international institution to essentially a supranational one.

#### **(ii) The Pluralist Approach**

The pluralist approach, otherwise called the communications approach to integration, has some similarities with the federalist approach, but differs fundamentally from it in that it is not governed by any supranational authority. Furthermore, it prefers the community model over the state model chosen by the federalists, and believes very strongly in peaceful resolution of conflicts. According to the pluralists, “the integrated political community is a system of independent states which, while not governed by any supranational authority, is characterized by such an intensity of amity, communication and interaction between its members, that war is quite inconceivable to them as a method of conflict resolution.”

One of the foremost exponents of this approach, Karl Deutsch, argues that integration can be measured by the level of interaction existing between two states in form of trade, travel and migration, news reporting and readership, postal communications, and so on. In general,

pluralists hold tenaciously to the view that the level of intercourse between and within entities suggests the integrativeness of the unit.

**(iii) The Functionalist Approach**

Functionalism or the functionalist approach to integration is one of the oldest and best known schools of thought about integration. Essentially, it is concerned with the ways of creating, in Mitrany's (its chief architect) words, "a working-peace system". David Mitrany, writing during the Second World War, was greatly influenced by what he saw to be a 'ramification' or the collaborative efforts by groups or entities leading to a functional approach to build up an international community. The basic rationale for the existence of any given political community, in Mitrany's conception, is welfare and security; and, once a "moderate sufficiency of what people want and ought to have is given to them, they will keep peace." It has also been observed that the development of collaborative effort in one technical field largely contributes to collaborative venture in other technical fields. Hence, functionalist writings, right from Mitrany's days, have largely focused on cooperation, collaboration, ploughshares, and peace, as against conflict, discord, swords and war which mostly characterized the pervasive power politics era of the inter war years.

**(iv) The Neo-functionalist Approach**

The neo-functionalist approach to integration developed systematically from a direct confrontation of functionalist ideas, and was highly influenced by its critique of the functionalist model. It derives its support from the experience and success of regional integration in Western Europe — the European Economic Community (now European Union). The experience gained from the European coal and steel community, and its companions — Euratom and EEC — gave the neo-functionalists the vindication for a reformulation of the functionalist model both as practice and as theory. Based on their observations of the work of these organizations, the neofunctionalists conclude that "while certain functionalist dynamics were clearly at work, the progress of integration could not be explained simply in terms of technical self-determination and the learning of habits of cooperation." One distinctive characteristic of neo-functionalism is its acceptance of supra-nationalism as the goal of integration. A distinguished exponent of this school of thought, Ernest Haas, in whose writings the theory initially developed, describes the emergence of Europe as "a new centre, whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over the preexisting ones."

**Usefulness and Shortcomings of the Integration Theory**

The Integration theory constitutes a useful tool of analysis in international relations. For instance, it has been able to unify some distinct economies into a single large economy e.g. the European Union. It has also succeeded in fostering cooperation among nation states in the global system. However, the integration theory has been criticized for being too complex. J. S. Nye, for instance, contends that there is the need for integration to be broken down into economic, political and legal components, which in turn can be divided into subtypes, each of which could be measured. According to him, "rather than allowing us to talk about integration in general and confusing terms, this disaggregation will tend to force us to make more qualified and more readily falsified generalizations with the *ceteris paribus* clauses filled in, so to speak, and thus pave the way for more meaningful comparative analysis than that provided by the general schemes used so far."

In spite of these shortcomings, however, the necessity for integration among nation-states in the contemporary global system cannot be overemphasized, particularly given the imperative of the current globalization process and the increasing compounding complexities of the modern international society.

### **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

Discuss the Game theory exhaustively

Mention and discuss the four approaches to the study of Integration theory.

### **3.3 The Game Theory**

The Game Theory constitutes another conceptual framework developed by the behaviouralists in the study of international relations. In general, it is a branch of mathematics that deals with situations of conflict, involving decisions that have to be taken or made without their consequences being precisely known because the outcome depends partly on circumstances that are beyond the control of the decision makers. As Shubik observes, “the essence of the ‘game’ is that it involves decision-makers with goals and objectives whose fates are intertwined. They have some control but the control is partial. Each group or individual faces a cross-purpose optimization problem. His plans must be adjusted not only to his own desires and abilities but also to those of others.” Piano and Riggs conceive of the game theory as “a body of thought dealing with rational decision strategies in situations of conflict and competition, when each participant or player seeks to maximize gains and minimize losses.” Schelling sees it as the formal study of the rational, consistent expectations that participants can have about each other’s choices.

To Martin Shubik, the game theory is “a mathematical method for the study of some aspects of conscious decision-making in situations involving the possibilities of conflict and or cooperation. It deals with processes in which the individual decision-unit has only partial control over the strategic factors affecting its environment. Both Schelling and Shubik, along with other game theorists, have built upon the foundation laid by Neumann and Morgenstern” who, in their pioneering work, laid emphasis on mathematics. Indeed, the game theory is based essentially upon an abstract form of reasoning, arising from a combination of logic and mathematics.

From the foregoing, it is evident that the methodology of the game theory to international relations is mathematics. Indeed, the theory has been described as a creation as important to the theoretical development of the social sciences as calculus had been to the development of classical mechanics and physics at the close of the seventeenth century. Proponents of the game theory share the assumption that actors in the international arena are rational with respect to the goals they seek to advance. Although there may be fundamental disagreements about what these goals are, the game-theoretic analyst does not assume events transpire in willy-nilly, uncontrolled and uncontrollable ways. Rather, he is predisposed to assume that most foreign policy decisions are made by decision-makers who carefully weigh the advantages and disadvantages likely to follow from alternative policies, particularly when the stakes are high as

they tend to be in international politics. This assumption, to all intents and purposes, does not seem an unreasonable one.

The game theory in international relations is coterminous with the way games such as draught, ludo, chess, football, snooker, and so on, are played. Like these games, the theory utilizes games' model characteristics to tackle decision-making, conflicts and cooperation in international relations. The idea of the theory is for one actor to know the strategies or choices employed by his rival in order to outwit him. The crux of the theory is that it is impossible for any one player to make a choice because whatever choice made by him depends largely on the choice or the choices made by the other players. Hence, nearly all game theorists would agree that the theory with which they deal addresses mainly what is a 'rationally-correct' behaviour in conflict situations where the participants try to 'win' rather than the way individuals actually behave in conflict situations.<sup>47</sup> As Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff observe, "individuals can and often do conduct themselves irrationally and emotionally in conflict situations, but for the sake of theoretical analysis, games theorists assume rational behaviour simply because they find this assumption more profitable for theory-building than the obverse of it."

The game theory, therefore, provides a good model of rational behaviour of people in situations in which:

- a) there are conflicts of interest;
- b) a number of alternatives are open at each phase of the situation;
- c) people are in a position to estimate the consequences of their choices, taking into consideration the very important circumstances that outcomes are determined not only by one's own choice but also by the choices of others over whom one has no control.

Some kinds of analogy have been used to illustrate the game theory in international relations. Two of these are: (i) chicken game; and (ii) prisoner's dilemma. However, all these can be subsumed under the four major typologies of the game theory, viz:

- (a) Two-person zero-sum game;
  - (b) Two-person non-zero-sum game;
  - (c) Nth-person zero-sum game, and
  - (d) Nth-person non-zero-sum game
- a) **Two-person zero-sum game:** This can be referred to simply as a zero-sum game in view of the fact that one player wins what the other loses, and the sum of their gains is therefore zero, i.e.  $(+1) + (-1) = 0$ . Thus, the game terminates with one player having a score of plus one and the other minus one. In real-life situation, a critical example of zero-sum games would include an electoral contest between two candidates for the Senate seat in the National Assembly of Nigeria.
  - b) **Two-person non-zero-sum game:** This is a situation in which players A and B are having something to their advantage. The two players may have common as well as opposing interests; hence, situations occur in which the interests of the different players are not completely antagonistic, and the sum of their gains does not cancel each other.
  - c) **Nth-person zero-sum game:** This is the type of game that involves more than two players or decision-makers. They may be up to four, for instance, and each possesses finite or infinite numbers of possible pure strategies, and each with his own interest to protect. Here, it is assumed that the players grouped themselves into at least two coalitions, which then

played a zero-sum game against each other. How these coalitions come about depends on agreements and side payments or other inducements.

- d) **Nth-person non-zero-sum game:** In this case, there are some possibilities, which create room for sharing and, at the same time, reaching an agreement. It is often referred to as non-zero-sum game because both players may be able to gain positive outcomes from these patterns of behaviour. It could also be referred to as mixed-motive game because neither unremitting competition nor cooperation is an effective strategy for obtaining the largest individual outcomes from the game.

### **Usefulness of the Game Theory**

1. The game theory is considered as a useful decision-making tool that is quite relevant to all aspects of human life, so long as there exists a conflict situation, which requires decision-making, bargaining, deterrence and diplomacy.
2. The theory enables decision-makers to make the right choice of strategy in order to maximize gains at the lowest cost or to achieve a given objective in the face of opposition.
3. It also reveals the various behavioural traits inherent in human lives. Such concepts as emotion, suspicion, trust, pain, reward, and so on inform our decisions and moves in matters crucial to our survival.
4. It has succeeded in explaining some major events in international politics using its 'mini-max' variable.

### **Limitation**

1. The game theory appears not to be interested in the ethics of man but rather on situation ethics. This means that the paramount concern of the player or decision-maker is the outcome and not why his rival employs a particular strategy. The motives and attitudes of his rival are not given cognizance.
2. The theory relies so much on the concept of rationality and moral characteristics of decision-makers in decision-making situations. Indeed, it must be understood that rationality is a relative concept in real-life situations; hence, what is rational to one person might be irrational to another.

### **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

Proffer arguments for and against the Integration theory.

### **3.4 Humanitarian Theory**

In its most general form, **humanitarianism** is an ethic of kindness, benevolence and sympathy extended universally and impartially to all human beings. Humanitarianism has been an evolving concept historically but universality is a common element in its evolution. No distinction is to be made in the face of human suffering or abuse on grounds of gender, tribal, caste, religious or national divisions.

## **Beliefs of Humanitarian Theory**

The universality of Humanitarianism is exemplified in one of the first statements of the ethic, the New Testament parable of the Good Samaritan. The answer to the lawyer's question - 'And who is my neighbour?' is that 'your neighbour' is anyone in need whom you can help.

Humanitarianism is an ethic of active compassion which became expressed in philanthropy and social welfare. From an exclusive concern with charity, humanitarian action was led increasingly to justification of the respect owed to the individual human being. This idea, originating in stoic natural law, became, in its Christian and secular manifestations, an important influence in European thought. Not immediately, but eventually, denial of the spiritual equality inhering in every human being became the touchstone of 'wrongness' in humanitarian action.

The Enlightenment advanced the idea that humanity could be improved by reform of laws and change in social structure. This idea combined with the humanitarian ethic of active compassion. Both became the impelling influences upon humanitarian social action from the 18th century.

Humanitarianism and Human Rights are closely associated. Both movements are grounded upon the moral significance of the individual human being. However, compassion and the alleviation of suffering are not necessary in order to give effect to a human right; and thus that original and basic element in humanitarianism forms no part of 'Human Rights'. The question though, in relation to humanitarian reform, is whether the denial of a human right and the abuses which humanitarians seek to reform, are generically the same or differ and, if so, in what way.

Humanitarianism did not campaign against abuses on the ground of human rights but in the name of humanity. The wrongs which the Humanitarian movement addressed related to violation of moral duties imposed upon State or Society in relation to the treatment of human beings. These duties are substantially unqualified and do not depend upon the consent or absence of consent of persons affected. Thus, under international law slavery and the slave trade are absolutely prohibited. There is no emergency or other exception. Torture is similarly absolute. A 'right', in the strict sense, requires a 'right-holder'. It is the negation of a right if the person advantaged has no option whether to make or decline to make a moral claim. The duty consequent upon a right may not arise until the right has been exercised. The moral claims of slaves and of forced labourers exist independently of their objection. Slavery, torture, cruel punishments cannot be absolved by consent.

In the 18th and 19th centuries the ethic of active compassion coalesced with other ideas and the interaction resulting from this turned humanitarianism in the direction of reform. These accompanying ideas were: rationalism, individualism and of the concept of social and legal reform.

For the humanitarian movement, however, removal of the abuse causing suffering was the essence. The goal in almost every field of action undertaken by the humanitarian movement

required changed social conditions and in many instances this could only be brought about through legislation.

### **Humanitarian Theory and the Functions in International Relations**

The formation of the Red Cross (The International Committee of the Red Cross) in 1863 to alleviate suffering resulting from war was almost the beginning of organized compassion internationally. The Red Cross was also largely responsible for developing the other strand of international humanitarianism, the birth of international humanitarian law.

Humanitarian action internationally had though already been evident in the progressive abolition of slavery during the 18th and 19th centuries. After abolition of the slave trade in Great Britain (1807), British cruisers intercepted foreign slave ships to prevent the trade. In 1885 the Treaty of Berlin forbade slave trading. Later, at the beginning of the 20th century, the world collectively denounced King Leopold II's "Heart of Darkness" in the Congo and, as mentioned, international pressure forced him to yield his personal control. In 1926 the Slavery Convention confirmed that states had jurisdiction to punish slavers wherever apprehended.

The Crimean War (1854–1856) was the first European war for forty years. The British Army went to Crimea without a medical corps or medical service. In the barracks hospital at Scutari the spread of cholera, gangrene and dysentery raged uncontrolled. William Howard Russell of *The Times*, the first modern war correspondent, described the conditions. 25,000 lives had been lost. Public opinion was aroused. The Secretary for War persuaded Florence Nightingale who had administered a sanatorium in London to organize a corps of nurses to go to the Crimea. She did so and brought the death rate down by 40%. Her nursing corps became the foundation of modern nursing.

Attention became focused on the plight of the wounded. A terrible battle took place at Solferino in 1859 during the campaign by France and Piedmont against the Austrian empire. 300,000 soldiers fought; 6000 were killed and 30,000 were wounded in 15 hours. The wounded lay deserted because the retreating Austrians had taken all the carts and horses. A young Swiss banker, Henri Dunant witnessed the scene. As he later described it, "the wounded lay for days on the battlefield, bleeding to death, tormented by thirst, hunger, flies and the burning heat." He saw the dead thrown into huge pits and was told some of the men were still alive when buried. Castiglione, the little town to where the wounded were eventually taken, was overwhelmed. The whole town had become a temporary hospital.

After returning home, Dunant recorded his experiences and in October 1862, published, at his own expense, *A Memory to Solferino*. Dunant did not suggest that what had happened was due in any way to lack of compassion but simply that there was no organization to cope. In the last pages of the work, he put forward the idea which led to the formation of the Red Cross. "It should be possible" he said "to form a society in every country when nations are at peace, from which men and women would be organized and trained so that they could give aid to the

wounded in times of war". He also proposed that some international principles be codified to regulate the treatment of the wounded in future wars and which would stipulate that friend and foe should receive equal treatment.

These proposals were taken up by Gustave Moynier, a Swiss lawyer, of great energy, who formed a five man committee with himself as chairman and Dunant as secretary. As a result of their efforts representatives of 16 European states met in Geneva on the 16th October 1863 and formally established the Red Cross.<sup>1</sup>

It proceeded to propose an international convention for the care of the wounded. A Convention for the Amelioration of the condition of armies in the Field was adopted in 1864 and within three years was ratified by 21 nations. It specified that all wounded be accorded humane treatment, that medical personnel, whether military or civilian volunteers, should be considered neutral and that anybody helping the wounded should be 'respected and remain free' and that personnel should wear the Red Cross on a White background. Red Cross societies multiplied.

Amelioration, in the words of the first Geneva Convention, has remained the Red Cross's core function. In the WWI alone it transmitted two and a half million letters for prisoners of war. It reunited families who had been fighting. It arranged for the accommodation in neutral countries of sick and wounded combatants and for their subsequent repatriation. It visited the internment camps of all the warring parties and, after the war, was responsible for repatriating 450,000 prisoners of war from Central Europe and Russia.

In the many wars since, the Red Cross has performed a host of relief and welfare tasks. It was again providing assistance to the wounded, the sick and the prisoners-of-war in the Second World War. There was now a new dimension. The world was stunned by the number of civilians killed or injured in the Second World War. The number killed was a staggering 24 million. Millions of people scattered throughout Europe were homeless. After the WWII, Europe "was faced with a tidal wave of refugees". There were 9 million displaced persons in Germany alone, living in overcrowded conditions. The United Nations Refugee Relief Administration (UNRRA) was established to help them and assist in their resettlement. Slowly they were dispersed to Australia, Canada the United States and other countries. Non-Government organizations such as Oxfam, formed during the war to alleviate distress in Greece, Save the Children and Médecins Sans Frontières have, together with the Red Cross, carried forward the humanitarian impulse in this field.

The international protection of refugees hardly existed before the First World War. Russians fleeing the Bolshevik Revolution and Armenians fleeing the Turks faced difficulty in proving identity but also there was no internationally agreed definition of 'refugee'. Two early treaties of a limited character were entered into during the thirties, one specifically directed to refugees from Germany. The aftermath of the Second World War made the problem of refugees more urgent. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees was established in

January 1951 and, in July of that year, the Status of Refugees Convention was opened for signature and ratification. It defined a 'refugee' as "a person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself for the protection of that country: or, who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it". A refugee cannot be returned or sent to a country where he or she may be persecuted.

Humanitarianism is particularly used to describe the thinking and doctrines behind emergency response to humanitarian crises. In such cases it argues for a humanitarian response based on humanitarian principles, particularly the principle of humanity. Nicholas de Torrente, Executive Director of MSF-USA writes:

"The most important principles of humanitarian action are humanity, which posits the conviction that all people have equal dignity by virtue of their membership in humanity, impartiality, which directs that assistance is provided based solely on need, without discrimination among recipients, neutrality, which stipulates that humanitarian organizations must refrain from taking part in hostilities or taking actions that advantage one side of the conflict over another, and independence, which is necessary to ensure that humanitarian action only serves the interests of war victims, and not political, religious, or other agendas.

These fundamental principles serve two essential purposes. They embody humanitarian action's single-minded purpose of alleviating suffering, unconditionally and without any ulterior motive. They also serve as operational tools that help in obtaining both the consent of belligerents and the trust of communities for the presence and activities of humanitarian organizations, particularly in highly volatile contexts."

### **The Right of Humanitarian Intervention - Responsibility to Protect**

An inchoate development in the 19th century from the humanitarian impulse was the international right of humanitarian intervention. The right presupposed that a state or number of states could intervene in another state to prevent permitted, inhumane behaviour of a gross kind. It was inchoate and undeveloped because it was inconsistent with the axiomatic principle of international law – state sovereignty. Each state was sovereign within its territory and external intervention, without its concurrence, violated international law.

Nevertheless, suggestions of such a right go back to Grotius and Vattel in the 17th century. William Ewart Gladstone secured parliamentary approval to send ships to protect Christians from slaughter by Turks in Bulgaria in the late 19th century. In 1898 the United States declared war on Spain because its oppressive rule in Cuba "shocked the conscience of mankind." And in his State of the Union address in 1904, U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt claimed the right and duty to intervene in the case of crimes committed "on a vast scale".

