

NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA

PCR 417



**International Relations
and Security**

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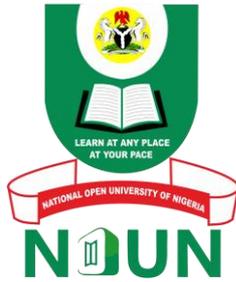
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Course Blurb

Conflicts of different intensities continue to ravage human society. Many wonder why these conflicts pervade both advanced and developing societies and why it has become difficult to avoid them. Conflict is an inevitable part of human interaction because of differences in biological, social and cultural make-up of men. Therefore, societies continue to study conflict as a means of understanding it and engendering peace. Therefore, understanding conflict and how to deal with it is a precursor to bringing peace to any society.



Ice Breaker

It is expected that as a student in the department of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution, your aim is to become a Peace Agent anywhere you find yourself and ultimately get employed based on the skills you would have garnered from studying this course and other assigned courses



Introduction

PCR 417: International Relations and Security, is a one semester course. It will be available for all students to study the core module of the international studies programme. This course is suitable for all final year students of Political Science and International Relations. This course consists of 23 units that examine in detail the nature of international relations, and the security challenges confronting the international system. It is therefore concerned about the various characters of relationships among states. In the course of the relationships, compromise, confrontation and cooperation (the three Cs) are brought to bear.

In the states' efforts at protecting their individual national interests, there have been series of clashes that continue to question the nature of security in existence. The course is therefore bound to examine the various forms of confrontations that have plagued the system; in this examination, we are also introduced the measures that have been taken to minimize the incidence of conflicts and ensure that the prospects of maintaining international peace and security are realised. There are compulsory prerequisites for this course. The course guide tells you briefly what the course is all about, what you are expected to know in each unit, what course materials you need to use and how you can work your way through these materials. It also emphasises the necessity for tutor–marked assignments. There are also periodic tutorial classes that are linked to this course.



Course Competencies

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

- Analyse basic concepts in International Relations and Security;
- Generate such policies for addressing core issues relating to International Relations and Security;
- Convert those laudable strategies into real-life phenomena.
- Demonstrate empirical knowledge, pertaining to International Relations and Security, as a Preaching points for others.



Employability Skills

The following are the employability skills you are expected to demonstrate at the end of the course:

- Conflict Resolution Skill
- Analytical Skill
- Inter-personal Skill
- Communication Skill
- Mediation Skill



Working through this Course

To complete this course, you are required to read the study units, read recommended textbooks and other materials provided by the National Open University of Nigeria (NOUN). All the units contain self-assessment exercises, and at points in the course, you are required to submit tutor-marked assignments for assessment purposes. At the end of this course, is a final examination. Stated below are the components of the course and what you are expected to do.



Course Modules and Units

There are 5 Modules in this course. Each module has an average of 4 Units. The modules are designed to cover the four major aims of the course and arranged accordingly.

Module 1 Evolution of International System

Unit 1	International System: Growth and Development
Unit 2	International Relations: Economic Aspect
Unit 3	Introduction to International Law
Unit 4	Evolution of International Organisations

Module 2 Theories and Practice of International Relations

Unit 1	Integration Theories and Its Application
Unit 2	System Theory and Its Application
Unit 3	Balance-of-Power Theory and Its Application
Unit 4	Power Theory and Its Application
Unit 5	Strategies, Theories and Practice for Defense and Security

Module 3 Actors in the International System

Unit 1	State Actors in International Relations
Unit 2	Alliance System, Balance of Power and Collective Security
Unit 3	Non-State Actors in International System
Unit 4	Dispositions to International Personalities

Module 4 Power Relations in the International System

Unit 1	Political Power in International Relations
Unit 2	Economic Power in International Relations
Unit 3	Socio-Cultural Power in International System
Unit 4	Military Competency in the International System

Module 5 Contemporary Global Security

Unit 1	Fundamentals of Global Security
Unit 2	Contemporary Security Threats
Unit 3	Diplomacy in International Relations
Unit 4	The Nature and Character of Terrorism

Each unit contains a number of self-tests. In general, these self-tests are based on the materials you have just covered or requires you to apply it in some way. They are to assist you to gauge your progress as well as reinforce your understanding of the material. Together with tutor-marked assignment, these exercises will assist you in achieving the stated learning objectives of the individual units and of the course.

Course Requirements

To complete this course, you are expected to read all the study units, suggested books and other relevant materials to achieve the objectives. Each unit contains tutor-marked assignment, and you are required to submit assignments for assessment purposes. There will be an examination at the end of the course. The course should take you a total of 15 weeks to complete. Please find below a list of the major components of the course.

Course Materials

The major components of the course are:

- Course Guide
- Study Units
- Textbooks and References
- Assignment File
- Presentation Schedule

References/Further Readings

You may be required to purchase these textbooks stated below.

Akinboye, S. & Ottoh, F. (2009). *A Systematic Approach to International Relations*. Lagos: Concept Publications.

Collins, A. (Ed.). (2007). *Contemporary Security Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Finch, G. (2000). *The Sources of Modern International Law*. NY: William Hein and Co. Inc.

Fidler, D.P.: A pathology of public health securitism: Approaching pandemics as security threats. *Governing global health: Challenge, response, innovation*. Edited by: Cooper AF, Kirton J, Schrecker T. 2007, 41-64. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing (Global Governance Series)

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<http://www.sciencediplomacy.org/article/2014/bridging-public-health-and-foreign-affairs>

International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences

(<http://hdl.library.upenn.edu/1017/123303>).

International Encyclopedia of Political Science

(<https://upenn.alma.exlibrisgroup.com/>).

Oxford Companion to Politics of the World

(<http://hdl.library.upenn.edu/1017/14520>).

International Studies Encyclopedia

(<http://hdl.library.upenn.edu/1017/109692>).

Encyclopedia of International Relations and Global Politics

(<https://upenn.alma.exlibrisgroup.com/>).

Cambridge History of American Foreign Relations

(<http://hdl.library.upenn.edu/1017/77423>).

Encyclopedia of American Foreign Policy , 2nd ed., 2002

(<http://hdl.library.upenn.edu/1017/50472>).

The Princeton Encyclopedia of the World Economy

(<https://upenn.alma.exlibrisgroup.com/>).

The Oxford International Encyclopedia of Peace

(<http://hdl.library.upenn.edu/1017/1567495>).



