

**NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA
91CADASTRAL ZONE, NNAMDI AZIKIWE EXPRESS WAY, JABI-
ABUJA**

FACULTY OF MANAGEMENT SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF ADMINISTRATION

COURSE GUIDE

COURSE CODE

MPA 853

COURSE TITLE

INTERNATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

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Introduction

MPA 853: International Administration is a semester course work of two credit Units. It is only available to students undergoing a Master's degree in Public Administration.

The course comprises 21 Units involving the place of international administration in the nature and mode of operation of international organizations. The course will involve mostly, International Governmental Organization (IGOs); global and regional, economic blocs, and North-South dichotomy. The concept is to enable students get acquainted with how international organizations are administered and managed for effectiveness.

What You Will Learn in This Course

This course entitled "International Administration" introduces you to the nitty-gritty of international administration. It considers the factors that contribute to the development of the discipline as a field of study within the context of public administration. The course also explains United Nations as the main global organization, while international bureaucracy or international civil service is the engine of international administration. In addition, it examines the nature, approaches, and problems etc, as they relate to public administration in general, as well as its practice in various regions of the world.

Course Aim

This course aims at exposing students to how international organizations are administered; the politics involved in their administration, as well as the approaches used to explain their operations.

In view of the importance of administration in any human organization, the aim of the course is for students greater appreciation of the unique administration of international organizations. The aims will be realized by:

- Examining the elements of international administration
- Explaining the nature and development of international institutions.
- Illustrating the application of international law and morality to the regulation of international administration and international organisations
- Explaining the mode of operations of these institutions.
- Highlighting the politics involved in the actual functioning of international organizations.
- Describing the approaches to the management of these institutions.

- Describing the power and influence of the North over the South.
- Explaining the North /South relationship/dichotomy.
- Explaining decision making in the international context.
- Identifying the critical roles of these organizations in global affairs.

Course Objectives

At the end of the semester, you should be able to:

- Explain the nature and the development and roles of international organization worldwide, regional and specialized agencies.
- Explain and justify the international law governing international interactions and relations.
- Discuss the process of decision making in international context.
- Examine and explain the concept of international civil service.
- Discuss the current concept of human rights and environmental protection as issues of great importance to global institutions.
- Explain the effects of the application of international law and morality to global governance.

Working Through This Course

To complete this course, you are required to read the study Units, read set books, and read other materials provided by the National Open University of Nigeria (NOUN). Each Unit contains self-assessment exercises, and at a point in the course, you are required to submit assignment for assessment purposes. At the end of the course, is a final examination. The Course should take you about 16 to 17 weeks in total to complete.

Below you will find listed all the components of the course, what you have to do, and how you should allocate your time to each Units in order to complete the course successfully on time.

Below is the list of all the components of the course:

Course Materials

Major components of the course are:

Course Guide

Study Units

References

Assignment

Presentation Schedule

The Modules

The course is divided into 4 modules. The first module consists of six Units (1-6), the second module contains four Units (7-10), and the third comprises six Units (11-16), while the fourth contains five Units (17-21).

The entire work contains 42 self-assessment exercises and you are expected to attempt all.

Study Units

There are 21 Units in this course which should be studied carefully.

The first six Units introduces the students to conceptual issues, international bureaucracy and application of the international law and morality to international administration.

The seventh and eight Units are meant to introduce you to the twenty-first (21st) Century international system and the various problems confronting nations, which warranted and endorsed the necessity for international cooperation. Unit 9 discusses development of international organizations, while unit 10 addresses the issues concerning decision making process.

Unit 11 -16 examines approaches to international economic cooperation, while 17-19 treat forms of international organizations, unit 20 takes a historical and administrative look at the evolution of international civil service commission, while the last unit 21 discusses the Standards of Conduct for the International Civil Service.

Treatment of each Unit will not last less than two hours and it includes the introductions, objectives main content, exercise, conclusion, summary and tutor-marked question and references/further readings. Your regular practice of tutor-marked-assignments will greatly enhance your Understanding and by so doing the stated learning objectives will be achieved.

Assignment Files

There are 42 self-assessment assignments in this course. The forty-two course assignments which cover all the topics in the course material are here to guide you to have proper Understanding and grasp of the course.

Presentation Schedule

The presentation schedule included in your course materials gives you important dates of the year for the completion of tutor-marked assignments and for attending

tutorials. Remember you are required to submit all your assignments by the due dates. You should guard against falling behind in your work.

Assessment

There are three aspects to the assessment of the course: the first are self assessment exercises; second are the tutor-marked assignments; and the third is a written examination.

In taking the assignments, you are advised to be sincere in attempting the exercises; you are expected to apply information, knowledge and techniques gathered during the course. The assignments must be submitted to your tutor for formal assessment in accordance with the deadlines and process stated in the presentation schedule and the assignment file. The work you submit to your tutor for assessment will count for 30% of your total course mark.

Tutor-Marked Assignment (TMA)

In doing the tutor-marked assignments, it is expected that you would apply what you have learnt in the contexts of the study Units. These assignments take care of your continuous assessment of 30%.

Final Written Examination

At the end of the course, you will sit for final examination, which will attract the remaining 70%. This brings the total score to be 100%.

Good luck.

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Unit 4 International Decision Making

Module 3 Approaches To Cooperation Among Global Regions.

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Unit 2 North-South Relations

Unit 3 Approaches to North-South Cooperation

Unit 4 South and International Political Economy

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Unit 6 Specialized International Organizations

Module 4 Forms and Role of International Organization

Unit 1 Regional International Organizations

Unit 2 Global International Organization

Unit 3 The UN International Civil Service

Unit 4 The International Civil Service Commission

Unit 5 The Standards of Conduct for the International Civil Service

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- Describing the approaches to the management of these institutions.
- Describing the power and influence of the North over the South.
- Explaining the North /South relationship/dichotomy.
- Explaining decision making in the international context.
- Identifying the critical roles of these organizations in global affairs.

Course Objectives

At the end of the semester, you should be able to:

- Explain the nature and the development and roles of international organization worldwide, regional and specialized agencies.
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- Discuss the process of decision making in international context.
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The course is divided into 5 modules. The first module consists of four Units (1-4), the second module contains three Units (5-7), and the third comprises six Units (8-13), while the fourth contains three Units (14-16), the fifth contains three units (17-19).

The entire work contains 19 assignments and you are expected to attempt all.

Study Units

There are 19 Units in this course which should be studied carefully.

The first four Units introduces the students to conceptual issues, international civil service and variables influencing decision making process.

The fourth and six Units are meant to introduce you to the twenty-first (21st) Century international system and the various problem confronting nations which warranted and endorsed the necessity for international cooperation. Unit 7 discusses development of international organizations.

Unit 8 -13 examines approaches to international economic cooperation, while 14-15 treat forms of international organizations, unit 16 takes a historical and administrative look at the UN Secretariat. However, 17 – 19 discuss the evolution of international law and morality and the application of this law to virtually all the international organizations.

Treatment of each Unit will not last less than two hours and it includes the introductions, objectives main content, exercise, conclusion, summary and tutor-marked question and references/further readings. Your regular practice of tutor-marked-assignments will greatly enhance your Understanding and by so doing the stated learning objectives will be achieved.

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Good luck.

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Unit 1 Meaning and Importance of International Administration

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1.1 Introduction

International Administration is becoming more prominent as a concept, field of study and organizational activities. This is due to the reality of globalization and inevitable demand for formal global governance. It requires streamlining the professionals, structure and framework that can successfully deliver services to achieve the initiative. Thus, this unit would explain different perspectives to the concept of international administration, their common features and importance.

1.2 Objectives

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

- Explain different perspectives to the concept of international administration.
- Examine common features of the International Administration.
- Identify its benefits to the Professionals and International organizations.

1.3 Main Content

1.3.1 Conceptual Explanations

1.3.1.1 Meaning of Administration

The term 'administration' refers to the act of administering, the services rendered or duties assumed in conducting the affairs of an office or public affairs. It also describes a body or persons whose responsibilities entail the execution of laws and the superintendence of public affairs.

As an act of organization and management, Administration is not a recent concept because, every group of people at all levels of social, political, cultural or religious contacts have planned goals which can only be achieved by the organization, coordination, and management of the available human and non-human resources. It is a universal activity, which involves the organization and direction of persons to attain a specific end or objective.

Organization refers to the structural framework of establishments, while management is the personnel and technical knowledge required to galvanize resources in order to achieve the goals of the organization.

1.3.1.2 Concept of Public Administration

Public Administration does not have a universally accepted definition because different scholars, view public administration from different perspectives.

Public administration refers to the sum total of all the activities of organizations or groups, towards the accomplishment of the interests of the public.

Public administration is a broad and encompassing area of study; and as a result, one cannot with a sense of certainty point out the specific focus and scope of public administration. The field of public administration today transcends government circles and includes other areas, namely, schools, churches, mosques, markets, postal services, transportation, international relations, etc.

It relates to various levels of governance; subnational, national, and international. The definitions above agree that public administration is governmental in action. However, in recent times, the scope of public administration transcends the activities of government and its agencies (Erunke & Uchem, 2013).

1.3.1.3 Perspectives to International Administration

There are two perspectives to the meaning of International Administration: as a field of study and as an organizational activity.

1.3.1.3.1 International Administration as a Field of Study

International Administration can be described as a field that deals with the administration of International Organizations. It can also be referred to, as the study of administration and management of inter-states relations and global governance. It is the study of the process of identifying, analyzing, and managing the complex global problems through modern international institutions.

1.3.1.3.2 Scope

The scope of International Administration as a field of study include study, research and acquisition of relevant specialize skills in the following areas:

- International agreements
- Declarations
- Protocols
- Ideas and norms
- Development aid
- Foreign policies
- International trade
- Social and economic development
- Environmental protection,
- Human rights and International security
- Democratization
- State capacity development
- Gender equality

You can see that the list is endless, as long as the issue or phenomenon under consideration has implication for global governance and administration of inter-state activities.

1.3.1.3.3 Benefits

The studies, researches and training in International Administrations are significant in the following ways:

1.3.1.3.3.1 Benefits to the States

The State and Organizations that can benefit from the field include:

- Local, state and federal government agencies

- Regional and international organizations
- National and international public health-care management organizations
- Non-profit public service organizations
- Global relief and charitable groups
- Civil society movements
- Corporate and financial concerns
- Emergency management organizations

1.3.1.3.3.2 Benefits to the Professionals

Different professionals and trainees will benefit from the outcomes in the following ways:

- Understanding the function and structure of the global organizations
- Understanding the broader political, cultural and economic context in which they are operating.
- Ability to apply the skills in critical analysis and problem-solving to complex issues, which requires smart and timely responses.
- Acquiring the skills, necessary to work with people in multiple contexts and environments

1. 3.1.3.2 International Administration as Organizational Activities

International Administration as organizational activities can refer to any of the following three meaning:

Firstly, it may be a focus on the emergence and relevance of bureaucratic structures beyond the nation state, i.e. at the international level.

Secondly, it can also describe growing interactions between international or supranational politics, and its respective administration, with national politics and public administration on one hand and between non-state groups or actors and national bureaucracies on the other.

Thirdly, another way is to see it in terms of domestic administrative adaptations, either as a response to international developments or as an opportunity to influence international transformations.

International administration refers to the organization and management of resources of international organizations and overseas establishments such as embassies and peacekeeping forces.

International Administration also includes the bodies with a certain degree of autonomy, staffed by professional and appointed civil servants who are responsible for specific tasks and who work together, following the rules and norms of the International Organization in question.

Thus, International Administration is a specialty in the wider Public administration that focuses on the distinctive character and changing influence of various International Organizations in the delivery of services, as well as making and implementation of policies.

International administration comprises everything from international agreements, declarations, and protocols to ideas and norms, from development aid to foreign policies. It includes the administration of international institutions at various levels including bilateral and multilateral levels.

1.3.2 Features of the International Administration

The various existing International Administrations have peculiar features that reflect the objectives of the various Principals. However, the following are common features:

1.3.2.1 Administrative structure

International Administrations have intra-organizational structures and processes. International administrations have a permanent administrative bureau (secretariat/headquarters), a policy-making meeting of member countries at various intervals, separate organs representing economic and social groupings, a juridical institution to settle disputes or controversies, and a parliamentary organ.

1.3.2.2 Legal rules

They are products of basic legal documents, which define the legal rules guiding their internal operations, their mandate and competencies, as well as their interactions with other public and non-governmental organizations across different levels. These rules are subject to modification to reflect contemporary situations.

1.3.2.3 Finances

They depend on the budgetary resources allocated to them by their political principals to execute their tasks and specific objectives. This however subjects International Administrations to undue political control and oversight by their Principals in order to constrain bureaucratic autonomy.

1.3.2.4 Multilateral character and multiple principals

International administrations depend on the constituent member states as well as their political leaders, which influences their organizational culture and controls.

1.3.2.5 Authority

They depend largely on the member states in terms of resources, focus on policy formulation, and means to enforce their decisions directly. Their strong reliance on national administrations for the implementation of their policies is an indication that the continuous existence of any international administration depends on the desires of its member states, and its implementation capacity is reliant on the authorities and agencies of its members.

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

Examine various perspectives to the understanding of international administration and identify the distinguishing feature of each.

1.4 Conclusion

So far, you can observe that the complexity of global governance and growing numbers of inter-governmental organizations justifies the development of international administration. In the same way, the development also calls for initiatives on how to assemble teams of professionals across the globe to manage various peculiarities. Thus, the study of international administrations as a specialized field and as organizational activities comes handy.

1.5 Summary

This unit examines the imperative of international administration in the contemporary global order. In the process, it analyzes the concepts of international administration within the scope of wider public administration on one hand, and organizational activities for global governance on the other. The unit did not fail in identifying common features to various international organizations.

Describe how the study of International Administration can benefit the professionals.

1.6 Further Readings

Bauer, M; Knill, C. & Eckhard, S. (2017), "International Public Administration: A New Type of Bureaucracy? Lessons and Challenges for

Public Administration Research” in Bauer, M; Knill, C. & Eckhard, S. (eds.)*International Bureaucracy: Challenges and Lessons for Public Administration Research*, London/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.179-198.

Clive Archer, “International Organizations”, 3rd edition, New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

Erunke, R. & Uchem, C. (2013), “Nature and Scope of Public Administration”, *International Journal of Development and Sustainability*, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 177-182, Online ISSN: 2186-8662.

Unit 2 Relevance of International Administrations to Global Governance

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2.1 Introduction

International Administration is an institution or specialized organization of professionals, carefully established to carry out responsibilities that are essential for the achievement of organizational goals. Inter-governmental relations and global governance requires central management, hence, this unit would examine various responsibilities common to the International Administration, and their relevance to the global governance.

2.2 Objectives

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

- Identify the main functions of International Administrations
- Examine the importance of International Administrations to the contemporary international organizations
- Highlight common problems of international administrations

2.3 Main Content

2.3.1 Functions of International Administrations

International Administrations like other Public Administrations also perform important functions and deliver services to ensure quality management of resources across borders in the international system.

2.3.1.1 Articulation and Aggregation

International Administrations also perform the task of articulating and aggregating the interests of their members in the international system. The rationale for the formation of various coalitions, alliances, and institutions is to serve as instruments or platforms through which their members can articulate and aggregate their common interests. For instance, the main objective for establishing OPEC was to articulate and aggregate the interests of oil-exporting countries, fixing profitable oil prices, and employing oil as a weapon to achieve other common objectives. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) has structured its members into blocs, for efficient aggregating of interests in respect of trade and development.

2.3.1.2 Norms Creation

International Administrations, including both Inter-Governmental Organizations and International Non-Governmental Organizations, have played an enormous role as global institutions in creating norms in international relations. Laws and norms to ensure order and fairness govern the international system. These norms cover a wide range of issues from international security, economic and trade relations, and political issues. In terms of international security, normative activities of the UN include delegitimizing western colonialism, promoting nuclear non-proliferation, disarmament and arms control. There are established normative arrangements through the platform of General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, to improve trade and economic relations among nation states.

2.3.1.3 Recruitment

International Administrations also facilitate the recruitment of new actors into the international system. Inter-Governmental Organizations recruit newly independent states and non-state actors that have been on the scene in the last century. This provides incentives for non-self-governing territories to gain independence and represent their own interests in a wide range of Inter-Governmental Organizations. On the other hand, International Non-Governmental Organizations have also increasingly been recruiting new participants into the global political system.

2.3.1.4 Socialization

The absence of a world government weakens the socialization process at the international level, however, the available international administration still ensures that both state and non-state actors are effectively adapted and integrated into the international system. This process is in two dimensions:

Firstly, Multinational Corporations and other INGOs such as MacDonaldis, Microsoft, and the Scout Movement act as ‘agents of change’ economically, socially and culturally, by creating a form of global culture that can affect peoples’ systems of beliefs and patterns of behavior directly.

The second dimension of socialization occurs among the states and their representatives at the international level. States are socialized, and persuaded through formal and diplomatic ways, to act according to the acceptable general norms of the international community.

2.3.1.5 Rule Making

There are diverse sources of rules and laws governing the behaviors and actions of all actors, in the international system because, there is no central rule-making organ or institution in the international system. These rules can be in form of decisions, resolutions, recommendations, treaties, agreements, or conference declarations. The members of each institution are responsible for making rules to regulate the relationship of members. For instance, the European Union formulates rules for its member states and their citizens.

2.3.1.6 Rule Application

The Actors are responsible for the application of rules in the international system because there is an absence of government enforcement agencies like in the domestic political systems. The sovereign states mainly executes the task, however, Non-State actors have also been ensuring that the state governments observe the international norms and rules. A good example is the International Committee of the Red Cross and Amnesty International, who often supervise the application of international rules during wartimes and the implementation of the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights respectively.

2.3.1.7 Rule Adjudication

It refers to the legal process of resolving a dispute or deciding a case. At the national level, the judiciary is responsible for the adjudication of rules and laws. However, at the international level, institutions such as the International Court of Justice, the International Criminal Court, and the European Court of Justice adjudicates, though, the decisions are only binding on those member states who readily submit to their authority.

2.3.1.8 Information

It is the responsibility of International Administrations to collect, keep and disseminate information to the States. The globalization of ICT has simplified the task because most IGOs and INGOs now serve as forums to provide peculiar information to the public. The impact of WHO is evident in the management of Covid-19, by providing situation report at intervals to the governments, health professionals, researchers, and the public on the nature of the outbreak.

2.3.1.9 Operations

International Administrations, due to the advantage of globalization perform a variety of operational functions like the state governments to ensure an effective maintenance of international order. These operational functions include banking; performed by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, etc; Provision of aid by UN agencies and humanitarian INGOs, and Peacekeeping by peacekeeping forces.

2.3.2 Importance of International Administrations

The increasing interdependence among states due to the effects of globalization is the main reason why International Administration is becoming more indispensable. The main importance includes:

2.3.2.1 Growing relevance of the International Bureaucracy

International Administration is central to global governance. The international bureaucracy is becoming the new defining feature of global politics. The administrative apparatus of International organizations are increasing considerably due to their expanding scope and tasks. These international administrative bodies, their employees, procedural routines and the organizational structures significantly affect the modern global governance operation.

2.3.2.2 Designing and Sustaining Policy Solutions

International Administrations are very relevant, to design and sustain policy solutions necessary for global governance. They are involved in key state tasks like regulation, stabilization and redistribution.

Other activities include resolving climate change, combating transnational terrorism, fostering democratic practices and human rights, fighting contagious diseases, providing stability on the financial market, establishing fair rules for international trade, and channeling migration.

2.3.2.3 Acting as International Actors

International organizations are acting more as actors rather than just instruments or platforms for international relations. Administrative bodies at the international level have exercised their ability to 'set rules for the world'. These international bodies act with some degree of autonomy from their member states and formulate global public policies, even if these policies are contrary to the interests of the majority of member states.

2.3.2.4 Ensuring international peace and security

The significance of international administration is also evident in the process of conflict prevention, resolutions and post-conflicts rehabilitation through their bureaucracy and finances by their members. The interventions include demilitarization, establishment of a more secure environment, establishment of substantial autonomy of self-government, performing basic civil administrative functions in the absence of a national administration, overseeing the development of provisional democratic institutions of self-government, holding elections, overseeing the transfer of authority, and so on.

Self-Assessment Exercise

Examine the functions of the International Administrations within the context of a particular International Organization you are familiar with.

2.3.3 Problems of International Administrations

International Administration usually involves in initiating an effective strategy, appropriate organizational design and managing people in a cross-cultural environment. However, the following constraints are common to all:

- There is no one-fit all administrative structure or design, rather each reflects the decision of the members concerning the organizational objectives.
- There is problem, in developing international administrative standard, because of the conflicting national concept of administration.
- Another complex issue, which most International Administrations tries to cope with, is how to reduce the influence of dominant members in the formulation of personnel policy, and procedure that is appropriate to the international character of the secretariat.
- There is also, the problem of Administrative, program coordination, and control, due to the continuous procedural changes and differences in employees' background.
- There is an increasing need for a common system of rules for the governance of international civil service, because of the issues

concerning interpretations and enforcement of the international administrative law on the operation of various International Administrations.

- The nature of power and capacity of international organizations affects the impact of International Administrations in the international political and economic system, because they depend on member states in executing their mandates. This is attributable to the failure of the League of Nations in preventing violent conflicts in Manchuria, Ethiopia and some Latin American states, and inability to prevent the outbreak of World War II (WWII).
- Closely related to the above is the issue of understaffing and undue state interference. This is largely due to insufficient funding and intrigues among members concerning their national interests.

2.4 Conclusion

From the discussion so far, you can deduce that International Administration are creations of international organizations for purpose of managing their activities centrally by professionals. This is in line with what obtains at national and subnational levels, where there are significant achievement that worth being replicated at international level.

2.5 Summary

The unit examines the relevance of the International Administrations. In the process, it identifies the basic functions and importance of international administrations in the process of global governance. It also highlights some of the constrains to its effectiveness.

2.6 Tutor-Marked Assignment

Explain why international administrations are indispensable in the contemporary global order.

2.7 Further Readings

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Unit 3 International Bureaucracy

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3.1 Introduction

Bureaucrats are known worldwide as technocrats that specialize in administration, most especially public administration. They are usually referred to as international civil service. The gradual increase in numbers of international organizations at every level: sub-national, national, and international together with, the expansion in the scope of their activities precipitates the demand for this category of human resources across board. International Administration as a specialty of the Public Administration also has its own share of the surge. Thus, this unit examines what the concept connotes in international administration, and what importance it is to global governance.

3.2 Objectives

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

- Explain the concept of international bureaucracy
- Describe its basic features
- Analyze its importance in global governance
- Trace the background of modern International bureaucracy

3.3 Main Content

3.3.1 Meaning of International Bureaucracy

International bureaucracy, also known as international civil service, refers to the international executive bodies within the international system that function autonomously of nation states and deal with international affairs. These non-state actors are considered an important and increasingly contested feature of global politics. They can be described as the international civil service, which constitute the administrative policy-making institutions that perform functions necessary for the smooth running of the international system. International bureaucracies also include the permanent secretariats of international organizations; hence, they are separate from the other organs or institutions that make up an international organization.

International bureaucracies are Non-state actors in the international system. The international bureaucracies are non-elected executive bodies distinct from other institutions comprising government representatives involved in international administration. Usually, they are the administrative organ of

an international organization, situated at a permanent location, with the responsibility of coordinating resources to execute policies using a high degree of specialized expertise.

The contemporary international political system has witnessed the involvement and recruitment of more actors other than sovereign states. The bureaucratization of the international system can be attributed to the effectiveness of this form of administration at the national and international level. More than 5000 international organizations now exist in order to regulate global and regional political, economic and technical affairs.

International bureaucracies do not operate in a political vacuum; hence, they reflect the changes in the political and economic environment in which they operate, and the nature of the issues under consideration. The end of the Cold War and the rise of globalization led to significant changes in the world's political, economic and social issues, which raised international concern on the essence of international organizations and the roles they would play in the new international order.

3.3.2 Features of International Bureaucracy

Just like any other bureaucracy, international bureaucracies possess the following features:

They are hierarchical organizations whose operations are governed by formal rules and regulations. They are vertically specialized bureaucracies with an administrative leader at the top, and delegation of authority from the top to the bottom. They have a formalized division of labor, hold regular meetings, and have permanent personnel mostly recruited on the principle of merit. There are other support personnel, which are a more flexible set of contracted temporary staff. Like the bureaucracies at the national level, the staffs take an oath of undivided loyalty to the international bureaucracy.

3.3.3 Importance of International Bureaucracy

International bureaucracies and their huge numbers of civil servants are major actors in world politics and global governance, as exemplified by the UN. Their operations cover virtually all human endeavors; from telecommunication, to shipping, trade, science, environment, technology transfer, air and water transportation, and so on.

They have been influencing policy-making at both national and international levels. However, the level of their influence varies, depending on their political relevance and the issue in question. The influence of

international bureaucrats also depends on the relations between the policy advice and the policy concerns of member states.

The operations of international bureaucracies are also important to interstate relations. They often undertake administrative functions in assisting with multilateral negotiations, policy formulation and implementation, drafting proposals and so on. Furthermore, they serve as knowledge brokers, negotiation facilitators, and capacity builders.

International bureaucracies are also relevant for inter-organizational relations. International bureaucrats working in international organizations also help states to design new IGOs with the aid of their expertise and experience. Their level of involvement could however vary from simply providing secretariat services for States' negotiations to being actively involved in designing and initiating negotiations. Bureaucrats from the WHO and five other secretariats were instrumental to the formation and design of the UNAIDS, a joint UN program on HIV/AIDs.

3.3.4 Background

The background of the modern bureaucracy can be traced to the signing of the treaty of Westphalia in 1648, which signals the beginning of the modern states system in Europe. Members of the international community maintained relations with each other through diplomatic channels and the occasional treaties. Contacts between states were still restricted, while the customary international law regulated their relations.

This situation however changed in the nineteenth century partly due to the changed political situation and the rapid growth of commerce. The need for international devices to deal with problems such as communication, transportation, sanitation, and trade on a permanent and business-basis arose. Sovereign states resented this new development and were not favorably disposed to the rules and norms that might restrict their sovereign powers.

They attempted to address these problems through separate treaties that would serve as a guideline to administrators at the national level. However, the initiative became inadequate and international actions became inevitable, and states had to compromise by delegating power to protect their national interests.