There were, however, clear difficulties in carving out an exception to the principle of sovereignty without undermining the rule of non-intervention. It was difficult to define with precision the degree of inhumanity which would justify intervention or to decide who could determine that.

The issue arose acutely because of the shame felt by the international community over the failure to take any action to prevent the massacre of the Tutsis by the Hutu in Rwanda (1994). The right of intervention was invoked in the Kosovo War when Serbs sought to use terror to drive the ethnic majority from their homeland. Consideration of the right under international law at this time required that it be consistent with the provisions of the United Nations Charter. Article 2 (4) of the Charter provided that “all members shall refrain in their national relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.” Chapter VII of the Charter permitted the Security Council to authorize the use of force in the case of “a threat to international peace and security”.

It was in this context that between 14 and 16 September 2005 a United Nations Summit brought together 170 countries to discuss the question. The concept was re-named – ‘the right to humanitarian intervention’ being replaced by “the responsibility to protect”. It was agreed that “each individual state has the responsibility to protect its populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity”. When a state fails to do so, “the international community, through the United Nations, also has responsibility”. The Agreement provides for collective action “in a timely and decisive manner, through the Security Council, in accordance with the Charter, including Chapter VII, on a case-by-case basis and in cooperation with the relevant regional organizations as appropriate, should peaceful means be inadequate and national authorities are manifestly failing to protect their populations from genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity.”

## **UN Humanitarian Bodies/Affairs**

### **Social, Humanitarian & Cultural (Third Committee)**

Year after year, the General Assembly allocates to its Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Affairs Committee, commonly referred to as the “Third Committee”, agenda items relating to a range of social, humanitarian affairs and human rights issues that affect people all over the world.

An important part of the Committee’s work focuses on the examination of human rights questions, including reports of the special procedures of the newly established Human Rights Council. In October 2009, the Committee will hear and interact with 25 such special rapporteurs, independent experts, and chairpersons of workings groups of the Human Rights Council.

The Committee also discusses the advancement of women, the protection of children, indigenous issues, the treatment of refugees, the promotion of fundamental freedoms through the elimination

of racism and racial discrimination, and the promotion of the right to self-determination. The Committee also addresses important social development questions such as issues related to youth, family, ageing, persons with disabilities, crime prevention, criminal justice, and drug control.

At the sixty-third session of the General Assembly, the Third Committee considered 67 draft resolutions, more than half of which were submitted under the human rights agenda item alone. These included a number of so-called country-specific resolutions on human rights situations.

Under the chairmanship of H.E. Mr. Normans Penke, the Permanent Representative of Latvia to the United Nations, the Third Committee is expected to consider in 2009 a similar number of draft resolutions.

## **UNICEF**

United Nations Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) has always worked in emergencies, both natural and man-made. Originally called the United Nations Children's Emergency Fund, the organisation was created to provide humanitarian assistance to children living in a world shattered by the Second World War. Much has changed since then, but UNICEF's fundamental mission has not. Though emergencies grow increasingly complex, their impacts ever more devastating, UNICEF remains dedicated to providing life-saving assistance to children affected by disasters, and to protecting their rights in any circumstances, no matter how difficult. In health and nutrition, water and sanitation, protection, education and HIV/AIDS, UNICEF's Core Corporate Commitments to Children in Emergencies are more than a mission statement – they are a humanitarian imperative.

## **4.0 Conclusion**

The idea of the theory is for one actor to know the strategies or choices employed by his rival in order to outwit him. The crux of the theory is that it is impossible for any one player to make a choice because whatever choice made by him depends largely on the choice or the choices made by the other players. Hence, nearly all game theorists would agree that the theory with which they deal addresses mainly what is a 'rationally-correct' behaviour in conflict situations where the participants try to 'win' rather than the way individuals actually behave in conflict situations.

## **5.0 Summary**

Humanitarianism is particularly used to describe the thinking and doctrines behind emergency response to humanitarian crises. In such cases it argues for a humanitarian response based on humanitarian principles, particularly the principle of humanity.

## **6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment**

What are the functions of the Humanitarian theory?

Evaluate the Humanitarian theory

Provide justification for the Humanitarian theory.

## **7.0 References/Further Readings**

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## **MODULE 4 FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS**

### **INTRODUCTION**

Policy can be viewed as a course of action or a reasoned choice emerging from the consideration of competing options. Thus, before a policy action is reached, there are competing actions that are considered by the policy-makers; who, in making their decisions, are governed by the principle of consensus known as choice. A policy cannot only be a range of actions; it also represents principles influencing those actions or the purposes they are intended to serve. Interaction to effect these policies can be between and among individuals and can also be between states. Our concern here is the interaction between states, especially where a state has been seen as a legal and corporate entity which represents the inhabitants in defined territories as well as having institutions to control which are constituted by defined processes. In addition to being a legal entity, the state will have a government to act on its behalf and existing to serve the general purposes of its population.

Foreign policy can therefore be seen as a type of policy that transcends the boundary of a given state. It is that type of action a state embarks upon in its interaction with other member-states in the international environment, in the process of striving to attain its objectives and goals. Foreign policy can also be conceptualized as a set of principles that define the objectives a given state pursues in the international arena in the process of its interactions with other international actors. The concept, foreign policy denotes the authoritative action, which governments take or are committed to take in order either to preserve the desirable aspects of the international environment or to alter its undesirable aspects. It also represents the range of action taken by various sections of the government of a state in its relations with other bodies or states acting on the international scene in order to advance the national interest of that particular state.

**UNIT 1** Analyzing Foreign Policy

**UNIT 2** Problems of Levels of analysis

**UNIT 3** The Concept of Power

**UNIT 4** National and other Interests

## **UNIT 1 ANALYZING FOREIGN POLICY**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 Analyzing Foreign Policy
  - 3.2 The Elements of Foreign Policy
  - 3.3 Techniques or Instruments of Foreign Policy
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

### **1.0 Introduction**

In the last module attention was focused on different theories of international relations for example Systems theory, The Integration theory, The Game theory, The Humanitarian theory, Marxism, Realism, Liberalism etc but in this module, we shall focus on the foreign policy, its analysis and the levels from which policy is analysed.

### **2.0 Objectives**

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

- a. Define foreign policy analysis
- b. State the elements of foreign policy
- c. Evaluate the techniques or the instruments of policy

### **3.0 Main Content**

#### **3.1 Analyzing Foreign Policy**

Basically, we analyze policy, including foreign policy, in order to interpret the actions of government, that is, in order to understand why government does certain things. The process of understanding why implies an indepth understanding of the content and actors behind a given policy. For instance, actions of government in the international arena must be understood in terms of,

- i. Its correlation with the resources and the objectives of government; and
- ii. More importantly for us to understand the philosophical bases underlying a given policy. In analyzing foreign policy, we look at government's decisions, why it makes decisions, what are the forces behind the decisions made, etc. Our task in foreign policy analysis is not only to evaluate the policy actions of states but also to know its processes. This

involves the input-output stimuli. Thus, in broad context, we deal with interaction between internal and external stimuli in the process of policymaking and decision.

## Levels of Analysis

By level of analysis, we mean the recognition of the existence of different levels of analyzing foreign policy. Generally there exist five levels of analysis in foreign policy. Each of these can provide an insight into the foreign policy action of a given state. It also presents a case study approach to the examination of the state's foreign policy action. The levels of analysis are as follows:

- a) **Individual:** If we take the individual for example and focus our attention on the activities or statements or writings of the foreign minister of a state, we can conduct a study into the foreign policy of such a state. We can, for example. Using this level of analysis, collect all the speeches and writings of Henry Kissinger while in office as American Secretary of State, and on the basis of this, make some analysis of United States foreign policy at that particular period. However, even though this approach will provide useful insights into the foreign policy of the United States for example, it has its limitations in the sense that we would be ignoring other levels of analysis which may also provide useful input into foreign policy study.
- b) **Legislature:** At this level, we can study the debate and contributions of the legislature as regards foreign policy. In the United States, Russia and Nigeria, for instance, both arms of the legislature have committees on foreign relations. The activities of such committees could be thoroughly examined and studied. The attitudinal posture and deliberations of these committees on the country's foreign relations matters a lot. In conducting such a study, one is focusing attention on a broader spectrum (legislature) than the individual.
- c) **Bureaucracy:** In looking at this level of foreign policy analysis, one is considering the activities of the various branches of bureaucracy vis-à-vis foreign relations. The process of decision-making which rests in the hands of the bureaucrats quite often reflects all shades of opinion held by them. Problems encountered in reaching foreign policy decisions are also considered in this respect.
- d) **National:** Here, we are moving towards the completeness of the process of foreign policy analysis of a state. This level includes interest groups and it gives a broader picture of the foreign policy. Articulate groups in the state express their views on what should constitute the foreign policy. Government can ill-afford to ignore the opinions while formulating the state's foreign policy.
- e) **International:** In the study of foreign policy, the external' environment has some bearing in shaping the foreign policy of a state. Here, we study various external stimuli in the process of the foreign policy. Assuming that there is war between Chad and Libya, the external stimuli will be the stimuli generated by a third party like Nigeria. When a

state reacts to external stimuli, the reaction would enhance the study of the foreign policy of the state.

In general, there is no hard and fast rule about the type of level that one adopts. It all depends on what an analyst wishes to study. Any level may have good relevance to a particular case study. But, for an objective analysis of the foreign policy of a state, it is better to combine all the levels. It augurs well to take data from each level that would significantly assist in the analysis of a country's foreign policy.

### **3.2 Elements of Foreign Policy**

In drawing up their foreign policies, nation-states must contend with certain basic facts of existence in international relations. Since no nation exists in isolation, the foreign policies of these nations are of necessity susceptible to analysis in terms of the elements that exist which can be identified and which can merge, and or compromise the bases of foreign policy. Sometimes these elements are referred to as the capabilities of foreign policy. The elements can be represented by the tangible things, including geography and natural resources, and the intangible ones e.g. industrial and military establishments, population and economy.

#### **Tangible Elements**

The tangible elements of foreign policy include geography and natural resources.

**Geography:** This connotes the physical location and environment of a state. It constitutes an important-factor in determining foreign policy objectives because of its strategic implications. For instance, Switzerland Constitutes a locking device across the centre of Europe since it is situated in the North-South direction of the NATO forces and in the East- West direction of the Warsaw Pact group, hence, it was formally accorded the permanent neutrality status at the congress of Vienna in 1815. Britain's separation from the European continent by a body of water i.e. the English Channel proved decisive in frustrating Hitler's designs to overrun the territory. Russia also proved an impregnable fortress for Napoleon's forces because of the large territorial expanse.

**Natural Resources:** The natural resources that a state is endowed with can also be a decisive element or capability of its foreign policy. The Arab world is endowed with large quantity of oil and thus provides a large proportion of Western Europe's oil supplies. The Arab nations employed this as a weapon during the Arab-Israeli war when they had to place embargo on oil supplies to countries that supported Israel. Another element in this regard is self-sufficiency in food production. The issue of food production can be used as an instrument of foreign policy to achieve certain purposes, particularly during wars. For instance, Germany realized too well that it had to gain a comparatively early victory before its severely limited food supply exhausted. Nigeria successfully prosecuted the civil war because it had to block the avenues through which Biafra got food reliefs. It is no gainsaying, therefore, that political leaders always evolve ways of satisfying the needs of food and energy because they are the lifeblood of a nation.

**Intangible Elements:** The intangible elements of foreign policy include industrial and military establishments, population and the economy.

**Industrial Element:** Since the industrial revolution, nations have come to attach much importance to industrial growth. Countries such as the United States, Russia, Britain, France, and Japan have all undergone some form of industrial and military metamorphoses to emerge comparatively stronger in the contemporary global system. It was, for instance, the industrial potentials of the United States that gave it an edge over others and hence Victories to the allied powers in the world war II. The balance of power had since then been tilted in favour of American, it is in response to technological advancement that the advanced countries are currently acquiring sophistication in their military capabilities.

**The Economy:** The prototype of a powerful state is usually described in terms of a well-integrated and highly- industrialized economy. The human and material resources are sufficiently utilized to produce goods and services for local and external consumption. It has been observed that undiversified economy can limit the options available to foreign policy formulation. The size and socio-economic status of a nation's population constitutes another intangible element of foreign policy.

Furthermore, the economic potential of a country determines to a large extent, the assertiveness of the country's rights in the comity of nations. A country that is not economically buoyant and depends on other states is incapable of making independent decisions on certain critical issues relating to its counterparts. On the other hand, a country with abundant economic resources has a solid base for exercising political power and making decisions without necessarily being influenced by pressures from within and without. Nigeria decision to sever diplomatic relations with Israel as a result of the Yom Kippur war of 1973 was for instance, partly motivated by this. The country's decision to champion the formation of ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) on Liberian crisis in 1990 was also partly motivated by its buoyant economy which indeed made the execution of that venture realistic. Thus, a strong economic base is essential to and in fact capable of influencing tremendously the foreign policy output of a state.

**Population:** The size and socio-economic status of a nation's population constitutes another intangible element of foreign policy. It is a quantitative factor which should be considered in the delineation of a country's capacity. The importance of China and India in this regard is becoming evident, especially as countries have shown some measure of deference to them in view of their large population. Nigeria is gaining recognition because of the rate of growth of its population. States with smaller populations have not enjoyed such attention.

Population, as an element of foreign policy, depends on other related elements, e.g. quality of the population, political leadership, degree of national morale, prestige, etc. The staggering population of the Arab nations could not overwhelm the moral collectivity of Israel nor could America's might subdue the fighting spirit of the Vietnamese forces. In effect, population may enable or prevent a state from achieving its foreign policy objectives depending on a number of other factors

## **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

Define foreign policy analysis and State the elements of foreign policy

### 3.3 Techniques or Instruments of Foreign Policy

While it is good to formulate a sound foreign policy, it is also necessary to implement the policy meaningfully. The success achieved by the implementation of a carefully-planned policy depends on the skilful utilization of tactical instruments or techniques. These include diplomacy, force, propaganda and economic measures.

**Diplomacy:** This ordinarily refers to the use of tact, commonsense and intelligence to reach agreements, compromises and settlements with other actors. It is the official state-to-state contact of communication usually through the representatives of the state. It is also the central technique of foreign policy presumably because other techniques revolve around it. Diplomacy is defined as “the management of international relations by negotiation, the method by which relations among states are adjusted and managed by ambassadors and envoys. Variants of this definition abound but one striking feature is that it has to do with interaction by nation- states and other actors in the international system through the instrumentality of designated state officials known as ambassadors, high commissioners, charge d’ affairs, etc. Diplomacy is a goal-directed process designed to ensure the achievement of the specific foreign policy objectives of nation-states.

#### **Force**

This is a technique of foreign policy that is sparsely used. It is used mainly when other techniques fail to achieve the desired goal. As Deutsch (1989) has observed, “if neither national means of influence nor the added influence of an international coalition suffices to change the behaviour of a target country, then the power trying to influence it may have to resort to force. For instance, during the Gulf crisis of 1990/9 1 involving Iraq and Kuwait, sequel to the former’s invasion of the latter, the first reaction of the international community was to use diplomatic means to resolve the conflict. Sanctions were also imposed on Iraq and a deadline given to it by the United Nations to quit Kuwait. However, when Iraq remained adamant after the expiration of the deadline, the United Nations under the auspices of the Allied Forces led by the United States waged a war, which lasted for about one-and-a-half months in order to force Iraq to leave Kuwait. Thus, force was used as a last resort on an issue that had defied solution through other means.

**Propaganda:** This is described as the act of influencing, in a desired direction, the domestic environment o e decision-makers of other states to decrease their ability to oppose. Technological advancement with the concomitant development of modern communication strategies has influenced political development by states with the sole aim of influencing the domestic environment of other states. Propaganda techniques include cultural programmes, distribution of books and literature, as well as the use of radio and television. These media resort to disseminating information or propagating particular opinions, advocating a particular course of action and/or stimulating groups in opposition to the seat of government. Subversion is also part of propaganda. It literally means the overturning of something. In the political context, it is concerned with bringing influence to bear, by a variety of means, on the groups within a state which are antagonistic to the government in power in order to bring about its overthrow. The technique includes: spreading of rumors, infiltration of organizations, Sponsoring of riots, strikes, or sabotage. Assistance can be rendered to these groups through advice, money, sale or gift of weapons, support of militant parties, creation of political scandals or supporting guerilla warfare.

## **Economic Measures**

Aside from diplomacy, force and propaganda, there are other instruments of foreign relations. As Ofoegbu (1982) has argued, while diplomacy is the primary instrument of foreign relations, various economic instruments are its supporting tools. These economic instruments can be through currency control, loan, credits, blockade, boycotts, embargoes or sanctions, rewards and foreign aids, etc.<sup>12</sup> Assistance to poor states, according to Frankel (1969), seems to offer a useful instrument for ensuring their cooperation.<sup>13</sup> This is mainly to achieve a political goal. For instance, the donor may secure an ally, buttress a friendly regime and save it from subversion, or secure a change in the recipient's foreign policy in the direction required or help the recipient secure an objective which he finds congenial.

Since 1947, checking the spread of communism has been seen by the United States as being of greater importance to justify the billions of dollars that have been directed to military economic and technical aid in Eastern Europe, Latin America, Asia and Africa. Positively, it assisted in the reconstruction of Western Europe (through the Marshall aid considered of vital importance to America as well as the alliance for progress in Latin America aimed at reducing the acceptability of communism through the assistance for economic development. Powerful economic organizations like the IMF can also be used as an instrument of foreign policy through withholding of loans or devaluation of currencies. Imposition of sanctions is another vital economic means of achieving a foreign policy goal. For instance, for several years during the apartheid system in South Africa, comprehensive and mandatory sanctions were imposed by the international community in order to effect a fundamental change in the apartheid structure. The impact of the sanctions, to some extent, achieved its desired motive with apartheid now totally removed from South Africa and a democratically-elected government firmly put in place.

## **4.0 Conclusion**

Since no nation exists in isolation, the foreign policies of these nations are of necessity susceptible to analysis in terms of the elements that exist which can be identified and which can merge, and or compromise the bases of foreign policy. Sometimes these elements are referred to as the capabilities of foreign policy. The elements can be represented by the tangible things, including geography and natural resources, and the intangible ones e.g. industrial and military establishments, population and economy.

## **5.0 Summary**

Powerful economic organizations like the IMF can also be used as an instrument of foreign policy through withholding of loans or devaluation of currencies. Imposition of sanctions is another vital economic means of achieving a foreign policy goal.

## **6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment**

Evaluate the techniques or the instruments of policy

## 7.0 References/Further Reading

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## **UNIT 2 THE LEVEL OF ANALYSIS A METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEM FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

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  - 3.1 Is the level of analysis a methodological problem for international studies?
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### **1.0 Introduction**

This unit examines the level of analysis problem and its theoretical significance for the study of the international system. It reviews the theoretical problem, particularly in relation to the development of a Waltzian interpretation of international studies. The analysis links between levels and units of analysis as an inevitable endeavour for international studies and demonstrates that international practice affects theory. It argues that a critical appraisal of the whole discussion through the eyes of methodological constructivism tends to broaden the discussion of a non-separate entity of studying structures and units. Therefore, the contribution of this unit is inclined towards a ‘substantive understanding’ of what may be called ‘a substantive critical voice’ towards the intellectual culture of international studies that in the end will question the feasibility of the separation of units discussion from the level of analysis problem.