Online Facilitation

There are 15 hours of online synchronous and asynchronous tutorials provided in support of this course. You will be notified of the dates, times and location of these tutorials, together with the name and phone number of your tutor, as soon as you are allocated a tutorial group. Your tutor will mark and comment on your assignment, keep a close watch on your progress. And on difficulties you might encounter and provide assistance to you during the course. Do not hesitate, to contact your tutor by telephone if you need help.

You should try your best to attend the synchronous online tutorials. This is the only way to have real time live contact with your tutor and ask questions which are answered instantly. You can raise any problem encountered in the course of your study. To gain the maximum benefit from course tutorials, prepare a question list before attending them. You will gain a lot from participating actively.



Presentation Schedule

The weekly activities are presented in Table 1 while the required hours of study and the activities are presented in Table 2. This will guide your study time. You may spend more time in completing each module or unit.



Assessment

There are three aspects to the assessment of this course. First, are the self-assessment exercises, second are the tutor-marked assignment; third are the e-exam based examination. In tackling these Self-Assessments and tutor marked assignment, you are expected to apply the information, knowledge and experience acquired during the course.

Table 3 presents the mode you will be assessed.

S/N	Method of Assessment	Score (%)
1	Self-Assessment Exercises	0
2	Tutor Marked Assignments (TMAs)	30
3	Final Examination	70
Total		100

There are 23 Self-Assessment Exercises in this course. Try to attempt them before you go to the end of each unit to check the correct answers to all the questions. They are meant to strengthen your understanding of the units and prepare you for other graded assessments.

There are three tutor-marked assignments in this course. You only need to submit all the assignments. Each assignment will count 10 per cent towards your total course mark. This implies that the total marks for the three assignments will now be 30 per cent of your total course mark. The Assignments for the units in this course are contained in the Assignment File. You will be able to complete your assignments from the information and materials contained in your set books, reading and study units. However, it is always desirable at this level of your education to research more widely, and demonstrate that you have a very broad and in-dept knowledge of the subject matter.

Ensure that you do each assignment on or before the deadline given in the Assignment File. If, for any reason you cannot complete your work on time, contact your tutor before the assignment is due to discuss the possibility of an

extension. Extensions will not be granted after the due date unless there are exceptional circumstances warranting such.

The final examination for PCR 417: International Relations and Security will be of one and half-hour' duration and have a value of 70% of the total course grade. The examination will consist of multiple-choice questions (MCQs) and fill in the blank (FBQs) questions which reflect the practice exercises and tutor-marked assignments you have previously encountered. All areas of the course will be assessed. Use the time between the completion of the last unit and sitting for the examination, to revise the entire course. You may find it useful to review your tutor-marked assignments and comment on them before the examination. The final examination covers information from all aspects of the course.

How to Get the Most from This Course

In distance learning, the study units replace the university lectures. This is one of the great advantages of distance learning; you can read and work through these specially designed study materials at your own pace, and at a time and place that suits you best. Think of it as reading the lecture instead of listening to the lecturer. In the same way a lecturer might give you some reading to do, the study units tell you what to read, and which are your text materials or set books. You are provided exercises at appropriate points, just as a lecturer might give you an in-class exercise. Each of the study units follows a common format. The first item is an introduction to the subject matter of the unit, and how a particular unit is integrated with the other units and the course as a whole. Next to this is a set of learning objectives. These objectives let you know what you should be able to do by the time you have completed the unit. These learning objectives are meant to guide your study. The moment a unit is finished, you must go back and check whether you have achieved the objectives. If this is made a habit, then you will significantly improve your chances of passing the course.

The main body of the unit guides you through the required reading from other sources. This will usually be either from your set books or from a reading section. The following is a practical strategy for working through the course. If you run into any trouble, telephone your tutor or post the question on the web (GS OLE's) discussion board. Remember that your tutor's job is to help you. When you need assistance, do not hesitate to call and ask your tutor to provide it.

The following is a practical strategy for working through the course.

1. Read this course guide thoroughly, it is your first assignment.
2. Organise a study schedule- design a 'course overview' to guide you through the course. Note the time you are expected to spend on each unit and how the assignments relate to the units. Important information, e.g., details of your tutorials, and the date of the first day of the semester is available from the Web (GS OLE). You need to gather all the information into one place, such as your diary or a wall calendar. Whatever method you

choose, you should decide on and fill in your own dates and schedule of work for each unit.

3. Once you have created your own study schedule, do everything to stay faithful to it. The major reason that students fail is that they get behind with their course work. If you get into difficulties with your schedule, please, let your tutor know before it is too late.
4. Turn to Unit 1, and read the introduction and the objectives for the unit.
5. Assemble the study materials. You will need your textbooks and the unit you are studying at any point in time.
6. Work through the unit. As you work through the unit, you will know what sources to consult for further information.
7. Visit your study centre for up-to-date course information which will be available there.
8. Well before the relevant due dates (about four weeks before due dates); access the assignment file for your next required assignment. Keep in mind that you will learn a lot by doing the assignment carefully. They have been designed to help you meet the objectives of the course and, therefore, will help you pass the examination. Submit all assignments not later than the due date.
9. Review the objectives for each study unit to confirm that you have achieved them. If you feel unsure about any of the objectives, review the study materials or consult your tutor.
10. When you are confident that you have achieved a unit's objectives, you can start on the next unit. Proceed unit by unit through the course and try to pace your study so that you keep yourself on schedule.
11. When you have submitted an assignment to your tutor for marking, do not wait for its return before starting on the next unit. Keep to your schedule.
12. When the assignment is returned, pay particular attention to your tutor's comments, both on the tutor-marked assignment form and also the written comments on the ordinary assignments.
13. After completing the last unit, review the course and prepare yourself for the final examination. Check that you have achieved the unit objectives (listed at the beginning of each unit) and the course objectives (listed in the Course Guide).



Tutors and Tutorials

There are 15 hours of tutorials provided in support of this course. You will be notified of the dates, times and location of these tutorials, together with the name and phone number of your tutor, as soon as you are allocated a tutorial group. Your tutor will mark and comment on your assignments, keep a close watch on your progress and on any difficulties, you might encounter and provide assistance to you during the course. You must mail your tutor marked assignments to your tutor well before the due date (at least two working days are required). They will be marked by your tutor and returned to you as soon as possible.

Do not hesitate to contact your tutor by telephone, e-mail, or discussion board. The following might be circumstances in which you will find help necessary. Contact your tutor if –

- i. You do not understand any part of the study units or the assigned readings.
- ii. You have difficulties within the exercises.
- iii. You have a question or problem with an assignment, with your tutor's comments on an assignment or with the grading of an assignment.