The first international agency created was the Central Rhine River Commission in 1804 with the objective of regulating the navigation of the Rhine due to the existing conflicting local levies and regulations.

The benefit of this intervention to inter-state relations strengthened the effort at institutionalizing international administration. Furthermore, globalization facilitated a stronger and more influential institutional transnational and supranational new public order, which breaks the traditional boundaries of the state.

In addition, there were proliferation of specialized international agencies to address different international concerns including; international trade, industry, finance, international health, morals, the advancement of science, international security and so on.

The post-WWII era also witnessed increase in global interactions with the rise of international non-governmental organizations in the international system. New actors who are equally significant were recruited in international administration, including Multinational or Transnational Corporations, Business international non-governmental organizations, and transnational individuals.

Due to developments and increasing relevance of these international agencies, most of them have evolved and consequently possess the bureaucratic autonomy, which entails, the development of distinct organizational goals, preferences and culture. They now have a strong bureaucratic reputation and technical expertise and experiences on world issues.

However, it is imperative to note that the capacity and powers to administer the global political, social and economic system of any international institution depends on members.

Self-Assessment Exercise

Study this unit properly and identify differences between national and international bureaucracy.

3.4 Conclusion

It is a fact that international bureaucracy is vital to the continuity, stability and efficiency of international organizations. This assertion underscores the practice of having a non-permanent political leadership whose tenures are usually fixed for a short duration of years, while some of them combine their national assignments. Therefore, it requires an efficient bureaucracy, for professional planning and coordination of various activities.

3.5 Summary

This unit examines the most important part of international administration, which is the international bureaucracy. It constitutes the permanent structure of international organizations that actually drives global governance. The unit also discusses the background of modern bureaucracy, its main features and its importance.

3.6 Tutor-Marked Assignment

Examine the relevance of the international bureaucracy to the achievement of the objectives of international organizations.

3.7 Further Reading

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Unit 4 International Decision Making

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4.6 Tutor-Marked Assignment

4.7 References/Further Reading

4.1 Introduction

Organizations, be it national or international, are deliberate constructs in the sense that they are set up to pursue certain clearly spelt out goals and objectives. These objectives can be achieved by the effective utilization of the human element who act for and on behalf of their employers. In carrying their assigned duties, they have to take decisions that would help them achieve maximally. If, at any time, a decision takes turns, if bad they receive the blame, and if good, they share the praise. These decision makers constitute severally and collectively the actors in the organization.

Since decision-making is a Universal culture in all human organizations, analysis of decisions to be taken are usually carried out or done. This aptly applies to the international outer as well. Usually at the international level, not only are there many actors, but also actors diverse in social, economic, and political characteristics. Most commonly, analysts use three levels of analysis. The levels are system-level analysis, state-level analysis and individual-level analysis.

System-level analysis is a worldview that adopts a "top-down" approach to analyzing global decision-making. This level theorizes that the world's social-economic-political structure and pattern of interaction (the international system) strongly influence the policies of states and other international actors. Therefore Understanding the structure and pattern of the international system will lead to how decisions are made at the international level.

State-level analysis is a view in which the concern is with the characteristics of an individual country and the impact of those traits on the country's behavior. This level theorizes that states (countries) are the key international actors. Therefore, Understanding how states as complex organizations decide policy will lead to Understanding how international politics operate.

Individual-level analysis is a view in which the focus is on people. This level argues that in the end, people make policy. Therefore, Understanding how people (individuals, groups) decide on policy will enable us Understand how international politics operate. This level of analysis deals with how decisions are made and therefore it will be the only one to be treated fully in this Unit.

4.2 Objectives

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

- appreciate the individual-level analysis
- Understand how each level influences decision-making
- Understand the roles economic, social and political factors play in individual decision making

4.3 Main Content

4.3.1 Individual - Level Analysis

What are the characteristics of the complex powers of human decision-making? Scholars have identified the following: gathering information, analyzing that information, establishing goals, considering options and making policy choices. The human role can be examined from three different angles namely human nature, organizational behavior which looks at how humans interact within organized settings such as a decision-making group, the human behavior perspective explores how the idiosyncratic behavior of specific humans affect foreign policy.

4.3.1.1 Human Nature

How do fundamental human characteristics shape policy? First we must understand that humans have limited and flawed decision-making abilities because people are Unable to intellectually and physically learn and process all the information required to make full rational decision. Second, human beings have emotions that twist their judgment. However, there is no such thing as a truly rational decision. Human limit on rationality can be learnt by examining cognitive, psychological, and biological factors in decision-making.

4.3.1.2 Cognitive Factors

This means that humans necessarily make decisions within the limits of what they consciously know and are willing to consider. But there is a limit to what a decision maker knows or can know, hence cognitive decision making is also called "bounded rationality". External boundaries of any

decision maker include such factors as missing or erroneous information and the inability of any decision maker to know for sure what decision makers in another country are thinking or how they will react to various policy options. Internal boundaries that explain cognitive limits include every decision makers intellectual and physical limits. No decision maker has the vast intellectual or physical capacity all-too-human internal restraints on rational decision making. People regularly ignore information that they find emotionally Unacceptable.

Foreign policy decisions are also made within the limits of bounded rationality. Therefore, a key issue involves how policy makers cope with various cognitive limits on rational decision making. There are many mental cope with cognitive limits. These include seeking cognitive consistency (trying to fit information into your own term of reference), willful thinking (believing that a policy choice will be successful because of the emotional state you have in the decision once made), limiting the scope of the decision (making small or incremental decisions to avoid mistakes), and using heuristic devices (such as stereotypes or historical analogy to imply the world around you).

4.3.1.3 Psychological Factors

Frustration-aggression theory is one of the theories that focuses on common psychological traits of human kind which helps to explain behavior. It argues that frustrated societies sometimes became collectively aggressive. For example, mass frustration promoted the rise of Adolph Hitler and German aggression in World War II. After the war, Germans were embittered by the harsh economic and political terms imposed by victors, resulted in 1700% inflation and economic devastation of Germany during the 1920s and treatment of her as a political pariah.

4.3.1.4 Biological Factor

Many biological theories provide yet another way to explain human behavior in the so-called nature-versus nurture argument. The question is the degree to which human actions are based on animal instinct and other innate emotional and physical divine (nature) or based on socialization and intellect (nurture) with reference to politics. Biopolitics examines the relationship between the physical nature and political behavior of humans. Ethnology and gender would help illustrate this.

The comparison of animal and human behavior is called ethnology. The ethnologists argue that like animals, humans behave in a way that is based partly on innate characteristics. They argue that territoriality – the drive to gain, maintain, and defend the exclusive right to a piece of property – is an

animal instinct and if man is a part of the natural world, then he possesses territorial drive as one ancient animal foundation for that human conduct known as war. Indeed, territorial disputes are a common cause of war. War is a highly probable event in cases where contiguous states disagree about the location of their shared boundaries e.g. the war between Ethiopia and Eritrea. While some territorial clashes are rational, others are not. The example of Eritrea and Ethiopian war was irrational.

Scholars are beginning to take a look at the questions of whether or not gender makes a difference in the political attitudes and actions of policy makers. Fukuyama believes that political violence is a product, in part, of male-dominated politics because it is primarily men who enjoy the experience of aggressions and the camaraderie (the fellowship and goodwill shown to each other by comrades) it brings one who revel (enjoy) in the acts of war. He believes a world dominated by women would be less prone to conflict and more conciliatory and cooperative than the one we inhabit now. But historical evidence shows that in some cases the world had produced international female leaders who could be regarded as tough and sometimes aggressive in their positions as leaders of government such as Israeli Golda Meir, India's Indira Gandhi, and Great Britain's Margaret Thatcher.

4.3.2 Organizational Behaviour

This approach is concerned with how people act in organizations. Just as overall cultural setting influences how we behave, so do the more specific pressures of our positions and the dynamics of group interaction affect the way we behave. Hence the organizational behavior of humans significantly influences the decision-making process of governments as well as the operations of others types of groups. The concepts of "role behavior" and "group decision-making behavior" are useful to explain how humans act in organizational settings.

4.3.2.1 Role Behavior

Role behavior refers to the attitudes and behavior we adopt by virtue of the position we occupy e.g. as a teacher or family head or president. Policy makers also play vital roles. The script for a role is derived from two sets of expectation about how an actor should think and behave. Self-expectations are one important source of role. Behaviors in a given portion is based on what an individual expects himself or herself. Expectations of others are the

second important source of role behavior. We behave in certain ways because of what others expect of us in a particular role, such expectations are transmitted by cues that leaders receive from advisers, critics, and public opinion about how they, in the role of leader, should act. One common role expectation is that leaders should be decisive and do things. A leader who approaches a problem by "I don't know what to do" will be accused of weakness. Therefore, leaders tend to take action even when it might be better to wait or not to act at all. For example, during the Cuban crisis (1979-1981) former U.S. President Carter, summoned the meeting of his security advisers to discuss the possibility of freeing the hostages, while some supported the use of force, others did not endorse force and what informed each stand on the issue is the fact of role-playing.

4.3.2.2 Group Decision Making Behavior

There are so many theories about decision-making in a group setting, but for this purpose, the most important aspect of organizational decision-making is the tendency toward "groupthink". The main cause of groupthink is pressure within decision-making groups to achieve consensus. Consensus may be a true meeting of minds, but it also may be the product of leaders and groups ignoring or supporting dissidents, discordant information, and policy options, or of subordinates being afraid to offer discordant options or information.

The urge for consensus that characterizes groupthink limits the policy alternatives available. It has some effects. Groupthink may limit policy choices through incremental decision making, which sticks to established policy or make only marginal changes. It also often makes policy makers to adopt the policy that is least objectionable rather than optional policy. Third it may lead to the question. Do poor, decisions result in policy failures? The answer is yes. Decision-making that falls victim to groupthink, invariably does not achieve optional foreign policy.

4.3.3 Idiosyncratic Behavior

This approach emphasizes the peculiar characteristics of political leaders. Idiosyncratic analysis assumes that individuals make foreign policy decisions and those different individuals are likely to make different decisions. This approach includes examining biographies and memoirs as political histories.

What are the internal factors that motivated the decision maker? There are five basic characteristics of individual decision makers: personality, physical and mental health, ego and ambition, political history and personal experiences, and perception.

In any organization, decisions are made by individuals and that the personalities of these decision-makers influence what they do. For instance, personalities of leaders have to do with either the outbreak of war or the maintenance of peace. A leader's basic orientations towards self and toward others, behavioral patterns and attitude impact on policy. The most well known of these places political personality along an active - passive and a positive - negative scale. Active leaders are policy innovators; passive leaders are reactors. Positive personalities have egos strong enough to enjoy (or at least accept) the contentious political environment; Negative personalities are apt to feel burdened, even abused, by political criticism. Many scholars prefer active-positive leaders. Activists, for example, may feel compelled to try solve every problem. Irrespective of the best combination, it is widely agreed that the worst is active-negative. Active-negative leaders always frown at criticism and their opponents are enemies. Most military leaders of state in Africa fall into this group.

Another factor that can affect decision making is a leader's physical and mental health. If a leader is not healthy he would not be able to concentrate and work for long periods or hours and would make him accept concessions to the detriment of his country.

As regards ego and personal ambition, it is believed it can also influence policy. Leaders especially male, sometimes works to make leaders want to appear tough for example, toughness of Saddam Hussein made him to invade Kuwait. This daring spirit, it is believed is in his name. His original name was Hussein al-Takrit but on ascension of power, he added Saddam an Arabic word meaning "one who is confronts".

History shapes a political leader's approach toward problems. According to philosopher George Santayana, those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it. Or any one that ignores the general lessons is at his peril. For example, the traumatic events of World War II experienced taught Europe and America that compromise with aggressive dictators would only encourage them to overstep their bounds as the history of France and Great Britain reveals. British and French agreed at the Munich conference to appease German by letting her annex the Sudetenland region of Czechoslovakia. This made Hitler to almost conquer the whole Europe.

Perceptions are images of reality. It constitutes the fifth peculiar element that influences their leaders approach to decision making. The information that decision makers receive from their bureaucracies or elsewhere is an important source of perception. Regardless of their source, perceptions have a number of characteristics and impacts that are important to world politics.

The connection between perception and policy is the concept of operational reality. Policy makers tend to act, or operate, based on perceptions, regardless of whether they are accurate or not. The American perceptions of terrorism as experienced by her on September 11, 2001 dominates U.S. policy and has led to support every measure or program aimed at standing or curbing out terrorism on earth, especially in places like Afghanistan, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria etc.

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

Almost all the factors involved in decision making have been analyzed. You should be able to discuss these factors paying adequate attention to areas that are relevant to international issues.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

The human role in decision-making process have been examined Under three major different perspectives. Discuss these perspectives and show the extent to which they affect decision-making in a cultural setting.

4.4 Conclusion

Organizations all over the world usually take decisions after a painstaking and rigorous analysis of the issues at stake has been done. In most cases, products of such analysis are expected to be good if not the best. But human limitations usually affect the quality of decisions taken because at the point of taking decisions, all the data and information necessary for comprehensive and unimpeachable (i.e. unquestionable) decisions are never available. Hence no decision is ever qualified to be regarded as perfect; we talk of decision being good or fair or for high quality.

4.5 Summary

Individual-level analysis studies international politics by examining the role of human as actors on the world stage. It can be approached from three different perspectives: one examines important human nature, the other how people act in organization and the third focuses on the motivations and actions of specific persons.

The human nature approach examines basic human traits such as cognitive, psychological, and biological factors which may shape decision-making. Cognitive factors include cognitive decision making, cognitive consistency, willful thinking limiting the scope of decisions. Frustration aggression is the primary psychological factor considered, while biological factors include ethnology and gender. The organization-behavior approach studies

and role factors: how people act in certain personal or professional positions affect decisions.

The idiosyncratic-behavior approach explores the factors that determine the perceptions, decisions, and actions of specific leaders. A leader's personality, physical and mental health, ego and ambition, Understanding of history and personal experiences are all factors. Perceptions are especially important to Understanding how leaders respond to the world issues.

4.6 Tutor-Marked Assignment

1. Identify three approaches to decision making
2. Discuss the three different perspectives from which individual level analysis indecision-making can be Understood. Illustrate with local concrete examples.

4.7 References/Further Reading

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Module 2 Development of International Administration

Unit 1 The Twenty-first Century International System

Unit 2 Transnational Problems and International Cooperation

Unit 3 Development of International Organizations

Unit 1 The Twenty-First Century International System

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1.1 Introduction

The twentieth century witnessed the most rapid evolution of the international system. The bipolar system declined as other countries and transnational actors became more important as the expense of continuing confrontation strained America and soviet budget resources, and the relative power of the two super powers declined. The bipolar system ended in 1991 when the Soviet Union collapsed. During this century, nationalism also Undermined the foundations of multiethnic empires. For example, the colonial empires dominated by Great Britain, France, and other European powers also came to an end.

There are numerous new trends, uncertainties, and choices to make as we enter the twenty-first century. There is the possibility of some form of modified multi-polar system. The international organizations have become much more numerous and more central to the operation of the international system. In this Unit, factors and trends that will affect the world system in the twenty-first century are examined. These include political structure and orientation, security, international economic and the quality of life.

1.2 Objectives

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

- discuss those factors that led to the weakening of the western orientation of the international system
- appreciate the extent to which economic interdependence and economic disparity between the EDCs and LDCs affect the international system
- emphasize values placed on the quality of life and environmental protection globally by the international community

1.3 Main Content

1.3.1 Political Orientation and Organization

Many important changes are taking place in the political orientation and organization of the international system. These changes including the emerging polar structure, the western orientation of the system is weakening, and the authority of the state is being challenged from without and within.

1.3.1.1 The Emerging Polar Structure

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the bipolar structure, an even more important change is the now-evolving international system.

What will it be like? The world may once again return to a multi-polar structure, one that is structured and operates much like the system before the World War II. This is because China, Germany, Japan, Russia, India and the United States may each play a polar role.

A future multi-polar system may be characterized by pattern alliances that may be more complex and fluid than the old bipolar system. Who is allied with whom and in opposition to whom will depend more on individual issues and on shifting circumstances than on a fixed alliance system. For instance, trade relations among the western countries are strained.

Also, the power of the major states will be limited or restrained by international organizations, international law, and independence or a global or regional organization could become a pole. Whether is the case, the system that is emerging will differ from those of a traditional multi-polar system.

1.3.1.2 The Weakening Western Orientation of the International System

The weakening of the dominant western orientation is caused by the expansion of the majority of these new countries in Africa, Asia, and others. China has become a stronger voice in international affairs and quite

a few have achieved enough power to command the centre stage. Also the group of 77 countries have joined together and formed movements and organizations to promote their interests. Moreover, non-western countries now constitute majority in the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA).

While most of their countries have many differences, they nevertheless share some commonalities such as being former colonies of the North, poor economically, and a heavy ethnic or racial makeup. A good number of these non-western countries have value systems that are markedly different from the western values that form the basis of current international law, concepts of human rights, and other standards in the international system. Hence, their endorsement caused extensive changes in the international system. The overall effect of all this is that the perspectives and demands of their countries are largely changing the focus of world political and economic debate.

1.3.1.3 Challenges to the Authority of the State

While the changing polar structure of states and the rise in importance of non-western states determine the dynamics of the emerging international system, the system is also being affected by the fact that there are other actors in the world drama apart from the states.

It is also believed that the forces (political, economic and social pressures) of MacWorld are breaking down the importance and authority of states and involving the world toward a much higher degree of political, economic and social integration. The increasing number, and importance of international organizations such as the United Nations and the World Trade Organization (W.T.O) is a typical example of political integration. Countries are no longer free to impose Unilateral decisions in trade disputes, they are, instead, Under intensive pressure to submit disputes to the WTO for resolution.

Economic independence in the global economy means that countries are increasing less self-inefficiencies as national governments have a decreasing ability to manage their own economy. Rather, global trade, international monetary exchange, and other financial flows in the global market place play an important role in determining the jobs we have, country's rate of inflation etc. This loss of economic controls reduces the general authority of a state.

Scholars also believe social integration is a factor because they believe that the world is being integrated or even homogenized by the habits of cooperation and cultural Understanding that result from rapid travel and communication and from increased economic interchange of goods and

services as people of different countries trade between themselves at an even increasing rate. The worldwide web gives almost instant global access to a wealth of information; e-mail has revolutionized communications; English is becoming something of a lingua franca for diplomacy, business, and other form of international interaction. Given these facts, there are indications that the world people are now moving toward living in a more eternally homogenized global village, hence thereby weakening inward-looking nationalism.

Many states are sometimes collapsing because of a number of pressures including evasive ethnic rivalries, in Europe (former Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia), Asia (east Timor declared independence from Indonesia), Soviet Union dissolved into 15 independent countries and in Africa (the Hutu and Tutsi in Rwandan, Somalia exists as a unified state in name only) among others. This development is what Barber has referred to as Jihad.

1.3.1.4 Security

In today's world, security responsibility rests squarely on individual countries which try to maintain a military capability to defend their natural interests, other countries assist the weaker ones only if their national interest is at stake. For example, Kuwait provides a good example of this because the US assisted her because of America oil interest.

In the process of ensuring national security, great amount of resource have been lost. During the decade 1989-1998, total world military expenditure or spending amounted to \$9.2 trillion, about one 1/3 of which was US military spending. Second, during the last century about 111million people were killed in wars. Third, it has led to the production of deadly nuclear biological and chemical weapons which have contributed in no small measure to destroy the social and geographical environment.

All this development has forced the political system not only to work toward averting wars but also to enter into treaties to deal with strategic nuclear weapons, chemical weapons, land mines, nuclear weapon proliferation etc. International security forces are another relatively new thrust in search of security. United Nations peacekeeping forces provide the most significant example of this approach to security. There are now calls for a permanent UN army that will be handy for immediate use by the UN.

1.3.2 International Economics

Economic interdependence and economic disparity between the wealthy North and the relatively less developed South affect the international system. The growth of economic interdependence is one significant change

in the international system since the Second World War. Countries now depend on one another.

One factor that has promoted economic interdependence is free flow of trade, investment capital and national currencies across national borders. One important impact of interdependence on usually every citizen in every country is that global finance affects everything from the prices of essentials of life to the interest paid on loans, mortgages and other debts. To deal with this interdependence, a hush of global and regional economic organizations such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Trade Organization (WTO) were created and strengthened. Association of South east Asian Nation (ASEAN), the European Union, Mercosur in South America and the North American free Trade agreement (NAFTA).

The word to integration is not smooth nor is its future certain. Already, there are trade and monetary tensions which exist among countries. Citizens of some countries are opened to surrendering their country's sovereignty to the UN, the WTO or any other international organization. Some others are concerned with worker's rights, product safety, and the environment etc. So these worries are potential dangers to interdependence.

1.3.2.1 Economic Disparity between North and South

The terms North and South are used to denote two economic spheres- the wealthy and industrialized economically developed countries (EDCs) in the Northern Hemisphere and the less developed countries which are near or in the Southern Hemisphere. One basic fact however is that the economic circumstances of countries are not truly dichotomized; they range from general wealthy US to miserable poor Bangladesh. There are however, some countries of the South that have achieved substantial industrialization and where standards of living have risen rapidly. They are called newly industrialized countries (NICs) e.g. China, India, Brazil etc. Moreover there are wealthy people in the South and many poor people in the North.

The North is predominantly a place of reasonable economic security, literacy, and adequate health care. On the other hand, the lives of the people of the South are often marked by poverty, illiteracy, rampant disease, and early death. The big gap in wealth between the North and the South has devastating consequence for the poor. The children of the poor suffer an unconscionable mortality rate that is almost seven times greater than the infant mortality rate in the North countries.

A ramification of the weakening western orientations of the international system is that this economic inequity is causing increased tension in the

North-South relationship, the South is no longer prepared to accept a system which is not evenly distributed. The South blamed its poverty on the past colonialist suppression and efforts by the North to keep the South economically and politically weak- as sources of cheap raw materials and labor.

Moreover, they also rebelled against the North's control of the IMF and other international financial organizations. For instance, the Asian "Tigers" attributed the collapse of their economy of 1997 to the North's conspiracy to Kuwait during their booming development. Whether this conspiracy theory is correct or not, the fact is that, Christ must be made either for the wealthy countries not to take account of the vast difference in economic conditions between themselves and the South or to do more to help. Both alternatives carry enormous costs.

1.3.3 The Quality Of Life

During the last few decades of 20th century, there were a lot of changes affecting the quality of human life and that will continue to influence world politics. Pressuring human rights and the environment are two matters worthy of particular mention.

1.3.3.1 Human Rights

Human rights violations are not new, it is an age long experience but what is new is that the world has started to take them more serious than before across borders. The change that is going on nowadays involves the norms of behavior that help regulate and characterize any political systems. Behavior in virtually all-political systems is regulated not by coercion, but voluntary compliance. For example, the values about the conduct of war are changing and attacks on civilians are being formed at and this informed the setting up of the International Court of Justice to try cases of mistreatment in Bosnia, Rwanda, and Sierra-Leone.

There have also been attempts to protect the rights of women against discrimination which resulted in a series of international conference on the status of women in Beijing in 1995.

Many human rights treaties have been signed and the issue has begun to attract more and more attention not only at the local or national scene, but also globally. However, it will be a lie to pretend that the end of human rights abuse is imminent. In sum, it is now an issue of great concern to presidents and prime minister all over the world.

1.3.4 The Environment

One aftermath of the industrial revolution has been the mounting degradation of biosphere or environment. Like the human rights, it is not new, and indeed is equally receiving senior attention at the world stage, international efforts to protect the environment has commenced. But the greatest challenge now is to achieve sustainable development, that is, to continue to develop economically while at the same time protecting the environment. Even though progress is slow but it is reassuring that progress is being made. It is now believed that environment degradation constitutes a major threat to national military and economic interests. It has also been realized that there is need to strike a balance between economic development and environmental protection by almost all nations of the world. For example, family planning and environmental protection are of fundamental importance to sustainable economic growth.

However, achieving sustainable development will not be easy for such countries such as China who will need enormous assistance to develop in an environmentally responsible way. Hence many observers believe the North also bear a great deal of the cash. These observers based their opinion on three reasons; one, the North is much wealthier than the South; second, the North has historically emitted 70% of the carbon dioxide (Co) despite having less than one-quarter of the world population. Third, they should assist the South out of sheer self-interest because the LDCs produce just an infinitesimal (small) percentage of carbon dioxide relative to EDCs.

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

It is discussed in this Unit that the 21st century is a turning point in the life of the international community as the influence of western orientation on the international system has been dividing. You would need to discuss some of the factors responsible for this development.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

The forces of Macworld constitute a serious challenge to the authority of the states, demonstrate the extent of this.

1.4 Conclusion

No doubt, the twenty-first century has a lot of important issues that were carried out form the penultimate century, to begin with. How to really minimize the influence of the western orientation is one. The handling of such issues as economic interdependence, economic disparity between the “haves” and “have-nots”, protection of human rights as well as how to protect the environment against degradation and pollution constitute

another. However, it is gratifying to note that there is now high level of awareness as to how central the latter set of issues are not only to the world peace and security but also to the global economic development.

1.5 Summary

The bipolar system declined as other countries and transnational actors became more important as the expense of continuing confrontation strained American and soviet budget resources and the relative power of the powers declined. The bipolar system came to an end in 1991 when the Soviet Union collapsed and disintegrated. The twenty first century consequently was faced with new trends Uncertainties, and choices to make. The question that followed is what system will succeed the bipolar system. Some modified multi-polar system?

The other development is the weakening of western orientation. The influence of this orientation on the international system has been challenged and the emergence of new powers like China, Japan, India and Brazil is bringing about changes in this orientation.

The international economy is also changing in ways with serious implication for the twenty-first century for one, economic inter-dependence has advanced rapidly.

1.6 Tutor-Marked Assignment

Discuss some of the fundamental issues and challenges confronting the Twenty-first century.

1.7 References/Further Reading

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Unit 2 Transnational Problems and International Cooperation

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2.1 Introduction

Transnational problems refer to those globally shared problems or issues of common interest, which require exchange of information and services. Fundamental among these problems are the ecological state of the world, and sustainable development. Sustainable development is how the Third World can continue to sustain development and protect its environment and this is the link with the ecological state of the world.

2.2 Objectives

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

- demonstrate the universality of these issues
- prove that the solutions attempted by individual countries will not be enough to solve the problems humans face collectively.