### **2.0 Objectives**

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

- a. Argue effectively on whether the level of analysis is a methodological problem for international studies or not.
- b. Narrate how Theory is built in IR
- c. Explain the implication of theory on the ‘level of analysis problem’ for IR
- d. State what the level of analysis problem is.
- e. Discuss whether the level of analysis problem has been resolved or not.

### **3.0 Main Content**

#### **3.1 IS THE LEVEL OF ANALYSIS A METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEM FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

This unit opens with a discussion of the historiography of the level of analysis problem in international studies as a methodological and conceptual primitive undertaking over the last fifty years. It is critically reflected in its origins as a methodological problem, its significance, and how it has been developed through questions and answers. It starts with a survey of the level of analysis problem and looks at how international studies has seriously reflected the level of analysis problem. Theoretical implications have absorbed the problematisation that has developed in international studies, in which there is a tendency to analyse the problem of levels of analysis in methodological terms and in its relationship with the agent-structure debate in IR (International Relations).

Contemporary analysis of the level of analysis problem discusses it in terms of the theoretical debate on the agent-structure problem. The validity of the aspect that ‘every time the observer is always confronted with a system, its subsystem and their respective environments’, tentatively the notion of social, political and culture causality, however, stems from ideas about structure and agency.

This unit goes further than this view and argues that challenges of the epistemological lens of positivist orthodoxy have failed to incorporate critical elements of methodological relationalism in its analysis. Without analysis of the ontological conditions of separation of unit of analysis and level of analysis, the analysis remains anchored to a commitment to a universalism epistemology of inventing universal laws of application. In the agent-structure debate, there is not only a concern for political and social scientists, but the problem is expanded as it constitutes part of the ontology of the ‘social world’. In addition to using methodological monism, of examining the ontological priority of structure or agents, structure or process, collective action or the individual, the relational perspective demonstrates the ‘primacy of relations’, which examines new levels of analysis based on the interaction between them.

### **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

Argue effectively on whether the level of analysis is a methodological problem for international studies or not.

### **3.2 Theory building in IR**

First, there is a belief in constructing theories on the basis of universal laws. As in natural sciences models are built up in order to explain the universe; a fact would become uncomplicated if its regularities decomposed in the lab. This was the hypothesis of a unity science for the social and the natural world.

Kenneth Waltz defines theory as merely a collection or set of laws pertaining to a particular behaviour or phenomenon. So, the role of the researcher is to observe reality and then to report interconnected hypotheses based on similarities in behaviour. However, general laws do not construct theories. Theories are constructed by hypotheses, data and practices.

Second, theory is driven by its observations. There is a reliance on the belief in empirical validation or falsification. In the course of theoretical generalization, the initial hypotheses extracted from theory ought to be tested against the evidence-data collected before hypotheses are accepted. In Martin Hollis, the role of theory for social sciences leans towards a research understanding that cannot rely on a clear separation between matters of facts and relations of ideas, with “facts independent of theory and ‘ideas’ regarded as components of a language which we construct”.

These special relationships formed appropriate units of analysis whereby each level would consist of a theory with a significant area for application. For instance, by teaching in IR models the great method is the explanation of the époque of the ‘great debates’ in the field between realism, pluralism and structuralism. This debate which has been called the ‘great paradigms debate’ represents the theoretical paradigms of realism, pluralism and structuralism, a response to the question of what consists a theory for properties and purposes of the observable facts.

In the perspective of the inter-paradigm debate the discourse is the choice of the analytical framework. Similarly, in the level of analysis problem, discussion of each level pinpoints suitable sections for analysis in the process of a research undertaking. There are not necessarily contradictions between different levels for stabilising patterns of analysis.

### **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

Narrate how Theory is built in IR

#### **The level of analysis provides stimulus for analysis in IR.**

International Relations are formed methodologically by positivism. Positivism in its philosophical terms is epitomised by logical positivism. In its application it marks an empiricism which stresses experience and naturalism. For IR, positivism means application of the same models as in the natural sciences, such as physics, into the process of social sciences inquiry. Facts can be explained as in physics, independently of their environments, as facts are value-free. In other words, positivism in IR means a commitment to the methodology of natural sciences tied to an empiricist epistemology. It is a methodological view expressed by behaviouralism and naturalism that brings regularities of the natural world into the social world, where the subject of inquiry is free from subjective motivations of actors or special intentions in the social and institutional framework.

Consequently, if our research undertaking needs the theory to put concepts into examination we will deal methodologically with the philosophical assumptions that define our research process. Methodology will tell us about the philosophical basis of our theory under examination. The analytical process of our research leads us to consider which sections and levels are the most appropriate units of analysis and the right levels on which to conduct the analysis.

### 3.3 The implication of theory on the ‘level of analysis problem’ for IR

Throughout the seventies, increased interest in analysis demonstrated the significance of methodological questions. Increased interest in the problem in international studies clearly demonstrated an epistemological problem that reflected the developments in epistemology in social science, which to some extent kept international studies theorization ‘state of the art’.

Since facts alone cannot be employed to answer questions posed in the study of reality, theory is necessary. Theory is a set of laws pertaining to a particular behaviour or phenomenon. According to this simplification, theory might be built upon by collecting carefully verified and interconnected hypotheses about states. The theory of international politics explains why states behave similarly in the international arena despite their internal differences. Thus, theory brings concepts together in a perspective of shaping potential maps that interpret the international system. Theory can be used as an instrument in attempting to explain ‘the real world’ and to offer some predictions.

Theory also offers interpretations of the nature of the actors involved in the international arena and how the main actors, as communities and individuals, formulate their ideas. From a different perspective, experience and reality might become the criteria for validating the theory itself. Experience and reality will identify the pros and cons of a theory, for the choices made in the course of policy implementation.

All theories have a respective and purpose. Each purpose gives rise to a different kind of theory. The first purpose gives rise to a problem-solving theory:  
The purpose of a problem-solving theory is to make these relationships and institutions work smoothly by dealing effectively with particular sources of trouble.

This category of theories is very close to positivist methodology; it sets up several parameters and reduces a particular problem to a close examination. The second purpose gives rise to critical theory. A critical theory stands apart from the mainstream theorization and brings into question the social and power relations of a process towards change.  
Waltz’s definition of theory in international politics is an attempt to formulate ‘lawlike statements’ about international politics with relative scientific validity.<sup>18</sup> This science of international politics consists of the positive mechanism that operates in the international system.

For instance, Waltz applies structural analysis to shed light on the ‘long peace’ of the Cold War superpower rivalry. In structural realism there is a clear distinction between the explanation that comes from interacting units and the explanation that comes from structural constraints of the international system. Therefore, Waltz’s theory of international politics cannot be reduced to a theory on foreign policy. Waltz concludes that only the RAM (Rational Actor Model) such as that proposed by Graham Allison is an appropriate approach to international politics.

Therefore, theory can explain how the structure of the international system forced one great power to behave as it did. The rivalry between the USA and the Soviet Union in the arms race forced the Soviet Union to take particular actions in its external behaviour and to change its approach to Germany. Mearsheimer’s theory that bipolarity is the most secure international order

narrows the concept of the 'structure of the international system'. In this order small states are obliged to accept the actions and policies of great powers. The great powers' policies determine those of the small states. The main task of theory in Mearsheimer's analysis is to testify to the evidence.

Theoretical statements should be carved out of the historical record of events. Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) is an alternative to Waltz and Mearsheimer's approaches. A theory of FPA is defined by dependent variables that measure the behavior of individual states. This theory focuses on states as units in international politics. The behaviour of all states, both great and smaller powers, is determined by the decisions and actions of those states with the greater power capabilities. Because the validity of theory can be determined by how well it explains what has happened, a theory of international politics is separated from a theory of foreign policy and will tell us a lot about the history of great powers' behaviour but not about the history of foreign policy. In Mearsheimer's thinking the history of international politics is dominated by the history of great powers' behaviour. Foreign policy is formulated at the national level according to Waltz and this assertion demonstrates that there is a domestic environment in which policy is constructed, and dependence, ideology, identity and values-based sources make up that environment.

The implementation of policy immediately involves actors and their interactions. According to this theory, the study of Soviet foreign policy in the period under examination demands an explanation of the behaviour of the actors involved in foreign policy making. Theories of IR take into account the distinction between system and units, described in the IR literature as the 'problem of the level of analysis': whether to account for the behaviour of the international system in terms of the behaviour of the nation states comprising it or vice versa. The international system is very often supposed to be shaped by the lack of a world government, whilst the state is often defined as a unit of analysis.

Waltz's theory (1979) explicitly reflects the 'problem of the level of analysis' in favour of a structural analysis of the international system at the macro-level. Hollis and Smith extend the above problem to the dimension of the identities of system and units. The conventional theoretical development about the level of analysis problem tries to answer the question of which level should be chosen for analysis.

In 1959 Kenneth Waltz proposed three levels for analysis in order for the phenomenon of war to be studied. Waltz's analysis reflects the phenomenon of war in three distinct images, or levels as they are called, and locates different types of explanation.

Waltz defines a system, as 'composed of a structure and of interacting units'. The unit level of the system is defined as 'the attributes and interactions of its parts' and the system level as 'the arrangement of the system's parts'. Waltz's analysis is concentrated on system and structure. Instead of concentrating on unit level, like the state, explanatory ability can be based upon interacting structures of the system. Examining the interacting structures of the system the level of analysis problem will be disciplined through mutual action of structures and units. Singer's article of 1961 challenged the IR scholarship with the notion that the level of analysis problem is a simply decision of which level is better to be studied. Singer claimed that the level of analysis

problem is not relevant for IR debate and that the problem had already been resolved. The question in Singer's analysis was transformed from a question of which level is more valuable to challenging the discipline as a whole over the recognition of its preliminary conceptual issue, which has to be resolved prior to any given research being undertaken. In this article, levels will be examined as descriptive entities and for their predictive capability. Neither Waltz nor Singer's conception of the level of analysis acknowledges a correspondence to 'level of being', but rather they analytically categorise the methodological preponderance of making up an International Relations 'science' in the best positivist colour in its orientation. For international relations, for the analytical focuses to satisfy scientific observers, levels needed to be applied for methodological purposes in the scientific inquiry. The uncertainty in pinpointing our conceptualization of how many levels there are, two, three or more, corresponds to the reality and the way we see reality.

Since the number of levels reflects the reality, this reality consists of parts and wholes. The whole consists of its parts and their relations. Neither parts nor relations between parts are considered apart from the whole. As regards whether to proceed from parts to wholes or wholes to parts, individualists are separated from holists. Both agreed the observed parts consist of parts and wholes, and also parts as wholes. In the Aristotelian conception of 'Polis', whole and parts is a recurring encounter. 'Polis' is the self-sufficient unit able to provide the highest good for its members.

Levels are comprised of three layers for analysis: individuals, states and structures. Levels are used in IR as a methodological vehicle which systematically addresses the international phenomenon. Kenneth Waltz examined the phenomenon of war and identified possible causes of war such as the internal political system and the roles of individuals. The definition of 'the level of analysis problem' (thereafter LOAP) reflects the complexity of the international system itself. For social science the concern over identity located sources of explanation of an observed empirical reality. While classical studies in IR has drawn heavily on history and law, epistemologically it showed us an early positivism, of an epistemological problem that would be resolved by adopting different levels of analysis and differentiated sources of one's explanation.

Also analytically emphatic in the formation of policy are governmental decisions that are determined by the bureaucrat position: 'where you stand is determined by where you sit'. Jervis concludes that the level of analysis problem encompasses the implications of the three levels of analysis to the decision making by examining the actor's perceptions as one of the immediate causes of political behaviour.

Levels constitute a metaphor for ways of seeing. This metaphor will tell us how we see reality and not what we see. It is a metatheoretical tool of a certain analytical degree of depth. The definition of Abraham Edel and Herbert Simon reflected an independent scholarship's thinking; one which is becoming more self-conscious about level understanding. Levels are recognised as a problem of method in which the complexity is resolved by the organisation of knowledge into sublevels, basic for our understanding as a distinction of our object of inquiry between what we see in the world and how we see it.

## SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Explain the implication of theory on the 'level of analysis problem' for IR

### 3.4 What is the level of analysis problem?

The initial observation in the literature of international studies of a special problematisation, which became known as the LOAP was in an article by Singer in 1961.<sup>39</sup> This article was a critical inspiration from Kenneth Waltz' book of 1957, which sustained the judgement that the question of how many levels needed to be replied according to which level is the best.

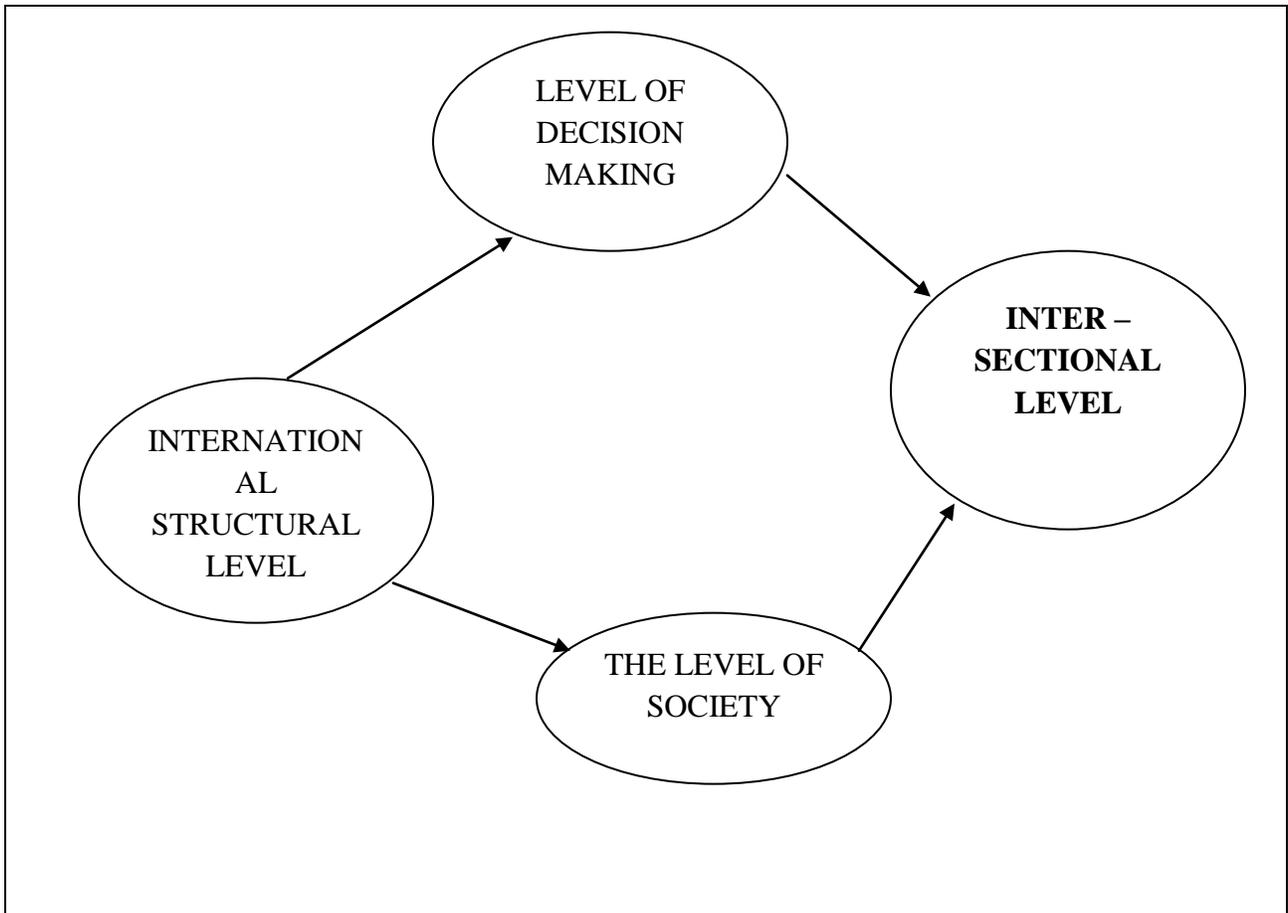


Figure 1

The politics of world actors can be conceived as a two-level game. At the international level, the leadership is forced by the power status quo to adopt policies favourable to national interests and construct coalitions among interested politicians. At the international level, leadership seeks to minimize unexpected consequences in foreign affairs. Therefore, the political policy process can be divided analytically into two stages

(See figure 1):

1. bargaining between the negotiators, called Level I
2. separate discussions prior to a decision on how to proceed, called Level II.

This division into a negotiation phase and post-negotiation phase, according to Putnam’s model, is useful for the purposes of exposition. The analysis of the two-level game in the international system combines with the theory of domestic politics and contains the story of power calculations and preference-perceptions of the major actors at level II.

These actors are bureaucratic agencies, academicians or even groups of specialists on certain issues and topics. At this level of discussion the size of the win-set depends on the distribution of power and the preference-perceptions of leaders.

**Level I** refers to the negotiating process in the international arena. Level II represents the arena of national discussion, including domestic groups and divergent opinions. The chief negotiator at this level aims to coordinate different opinions to the extent that the tentative agreements achieved at level I are ratified at level II. The national level corresponds to the government level and government representatives play a pivotal role in aggregating interests from domestic constituencies. The metaphor of Putnam’s twolevel game constitutes the diplomatic process of an agreement as the interaction of international and national levels. The possibility of an agreement is limited to that which is acceptable at level II.

The structural analysis of the two-level game demonstrates the need for a third level of analysis, combined with the constructivist turn in IR. The negotiator acts in all levels. His task is to promote his own agenda at level I and for it to be ratified at level II. In level II, the leadership would be assessed on its ability to eliminate discrepancies between political actors in a way that unifies domestic views to better serve its negotiating position at the international level. This would be achieved through advice and opinions promoted by domestic intelligence services.

**In level I**, the role of chief negotiator is constrained by the interaction of two or more actors. This interaction represents the international system factor that would determine the process of negotiations. At this level the negotiators define the benefits expected from negotiations and how political parties and organisations would access the benefits. At this stage the foreign ministry might influence negotiations through its reports. **The third level represents the interaction of the contemporary position of the world player-actors as formed by levels I and II.** In other words, level III represents bilateral relations between the two countries and reveals the role of individual leaders in forming policy priorities. (See figure 2).

LEVEL OF ANALYSIS	
FIRST IMAGE	INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM
SECOND IMAGE	THE STATE
THIRD IMAGE	INDIVIDUALS
FOURTH IMAGE	INTERSECTIONAL LEVEL

Figure The level of analysis problem is markedly structured by its lack of the level of mutual interaction. The proposal of this paper concerns analytically the interaction between level I and level II.

Therefore, level III has transformed the level of analysis problem, pushing forward a new dynamism that borrow elements from Robert Putnam's analysis. (See figure 1).