You should try your best to attend the tutorials. This is the only chance to have face to face contact with your tutor and ask questions which are answered instantly. You can raise any problem encountered in the course of your study. To gain the maximum benefits from course tutorials, prepare a question list before attending them. You will learn quite a lot from participating in the discussions.



Online Facilitation

The Online Facilitation offering is an opportunity for students to engage with facilitators on the course materials. Typically, the facilitation exercise comprises of two main activities:

1. **Video Conferencing Sessions:** Here the facilitator will come online for one hour based on a predetermined schedule. The facilitator will briefly explain concepts in a course module or unit under consideration after which he/she answers questions students may have on the course material. All the video conferencing session will be recorded and made available on the NOUN Learning Space for review and the benefit of those that could not join the sessions.
2. **Discussion Forums:** An online discussion forum is a learning tool that gives students a place to express their opinion and understanding regarding the topic outlined for discussion. Students will be able to challenge one another to think deep on the course. The online facilitator will guide the process. Your contributions in the discussion forums will be scored. You are expected to make your post on the discussion forum before you can read the posts of others.

The following are the employability skills you are expected to demonstrate at the end of the course:

- Conflict Resolution Skill
- Analytical Skill
- Inter-personal Skill
- Communication Skill
- Mediation Skill



Working through this Course

To complete this course, you are required to read the study units, read recommended textbooks and other materials provided by the National Open University of Nigeria (NOUN). All the units contain self-assessment exercises, and at points in the course, you are required to submit tutor-marked assignments for assessment purposes. At the end of this course, is a final examination. Stated below are the components of the course and what you are expected to do.



Course Modules and Units

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- Unit 1 International System: Growth and Development
- Unit 2 International Relations: Economic Aspect
- Unit 3 Introduction to International Law
- Unit 4 Evolution of International Organisations

Module 2 Theories and Practice of International Relations

- Unit 1 Integration Theories and Its Application
- Unit 2 System Theory and Its Application
- Unit 3 Balance-of-Power Theory and Its Application
- Unit 4 Power Theory and Its Application
- Unit 5 Strategies, Theories and Practice for Defense and Security

Module 3 Actors in the International System

- Unit 1 State Actors in International Relations
- Unit 2 Alliance System, Balance of Power and Collective Security
- Unit 3 Non-State Actors in International System
- Unit 4 Dispositions to International Personalities

Module 4 Power Relations in the International System

- Unit 1 Political Power in International Relations
- Unit 2 Economic Power in International Relations
- Unit 3 Socio-Cultural Power in International System
- Unit 4 Military Competency in the International System

Module 5 Contemporary Global Security

- Unit 1 Fundamentals of Global Security
- Unit 2 Contemporary Security Threats

Unit 3	Diplomacy in International Relations
Unit 4	The Nature and Character of Terrorism

Each unit contains a number of self-tests. In general, these self-tests are based on the materials you have just covered or requires you to apply it in some way. They are to assist you to gauge your progress as well as reinforce your understanding of the material. Together with tutor-marked assignment, these exercises will assist you in achieving the stated learning objectives of the individual units and of the course.

Course Requirements

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Course Materials

The major components of the course are:

- Course Guide
- Study Units
- Textbooks and References
- Assignment File
- Presentation Schedule

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Encyclopedia of American Foreign Policy, 2nd ed., 2002 (<http://hdl.library.upenn.edu/1017/50472>).

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You should try your best to attend the synchronous online tutorials. This is the only way to have real time live contact with your tutor and ask questions which are answered instantly. You can raise any problem encountered in the course of your study. To gain the maximum benefit from course tutorials, prepare a question list before attending them. You will gain a lot from participating actively.



Presentation Schedule

The weekly activities are presented in Table 1 while the required hours of study and the activities are presented in Table 2. This will guide your study time. You may spend more time in completing each module or unit.

Table 1: Weekly Activities

Week	Activity
1	Orientation and course guide
2	Module 1 Unit 1
3	Module 1 Unit 2
4	Module 1 Unit 3 & 4
5	Module 2 Unit 1 & 2
6	Module 2 Unit 3 & 4
7	Module 2 Unit 5
8	Module 3 Units 1 & 2
9	Module 3 Unit 3 & 4
10	Module 4 Unit 1 & 2
11	Module 4 Units 3, 4 & 5
12	Module 5 Unit 1 & 2
13	Module 5 Unit 3 & 4
14	Module 5 Unit 5
15	Revision and Response to Questionnaire

The activities in Table 1 include facilitation hours (synchronous and asynchronous), assignments, and Discussion Forum. How do you know the hours to spend on each? A guide is presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Required Minimum Hours of Study

1	Synchronous Facilitation (Video Conferencing)	1	11
2	Self-Study and Asynchronous Facilitation (Read and respond to posts including facilitator's comment, self-study)	2	22
3	Assignments, Discussion Forum, and portfolios	1	11
4	Examination		2
	Total	4	46



Assessment

There are three aspects to the assessment of this course. First, are the self-assessment exercises, second are the tutor-marked assignment; third are the e-exam based examination. In tackling these Self-Assessments and tutor marked assignment, you are expected to apply the information, knowledge and experience acquired during the course.

Table 3 presents the mode you will be assessed.

Table 3: Assessment Grading

S/N	Method of Assessment	Score (%)
1	Self-Assessment Exercises	0
2	Tutor Marked Assignments (TMAs)	30
3	Final Examination	70
Total		100

There are 23 Self-Assessment Exercises in this course. Try to attempt them before you go to the end of each unit to check the correct answers to all the questions. They are meant to strengthen your understanding of the units and prepare you for other graded assessments.

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Ensure that you do each assignment on or before the deadline given in the Assignment File. If, for any reason you cannot complete your work on time, contact your tutor before the assignment is due to discuss the possibility of an extension. Extensions will not be granted after the due date unless there are exceptional circumstances warranting such.

The final examination for PCR 417: International Relations and Security will be of one and half-hour' duration and have a value of 70% of the total course grade. The examination will consist of multiple-choice questions (MCQs) and fill in the blank (FBQs) questions which reflect the practice exercises and tutor-marked assignments you have previously encountered. All areas of the course will be assessed. Use the time between the completion of the last unit and sitting for the examination, to revise the entire course. You may find it useful to review your tutor-marked assignments and comment on them before the examination. The final examination covers information from all aspects of the course.