2.3 Main Content

2.3.1 The Ecological State of The World

In the view of the environmental pessimist, the rapidly growing world population coupled with the expanding global economy are outgrowing the earth's ecosystems and evidence of this can be seen in the shrinking forests, eroding soils, falling water tables, rising temperatures, disappearing plants and animal species. This development it is opined, can make the world face "wholesale ecosystem collapse". To prevent this, will require a massive Undertaking by any historical yardstick. Some pessimistic analysts also believe or foresee "environmental scarcities" which may eventually lead to future warfare among nations. For instance, scarcities of renewable resources are already causing some conflicts in the world.

Environmental optimists take a different view of the world and its future. They expressed the view that the sky remains safely in its traditional location and that with reasonable prudence, there is no need to fear for the future. It is their argument that we will be able to meet our needs and continue to grow economically through conservation, population controls, and most importantly, technological innovation. They believe that new technology can find and develop oil fields; synthetic can replace natural resources, and fertilizers hybrid seeds, and mechanization can increase acreage yields. Desalinization and weather control can meet water demands. Energy can be drawn from nuclear, solar, thermal, wind, and hydroelectric sources.

It is however, instructive to note that the optimists do not dismiss the problems that the world faces. They believe that progress does not come automatically and that the world needs the best efforts of all humanity to improve its lot. This effort will be provided by people who are skilled, spirited and hopefully young. People who will exert their wills and imaginations for their own benefit and the rest of the world would also benefit.

2.3.2 Sustainable Development

Industrialization and science have been two-edged swords in their relationship to the environment and the quality of human life. Positively, industrialization has vastly expanded global wealth, especially for the Economically Developed Countries(EDCS). Science has created synthetic substances that enhance our lives; medicine has dramatically increased our chances of living long. Yet on the negative side, industries consume natural resources and discharge pollutants into the air, ground, and water. Synthetic substances enter the food chain as carcinogens, refuse to degrade, and have other baleful effects. Decreased infant mortality rates and increased hunger have been major factors behind the world's skyrocketing population growth.

However, all these phenomena are the effects of modernization, which are Unlikely to be reversed. The problem is how do we protect the biosphere and advance human socio-economic development. This confusing problem covers specific issues such as population, habitat destruction, and pollution. While this concern may be immediate and critical to the pessimists, the optimists would agree that the challenge would be vastly compounded if you were touring the industrial production and standard-of-living levels of the ready 5billion people who live in Less Developed Countries(LDCs) in the South up to the levels enjoyed by the less than 1billion people who live in the North.

2.3.2.1 The Conundrum of Sustainable Development

If the minority of the world's population who live in EDCs use most of the resources and create most of the pollution, how can the South develop economically without accelerating the ecological decline that already exists? Suppose China were economically developed and her emissions were equal to that of America and given the fact that China is four times as big as the US, won't the pollution be too great?

Furthermore, suppose the rest of the LDCs were to be brought up to the level of the US resource use and emissions discharge, won't this compound the depletion of natural resources and the creation of pollution even more. Obviously, this is unacceptable.

2.3.2.2 Options for Sustainable Development

In view of the immediate foregoing, the question is 'what is to be done?' At least two options are open. One is to restrict or even halt economic development. The second is to make a cooperative political and financial commitment to develop as economically as possible.

By restricting development, it means preserving the environment by consuming less i.e. set permissible levels for consumption and emission, to mobilize huge financial resources for resource conservation and pollution and control, and to create effective international institutions with legally binding powers to enforce the agreed-upon standards and financial obligations. The implication this would have for the South countries is that they should jettison their idea of the New International Economic Order which emphasizes industrial and technological development of the LDCs.

The alternative answer to this question is for the people of the North to use dramatically few resources and to take the steps needed to reduce pollution drastically. Those who advocate stringent programs believe that, eventually, we will be better off if we make the sacrifices necessary to restrain development and preserve the environment. This is okay because accepting and living by sufficiency rather than excess will allow people to return to non-materialistic values "that give depth and bounty to human existence" and are "infinitely" sustainable.

Paying the price to create and distribute technologies that will allow for a maximum balance between economic development and environmental protection is the second option. Rourke and Boyer argue that without modern technology and the money to pay for it, China, for example, poses a serious environmental threat because she is the next to the US in terms of natural production of carbon dioxide emissions. This is primarily because China generates most of its commercial power by burning coal, which is very polluting.

There are other options such as generating more power by burning petroleum or by using hydroelectric energy. Each of these has trade-offs, which are often win-lose scenarios for China, consuming more oil which is enormously expensive could affect the country's socio-economic development and also lead to the greater repletion of the world's petroleum reserves. Furthermore, the new oil fields that are being found often lie offshore, and drilling endangers the oceans.

Adopting hydroelectricity options to provide relatively non-polluting energy requires the construction of dams that flood the surrounding country sides, displace its residents, and spoil the natural beauty of the river valleys downstream. However, with the construction of dams, hydroelectricity will provide alternative but non-polluting means of energy. In addition, the project will increase the availability of electric power to rural areas, help stem floods that have often caused catastrophic damage downstream etc. Nevertheless, it will have an adverse impact on the people and on the environment in terms of the short term costs of environmental protection, in terms of taxes to pay for government programs, the high cost of goods that are produced in an environmentally acceptable way and that are environmentally themselves safe, and the expense of disposing of waste in an ecologically responsible manner.

Furthermore, the LDCs are determined to develop economically, yet struggle to pay the costs of environmentally sound progress, the question is, is the North willing to pay this price? This may be difficult to answer in affirmation because the citizens of the North pay heavily for environmental protection and asking their citizens to pay more by way of taxes may lead to revolt. This resistance will work against any attempt to amass the funds that need to be spent internationally to help the LDCs simultaneously develop and protect the environment.

2.3.3 Sustainable Development

Issues and cooperation for ages, human beings have taken their world for granted. they have assumed constant availabilities of the necessities of life, and that it will absorb what is discarded. For several centuries it has been able to sustain its population and replenish itself. There is now population explosion but technological progress has helped to contain its problem, technological advancement has multiplied our per capita resource consumption and our per capita waste and pollutant production.

Technological solutions notwithstanding, for now the reality is that the world faces crises of carrying capacity (i.e. the largest number of humans that the earth can sustain indefinitely at current rates of per capita consumption of natural resources) - the potential no longer being able to

sustain its population in an adequate manner or being able to absorb its waste.

2.3.3.1 Population Issues and Cooperation

The world population, so far from the available statistics, increase at astronomical rate. People are reproducing too quickly which to some, are amazing and disturbing. Now what is the implication of this phenomenon or problem for the future of humans on earth? As at October 1999, the population of the world has passed the 6 billion mark and since then millions have been added. Almost one in every three people in the world is a child (less than 16 years old) and most of these will soon become adults and become parents. Projections of future population trends are not reassuring either.

The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) has declared that the world population will stabilize at about 10.7 billion people in 2040. Thus the population continues to expand rapidly, and the 1999 milestone of 6 billion people means a doubling of the Earth's population in less than 40 years. Also it is with nothing that the population of Nigeria increased from 88.5 million people in 1991 to 140 million in year 2006, which means that the increase was almost doubled.

This population issue is of great concern to the LDCs, the faster population increasing area occurring in the LDCs, especially those in Africa, which often are least able to support their people, and whose economic development is further impeded by the burden of the increased population. The next pertinent question is what are the causative factors of the population problem? Rapidly expanding population can be due to a number of factors. These include fewer deaths, decrease in infant mortality; and increase in adult longevity. These two factors combine to imply that even in areas where the birth rate decreases, the population growth rate sometimes continues to accelerate e.g. Sub-Saharan Africa.

Another factor is poverty. Women in LDCs have fewer resources to limit the number of children they bear. Also women in LDCs are less educated than women in EDCs. It is therefore harder to convey birth control information especially written information to women in LDCs. Moreover, women in LDCs have fewer opportunities than women in EDCs to gain paid employment and develop status roles beyond that of motherhood.

How does one explain the link between population and poverty? One view is that overpopulation causes poverty, especially in poor countries, where there are too few resources, jobs, and other forms of wealth to go around. Also partially it is because poverty causes overpopulation.

Furthermore, the LDCs is characterized by labor-intensive economies where children are economically valuable because they help their parents farm or provide cheap labor for mining and manufacturing process. Lastly, a large family is also an asset in terms of social standing in many societies with limited economic opportunities.

2.3.3.2 The International Support to the Population Problem

The attempt to control world population growth is led appropriately by the UN and a number of its associated organizations and programs within the UN, such as the UNICEF, WHO and NGOs like IPPF. The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) is charged with the responsibility of promoting family planning services and improving reproductive health in LDCs. It has provided billions of dollars to support population programs in the many countries of the world. The organization is funded through voluntary contributions from different countries. It also helps to coordinate the programs of other efforts by IGOs and other NGOs and national governments.

The problem facing UNFPA is lack of consensus on how to achieve some objectives. The goal of restraining population growth, improving reproductive health, and empowering women were agreed upon, but the measures to take to effect the goals. Mostly, the measures such as pressuring husbands and wives to limit their children, supporting birth out of wedlock, advocating abortion have been violently criticized by both Christian and Islamic countries.

In an attempt to reduce birth rate, some social approaches have been adopted. Social programs have been mounted such as providing information about birth control devices and pills, sterilization. At the national level, many LDCs have made strong effort, given their limited financial resources. These efforts have been supported by UNFPA, the IPPF, and other IGOs and NGOs.

Attempt have also been made to show it through economic approaches. The evidence that poverty causes population increases means that if the poverty gap between countries and within countries is narrowed, then declining birth rates will be among the benefit. Therefore, efforts must be made to develop the LDCs and to equalize income distribution within countries if population is to be controlled.

The other economic approach was the one adopted by the UN. Population experts have found that advancing the economic and educational opportunities available to women, needs to form an integral part of population control. This had led the UN to declare not only 1975 as

International Women's Year and decide for women, but also the institutionalization of the UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM). The fund works to improve the living standards of women in LDCs by giving them technical and financial support to improve the entry of women into business, scientific and technical careers. In addition, it tries to incorporate women into the international and national planning administration of development programs and to ensure that the issue of particular concern to women such as food, security, human rights, and reproductive health are kept on the global agenda. The UN also established the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of women with the task of carrying out research, training, and information activities related to women and the development process.

2.3.4 Resource Issues and Cooperation

All the countries have resources with which they use for their security and developmental purposes. These include energy, mineral, forest, land, wildlife, fishing, and water resources. Unfortunately, investigations have revealed the depletion of these resources. This development is giving the world concern today.

Of the various sources, nuclear energy production by far increased the most rapidly. Every need are going up only. Coals and fossil fuel resources are available for human use but the problem with them is the pollution of the environment they cause. The resource problem is how, simultaneously, to maintain the industrialized countries' economies and standards of living, promote economic development (which will consume more energy and minerals) in the South, and manage the problems of resource depletion and environmental damage involved in energy and mineral production and use.

Information from the UNFAO indicates that the increase in world population and economic development are destroying the world's forest. Forest resources are used as energy source (fire wood) and exported by some countries pay off their international debt and to finance economic development. This leads to deforestation with its negative effects such as global warming, increased demand for working and heating, the ash of wood goes up, soil erosion and other forms of damage to the land.

Wild life is also affected by deforestation as the habitat of wild lives are destroyed. Destruction of trees for herbs is another fall out of deforestation. All this will lead to pressure on marine resources and since competition for this is high already, it may lead to problems in the near future. The final resource is water which is the basic of all. Along with oxygen, water is an immediate need for almost all life form. Unfortunately, a significant part of it is polluted and drinking it imposes serious health risks. Moreover,

increased agricultural and industrial use, pollution, and other facts are depleting or training water supplies.

2.3.5 Resource Conservation: The Global Response

Resources are a means to human ends, so mineral, forest, wildlife and water resources must be more carefully managed and conserved. Happily, people are now beginning to act with restraint and to cooperate in conservation causes or programs. Some of the individual and organized efforts are noteworthy. The UN Law of the Sea Treaty gives countries full sovereignty over the seas within 12 miles of their shores and control over fishing rights and oil, and gas exploration rights within 200 miles of their shores. Also, an International Seabed Authority headquartered in Jamaica was established to help regulate mining of seabed in international waters and will receive royalties from those mining operation to help finance ocean protection programs.

Progress is also being made in the preservation of forest and wildlife resources. National and international efforts are also being taken in other areas. All the major fishing countries have agreed to regulate the catch of all the species of fish that migrate between national and international waters.

2.3.6 Environmental Issues

The pollution of land, significant as it is, is a domestic matter which is out of the international realm of action. Land pollution is caused by exploring solid waste for disposal from the advanced industrial countries to LDCs and as a result, lives are threatened by the health hazard it poses e.g. the toxic waste dumping at Koko in Delta state.

Water has two environments: the marine (saltwater) environment and freshwater environment. Water pollution is damaging both. Marine pollution can be caused by spillage, ocean drilling activity. Freshwater pollution of lakes and rivers is both an international and domestic issue.

Air pollution is another major international concern. It ignores nature's boundaries. Acid rain is caused by pollutants that contaminate water resources and attack forest through rainfall. It has extensive damage to trees and many lakes have become so acidified that most of the fish have been killed. This has been pronounced in Europe. It has impelled forests, jobs, and harvest. The death of trees and their stabilizing roots systems increases soil erosion, resulting in the silting-up of lakes and rivers. The good news is that the pollution control of the EDCs have substantially reduced new air

pollution. The bad news, however, is that the improvement in the EDCs is being more than offset by spiraling levels of air pollution in the LDCs.

The reason for global warming is the green-house effect caused by carbon dioxide (Co) from fossil fuel burning and from discharges of other chemical gases. The Earth no doubt is getting warmer. Deforestation also contributes to increased levels of Co in the atmosphere by destroying a multitude of trees, which are nature's method of converting carbon dioxide to oxygen. The scientists are, however, yet to find solution to the problem.

Unlike the global warming, ozone layer depletion is by the emission of chlorofluorocarbons(cfcs), a chemical group that gasifies at low temperature, releasing chlorine atoms. These attack the ozone and turn it into atmospheric oxygen, which does not block ultraviolet rays. The emission of cfcs create many problems such as adding to green house effect, causes cancers and other mutations in life forms below.

2.3.7 Environmental Protection: The International Effort

Most of the work that has been done has had a national focus, and there have been many advances. In the developed world, where the problem was most acute and where resources to fund programs were available, water is cleaner, acid rain is being curbed, trees are being planted, toxic waste are being dealt with better, recycling is Under way, and a lot of other programs to stem the flood tide of pollution.

At the international level, many IGOs and NGOs focus on one environmental programs or the other. In addition the UN Environmental Program (UNEP). The North American, Free Trade Agreement and other international pacts include environmental protection clauses. Others may still follow suit.

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

A lot of transnational problems have been discussed extensively, covering the whole gamut of ecological and environmental issues. You should study these issues well and note efforts geared so far at resolving them.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

Identify and discuss two important transnational issues that the world as a community is focusing seriously on and demonstrate the extent to which Nigeria has impacted on it.

2.4 Conclusion

The efforts at international cooperation on issues discussed in this Unit is very fundamental. It is easy to view the vast scope of the problems facing the international community and to gauge the limited effort being made to resolve them. It is a truism that it is only little that is being done. However, international problems need international and collective solutions.

2.5 Summary

The emphasis is on the concept and goal of sustainable development. The issue is while development is emphasized, the questions of environmental protection also need attention. Although the countries of the South desire development, the potential for accelerated resource depletion and pollution is very high. There are diverse suggested solutions to the problems posed by environmental degradation.

Population problem is one fundamental issue facing the international community. The UN and its agencies have done a lot to control population and its allied problems. Increasing population and industrialization have greatly increased the employment of a wide range of natural resource. If concrete steps are not taken, it is possible for these resources to get totally depleted during this twenty-first century. Population growth and industrialization are also the direct causes of mounting ground pollution, air pollution, global warming, water pollution and ozone layer depletion.

2.6 Tutor-Marked Assignment

Overpopulation is a serious problem to the international community today. Assess the efforts made so far to resolve the problem.

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Unit 3 Development of International Organization

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3.1 Introduction

The current world system began to develop around the 15th century, when modern states started to form due to a process marked by both integration and disintegration of earlier political authority. The Treaty of Westphalia (1648) more than any other event, demarcated the change between the old and the new system.

The twentieth century witnessed the most rapid revolution of the system. The multipolar system tottered, then fell. The bipolar system declined as other countries and transnational actors became more important as relative power of the two super-power declined, the bipolar system ended in 1991 when the Soviet Union collapsed.

The international economy is also changing in ways that have important implications for the twenty-first century. Economic interdependence has progressed rapidly. The transnational flow of trade, investment capital, and currencies has economically entwined all countries. There are however, counter pressure and an important issue in the near future is whether to continue down the newer path to economic integration or to halt that process and follow more traditional national economic policies (Rourke & Boyer 2002:41).

3.2 Objectives

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

- explain the nature of international organizations
- appreciate role of international organizations in the management of world Economy.

3.3 Main Content

3.3.1 The Nature and Development of International Organization

The concept of international organization is not a new one although the practice of having a continuous international organization is a relatively, recent advance in the conduct of international relations. Now the number of permanent international organization is growing. The size and scope of these international organizations range from multipurpose nearly universal

organizations like the United Nations to single-purpose organizations with very few member countries, like OPEC.

3.3.2 Types of International Organizations

It is not only the United Nations that is qualified to be regarded as an international organization; there are other global and regional organizations. These can be grouped by the functions they perform, as general or specialized international organizations. Irrespective of their specifics, all international organizations share the fact that their membership consists of national governments.

3.3.2.1 The Roots of International organizations

International organization is mainly a modern phenomenon. One mostly common characteristic of IGOS is that they were created in the last 50 years or so. Three main roots namely a belief in a community of humankind, big-power peacekeeping and functional cooperation have accounted for the current growth of international organizations.

As regards the first of these factors the Universal course for improving the condition of humanity had made scholars of old such as William Penn and Immanuel Kant conceptualize the ideas of international organization. The United Nations (successor of the League of Nations) is the latest and most advanced development stage of Universal concern with the human condition. It was established to maintain peace. It has also been involved in a wide range of issues of worldly concern.

The idea that big powers have a special responsibility to cooperate and preserve peace is the second factor that informed the emergence of international organization today, the five major powers (China, France, Great Britain, Russia, and the United States) constitute the permanent members of the UN Security Council. The UNSC is the main peace-keeping organ.

The third branch of the root system consists of the specialized agencies that deal with specific economic and social problems e.g. Telecommunication Union (Formerly International Telegraphic) created in 1865 is the oldest serving IGO with global membership. There are about twenty specialized agencies associated with the UN.

3.3.3 The Expansion of IGOs

An important phenomenon of the 21st century is the rapid expansion in the number of activities, and importance of intergovernmental and extra-governmental organizations. The number increased from 37 in 1909 to 251

in 1999, according to the Union of International Associations. More importantly is the expanding roles these IGOs play. Some of those include for example, the development of satellites and the ability to communicate through them and the need to co-ordinate this capability has led to the establishment of the International Mobile Satellite Organization (IMMARSAT) in 1979. Also, the increasing need for IGO activity is leading existing IGOS to take on new functions. For example the scope of EU activities is expanding beyond the original economic focus to wider range of political and social concerns. Economic community of West African states has in addition to original economic objectives, set up ECOWAS political Union as well as Court of Justice.

What are the factors responsible for expansion? There are six important causes of this development fresh in unimpressed international technologies have brought the warranted of the world into closer contact. This has also warranted international structures to regulate them.

The world's increased inter-independence constitutes, the second causal factor particular in the economic sphere e.g. the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, regional trade and monetary organization and multinational Cooperation's. Thirdly, the expansion of transnational problem that affect many states and require solutions that are beyond the recourse of any single state for example, international atomic Energy Agency came into being as a result of nuclear proliferation (i.e. nuclear multiplication). The fourth factor is the failure of the current state centered system to provide security. For instance, the continuing problem in health, food, human right etc have spurred the organization of IGOs. Fifthly, there is the effort of small states to give strength through joint action. The concentration of military and economic power in a handful of countries has less powerful actors to join in an attempt to influence events e.g. the group 77, a now member organization. Finally the explanation and successes of international organization power role models that have stimulated still other IGOs.

3.3.4 Roles of International Organizations

In view of the expanding number and importance of international organizations, the most pertinent question is what we want these organization to achieve ultimately.

3.3.4.1 Interactive Arena

Traditionally, IGOs are established to provide an interactive arena in which members pursue their individual national interests. This is scarcely stated openly but it is clearly in the struggles within the UN and other IGOs.

However, the use of IGOs to gain national advantage is somewhat contradictory to the purpose of these cooperative organizations and has both disadvantages and advantages.

Its disadvantages include: It sometimes transforms IGOs into another scene of struggle rather than utilizing them to enhance economic-operation; and countries are apt to reduce or withdraw their support from international organization that does not serve their narrow national interest.

Center of co-operation: The IGOs promote and facilitate cooperation among states and other international actors. Many members states face other threats and challenges which are beyond their power and have therefore found it increasingly necessary to cooperate to address physical security, the environment, the economy and a range of other comers.

3.3.4.2 Independent International Actor

Technically, what any IGO does is controlled by the wishes and votes of its members. In reality, many IGOs develop strong relatively permanent administrative staffs. These individuals often identify with the organization and try to increase its authority and role. The independent role of IGO notwithstanding IGOs should be limited to mediation and conciliation rather than coercion because the object is to teach and allow, not to force, states to work together. The International Court of Justice was created to act independently.

3.3.4.3 Supranational Organization

This means that the international organization has authority over its members, which, therefore, are subordinate units. Theoretically, some IGOs possess a degree of supranationalism and can obligate members to take certain actions but in reality, supranationalism is limited. Only very few states concede any significant part of their sovereignty to any IGO. But this limitation does not mean however that the authority of the IGOs cannot expand.

3.4 Conclusion

International Organizations be it global or regional, have been an important phenomenon for more than half a century now because of the fundamental roles they now play in modern world political social and economic lives. The benefits accruable to members are that of the environments. Many nations have been helped out of their internal problems. For example, in Africa, Congo, Sierra Leone, Burundi, Liberia had enjoyed the services of peacekeeping force, who had helped to restore peace and stability in these countries. From the discussion above, it is crystal clear that the importance

of international organizations cum institutions cannot be overstressed. No doubt the exigencies of the world situation led to their birth and operations.

Finally it must be noted that membership of these organization are voluntary, except perhaps the United Nations which every sovereign nation joins out of necessity.

3.5 Summary

There are many classification of international organization including global regional and specialized IGOs. Current International Organizations are the product of three lines of developments: the idea that humans should live in the peace and mutual support, the idea that the big powers have a special responsibility for maintaining order, and the growth of specialized international organizations to deal with narrow non-political issues.

The factor that accounted for the rapid growth of IGOs includes the increased international contact among countries and people, the increasing economic interdependence, the growing importance of transnational matters, the inability of the state-centered system to deal with world problems, small states attempting to gain strength by coming together and successful IGOs providing role models for new organizations.

Four present and possible roles of IGOs are providing an interactive arena, acting as a center for cooperation among states, evolving into an independent national actor, and becoming a supranational organization.

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

In this first unit, the origin and role of international organizations were discussed. It is required of you to identify the factors responsible for their emergence, examine reasons for this expansion and assess their role globally. The 20th century can be regarded as the age of the birth of global organizations. Do you agree? Illustrate your answer with facts.

3.6 Tutor-Marked Assignment

Examine critically the role of international organizations and show whether that role is absolute or not.

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Module 3 Approaches to Cooperation among Global Regions

Unit 1 Regional Economic Cooperation

Unit 2 North-South Relations

Unit 3 Approaches to North-South Cooperation

Unit 4 South and International Political Economy

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Unit 6 Specialized International Organizations

Unit 1 Regional Economic Cooperation

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1.7 References/Further Reading

1.1 Introduction

A lot of progress has been made in the area of economic cooperation and integration at some regional levels. There are many regional banks that give out loans. Among these regional banks is Asian Development Bank. Some of these banks promote free trade and other form of economic interchange.

Economic cooperation is a process whereby several states cooperate with one another bilaterally or multilaterally through international government organizations like the IMF, G.8 meetings, etc. Economic integration means such a close degree of economic intertwining that, by formal agreement or informal condition, the countries involved begin to surrender some degree of sovereignty and act as an economic Unit. The EU started as an economic cooperation, but is moving now towards economic integration. Integration is a complex phenomenon that results from the interaction, and mutual strengthening of transnational trade and finance, of IGOs and NGOs, and of transnational values and international law.

1.2 Objectives

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

- discuss different levels of economic integration
- appreciate the roles of economic cooperation in the Western Hemisphere, Asia, the Pacific and elsewhere.

1.3 Main Content

1.3.1 Transnational Economic Activity

Economic activity divides economic integration into five different levels ranging from the least to the most integrated: a free trade area which removes trade barrier for goods between member-Countries; customs union which adds common tariffs and non-tariffs adapted against external countries; a common market, which increases integration further by removing barriers among members to the free flow of labor, capital, and other aspects of economic interchange; an economic union, which moves to harmonize the economic policy as tax and social welfare policies of members; and a monetary Union, which adopted a common currency, a common central bank, and other aspects of financial integration.

What progress has been along the continuum towards integration? To answer this question, regional integration in North America and the Pacific region shall be examined.

1.3.2 The Western Hemisphere

Economic cooperation in the Western Hemisphere is yet to be comparable to that of Europe but the process is under way. The genesis of hemispheric distinctiveness and a U.S. consciousness of its connection to the hemisphere dates back many years. The U.S. declared the Monroe Doctrine in 1923. Often that meant gunboat diplomacy: heavy-handed unilateral U.S. intervention in the region, a practice that continued through the 1989 invasion of Panama. Gradually, the idea that the United States should help and cooperate with its hemispheric neighbors took hold. The first hemispheric conference met in 1889. A U.S proposal to establish a customs union was frustrated by the other 17 countries in attendance, but they did create the first regional organization, now known as organization of American states (OAS) by the Rio Treaty of 1948. So far two important trade efforts have been made in the hemisphere, namely the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and a hemispheric wide free trade area by the year 2005.