The originality of Putnam's model is connected with the mutual interaction of the internal level of analysis with the external level. It provides the necessary framework for explaining the negotiating process, the level of negotiations, actors involved and their strategies. Even if Putnam's model may be considered just a metaphor, it gives power to our explanation, to capture the essence of the international system as mutually interacting with domestic politics. In the two-level game framework of analysis, the key negotiator is the leader of the negotiation, representing the state with the main aim of uniting the domestic with the international arena. The leading negotiator negotiates in both arenas and the effects from each negotiation arena reverberate in the other arena. In addition, Putnam describes the chief negotiator as 'autonomously' constructed by his own interests, which he will then apply. According to Putnam the negotiators act autonomously within their domestic win-set.

Putnam defines win-set as the possible negotiating outcomes that are acceptable to domestic constituencies. Consequently, the larger the win-sets at level II (internal level), the more likely it is that an agreement will be achieved.

### **Contemporary understanding**

**LEVEL I:** contemporary analysis may be called level I understanding. Level I represents the conventional understanding of the knowledge. This structure was defined by the fixed structure of dependence and closed interconnected structures.

### **Critical understanding**

**LEVEL II:** Critics of level I developed a second level of understanding. This level represents the developments of different opinions and views on important issues between two or more countries. These constrained the conventional understanding.

### **Post-critical understanding**

**LEVEL III:** A third level is needed for the new époque to be analysed in comparison with level I and II. In the third level of understanding our argument is formed around the view that the post-critical understanding is premised on a misunderstanding of the paradoxical political relationship between the two countries, and that the events of the end of the Cold War proved how important political sovereignty was in the collapse of communism.

Furthermore, the literature does not adequately explain the shifty nature of the paradoxical relationship between two or more countries. What is missing from the 'dependence' argument of power is the third level explanation of the two-game model: on the one hand the international system that structured transnational political authority, on the other hand, the 'hierarchical

relationship' between two or more countries that demonstrates a shared intersubjective understanding in treaties, norms and ideology.

### **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

State what the level of analysis problem is.

#### **3.5 How is the level of analysis problem resolved?**

The confusion of the distinction between system and unit of analysis and between structure and process stems mainly from how the so called 'LOAP' is interpreted. There are two main responses to the question of how 'LOAP' is resolved. The first response is that the LOAP concerns the question of 'how to study' the object of inquiry (methodology). The observer will select the system or subsystem or its enclosed environment where certain actions will develop. This analysis is well-known as 'level of analysis discussion'. The second response corresponds to the question of 'what to study' as the unit of analysis. We could not avoid the methodological sources of IR and improve the rigour of theoretical thinking about international phenomena as a useful stimulus to theory in the discipline.

The promises of these two implications led to the consciousness that the 'LOAP' should be resolved by looking towards positivism in IR.

In his 1957 book Kaplan favoured the dominance of state level for analytical purposes and in 1959 Waltz favoured the structural explanation as the prominent source of explaining the international phenomenon of war. Both Singer and Waltz focused on the system, encompassing all interactions at the level of units and the system's environment.

System, according to Waltz, composed of a structure and its interacting units. System is a structure that is able to explain different units.

Buzan argues that not only has the 'LOAP' been resolved, but also that the idea of levels for analysis has made a profound impact on the state-of-the-art for IR. The scholarship became more systematic about their explanation for international political phenomena. Therefore, level of analysis is part of the theorisation of IR and the way of thinking of level as an analytical method of sources of explanation and object of analysis.

The positivist solution to the question of level of analysis considered the international structure as one level of analysis, the internal state structure as the second, and the level of the individual constructed the third level of analysis of the problem under inquiry. The international system is fundamentally connected with the progress of international studies. Whether the international system features out anarchy or hierarchy, individual states are treated as self-contained units or analytical categories of scientific achievement, with those achievements demonstrating an intellectual alertness.

If Singer's initial question accounts for the behaviour of the international system in terms of the behaviour of the states comprising it or vice-versa, then Smith and Hollis extend the problem to include the identity of the system and the nature of its units. Smith and Hollis' explanation raises new questions relating to the nature of structures, the nature of agents and the relationship between units and their interactions and systems as ontologically distinct totalities. If then

Singer's analysis defends even today's prevailing theoretical developments, one might start by inquiring level by level without investigating into the internal organisation of the units.

Smith and Hollis propose new levels for analysis of the problem. The behaviour of the state is examined in terms of constituent bureaucracies. Then, if bureaucracies are taken as independently contributed variables, there is revealed another level: that of individuals or distinctive individuals comprising bureaucracy.

It turns out that for each unit of analysis able to make an independent contribution, each other level of analysis will be seen as an independent variable for the coming analysis.

However, behind certain methodological and epistemological considerations, ontological implications are certainly about the nature of the agents, the structures and their linkages. The ontological problem is resolved either by methodological individualism through the actions of society or by a methodological structuralism of social structures made up by individuals' actions.

The agent-structure debate represents a post-classical meta-theoretical problematisation for the epistemological orthodoxy of positivism of one subject – one – object - one observer. Developments in international studies have related the nature of agents with structures and to the interactions between them. The agent-structure debate in

**IR comprises the following interrelated meta-theoretical elements:**

- A. The question of which level of analysis is the most appropriate for the social outcome.
- B. What are determinant for the social outcome.
- C. The question about the models of investigation needs to be studied at the appropriate level – the agents and the structures.
- D. The distinctiveness of the level of analysis and the agent-structure problem that a systematic theory should explain.

What makes our targets of analysis valuable scientifically is the distinctiveness of the combination of agent-structure and the level of analysis problem which tends to avoid an inherent confusion.

Wendt argues for lack of concern of systemic theorising to include a concern to process of identity and interests formation in favouring the rationalistic metaphor of microeconomic theory.

Waltz equates systemic theorising with classical micro-economics and Hollis-Smith reduces the question of systemic structural causation to whether the international system conditions that the agent-structure debate is reduced to one level of analysis. Wendt reserves the level of analysis for leading the behaviour of exogenously given actors and the agent-structure debate for leading the constitutive properties of those actors in the first place. Holistic systemic theory takes the properties of states as endogenously interacting within the system and individualistic systemic theory takes the properties of states as exogenously given that system explains state behaviour.

Since Waltz, Singer and Kaplan resolved the problem of method for level of analysis, Alex Wendt, Hollis and Smith (for IR) and Anthony Giddens (for social theory) opened up again the discussion of the level of analysis problem and its significance for IR.

According to Hollis and Smith, Wendt presupposes a prior position on the agent-structure debate, whilst Smith and Hollis suppose both levels and agent-structures involve questions about the nature of agency.

Therefore, we would like to conclude by pointing to two main points that need more elaboration here. The first point recognises that the agency-structure linkages implicate a shift towards a view about the object of analysis and the level of analysis needed for redefining the empirical observation of our epistemological orientation.

For Singer and Waltz, levels are methodologically expedient and able to make whole theories. Singer concludes for a greater utility of the two-level of analysis that is methodologically needed in the field of international studies. The real point is a temporary resolution to the problem prior to any given resolution being undertaken. The context is that two or more levels are available and perhaps even potentially more fruitful than either of those already selected.

#### **4.0 Conclusion**

The discussion about the level of analysis problem and units of analysis has had a profound impact on the theory of international studies. On the one hand it represents the dividing line between the US-based scholarship and on the other hand it reconstructs the logic of international studies towards social constructivism that at the end will meet the principles of the English School.

#### **5.0 Summary**

Waltz's analysis is almost incapable to resolve the problem in international studies without applying the three levels of analysis: 'man, state and war'. This claim is methodologically of a nature that will enhance the success of the scientific inquiry. This view is reconstructed by a more integrated and cumulative approach.

The second point includes the reorientation of 'state of the art' in international studies by adopting a post-positivist gesture in its methodological undertaking. However, each level of analysis encompasses a set of rules and arrangements that includes as parts all those rules and arrangements set up in the level beneath. If we know the ensemble of the components and the relations existing between them, then the levels may be analysed.

#### **6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment**

Argue effectively on whether the level of analysis is a methodological problem for international studies or not.

Narrate how Theory is built in IR

Explain the implication of theory on the 'level of analysis problem' for IR

State what the level of analysis problem is

Discuss whether the level of analysis problem has been resolved or not.

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## **UNIT 3 THE CONCEPT OF POWER**

### **CONTENTS**

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- 3.0 Main Content
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  - 3.2 The Concept of Balance of Power
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### **1.0 Introduction**

The core of international relations is the element of power. Throughout the 1950's and 1960's, the debates among scholars of international relations were centred on the role of power in international politics — its logic, acquisition and use. The relationships among the nations of the world could be better appreciated if viewed in terms of power usage and acquisition. The relationship could therefore be said to be determined by the amount of power at nation's disposal (military, economic and political power). Since the concept of power is one of the major principles and elements in international relations, it is germane to further examine its various dimensions.

### **2.0 Objectives**

At the end of this unit students should be able to

- a. Critically analyse the Concept of Power
- b. Define the Concept of Balance of Power
- c. Elucidate on Balance of Power to Balance of Terror
- d. State the Element of State Power

### **3.0 Main Content**

#### **3.1 The Concept of Power**

Power, according to Alkali, refers to “actors” capacity to alter or influence policies priorities and choice of other actors (2003:150) Henry Morgenthau, also sees power as “man’s control over the minds and hands of others (1960:102). Similarly, Joseph Frankel defines power as “the ability to impose one’s wishes on others despite opposition. (1967:45) generally, power is the ability to control other individuals to do what they may not have done if

acting in their own volition. Power Implies control of one actor over another such process of control is through persuasion threat of sanction or promise of reward or the combination of these.

Power has meaning Only if two or more actors are involved Power is said to have been exercised When actor A can influence the behaviour of Actor B Without actor B influencing the behaviour of actor A inferred from above is a manifestation of the fact that power is a political phenomenon When an individual or a nation pursues power, he or she does so in Order to gain leverage over Other actors. It has been observed that many factors simultaneously enhance a state's ability to achieve its goals vis-à-vis other and those other and those multiple factors or some combinations of them provide a composite measure of a state relative power potential

Power is a determinant and underlining factor characterizing. the relationship of states, state-actors and non state-actors in international System The shape, tempo and magnitude of state relations are a function of level of acquisit0 and usage of power in such relationship Put differently, the more Powerful a nation is, the more advantage she gains in her relationship with Other nations. And so, nations strive to acquire more powers in order to be better-place and more advantageous in their relationship in the international plane.

The feature of power system before the collapse of Soviet Union was described as bipolar as exemplified in the supremacy tussle tagged Cold War between the West as led by the USA and the East led by the Soviet Union (USSR) The World was divided by two ideological camps (i.e. communism and Capitalism was being propagated by the USA and communism promoted by the Soviet Union Capitalism is an economic system that places emphasis on private ownership and Control of means of prorJucti0 distribution and exchange and where the force of demand and Supply determine economic activities in a given country It aims at profit maximization by the private owners. Communism is a System of government that recognised centralized arrangement whereby the state controls the means of production distribution and exchange. It aims to create a Society in which everyone is treated equally. Foreign Policies during this era were essentially tailored towards the promotion of those two ideologies then, as it were, there were two super Powers and countries of the World were divided along these two powers. With the collapse of Soviet Union, power system in the world became unipolar as American was regard as the police of the world. Her and capitalist Ideology grows and spreads simultaneously With the creation of the United Nations Organisation (UNO) as a replacement of League of Nations America's power continue to become massive as she contributes larger percentage in terms of military and economic support to the UN (Kolawole 1997:282) This however does not in any way suggest that America is the only superpower,. Occupying the permanent seats of the Security Council of the UN. There are other superpowers like Britain, China, USSR and France

As expected these Super powers dominate issues in international System They have upper than in any issues and this gives them advantage over weaker nations like third World countries going by this nature of relationship in the international environment, countries of the world have been

categorized according to acquisition and usage of powers. For instance we have: Small Powers; Medium Powers and Big Powers.

**Small Powers:** Countries regarded as small powers can further be described as under developing nations. Such countries are in the Periphery of the decision making arrangement in the contemporary

International system, they are heavily dependent on both the medium Powers and the big powers. They have vulnerable economies which are raw materials based. Examples of such nations are prevalent in Africa. Characteristics of such countries include'

- Low per capita income;
- Political instability;
- Abject Poverty arising from mismanagement and high level of corruption;
- Low export earnings arising from production of raw materials;
- Low military capabilities;
- Subsistence farming and other primitive agricultural practices;
- Low-level infrastructural base;
- Low standard of living;
- Pool/lack of technological advancement;
- Ethnic violence and religious bigotry arising from inability to manage challenges of diversities and Multiculturalism; and,
- High level of illiteracy, ignorance and disease.

**Medium Powers:** Countries under the medium powers are referred to as developing nations. They also have some characteristics of the big powers. They are fast growing economies. Their economies are undergoing transformation and metamorphosis from agro-allied based economics to well organized and modernized economies driven by rapid industrial and technological advancement. The term "medium" suggests movement from small powers to a position that is higher than and above small powers and are approaching the position of big powers. In other words, they are neither small powers nor big powers. The economies of the medium powers have been open to capitalist economic system driven and propelled by market forces and not centrally controlled. They have fast increasing per capita income and with moderate military capabilities, decrease in poverty level occasioned by reduction in corruption and mismanagement: and considerable level of political stability. Examples of such nations are: South Korea, Singapore, South Africa, Israel, Brazil, India, Malaysia, etc (Ajayi.2000).

**Big Powers:** Countries regarded as big powers are called developed nations. They are very powerful nations and dominant in the international system. They are manufacturer-countries; they transform the unfinished products of the small powers and the semi-finished products of the medium powers to finished products for final consumption. Such nations are: Britain, Canada, China, France, Japan, Germany, Russia and USA. These countries are otherwise known as G8.

They have assumed political stability and economic self-reliance through large scale welfare state policies that qualify them to be known as “welfarist states” (Ajayi. 2000. 168). Modernized agriculture is being practiced. These countries enjoy favourable balance of payments with sustained and sustainable economic growth, technological advancement and internationally comparable economic, financial and military power. They are also referred to as the West or European countries.

## **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

Critically analyse the Concept of Power

### **3.2 The Concept of Balance of Power**

It is expedient to understand what power is before a comprehensive understanding of balance of power. Power therefore is the ability to induce, compel, cajole, intimidate, threaten or force others to do things they may not have done if acting on their own volition. Naturally, there is no even distribution and acquisition of power anywhere in the world. Among states of the international systems, there is disequilibrium in power distribution and acquisition. There have always been and there would always be stronger nations and weaker nations. A weaker party naturally realizes its limitation and therefore Strives to strengthen its position by all means possible. There are various ways through which a nation can strive to seek power equilibrium and power equation. Such an attempt is called balance of power. A nation needs to balance its power with other nations in the international system. A weaker nation stands to lose if entered into rapprochement with a stronger nation. A process of balancing power may be through treaties, diplomatic bargaining. Alliances, military build ups, robust economy and other associational means (Kolawole, 1997). The weaker nations may form alliance with other nations. Such a weaker nation stands to gain two things. One, such a nation will increase in strength as is covered by the pooling together of strengths and resources. Flowing front this is that, an external attack on such nation will be adequate resisted by the alliance she enjoys with other nations. Two, it has economic benefit as there will be exchange of aids, trade and other bilateral and multilateral benefits.

The existence of such military alliance at regional levels like the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) the Warsaw Treaty Organization, and the ECOMOG is a means of creating instrumentality of guaranteeing a balance of power.

### **3.3 From Balance of Power to Balance of Terror**

The striving, urge and agitation to balance power has led to balance of terror. This urge leads to more and massive military build ups. The crux of the matter is that each country now takes delight in acquiring military capabilities that has led to the discovery of nuclear weapon.

The balance of Terror like the balance of power is a weapon of deterrence. Its emergence is a product of the nuclear age. Under the balance of power theory, a state with power advantage would win in a war and feel victorious, but in a nuclear age, the country with a nuclear weapon advantage will win but the victory will not be worth celebrating. When a nation possesses nuclear capabilities, the opponent fears its awesome powers and chooses to behave (Kolawole, 1997)

When two nations have nuclear weapons, they threaten each other without allowing it to result into war. This consciousness and caution has emphasized the importance of acquisition of nuclear powers as effective means of guaranteeing and maintaining world peace.

The concepts of balance of power and balance of terror are testimonies to the distrust in the contemporary interactional system and disequilibrium in power equation and distribution. Each super power was not so much concerned with winning a war in case of an open confrontation between the two superpowers, but to make war unattractive. Since both sides knew that in the event of a nuclear war, there could be no winner or that the collateral damage to the “winner” would be so high that it would not have been worth fighting the war in the first place. Both sides would experience massive and total destruction. This is referred to as Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) Mad indeed! (Alkali,2003).

The distribution of these weapons of mass destruction clearly shows that each of the super power was armed to the teeth and had capacity for overall destruction. In the mid 1980s, just a couple of years before the Soviet Union collapsed, the US had enough nuclear power to obliterate 4times over all 229 cities in Soviet Union with population of 100.000 or more and could cause the death of between 100 to 170 million people. The Soviet Union. On the other hand, had the capacity to obliterate all American cities of similar size, 23 times. It was these massive weapons of destruction stockpiled by the two superpowers and their allies, which pushed the world to the precipice to disaster (Alkali.2003). All the entire world needs is a paranoiac leader of any of the two super powers and that would have been the end of civilization and extinction of human race. This however has contributed to the world peace.

## **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

Elucidate on Balance of Power to Balance of Terror

### **3.4 Element of State Power**

Elements of state power can be divided into tangible and intangible elements. Two of the most important tangible elements of state power are: economic resources and military force. While intangible state power is a potential power. Power that exists, yet it is difficult to describe, understand or measure- an abstract power. Such power includes focused and visionary

leadership, patriotic, dedicated and enlightened nationalistic citizenry, effective communication system, propaganda machinery etc.

Essentially State power is employed and used in the realisation of national interests. Attainment of national interest is a function of acquisition and control of state power. It will be much easier for a country that enjoys considerable acquisition and control of state power (both tangible and intangible) to realize her national interest. It is clearly unarguable that no country, including the so-called big powers is economically self sufficient. In a world of interdependence, country can afford to produce only some of those goods and services it is endowed with by virtue of its geopolitical position. It is expected to procure other things she could not produce from other countries.

Therefore, the economic base of a country depends on its geographical sizes, resource endowment, population, its demographic distribution and technological development. Based on these criteria, it is obvious to say that the USA with about 250 million populations, though less than India and China, in terms of size and population, is a super power given the nature of its demographic structure. Level of its industrial technology and its resource base (Alkali2003:16). Nevertheless, that does not mean that America is self sufficient, she also depends on other nations for some of her needs.

‘The imperative of the economy as an instrument of state power also extends to other purposes. It can be used to achieve any foreign policy objective by exploiting need and dependency and offering economic rewards or threat of imposing economic sanctions. It can also be used to create friendship or punish a belligerent state.

Beside economic power, military power today has become even more decisive in dividing the world between the powerful and the weak nations. Military forces, their structure, level of training and their mobility and communication and command structure, the level of military technology or procurement of arms and armaments, all add to increase or reduce a nation’s military power. A nation that enjoys all these will be placed at an advantage over other nations that have less or none of these.