How to Get the Most from This Course

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1. Read this course guide thoroughly, it is your first assignment.

2. Organise a study schedule- design a 'course overview' to guide you through the course. Note the time you are expected to spend on each unit and how the assignments relate to the units. Important information, e.g., details of your tutorials, and the date of the first day of the semester is available from the Web (GS OLE). You need to gather all the information into one place, such as your diary or a wall calendar. Whatever method you choose, you should decide on and fill in your own dates and schedule of work for each unit.
3. Once you have created your own study schedule, do everything to stay faithful to it. The major reason that students fail is that they get behind with their course work. If you get into difficulties with your schedule, please, let your tutor know before it is too late.
4. Turn to Unit I, and read the introduction and the objectives for the unit.
5. Assemble the study materials. You will need your textbooks and the unit you are studying at any point in time.
6. Work through the unit. As you work through the unit, you will know what sources to consult for further information.
7. Visit your study centre for up-to-date course information which will be available there.
8. Well before the relevant due dates (about four weeks before due dates); access the assignment file for your next required assignment. Keep in mind that you will learn a lot by doing the assignment carefully. They have been designed to help you meet the objectives of the course and, therefore, will help you pass the examination. Submit all assignments not later than the due date.
9. Review the objectives for each study unit to confirm that you have achieved them. If you feel unsure about any of the objectives, review the study materials or consult your tutor.
10. When you are confident that you have achieved a unit's objectives, you can start on the next unit. Proceed unit by unit through the course and try to pace your study so that you keep yourself on schedule.
11. When you have submitted an assignment to your tutor for marking, do not wait for its return before starting on the next unit. Keep to your schedule.
12. When the assignment is returned, pay particular attention to your tutor's comments, both on the tutor-marked assignment form and also the written comments on the ordinary assignments.
13. After completing the last unit, review the course and prepare yourself for the final examination. Check that you have achieved the unit objectives

(listed at the beginning of each unit) and the course objectives (listed in the Course Guide).



Tutors and Tutorials

There are 15 hours of tutorials provided in support of this course. You will be notified of the dates, times and location of these tutorials, together with the name and phone number of your tutor, as soon as you are allocated a tutorial group. Your tutor will mark and comment on your assignments, keep a close watch on your progress and on any difficulties, you might encounter and provide assistance to you during the course. You must mail your tutor marked assignments to your tutor well before the due date (at least two working days are required). They will be marked by your tutor and returned to you as soon as possible.

Do not hesitate to contact your tutor by telephone, e-mail, or discussion board. The following might be circumstances in which you will find help necessary. Contact your tutor if –

- i. You do not understand any part of the study units or the assigned readings.
- ii. You have difficulties within the exercises.
- iii. You have a question or problem with an assignment, with your tutor's comments on an assignment or with the grading of an assignment.

You should try your best to attend the tutorials. This is the only chance to have face to face contact with your tutor and ask questions which are answered instantly. You can raise any problem encountered in the course of your study. To gain the maximum benefits from course tutorials, prepare a question list before attending them. You will learn quite a lot from participating in the discussions.



Online Facilitation

The Online Facilitation offering is an opportunity for students to engage with facilitators on the course materials. Typically, the facilitation exercise comprises of two main activities:

- I. **Video Conferencing Sessions:** Here the facilitator will come online for one hour based on a predetermined schedule. The facilitator will briefly explain concepts in a course module or unit under consideration after which he/she answers questions students may have on the course material. All the video conferencing session will be recorded and made available on the NOUN Learning Space for review and the benefit of those that could not join the sessions.

2. Discussion Forums: An online discussion forum is a learning tool that gives students a place to express their opinion and understanding regarding the topic outlined for discussion. Students will be able to challenge one another to think deep on the course.

The online facilitator will guide the process. Your contributions in the discussion forums will be scored. You are expected to make your post on the discussion forum before you can read the posts of others.

MODULE I: EVOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

Module Introduction

In module one of this course material, there are four units and each of it profoundly explained the genesis or the cradle of international system and its evolution. It gives an insight into the economic aspect of the international system. It introduces the students to the legal framework called international law that guides the relationships between and among nations within the international system. This module also discusses the evolution of international organisations and the issue of public health. The units to examine are stated below:

- | | |
|--------|--|
| Unit 1 | International System: Growth and Development |
| Unit 2 | International Relations: Economic Aspect |
| Unit 3 | Introduction to International Law |
| Unit 4 | Evolution of International Organisations |

Unit 1: International System: Growth And Development

Unit Structure

- I.1 Introduction
- I.2 Learning Outcomes
- I.3 Main Content
 - I.3.1 The Evolution of the International System
 - I.3.2 The Contemporary International System and its Growth
 - I.3.3 The Structure of the International System
- I.4 Summary
- I.5 References/Further Readings/Web Resources
- I.6 Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s)



I.1 Introduction

As a learner of Peace and Conflict Resolution, have you ever asked yourself why you need to study international system? Specifically, I will like you to understand the fact that every society is a sub-component of the international system and whatever affects a particular country may impact positively or negatively on other countries of the world. That is the reason this first unit focuses on the growth and development of international system. Understanding the international system is complex as it requires an adequate appreciation of nation-building and the maintenance and improvement of relations with other nations in the global community. The system has gone through series of developmental processes and berthing at the contemporary international system that is characterised by a high degree of interaction and interdependence. This unit would deepen knowledge on the various conditions of the international system. The international system is dynamic, and there have been polemics as to whether there is orderliness or not as within the system amongst scholars.

However, whether there is orderliness within the system or not has implications for global security, which we must understanding as all encompassing.



I.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Explain the contemporary international system
- Analyse the systemic growth of international system
- Appraise the structure of the international system



I.3 Main Content

I.3.1 The Evolution of the International System

Efforts at understanding the international system can be traced to the study of diplomatic history; the study of current affairs after the First World War, as well as universal principles of the international system. This stage was followed by the study of international institutions, through law and organisations as mechanisms for solving global problems of conflict (Adeniran, 1983). There was a concerted effort to develop the legal framework to tackle the problems of war and socio-economic deprivation. The outbreak of the Second World War (WW II) in 1939 (Figure 1) influenced a paradigm shift to understanding forces and influences that shape and condition the behaviour of states; such as the determinants of foreign policies, techniques of the conduct of foreign relations, and the mode for the resolution of international conflict.



Fig. 1 World War II

The emergence of the Realists School enhanced the development of scientific theories to explain international phenomena. Information and communication technological revolution, the interdependence of people, and the emergence of new nation-states contributed significantly to the growing interest in the global system.