1.3.2.1 The North American Free Trade Agreement

This is an integration effort limited and supported by the U.S to forget free trade agreements with other countries in the region. In fact the effort crystallized into the NAFTA, which comprises much of the Northern half of the hemisphere. NAFTA was created by the U.S and Canada in 1988 and was later joined by Mexico. The Treaty came into effect on Jan 1, 1994. The agreement established schedules for reducing tariff and non- tariff barriers trade over a 5-to-10 year period in all but a few hundred of some 20,000 product categories. It is expected that by 2009 all tariff would have been eliminated. It is also expected many previous restrictions among the NAFTA countries will end, and wide hints in financial services operations

(such as advertising, banking, insurance, and telecommunications) will flow much more freely across borders.

NAFTA is surely less advanced than the EU, but it has been inactive because it controls 24 percent of all world goods export, next to EU's 37 percent of exports. Second consumers in all the three countries will certainly be helped by having access to more products at lower prices due to specialization and competition. NAFTA programmes will lead to improvement in the economic performance of members. For example as the Mexicans economy improves, demand for American goods and services will increase. However while some business and types of workers will benefit, others will be harmed. NAFTA will also reduce the sovereignty of each signatory.

1.3.2.2 The Free Trade Area of the Americas

Trade cooperation in the hemisphere moved towards a new, higher level in 1994 with the beginning of efforts to create the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA). This effort to found a hemispheric trade zone was allocated by the U.S in 1990. It was the belief of America then that economic advancement in the hemisphere rested on four pillars- international debt reduction, trade, and investment as well as the continuing democratization of the hemisphere's countries. Some progress was made in these regards. Debt reduction levels of Latin America and the Caribbean countries fell from 384 percent in 1987 to 255 percent in 1999. Trade had grown astronomically as investments flowed strongly into South American countries. Democracy has spread to all the America countries, except Cuba who did not have democratically elected government.

1.3.3 Asia, The Pacific, Economic Cooperation (APEC)

Founded in 1989 and moving towards becoming a regional trade organization, the 21-member organization includes most countries of the greater Pacific Ocean region. The members range in the Eastern Pacific from Russia in the South. On the other side of the pacific, members account for 42 percent of the world population, 59% of the global GDP, and 48 percent of all merchandise trade. At its inception, APEC began to support the idea of open regionalism in an effort to achieve free and open trade in the Asia-pacific in a manner consistent with GATT rules: The aim of open regionalism was and is not just reduction of trade barrier between APEC economies themselves, but also between APEC and non-APEC countries.

The drive towards further APEC integration has been slow. There have been common agreements in principle, for example, to achieve "free and open trade and investment in the Asia-Pacific region. Japan and the U.S are

to remove all trade barriers by the year 2010, with the rest of the APEC countries achieving a Zero- barrier level by 2020.

Cape Cotonou Agreement

On June 23, 2000, the European Union (EU) signed the Cotonou Agreement with 77 states of the African, the Caribbean and the Pacific (ACP) groups. This was done against the background of the failure of Lome I-IV conventions to improve the conditions of 39 countries in the ACP group, out of which Africa produced 29. These countries and the European Union are signatories to a special trade and aid agreement referred to as EU-ACP Lome Convention. The primary aim of this group was to consolidate and strengthen the existing solidarity among the Africa, Caribbean, and Pacific countries that were prospecting for a special trade relationship with the European Union.

The ACP has been able to forge ahead as a United group to achieve the institution of a special economic relationship with the European Union as defined within the framework of the Lome Convention. The first Lome Convention was signed on February 28, 1975 and since then has been reviewed in 1980, 1990, and 1995. The current one was signed July 23, 2000 known as Lome V at Cotonou Agreement and it can be seen from the fact that:

- It appreciated the shortcoming of the Lome Conventions and enthusiastically highlighted new areas of improvement.
- It proffers encouraging measures through the introduction of the organized private sector and civil society participation as partners in progress for the economic integration and sustainability of the ACP group.
- The scheme contains reliable capacity building and development platforms that will enhance the economic well-being of the ACP States.
- The resources and human development initiatives as well as conflict resolution mechanism devices such a dialogue and conferences projected to be used by those non-state actors, in the course of the implementation status.
- This Economic Partnership Agreement serves as a model blueprint bearing salient features like trade liberalization, economic integration and other lofty ideas as the bedrock of its objectives for these reasons, it will compliment the ECOWAS, NEPAD, AU and even WTO initiatives in many ways
- The strategic design of the agreement that is projected for 20 years with review mechanisms and negotiation model is heartwarming.

More dynamic than the Lome approach, it has set aside E1.3bn for regional programs and liberalized grant machinery through the creation of only two instruments with one envelope providing grants and the other risk capital and loan to the private sector.

The ACP-EU Cotonou Agreement holds bright prospectus for humanity, especially the ACP group, and a conferment platform to canvass for debt relief and other ills that have plagued the poor countries. The European commission's recent initiative aimed at making the use of the "flex" instrument more flexible should be welcomed. This instrument enables the impact of short-term fluctuations in export earnings of ACP states to be compensated financially.

Another benefit that has followed this agreement is the issue of cotton, the source of foreign exchange earnings for some West African countries like Burkina Faso, Benin, Mali, and Chad. They are now asking the world Trade organization (WTO) to pressure the U.S to eliminate cotton production subsidies paid to America producers in particular. Mali, for example, generate 40% of its foreign exchange from cotton exports. The European commission has made a proposal aimed at improving the market organization for cotton.

Moreover, regarding the issue of reducing the debt burden, progress has been achieved for heavily indebted poor countries, who are mostly of

ACP grouped Nigeria and some other ACP countries have had their foreign debts written off. This is a welcome development. Africa-South America Cooperative Forum (ASACOF). The forum comprises African and South African countries which met at Abuja, Nigeria between from November 28-30,2006. It is to have its temporary Secretariat in Nigeria. The Abuja Summit was called primarily to set up a cooperative body for speedy development assistance to member countries.

At the summit meeting, the host president Olusegun Obasanjo, called for urgent mobilization of resource to turn around the common problems facing the two regions already identified as disjointed integration, poverty, under-development and diseases. In his own address, the Brazilian president Luiz Inacio Lula Da Silva, expressed the need for the body to have a structure projects, which would provoke a sharing of industrial experience in the two regions.

It is interesting and instructive to note that the people of two regions share common historical experience-they both witnessed the worst form of colonialism.

At the summit, the forum resolved to do the following:

- To immediately activate and implement all bilateral agreements between countries in the regions particularly in the areas of trade, air service and agriculture while exploring opportunities for collaboration in energy, technology, water resources and tourism.
- To exploit the immense opportunities which abound in the two continents.
- To adopt strategies and measures that would translate the version of the forum into concrete economic, political and social benefits for their people, and
- To deepen and strengthen historical and cultural links while continuously monitoring the effective implementation of the plan for maximum benefits.

Even though it is still premature to predict the success of the forum, it is nevertheless a welcome development against the backdrop of the fact that as developing countries, social economic and political problems are similar. The success or failure therefore of the forum would definitely be a function of the political will of the countries involved.

A number of regional economic cooperative bodies have been discussed in this Unit, you would need to pay adequate attention to the objectives as well as consider their success within the framework of the North-South relations.

Self-Assessment Exercise

From your knowledge of the EU-ACP objectives and items of reference of ASACOF, do you foresee any possible duplication of efforts? Discuss vividly the issues involved.

1.4 Conclusion

These various development bodies or institutions are aimed at developing among member countries the capability to conceive, choose and manage their own development to devise and manage their own programs and projects. The objective is to help one another solve majorly economic and social problems that have been the lot of these development, social and economic. Poverty will reduce and standard of living of people will rise.

1.5 Summary

Economic cooperation refers to a process whereby, politically sovereign countries cooperate with one another through bilateral and multilateral agreements through the IGOs like the IMF, G8. Translating economic

activity divide economic integration into a free trade area and customs union, a common market, an economic union and a monetary union.

It is expected that restrictions on foreign investments and other financial transaction among the NAFTA countries will be eliminated. The Free Trade Area of the America economic cooperative organization was initiated by the U.S for four reasons: International debt reduction, trade, investment and democratization of the hemispheric countries.

APEC was founded in 1989 to promote free and open trade in the Asia-Pacific in a manner consistent with GATT. ACP of this group was to associate and strength then the existing solidarity among the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries having a special aid and trade relationship with the European Union.

The new Africa-South America cooperative forum (ASACOF) comprises countries of the two regions and its primary objective is to mobilize resources to turn around the common problems facing the two regions.

1.6 Tutor-Marked Assignment

Critically assess the EU-ACP Aid to Nigeria's Development has Nigeria really benefited?

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Unit 2 North-South Relations

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2.1 Introduction

The world is divided into two economic spheres: a wealthy North comprising the Economically Development countries and a less rich or wealthy South, which consists of less Developed countries. The dichotomy comes from the fact that most EDC lie to the North in Northern America and Europe and most LDCs are farther to the South in Africa, Asia and Central and South America. They are differentiated from each other by economic and political factors more than by their geographical position.

2.2 Objectives

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

- explain factors that distinguish the two
- Understand the reasons why there are inter-continental groupings
- discuss the approaches to North-South Relations

2.3 Main Content

2.3.1 The Two Economic Worlds

What sharply explains the objectives distinction between the North and the South is the economic factor. The North is much wealthier than the South. As at year 2000 for example, the average per capital Gross National product of the wealthy North was \$25,710 to the South's \$1,260.

The second factor is the structure of the economy. While the countries of the North tend to have more diverse economic bases that they rely on for their income through the production of a wide variety of manufactured goods and the income of diverse and sophisticated services, the countries of

the South usually rely on fewer products for their income; usually from agricultural produce or raw materials, such as solid minerals.

These two classifications, however, pose some difficulties. One is that the classifications are imprecise and subject to change because on the basis of per capita GNP for example the World Bank divides countries into four groups: Low income (\$760 or less), lower-middle-income (\$761- \$3,030), upper-middle-income high- income group (more than \$9361). But it is on record that four countries (Israel, Kuwait, Singapore, and United Arab Emirates) usually grouped as part of the South, fall into high-income group. Moreover, some LDCs have moved an important distance towards achieving a modern economic base e.g. South Korea (\$8,600) and Argentina (\$8,030).

The second issue in the classification of countries automatically relates to how to treat Russia, and the former Soviet Republics. The World Bank designates them as transition economies (from communism to capitalism), some of them have a reasonable industrial base. Slovenia (\$9,760) falls in the upper-middle income group while Tajikistan (\$370) is the poorest. Going by this economic information, only Slovenia may not belong to the LDCs.

Blurred as this classification may be, it is still useful for three important reasons.

- There is no hiding the fact that the countries of the South are poorer and less industrialized than those of the North. The reality is that the conditions of life for the citizens in the North are really better than the living standard of the relatively deprived people who reside in the LDCs of the South.
- Countries of the South are economically vulnerable unlike the North. For example, LDCs that rely on petroleum production and export (e.g. Nigeria) when the price is exceptionally low like in the 1990s. Non-colonial political expenses of the LDCs still explains further the North-South dichotomy. Most LDCs share a history of being directly or indirectly dominated by the EDCs of Europe and North America or in the case of the former communist countries, by Russia.

2.3.2 Human Conditions

Human conditions constitute another means of comparison between the North and South. 85% of the world population lives in the South, yet they produce only 22% of the world GNP. Whereas the 15% of the people who are fortunate enough to live in the North produce 78% of the world's measurable GNP.

Some Social indicators about the South are quite revealing. Many in the South suffer deprivations; 25% live on less than \$1 a day; high rate of illiteracy with among the children and adults. The North's per capita spending on education is \$1,377; the South has but \$51 to spend. Majority people in the South have no access to safe drinking water; spends only \$13 a year on health care perspective whereas \$1,531 is spent on health care in the North per person. Medical facilities and personnel in the South is responsible for 5,833 people compared to only 350 in the North. Other social indicators that show depression in the South include diseases and death on a large scale, children malnourishment and short life-expectancy. The South has the world's higher birthrate, and rapidly rising population.

2.3.2.1 Approaches to North-South Relations

How come there is a gap between the North and South? How did it develop? The industrial revolution came first to Europe and then to North America. This brought the North's industrials searching for raw materials for the North industries and the search for market for their finished product led to increased direct domination. In addition, the desire to seek countries to symbolize their major power status.

Consequently. Latin Americans, African, Asians, and others were exploited to benefit the industrialized Imperialist Countries. Most of the LDCs achieved their political independence in the decades following the World War II. Economically, the South remains disadvantaged in its relationship with the North. What can and should be done by the North to assist the South? Scholars have put forward a number of approaches.

2.3.2.2 Economic Nationalist Approach

Economic nationalists operate from a real political experience and belief that each could or should struggle for itself. Therefore they argue that:

- An EDC should be governed by its own national interest when formulating trade, investment and aid policies towards the South.
- The South calls for greater equity are in essence, attempts to change the rules so that LDCs can acquire political power for themselves.
- They view the political economy as a zero-sum game in which gains enjoyed by some, means losses for other players. They therefore believe that providing food and medicine to the already over populated South will only encourage child bearing, disease, infant mortality and increase longevity thereby worsening the impoverishment of the South.

2.3.3.2 The Economic Internationalist Approach

This approach believes that:

- Development is possible within the existing international economic structure.
- The major problems to the South's development are its weaknesses in acquiring capital, shortage of skilled labor and some of its domestic economic policies such as centralized planning and protectionism.
- These problems can be solved through free trade and foreign investment supplemented by loans, foreign aid and reduced government interference in the economy.
- Such policies will make unimpeded international economic exchange among states possible, which will ultimately create prosperity for all. Hence, for them the global economy is a non-zero-sum game.
- Finally they believe that LDCs can be integrated into the world economy by removing imperfections in the system while maintaining the structure and the stability of the system.

2.3.3.3 The Economy Structuralism Approach

This is a system approach. They believe a change in the patterns of production and trade holds can lead to the development of the South. It is believed that not only should the poor be allowed to share the command with but should also replace the wealth of those who have been controlling the world economy in their own interest and act for the exploits of others.

2.3.4 Western Patterns of Trade between North and South

The historical growth of trade worldwide is characterized by unevenness. Three points about the patterns of trade are outstanding. First, trade is almost dominated by the countries of the North who control 67% of the merchandise exports and 76% of the exports in goods and services combined. The percentage of world trade shared by the LDCs is relatively small.

The South only accounts for a small percentage of global commerce. A handful of countries of the North bought 54 percent of all the South's exports which means that the South is heartily dependent on the formal export earnings. This therefore puts the South in a vulnerable position.

Types of exports constitutes the third pattern. With predominantly export manufactured and processed products, the South exports mostly primary products such as food, fibers and materials. For example, the U.S and Chile provide a striking comparison. Of all U.S goods exported manufactured

products account for 82 percent and primary product for 18 percent. Chile's export of manufactured goods is 17 percent and primary products account 83%. Thus, dependence on product for export earning leaves the LDCs disadvantageously because the prices of primary products increase more slowly than those of manufactured goods and also because the prices for the primary products is highly volatile and fluctuating.

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

The relationship between the North (ENS) and South has been discussed, reasons for the division given and how the North can assist the South theoretically has also been discussed. Reflect on all this and appraise the relationship.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

Colonialism is central in the explanation of the social political conditions of the South. Argue your case.

2.4 Conclusion

The North-South dichotomy reflects the reality of today's world. The South, a junior partner in almost all approved parameters, found itself in this position because of accident of history; most of them were formally colonies of the North. While some countries of the South have been trying and indeed succeeded, to some extent, to break the yoke of underdevelopment, many especially in Africa are unfortunately, still trying to develop in the real sense of the word.

The implication of the above is that the South needs strong leadership, individually and collectively to be able to throw off the yoke of the North. They need to address such issues as education, science and technology. Technological development will help them to meet the challenges posed by their circumstance or situation.

2.5 Summary

The world is economically dichotomized into North and South. While the North is very wealthy, the South is much less wealthy depending mainly on primary products or agricultural and mineral products. There are three approaches to international political economy namely the economic nationalist; economic internationalist and economic structuralist all offer different explanations of why the relative deprivation of the South exists. The three schools of thought also have different prescriptions about what to do to remedy the North - South gap in economic development. There are some overlaps between the two spheres but in general, the vast majority of

the people and countries of the South are much less wealthy and industrially developed than the countries of the North and their people. The South also has a history of direct and indirect colonial control by the countries of the North.

2.6 Tutor-Marked Assignment

It is within the power of the South to throw off the yoke of the North if it so desires. Discuss this within the framework of the North – South relationship.

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Unit 3 Approaches to North-South Cooperation

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3.1 Introduction

Attempts have been made over the years to break the stagnancy in multilateral negotiations for economic development. It is therefore not difficult to understand the motives which occasioned the search for factors acceptable for such an unfortunate development or situation including those in the area of the shortcomings of the approaches to North-South dialogue.

3.2 Objectives

At the end of this Unit, you should be able:

- examine the activities of the group of 77
- discuss the gap between the developed and developing nations
- discuss the emergence of the new international economic order.

3.3 Main Content

3.3.1 Approaches

Several approaches have been suggested and brought forward on how to improve the relationship between the North and the South in order to solve the problem briefly highlighted in the introduction above. The development of innovation ideas and policies aimed at levitating the dialogue and making it more productive would definitively have some implications for the global economy and a more favorable external environment for development.

3.3.1.1 The New Institutional Setting

The issues of methods of work of form and of institutional set up are not new development on the international agenda. So also is the principles on which negotiations are based. A new international setting is however providing a new dimension to the dialogue policies that encourage positive do and reduce tension which will boost would peace. For example, the progress made in the field of disarmament negotiations and towards the removal of global and regional crisis encourage new perceptions and the promotion of conditions conducive to the positive solution of problems.

This, therefore, that condition for an informed external environment allowing a more balanced development of all parts of the world economy would be more desirable.

3.3.2 Group 77 Itself

What informed the function of this group was the need of countries without political or economic weight in international discourse to increase their influence and bargaining power in negotiations in relations to developed nations. The common denominator among this group was the problem of economic development. They therefore had a common interest in a new policy for international trade and development. Since its operations, it has tried to provide solution to the economic problems of its members. Its unity has enabled it to overcome problems of diversities among members as well as containing outside pressures with divisive intentions. The group has become a force to reckon with in politics.

Inspective of its imperfections which have made decision making difficult, the system has functioned very smoothly, and by taking account of the interest of all states has facilitated the reaching of agreement. One important problem of the group has however highlighted its complex nature and alleged rigidity usually compounds the process of negotiations and really responsible for the little progress in international economic cooperation.

However, members consider the group to be in their own interest for it is believed to be capable of addressing the vital issues relating to development. Its continued relevance has the following implications; first, the opportunities created by the political developments it has recorded may lead to a world international interest in a new departure in a world which works close cooperation at the global is both desirable and imperative. The pronounced travel towards economic integration all over the world requires a new multilateralism.

Second, among the participants in multilateral economic cooperation this group is the only cohesive interest group made up of countries belonging to more than one continent and having different economic and social system and ideological inclination.

Third, the rich experience of this group arising from its ability to forge common positions and proposal in the face of its own internal differences and outside pressures would benefit the global economy.

3.3.3 Diverse Attitudes and Development Issues

This has led to the emergence of a cohesive interest group which had profoundly affected the prospects for the futures. In the discussion of the new approaches to North-South dialogue, two extreme positions emerged: the status quo supports on the side of the developed countries and the intentions to use the organization and institutional solution in a way which would influence the outcome of negotiations on the selective substantial issues on the side of developing countries. This has further planned the in blocs.

The launch by the UN of the so called “global negotiation” on international cooperation for development has generated disagreements globally. This disagreement has a North-South dimension. The essential consideration that emerges from the past experience to guide the discussions on innovative approaches to North – South dialogue shows that even the best efforts can be rendered ineffective if any single measure, action or procedural device in general would bring benefits or any kind of exclusive advantage to only one particular group of countries at the expense of the other.

3.3.4 Multilateral Economic Cooperation

This has been characterized by the outstanding role most of the new developing countries who had initiated, most of the new perception and concept, new approaches and action, of the need to correct the shortcomings of the prevailing system of world economic cooperation and reach out to the fundamental causes of its malfunctioning which had contributed to a widening global inequality, motivated this group.

The focus of the developed countries has been on the regulation of their mutual relations. What made the influence of developed countries greatly felt was the realities of economic and political power coupled with their use of IMF, the World Bank GATT (WHO). They determine the scenario of the world economy and this runs counter to the UN Charter which says that all countries are expected to exercise the same or similar readiness for participation in the mutilations and actions towards the fulfillment of the chapter for the achievement of this objectives the charter obliged the member countries to promote a higher standard of living, full employment and conditions of economic and social progress and development as well as promote solution international economic problems.

In the early days of the UN, this was best reflected in the development assurance but in the latter years, it became clear that the entire concept underlying the provision of assistance to the developing countries had to be renewed because aid no matter how justified, useful and unavoidable could help the developing countries to fulfill their development objectives.

How fair is the economic system? The root cause of the gap between developed and developing countries could be found in the system itself. Since after the World War II, the system of economic relations has worked to the unfair advantage of the North because it has brought expansion and property to these countries while the reverse the case for the South. The North believes the system was working well and was essentially adequate for the future where only gradual changes were desirable. This verdict of the North led her to reduce its efforts to promote policies responsive to global needs and particularly to the needs of developing countries. This is how the term “demands” on the side of developed countries started to emerge.

Consequently, developing countries have been accused of failure to consider the divergent economic interest but purpose unrealistic and in appropriate global solutions at the expense of developed countries. There were also the issues of political, security and bloc policies. The concept of the new international economic order mutated by the developing countries was supposed to be a joint undertaking of all countries, based on their common interest and developed to overcome the situation of confrontation in international economic cooperation to provide a new basis for North-South cooperation and above all to put an end to the practice of the so called multilateral or one-sided requests of developing countries.

A number of factors informed the putting forward of this concept. The need for a new thrust to appraise and recast the conceptual framework so as to make the concepts of “mutual self trust” or “joint gains” the centerpiece of the new development efforts. This is because the South does not believe in correcting the old system. The acceptance of these concepts seemed to provide a sound basis for agreement on the establishment of the new international economic order, as a joint undertaking of both developed and developing countries, and with their full participation the mutilated process soon ran into problem.

The threat that a serious reform could cut across developed countries vested interest generated their reluctance to make proposal for the policies implementation of the new international order. Hence, overwhelming short-term interest led to the disagreement between the blocs.

3.3.5 The Group System of Negotiation

This feature is important among the factors responsible for the deadline in the effectiveness of negotiations and even for their stagnation. Differences in the levels of economic development among the South countries have made it difficult for them to present their common positive. However, a resort to common positive will imply rigidity, make dialogue almost

unmanageable and will lead to an unnecessary politicization of economic issues. These observations on the surface, appear to be correct but in reality, it is not so because the functioning of the group system is seen in different light.

First it should be stressed that the UN is a universal body in which all countries cooperate on an equal footing trying to reconcile and harmonize their views in order to reach an agreement. It is hard to think of a more effective way given the number of countries involved.

Second, when it comes to specific issues, the key role of negotiation is played by the most interested and not directly involved countries, while those of global scope such as principles and rules of cooperation really attract general attentions because they affect the interests of all countries. Where unforeseen developments come up in the course of negotiation are referred back to the groups for consideration and possible redefinition. This is a just and practical way of handling issues if the interests of all countries, big and small, have to be considered.

The insufficient emphasis placed on the search for concession is an area where improvements are both desirable and possible. The first stage of the group system of negotiations consists in achieving a negotiated consensus within each group on all issues under consideration by a particular UN meeting.

3.3.6 The Best Institutional Framework for International Cooperation

The UN provides the best framework for international cooperation. The revitalization of the North-South dialogue does not seem to require any major changes within the United Nations system.

3.3.7 The UN Machinery

More rational utilization of the time and resources available to the organization should be strictly observed within the whole system of the UN. This should be done with a view to reaching of agreements. Adopting a procedural compromise resolution method will usually lead to ill-conceived decisions such as preparation of wasteful studies, overlapping and duplication of efforts, repetition of earlier conclusions, the proliferation of machinery, imposition of heavy strains on the human and financial resources of the secretariats of various UN bodies and organization.

The procedure comprise solutions which are usually qualified as an “honorable way out of difficulties” or a “face saving operation”, they deduct from the credibility of the multilateral cooperation and do harm to the political climate surrounding this cooperation. On the other hand, by

resorting to consultative procedures, both formal and informal, aimed at consensus building among member countries and groups thereof, the hard line stance may give way to more flexible attitudes capable of providing the prospect of the currently deadlocked negotiating process.

Therefore, a more prominent role should be given to deliberation of issues instead of insisting on negotiations and decision making because it can create more favorable conditions for meaningful results.

3.3.8 The Problem of Competence

The UN extended operations in the area of development has led to problems of competence of its various aims. The major cause of this problem is the differences in position, on substantial development issues. For example, the intention of some major developed countries to reduce the policy making role of some of the UN organs such as the General Assembly or UNCTAD in a number of vitally important economic matters and bring them under the exclusive competence of institutions in which decision making authority is largely under developed countries control – the IMF, the World Bank and GATT (WTO). The real problem is always the intention of the major developed countries to block the activities of the General Assembly and prevent it from taking decisions on a wide range of topics related to economic development.

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

In the foregoing, issues which border on the development of the South-South i.e. how the problem of the South could be approached and solved, have been extensively discussed. You need to pay adequate attention to the characteristics of the approaches and examine their adequacy.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

The major preoccupation of the group of 7 is on developmental issues. Discuss the efforts so far made to bridge the gap between the North and South.

3.4 Conclusion

The effort of the South or the Group of 77 aimed at identifying the factors responsible for development gap between the North and the South is a step in right direction. That the South has taken such step at managing diversities with a view of forging unity among its members is highly commendable. What, however, has constituted a disadvantage to the South is the fact that the North controls the advanced agencies concerned with the issue of global development, they seem to manipulate these agencies such

that their policies which can only be achieved in the developed economies are recommended as necessary pill for the South to swallow in order to solve their socio economic problems.

3.5 Summary

Seven approaches have been suggested and put forward to improve the relationship between the North and the South. These are a new institutional setting, formation of the Group 77, the management of diverse attitude, and development issues, initiation of post war multilateral economic cooperation, the group system of negotiation, and the UN machinery.