The intangible power however is the moving force that ensures workability of the two tangible powers (i.e. economic and military) to ensure attainment of national objectives. For instance, achieving national interests using any of these tangible-powers requires principled, committed and visionary leadership, effective communication, technological advancement and patriotic and dedicated nationalistic citizenry .It may be difficult, if not impossible, using military force to achieve national interest in the international system, without corresponding level of skilled and committed leadership to serve as a guide and direction for the realisation of the objective. A nation is what its leadership is. A nation’s decision to go to war or not to go is a function of leadership perception.

#### **4.0 Conclusion**

Elements of state power can be divided into tangible and intangible elements. Two of the most important tangible elements of state power are: economic resources and military force. While intangible state power is a potential power. Power that exists, yet it is difficult to describe, understand or measure- an abstract power. Such power includes focused and visionary leadership, patriotic, dedicated and enlightened nationalistic citizenry, effective communication system, propaganda machinery etc.

#### **5.0 Summary**

Essentially State power is employed and used in the realisation of national interests. Attainment of national interest is a function of acquisition and control of state power. It will be much easier for a country that enjoys considerable acquisition and control of state power (both tangible and intangible) to realize her national interest. It is clearly unarguable that no country, including the so-called big powers is economically self sufficient. In a world of interdependence, country can afford to produce only some of those goods and services it is endowed with by virtue of its geopolitical position. It is expected to procure other things she could not produce from other countries.

#### **6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment**

Critically analyse the Concept of Power  
Define the Concept of Balance of Power  
Elucidate on Balance of Power to Balance of Terror  
State the Element of State Power

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

- Ajayi, Kunle 2000 international Administration and Economic Relations-in a Changing World. Ilorin, Majab Publishers.
- Alkali, R.A. 2003 International Relations and Nigeria's Foreign Policy. Kaduna, Northpoint Publishers.
- Frankel, J. 1967 Contemporary International theory and the behaviour of states. New York, Oxford University press.
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## **UNIT 4 NATIONAL AND OTHER INTERESTS**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 National and other Interests
  - 3.2 Nation Interest as a Standard of Conduct
  - 3.3 Alternatives to National Interest
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

### **1.0 Introduction**

National interest itself is an elusive term which has been described in various ways. Kaplan (1967), for instance, define it as the interest which a national actor has in implementer the needs of the national system of action. Morgenthau (1967) conceives of it simply as power among power. To Jones (1970), national interest is a term used in political debate within a country to signal the case that the item of policy suggested will bring benefit not merely to its proponents but also its opponents.

### **2.0 Objectives**

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

- a. Define and explain National and other Interests
- b. State what we mean by National Interest as a Standard of Conduct
- c. Mention other Alternatives to National Interest

### **3.0 Main Content**

#### **3.1 National and other Interests**

Frank (1972) postulates that national interest is a key concept in foreign policy. In his view, it amounts to the sum total of all the national values, national in both meanings of the word, both pertaining to the nation and the state. One commonsense definition describes it as the general and continuing ends for which a nation acts. This presupposes that every nation has a set of objectives or goals which give life and meaning to the behaviours or goals which give life and meaning to the behaviour of such nation in international relations.

While some of these objectives or goals are central to the survival of the nation, others are not so central to it even though they are integrated within the larger interest of the international

community. Strictly speaking, every nation strives to protect, promote and defend the objectives at all cost even to the point of going to war if it is felt that the pursuit of the goals is in any way threatened. Hence, the reality of these objectives or goals is what constitutes national interest. It must be stressed, however, that the articulation of these goals does not necessarily guarantee successful execution of a foreign policy. The extent to which a foreign policy is achieved depends largely on the quality, character and disposition of the policy-makers, the prevailing political and economic circumstances, the resource endowment of the state, the military capability, geographical location, population and a host of other factors.

In the pursuit of their foreign policy goals, nation-states lay certain common features, which are intended to:

- a) Promote the welfare and prosperity of the citizens;
- b) Safeguard the security and territorial integrity of the state;
- c) Project the prestige and reputation of the nation;
- d) Help cultivate friendship, peace, understanding, good neighborliness and cooperation in relations among states; and
- e) Encourage the practice of civilized standards in the conduct of intra and international relations.

The above can only thrive under a virile stable domestic base. Indeed, every foreign policy must have a sound domestic base, that is, there must be resources that would enhance the policy achieve its objectives. If there is a poor synchronization at resource level, it would be difficult for a policy to attain its objectives.

Whatever the system of governance of any state a key factor that governs its affairs and interactions on the global stage are in its interests. The concept of national interest is used almost universally to argue for or against any given policy. Most political leaders and citizens still argue that it is paramount. Indeed it is hard to imagine a national leader announcing that he or she had taken an important action that was counter to the national interest but in the world's interest. Even if such an aberration occurred, it is improbable that the leader would remain in office much longer.

### **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

Define and explain National and other Interests

### **3.2 Nation Interest as a Standard of Conduct**

The use of national interest as a cornerstone of foreign policy is a key element of the road more traveled in world politics. Realists content that it is a wise basis for foreign policy. Henry Kissinger (1994:37), for one regrets what he sees as the current U.S “distrust of American’s

power, a preference for multilateral solutions and reluctance to think in terms of national interest. All these impulses,” Kissinger believes, “inhibit a realistic response to a world of multiple power centers and diverse conflicts.”<sup>16</sup>

Realpolitik nationalists further contend that we live in a Darwinian political world, where people who do not promote their own interests will fall prey to those who do. Nationalists further worry about alternative schemes of global governance. One such critic of globalization should be approached with great caution because “it holds out the prospect of an even more chaotic set of authorities, presiding over an even more chaotic world, at a grater remove from the issues that concern us here in the united states” (Rabkin,1994:47).

Other analysis rejects the use of national interest as a guide for foreign policy. Their objections are:

There is no such thing as an objective national interest. Critics say that what is in the national interest is totally subjective and “approximates idiosyncrasy” (Kimura and Welch, 1998). Analysis can accurately point out that national interest has been used to describe every sort of good and evil. As used by decision makers, it is a projection of the perceptions of a particular regime or even a single political leader in a given international or domestic environment. For example, President George W. Bush and the neoconservatives in his administration (see the “Decision for war” box in chapter 3) have a pronounced unilateralist approach to foreign policy. A majority of the American public disagrees, according to one survey which found that only 31% of respondents said that the United States should “act alone,” and 8% were uncertain. The president is also on record as favoring the use of U.S. forces to protect Taiwan from china and South Korea from North Korea, a position favored by only 35% respectively of the American public *using national interest as a basis as a basis of policy incorrectly assumes* that there is a common interest. The contention here is that every society is collection of diverse subgroups, each of which has its own set of interests based on its political identity (Chafetz, Spirtas, and Frankel, 1999). Furthermore the concept of national interest inherently includes the assumption that if a collective interest can be determined. Then that interest supersedes the interests of subgroups and individuals. Writing from the feminist perspective, for example, one scholar has noted that “the presumption of a similarity of interests between the sexes is an assumption” that cannot be taken for granted because “a growing body of scholarly work argues that... the political attitudes of men and women differ significantly” (1994:21).

National interest is inherently selfish and inevitably leads to conflict and inequity. The logic is simple. If you and I both pursue our national interests and those objectives are incompatible, then one likely possibly is that we will clash. Another possibility is that the interest of whichever of us is the more powerful will prevail. That is, power, not justice, will win. Certainly we might negotiate and compromise self-interest and self-help the chances of a peaceful and equitable

resolution are less than in a hierarchical domestic system that retrains the contending actors and offers institutions (such as courts) that can decide disputes if negotiation fails.

The way that national interest is applied frequently involves double standards. This criticism of the idea of national interest charges that countries often take actions that they would find objectionable if applied to themselves as noted president George W. Bush follows a fairly unilateralist U.S. policy. Yet he has bridled when other countries have insisted on their own unilateral interpretations of policy and have refused to report Washington on such issues as the invasion of Iraq. When France and Germany led the effort to block the UN Security Council from authorizing an invasion, U.S. secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld undiplomatically referred in public to the two countries as “problems” and representing “old Europe.” That sparked a counter barrage from the offended French and German, including the view of French minister of defense Michéle Alliot-Marie, “We are no longer in prehistoric times when whoever had the biggest club would try to knock the other guy out so he could steal his mammoth skin”<sup>18</sup>

*National interest is often shortsighted.* This line of reason argues, for example, that because economically developed countries (EDCs) are, mostly concerned with their immediate, domestic needs, and they give previous little of their wealth to less developed countries (LDCs) in the form of foreign aid. This is shortsighted, some analysts contend, because in the long run the EDCs will become even more prosperous if the LDCs also become wealthy and can buy more goods and services from the EDCs. Furthermore, the argument goes, helping the LDCs now may avoid furthering the seething instability and violence born of poverty.

## **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

State what we mean by National Interest as a Standard of Conduct

### **3.3 Alternatives to National Interest**

Global interest as a standard of conduct is one alternative to national interest. Proponents of this standard contend that the world would be better served if people defined themselves politically as citizens of the world along with or perhaps in place of their sense of national political identification. One such advocate writes. “the apparent vast disjunction between what humankind must do to survive on the planet in a reasonably decent condition... And the way world society has typically worked throughout history... points to the need... for substantial evolution of world society in the direction of world community” (Brown, 1992:167).

Those who advocate a more global sense of our interests do not reject national interest as such. Instead, they say that national is usually defined in a counterproductive, shortsighted way, noted above. In the long run, globalists argue, a more enlightened view of interests sees that a state will be more secure and more prosperous if it helps other states also achieve peace and prosperity.

This is the line of reasoning taken by those who contend that if the economically developed countries (EDCs) do more to help less wealthy countries develop economically. The EDCs will win in the long run through many benefits such as better trade markets and less political instability and violence. That is essentially the point that Han Seung-soo, President of UN General Assembly, made to world leaders who had gathered in Monterrey, Mexico. In 2002 to discuss world economic and political development especially “in the wake of September 11,” the south Korean diplomat told the conference. It is imperative to recognize that development peace and security are inseparable because the poorest countries are the breeding ground for violence and despair.

Individual interests are another alternative to national interest. Visually all individuals are rightly concerned with their own welfare. To consider your own interest could be construed as the ultimate narrow-mindedness. But it also may be liberating it may be that your interest, even your political identification, may shift from issue to issue.

It is appropriate to ask, then whether your individual interest your nation’s interest, your country’s interests, and your world’s interests are the same, mutually exclusive or a mixed bag of congruencies and divergences. Only you, of course, can determine where your interests lie.

## **States and the Future**

Sovereign territorially defined states have not always existed, as we have noted therefore, they will not necessarily persist in the future. The question are, will they? Should they? The future of the state is one of the most hotly debated topics among scholars of international relations. As one such analyst explains, “central to [our] future is the uncertain degree to which the sovereign state can adapt its behaviour and role to a series of deterritorializing forces associated with markets, translation social forces, cyberspace, demographic and environment pressures, and urbanism (Falk, 1999:35). As you ponder your verdict about states, recall the discussion above the purpose of government and apply your own conclusions about what governments should do to your evaluation of the success or failure of the state as the continued central model of governance.

## **4.0 Conclusion**

The way that national interest is applied frequently involves double standards. This criticism of the idea of national interest charges that countries often take actions that they would find objectionable if applied to themselves as noted president George W. Bush follows a fairly unilateralist U.S. policy.

## **5.0 Summary**

Those who advocate a more global sense of our interests do not reject national interest as such. Instead, they say that national is usually defined in a counterproductive, shortsighted way.

## **6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment**

Define and explain National and other Interests

State what we mean by National Interest as a Standard of Conduct

Mention other Alternatives to National Interest

## **7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS**

Ajayi, Kunle 2000 international Administration and Economic Relations-in a Changing World. Ilorin, Majab Publishers.

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## **MODULE 5 WAR AND WORLD POLITIC**

### **INTRODUCTION**

Whatever one's view of war, there is resonance to scholar Max Weber's (1864 - 1920) classic observation: "The decisive means for politics is violence. Anyone who fails to see this is.. a political infant" (Porter, 1994:303) Perhaps that need not always be, but the reality for now is that countries continue to rely on themselves for protection and sometimes use threats and violence to further their interest. Thus, it is important to examine military power and to grasp the role that force plays in the conduct of international politics. This module discusses war and international politics.

**UNIT 1** War: The Human Record

**UNIT 2** Weaponry: Quantity versus Quality

**UNIT 3** The Changing Nature of War

**UNIT 4** Global Efforts to Control Weapons of Mass Destruction

## **UNIT 1 WAR: THE HUMAN RECORD**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 War: The Human Record
  - 3.2 State Level Causes of War
  - 3.3 Individual Level Causes of War
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

### **1.0 Introduction**

In the previous module, the discussion centered on the concepts of Power and National Interests but in this unit, we shall focus attention on War: The Human Record, State Level Causes of War Individual Level Causes of War.

### **2.0 Objectives**

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

- a. Explain War: The Human Record
- b. Define State Level Causes of War
- c. Critically analyse the Individual Level Causes of War

### **3.0 Main Content**

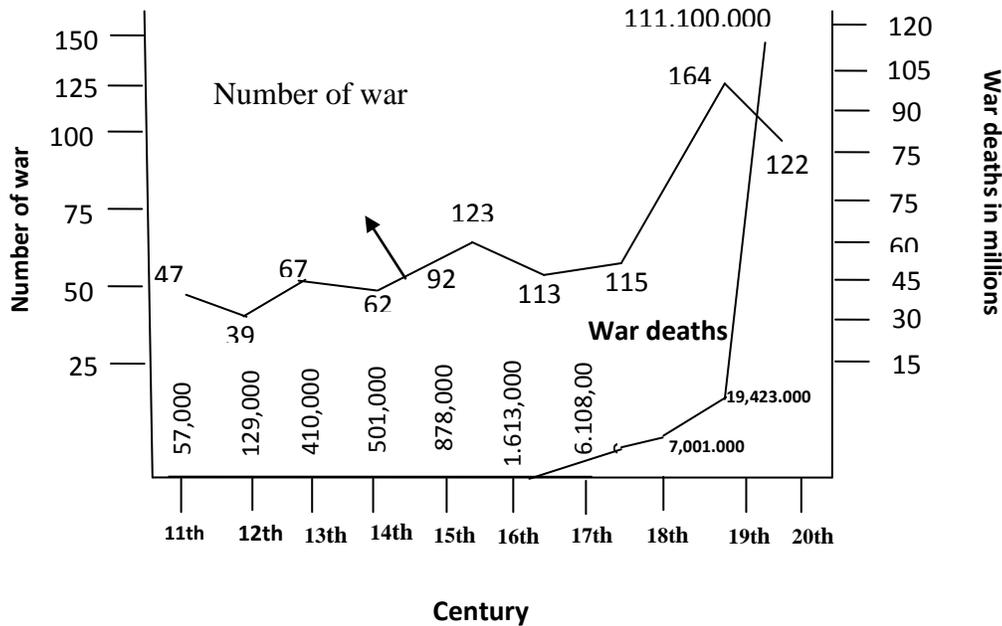
#### **3.1 War: The Human Record**

War is as ancient as humanity (Cioffi-Revilla, 2000). One reasonable number, as shown in figure 10.1, is that there were almost 1,000 wars during the millennium that just ended. Looking even farther back, it is possible to see that the world has been totally free of significant interstate, colonial, or civil war in only about 1 out of every 12 years in all of record human history. The data also shows that war is not a tragic anachronism waged by our less civilized ancestors. To the contrary, political violence continues two ways to gauge this are by frequency and severity.

Frequency provides bad news. Over the last ten centuries, as Figure 10.1 shows, wars between countries have become more frequent, with some 30% occurring in just the last two centuries. It is true that the frequency of war in the 1900s declined somewhat from the horrific rate in the 1800s but it is also the case that the number of civil wars increased. This means that the overall incidences of interstate and intrastate warfare remain relatively steady (Pickering and Thomson, 1998).

Severity is the truly terrible news. Again as evident in figure 10.1, over 147 million people have died during wars since the year 1000. Of the dead an astounding 75%

**Figure 10 Millennium of Escalating War and Dearth**



This figure shows the long term trend in the rise of both the frequency and severity of war. Beginning in the year 1000, the number of wars in each century has usually increased. The soaring death toll of the 20<sup>th</sup> century's wars, which accounted for 75% of the millennium's total is a truly alarming figure.

Data source Eckard: (1991): Eckard defines a war as conflict that (1) involves a government on at least one side and (2) accounts for at least 1,000 death per year of the conflict Perished in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and 8969 since 1800. Not only do we kill more soldiers, we also now kill larger numbers of civilian killed (8.4 million, soldiers and 1.4 million civilian). World War II killed two civilians for every soldier (16.9 million troops and 34.3 million civilians). The worst news may lie ahead. A nuclear war could literally fulfill President John F. Kennedy's warning in 1961 that "mankind must put an end to Manland."

### **The Causes of War: Three Levels of Analysis**

Why war? This question has challenged investigators over the centuries (Caplow and Hick, 2002: Geller and Singer. 1998). Philosopher, world leader, and social scientists have many theories, but there is no consensus. Further research might be able to identity a single root cause of war, but it is more likely that there is no single reason why people fight. Given this, one way

to discuss the multiple causes of war is to classify them according to the three levels of analysis system-level analysis, state-level analysis, and individual-level analysis, detailed in chapter 3.

### **System-Level Causes of War**

Wars may be caused by a number of factors related to the general nature of the world's political system (Cashman, 1999). To illustrate that here, we can touch on four system-level variables.

**The distribution of power:** Recall from chapter 3 that some analysts believe the propensity for warfare to occur within the international system is related to factors such as the system number of poles (big powers), their relative power, and whether the poles and their power are stable or in flux., for example, a system is experiencing significant power transitions (that is, when some powers are rising and others are declining or even vanishing), power vacuums often occurs. These can cause conflict as opposing powers move to fill the void. Power alliances that concentrate power by bringing victorious major countries together have also been found to be “war prone” (Gibler and Vaquez, 1998:805).

**The anarchical nature of the system:** Some systems analysts argue that wars occur because there is no central authority to try to prevent conflict and to protect countries unlike domestic societies, the international society has no effective system of law creation, enforcement, or adjudication. When the gap between U.S. demands on Iraq and what Iraq was willing to do proved unbridgeable, there was no court that could either subpoena Iraq records or enjoin an American attack. War ensued. This self help system causes insecurity, and therefore, countries acquire arms in part because other countries do, creating a tension filled cycle of escalating arms tension, arms tensions.

**System Level Economic Factor:** The global pattern of production and use of natural resources in one of the system level economic factors that can cause conflict. This was evident in 1990 when Iraq endangered the main sources of petroleum production by attacking Kuwait and threatening Saudi Arabia. U.S. led coalition of countries dependent on petroleum rushed to depend on the Saudis and liberate the Kuwaitis (and their oil). The global gap between wealthy and poor countries is another system-level factor. Some analyst believes that the highly uneven distribution of wealth between countries and religions is one reason that a great deal of terrorism is rooted in the south.