Specifically, in the year 1414, the Council of Constance assembled ignored to shape the political and spiritual fortunes of Europe. The breakdown of the medieval system and the coming of the Protestant Reformation, the Catholic Renaissance, the Age of Discoveries.

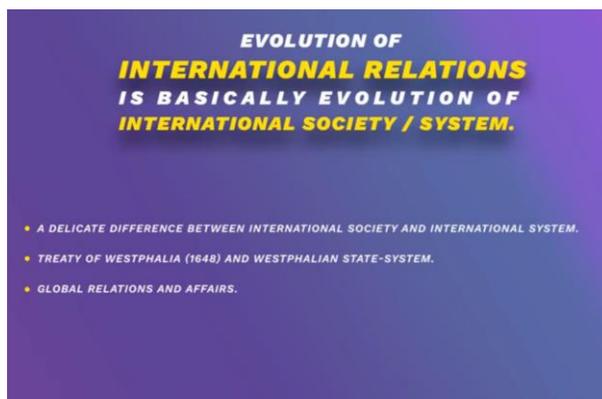
Expansion in Trade and Commerce characterised the influencing factors that led to the evolution of the state system. The analysis of the international system, therefore, begins with the historical formation of the state system; fragmented into several sovereignties. The historic Peace Treaty of Westphalia of 1648, brought the princes and diplomats together to find a

lasting peaceful solution to the war that had fragmented Europe for over thirty years.

The period 1648-1713 marked another phase in the development of the state–international system, characterised by competition and the struggle for supremacy among the European powers for colonial territories in the Western Hemisphere. The period 1814 -15 is known as the period of Britannica, and the congress of Vienna where the ‘Principles of Compensation and Legitimacy’ were invoked to restore the balance of power in the international system. This attempt was a temporary effort to lay the foundation of a political and international system that later shaped the course of European and, by extension, world affairs. This was the era of the European state system when the international system was regarded as Euro-centric in character.

The Euro-centric era gave way to new dimensions of the relationship that allowed for the expansion of the system, and by extension, made international relations more complex. About 193 independent States comprise the international system, as members of the United Nations organisation. The increase in membership has been attributed to the disintegration of the colonial territories and the breakup of the former Soviet bloc. Under the subsisting conditions, every state is equal before international law, thus, every state strives to protect, promote and defend her national interest at all cost, even to the point of going to war if it is felt that the pursuit of the goal is in any way threatened.

Click on the link below to watch a video on the evolution of international systems



<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ww-THIVpqiQ>

Can you give an account of the international systems? If Good!

1.3.2 The Contemporary International System and its Growth

The contemporary international system is characterised by an economic division between the rich North and the poor South that creates ‘Dominance-

Dependency' syndrome that undermines equal cooperation and beneficial interaction. The history of the international system is replete with the hegemonic role of European states, caught in the web of internecine wars, in a bid to expand by acquiring more territories and also establishing dominance over one another. It is therefore a departure from 'Détente' and 'Isolationism' to the transformation of the characteristic behaviour of the system. Evolutionary trends in the international system testify to changes in the global system. The First World War of 1914 –1919, the Russian Revolution of 1917 as well as the Second World War of 1939 -1945 brought with them some radical changes (Akinboye & Ottoh, 2009). Since the end of the W. W. II, the nation-state system has become internationalized as global politics embraced all the nations of the world and caused a shift from Europe to America, from 'Unicentric' to 'Multicentric' systems and, the redefinition of the 'Collective Defiance and Balance of Power'.

The end of the W.W. II saw the United States of America rising to the position of diplomatic leadership and coming to the limelight in world affairs. The USA provided the architectural designs for the formation of the League of Nations but failed to partake in the building of the walls of peace. It also initiated and executed the establishment of the post-war international organisation, which is the United Nations. As the post-war institutions were established, there arose the agitation for reforms by democratising them to reflect the reality of contemporary world politics. With the various changes, the international system touches every aspect of the life of nations, viz; economic, political, military, industrial, among others. The post - W. W. II politics was dominated by the hegemonic struggle between the former Soviet Union leading the Eastern bloc, and the United States leading the Western bloc. This era was characterised by armed race and excessive nationalism. The event in Eastern Europe is the basis of analysis of the Post-Cold War International System. In 1985, economic and political reforms in the Soviet Union led to the introduction of 'glasnost' and 'perestroika'- i.e. openness and transparency. This was in response to the call for the establishment of a new international economic system. The unification of Germany in 1990, the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, and the abandonment of one-party rule in eastern and western states changed the character of the international system. These changes laid the foundation on which the post-World War II Order was built, giving rise to the 'New World Order' and ending the debate about 'Unipolarity' and 'Multipolarity'.

The political and economic integration of Europe, therefore, paved the way for global liberalisation and democratisation with the wind of democratic change that blew across the continent of Africa, thereby influencing the transformation of the international system. The world today is structurally tending towards unipolar, because the United States has assigned to itself a new role in world politics as the 'chief security officer' of the world, thereby marking the destruction of the balance of power principle. This scenario in the international system is likely to invigorate multilateral diplomacy to curb the overt domination by one power, through the expansion in the composition of the permanent members of the Security Council. This development coupled with the desire of nations to acquire nuclear weapons

will result in polycentrism or the establishment of a polycentric international system.

1.3.3 The Structure of the International System

First, there exists a global system in which international actors are co-inhabitants; the existence of different international actors; constructive engagement and interactions at bilateral and multilateral levels; and the resultant problems of conflict of interests present the basic elements that have sustained interest in the international system. The configuration of power in the international system from 1945 to 1989 had a bi-polar structure, divided into capitalist West under the United States leadership and the communist East led by the Soviet Union. The USA adopted such foreign policy strategies as isolationism and containment to check the spread of communism, and the Munroe Doctrine and the Marshall Plan to strengthen economic relationships with allied partners in the Cold War era.

From 1989, following the disintegration of the Soviet Union into 15 independent republics, the ideologically inspired hostility between the East and the West came to an end. Since 1990, is the only superpower remaining in the USA, leading to the promotion of a 'New World Order'; an environment for the conduct of foreign policy by all the states at the global level.

The analysis of the nature of the international system focused on the boundaries of the systems, its structure as it relates to power, its units, and their interactions. The amorphous structure of the international system is the earth, covering the entire globe inhabited by the human race, bordering on the examination of the degree of centralisation and integration. Consequently, the international system is power-structured and so centralised that it becomes difficult to integrate Third World countries into it after the post-war and post-Cold War era. The simple explanation is that the international system is dominated by industrialized nations, making developing countries to be dependent on them.