The new international setting would encourage positive changes and reduce tensions which will boost world peace and scarcity. The Group of 77 has been formed to assist those developing countries which lack necessary international resources in order to increase their bargaining power in international negotiations.

The continued relevance of the Group has some implication. The composition of this group cuts across continents and therefore has different economic and social system and ideological inclinations. It has made close cooperation at the global both desirable and imperative.

In the discussion of the new approach to North-South relationship, two extreme portions emerged. The developed countries would want to use the organizational and institutional solution which would always influence the outcome of negotiation in favor of the North while the South also desires the same. Postwar multilateral economic cooperation aims at correcting the shortcomings of its prevailing system of world economic cooperation such as global inequality.

How fair is the economic system? The system of economic relations has worked to the unfair advantage of the North because it has brought expansion and prosperity to them at the expense of the South. Differences in the levels of economic development of the South have made it difficult for them to present common positions on some issues.

3.6 Tutor-Marked Assignment

Examine the activities of the Group of 77 and the approaches necessary for the attainment of its objectives.

3.7 References/Further Reading

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Unit 4 South and International Political Economy

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4.1 Introduction

The economic goals of the North and South are both very much alike and very different. They are alike in the sense that both the developed and developing countries goals have to do with prosperity and are different because the goals of the North is to preserve and enhance prosperity; the South's goal is to achieve it.

4.2 Objectives

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

- examine the economic development of the South and its sources of capital
- Understand the perspective of the LDCs on development issues.

4.3 Main Content

4.3.1 Development in the South: States

Without doubt, the South has experienced appropriate level of social economic development. These include reduced infant mortality rate, the percentage of people with access to safe water has increased, adult literacy rate has appreciated and people will live longer than before. Its GDP also appreciated. Aside from these, there is a diverse pattern of development in the South with disparity in development both between and within countries. There exists wide disparity between countries in terms of the levels of economic development. Disparity within countries is a second feature of LDC economic development. The cities of the South is characterized by dualism (existence of two sets of social conditions); there are rich people living in developed parts of countries' capitals and extremely poor living in slums and shanty areas.

The South also suffers many negative side effects from the powers of modernization, for example, medical advances have led to decreased infant mortality and increased longevity but one result has been an explosive population growth. Economic change has also resulted in rapid urbanization as the hope of finding jobs and better health, sanitation and other social service has set off a mass migration from rural areas to cities in the South.

One negative impact of development has been industrial and environmental dangers e.g. deforestation. This is especially critical in the South, where increased demand for wood, expanding farm and ranch acreage and general urban growth are rapidly depleting the forest. Loss of these forests increases soil erosion, decreasing oxygenation of the air, lessens rainfall. This is also true that LDC industrial development is adding to air, water and soil pollution e.g. in Nigeria. Though a problem associated with industrialization in general, but population growth is very acute in developing countries which often cannot afford the expensive processes to cleanse emissions and dispose of wastes.

4.3.1.1 Development in the South Capital Needs?

Notwithstanding problems and drawbacks of industrialization, the LDCs are justifiably determined to hasten their development. The South is however poor, having poor economic base and finds it difficult to raise capital e.g. in India, income is so low that less than 1 percent of the population pay income taxes. The LDCs also need massive amount of development capital in order to expand and diversify their economy. These resources are difficult to come by. Thus, the South is constrained by limited financial reserves, especially hard currency. US Dollars are the standard currency of international exchange. British pound, German Marks, French Francs, Japanese Yen, and a handful of other currencies are also widely convertible but such powerful currencies as Iraq Dinars, Malaysia Ringgits and Nigerian Naira are not convertible because they are not readily accepted in international economic transactions. Since most of the world's hard currency reserves are concentrated in the EDCs, the LDCs struggle to buy needed imports.

A major issue for LDC's then is the acquisition of hard currency development capital. There are four main sources of convertible currencies available, Loans, investment, trade and aid. Unfortunately, each has its own limitation and drawback. Unless important changes are made to increase the flow of development capital to the LDC's and to distribute it more broadly among all LDCs, the majority of them are destined for the foreseeable failure to remain relatively poor.

Loans sources of hard currency can be given by private individuals, government, banks and other private institutional and individual bondholders. For example, the largest creditors worldwide are the IMF and the World Bank and government. Extensive lending has produced recurrent debt crisis. A problem both North and South are highly concerned about. Some of these loans are guaranteed by the government of the EDCs the IMF and the World Bank. Private investments constitute the second source of capital for LDCs through foreign direct investment (FDI) and foreign portfolio investment. For example, the LDCs proportion of FDI increased from 16 percent in 1990 to 2 percent in 1998.

Export earnings (trade) are a third possible source of development capital. Given the size of the World market and because earnings from trade can be used by LDCs according to their own wishes, trade is theoretically the optimal source of hard currency for LDCs. Yet, practically the LDCs are seriously disadvantaged by the pattern and terms of international trade. Certain factors account for LDC's trade weakness. First, they command only 24 percent of the World goods and services export market. Second, few NICs account for a lion's share of all the goods exported by the South. Third, most LDCs suffer a chronic trade deficit which debilitate their

national economics. Fourth, there is heavy dependence on the export of primary products including fibers, foodstuffs, fuels and others minerals and raw materials. These are the most important component of its exports. The more a country depends on primary product for export earnings, the less wealthy it tends to be. The use of trade then is to acquire capital and to improve economic conditions has not been highly effective for most LDCs. So all the above factors made LDCs disadvantaged.

Foreign Aid is the fourth possible external source of capital for LDCs. The flow of official development assistance to LDCs has been impressive amounting to trillions of dollars so far. Currently, almost all foreign aid that is given comes from the 21 EDCs that are members of the Economic Cooperation and Development (ECD). Most assistance is extended through bilateral aid (country to country) with a small amount being channeled through multilateral aid (via the United Nations, the World Bank and other IGOs).

However, there are some factors that reduce the impact of aid. These factors are discussed in turn below. First, political considerations limit the effectiveness of aid. The bulk of all foreign aid is often given more on the basis of political-military interest than to meet economic needs or to promote human rights. Beneficiaries of most of this aid are countries of the South. In fairness it should be pointed out that promoting democracy, human rights and other such standards also influence foreign and policy.

The second factor is military content that limits the impact of the foreign aid figures. For example, about half was military aid. Over 25 % of all American bilateral assistance that year was military aid. Another analytical approach that lessens the seeming importance of aid figures is donor aid relative to wealth. This compares aid given to the donor's wealth. This form has been dividing for years now.

The third factor is what limits the impact is the way aid is applied. In some countries, these aids has been used to build airports and sport arenas. Inefficiency and corruption also do not benefit the poor directly. It has therefore been criticized that it perpetuates the dependency relationship between North and South.

To check these abuses, donors are now working to ensure that aid is used wisely. In some cases, aids are being aimed at capacity building that is creating a political and business structure to use aid more effectively to build a recipient's economic infrastructures.

4.3.1.2 Development in the South: LDC Perspective and Policies

The gap in wealth between the North and South is an age long phenomenon. Relations between them have not been static, the LDCs are now asserting and demanding that they have a right to share in the world's economic wealth. A call to the EDCs to redistribute part of their wealth to enhance LDCs economic situations. All these shall be examined below.

Most countries of the South are formerly colonies of the countries of the North. Even after independence, many LDCs remained in an economically disadvantaged positions in relations to their former colonial masters or to other dominant EDCs but most LDCs are unwilling to accept such manipulation. Certain factors account for resistance to a dependent relationship between the North and South. The impact of nationalism on LDCs negotiation with EDCs, increased moral rhetoric from many international organization and non-governmental organization about responsibility for LDC development and transactional ideologies such as Marxism that point to the exploitation of the LDCs by the EDCs.

There is the development of the LDC movement called the Non-Aligned Movement. The developing identity of the South first took the form of political non-alignment. In 1955, 29 African and Asia countries met at the Bandung in Indonesia to discuss how to hasten the independence of colonial territories and how to be non-aligned in the then cold war between the East and the West.

Even though there are no more colonies and the cold war is over, the Bandung conference remains an important development in the lives of the LDCs. The movement which was mainly political has since turned economic and has now formed a coalition of disadvantaged countries, the group of 77. The group called for creation of the first United Nation conference on Trade and Development, (UNCTAD) during its meeting in Geneva in 1964. This conference and the Group of 77 developed into UNCTAD organization. This 190-member UNCTAD has served as a vehicle for the LDCs to discuss their needs and to press demands on the North.

The group of 77 and UNCTAD have also jointly promoted many other discussions of the South's economic portion especially at Cancun, Mexico in 1981, when the North and South sat for the first time and in other such formal meetings all over the world. The UNCTAD meeting at Bangkok in 2000 was expected to have helped bridge the gap between the EDCs and LDCs but the meeting ended in acrimony when the former refused to make concrete commitments to open their market more fully to the export of the latter.

The South made a number of demands on the North through its declaration known as New International Economic Order. This declaration, adopted on a resolution by the UN General Assembly in 1974, protested vehemently against the North's domination of the world economic structure and the mal-distribution of wealth. The NIEO therefore called for.

- Trade reforms through the removal of trade barriers and the regulation of prices supplied.
- Monetary reforms: stabilization of inflation and exchange rates and increased funding from the IMF and other international monetary agencies as well as greater participation of LDC in the decision making of the IMF and the World Bank
- The North should assist the South in gaining technology and in increasing industrial production.
- The South asserts economic sovereignty i.e. its right to control its own resources and to regulate the activities of MNCs. The LDCs called on EDCs to increase economic aid and more non-political multilateral aid through the World Bank and other such IGOs.

The LDCs, without waiting for EDCs response, have taken action on a number of fronts which indicate the South's assertiveness. One, they have been able to establish cartels (an international trading agreement among producers who hope to control the supply and price of a primary product e.g. OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries), the Asian and Pacific Coconut Community. Second is the importation of tariff and non-tariff barriers to protect infant industries. Protectionist policies, however, have one important disadvantage. For one, there is evidence that protectionism does not work for LDCs and that economic growth is positively associated with eliminating trade impediments.

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

The South and its international political economy has been discussed and analyzed. You need to appreciate the steps the South or Group of 77 has taken to solve their economic problems.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

The issue of capital needs is central to the survival of the South. Discuss the steps so far taken to solve the problem of capital inadequacy by this group.

4.4 Conclusion

The move by the Group of 77 or the South to address their collective socio economic problems is laudable to say the least. They have, in most times, spoken with a common voice in their attempt to x-ray these problems and what the North can do to help solve them. They had at a time urged the North not to restrict exports of the South through harsh tariffs in their (EDCs) markets in order to help the South acquire hard currency needed and necessary for its economic development. They have demanded for greater participation in the management of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and other international development organizations.

4.5 Summary

The economies of the South are relatively weak compared to those of the North, and in the South there is great disparity in wealth among and within countries. A few NICs have expanding and modernizing economics. There is also, in most LDCs, a small wealthy class of people and a much larger class of poor people.

The LDCs need hard currency capital to buy the goods and services that will allow them to develop their economies. There are four basic sources of hard currency: Loans, foreign investment, trade and foreign aid. There are however problems with each of these sources. Loans are unsatisfactory because of high repayment costs. The debt crisis has eased, but LDC debt is growing once again and would threaten the global financial community. Foreign aid is minor compared with world needs and is often given on the basis of political expediency rather than economic necessity.

In recent years, the countries of the South have begun to make greater demands for economic equity to press the North to join in establishing a New International Economic Order. There are variety of barriers to the unimpeded international movement of trade and capital. These include such barriers as tariffs, non tariffs barriers and licensing requirements.

4.6 Tutor-Marked Assignment

The formation of the group of 77 is a bold step aimed at understanding the perspective of the South on development issues. Discuss.

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Unit 5 South-South Cooperation

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5.1 Introduction

The world economy is being reshaped by new technologies, services, and trading relationships. Much of this dynamism is fuelled by ambitious developing-world nation-state like Brazil, India and South Africa. As governments, businesses and regional blocs in the global South expand their horizons, they increasingly bypass rich Northern states. But is this "South-South cooperation" any more progressive or less selfish than the more familiar - and hegemonic - "North-South relationship"?

The idea of "South-South cooperation" started to influence the field of development studies in the late 1990s. It was fuelled by a growing realization that poor nations might find appropriate, low-cost and sustainable solutions to their problems in other developing countries rather than in the rich North. It drew on clear examples of existing waste and alternative opportunity; for example, if African farmers need boreholes to access water, it surely makes more sense to access India's huge pool of expertise than to send expensive European water engineers.

The concept quickly spread from the seminar room to the policy chamber. By 1997, Britain's new department for international development explicitly aimed -under its first minister, Clare Short to withdraw from its aid programs any requirement to use British service providers. The intention was to encourage recipient governments to spend the aid more effectively - especially on solutions sourced from other developing nations. By the early 2000s, some forward thinking developing nations themselves were incorporating this altruistic principle into their foreign policies. Luis Ignacio Lula da Silva's Brazil is just beginning to make Africa part of its wider effort to build the country's global profile, recently it granted fellow-Lusophone Mozambique to install and staff its own factory producing anti-retroviral HIV drugs, thus reducing its reliance on expensive imports.

5.2 Objectives

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

- identify the reasons why the South-South countries are now bypassing rich?
- discuss specific relations among some – what members
- analyze specific variables of relationship among members.

5.3 Main Content

5.3.1 China and Africa

An even more potent example of "South-South" cooperation is the People's Republic of China. China's presence in Africa goes back centuries: archaeologists digging in the ruins of Africa's great medieval trading states

at Timbuktu and Great Zimbabwe have found fine porcelain and other evidence of a trading network that spanned half the world. After the PRC was founded in 1949, the new state based its relations with the developing world on a defined doctrine, the "five principles of peaceful coexistence"; it also used its own legacy of colonial aggression and experience of liberation to forge links with the African nation-states emerging from colonial rule.

China in the 1960s lacked the resources of the cold-war superpowers, but still invested significant energies in support of independent Africa. The PRC, driven by perceived ideological, anti-imperialist affinities, dispatched Chinese technicians to nominally leftist states to provide military training, modest economic aid and in fractal monuments to socialist solidarity. The era of "liberation wars" in the 1970s saw China choose sides and patronize its favoured forces, as in Angola. This interest receded in the 1980s as Chinese development efforts were diverted inwards.

But the post-Tiananmen period gave earlier ideological bonds a fresh twist: the hostility of many African leaders to democratic pressures and (especially) western, "hegemonic" conceptions of human rights chimed with China's own preconceptions.

Throughout the 1990s, China increased its aid to African governments and resumed its earlier rhetoric of "mutual respect" and "concern for diversity" - a discourse that resounded strongly in a continent highly attuned to the perceived neocolonial reflexes of the former ruling powers. In return, Beijing received recognition of its sovereignty over Taiwan, indifference to its human-rights abuses, and support in international organizations.

In 2000, a new China-Africa cooperation forum agreed to a joint economic and social program, one that lent a developmental and commercial slant to the "five principles". China has subsequently been well in advance of the G8 by canceling \$10 billion of the debt it is owed by African states; at the second Sino-business conference in December 2003, China offered further debt relief to thirty-one African Countries, as well as opening the prospect of zero-tariff trade. The tensions in what might be called China's "developmental evangelism" in Africa are evident. The ideological underpinnings retain some potency and the principle of "non-interference" in domestic politics persists. But Chinese commercial interests dominate the relationship, the strain of avoiding entanglement in ethically and politically complex questions increases.

For China, insensitivity to human-rights abuses can be finessed as respecting "cultural diversity", but this gets hard in a more open, regulated trading environment. Rapid economic growth in China in the last decade, coupled with oil exploration and economic diversification in west-central

Africa, has created new links. More than 60% of African timber exports are now destined for Asia; 25% of China's oil supplies are now sourced in the gulf of Guinea region.

5.3.2 India-Africa Relations

The relationship between India and Africa has been on for a long time. There have been bilateral links between India and Nigeria, Ethiopia, South Africa, Zambia etc. Some factors informed the closer relationship of India with Africa. One, the need to bring the economic geographies together for a meaningful relation. Two, to find the affirmatives and synergy to improve the longer time relationship and institutionalize the mechanism that will bring businessmen and economy face to face with each other.

Africa and India believe that there is a huge unexpected potential for strengthening the relationship, that there are common aspirations and challenges and that there are common opportunities for working together. India also believes and rightly too that political stability is very central to India and Africa relationship. Where there is crisis in terms of political stability you automatically have certain doubts and concerns in the people trade in markets where there is political stability.

India's objective is to trade in goods and services. She is expected to seize the opportunities available in Africa to invest and to cooperate with Africa in the areas of trimming and capacity building and sharing. India wants to relate with Africa in specific areas of information technology, biotechnology, drugs and pharmaceuticals cooperation in research and development, energy, small and medium enterprises. All these are expected to be reciprocated by Africa through the supply of oil minerals and other raw materials. India can sell finished products automobile and components, machine tools, transportation equipment and pharmaceuticals and can help to develop in institutional buildings.

India expects Africa to realize that both sides can learn from each other; that Africa can contribute a lot to Indian economic development. Second, India expects a long term partnership with Africa. Third, to find avenues together to exploring markets outside India and Africa. India thinks this can only be achieved in Africa by the formation of industry association in each country; and with which India can share its experience.

India is also ready and happy to work with NEPAD; which is a good initiative to her. In the area of capital fund, Indian financial institutions will assist to ensure business success. She would also assist Africa in the area of information technology.

Challenges Facing India and Africa Project

Africa has the next highest GDP to South-East Asia, in terms of growth. The growth is, probably, going to explode in the next five years. For the real growth to take place, it needs to be more of knowledge and power. In order for that to happen there is need for people who have been taught and who are ready to teach others.

Second, there are potentials for development in both continents such as high human population; India has a population of over one billion. Africa has the raw material and India has the resources, energy needs and security needs.

5.3.3 China – Nigeria Relations

Nigeria and China have finally defined their bilateral relations capable of impacting positively on their respective economies. China's recent business activities in Nigeria increased to an all-time high figure of \$2.83 billion (about M370 b) in 2005 trade. This is meant to consolidate China's hold on Nigeria as most important trading partner South of the Sahara.

In the spirit of South-South cooperation, several economic agreements between the two countries were signed and a cooperative framework developed for the realization of greater relations. China had also announced a 46-million-yuan aid to Nigeria. Prior to these agreements the Chinese had handled and helped to fix the ailing Nigerian railway and also had some level of presence in sundry infrastructure development.

The rising Chinese interest in Nigeria has since resulted in January's 2006 acquisition of a \$2.3-billion majority stake in a major oil field, a development Britain criticized for not carrying corresponding responsibilities. Parts of the agreements between the two countries covered such areas as a technical cooperation grant of 40million Yuan (about N700m), five million Yuan for anti-malaria medicine and a training course for comprehensive malaria prevention and control by China.

The agreement also involved a memorandum of Undertaking (MOU) for the National Information Technology of Nigeria and the Huawei Technologies of China and a petroleum cooperation deal between the Ministry of Petroleum Resources and the China National Petroleum Corporation.

Nigeria has also reaffirmed the grant of four oil blocks to China. A breakdown of the allocation shows that while two are located in the oil rich Niger Delta, the others are to be found at the Nigerian side of the Lake Chad basin. China is also to take over the ailing Kaduna refinery, while building a major power generating plant in the country.

China has also proposed to Nigeria a five-point plan for Sino-Africa strategic partnership. To build this partnership, China and Africa should:

- Strengthen political and mutual trust,
- Expand win-win economic cooperation,
- Increase cultural interaction,
- Strengthen security cooperation and
- Maintain close relationship in international affairs

The military contract agreement of Nigeria with China involves Nigeria's continuous interest in the acquisition of the Chinese 15F-7N1 multipurpose combat and trainer aircraft. The Nigeria Airline will take delivery of 12F-7NI multirole combat jets and three FT-7NI trainer aircraft. The deal also includes the provision structures for the installation of new navigational equipment and facilities, building a simulator training for the pilots and engineers, including the installation of an oxygen plant.

Finally, one of the projects being handled by Chinese firms in Nigeria is the Nigerian Communications Commission building in Abuja.

5.3.4 China-Zimbabwe: A Special Relationship

But China is moving beyond merely securing essential inputs to acquiring stakes in potentially productive African enterprises. Zimbabwe is a prime example of the kind of place where China likes to do business. In return for bailing out Robert Mugabe's regime with injections of cash, machinery equipment and military supplies, Chinese state-owned enterprises have assembled a portfolio of shares in some of public infrastructure. In buying a 70% stake in Zimbabwe's only electricity generation facilities at Hwange and Kariba, and stakes in the national railway, the Chinese have stepped in where other developing nations (even Libya) have feared to tread.

And on a micro-level, Chinese entrepreneurs are quickly supplanting small-scale retailers and local manufactures on Harare's streets. Zimbabwe's deteriorating political situation and assets-hungry officials may deter most private investors, but the Chinese government can instruct managers of state enterprises to take the risk, rely on good intergovernmental relations to guarantee investment flow, and depend on state coffers to absorb any loss in the last resort. China's lack of domestic political criticism, meanwhile, frees its government and companies from "reputational risks" and pressures that can leave western-based companies exposed.

Informed responsible shareholders might be cautious about backing state-led projects in Sudan or Mauritania which rely on a brutally-enforced stability; such issues have little visibility to Chinese public. China's new

hard-nosed Africa policy gives it a strong incentive to circumvent the kind of multilateral aid and investment agendas promoted by Britain's Tony Blair and Gordon Brown at the G8 summit with their inconvenient governance concerns and transparency provisions. As China moves towards becoming the third largest investor in Africa, its unilateralism will impact on the internal continental map.

5.3.5 The South African Alternative

Amidst the dynamism of the East Asian economies, it is tempting to forget that the continent itself is generating an economic powerhouse. South Africa, freed of its apartheid-era isolationist shackles, has become an interested and aggressive explorer of the rest of the continent. The South African model is mixed: private companies led the charge into the new mobile telecommunications sphere, household names like Shoprite followed across the continent, while 'parastatals' (state-owned enterprises) are also active. Thabo Mbeki's economically liberal instincts have been contained by the job-loss fears of his leftist coalition partners, and he has commercialized rather than fully privatized key state enterprises such as the power utility Eskom. This entity has reinforced Mbeki's peace plan for the Democratic Republic of Congo by committing its own \$500-million investment to the Inga dam, the 3,500- megawatt hydroelectric facility on the Congo River. This project would undoubtedly light up the DRC's cities- but Eskom's greatest benefit is probably trying the potentially huge electricity resources into a regional grid which would feed much-needed power supplies to South Africa's industrial zones.

This project aptly sums up the dual nature of developing-world investment in Africa. Is such investment, as Mbeki would have it, good for all involved - or is it simply a new wave of economic colonization which will leave most of Africa with as few benefits as in the past? As the developing nations themselves come to rival the investment presence of the G8 and former colonial powers in Africa, it is salutary to recall that 'South-South cooperation' may be more efficient and less wasteful than the west's grand gestures - but it is no less self-interested.

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

In this Unit, relationships between and among the countries of the South-South have been discussed especially relations between the popular members such as China, India, Nigeria, South Africa on the one hand and China-Africa, India-Africa on the other. You need to study these relationships and to be able to pinpoint specific areas of cooperation.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

China-Africa, India-Africa, China-Nigeria and the South African alternative solution to development in the South-South constitute the focus of our discussions. Identify the challenges posed by these relationships and suggest solutions to them.

5.4 Conclusion

That the countries of the South-South are now exploring how they can help one another in their drive to social, cultural and economic development other than waiting for handout from the North is indeed a great and welcome development.

China, India and such other countries who have attained and achieved a higher level of development in the area of science and technology, agriculture, trade, ICT should also help majority of the South-South members to minimize their dependence on the North by allowing the maxim 'an injury to one is an injury to us all' to guide their relationships. This can be done by giving technical aids and other assistance to strengthen the movement as a collectivity.

5.5 Summary

The idea of South-South cooperation began to influence the field of development studies in the late 1990s and was stimulated by a growing awareness that poor nations might find alternative but appropriate, low cost and sustainable solutions to their problems in other developing countries rather than the rich North.

In 2000, a new China – African cooperation forum agreed a joint economic and social program, one that lent a developmental and commercial slant to the five principles (itemized above). China cancelled \$10 of the debt it is owed by African states. China has also assisted Zimbabwe on economy by injecting cash, machinery, equipment and military supplies. In buying a 70% stake in the Zimbabwe's only electricity generating facilities at Hwange and Kariba and stakes in the national railway, China is making a positive contribution.

India has also indicated her willingness to help develop Africa; she is prepared to invest in and cooperate with Africa in the areas of training and capacity building, information technology, biotechnology, automobile, transportation equipment etc.

In the spirit of South-South, China has entered into bilateral relations with Nigeria. China has agreed to give Nigeria some financial aid, resuscitate the ailing Nigeria railway, medical training, participate in oil and mining exploration, supply some military facilities and equipment.

5.6 Tutor-Marked Assignment

The South-South has woken up from its dogmatic slumber. Discuss this in the light of new initiatives among its members with special reference to China-Africa and India-Africa relationships.

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Unit 6 Specialized International Organizations

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6.1 Introduction

These organizations, whose membership slightly differs from that of the United Nations general Assembly, have their own separate budgets, agendas, and personnel, and are isolated in other cities than New York. They are loosely connected with the Economics and Social Council. The major ones have been categorized as development (ILO, UNESCO), Finances (IMF) and World Bank. One agency from each of these categories shall be discussed in this Unit. Each of these specialized organizations deals with a specific concern.

6.2 Objectives

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

- Understand which of these IGOs is concerned with what subject matter.
- appreciate the role played in global development.
- evaluate their relative contribution to the world development.

6.3 Main Content

6.3.1 International Labor Organization (ILO)

The International Labor Organization is a United Nations affiliate that consists of government, industry, and Union representatives. The ILO has worked to define and promote fair labor standards regarding health and safety, working conditions, and freedom of association for workers throughout the world. In the early 1970's, the ILO published a study of social policy implication of Multinational Corporations. Issues touched in the study included investment concentration by area and industry, capital and technology transfers, international trade, work force efforts, working conditions, and industrial relations effects. The study concluded by writing the different views and concerns of employers and workers, and it recommended that the social problems and benefits specific to MNCs be identified.