**System Level Biosphere Stress:** Overconsumption of biosphere resources is yet another possible system level cause of conflict. Water provides one example. This basic resource is becoming so precious in many areas that, as you will see in chapter 16, there are growing concerns that countries might soon go to war with one another over disputes about water supplies. According to one scholar, “ when the empire of man over nature can no longer be easily extended, then the only way for one people to increase its standard of living is by

redistributing the sources or fruits of industry from others to themselves. The surest way to do this is by extending man's empire over man" (Orme, 1998:165)

## **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

Explain War and the its causes

### **3.2 State Level Causes of War**

War may result from the very nature of states (Auerswald, 1999; Dassel, 1998). There are also several theories of war that have to do with the internal processes and conditions of countries (Morgan and Anderson, 1999; Fordham, 1998).

**Militarism:** Some scholars believe that states inherently tend toward militarism. One such analyst writes that "it is impossible to understand the nature of modern politics without considering its military roots" (Porter, 1994: xix). The argument is that as warfare required more soldiers and more increasingly expensive weapons, it created a need for political units with larger populations and economics. This gave rise to the state.

**Externalization of internal conflict:** Sometimes during domestic distress, governments try to stay in power by fomenting a foreign crisis in order to rally the populace and divert its attention. This ploy is called diversionary war or the externalization of internal conflict. Evidence indicates, for instance, that revolutionary regimes will attempt to consolidate their power by fomenting tension with other countries (Andrade, 2013). It is also the case that countries are more likely to go to war while they are experiencing times of economic distress.

**Type of country:** There are analysis who believe that some types of countries, because of their political structure (democratic, authoritarian), or their economic resources and wealth, are more aggressive than others. Chapter 6 discusses, for example, the democratic peace theory the conclusion of most analysts that democratic countries are not prone to fighting with one another.

**Political culture:** some scholars believe that a nation's political culture is correlated to warlike behavior. No nation has a genetic political character. Nations, however, that have had repeated experiences with violence may develop a political culture that views the world as a hostile environment. It is not necessary for the list to go on to make the point that how states are organized and how they make policy can sometimes lead to conflict and war among them.

## **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

Critically analyse all the different Level Causes of War

### **3.3 Individual Level Causes of War**

It may be that the causes of war linked to the character of individual leaders or to the nature of the human species. “in the final analysis,” one scholar writes, “any contemplation of war must return to... the nature of humanity, which yet stands as the root cause of war and the wellspring of history’s inestimable tragedy” (Porter, 1994:304).

**Human Characteristics:** those who have this perspective believe that although it is clear that human behaviour is predominantly learned, there are also behavioral links to the primal origins of human. Territoriality, which we examined in chapter 3, is one such possible instinct. And the fact that territorial disputes are so frequently the cause of war may point to some instinctual territoriality in humans. Another possibility, some social psychologists argue. Is that human aggression, individually or collectively, can stem from stress. Anxiety. Or frustration. The reaction of the German society to its defeat and humiliation after world war is an example.

Individual leader’s characteristics: The individual traits of leaders may also play a role in war. One scholar has concluded after long study that “the personalities of the leaders... have often been decisive... in all cases (studied). A fatal flaw or character weakness in a leader’s personality was of critical importance. It may in fact, have spelled the difference between the outbreak of war and the maintenance of peace” (Stoessinger, 1998:210). For example a leader may have a personality that favors taking risk, when caution might be the better choice (Vertzberger, 1998). A leader may also have a psychological need for power while discovering some of the more strident characterizations of Saddam Hussein as a madman. Most personality analyses of Iraq’s former leader characterize him as driven to seek power and dominate, traits that made it hard for him to cooperate completely with UN arms inspectors. Individual experiences and emotions also play a role. And it is not righteous to ask what the impact of Iraq’s attempts to assassinate former president George H. W. Bush in 1993 was on his son’s view of that country once he became president.

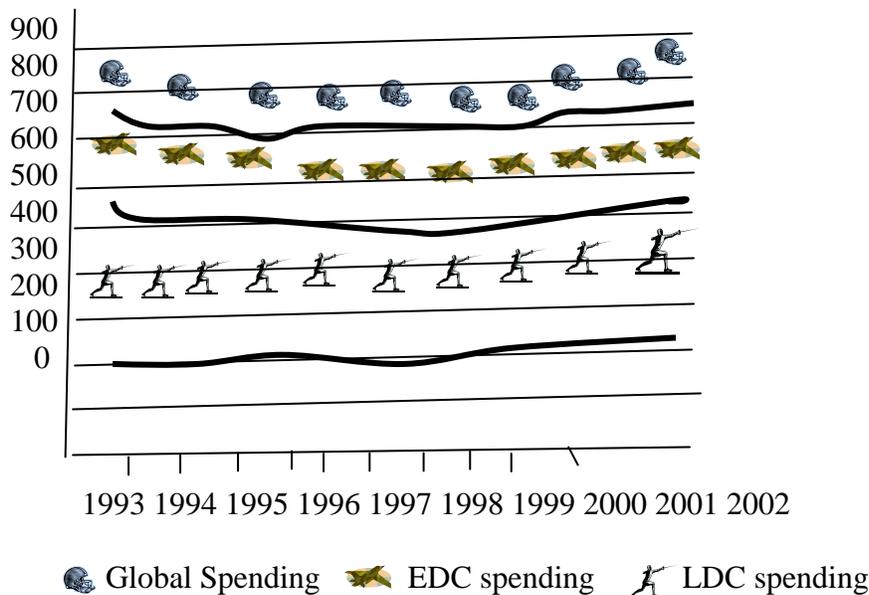
### **National Military Power**

For good or ill, military power adds to a country’s ability to prevail. In international disputes therefore, it is appropriate to first consider the nature of military power that provides the sword for policy makers to wield. Military power is based on an array of tangible factors, such as weapons, and intangible factors, and such as leadership.

### **Levels of Spending**

Defense spending is one of the largest categories in most countries budgets. Global military spending soared during the tense years of the cold war, peaking at nearly \$1 trillion in 1987. After the end of the cold war, defense spending dropped significantly during the 1990s by the last half of the 1990s it averaged about \$730billion, a decrease of more than 25% in current dollars and even more in real dollars (value controlled for inflation, constant dollars) from 1987. Then spending inched higher during 1999 and 2000, followed by even larger increases associated with the expansion of the U.S. defense budget in the in the aftermath of the 9/11 terrorist

attacks, as evident in Figure 10.2. The \$792 billion in current dollars (the values in the year being reported) that the world's governments spent on their militaries in 2002 equaled about 2.5% of the world gross domestic product (GDP) or about \$128 for each of the world's more than 6 billion people. The United States has by far the largest defense budget. At \$340 billion during 2002, it accounted for 43% of global expenditures.



Global military spending peaked in the late 1980s, then declined into the mid-1990s, and then began to rise again, to stand in 2002 at the same level as just after the cold war. In real dollars. Notice that while LDC military spending remained much lower than EDC spending. It was on an upward trend throughout the entire period and increased 31%.

Notes expenditure calculated in 2000 dollars. For that, EDCs includes the countries of Eastern Europe, including Russia, as well as those of Western Europe, Oceania, the United States and Canada

Data source stock international peace Research Institute (SPI), 2003. Within Figure 10.2 it is also worth noting that military spending (in real dollars) of the world's economically less developed countries (LDCs) increased steadily during the period. The LDCs spent over 256 billion (current dollars) on their militaries in 2002. The amount was equivalent to about 4% of their collective GNPs, a percentage that the LDCs especially can ill afford because of their crying needs for spending on economic development, education, and health. A final troubling point is that the military budgets of some regions and countries have increased amid the general global decline in military spending. Military expenditures in South and East Asia increased in real dollars about 25% between 1993 and 2002. And there is an escalating arms race in the region, with China, India, and Pakistan the main contenders. China's defense spending measured

in real dollars increased during the ten year period by 219%, spending for those years escalated 158%.

#### **4.0 Conclusion**

Not only do we kill more soldiers in wars now, we also now kill larger numbers of civilian. WWI killed (8.4 million, soldiers and 1.4 million civilian). World War II killed two civilians for every soldier (16.9 million troops and 34.3 million civilians).

#### **5.0 Summary**

A final troubling point is that the military budgets of some regions and countries have increased amid the general global decline in military spending. Military expenditures in South and East Asia increased in real dollars about 25% between 1993 and 2002.

#### **6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment**

Explain War: The Human Record  
Define State Level Causes of War  
Critically analyse the Individual Level Causes of War

#### **7.0 References/Further Reading**

Akinboye S. O. and Ottoh F. O *systematic approach to International relations* concept Publishers Limited, Lagos Nigeria (2005)

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## **UNIT 2 WEAPONRY: QUANTITY VERSUS QUALITY**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 Weaponry: Quantity versus Quality
  - 3.2 Force as a political instrument
  - 3.3 The effectiveness of force
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

### **1.0 Introduction**

Very often when you see a comparison of two Countries' or alliances' military might, you see a map with an overlay of small figures representing troops, tanks, planes, and other weapons. Such graphics emphasis quality, and it always seems as if the other side's figures far outnumber your own.

### **2.0 Objective**

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

- a. State the Weapons of warfare with regards to its Quantity versus Quality
- b. Critically analyse Force as a political instrument
- c. Numerate the effectiveness of force in warfare

### **3.0 Main Content**

#### **3.1 Weaponry: Quantity versus Quality**

Quality is an important military consideration, but the relative value of these figures must be modified by the cost and quality of the weapons and troops. The west especially the United States has tended to favor acquiring fewer but superior high technology weapons. The wars against Iraq in 1991 and 2003, for example, were showcases for high-technology warfare as U.S. main battle tanks maneuvered at nearly highway speeds and coalition pilots used laser guidance systems to steer smart bombs" to their targets.

The triumph of technology against Iraq must, however be considered carefully in the first place, high technology is very expensive. Just after the 9/11 terrorist attacks. President Bush vowed, "When I take action, I'm not going to fire a \$2 million [cruise] missile at a \$10 empty tent [in Afghanistan] and hit a camel in the butt." Yet he did use B-2 bombers, which cost \$2.1 billion each. To drop munitions on the rudimentarily armed Taliban and al-Qaeda forces. Indeed the

cost of a single B-2 is more than the yearly defense budgets of about two-thirds of the world's countries.

Second, it is difficult to calculate precisely the relative worth of a greater number of lower technology weapons versus fewer, more sophisticated, weapons. The newest U.S. fighter, the F-22, is a technological marvel that can defeat any other fighter. One has no wonder, though, whether one \$150 million F-22 could defeat say four Russian built SU-30 fighters (available for \$37 billion). Which are being supplied to China, North Korea, Iraq, and a variety of other countries with which U.S relations are often strained.

It should also be remembered that the effectiveness of soldiers and military hardware is very situational. Therefore, a country's military systems need to be appropriate to the challenges they will face. American technology twice easily overwhelmed the Iraq in the relatively open terrain of the Persian Gulf but was not able to prevail during the war in densely forested Vietnam against an even less sophisticated opponent than Iraq.

### **Military Morale and Leadership**

Morale is a key element of military power. An army that does not fight well cannot win. Historian Stephen Ambrose who served as a consultant for the film *Saving Private Ryan*, reflects that "in the end success or failure on D-Day [came] down to a relatively small number of junior officers, noncoms and privates according to Ambrose. If the men coming in over the beaches [had] flopped down behind the seawall and refused to advance, if the noncoms and junior officers [had] failed to lead their men up and over the seawall... in the face of enemy fire-why, then, the Germans would [have won] the battle and thus the war,

Morale, of course, is not inherent. Russian soldiers fought with amazing valor during World War II despite conditions that in many cases were far worse than those that American troops faced. Yet in more recent times, the morale of Russian's soldier has been sapped by their substandard living and working conditions; they have been poorly paid housed equipped and trained. In the aftermath of the collapse of Iraq's army in 2003, some Russian military experts were worried that a similar fate might await Russian's army in a war. "Go on the street and ask who is ready to defend the motherland, and you will immediately see unpleasant parallels, fretted retired General Andrei Nikolayev, who chairs the defense affairs committee in the lower house of parliament, the state Duma. "The outcome of a war depends on the army's morale."

Military leadership also plays a significant role for good or ill. There is little doubt that U.S. and British forces would have defeated the Iraqi military in 2003, but Saddam Hussein's practice of placing those most loyal to him, rather than the best officers, in command of his country's armed forces and creating many specialized units instead of a central command helped speed the rapid collapse of Iraq's army. According to one Iraqi colonel, the multiple units, some commanded by Saddam Hussein's sons, were created because "he was afraid the regular army might rise up

against him.” Added an Iraqi general, “there was no coordination between these armies they hate each other.”

### **Military and Political Reputation**

Another power consideration is a country’s reputation. Whatever real power a country may possess, its ability to influence others will depend partly on how those others perceive its capacity and will. National leaders commonly believe that weakness tempts their opponents, while a reputation for strength deters them. This has been an issue for the United States in recent decades because some observers believe, as one French general put it, that American want “zero-dead wars. The image was formed amid the reluctance of the United States to commit ground forces in the aftermath of the frustrating Vietnam war and was heightened by the U.S. withdrawals in the face of casualties in Lebanon in 1983 and Somalia in 1993. The thinking goes that this reputation emboldened U.S. opponents, including perhaps Saddam Hussein, who argued before he invaded Kuwait. “The nature of American society makes it impossible for the United States to bear tens of thousands of casualties.”

The month long air assault on Iraq before U.S. ground forces moved forward in 1991 and the exclusive use of air power to pound Yugoslavia into submission in 1999 did nothing to dispel the image that American public opinion would not tolerate significant U.S. casualties. Because President Bush believed U.S. power was being undermined by the widely held image that Americans were flaccid” and “would not fight back,” he was adamant in 2001 about putting boots on the ground (committing ground forces) in Afghanistan. Still the actual use of U.S. troops was generally limited in favor of using anti Taliban Afghan forces. Bush again committed ground forces in 2003, this time again in Iraq moreover they launched their invasion after a much shorter aerial assault than had occurred in 1991. Still, for some the image of an American public unwilling to face casualties will probably persist in light of the deaths and wounding of American soldiers in postwar Iraq and the rapid decline in public support for a U.S. presence there.

### **Military Power: The Dangers of Overemphasis**

Given the importance of military power as a tool of national defense and diplomacy it is not uncommon for people to assume that the phrase “too much military power” must be an oxymoron. Exactly how much is enough is a complex question but it is certain that there are clear dangers associated with overemphasizing military power. Three such perils deserve special mention. They are insecurity temptation and expense.

Military powers create insecurity. One result of power acquisition is the “piral of insecurity.” This means that our attempts to amass power to achieve security or gain other such ends are frequently perceived by others as a danger to them. They then seek to acquire offsetting power, which we see as threatening causing us to acquire even more power...than them ...than us, ad infinitum, in an escalating spiral. As evident in chapter 11’s review of disarmament the arms race

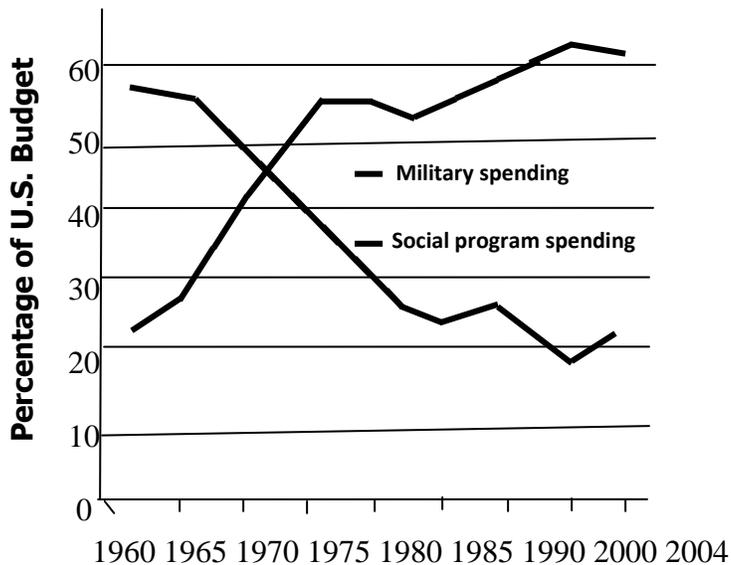
is a complex phenomenon, but the interaction of one country's power and other countries insecurity is an important factor in world politics.

Military power creates temptation. A second peril of amassing excess military power is the temptation to use it in a situation that is peripheral to the national interests. The United States went to war in Vietnam despite the fact the president Lyndon Johnson derided it as a "raggedy-ass fourth rate country," one can never be sure, but it is certain that it is hard to shoot someone if you do not own a gun.

Military Power is Expensive. A third problem with acquiring military power is that it is extremely expensive. Beyond the short term budget decisions about choosing between domestic or defense programs and how to pay the costs, there is a longer range concern one scholar who studied the decline of great powers between 1500 and 1980s concluded that "imperial overstretch" was the cause of their degeneration (Kennedy, 1988). His thesis is that superpowers of the past spent so much on military power that ironically, they weakened the country's strength by siphoning off resources that should have been devoted to maintaining and improving the country's infrastructure Kennedy's study did not include the Soviet Union. But it is arguable that the collapse of the USSR followed the pattern of overspending on the military thereby enervating the country's economic core. Declinists imperial powers of the modern age ." one scholar writes the Bush rhetoric of preventive war is a disconcerting reflection of the disastrous strategic ideas of those earlier keepers of the imperial order" (Snyder, 2002:2).

**The Imperial Overstretch thesis:** Has many critics (Knusen. 1999). At the strategic level some critics argue that far more danger is posed by a Pax American than by any effort to create a Pax American the reasoning is that if the united state does not exercise certain leadership as hegemon than the international system is in danger of falling into disorder. Similarly some scholars warn that a rush to peace is only slightly less foolish than a rush to war. One study that reviewed the sharp cuts in U.S military spending after World War II, the Korean War and the Vietnam War concluded in each case the savings proved only temporary as declining defense budgets eroded military

## CHANGE IN U.S. MILITARY AND SOCIAL PROGRAM SPENDING



Readiness and necessitated a rush to rearm in the face of new dangers abroad” (Thies, 1998:176).

Critics of Kennedy’s thesis also say that it is wrong about the economic cause of decline. These critics agree with Kennedy that overconsumption (spending that depletes assets faster than the economy can replace them) causes decline. Whereas Kennedy argues that excessive military spending causes overconsumption, his critics say that the villain is too much social spending. This might be termed the social overstretch thesis. “Whether in the form of bread and circuses in the ancient world or medical care for the lower classes and social security for the aged in the modern world” the argument goes, it is social spending on the least productive elements of a society that financially drains it (Gilpin, 1981:164). It is a harsh judgment, but its advocates believe that the economic reality is that such altruistic programs may leave our spirits enriched but our coffers depleted. Consider for example figure 10.3 it shows that over the long term, U.S. military spending has declined while spending on social programs has increased significantly as a percentage of the U.S. budget. It is also the case, however, that U.S. military spending accounts for more than one-third of all military spending in the world which if either, category would you cut to increase spending on education, transportation, communications and other infrastructure programs?

### SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

State the Weapons of warfare with regards to its Quantity versus Quality

### **3.2 Force as a political instrument**

It may be that future social scientist will be able to write of war in the past tense, but for the present we must recognize conflict as a fact of international politics. For this reason, having discussed the human record and causes of war, we should also consider levels violence, the diplomatic and military effectiveness of force, the changing nature of warfare and classifying warfare,

#### **Level of violence: from intimidation to Attack**

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 (Cimballa, 2002; Nathan, 2002). It also should be noted that the options provided by the five levels of violence form a multiple menu. That is, they are often exercised concurrently.