Frankel (1969) classified the international system into five structural types:

- Hierarchical Structure
- Diffuse/Universal Structure
- Bipolar Structure
- Unipolar System
- Multipolar System

Can You Explain Some Of These Classifications?

Hierarchical Structure

Having discussed the structure of the international system, the next thing is for us to look at the hierarchical structure. Known as the stratification system,

this model is hierarchically structured with the concentration of power and influence in a single unit of authority. The superpowers are found in this pyramid and they try to prevent any other power that attempts to challenge their hegemony. The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation with the USA at the apex and the defunct Warsaw pact are hierarchically structured with chains of command and control from the apex to the bottom. The international system according to this model is structured into 'developed countries with a disproportionate share of resources (USA, Japan, Germany, etc.); 'partly developed countries' (Brazil, Mexico, South Africa, Argentina, etc.); and the 'developing countries' of many countries but few resources (Senegal, Bangladesh, Haiti, Philippines, etc.).

Diffuse/Universal Structure

The international system is where power and authority are widely distributed among the interacting states by their capabilities. Each member tries to exercise its influence within the limit of its capability and resources, without external domination and ideological impositions. In an arrangement similar to the United Nations, there exist diffuse power blocs as there are two opposing blocs inter-spaced in-between them. These are the aligned countries-superpowers and, the non-aligned countries – the developing world. In this system, communication and interaction go in all directions except when bloc members tend to become dependent upon or subservient to bloc leaders and conduct new relations with opposing bloc members or non-aligned countries. The African and Asian countries that are members of the United Nations interact constantly.

Bipolar Structure

The type of international system that emerged after the W.W.II was bipolar. The world was divided into two ideological military blocs, one representing the East and another, the West. The formation of NATO (USA, Canada, France, Israel, Japan, United Kingdom, West Germany) and the WARSAW pact (Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Cuba, East Germany, Hungary, Poland) signalled the polarisation of the international system. These two blocs dominated the military and diplomatic authority, with clusters of lesser states around them. Communication and interaction follow polar lines, fanning the ember of armament race and increasing the need to bring down the tensions emanating from polarisation of the international system into antagonistic military blocs each struggling for supremacy and domination.

Unipolar Structure

Unipolarity is the emerging phenomenon after the end of the Cold War which was the direct reaction to the polarization of the world. The Unipolar international system is the dilemma the whole world is caught in, although, some will describe the present international system as tripolar because of the current integration process in the various continents, like the European Union, the African Union, and eventual expansion of the Security Council.

Multi-Polar Structure

This structure of the international system leads to the formation of alliances in a balance of power (Great Britain, Austria, Russia, France, etc.). The United Nations is a semblance of a multi-polar system which is very flexible compared to the bipolar system which is rigid, hence, does not allow others to join. The United Nations is the largest political representation of all countries of the world irrespective of size, resource, and strength.



Discussion

From what you have learnt so far, how can you describe the current international system in terms of the structure?

In not more than 100 words, drop your contribution in the discussion forum.



Self-Assessment Exercise

1. From the video above, trace the beginning of evolutionary process of the international system.
 - a. New World Orders (1945-Present)
 - b. The Treaty of Westphalia 1648
 - c. 1919 Versailles Treaty
 - d. Emergence of Nationalism (1800-1945).
2. The Contemporary International System is characterised by all of the following except one
 - a. An economic division between the rich North and the poor South.
 - b. The disparity that creates a dominance/dependency syndrome
 - c. Undermining equal co-operation that is beneficial in international system
 - d. None of the above.
3. The international system consists of Developed and Developing Countries. True or False?



1.4 Summary

In trying to understand the international system, the behaviour of states concerning their capability is very fundamental as this helps to explain the workings of the international system. The military, economic, resources and technological strength are vital in influencing the formulation of a nation's foreign policy. The evolution of the international system dates from the periods of the Holy Alliance, the congress of Vienna, the quadruple alliance and the quintuple alliance, the League of Nations and the United Nations, and

quasi-institutions. The concert of Europe was concerned with the prevention of dynasties and imperial interests from destroying the European balance of power. The Versailles Peace Treaty laid the foundation of the foremost international organisation. In the final analysis, the contemporary international system wears a garb of interdependence, especially with the subsisting globalisation of the system.

A meaningful understanding of the international system must be preceded by a diagnostic view of the nature and complexity inherent in this arena of world politics. The international system is a collection of independent political units which interact with some regularity in the exchange of ideas, information, goods, and services. To this extent, the international system is that organized interaction among states, moderated for peace and stability in the world. The internalisation of the global system due to the high level of interdependence among nation-states has led to a decline in the sovereignty of national governments, reduced the primacy of the state as an actor within the international system, and increased the influence of intergovernmental and non-governmental organisations, as extra-state international actors.



I.5 References/Further Readings/Web Resources

Adeniran, T. (1983). Introduction to International Relations. Lagos: Macmillan Publishers.

Akinboye, S. & Ottoh, F. (2009). A Systematic Approach to International Relations. Lagos: Concept Publications.

Frankel, J. (1969). International Politics: Conflict and Harmony. London: Pelican Books.

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/326835831_Revisiting_the_Evolution_of_International_System_Reflections_on_the_Role_of_Religion

https://www.academia.edu/30384252/The_Evolution_of_the_International_System



I.6 Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise

- i. b. The Treaty of Westphalia 1648.
- ii. d. None of the above
- iii. True

Note: The International system is polarised into countries that are developed while some are classified as developing. The reason is that the developed countries have the technology and means of producing everything, the developing countries depend more on the developed countries for their survival.

Unit 2: The Practice of Economic Relations in International Affairs

Unit Structure

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcomes
- 2.3 Main Content
 - 2.3.1 The Dynamics of International Economic Relations
 - 2.3.2 Roles of Economy in International Relations
 - 2.3.3 Character of International Economic Relations
 - 2.3.4 Perspectives on Economic Globalisation
 - 2.3.5 North-South Divide
 - 2.3.6 Global Economic Coalition
- 2.4 Summary
- 2.5 References/Further Reading/Web Resources
- 2.6 Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s)



2.1 Introduction

The state and the economy have a direct relationship, just as the analysis of another international system should be predicated on the foundation of the economy. Marxist philosophers uphold that the economy is the substructure on which the state's political superstructure rests. Consequent to the 'Cold War' the international economic relations became characterised by a system of interactions among participating organisations engaged in activities following rules and orders, as it relates to production, distribution of goods and services. This scenario presented two extreme ideologies; one operating on the market mechanism, while the other operates as a central planning agency or command economy. This unit would elucidate on the conditions that have guided economic relations, and more importantly, the circumstances surrounding the triumph of one of the economic ideologies.