Towards the end of the decade, the ILO published a report of series of country studies on the employment effects of MNCs, including jobs loss and gained as a result of MNCs as well as the quality of jobs within MNCs. Some of its important conclusions were: (1) jobs were growing faster in MNCs than in non MNCs, (2) white-collar positions were increasing at the expenses of blue-collar jobs, and (3) one key reasons for this employment growth was the research and development intensity of MNCs.

6.3.2 International Monetary Fund (IMF)

As trade and the level of other international financial transactions have increased, the need to co-operate internationally to facilitate and stabilize the flow of dollars, marks, yen, pounds and other currencies has become vital. To meet this need, a number of organizations have been founded. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) is the most important of these.

The IMF was founded on 17 December, 1945 following the Bretton Woods Conference at New Hampshire in 1944. At inauguration, it had a total of 44 member-countries consisting of Western European countries, the United States, Japan and Canada. In November 1947, it became a specialized agency of the United Nations with headquarters in Washington DC, the United States. The organization has at present 138 members, mainly from the third world countries. All countries are contributors to the fund as each member is required to contribute a specific amount of the fund's total resources. A country's contribution is determined by her general economic condition and political prowess, while a country's drawing rights is a function of her quota contributions.

The aims and objectives of the fund include: provide needy countries with short-term loan facilities to offset balance of payment deficits in order to bring countries out of balance of payment problems; to help remove trade barriers imposed on international trade by countries; helping member countries develop her productive resources, hence encouraging full employment and national income; fostering co-operation among member countries on international monetary matters; evolving a system of multilateral payments among member countries in order to eliminate foreign exchange restrictions frustrating the growth of world trade.

Other objectives are to "bail" out countries with balance of payment maladjustments as quickly as possible; encouraging exchange rate-stabilizations among member countries as such fluctuation has been militating against world trade; and reducing to barest minimum, the extent of disequilibrium in the international balance of payments of member countries.

6.3.3 Methods of Operations of IMF

Its loan is on a short-term basis. This is injurious to developing countries, which usually require long-term loans. Developed countries are more privileged and better treated than the developing nations. About 100 developing countries out of the total of 138 countries have only 28% of the total voting rights while about 62 voting rights. Second, accessibility to loan depends on each member's quota. Special drawing rights (SDR) to the fund's resources is a function of the country's contribution. This problem

limits the ability of developing countries quota in the fund is small due to her economies, which is predominantly of primary products.

As clearly reflected from the objectives of the IMF, its primary function is to help maintain exchange rate stability by making short-term loans available to countries with international balance-of-payments problems because of the trade deficits, heavy loan payments. The Fund derives its usable funds from hard currency reserves placed at its disposal by wealthier nation and from earnings from interest on loans made to countries that draw on those reserves. It also holds more than 100 of billions in reserve in LDC currencies, but they do not trade readily in the foreign markets and, therefore are of little use.

6.3.4 Criticism of the IMF

In recent years the IMF has been a focus of struggle between the North and the South. It is possible to divide the controversies regarding the IMF into three categories: voting conditionality, and capitalism and social justice.

Voting in the IMF is based on the level of each members contribution to the Fund's resources and on the basis of this, the U.S (17.7%). and the EU countries (30.6 percent) alone control almost half the votes. This formula has one implication. The economically developed countries have a solid majority of the votes and with the Japan's 6.3 percent added, the major EDCs easily controls the decisions of the IMF. That is the IMF is Euro-white controlled. This dominants control has made the less developed countries change that the funds is controlled by the North and is being used as a tool to dominate the LDCs.

The IMF has also been accused of imposing unfair and unwise conditions on LDCs that use its financial services, and most IMF loans are subject to conditionality. This refers to requirements that the borrowing country takes steps to remedy the situations that, according to the IMF, have caused the recipient's financial problems. The IMF's conditions seek to entrench a capitalist economy on the LDCs by:

- Urging them to privatize their state-run enterprises
- Reducing barriers to trade and to the flow of capital (thus promoting foreign ownership of domestic businesses).
- Reducing domestic programs in order to cut government budget deficits.
- Ending domestics subsidies or laws that artificially suppress prices, and

- Devaluing currencies (which increase exports and make imports more expensive).

Prudent as this conditionality may sound, it has the following draw-backs. For one, they violate sovereignty by interfering in the recipient's policymaking process, which is hitherto not admissible in international social and political conduct. Second this conditionality either intentionally or unintentionally maintain the dependence relationship. Some less developed countries have regarded the conditions as amounting to "economic colonialism". Third, the capitalist prescription to economic problem by the IMF has forced recipient LDC government to harm the quality to life of their citizens by reducing economic growth and by cutting social services in order to maintain a balanced budget.

6.3.5 World Bank

The most important development agency today is the World Bank Group. The group has four agencies namely the International Bank Group. The group has four agencies namely: The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), International Development Association (IDA), the International Finance Cooperation (IPC) and the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA). All these agencies realize their funds from money subscribed by member governments, from money the agencies borrow, and from interest paid on the loans they make.

Like the IMF, the World Bank Group, do a great deal of good, but have been criticized on the following grounds: First, the North dominates the South because it has a voting formula that gives the majority of the votes to the handful of Economically Developed Countries. Second, it provides too little funding. This is because lending has declined somewhat from the early 1990s when measured in real dollars. In addition, the repayment of loans means that the net flow of funds to LCDs is lower than it seems, The third is that the World Bank Group is caught between the North's concentration on "business like," interest- bearing loans and the South's demands that more loans be unconditionally granted to the poorest countries at low rates or without interest at all. Moreover, the World Bank Group also demands that recipients take sometimes damaging policies which LDCs claimed violate their sovereignty and hurt more than they help.

6.3.6 The Philosophy and Objectives of the Breton Wood Institutions

By Breton Woods institutions we mean the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank. These institutions use their loan facilities and the

debt burdens of highly indebted developing countries as basis for pressurizing them to adopt macroeconomics policy packages, notably stabilization and structural adjustment programs and policies.

Their Underlying philosophy in the developing world is the free enterprises/market system with emphasis on greater reliance on market forces in economics decision working. The IMF programs are short term and are designed to adhere a sustainable balance of payment position and internal price stability. Hence the fund's programs usually consisting of a mix of demand restraint measures and policies designed to "get prices right" e.g. reducing budget deficits by cutting expenditure abolishing subsidies, or by raising taxes or user fees on government service.

On the other hand, the Bank's programs are medium-term and aim mainly at raising the rate growth of the economy and improving living standards in developing countries. To this end, its programs include trade liberalization and measures to promote exports, relaxation of interest rates and credit controls etc.

6.3.7 World Trade Organization

General agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) is one of the most prominent specialized economics IGOs on the global level. It was founded in 1947 to promote free trade. The name GATT was a source of considerable confusion because it was both the name of a treaty and the name of the organization headquartered in Geneva, Switzerland. The confusion has not been removed. The GATT treaty was amended to create the World Trade Organization on January 1, 1995. It now has a total membership of about 164 member states and many others are seeking membership.

The most recent changes of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade have stimulated increased world trade. Under the new agreement, tariffs will be reduced worldwide and in some cases removed completely. The percentage of products entering the United States duty-free will be increased as well as for industrialized countries worldwide.

The World Trade Organization now has power to enforce rulings on trade disputes and create a more efficient system for monitoring trade policies. World economic powers such as the EU, United State, Canada, and Japan are now part of the WTO. Collectively all members now account for 2/3 of world trade.

6.3.7.1 The Structure and Role of the WTO

The 'Uruguay Round' created the WTO. It is headquartered in Geneva Switzerland. A country can withdraw from the WTO by giving six months notice but it would be to her own disadvantage as its products would no longer be subject to the reciprocal low tariffs and other advantages WTO members accord one another.

When one member initiates charge of trade violation, a 3-judge panel under the WTO hears the complaints. If the panel finds a violation, the WTO may impose sanctions on the offending country. Each country has one vote in the WTO, and sanctions may be imposed by a two-thirds vote. The implication of this is that domestic laws may be disallowed by the WTO if they are found to be de-facto trade barriers.

Since 1995 a lot of case have been handled by the WTO. For example, the US alone has bought more than 50 cases and has had to answer more than 25 complaints by other countries. While some of these cases were settled out of cent, the United States prevailed more often than it lost. The WTO railing dismissing the U.S. complaint that Japan was discriminately against Kodak surprised the Americans.

Although the WTO has taken off well, there are some challenges before it. One is what will happen if some powerful members refuse to abide by the WTO rules and reject the findings of the judicial process. So far there has been compliance with the WTO judicial pronouncement. For example when the US and the EU lost a case, they quietly accepted it. Second, how will some members handle a case of protest by the citizen of a member country against the decisions of the WTO?

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

Based on the discussions above, what conclusions can you draw about these specialized international organizations? Of what value would this information be to the study of international organizations?

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

Global attempts have been made by countries to cooperate to address economic matters that face them with a view to finding common solutions. By means of a typical example show how far these efforts have yielded dividends.

6.4 Conclusion

These specialized international agencies of the United Nations Organization were set up to help member nations address the critical and peculiar socio-economic problems. That is, they form part of the concerted and serious

attempts at helping members who, for one reason or the other, may not be competent enough to solve the myriads of problems facing them. The failure or the little success that has attended singular efforts at meeting their local needs with regards to public goods has gone a long way to necessitate membership of these developments, financial and trade organizations.

However, there is no denying the fact that in some cases these agencies have screwed or designed their policies, programmes and rules for the purpose of the relevance or industrialized nations to the detriment of the developing ones. This is not denying the fact that developing nations have recorded some benefits from being members such benefits include access to loans and development aids.

6.5 Summary

Many specialized IGOs are involved in the issues of the economic development of their member countries. Trade cooperation has grown through the new General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and its administrative structure, the World Trade Organization, and great strides have been taken towards promoting free trade. The International Monetary fund is one of the monetary agencies dedicated to stabilizing the world's monetary system. Its primary role has been to assist LDCs by reducing their foreign debt. The IMF, however attaches conditions to its assistance, and this practice has generated considerable criticism especially as regards voting formula, conditionality capitalism and social justice. The World Bank is one bank set up to provide developmental loans and grants to countries in need.

6.6 Tutor-Marked Assignment

Pick one specialized international organization of your choice and illustrate how its policy and program have affected the economy of Nigeria.

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Module 4 Forms and Role of International Organization

Unit 1 Regional International Organizations

Unit 2 International Organization

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Unit 1 Regional International Organizations

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1.1 Introduction

One thing about the growth of regional international organizations is that before the World War II there were no prominent regional organizations but today they are many. Examples of these are the Organization of African Unity, now African Union (AU) and the Organization of American State (OAS). A noteworthy development about some of these regional IGOs is that some are transforming from specialized to general purposes. For example, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) established in 1975 to facilitate economic interchange but in the 1990s took on a very different function when it intervened in the civil wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone. Also the European Union with its 15 members countries, has moved toward full economic integration and partial political cooperation. For the purpose of this course only the European Union and ECOWAS would be discussed to enhance our understanding of the functioning of regional bodies.

1.2 Objectives

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

- explain and account for the origins and evolution of the two regional organizations namely EU and ECOWAS.
- discuss the administrative nature of these regional organizations.
- identify future challenges of these organizations.

1.3 Main Content

1.3.1 Economic Community of West African States

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was established in Lagos on 28 May, 1975 after fifteen West African states had signed the treaty. The signing of the treaty followed over ten years of discussion among the West African states under the auspices of the Economic Commission for Africa, a regional development agency of the United Nations. Cameroon the 16th Nation joined the group in the 1990s.

The aims and objectives of the community include promotion of cooperation and development in all field of economic activities e.g. transport, energy, telecommunication etc. among member state; Promoting and raising the standard of living of the people through cooperation, increasing and maintaining economic stability; fostering closer relatives; encouraging free movement of citizens, goods and services, encouraging the program and development of the African continent. Other objectives include establishing common customs tariffs, establishing a fund for compensation, cooperation and development within the sub-region and elimination of custom duties.

The ECOWAS has six organs. These are the Authority of Head of the State and Government, the General Ministers, the Executive Secretariat, the Fund for Cooperation, Compensation and Development, the Community Tribunal and the Technical and Specialized commission. The ECOWAS is administered through the first three organs and the Community Tribunal.

1.3.1.1 The Authority of Heads of State and Government

This is the highest authority of the organization and is made up of Heads of state and government within the sub-region. It is headed by a Chairman who holds office for one year (the office is rotational). This body meets once a year but an extra-ordinary meeting may be called. The functions and powers of this organ include the appointment of the executive secretary, decision making, discussing issues pertaining to the economy of the sub-region, approving the recommendations of the Council of ministers, approving all treaties and agreements entered into by the community, and approving proposals initiated for the amendment of the charter establishing the community.

1.3.1.2 The Council of Ministers

This Council consists of two ministers or members from each member state and meets twice in a year. Voting is based on simple majority. This Council performs the following functions and duties: Implementing the decisions of the Assembly of Heads of state; makes recommendations for the appointment of the two deputy Executive Secretaries who assist the Executive Secretary in his duties; It appoints the ECOWAS Funds

Managing Director; The body prepares the agenda for the meetings of the Heads of State and Government; Recommends the appointment of the Executive Secretary of the Organization to the Authority of Head of state and government; and it approves the organization's budget.

1.3.1.3 The Executive Secretariat

The Executive Secretariat which is located in Abuja, is the administrative organ of ECOWAS. This is the head of the secretariat. The Secretary General is the principal executive officer of the community and is responsible for the general administration of the community. Assisted by two deputy executive secretariats, he holds office for a period of four years and may be re-elected for another term.

The Executives secretary prepares the annual report of the organization; he is the Chief Administration officer of the organization. He appoints members of his staff. He is also responsible for the preparation of the annual budget.

13.1.4 Functions of the Executive Secretariat

The secretariat is saddled with enormous realities and responsibilities, the following are notable functions the Executive Secretariat performs.

- a) The secretariat is responsible for all correspondence of the community.
- b) It prepares the budget of the community.
- c) It makes arrangement for all the meetings of the community.
- d) This organ prepares the agenda for the meetings of the Council of Ministers.
- e) It takes custody of all the files of other organs of the community in the secretariat .
- f) It executes the decisions of both the Authority of Head of state and governments, and the Council of ministers.
- g) The secretariat initiates the formulation of policies for efficient development of the community.

1.3.1.5 The Community Tribunal

This tribunal resolves disputes among member states making up the organization on matters affecting the interpretation of the treaties that established ECOWAS.

1.3.2 The Origin and Evolution of the European Union

The European Union was established in 1952 when Belgium, France, (West) Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands joined together to form a common market for coal, iron and steel products called the European coal and steel community. It was successful that in 1957 the six countries signed the treaties in Rome that created the European Economic Community to promote trade among member states.

1.3.2.1 Economic Integration

Interchange among the committees widened rapidly, and they realized the need to coordinate their activities even further. The success by the community brought new members. Denmark, Ireland and Great Britain were admitted in 1973 while between 1981 and 1995, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Finland and Sweden became members of the EU bringing its membership to 15. For about three decades, the integrative proceeds in Europe had its focus on economics and members grew more interdependent as economic barriers were eliminated. In 1986, the community members abolished the cash tariffs on manufactured goods among themselves and established a common EC external tariff on another economy for members. They agreed in 1970 to fund the EC with a virtually independent revenue source by giving it a share of each country's value added tax and all duties collected on imports from non-EC countries. By 1987 EC had become fully integrated economic unit.

1.3.2.3 Political Integration

Economic integration and political integration seem to be interwoven. It is not possible to separate the two. It is impossible to attain full economic integration among sovereign states whose domestic and foreign political policies are sometimes in conflict. Europe entered in a new political phase of integration evolution in 1993 when the far-reaching treaty on European Union known as Maastricht treaty came into effect.

The treaty had important economic provisions that called for monetary integration, the coordination of social policies e.g. labor conditions. More fundamental were the political change that began under the treaty. The concept of European citizenship has been expanded. Citizens of EU countries can now travel on either an EU or a national passport and citizens of any EU country can vote in local and European parliamentary elections in either EU country where they live.

The most recent treaty to further the economic and political integration is the Treaty for Europe known as the treaty of Amsterdam, which came into effect on May 1, 1999. The treaty provided for:

- Member states are required to align their employment policies according to EU guidelines.
- Further the sense of EU citizenship in a number of ways.
- Establishing a new external policy - planning Unit.
- Limits the ability of any single member or a few members to EU policy.
- Increases the power of the president of the EU and the European Parliament.
- Brings patents and intellectual property rights further into the EU's realm, and
- Encourages the development of the Western European Union.

1.3.2.4 The Government of Europe

As with all government, the structure and the authority of the various EU Units play an important part in determining how policy is made and which policies are adopted. The EU's administration can be divided into political leadership, the bureaucracy, the legislature and the judiciary.

The Council of ministers of the Union is the political division policy-making body. It consists of the Meeting of the Prime Ministers and other heads of government. The Council meets twice a year and meets more often with finance ministers to supplement the prime ministerial meetings.

The Union is head-quartered in Brussels, Belgium. Each country has one vote but now voting is by weighted vote plan known as "qualified majority voting". The EU has a bureaucracy. The 20-member commission administers policy adopted by the Council. The commissioners are not supposed to represent the viewpoint of their country. They serve five years terms and act as a cabinet for the EU, with each commissioner overseeing an area of administrative activity. The commission President is the EU's administrative head and is the overall director of the EU bureaucracy headquartered in Brussels. The President is usually a person of significant influence.

The European parliament serves as the legislative organ and meets in Strasbourg, France. It comprises 626 members shared among the EU countries on a modified population basis and elected to five-year term. The

EP's members are elected by voters in their respective countries. The EP has had mostly advisory authority but it is struggling to carry out a more authoritative role. The treaty of Amsterdam extends the EP's "co-decision" authority with the Council of ministers to a great number of issues. The EP has the power to veto some regulations issued by the commission and it confirm the EP's ability to accept or reject the EU budget proposed by the commission. The EU has a 15-members Court of Justice that hears cases brought to it by member states or other EU institutions and sometimes acts a court of appeal for decision of lower EU courts. The courts have gained authorities over time. For example, the court once ruled that certain VAT exemptions in Britain violated EU treaties and would have to be abrogated. The judicial branch also included the Court of Auditors which monitors budget spending. There is also a European Ombudsman, an office that acts on a mediator between agencies and citizens who bring complaints. The office of the Ombudsman can demand information from and make recommendations to agencies and can also recommend corrective legislation to the Council of ministers and the European parliament.

1.3.2.5 The Future of the EU

The consciousness is developing in Europe that the EU should begin to press for both economic and political integration. How much further and how fast the EU can proceed down the integration road and expansion rest on a number of factors such as the popular support, the EU economy, satisfaction with EU institutions, political identity, perception of Germany and expanded membership.

The level of public support for EU integration is one factor that will determine the EU's future. There is however evidence that Europeans support EU integration; want it to proceed further and faster. For instance, people are relatively comfortable with EU governance in the areas of education and foreign policy because the support for EU on these areas has not been less than 53%.

The second factor on the issue of the EU integration is the economic prosperity of members and their citizens. While the potential for the European economy is enormous, there are, however, such obstacles to overcome such as economic disparity and reluctance to total acceptance of euro as the official currency and the long standing national differences over fiscal policy and fighting unemployment as a priority etc. The degree to which the EU's decision making and administrative institutions function effectively constitutes the third factor that will affect the future of EU integration. For example, some European voters oppose expansion of EU

functions because of their belief that the Euro taxes are too high and that the EU bureaucracy, the Eurocracy is too powerful, unresponsive and even corrupt.

Political identity will impact EU integrations. An increase in the transfer of authority from national government to the EU will require citizens to shift their loyalties to an equal degree from their national states to the EU. The people have developed greater consciousness of European identity. However it is believed that the much of the support for continued integration in the EU is not based on perceptions of benefits to be derived from EU membership but rather on a sense of common European identity.

The fifth factor that may impact on EU integration is the persistent wariness of Germany. Germany relatively is the single largest member of the Union, accounting for 21 percent of the EU population, 25 percents of the GDP, and 22 percent of total EU export. France, Britain and Italy, for example, resent Germany dominating, for they see the federalization ideas put forward by Germany as a tendency toward domination.

Lastly, the popular willingness to accept new members will also affect the future of the EU. Support for the integration does not necessarily mean support for expansions. Public support for the expansion of the EU is still being mixed. On the whole, the emergence of the EU has been a remarkable world development. The progress towards politic economic integration will not be an easy one.

The ECOWAS and the EU provide examples of the development, structure and roles of regional IGOS. The EU has considerably evolved along the path of economic integration. The movement towards political integration is more recent and is proving more difficult than economic integration.

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

The functions and duties of chief executives of two regional international organizations, ECOWAS and EU have been exhaustively discussed. You are expected to write out these functions and duties and show any fundamental differences between them. Account for the differences.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

From all available facts, integration seems to be central to the formation of any regional international organization. Discuss this with reference to either ECOWAS or the European Union.

1.3.3 Organization of African Unity

1.3.3.1 Origin

The OAU was an intergovernmental organization established on May 25, 1963 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The heads of states of thirty-two independent African Countries at that time signed the OAU Charter. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Haile Selassie of Ethiopia headed this movement.

However, its membership was open to all independent African states in a bid to eradicate all forms of colonization and apartheid and to ensure political, economic and social integration amongst member states for development of the African continent.

1.3.3.2 Formation

Prior to the 1963 summit in Ethiopia, there were two positions from the existing two ideological groups on how to achieve the political and economic development and integration of Africa. The Casablanca bloc led by Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana preferred a Federation of African countries. Its members included Algeria, Morocco, Guinea, Egypt, Mali and Libya. On the other hand, The Monrovia bloc led by Senghor of Senegal felt that unity should be achieved gradually, through economic cooperation, rather than a political federation. Nigeria, Liberia, Ethiopia, and most of the francophone countries belonged to this group.

1.3.3.3 Rationale

The OAU was a reflection of the realities and contradictions in Africa at the time. The main reason for its formation was the nature of political and ideological dimensions of Pan-Africanism, which believed in the termination of the political, economic and cultural domination of the Africans by the White imperialists. Hence, there should be an acceleration of the process of transferring power to the Africans to replace the direct or indirect imperialist rule. In addition, African leaders felt that, the independence of their respective countries would be insecure and incomplete until the entire continent is no longer under colonialism and apartheid.

1.3.3.4 Principles

The OAU members agreed on seven principles to guide their activities towards achieving the purposes of the organization. These principles include:

- 1) The sovereign equality of all Member States

- 2) Non-interference in the internal affairs of States
- 3) Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each State and for its inalienable right to independent existence
- 4) Peaceful settlement of disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation or arbitration
- 5) Total condemnation, in all its forms, of political assassination and subversive activities by members in any other States
- 6) Absolute dedication to the total emancipation of the African territories, which are still under colonization
- 7) The Affirmation of the policy of non-alignment to all blocs

1.3.3.5 Organs

The OAU Charter also made provisions for four cardinal organs/institutions to achieve its purposes. They are:

- 1) The Assembly of Heads of State and Government

The Assembly comprised of the Heads of State and Government or their duly accredited representatives. Each has a vote, while the passage of any resolution requires at least the two-third majority of Members of the Organization. It is the supreme organ of the Organization charged with the responsibility of addressing matters of common concern to Africa, coordinating and harmonizing the general policy of the Organization.

1.3.3.5.1 The Council of Ministers

The Council of Ministers consisted of Foreign Ministers or any other Minister designated by the Governments of Member States. They were responsible to the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, met at least twice a year to address matters conferred on them by the Assembly, implement the decisions of the Assembly, and prepare conferences of the Assembly. The Council also approved the annual budget of the Organization. Each member has one vote and simple majority of the members was required to pass resolutions.

1.3.3.5.2 The General Secretariat

The general secretariat, which was in Ethiopia, was the administrative organ of the Organization. The Assembly appointed the Secretary-General as the head, to direct the affairs of the Secretariat. The provisions of the Charter and the regulations approved by the Assembly of Heads of State

and Government governed the functions and conditions of service of the Secretary-General, the Assistant Secretaries-General, and other employees of the Secretariat.

1. 3.3.5.3 The Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration

The purpose of the commission was to ensure that Member States settle all disputes among themselves by peaceful means. It was vital to the OAU's principle of Peaceful settlement of disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation or arbitration.

1.3.3.5.4 Achievements

- The OAU was actively involved in the decolonization of the African countries in the first decade after its establishment.
- It also intensified the struggle against apartheid in southern Africa.
- It initiated peacekeeping and conflict mediation efforts in countries experiencing internal crisis.

1.3.3.5.5 Weaknesses

The last chairperson, South African President Thabo Mbeki dissolved the Organization in July 2002. At the time of its disbandment, all the African states were members, except the Morocco that left on November 1984. The major factors that hindered its effectiveness include:

- The OAU had no armed force like that of the UN to enforce its decisions.
- Member states were unwilling and reluctant to interfere in the internal affairs of members, due to the 'Principle of Non-interference'.

1.3.3.6 Transmutation of OAU to African Union (AU)

The African Union replaced the OAU in Lome, July 2000, after the adoption of its Constitutive Act, though officially launched on July 2002 in Durban, South Africa. This was due to the challenges of the 21st century, which required new thinking and approaches, in order to promote Pan-African consciousness, increase cooperation, and integration amongst African states for the purpose of growth and economic development. AU comprised of 55 states, with diverse ranges in respect of income, population, geographical spread, and political systems. The AU still upholds many founding principles of the OAU, and mainly represents

Africa in the global institutions, to promote political cooperation, peace and security and economic integration.

Furthermore, the funding and budgeting of the organization depends on the yearly contributions from member states, which hinders the capacity and efficiency of the organization. However, though inadequate, there are support donations, sepecially from China, India, South Korea and more recently Turkey.

1.3.3.6.1 Organs

The AU improves on the previous OAU's organs to create institutions that would address the challenges confronting Africa in the 21st century. The main organs include:

- Assembly of the Union
- The Executive Council
- The Pan-African Parliament
- The Court of Justice
- The Commission
- The Permanent Representatives Committee
- Specialized Technical Committees
- the Economic, Social and Cultural Council
- The African Central Bank
- African Monetary Fund
- African Investment Bank
- Peace and Security Council

1.3.3.7 Achievements

Since its inauguration in 2002, the AU has focused on the reform of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) to address the inherited issue of instability and violent conflicts on the African continent. Contrary to the previous position of the member states on the principle of non-interference, they warmly adopted the principle of non-indifference to war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide.