Diplomatic backdrop: Military power does not have to be used or even overtly threatened to be effective. Its very existence establishes 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 one 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".

Over threats: A step up the escalation ladder is overtly threatening an opponent. That is what President Bush did in his address on March 17, 2003, when he declared, "Saddam Hussein and his sons must leave Iraq within 48 hours. Their refusal to do so will result in military conflict, commenced at a time of our choosing" and that the only way for "Iraq military units to avoid being attacked and destroyed" was to follow the "clear instructions they would be given by U.S. force".

Indirect Intervention: A number of techniques can be used to apply military power while avoiding a commitment of your armed forces to direct combat. One approach is supply 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 force or nonuniformed 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 Kerdish 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 as occurred in Iraq in 2003 to unrestricted nuclear war.

### **SELF ASSESSMENT EXCERCISE**

Critically analyse Force as a political instrument

### **3.3 The effectiveness of force**

Another aspect of the threat and use of force is the question of whether or not it works in a utilitarian way, it does, and one of the reasons that weapons and war persist in the international system is that they are sometimes successful. This continuing use of force is evident in the map of international conflicts between the end of WW II and 2003 on pages 310-311. The threat of violence may successfully deter an enemy from attacking you or an ally. The actual use of force also sometime accomplishes intended goals. Given these realities, we should ask ourselves how to determine if force will be effective by utilitarian standards. Answering this question necessitates looking at measurements and conditions for success.

#### **Measurement**

Cost/benefit analysis is one of two ways of measuring the effectiveness of war. War is very expensive. There is no accurate count of the deaths in the 2003 war with Iraq but at least 20,000 and perhaps as many as 45,000 Iraqi soldiers were killed and another 2,200 or more Iraqi civilians perished. The invading U.S. -led forces had 378 soldiers killed, and that number had risen during the occupation to 830 by April 2004. As far as the financial costs, just after the war with Iraq erupted in 2003, President Bush asked Congress for \$43 billion to pay for the war and another \$19 billion for the occupation of Iraq. British expenses added at least another \$5billion to the total. Additionally, Iraq suffered substantial damage to roads, bridges and other parts of its infrastructure. Were the results worth the loss of life, human anguish, and other economic destruction? Although such trade-offs are made in reality, it is impossible to arrive at any objective standards that can equate the worth of a human life or political freedom with dollars spent territory lost.

Goal attainment is the second way to judge the effectiveness of force. Generally, the decision for war is not irrational because leaders usually calculate, accurately or not, their probability of successfully achieving their goals. This calculation is called the “expected utility” of war. In the words of one study “Initiators (of war) act as predators and likely to attack (only) target states they know they can defeat” (Gartner & Siverson, 1996:4). By this standard, war does sometimes work. Indeed, the expected utility of force is especially apt to be positive when a major power

starts the war. One study found that from 1495 to 1991, great powers that initiated wars won 60% of them (Wang & Ray, 1994). What is more, the initiators' success rate is going up. During the first three centuries (1495-1966), the initiators won 59% of the wars they fought. But during the last two centuries (1800-1991), the success rate increased, with the initiators winning 75% of the wars.

Of course, as Miguel de Cervantes noted in *Don Quixote* (ca.1615) "there is nothing so subject to inconsistency of fortune as war," Leaders often miscalculate and, as Saddam Hussein, did in 1990, start a war they ultimately lose. Also it is sometimes hard to evaluate whether goals were attained, if the U.S. goal in 2003 was to defeat Iraq and topple Saddam Hussein, it certainly succeeded. However, since the main goals enunciated by President Bush was to destroy Iraq's nuclear program and its chemical and biological warfare capabilities, then the inability of the conquering U.S. forces to demonstrate that these had existed raises the question of whether it can be said that United States accomplished its goals.

### **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

Numerate the effectiveness of force in warfare

#### **3.4 Conditions for Success**

The next question, then is when does forces success 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 (see the explanatory notes section on page 553) to arrive at some rudimentary rules for the successful use of military force, especially in case of intervention when a country's use of military force is:

1. Taken in area where it has a clearly defined preferably long-standing and previously demonstrated commitment.
2. Supported firmly and publicity 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 do not guarantee success. They do, however, indicate some of the factors that contributes to successful use of the military instrument.

#### **4.0 Conclusion**

Of course, as Miguel de Cervantes noted in *Don Quixote* (ca.1615) “there is nothing so subject to inconsistency of fortune as war,” Leaders often miscalculate and, as Saddam Hussein, did in 1990, start a war they ultimately lose. Also it is sometimes hard to evaluate whether goals were attained, if the U.S. goal in 2003 was to defeat Iraq and topple Saddam Hussein, it certainly succeeded.

#### **3.0 Summary**

It may be that future social scientist will be able to write of war in the past tense, but for the present we must recognize conflict as a fact of international politics.

#### **4.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment**

State the Weapons of warfare with regards to its Quantity versus Quality  
Critically analyse Force as a political instrument  
Numerate the effectiveness of force in warfare

#### **7.0 References/Further Reading**

Akinboye S. O. and Ottoh F. O *systematic approach to International relations* concept Publishers Limited, Lagos Nigeria (2005)

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## **UNIT 3 THE CHANGING NATURE OF WAR**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 The changing nature of war
  - 3.2 Classifying Warfare
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

### **1.0 Introduction**

In the previous unit, we discussed weaponry: Quantity versus Quality, Force as a political instrument and the effectiveness of force but in this unit, our attention will be focused on the changing nature of war and Classifying Warfare.

### **2.0 Objective**

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

- a. Discuss the changing nature of war
- b. Classify Warfare

### **3.0 Main Content**

#### **3.1 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 “advance” in the ability to deliver weapon 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 civilian of the countries at war.

Nationalism has also changed the nature of war. Before the 19<sup>th</sup> century, wars were generally fought between the houses of nobles with limited armies. The French Revolution (1789) changed that. War began to be fought between nations, with increase in intensity and in numbers involved. French proclaimed military service to be a patriotic duty and instituted the first comprehensive military draft in 1793. The idea of patriotic military service coupled with the draft allowed France’s army to be the first to number more than a million men (Avant, 2000).

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 1000 people of a country

participated in a wars. By World War I, the European powers called 1 to 7 people to arms. Technology increases 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. Yet even more technology has at other times, also reversed the connection between war effort and the nation (Coker, 2002). The high-tech force deployed by the United States and its allies against Iraq (1991, 2003) and Yugoslavia (1995, 1999) and the quick victories that ensued largely separated the war effort from the day-to-day lives of Americans.

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 (Slantchev, 2003). It means hurting some so that the existence of others will crumble. The power to hurt has become increasingly important to all aspects of warfare because the success of the war effort depends on a country's economic effort and often the morale of its citizens. Perhaps the first military leader to understand the importance of the power to hurt in modern warfare was General William Terumsch Sherman during the U.S. Civil war. "My aim was to whip the rebels, to humble their pride to follow them to their inmost recesses and (to) make them fear and dread us. "The general wrote in his memories.

Traditionally war was found with little references to hereing. Even when hurting was used, it depended on the ability to attack civilians by first defeating the enemy's military forces. During the American Revolution, for example, the British could have utilized their power to hurt-to kill civilians in the major cities they controlled – and they might have won the war. Instead they concentrated on defeating the American army (which they could not catch, then grew too strong to overpower), and they lost.

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.

### **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

Discuss the changing nature of war

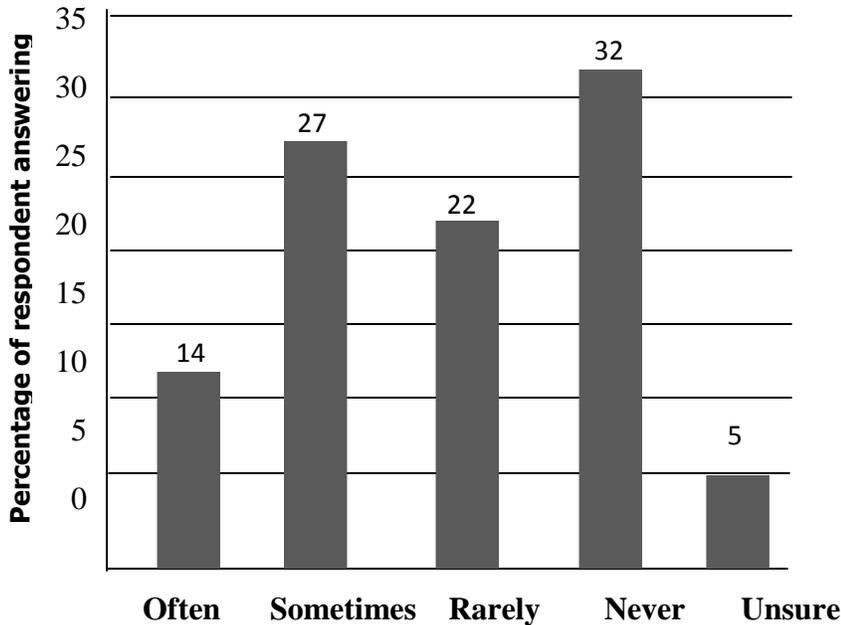
### **3.2 Classifying Warfare**

There are numerous ways to classify warfare. One has to do with causality and intent, and distinguishes among offensive, defensive, and other types of conflict. Offensive warfare involves an attack launched by one country against another in the absence of a military attack or

serious threat of a military attack by the targeted country. Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990 is a good example. Defensive warfare, such as Kuwait's futile and short-lived resistance to Iraq's invasion in 1990, is the military response to aggression.

In a complicated world, however, the distinction between offensive and defensive decision for war is not so clear. Mutual-responsibility warfare is one scenario. In such cases all the countries involved bear some responsibility, whether through provocative acts or missteps. World War I is a classic example. The story is complex, but in brief Austria-Hungary's ally, to mobilize. Russia's ally, France, feared it would be caught between a mobilized France to the west and a mobilized Russia to the east, decided it had no choice but to strike first. So Germany launched an attack on France through the shortest route to Paris, neutral Belgium. Great British, fearing a German army on the coast of the English Channel, joined the war alongside France and Russia. Few if any of the historians explains, "Statesmen, like soldier, obeyed the imperatives of their offices in a system of competing and frightened national states" (Lafore, 1971:23).

Presumptive warfare is another type of conflict that defies the simple dichotomy between offensive and defensive war. This scenario has been much in the news because the Bush Doctrine, as discussed in Chapter 2, declares that the speed with which violence can be launched in today's technological world dictates that "the United States can no longer solely rely on a reactive posture," and instead, "to Forestall or prevent hostile acts by our adversaries, the United States will, if necessary, act preemptively." Putting theory into practice, U.S. forces moved against Iraq in March 2003. The controversy over preemptive war creates the impression that it is something new, but it is not. In a sense, the mobilization –counter mobilization-war sequence of World War I involved preemptive warfare. Also despite charges and countercharges, the line between preemption as aggression (which violates international law) and preemption as self-defense (which does not) is not precise. Even in much more constrained domestic situations, a potential victim, confronted by someone with a loaded gun does not have to wait to be shot at before exercising his or her right of self-defense. What the law generally says is that you must be reasonably afraid that you will suffer death or injury and your response must be proportionate to the threat. Thus, preemptive war in the view of much analysis is neither absolutely right nor absolutely wrong. Instead, its morality and lawfulness must be carefully evaluated.



#### **When preemptive war is justified**

This view is also held by the general public. As Figure above indicates, a 2003 survey of people in 20 countries found that only 32% believe that preemptive war is never justified. More (41%) think that it is often or sometimes justified.

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. Whatever the criteria for these categories, though, the exact boundaries between various types of wars or other political phenomena are imprecise. Therefore, you should be considered mostly with the issues involved in planning for and fighting wars. With recognition of their limits, this chapter divides international conflict into three categories: unconventional warfare, conventional warfare, and weapons of mass destruction warfare.

#### **4.0 Conclusion**

In a complicated world, however, the distinction between offensive and defensive decision for war is not so clear. Mutual-responsibility warfare is one scenario. In such cases all the countries involved bear some responsibility, whether through provocative acts or missteps. World War I is a classic example.

#### **5.0 Summary**

The changing nature of war, the increased power of weapons, and the shifts in tactics have all made classifying warfare more difficult.

## **6.0 Tutor Marked Assignment**

Discuss the changing nature of war  
Classify Warfare

## **5.0 References/Further Readings**

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## UNIT 4 GLOBAL EFFORTS TO CONTROL WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

### CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
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  - 3.2. Obstacles to the Success of Non-Proliferation Regime
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### 1.0 Introduction

Nuclear proliferation is the spread of weapon capabilities from a few to many states in a chain reaction, so that an increasing number of states gain the ability to launch an attack on other states with devastating weapons (e.g nuclear weapons). Nuclear proliferation is the spread of nuclear weapons, fissile material, and weapons-applicable nuclear technology and information to nations not recognized as "Nuclear Weapon States" by the *Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons*, also known as the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty or NPT. Proliferation has been opposed by many nations with and without nuclear weapons, the governments of which fear that more countries with nuclear weapons may increase the possibility of nuclear warfare (up to and including the so-called "counter-value" targeting of civilians with nuclear weapons), de-stabilize international or regional relations, or infringe upon the national sovereignty of states. This unit will examine the nature of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime (NPR) and some of the obstacles to the success of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and the prospects of achieving an effective nuclear disarmament in harmony with global peace.

### 2. Objectives

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

- a. Discuss the nature and dynamics of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime (NPR)
- b. Identify the challenges and obstacles to a successful nuclear disarmament in the contemporary world.
- c. State other strategies for peace in the international system

### **3.0 Main Content**

#### **3.1 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime (NPR)**

Early efforts to prevent nuclear proliferation involved intense government secrecy, the wartime acquisition of known uranium stores (the Combined Development Trust), and at times even outright sabotage—such as the bombing of a heavy-water facility thought to be used for a German nuclear program. None of these efforts were explicitly public, because the weapon developments themselves were kept secret until the bombing of Hiroshima.

Earnest international efforts to promote nuclear non-proliferation began soon after World War II, when the Truman Administration proposed the Baruch Plan of 1946, named after Bernard Baruch, America's first representative to the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission. The Baruch Plan, which drew heavily from the Acheson–Lilienthal Report of 1946, proposed the verifiable dismantlement and destruction of the U.S. nuclear arsenal (which, at that time, was the only nuclear arsenal in the world) after all governments had cooperated successfully to accomplish two things: (1) the establishment of an "international atomic development authority," which would actually own and control all military-applicable nuclear materials and activities, and (2) the creation of a system of automatic sanctions, which not even the U.N. Security Council could veto, and which would proportionately punish states attempting to acquire the capability to make nuclear weapons or fissile material (Buffet, 1998).

Although the Baruch Plan enjoyed wide international support, it failed to emerge from the UNAEC because the Soviet Union planned to veto it in the Security Council. Still, it remained official American policy until 1953, when President Eisenhower made his "Atoms for Peace" proposal before the U.N. General Assembly. Eisenhower's proposal led eventually to the creation of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in 1957. Under the "Atoms for Peace" program thousands of scientists from around the world were educated in nuclear science and then dispatched home, where many later pursued secret weapons programs in their home country (Beatrice Heusser, 2000).

Efforts to conclude an international agreement to limit the spread of nuclear weapons did not begin until the early 1960s, after four nations (the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France) had acquired nuclear weapons (see List of countries with nuclear weapons for more information). Although these efforts stalled in the early 1960s, they renewed once again in 1964, after China detonated a nuclear weapon. In 1968, governments represented at the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee (ENDC) finished negotiations on the text of the NPT. In June 1968, the U.N. General Assembly endorsed the NPT with General Assembly Resolution 2373 (XXII), and in July 1968, the NPT opened for signature in Washington, DC, London and Moscow. The NPT entered into force in March 1970.

Since the mid-1970s, the primary focus of non-proliferation efforts has been to maintain, and even increase, international control over the fissile material and specialized technologies

necessary to build such devices because these are the most difficult and expensive parts of a nuclear weapons program. The main materials whose generation and distribution is controlled are highly enriched uranium and plutonium. Other than the acquisition of these special materials, the scientific and technical means for weapons construction to develop rudimentary, but working, nuclear explosive devices are considered to be within the reach of industrialized nations.

From its foundation by the United Nations in 1957, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) has promoted two, sometimes contradictory, missions: on the one hand, the Agency seeks to promote and spread internationally the use of civilian nuclear energy; on the other hand, it seeks to prevent, or at least detect, the diversion of civilian nuclear energy to nuclear weapons, nuclear explosive devices or purposes unknown. The IAEA now operates a safeguards system as specified under Article III of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) of 1968, which aims to ensure that civil stocks of uranium, plutonium, as well as facilities and technologies associated with these nuclear materials, are used only for peaceful purposes and do not contribute in any way to proliferation or nuclear weapons programs. It is often argued that proliferation of nuclear weapons to many other states has been prevented by the extension of assurances and mutual defence treaties to these states by nuclear powers, but other factors, such as national prestige, or specific historical experiences, also play a part in hastening or stopping nuclear proliferation.

At present, 189 countries are States Parties to the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons, more commonly known as the *Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty* or NPT. These include the five Nuclear Weapons States (NWS) recognized by the NPT: the People's Republic of China, France, Russian Federation, the UK, and the United States. Notable non-signatories to the NPT are Israel, Pakistan, and India (the latter two have since tested nuclear weapons, while Israel is considered by most to be an unacknowledged nuclear weapons state). North Korea was once a signatory but withdrew in January 2003.

### **International Atomic Energy Agency**

The IAEA was established on 29 July 1957 to help nations develop nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. Allied to this role is the administration of safeguards arrangements to provide assurance to the international community that individual countries are honoring their commitments under the treaty. Though established under its own international treaty, the IAEA reports to both the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council.

The IAEA regularly inspects civil nuclear facilities to verify the accuracy of documentation supplied to it. The agency checks inventories, and samples and analyzes materials. Safeguards are designed to deter diversion of nuclear material by increasing the risk of early detection. They are complemented by controls on the export of sensitive technology from countries such as UK and United States through voluntary bodies such as the Nuclear Suppliers Group. The main concern of the IAEA is that uranium not be enriched beyond what is necessary for commercial

civil plants, and that plutonium which is produced by nuclear reactors not be refined into a form that would be suitable for bomb production.

### **Additional Protocol**

In 1993 a program was initiated to strengthen and extend the classical safeguards system, and a model protocol was agreed by the IAEA Board of Governors 1997. The measures boosted the IAEA's ability to detect undeclared nuclear activities, including those with no connection to the civil fuel cycle.

Innovations were of two kinds. Some could be implemented on the basis of IAEA's existing legal authority through safeguards agreements and inspections. Others required further legal authority to be conferred through an Additional Protocol. This must be agreed by each non-weapons state with IAEA, as a supplement to any existing comprehensive safeguards agreement. Weapons states have agreed to accept the principles of the model additional protocol.