2.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Analyse the dynamics of international Economic Relations
- Assess the roles of economy in international relations
- Explain the present character of international economic relations



2.3 Main Content

2.3.1 The Dynamics of International Economic Relations

It is considered necessary to have an understanding of the types of International Economic Relations that we encounter in our daily endeavours. These include:

- Foreign Trade Relations: The exchange of capital goods, services across international borders or territories.
- Credit and Financial Relations: This is a section of financial economics, dealing with the monetary transaction, occurring between two or more countries;
- Scientific and technical relations: This relates to the important drivers of recent economic performance, gathering of intelligence and those who carried them out, etc.
- International Tourism Relations: These have to do with tourisms that move across national borders. However, this unit is concentrating on the many contents.

The most fundamental force in the contemporary globalisation process is economic liberalisation, which has been embraced by virtually all countries and major international institutions within the global system. Economic liberalisation refers to the process of achieving unobstructed economic activities. It seeks to remove all obstacles to trade, production, and investment; emphasises freedom of economic activities and dominance of private enterprises; and aims ultimately at the divorce of the state from the economy. At the global level, economic liberalisation attempts to make all economies fully open for free inter-penetration and inter-state access.

Issues relating to the forces of economic liberalisation are generally more complicated than and not as obvious as in technology. In pursuit of economic liberalisation, the global system is polarised into various groups. In one group are the industrialised (G8) countries that work intimately with the world financial (IMF, World Bank) and Trade (WTO) institutions, and pursue a broad and ambitious agenda that attempts to build international capitalism on the foundations of open-world trade and capital flows, privatisation, a balanced budget, freeing up of exchange controls and similar deregulation and liberalisation measures.

Click on the link below to watch a video on economic liberalisation



<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WIP03ApSIhM>

Can you now explain some issues involved in economic liberalisation?

In another group are the 'Asian-Tigers' who have, through the economic liberalisation process, achieved unprecedented growth in their fragile economies. The countries, in addition to economic liberalisation, have used other policy instruments to expand Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and attain higher economic growth. These include developing a strong production base; opening up new investment areas; as well as designing and implementing sound macro-economic policies. They have also created conducive climate, stable political and economic environment to attract foreign investments. These policy measures have enhanced the expansion of FDI in the countries and led to their rapid growth and development.

It can therefore be rightly concluded that no country in the contemporary world can be an island unto itself, either due to its vibrant economic strength e.g., United States, or because it decides to close its doors to the outside world like China successfully did in the past. The critical message of globalisation in this context is that in the existing moment of integration of global markets, Nigeria and other developing nations have little choice but to join the globalisation train, despite their disadvantaged position in the process.

A strong and virile economy would depend on the ability of each region to manage its resources. It is not just enough to build an economy by receiving loans and grants, but it needs political and moral will to create and establish a new international economic order, based on equal economic participation and equitable distribution of world resources. The most disappointing economic performance in the last three decades of the twentieth century points to the fact that an alternative approach to world economic problems needs to be sought, especially one that will correct the imbalance in the international economic order. The practice by the advanced economies to impose an orthodox economic system on the rest of the world has shown inherent problems of crisis generation and political instability.

The recipe for solving the economic problem is better management of the international economy by the industrialised countries which would enable the developing countries to build their economy on a sound footing. There is also the need to integrate the various regions of the world, concerning the global process of transition, into a New World Economic Order for the international economic system. Although this is the typical neo-liberal prescription for economic growth, it could be argued that the proper management of economic fundamentals has a multiplier effect on the system.

2.3.2 Roles of Economy in International Economic Relations

International economics is concerned with the effects upon economic activity from international differences in productive resources and consumer preferences and the international institutions that affect them. It seeks to explain the patterns and consequences of transactions and interactions between the inhabitants of different countries, including trade, investment and transaction. International trade studies goods and services flows across international boundaries from supply-and-demand factors, economic integration, international factor movements, and policy variables such as tariff rates and trade quotas. International finance studies the flow of capital across international financial markets, and the effects of these movements on exchange rates. International monetary economics and international macroeconomics study flows of money across countries and the resulting effects on their economies as a whole. International political economy, a sub-category of international relations, studies issues and impacts from for example international conflicts, international negotiations, and international sanctions; national security and economic nationalism; and international agreements and observance.

2.3.3 Character of International Economic Relations

The modern world economy as a special organic holistic system began to be formed on the basis of the world market since the end of XIX - beginning of XX century. Now we can talk about the world economy as a global economic system that is based on international and world economic division of labor, internationalization and integration of production and exchange, and operates on the principles of a market economy. The modern world economy is a holistic system, but the integrity of the evolved gradually. It was formed with the evolution of the international division of labor, the process of internationalization of economic life of the countries of the world community, the integration of groups of countries into regional economic complexes (unions) of interstate regulation of social and economic processes, transnationalization of production.

The history of the world economy begins with the international division of labor (IDL) associated with the exchange activity and its products between nation states IDL, or the division of labor between countries is a step in public territorial division of labor. It is based on the cost-effective production

specialization of individual countries and shows the results in the interchange of specialized production in certain proportions. The international division of labor exists in two basic forms: the international specialization and international production cooperation.

International specialization - is a form of division of labor between the countries in which the increase in the concentration of homogeneous production is based on the progressive differentiation of the national production. Specialization in the international division of labor will eventually provide the specialization of countries and regions in the production of certain products and parts for the global market. The international production cooperation is the result of the specialization of national industries, which interact in the international division of labor. International clustering based on subject specialization and is the form of the private and public division of labor in the global economy. The international production cooperation is meant to include the country in the international division of labor within the so-called vertical model of the international division of labor, that is, while maintaining the autonomy of the production process within the national borders.

The theory of international division of labor takes its rationale and development in the classical school of political economy, especially in the works of its founders - Adam Smith and David Ricardo. The main achievement of the classics is the theory of comparative costs of production. The basis of this theory is the idea of the existence of cross-country differences in the costs associated with the production of certain goods. This situation leads to the conclusion that, in place of all the goods for which there is demand for more profitable to focus on the production of goods, which requires the least expenditure. Specializing in the production of this product will provide an opportunity, through the exchange, to buy goods in foreign markets, domestic production of which requires more overhead than in other countries. The biggest economic impact will be giving specialization in the production of the commodity in which the advantage - the maximum. If the country cannot produce any products with costs below the international level, then it will be relatively more efficient to specialize in the production of goods for which the excess of international level will be the lowest cost.