The significant percentage of the AU financial and human resources goes to managing violent political and other conflicts on the continent. Most institutions involved in deliberations, peace operations, mediation, preventive interventions, emergency operations and remedial action. The AU through APSA demonstrated its effectiveness in intervention through sanctions (in the case of Egypt and Burundi), peace operations (by deploying the African Standby Force), and diplomacy.

1.4 Conclusion

The evolution of regional international organizations reflects the desires of the regional people to exhibit the spirit of collectivity. They appreciate the fact that development of any country is not only entirely an internal matter but also requires and demands other countries' support by pooling together individual resources. It shows further that no country, rich or poor, can be an island itself. Mutual support is a condition for the world development of its vast people and nations. Hence the need and tendency towards integration and cooperation.

1.5 Summary

Regional organizations are a form of intergovernmental organizations (IGOS). The rapid growth of all types of international organizations stems from increased international contact among states and people and increased economic interdependence. Internationally acknowledged roles of intergovernmental organizations is providing an interactive forum, acting as a hub for international cooperation, evolving into an independent national actor, and becoming a supranational organization.

1.6 Tutor-Marked Assignment

Collective rather than personal interest informed, the establishment of both the ECOWAS and EU. Give a brief account of the emergence of these two international organizations. Identify the future challenges ahead of any of them.

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The OAU Charter, 1963

Unit 2 Global International Organization: The United Nations

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2.1 Introduction

International organizations are associations of nation states where governments have translated their awareness of some common interest into a formal compact (treaty, covenant, charter) and established some machinery in common (regular meetings, a secretarial common institutions). One example of such organization is the United Nations Organization. So long as any international organization lasts, its functions, performance, and actual behavior of its members, their behavior, is influenced by the frequency and scope of intra-organizational contacts.

Of all international organizations, the United Nations is the best known and most influential after the failure of the League of Nations to perform its functions i.e. to prevent war in 1939. After the war in 1945, the desire of some nations to maintain peace in the world led to the establishment of another world organization, i.e. the United Nations Organizations, in replacement of the former League of Nations. the need for this new organization was agreed to by the U.S, U.K, China and Russia at San Francisco, USA.

2.2 Objectives

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

- explain the operations of the UN
- demonstrate how the UN is being administered
- examine the various activities of the UN
- explain the theories Underlying the administration of the UN

The United Nations have six important organs namely; the General Assembly Security Council, the Secretariat, the Associated Agencies, International Court of Justice and the Economic and Social Council. The seventh organ, the trusteeship Council no longer meets as it has completed its task.

2.3 Main Content

2.3.1 General Membership

Theoretically, membership in most IGOs is open to any state that is both within the geographic and/or functional scope of that organization. This is

true of the United Nations; it is now having 189 members on the basis of one vote per member. In practice, politics also surrounds membership question. For example, the United State of America did not support the admission of the Palestinian state into the UN in 1998 when the General Assembly voted overwhelmingly 124 to 4. However, the associate membership given to the Palestinian is a victory to the general assembly.

2.3.2 UN General Assembly

The theoretical basis for plenary bodies is the mutual responsibility of all members for the organization and its policies. The UNGA normally has the authority to involve itself in mutually all aspects of the UN. So, theoretically the UNGA is the most powerful element but in practice it is secondary to the administrative structure of the UN.

2.3.3 UN Security Council

The Security Council is a Limited Membership Council. Theoretically some members have a greater say, responsibility, or capacity in a particular area of concern. The UN Security Council has 15 members, ten of which are chosen by the UNGA for limited term of 2 years, but five are permanent members. The permanent members are China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States, the five leading Victorian powers at the end of World War II. These five powers have a special peace keeping role to play. The special status enjoyed by the five permanent members has been fiercely criticized. The most common argument against the arrangement is that the existing membership has never been fully realistic and is becoming less so as time goes by. Many global and regional powers such as Japan, Germany, India and Nigeria are beginning to press for change i.e. for increase in the number of permanent members, for which they are highly interested. Less powerful countries are also pressing for reform.

2.3.4 Voting Formula

Majority voting is the most common formula used in the UN. It has two main components: (1) each member cast one equal vote and (2) the issue is carried by either a simple majority (50+1 vote) or, in some cases, an extra ordinary majority (commonly 2/3). The theory of majoritarianism is informed by the concept of sovereign equality and the democratic notion that the will of the majority should prevail. The UN has this principle or operates on this principle. However, the idea of equality does not reflect some standard of reality e.g. should Costa Rica without army cast an equal vote with the U.S. Also, the ten most populated States in the world namely Bangladesh, Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, Japan, Nigeria, Pakistan,

Russia, and the United State have less than 6% of the available votes in the General Assembly.

Another voting system adopted by the UN Security Council is called Veto. While it pressures the concept of sovereignty it can easily lead to stalemate. In the UN Security Council, any of the five permanent members can, by casting a negative vote, veto a resolution favored by the other 14 members. While vetoes were common till 1990 having been cast 264 times, but the power remains significant as a threat. Many votes are never taken because they face a certain veto by one or more of the P5. For example, there was no formal US veto in 1996 of the resignation Secretary General Boutros Ghali but the US veto power ended his tenure. President Fidel Castro of Cuba had condemned and called “the obsolete veto privilege” an instrument of “exalting a new colonialism”.

2.3.5 Political Leadership

The UN’s administrative structure is called the secretariat, and the Secretary-General is the chief Executive Officer. The UN Secretary-General is selected and nominated by the UNSC, then elected by the General Assembly for a five-year term. Politics always surrounds the appointment, as it is always the subject of intense struggle among member-countries.

The role orientations of the UN Secretary-General range between activities and restraint for example, in the UN chapter, the secretariat is the last major organ discussed and this indicates the limited, largely administrative role that the document’s drafters intended for the Secretary-General.

2.3.6 Bureaucracy

The principal officials of the secretariat are appointed by the Secretary-General. But in making appointment of this nature, he must be sensitive to the desires of the dominant powers in making these appointments and must also pay attention to the geographic and, increasingly, gender composition of the secretarial staff. The secretariat has, however, been accused of bloated size and inefficiency of staffs of the UN headquarters in New York.

2.3.7 The UN Budget

It therefore operates extended budgetary system which are of three types. First is the core budget for headquarters operations and regular programs of the major UN organs. The second is the peace-keeping budget to meet the expenses of operations being conducted by the security Council. The third budget element is called the voluntary contributions budget, which finances

a number of UN agencies such as the United Nations children's fund (UNICEF) and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP).

The UN is almost completely dependent on the financial assessment it budgets. This assessment is fixed by the UNGA based on a formula that reflects the ability to pay. By virtue of the UN charter, members are required to meet these assessments and may have their voting privilege in the UNGA suspended if they are seriously in arrears.

2.3.8 The UN Activities

The United Nations carries out a number of activities on which its effectiveness is adjudged or measured. One major activity of the UN is the area of promoting international peace and security which it does achieve through the following sub-activities.

First, it creates norms against violence (beliefs about what is power) against aggression and other form of violence. For instance, it works in such areas as promoting the concept of nuclear non-proliferation through the international atomic energy agency, limiting chemical and biological weapons, and promoting rules for the restrained conduct of war when it occurs. Countries that sign the charter pledge to accept the principle "that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest" and further agree to "restrain in their international relations from the threat or the use of force except in self-defence". This formed the basis of condemnation of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, the US Unilateral deposition of General Manuel Norega regional in Panama etc.

Second, the UN provides a debate alternative in which members publicly air their points of view and negotiate their differences. This grand-debate approach to peace involves denouncing your opponents, defending your actions, trying to influence world opinion, and winning symbolic victories.

Third, the UN has encouraged its members to settle their disputes peacefully. Inquiry- fact finding by neutral investigators; Good Offices- Encouraging parties to negotiate- acting as a neutral setting for negotiations; Mediation- Making suggestion about possible solutions, acting as an intermediary between two parties; Arbitration -Using a special panel to find a solution that all parties agree in advance to accept; and Adjudication- Submitting disputes to an international court such as the international court of justice.

These activities do not often capture the headlines, but they are a vital part of maintaining or restoring the peace.

Fourth, the use of sanctions by the UN has helped to effect desired situation, through at times controversial and do not work but there have been successes. Sanctions against South Africa helped ease apartheid there, they helped force Iraq to grudgingly give up some of its hidden armed production facilities and to allow UN military inspectors to search for other violation, and they were a factor in finally persuading Libya to surrender for trial two men accused of master minding the plot in 1998 blow up a Pan-American flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, Killing 270 people.

Fifth, is the peace keeping function. The UN has a limited ability to intervene militarily in a dispute. This process is called peace keeping. It is usually conducted Under the auspices of the UN Security Council, although, the UNGA form very light armed observer missions, through police forces, to full-fledged military forces. The UN peace keeping does not often involve stern international enforcer smiting aggressors with powerful blows rather it is a “coming between”, a positioning of a neutral force that creates space and is intended to help defuse an explosive situation. Peace keeping operations have taken place in almost every part of the world. In Africa, it has taken place in Congo, Bierra, and in Europe and Yugoslavia etc.

Another important function of the UN is arms control and disarmament. The international Atomic Energy Agency, an affiliate of the UN, helps promote and monitor the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. It also sponsors numerous conferences on weapons and conflict and has played an important role in the genesis of the chemical weapons convention and other arms control agreements.

In the field of economic development, the United Nations Development Program has worked to improve the economic well-being of those who are deprived, because of their location in an LDC (less Developed countries), gender, or some other cause. The UNDP has assisted a lot of socio-economic projects in Nigeria such poverty reduction, desertification, flood, traffic congestion problem (in Lagos).

Following the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, the UN has actively promoted a number of agreements on political, civil economic, social and cultural rights. The UN commission on human rights has used its power of investigation and its ability of to issue reports and expose abuses of human rights. It has embarked on spirited efforts to free millions of children from abuse, who are forced to work instead of being sent to school. Of course this informed the education for all (EFA) a program of the UNESCO. So its efforts have been geared towards eliminating other abuses on childhood.

One other important function of the UN is in the area of Earth summit, a program of the UN conference on Environment and development. As a result, several global meetings on the environment have been held. They have resulted in the initiation of programs that will slow down, stop, or begin to reverse the degradation of the environment.

The increasing role of the UN is in the area of defining and expanding international law and norms of cooperation. International courts help establish legal precedent. All signatories to the UN chapter have the obligations to obey the principles of these documents.

The UN is also lightly concerned with the quality of human life. UNICEF and WHO have embarked on a lot of programs on health, nutrition, literacy and multi-immunization vaccine as a form of medical assistance to children in developing countries. Also, the food and agriculture organization has launched a program to identify, observe, and strengthen through new genetic techniques domestic animals that might prove especially beneficial to LDCs.

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

In this Unit, the administration of the United Nations Organizations has been thoroughly discussed. You are expected to study it, paying adequate attention to facts. Attempt discussion of the administration of the United Nations.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

A number of the UN programs have been discussed, which of these programs do you think will benefit Africa as a developing continent.

2.4 Conclusion

The establishment of the United Nations Organization is one of the greatest things that have ever happened to the continents. There are various machineries or structures instituted each of which is concerned with an aspect of world affairs for example, the general assembly provides a forum to ensure compliance to the standing rules and practices of the organization. The principle of one member, one vote provides a level playing ground, theoretically, for all members to feel that no one sovereign nation is “superior” to the other.

However, the Security Council is about the most powerful organ in theory and practice. The power of veto that each of the five permanent members

has and can exercise more or less places the affairs of non-permanent majority at their mercy. Nonetheless the organization has succeeded in ensuring peace and security in many parts of the world e.g. Kosovo, Sierra Leone, Burundi etc. That the organization is unanimous on the issue of a nuclear power is a great plus to the United Nations.

2.5 Summary

The United Nations Organization (formerly the League of Nations) is the world institution set up following the end of the Second World War to ensure peace and security of all races on the surface of the earth. Voting schemes to be used in such bodies are another Repeat issue. Current international organizations with different voting scheme that include majority voting, weighted voting, and unanimity voting.

Another of such issues concerns the administration of international organization, including the role of the political leaders and the size efficiency of intergovernmental organization bureaucracies. The source of IGO revenue, financing, and the size of the UN budgets are a related concern.

There are also a number of important issues relating to the general role of international organizations. Peacekeeping is one important role. Others include creating norms against violence, providing a debate alternative, intervening diplomatically, imposing sanction, and promoting arms control and disarmament, promoting international law, improving the human condition and furthering international cooperation.

2.6 TUTOR-MARKED Assignment

Critically examine the UN activities and show the extent to which their objectives have been achieved using West African sub region as a case study.

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Unit 3 International Secretariat Of The UN

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3.1 Introduction

In this unit, the UN would be exhaustively discussed. What we are looking at here is the body set up right from time of the League of Nations and which indeed the United Nations inherited formally from the former. This is the International Secretariat of the UN i.e. the International Civil Service. The International Civil Service is an international body, recruited primarily for efficiency, competence and integrity, but on wider geographical basis. It is headed by a Secretary- General who carries constitutionally the responsibility of the secretariat work for other principal organs. That is, the Secretary-General performs an administrative function. The Secretary-General is assisted in his duties by a number of administrative staff, who constitute the secretariat. While some of these staff are on permanent appointments, others are on fixed-term. The former Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, was appointed about three decades ago as a permanent staff while somebody like Michael Omolewa, a Nigerian appointed recently, to head UNESCO on a fixed term.

There are two important phases in the evolution of the international civil service namely the league of Nations' phase and the United Nations' phase. These shall be discussed along with other administrative issues in this Unit.

3.2 Objectives

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

- examine the concept of impartiality and neutrality in the administration of the UN.
- Analyze the factors influencing the recruitment/employment of the international civil service staff.

3.3 Main Content

3.3.1 The International Civil Service

The scholars agreed that the evolution of the international civil service involved two phases namely; the League of Nations and the United Nations.

3.3.1.1 The League of Nations phase

The international civil service had its origin in the League of Nations that lasted from 1919 to 1945. The league charter did not make reference to the international character of the secretariat and simply stated “The permanent secretariat shall be established at the seat of the league”. The secretariat shall comprise a Secretary - General and such secretaries and staff as may be required. There was a provision for national secretaries, each to be

assisted by a national staff and performing in turn, the duties of Secretary-General. According to the league treaty, the duty of selecting the staff falls upon the secretary-General, just as the duty of approving it falls on the Council. In making his appointments, the S-G had primarily to secure the best available men and women for the particular duties which had to be performed; in doing so, he must select his staff from various nations and no one nation or a group of nations must have a monopoly in providing the material for this international institutions.

But the staff so appointed are no longer the servant of their countries of origin but servant-only of the league of nations because their duties are international in nature.

As a result, two essential principles of an international civil service emerged. First, its international composition and second, its international responsibilities. The latter enjoins all officials to discharge their functions and to regulate their conduct with the interest of the League alone in view and prohibited them from seeking or receiving instructions from any government or other authority outside the secretariat of the League of Nations. Next was the idea that international secretariat was to be solely an administrative organ, avoiding political judgment and action. This idea originated from Britain where in the 19th century the old system of patronage, political or personal which characterized civil service, had been replaced by the principle of a permanent civil service based on efficiency and competence and owing allegiance only to the state which it served. It followed that a civil service so organized and dedicated would be non-political.

The Secretariat in the interest of the League should not extend the sphere of its activities and the decisions of the various organizations, rather it should take it as its first duty to collate the relevant documents, and to prepare the ground for these decisions without suggesting what these decisions should be. Moreover, that once these decisions have been taken by the bodies solely responsible for them, it should limit itself to executing them to the letter and in spirit.

Scholars had remarked that, were the secretary General to be allowed to address the Assembly and Council of the league i.e. enter into political tasks that would have compromised the very basis of the impartiality principle essential for the secretariat. This however, does not mean complete exclusion from political matters, as he does play a role behind the scenes, acting as a confidential channel of communication to governments engaged in controversy or dispute, but this (behind the scenes) role was never extended to taking action in a politically controversial case that was

deemed objectionable by one of the side concerned. That was the situation as at the time the UN replaced the League of Nations.

3.3.1.2 The UN Phase

The UN secretariat inherited and retained certain elements of its status under the League of Nations. These elements include the following: The regulations on independence and international responsibility forbidding the seeking or receiving of instructions from states or other external authority. Under the league it was shown that an international civil service, responsible only to the organization, was workable and efficient.

As demonstrated, in the case of the behaviour of German and Italian fascists, that there was a danger of national pressures corroding the concept of international loyalty. This necessitates the need for explicit obligation on official and government to respectfully, the independence and the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the secretariat.

It was also recognized that an international civil service of this kind could not be made up of persons indirectly responsible to their national governments. This was with a view to building up a staff adequately as representatives of the government and acceptable to them. However, the great majority of members states rejected it because it would give national government particular rights in respect of appointment and thus indirectly permit political pressure.

To further avoid conflict between the position of a member of the secretariat and that of his country, immunity in respect of official acts was inserted to protect the officials from pressure by individual government and to allow them to carry out their international responsibilities without interference. However, as regards the functions and authority of the secretary-General, there were sharp differences.

The UN secretary-General is now the Chief Administrative Officer (CAO) of the organization is left to him. The preparatory Commission observed that the administrative responsibilities involve the essential tasks of preparing the ground for the decisions of the organs and of executing them in cooperation with the members.

3.3.2 The Status of the International Secretariat of the UN

The charter created a secretariat for the organization. The secretariat is to manage a number of staff and charged with the administrative duties with full political independence. It is to ensure the principle of neutrality. The charter also says that the secretary-General shall perform such other functions as are entrusted to him by other organs. The importance of this is

that it entitles the General Assembly and the Security Council to entrust the secretary-General with the execution of political decisions, even when this would bring him and with him, the secretariat and its members into the arena of possible political conflicts.

The charter also added political responsibility to his administrative duties. Article 99 also confers upon the Secretary General a right to bring matters to the attention of the Security Council, but the implication of this is that this right carries with it a brave discretion to conduct inquiries and to engage in formal diplomatic activity in regard to matter, which may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security.

The combination of both the political and executive with the internal administrative function was due to the influence of American political system on the organization. This has some direct implications for his selection. Proposals at San Francisco to remove the participation of the Security Council in the election process failed mainly because it was recognized that the role of the Secretary General in the field of political and security matters properly involved the Security Council and made it reasonable that the unanimity rule of the permanent members should apply.

However, this unanimous agreement is only limited to the selection of the Secretary General and it was also essential that it is protected against the pressure of a member during his term in office.

The charter also lays emphasis on the personal responsibility of the SG; it is he who is solely responsible for performing the functions entrusted to him for the appointment of all members of the secretariat and for assuring the other organs that the secretariat will carry out their tasks under his exclusive authority.

The new charter also emphasized the need for the recruitment of the secretariat to reflect international composition and that its basis would be as 'geographically' broad as possible. In addition, the paramount consideration in the employment of the staff should be the necessity of securing the highest standards of efficiency, competence and integrity. The League of Nations also emphasized this.

All the staff of the secretariat are expected to be neutral in the discharge of their duties. Neutrality means that the international civil servant, also in executive tasks with political implications, must remain wholly uninfluenced by national or group interest or ideologies.

The conception of an independence international civil service underwent further clarification in the face of pressures brought to bear on the

Secretary-General by the member states. This development involves two complementary aspects; first, the relation between the organization and the member states in regard to the selection and employment of nationals of those states; and second, the relation between the international officials, his own state and the international responsibilities of the organization. This relationship involved a complex set of obligations and rights applying to the several interested parties.

In response, the Secretary-General and the UN affirmed the necessity of independent action by the UN in regard to the selection and recruitment of staff. The organization could accept information from government concerning suitability for employment, including information that might be relevant to political consideration such as activities which would be regarded as inconsistent with the obligation of international civil servants. It was recognized that there should be a relationship of mutual confidence and trust between international officials and the government of member states. To further strengthen the independence of action, no national government could dismiss its nationals who are staff members of the secretariat on mere suspicion or on evidence which is denied the Secretary-General because article 100, paragraph 1, of the charter declares that he is not to receive in the performance of his duties instructions from any government. The case of a national official, seconded for a brief fixed term is different from that of the permanent international civil servant who does not intend a subsequent career with his national government. It was concluded that members of the secretariat staff could not be expected fully to subordinate the special interest of their countries to the international interest if they are merely detached temporarily from national administrations and dependent upon them in future. There is, however room for a reasonable number of seconded officials in the secretariat especially to perform particular tasks calling for diplomatic or technical backgrounds. However, to have so large a proportion of the secretariat staff depended on its ability to function as a body dedicated exclusively to international responsibilities.

We can therefore conclude that despite the strong pressure from national governments or member states, United Nations has increasingly succeeded in affirming the original idea of a dedicated international civil service responsible only to the organization in the performance of its duties and protected insofar as possible from the inevitable pressures of national government.

3.3.3 International Civil Service Today

Staff members today are required to make commitment to the United Nations as did all their predecessors. As international civil servants, they

are charged with the responsibility of translating into reality the ideas of the United Nations and its specialized agencies, as contained in the UN charter. UN staffs are part of the international civil service which relies on the great tradition of public administration that has grown up in member states: competence, integrity, impartiality, independence and discretion. International civil servants have a special calling; to serve the ideals of peace, of respect for fundamental human rights, of economic and social progress and of international cooperation.

Today, the UN secretariat staff members are required to be guided by the principles of the organization. The values that are enshrined in the UN organizations must also be those that guide international civil servants in all their actions. These are fundamental rights, social justice, and the dignity and worth of the human person and respect for the equal rights of men and women (gender equality) and of nations great and small. Moreover, they are required to share the vision of the UN.

Loyalty to this vision ensures the integrity and international outlook of international civil servants; it guarantees that they will place the interest of their organization above their own. That is the ethics. What is the vision of the UN? According to the preamble to the UN charter, the vision is "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war.....to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights..... to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom".

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

The evolution of the international civil service has been discussed. You would need to pay attention to the reform by the UN i.e. changes made over the League of Nations.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

What arguments would you present in favor or against the independence of the international civil service?

3.4 Conclusion

The source of any organization is a direct function of the men and women collectively employed to pursue organization objectives. They must be technically competent. Just like in a national setting, international civil service is a body charged with the responsibility of implementing the multifarious policies of the UN needs. In addition to technical competence, they must possess some ethical attributes of impartiality, mentality,

independence, integrity and discretion even when the interest of their countries of origin is at stake or under consideration.

3.5 Summary

International civil service is an international body recruited majorly for efficiency, impartiality, integrity and competence. It is headed by the Secretary-General of the UN. This body was inherited from the defunct League of Nations by the United Nations Organization. The service has international responsibilities. By this principle, all officials are enjoined to discharge their functions impartially. The evolution of the international civil service was in two phases. The first was the League of Nations phase and second the United Nations phase. Each of the phases affects the growth and development. The secretariat inherited and retained certain element of its status during the UN phase. These include its independence and international responsibility and immunity and the Secretary-General as its chief Administrative officer (CAO).

Staffs of the secretariat today are required to show unflinching or unalloyed loyalty to the UN, as was the case from the beginning. They are expected to exhibit competence, integrity, impartiality, independence and discretion coupled with the knowledge of these principle guiding international service such as human rights, social justice, the dignity and the worth of the human person and respect for gender equality.

3.6 Tutor-Marked Assignment

The roles of the international civil service under the UN remain fundamentally the same as they were under the League of Nations. Discuss

3.7 References/Further Reading

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Module 5 International Law and Its Application

Unit 1 International Law

Unit 2 Application of International Law and Morality

Unit 3 Challenges of International Law

Unit 1 International Law

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1.1 Introduction

Contacts among nations may be hostile, competitive, and cooperative. These are inevitable today among nations and also among members of a national community. Hence, practical need rather than some theory has initiated a process in which the increase in contacts among different nations - economic, cultural, and political - has been accompanied by the growth of various rules, defining rights, duties and acceptable behavior for those who interact on the international scene. This body of rules for national conduct has come to be known as international law or the law of nations.

What is international law? If law is defined as a body of rules for human conduct, set and enforced by a sovereign political authority, international law cannot be called law because of absence of supranational political authority that can give and enforce law to be observed by all nations. If on the other hand, law is defined as a body of rules for human conduct within a community that by common consent of this community shall be enforced by a power other than that residing within an individual (such as conscience), then international law, provided the existence of a global community and its general consent can be proved.

In determining the effectiveness and completeness of any legal system, national or international, it is worthwhile to look into the following five fundamentals:-

- How and by whom are the rules enforced in the case of noncompliance? That is does a given legal system express a more or less general consensus of the community, and is there a community?

- How and by whom are legal rules created and changed? That is, what is the nature of the legislative process?
- Are the rules clear and accessible to all members of the community? Can codification help?
- How and by whom are legal rules interpreted and conflicts resolved? That is, what is the nature of the judicial process?
- what is the nature and effectiveness of the machineries of enforcement?

These are very germane and central to the effectiveness and completeness of international law

1.2 Objectives

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

- discuss how contact among nations are regulated.
- account for the roots of international law and morality.
- examine some mechanisms that help to resolve conflicts arising from these contacts.

1.3 Main Content

1.3.1 Fundamentals of International Law and Morality

What actors may and may not legitimately do is based on both international and domestic law systems and a combination of expectations, rules, and practices that help govern behavior.

1.3.2 The Primitive Nature of International Law

Legal systems, domestic or international, do not emerge full-blown, it grows from a primitive level to ever more sophisticated levels. This concept is important to understanding international law, first as primitive law systems as international system does not have a formal rule-making. Rather codes of behavior are a derivatives of custom, agreement between two or more societal members. Secondly, absence of established authority to punish violations. International law as a primitive legal system has two benefits: one, international law exists and two, it encourages us to think that international society and its law may develop to a higher level.

1.3.3 The Growth of International Law

The beginning of international law coincides with the origins of the state. As sovereign, territorial states there is a need to define and protect them states and to order their relations. International system of law is derived

from the ancient Jewish, Greek, and Roman practice coupled with Christian concepts. From this base, international law expanded, as the interactions between the states grew and the expectations of the international community became more powerful. During the last century, the concern with international law and its practical importance grew rapidly as increasing international interaction and interdependence have importantly enlarged the need for rules to govern a host of functional areas such as trade, finance and communications.

Also our awareness of the threat to human lives and environments and of the suffering of victims of human rights abuses has led to the promulgation on such issues as genocide, war, nuclear testing and human rights.