### **Key elements of the model Additional Protocol:**

- The IAEA is to be given considerably more information on nuclear and nuclear-related activities, including R & D, production of uranium and thorium (regardless of whether it is traded), and nuclear-related imports and exports.
- IAEA inspectors will have greater rights of access. This will include any suspect location, it can be at short notice (e.g., two hours), and the IAEA can deploy environmental sampling and remote monitoring techniques to detect illicit activities.
- States must streamline administrative procedures so that IAEA inspectors get automatic visa renewal and can communicate more readily with IAEA headquarters.
- Further evolution of safeguards is towards evaluation of each state, taking account of its particular situation and the kind of nuclear materials it has. This will involve greater judgment on the part of IAEA and the development of effective methodologies which reassure NPT States.

As of 20 December 2010, 139 countries have signed Additional Protocols, 104 have brought them into force, and one (Iraq) is implementing its protocol provisionally. The IAEA is also applying the measures of the Additional Protocol in Taiwan. Among the leading countries that have not signed the Additional Protocol is Egypt, which says it will not sign until Israel accepts comprehensive IAEA safeguards, Brazil, also opposes making the protocol a requirement for international cooperation on enrichment and reprocessing, but has not ruled out signing (Saeed, 2012)

### **3.2. Obstacles to the Success of Non-Proliferation Regime**

Despite the apparent success of the NPT, the obstacles to increased proliferation are fragile, as shown by the nuclear development programmes of India, Pakistan, Iran and North Korea. The incentives to join the nuclear club are strong for several reasons.

First, the materials needed to make nuclear weapons are widely available. This is partly due to the widespread use of nuclear technology for generating electricity. Today, hundreds of nuclear power and research reactors are in operation in dozens of countries throughout the world. In addition, to preading nuclear know-how, states could choose to reprocess the uranium and plutonium that power plants produce as waste for clandestine nuclear weapons production.

Secondly, the scientific expertise necessary for weapons development has spread with the globalization of advanced scientific training. It has been estimated that in the near future, it will be possible to duplicate almost all past technology in all but the most forlorn of Third World backwaters, and much of the present state-of-the-art will be both intellectually and practically accessible' (Clancy and Seitz, 1991-92)

Thirdly, export controls designed to stop technology transfer for military purposes are weak. A large and growing number of states can now export material, equipment, technology, and services needed to develop nuclear weapons (Potter, 1992). In addition, the leaks in nuclear export controls make a 'mockery of the long-revered nuclear non-proliferation regime' (Leventhal 1992). Conversion of peacetime nuclear energy programmes to military purposes can occur either overtly or, as in the case of India and Pakistan covertly. The safeguards built into the non-proliferation regime are simply inadequate to detect and prevent secret nuclear weapons development programmes. The ease with which Pakistan made a successful end run around the technology-export controls of the United States and Western European governments illustrates the problem of control. In 1979, Pakistan quietly bought all the basic parts- allegedly with funds supplied by the Libyan government – necessary for uranium –enrichment plant. Similarly, UN inspectors discovered after the Persian Gulf War that Iraq was much closer to building an atomic weapon than previously suspected, despite UN restrictions against this and Iraq's continued pledge to adhere to the rules of the non-proliferation regime. The Iraqi experience illustrates the obstacles to preventing the illegal proliferation of weapons, as does the record elsewhere. No less than eight countries have constructed secret nuclear production plants, underscoring the difficulties of managing effective inspections and monitoring nuclear developments (Albright 1993).

Fourthly, other states have strong incentives to develop nuclear weapons, especially, the non-nuclear states, who want the same command of their own fate and the same diplomatic influence that the nuclear powers seem to enjoy.

There has been much debate in the academic study of International Security as to the advisability of proliferation. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, Gen. Pierre Marie Gallois of France, an

adviser to Charles DeGaulle, argued in books like *The Balance of Terror: Strategy for the Nuclear Age* (1961) that mere possession of a nuclear arsenal, what the French called the *force de frappe*, was enough to ensure deterrence, and thus concluded that the spread of nuclear weapons could increase international stability.

Some very prominent neo-realist scholars, such as Kenneth Waltz and John Mearsheimer, R. Wendell Harrison continue to argue along the lines of Gallois (though these scholars rarely acknowledge their intellectual debt to Gallois and his contemporaries). Specifically, these scholars advocate some forms of nuclear proliferation, arguing that it will decrease the likelihood of war, especially in troubled regions of the world. Aside from the majority opinion which opposes proliferation in any form, there are two schools of thought on the matter: those, like Mearsheimer, who favor selective proliferation, and those such as Waltz, who advocate a laissez-faire attitude to programs like North Korea's.

### **Total proliferation**

Waltz and Sagan argue that the logic of mutually assured destruction (MAD) should work in all security environments, regardless of historical tensions or recent hostility. He sees the Cold War as the ultimate proof of MAD logic – the only occasion when enmity between two Great Powers did not result in military conflict. This was, he argues, because nuclear weapons promote caution in decision-makers. Neither Washington nor Moscow would risk nuclear Armageddon to advance territorial or power goals, hence a peaceful stalemate ensued (Waltz and Sagan (2003: 24). Waltz and Sagan believe that there should be no reason why this effect would not occur in all circumstances.

Proliferation begets proliferation is a concept described by Scott Sagan (1993). This concept can be described as a strategic chain reaction. If one state produces a nuclear weapon it creates almost a domino effect within the region. States in the region will seek to acquire nuclear weapons to balance or eliminate the security threat. Sagan describes this reaction best in his article when he states, “Every time one state develops nuclear weapons to balance against its main rival, it also creates a nuclear threat to another region, which then has to initiate its own nuclear weapons program to maintain its national security” (Sagan, pg. 70). Going back through history we can see how this has taken place. When the United States demonstrated that it had nuclear power capabilities after the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the Russians started to develop their program in preparation for the Cold War. With the Russian military buildup, France and Great Britain perceived this as a security threat and therefore they pursued nuclear weapons.

### **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

Identify some of the major obstacles to achieving a successful implementation of the non-proliferation treaty

### **3.3 STRATEGIES FOR PEACE (ARMS RACE, DISARMAMENT, ARMS CONTROL AND ARMS REDUCTION, ALLIANCE FORMATION, ETC**

#### **Alliances**

An alliance is an explicit or implicit agreement between two or more states to lend military assistance to one or more of the contracting parties under a specified set of circumstances. The primary function of an alliance is to aggregate the relative capabilities (military power, economic power, and potential power) of its members. However, alliances can and do serve other functions as well. Alliances appear in a variety of forms, ranging from highly institutionalized and permanent bodies such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to ad-hoc war-fighting coalitions such as the grand alliance of World War II and the 1990-91 Persian Gulf coalition. Alliances may consist of two states (such as the U.S.-Japan alliance) or several states (such as the 1940 Tripartite Pact and the various coalitions among Prussia, Russia, Great Britain, and Austria during the Napoleonic Wars). An alliance need not entail mutual or collective defence provisions. For example, the 1960 U.S.-Japan Security Treaty obligates the United States to defend Japan in exchange for the right to station American ground, naval, and air forces on the Japanese home islands. Japan has no obligation to defend the United States.

It can also be seen as an agreement between two or more states to work together on mutual security issues. States enter into such cooperative security arrangements in order to protect themselves against a common (or perceived) threat. By pooling their resources and acting in concert, the alliance partners believe that they can improve their overall power position within the international system and their security relative to states outside the alliance. Alliances can be either formal or informal arrangements. A formal alliance is publicly recognised through the signing of a treaty in which the signatories promise to consider an attack on any one of them as equivalent to an attack on all of them. The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) is a good example of a formal security alliance. Informal alliances are much looser and less stable and rely, to a large extent, on the word of the parties involved and ongoing cooperation between them. The latter may entail, among other things, joint military exercises, the sharing of strategic information or promises of assistance during a military crisis. Informal alliances can also take the form of secret agreements between leaders.

The merits of belonging to an alliance include lightening the burden of defence since the collective efforts of several states contribute to lessen the impact more so a country with nuclear capability and superior weapons technology can shield numerous states thus preventing them from engaging in expensive arms build-up. Second, alliances help in engendering greater economic cooperation between alliance partners especially to the benefit of the poorer members. The lifespan of alliances last for many years or for a brief period like the so-called 'Grand Alliance' between Britain, the former Soviet Union and the United States during the Second World War. As soon as Germany was defeated in 1945, the alliance broke down. A state is also

free to opt out if it can no longer meet the terms of the alliance or it feels that the alliance is of no relevance to its national interest.

It has also been noted that alliances could also be a major source of conflict. This view was made popular by the Liberal internationalists beginning from Immanuel Kant onwards. Thus in the aftermath of the First World War, US President Woodrow Wilson aptly observed that alliances drew states into webs of intrigue and rivalry. In contrast the realists have supported the act of forming alliances as they note that it is naturally brought about for the defence of their national interests. Alliances, however, can also be negatively manipulated to endanger other states. The alliance between Germany, Italy, and Japan during the Second World War which is a good example promoted aggression throughout the world by recklessly seizing territories. Moreover, alliances may indirectly promote tension in the international system as an alliance between two states is regarded as a hostile act by a third state which begins to seek means of countering the alliance either through an arms build-up or the formulation of its own alliance. It is for this reason that some states (such as Sweden and Switzerland) have traditionally pursued a policy of neutrality and non-alignment in Europe.

### **Arms Control**

Arms control involves a dialogue between states to reduce or control the proliferation of arms. In the early nineteenth century, the Rush-Bagot Treaty (1817) demilitarised the border between the United States and Canada. The rise of devastating arms such as nuclear arms in the twentieth century has led to a rise in the importance of arms control. Arms control is different from disarmament. Disarmament infers that arms should be banned altogether if the international system is to be made secure. While the major end of arms control policy is to regulate and ensure the effective management of existing arms. In essence to prevent the proliferation of arms to actors likely to cause harm to others. Arms control can be carried out in a number of ways. These include: limiting the number and kinds of weapons that can legally be used in war; limiting the potential for destruction after war has broken out by reducing the size of arsenals; reducing the overall number of weapons; banning technologies which may have a destabilising effect on the balance of power; developing confidence-building measures.

Majorly what arms control agreements does is to prohibit some types of weapons, place limits or quotas on others and ensure the strict monitoring of the development of arms likely to lead to massive destruction if deployed. Many arms control agreements have focused on the proliferation of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons, the problems associated with anti-ballistic missile systems, and on reducing the frequency of nuclear tests around the world since the end of the Second World War and particularly the 1960s. Famous arms control agreements include:

- the 1925 Geneva Protocol banning the use of gas and bacteriological weapons;
- the 1959 Antarctic Treaty preventing states from using Antarctica for military purposes;
- the 1972

Biological Weapons Convention banning the manufacture and possession of biological weapons; • the 1968 Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT) limiting the transfer of nuclear weapons and allied technologies to non-nuclear states; • the 1972 Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT 1) controlling the development and use of anti-ballistic missile systems; • the 1989 Conventional Forces in Europe (CAFE) Treaty limiting the number of conventional arms that could be deployed in Europe; • the 1991–92 Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START 1) reducing the size of the superpowers' nuclear arsenals; • the 1993 Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) requiring that signatories destroy their chemical weapons stocks within a decade; • the 1998 Anti-Personnel Landmines Treaty (APLT).

Although arms control has gone some way towards ensuring global safety its prosecution is inundated with challenges; there is the problem of verification as states often do not tell the whole truth about their weapons programme. Recall that it was the evasive nature of the Iraqi government concerning its weapons programme which led to the armed invasion of Iraq in 2003. Then there is the equally vexing problem of how to ensure that states live up to the spirit and letter of the agreements they have signed. Then there is the problem of inequality in the international system; in this regard the under-developed have pointed out that arms control agreements such as the 1968 Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), are devices used to keep them perpetually on the periphery of arms development. For them consequently they would have to sign subservient alliances to be under the nuclear umbrella of the developed states.

### **Arms Race**

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

Arms races preclude cooperation and increase tension and are usually coloured by ideological assumptions. This factor usually makes it difficult to resolve if not impossible. Consequently, a

state that aggressively seeks arms improvement in relation to its neighbour finds itself more and more unsecured which is really the paradox of the arms race. Despite the end of the Cold War arms race remains prevalent globally especially in Africa and Asia. The arms race in Africa is in conventional arms while the race in Asia, between India and Pakistan, is an open arms race. The best offices of the globe have not been able to halt the ambitions of both countries. It is noteworthy that once started arms races continue until one belligerent expires like the old Soviet Union or the countries actually come to blows. In the absence of the aforementioned arms control is the best alternative.

### **Arms Trade**

The arms trade refers to the sale, from one country to another, of arms, ammunition, and combat support equipment either on a commercial basis or on the basis of military assistance programmes. Though the arms are usually destined for countries yet, increasingly, the world is seeing non-state actors such as insurgents, separatist groups, and other paramilitary organisations taking stock of these arms from the exporters. The major exporters of arms in the world today are the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council: the U.S, China, Russian, Britain and France.

The major destination of arms generated from these countries end up in the Third World countries as they account for two-thirds of all arms imports, however the main recipients of the arms trade are located in the Middle East such as Israel, Saudi Arabia. The resolution of the cold war led to the shrinkage of the arms trade industry as the major belligerents contracted their forces. This turn around led to greater emphasis on the exportation of arms. Which provoked a furry of debates about an 'ethical' approach to arms sales; for antagonists the arms trade is sold without restrictions thus falling into the hands of undesirable elements which enable conflicts especially in the third world. Supporters of the arms trade however note that the arms trade contributes significantly to the economies of the exporting nations; that a repressive state do not require expensive weaponry to commit human rights infractions, which as we can note is true for the mass executions in Rwanda were carried out by primitive machetes majorly; that inasmuch much as Arms sales can be destabilising, they can also be stabilising as they help third world governments to deal with insurrections. For them the main sources of instability are political not the arms trade; that weapons purchases in itself causes economic stagnancy and that arms trade also helps to ensure regional balance and prevent unwarranted aggression.

Internationally there have been concerted attempts to regulate the arms trade; these include efforts to control the export of long-range ballistic missiles and land mines, and the promotion of greater transparency in the reporting of arms transfers. In 1991 the United Nations General Assembly voted to establish an annual register of imports and exports of major weapons systems, although the register remains a voluntary instrument. Little work has been done, however, to regulate the growing black market in arms transfers.

## **Disarmament**

Refers to the attempt to drastically reduce arms, it is different from arms controls in that arms control concerns restraint but not reduction in the stock of arms. Historically, disarmament has taken place via two methods. First, after a war, disarmament has often been imposed on the defeated state by the victor. For example, in 1919 the Treaty of Versailles limited the German army to 100,000 troops, thereby effectively eliminating an offensive army. A similar restriction was placed on Germany and Japan after the Second World War. Secondly there is voluntary disarmament, in which states seek to negotiate a mutually acceptable framework within which all parties will reduce the size of their military establishments. A third form of disarmament is regional disarmament which aims to eliminate weapons from a particular geographic area. Four main regional agreements remain in effect; the 1967 Treaty of Tlatelolco, which prohibits nuclear weapons in the South America; the 1959 Antarctic Treaty bans the use of Antarctica for any military purposes; a 1971 treaty bans nuclear weapons on the seabed, and in 1967 treaty prohibits the placing of nuclear weapons in outer space.

Any disarmament proposal that focus mainly on getting rid of the arms without addressing the reasons why the arms are accumulated is doomed to failure. A second problem with the concept is the difficulty of verifying disarmament agreements. Although, disarmament is most likely to proceed and eventually succeed when there is a consensus among states that the possession of particular weapons can no longer be justified and when there exist reliable systems of verifying agreements. Arguably, the most likely weapons that states will agree to disarm in the near future are anti- personnel landmines, although much work remains to be done to achieve this limited g

## **4.0 Conclusion**

The greatest risk from nuclear weapons proliferation comes from countries which have not joined the NPT and which have significant unsafeguarded nuclear activities; India, Pakistan, and Israel fall within this category. While safeguards apply to some of their activities, others remain beyond scrutiny. A further concern is that countries may develop various sensitive nuclear fuel cycle facilities and research reactors under full safeguards and then subsequently opt out of the NPT. Bilateral agreements, such as insisted upon by Australia and Canada for sale of uranium, address this by including fallback provisions, but many countries are outside the scope of these agreements. If a nuclear-capable country does leave the NPT, it is likely to be reported by the IAEA to the UN Security Council, just as if it were in breach of its safeguards agreement. Trade sanctions would then be likely.

IAEA safeguards, together with bilateral safeguards applied under the NPT can, and do, ensure that uranium supplied by countries such as Australia and Canada does not contribute to nuclear weapons proliferation. In fact, the worldwide application of those safeguards and the substantial world trade in uranium for nuclear electricity make the proliferation of nuclear weapons much less likely. The Additional Protocol, once it is widely in force, will provide credible assurance

that there are no undeclared nuclear materials or activities in the states concerned. This will be a major step forward in preventing nuclear proliferation.

There are many arguments both for and against abolition, disarmament, and arms control. Everyone has his or her own idea about how best to tackle the intensely serious problem of nuclear weapons. Some will work for their abolition, which is the declared ultimate goal of most world leaders. The difficulties of achieving this are very great, however, and careless or overeager efforts to achieve this goal might actually be harmful. While nuclear weapons are a great danger, they exist because the nations that own them think they provide some protection against serious threats to their security, some of which are also nuclear.

Most statesmen, therefore, believe that the day for abolishing nuclear weapons is far off and, meanwhile, nations must find safe ways to live with them. In effect, this is an arms control outlook that can be pursued both by trying to have cautious strategies and controllable weapons, safe from accidents, and by agreements about arms control. Under such an arrangement, governments would undertake to reduce the number of weapons and abolish dangerous ones and keep each other informed and reassured about situations that might otherwise cause countries to take hostile action. While no single action will guarantee success, everyone seems to realize that failure would be catastrophic for everyone--everywhere--on this earth

## **5.0 Summary**

Research into the development of nuclear weapons was undertaken during World War II by the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, Japan, and the USSR. The United States was the first and is the only country to have used a nuclear weapon in war, when it used two bombs against Japan in August 1945. With their loss during the war, Germany and Japan ceased to be involved in any nuclear weapon research. In August 1949, the USSR tested a nuclear weapon. The United Kingdom tested a nuclear weapon in October 1952. France developed a nuclear weapon in 1960. The People's Republic of China detonated a nuclear weapon in 1964. India exploded a nuclear device in 1974, and Pakistan tested a weapon in 1998. In 2006, North Korea conducted a nuclear test.

Nuclear weapons proliferation is a topic of intense interest and concern among both academics and policy makers. Diverse opinions exist about the determinants of proliferation and the policy options to alter proliferation incentives. We evaluate a variety of explanations in two stages of nuclear proliferation, the presence of nuclear weapons production programs and the actual possession of nuclear weapons. We examine proliferation quantitatively, using data collected by the authors on national latent nuclear weapons production capability and several other variables, while controlling for the conditionality of nuclear weapons possession based on the presence of a nuclear weapons program. We find that security concerns and technological capabilities are important determinants of whether states form nuclear weapons programs, while security concerns, economic capabilities, and domestic politics help to explain the possession of nuclear

weapons. Signatories to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) are less likely to initiate nuclear weapons programs, but the NPT has not deterred proliferation at the system level.

## 6.0 Tutor marked assignment

Examine the complexities of maintaining a nuclear regime that is consistent with global peace and security

## 7.0 References/further readings

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