1.3.4 The Practical of International Law

Some scholars have argued that international law exists only in theory, not in practice, because no punishments have been meted out to lawlessness such as war and human rights abuses. But this is not true, international law has been effective in many areas; states do accept and in majority of instances obey international law as law. Secondly, the fact that law does not cover all problem areas and it is not always followed does not mean it does not exist.

International law is most effective when it applies to such issues as trade, diplomatic rules and communication, and least effective when it applies to such matters as natural security relations between sovereign states. But international law and world values, for instance, are strongly opposed to states unilaterally resorting to war except in self-defense. Iraq invasion of Kuwait was violently globally condemned. On the whole the fact that the U.S. regularly seeks UN permission to act like in Haiti case in 1994 when not long ago would have acted on their own initiative, proves compliance with the international law.

1.3.5 The Fundamentals of International Morality

Morality or concept of moral behavior may emanate from religious beliefs, secular ideologies or philosophies, the standard of equity (what is fair), or from the practice of a society. In so far as moral behavior remains an imperative of conscience rather than law, morality can be considered in a broad sense. In spite of recurring war, human deprivation, persistent human rights violations, and debilitating environmental abuse, morality still plays a role in human affairs.

More importantly, there is a growing body of ethical norms that helps determine the nature of the international system. The UN-authorized force

did not drop nuclear weapons on Iraq in 1991, even though it arguably would have saved time, money and lives of American and their allies by doing so. Many countries give foreign aid to less developed countries. National leaders regularly discuss and sometimes make decisions based on human rights. It must however be pointed out that world politics operate neither in a legal vacuum nor in a moral void.

1.3.6 The International Legal System

International law is a legal system based on four critical considerations: the philosophical roots of law, how laws are made, when and why the law is obeyed (adherence) and how legal disputes are decided (adjudication).

1.3.6.1 The Philosophical Roots of Law

Ideas about what is right and what should be the law are derived from sources both external and internal to the society that they regulate. The external sources can be divided into two schools. One is the ideological/theological school of law which holds that law is derived from an overarching ideology or theology e.g. Christian doctrine and the religious scholarly works of St Augustine and St Thomas Aquinas.

The naturalist school of law is the second external source which holds that humans, by nature, have certain rights and obligations. The English philosopher John Locke argued that no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty or possessions. Since countries are collectivities of individuals, and the world community is a collective of states and individuals, national law's rights and obligations also apply to the global stage and form the basis for international law. The problems with this source are that it is vague and does not emphasize other-regarding interest. For instance if a person's property is protected by natural law, then, for instance, it is hard to justify taking any individual's property through taxes levied by the government without the individual's explicit agreement.

The internal sources of law include customs and practices of society. This is the positivist school of law which argues that law reflects society and the way people want that society to operate. Law, they argued ought to be codified. However, this has been criticized as amoral and sometimes immoral in that it may legitimize immoral beliefs and was once widespread and widely accepted, but it was never moral or lawful by standards of either divine principle or natural law.

1.3.6.2 How International Law is made

Natural laws are made through the constitution or by a legislative body. In practice, law is also made through judicial decisions (interpretation), which

set guidelines (precedent) for later decisions by the courts. Comparatively, modern international lawmaking is much more decentralized. There are four sources of international law namely international treaties, international custom, the general principles of law, and judicial decisions and scholarly legal writing as well as resolutions and other pronouncements of the UN General Assembly. Like the domestic law, it contains elements of both external and internal sources of law.

International treaties constitute the primary source of international law, and are codified or written down. Agreements between countries are binding according to the doctrine of *pacta sunt servanda* (treaties are observed/carried out). All treaties are binding on those countries that are party to them (have signed and ratified otherwise given their legal consent). Multilateral treaties are another source of international law.

Custom is another important source of international law. For example, marine rules of the road and practice are two other important areas of law that grew out of custom. Sometimes long-custom is eventually codified in treaties e.g. the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961, which codified many existing rules of diplomatic standing and practice.

The ancient Roman concept of *jus gentium* (the law of people) is the foundation of the general principles of law. By this standard, the International Court of Justice applies "the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations". The freedom of religion and freedom from attack are among the inherent rights of people. It is this that Iraq violated when it attacked Kuwait in 1990. The principle of equity, when no legal standard exists, also has some application under general principles.

Despite of the fact that article 59 of the statute of the ICJ rejects the doctrine of *stare decisis* (Judicial Precedents) the ruling of the ICJ, other international tribunals, and even domestic courts when they apply international law, help shape the body of law that exists. The European Court of Justice has exercised the power of judicial review (court's authority to rule on whether the action of those in authority violate constitution or other charter Under which the court operate).

The decision of international representative assemblies is another source of international law. Though the UN General Assembly cannot legislate international law the way that a national punishment does, all members of UN are bound by treaty to abide by the decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, which makes these bodies quasi-legislative. The reason is that votes in these bodies reflect international custom and/or the general principles of law and thus, cleverly enter the stream of international law.

1.3.6.3 Adherence to the Law

The third essential element of any legal system is adherence. The hallmark of an effective legal system is the degree of compliance and enforcement. Obedience in whatever the level is based on the mixture of voluntary compliance and coercion. Compliance takes place when people or the subjects obey the law because they accept its legitimacy i.e. authority in the institution that made the ruler and or a free that the ruler are necessary to the reasonable conduct of society. Coercion is the process of ensuring compliance through threats or violence, imprisonment, economic sanction or other punishment. In international law, the two crucial factors are how the law is enforced and what encourages compliance as voluntary compliance is usually more important but the mixture of it and coercion differs among society.

On the whole, the degree of compliance to the law is lower in the international law system than in most national system, but insofar as adherence to international law has developed, has been based more on voluntary compliance than on coercion. Legitimacy, based primarily on pragmatism, is the key to international voluntary compliance.

In all legal system, enforcement relies on our combination of enforcement by central authority (the police), and enforcement through self help (e.g. primitive societies) most powerful legal system recognizes the legitimacy of this. All legal systems evolved over time and the international system is following suit. International law continues to rely primarily on self-help to enforce adherence (e.g. Nigeria and Cameroon) on the ICJ judgment on Bakassi) as reflected in the UN charter's recognition of national self-defence. However evidences of enforcement abound e.g. late Slobadan of Yugoslavia and now Charles Taylor, former president of Liberia. Taylor is still being tried by international Tribunal of the UN. The UN authorized military action against Iraq 1991 aided the NATO intervention in KOSOVO in 1999 are qualified and indeed were instances of armed enforcement.

1.3.6.4 Adjudication of the Law

Disputes among international actors are resolved by means of primary reliance on bargaining, mediation/conciliation by neutral parties and adjudication/arbitration by neutral parties. The International system of law is just developing and the institutions and attitudes necessary for adjudication There are a number of functional international courts in the world today, international courts of justice inclusive and the most important. The International Court of Justice (ICJ) sits in the Hague, the Netherlands and consists of 15 judges who are elected to nine - year terms through a complex voting system in the UN. Each of the permanent

members of the UN Security Council has one judge on the ICJ, and the others are elected to provide regional representation. It is essential to know that none of these international courts has the authority of domestic courts to enforce judgment.

The concept of sovereignty remains a potent barrier to adjudication. The authority of the ICJ extends in theory to all international legal disputes. Cases come before ICJ in two ways when states: present controversial issues between them and when one of the agencies of the UN asks the ICJ for an advisory opinion. So the issue of jurisdiction is very important. The gap between the court's jurisdiction and its actual role is a matter of the willingness of state to submit to decision of the ICJ while some here signed the optional clause agreeing to be subject to the compulsory jurisdiction of the ICJ, many have not. Second, regardless of their agreement to accept ICJ jurisdiction, countries can reject its decisions in specific case. In 1984 Nicaragua took US to the ICJ for supporting the contra rebels, the latter argued that the charges were political and therefore, that that court lacks jurisdiction. When the ICJ rejected the US objections and decided to hear the case, the US terminated its agreement to submit to the compulsory jurisdiction of the ICJ.

Finally, the ICJ has little power to enforce its decision. Unlike enforcement of domestic court backed by the national executive authority, the UN Secretary has its executive branch, the ICJ does not have a source of strong support to back up its decision.

1.3.6.5 The Role of the ICJ

Despite the limits on the jurisdiction of the ICJ and other international courts, the ICJ still plays a valuable role. First, its rulings help define and advance international law. Second, the court can provide countries a way, short of war to settle their disputes amicably. Third, the ICJs advisory opinions also help resolve issues between IGOs and thus, helping to advance international law. For example, in separate actions, the UN General Assembly and the World Health Organization (WHO) each asked the ICJ to rule on the legality of using nuclear weapons.

Finally, that is the evidence that countries are now, more than ever before, to make use of the ICJ and other international courts and to accept their decisions. Conclusively, the international judicial system has started growing and with time, it will reach maturity level.

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

A brief introduction and evolution of international law and morality have been discussed extensively. Why is the international legal system not as effective as natural legal authority?

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

What roles do rules and practices govern the conduct of international actors?

1.4 Conclusion

Without law, there will be no offence or violations, goes the aphorism. Not only in individual contacts are rules necessary, they are equally paramount or important in conducting a relationships among nations. Hence cases of violations are frowned at like in the case of Iraq invasion of Kuwait; as a clear case of aggression against a sister nation.

Violations of international law such as abuse of fundamental human rights of individuals, child and women are clearly checked by the 1948 charter of the United Nations on Human Rights. While international legal system is still evolving and at embryonic stage, it has gone a long way to help resolve dispute between nations e.g. between Nigeria and Cameroon on the Bakassi boundary issue. In other words, compliance with the system has helped prevent outright wars between and among nations and therefore helped to ensure or guarantee peace and security globally.

1.5 Summary

Contacts among nations are regulated by means of international law or treaties, covenants. Fundamentals of international law and morality were discussed. These are the primitive nature, the growth, and the practice of international law and morality.

The International Legal System is based on four critical considerations namely: the philosophical roots of law, how laws are made when and why the laws are obeyed and how legal disputes are decided. Despite the prevalence of cases of war, human deprivation, persistent human rights violations, and debilitating environmental abuse, morality still play a role in human affairs.

1.6 Tutor-Marked Assignment

From both the discussion and your personal experience, what factors would say are responsible for the differences between national and international legal systems.

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Unit 2 Application of International Law and Morality

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2.1 Introduction

In a culturally heterogeneous world, standards of international law and morality have experienced problems “of fit” with different cultures. Western ideas and practices greatly influence international law and concepts of morality. In this unit, we shall examine the issues of cultural perspective, issues in the application of international law and standards of morality equally to state and individuals, and issues of providence.

2.2 Objectives

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

- appreciate issues involved in the application of international law and morality.
- examine the standards of morality in international laws and how it affects states and individuals.

2.3 Main Content

2.3.1 Law and Morality: Issues of Cultural Perspective

As primitive political systems evolve and expand to incorporate diverse peoples; the problem posed to the legal system is that of “fit” between differing culturally based concepts of law and morality. Most concept of both the international law and standard of morality that currently exist are as a result of the West concept and practices. Hence most parts of the South are questioning and sometimes rejecting laws based on Western culture.

2.3.2 Western and Non-Western Perspectives

Western and non-Western precepts of law and morality are different. The former view of law is based on principle designed to protect the long dominant power of this block of states. Order is a primary point, as is sovereignty. The Western theory of property is closely related. It says that individuals (and states) have a "right" to accumulate and maintain property (wealth). This constitutes the underpinning of capitalism. The law in the West relies heavily on the process and substance of law rather than

equality. Hence, the stress is on courts and what the law is rather than equity.

On the other hand, the non-western view of international law is shaped by the diverse cultural heritage of non-western states and by the history of exploitation their people have often suffered in the hands of the West. They argue that since they had little or no role in determining the roles that govern the international system, they are not bound by pre-existing agreement principles or practices that rose to their own disadvantages.

The LDCs, support sovereignty but reject the aspects of international law that they claim are imperialistic abridgement of that principle. They also reject weighted voting schemes as practiced in the UN Security Council, the World Bank and the IMF that favor the rich and powerful. These countries also stress equity (fairness) over the substance and process of law.

Another difference between the two groups of countries is that the West emphasizes the right of individuals while the non-western group places high value on the right of the community.

2.3.3 Applying International Law and Morality in a Multicultural World

Considering the different views among cultures, is it reasonable to try to apply the standards of law and morality at all? Those who do not believe that common principles exist argue that no single standard does exist and imposing one would mean cultural imperialism. For this reason, China has criticized the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) as a document that has only affirmed the legitimacy of the West and given priority to individual civil and political rights while disregarding collective social and economic rights. But others like the former Secretary-General of the UN, Mr. Kofi Annan told the audience in Iran, there is no talk of human rights being a Western concept but don't we all suffer the lack of the rule of law and arbitraries. He concluded that human right is a Universal concept.

2.3.4 Applying International Law and Morality to State

The application of international law and of standard of moral behavior in the international system has focused primarily on states. The question is, can states and individuals be held to the same standards of law and morality. This is examined here. Should states be held to the same standards as individuals? It is common for states to act legally in ways that will be blame worthy for individuals. Some have contended that the state cannot be held to individual moral standards. Supporters of state morality disagree

and argue that neither national interest nor sovereignty legitimizes immoral actions.

As regards states and issues of law and morality, international law has concerned itself with the actions and status of states. Some of the important issues here are sovereignty, war, the biosphere and human rights. Sovereignty continues to be the pillar of the state system but sovereignty is no longer a legal absolute. Rather it is being destined by a growing number of law creating treaties that limit action as well as by the international community's increasing intolerance of human rights abuses and other ills inflicted by government. As Kofi Annan rightly put it, sovereignty was never meant as a license for government to trample on human rights and human dignity rather it implies responsibility. Thus this informed the international action affirmed in South Africa (1993) that forced the military junta in Haiti to flee (1994).

Writing on international law has been encouraged by the issues of war as well as attempt to regulate revolutionary and internal warfare and terrorism. The focus has been on when and how war can morally and legally be fought. The Western school of thought believes that a war is just a case where the war is a last resort, declared by legitimate authority, waged in self defence or to establish/resolve justice, and fought to bring about peace. In the same vein, the just conduct of war included the standards of proportionality (i.e. the amount of force used must be equal to the threat) and discrimination (i.e. that force must not make civilians intentional targets).

One difficulty about limitations on legitimate warfare is that the standards of when to go to war and how to fight it are grounded in Western traditions. As a doctrine based on Western culture and religion, not all the restrictions on war are the same as those derived from cultural religion tradition in Buddhism and Islam.

Another important and increasing area of international law concerns the obligation of state and individuals to use the biosphere responsibly on the belief that it belongs to no one individually and to everyone collectively. The status of the world's oceans is a long-standing subject of international law. The international marine rules of the road for ships have long had general acceptance. The extension of a state's territorial limits to 3 nautical miles into the ocean was another mildly acknowledged standard based on international law. Many Latin American countries claimed a 200-mile territorial Zone and the US not only established a 200 mile conservation Zone in 1977 to control fishing, but in 1983 extended that control to all economic resources within the 200 mile limit. The Law of the Sea

Convention (1982) established the International Sea-bed Authority to regulate non-territorial seabed mining, provide for the sharing of revenue from such efforts, and establish the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea to settle disputes. As of 2000, 133 countries had ratified the convention.

One other area in which international law is positively developing is in the area of human rights because of many factors such as the horror of the image of abuses that television reveals, the increasing effort of individuals and organizations that promote human rights, and the growing awareness that human rights violation are major source of international instability.

The UN charter supports basic rights and since 1948, the growth of global human rights has also been increased by a number of important global multilateralism such as international conventions on the elimination of all of forms Racial discrimination, the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; Convention on the rights of the child as well as the African charter on human and people's rights (1990). While many countries such as Canada had signed all the multilateral treaties on human rights, many others such as the US, have not ratified some because of fears that they might be sued, or the platforms can be used for interfering in domestic affairs.

For instance the American Senate has not consented to the convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women (signed in 1979). However, the gap between existing legal standards and their application is the major concern. There have been reports of violation of these treaties and international condemnation of these violations.

Therefore, the growth of human rights law has just begun. The acceptance of the concept of human rights has been observed more in breach than in observance.

2.3.5 Applying International Law and Morality to Individuals

The application of international law and morality is being extended to individuals and developments in this area can be categorized into three namely the national enforcement of international law, current international tribunals and the international criminal court.

2.3.5.1 National Enforcement of International Law

The absence of international tribunals until lately does not mean that crimes have gone completely unpunished; a good number of states have used their national courts to try those accused of crimes under international law e.g. cocaine pushers. One reason why states assumed responsibility is the

inability of the international system to bring such criminals to justice. One striking example was Israel's abduction from Argentina of a top Nazi, Ado If Eichman. He was charged, tried, convicted and hanged in 1962 by Israel for crisis that not only had occurred outside Israel, but for crimes committed long before Israel even existed. Also Germany tried and convicted two Serbs for committing war crimes in Bosnia.

2.3.5.2 International Tribunals

The idea of international tribunals to deal with criminal violations of international law resurfaced by the atrocities perpetrated in both Bosnia and in Rwanda in the 1990s. In both sides, people were abused, injured and killed. In Rwanda, the Hutus killed hundreds of Tutsi People estimated at about 500,000. This led to the setting up of two tribunals- One in the Hague that tried Slobadan Milosevics and others who committed genocides and other war crimes, and the other one at Arusha, Tanzania, that tried the Rwandan war Lords.

2.3.5.3 International Criminal Court

The setting up of international tribunals and the enforcement of international law by national courts is a sign that those who commit genocide and other activities would not go unpunished. This stand of the international Community informed the establishment of a permanent International Criminal Court (ICC).

The treaty gives the ICC jurisdiction over genocide and a range of other widespread and systematic crimes committed as part of state, organizations or group policy during international and internal wars.

The ICC will serve as a court to hear cases that could not be settled by national courts. The UN Security Council can delay a prosecution for up to a year but the vote to delay will not be subject to veto.

2.3.5.4 Arbitration and Judicial Settlement

Arbitration is a process by which two parties to a dispute agree on an umpire and further agree that they will abide by his decision. Judicial settlement on the other hand, means a process by which parties to a dispute or an individual violating a public law may be compelled to appear before a court presided over by a learned jurist. Unlike within a nation, the difference between arbitration and judicial settlement is a minor one. In international context, it refers mostly to the structure, principles and permanency of the court in contrast to arbitrators. The two, in international context resemble in two important respects: (1) No state can, as a general rule, summon another to appear before it neither an arbitrator or judge for

the purpose of setting a dispute; but (2) states can establish the jurisdiction of a court or an arbitrator either by a general agreement with regard to all or some of their future disputes or by a special agreement with reference to one particular dispute. The blurred line also suggests that the similarity between some domestic and international institutions is more in the name and external forms than in the content.

2.3.5.5 International Court of Justice

The international court of justice was established in 1946 to replace the Permanent Court of International Justice. It is one of the six organs of the United Nations. Article 93 declares that all members of the United Nations are 'ipso facto' parties to the statute of the International Court of Justice. The international court of justice is not a superior court; there is no network of inferior international courts as parties can appeal to the World Court (i.e. ICJ). Furthermore, no nation can be compelled to accept its jurisdiction no nation can serve a subpoena to appear at the Hague: The jurisdiction of the court can be established only on the basis of prior negotiations that also determines the extent term of reference for the court. When this is done, the court's decisions based on a majority of voters are binding. This is not a departure from the sovereign right or consent to any international obligation because the jurisdiction of the court can be established only by consent. The jurisdiction of the court can be established on the basis of the express consent of the parties concerned and with regard either to the specific dispute or to all their future legal disputes. The statute of the International Court of Justice contains the so-called optional clause which creates the possibility of establishing compulsory jurisdiction of the court, 'ipso facto' and without special agreement in relation to any other member state accepting the same obligation. The jurisdiction of the court in all legal disputes. However, the jealous protection of natural interest and sovereignty makes the compulsory jurisdiction of the court much less automatic than a superficial reading of the optional clause might suggest.

First, most nations that have signed the optional clause have done so with important reservations. Especially, they have excluded from international jurisdiction those disputes that are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction. Second, the clause speaks of a compulsory jurisdiction in all legal disputes.

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

That influence of the West on International law is dominant has been discussed. You should pay attention to this and how it has helped to show things in favor of the West.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

The application of international law and of standards of moral behavior in international system focuses mainly on states countries. Can states and individuals be held to the same standards of law and morality?

2.4 Conclusion

Laws are made for man and not the other way round. Since life is not meaningful without human interaction and contacts, it follows these must be regulated not only to guarantee peace and security but also to address other areas of human life. Therefore law is needed to regulate every speech or the totality of human life. When these laws have been jointly agreed to and enacted, it must be binding on every party. It must not be selective in its application either on the basis of power or size of the parties. Even though, it is common to say that morality is a subjective concept or a relative term, it is a truism that no society approves unreasonable killing of human beings. So there is need for a globally defined standard of morality and this to some extent has reflected in the various UN charters, especially in the Declaration of Human Rights.

2.5 Summary

Western ideas and practices heavily influence international law and morality. This is the reason why the South (LDCs) are questioning and sometimes rejecting law based on western culture. The non-Western idea of international law is also influenced by their diverse cultural heritage and the history of exploitation by the west. They argue that since they have no input into the codification law they are not bound by it.

The West and non-west are also different with regard to what they emphasize. While the West stresses the rights of individuals the non-West group emphasizes the right of the community on issues of war and attempts to regulate revolutionary and internal warfare have stimulated writing on international law. The question has been when and how war can be morally and legally fought.

International law also concerns the obligations of state and individual to use the biosphere i.e. the environment responsibly on the belief that it is collectively owned.

International law is also concerned with the basic human rights. There is now growing awareness that human rights violations are a major cause of international instability. States have also assumed responsibility for the enforcement of international law because of the inability of the international system to dispense justice. Other mechanisms for the enforcement of

international law include international tribunals, international criminal court and international court of justice.

2.6 Tutor-Marked Assignment

International law is still evolving or it is a new concept. What factors account for this international phenomenon?

2.7 References/Further Reading

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Unit 3 Challenges of International Law

Content

3.1 Introduction

3.2 Objectives

3.3 Main Content

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3.7 Further Reading/References

3.1 Introduction

Administration of any organization depends on the set of laws and rules guiding its operation. However, there are differences in term of sources, mode and organs responsible for legal matters in each organization. In most cases, the effectiveness of legal instrument has to do with the extent to

which members are willing to comply, discharge their obligations and the strength of enforcement. In this unit, we are going to look at how the activities of members of various international organizations affect the effectiveness of international laws.

3.2 Objectives

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

- identify various factors affecting the effectiveness of international
- examine how they constrains global governance

3.3 Main Content

International laws and norms have proven to be essential to the administration of the international system in addressing global challenges, ranging from terrorism, arms control, to trade and tariffs, and so on. However, International law and its implementation is constantly faced with new challenges due to the rapidly changing circumstances occurring in various parts of the world on daily basis. Some of the challenges include:

3.3.1 Politics and Power Struggle in the International System

The interplay of politics in the international arena, as well as the quest for power by States in the international system is one of the factors that impede effective implementation of international law. The differences in ideology among the states, especially, between the West and the East, North and South, greatly influence the practice and application of international law. Thus, the States of opposing ideologies respond differently to the implementations of international law, especially, international humanitarian and human rights laws. It usually delays the resolutions of UN Security council, due to lack of consensus among all the veto powers.

3.3.2 Double Standards and Unilateral Decisions

The international system has always been plagued with double standards in terms of the implementation and violation of international laws. The rich and powerful countries get away with breaching international laws, while the poor less powerful States are sanctioned for violating the same established laws and norms. There is distrust on international legal system and its processes, amongst the poor states, who perceive international law

as a tool developed by the West or powerful countries to serve their own agenda and interest, and probably, to exploit the weak and poor countries.

In addition, the powerful countries sometimes take unilateral decisions on issues of international global concerns, to hinder effective implementation of international law. This includes withdrawing from key internationally agreed proposals and resolutions, and adopting national policy objectives that are contrary to the international laws and norms.

3.3.3 Definition and Application of International Humanitarian Law

The evolving nature of the international system and modern warfare have given rise to some constraints to the application of international humanitarian laws. The predominance of non-international armed conflicts encourages both state and non-state actors to disregard their obligation of compliance during periods of armed conflict.

Most of the non-state actors such as INGOs, MNCs and TNCs, are usually not committed to compliance because, they have not consented and participated in its formulation. States on the other hand deny the applicability of IHL in certain situations, even, where the fact on the ground indicts them.

3.3.4 Excessive Regionalism and Self-Preservation

Strong regional blocs and organizations usually support international laws or norms that favor their regional objectives. For instance, a regional decisions and directives by the EU to member states, which are contrary to internationally accepted practice, may be an obstacle to the international law.

Moreover, states usually establish laws and rules that can undermine international laws and humanitarian laws in a bid to protect their sovereignty and to ensure self-preservation. Sometimes states consider most of the demands for reform of the state domestic law to conform to the International law, as threat to their self-determination. Hence, it creates an opportunity for crimes under international law, such as enforced disappearances, extra-judicial killings, war crimes and other crimes against humanity.

3.3.5 Inefficient Enforcement Mechanisms

Enforcement is a fundamental challenge when it comes to international law. Enforcement mechanisms of international law are not as effective as in the domestic law. This is because of the absence of a direct international counterpart of national police officers or armed forces, to ensure the

implementation and enforcement of international laws and rules. In the case of judicial remedies for international disputes, the whole process of peaceful settlement of disputes through the international courts become irrelevant, if the parties involved do not want to submit to the enforcement of the final decision. The UN Security Council is however empowered to take action in case of non-compliance and non-enforcement of the decision of the ICJ, which can also be political.

3.4 Conclusion

Effective application of the international law and morality to the operation of international administrations is essential for global governance. Therefore, commitment of members of various international organizations to compliances is non-negotiable.

3.5 Summary

The unit examines the various factors that are responsible for the ineffectiveness of international law. It is clear that, the disposition of member states towards compliance is very germane for efficient international administration, based on rules and morality.

3.6 Tutor-Marked Assignment

Explain various challenges of the international law.

3.7 Further Readings/References

Thomas Prehi Botchway & Abdul Hamid Kwarteng (2018), "Developing International Law in Challenging Times", *Journal of Politics and Law*, Vol. 11, No. 3, pp. 53-63.

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