The ideas embodied in the life of the classics and have been further developed in modern theories of international trade. The world economy as a collection of national economies The international division of labor was the unifying element that created the world economy as a set of interrelated international exchange of national .economies, projecting its subsystems Exit of trade links across national boundaries, that is, the internationalization of the circulation (heading stage of the capital), and now is the general active trend for all over the world who want to get the economic benefits of the international division of labor and international trade. But today the trade relations between the countries and serving their monetary and credit relations constitute only a primary level of integrity of international relations since the middle of the XX century took shape national level of the world economy. In the second half of the XX century in the evolution of the international

2.3.4 Perspectives on Economic Globalisation

The 21st century is expected to usher in full capitalism that ensures international cooperation based on a free-market system and democracy as you can see in Figure 2.



Fig. 2: Economic Globalisation

The problem of capitalism in the international economic system is the dominance of the industrialised powers and their multinational corporations, which control world resources, through the monopolisation of international trade. While the interdependence school of thought on capitalism claims that interdependence is the reality of globalisation and that it constitutes a positive development in world affairs, scholars who view globalisation as imperialism insist that the phenomenon as it is today represents nothing but capitalism and imperialism, that is what Ali Mazrui refers to as “the new global imperialism” (Akinboye, 2008).

Click on the link below to learn more about economic globalisation



<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IMQQ7I3R2ME>

Can you now analyse the two major types of economic globalisation as explained in the video? Nice!

Scholars that allude to the same position have proclaimed that globalisation is a transformative capitalist project, which can only serve to impoverish the underdeveloped nations on the fringe of world capitalism. Claude Ake, for

instance, sees globalisation as a capitalist project that is structured to perpetuate the underdevelopment of Africa and other developing countries. He construed globalisation in terms of profit maximisation, and perceptively referred to it as the march of capital across the world, in search of profits; a process that is facilitated by the expansion of multinational corporations, and driven by the technical advances in communication. Accordingly, Ake contends that: Globalisation is about growing structural differentiation and functional integration in the world economy; it is about growing interdependence across the globes, it is about the nation-state coming from under pressure from the surge of a transnational phenomenon; about the emergence of a global mass culture driven by mass advertising and technical advances in mass communication. This correlates with Madunagu's allusion that globalisation is the rapid expansion of capitalism. According to Madunagu: The rapid expansion, through giant multinational companies, of capitalism to several areas of the world, including areas where it had hitherto been resisted or put in check side by side with this expansion, is the phenomenal development of computer technology, telecommunication, and transportation.

The latter serves as the main vehicle of the former. Globalisation is a globalisation of capitalism, not the globalisation of a "neutral" economic system or globalisation of post-capitalism as the imperial intellectuals and their slaves in the underdeveloped countries would have us believe. In the final analysis, Nabudere provides a critical summary of the globalisation phenomenon thus: globalisation is a capitalist economic project that is propelled by two contradictory movements – first, the tendency of economic globalisation to create uniformities in the entire world; and second, the tendency of marginalisation and fragmentation, which the phenomenon connotes. These two processes make it possible for globalisation to spread out its risk and losses throughout the global arena. However, we view the incidence of economic globalisation as the reality dictates that the third-world countries are drawn into the globalisation entanglements, not on their terms, thus further enlarging the inequalities that exist in the world. The scenario puts the advanced and developed economies at the centre of global economic relations, while the developing world remains at the periphery without the wherewithal to significantly impact the direction of an international economic pendulum.

2.3.5 North-South Divide

The idea of categorising countries by their economic and developmental status began during the Cold War with the classifications of East and West. The Soviet Union and China represented the developing East, and the United States and their allies represented the more developed West. Out of this paradigm of development surged the division of the First World [the West] and the Second World [the East] with the even less developed countries constituting the Third World. As some Second World countries joined the First World, and others joined the Third World, a new and simpler classification was needed. The First World became the "North" and the Third World became the "South". This apart, it is important that the people of the

“South” desist from using the word “Third World”, which is defeatist in connotation, to using the word developing, which is a more positive word.

In recent years, the obvious response to globalisation is through the pursuit of economic integration carried out by regional organisations like the G-77, the European Union, the North America Free Trade Agreement, ECOWAS, etc. There is however a strong argument against globalisation concerning regional economic integration. Pointedly, the industrialised nations of the North are in economic contest with the developing nations of the South that have vehemently challenged the idea and processes of globalisation. The point to be established here is that the political and economic dimensions of capitalist ideology can only be understood from the high level of political violence in the South, while the trade in minerals and agricultural raw materials has reached the height under the existing free trade regime of the World Trade Organisation.

The North-South divide is a socio-economic and political division that exists between the wealthy developed countries, known collectively as “the north”, and the poorer developing countries (least developed countries), or “the south”. Although most nations comprising the “North” are located in the Northern Hemisphere (with the notable exceptions of Australia and New Zealand), the divide is not wholly defined by geography. The North is home to four of the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council and all members of the G8. “The North” mostly covers the West and the First World, with much of the Second World. As nations become economically developed, they may become part of the “North”, regardless of geographical location, while any other nations which do not qualify for “developed” status are in effect deemed to be part of the South. Being categorised as part of the “North” implies development as opposed to belonging to the “South” which implies a lack thereof. The North becomes synonymous with economic development and industrialisation while the South represents the previously colonised countries that require help in the form of international aid agendas. Therefore, the use of the terms North-South, developed, and third-world here assumed an ideological connotation of superior and inferior and should be debunked.

Factors responsible for the North-South divide and ultimately to inequality are the capitalist ideology which relies on the constant motivation to produce capital accumulation. The nature of capitalism leads those countries with a comparative advantage (developed) to accumulate capital through dispossession or in other words to take capital from those less advantaged (un-developed/developing). This accumulation by dispossession leads to the unequal development that feeds the north-south divide.

Globalisation or Global Capitalism, as the leading cause for global inequality, enhances social and economic gaps between countries, since it requires economies and societies to adapt in a very rapid manner, and because this seldom happens in an equal fashion, some nations grow faster than others. Rich countries exploit poorer countries to a point where developing countries become dependent on developed countries for survival. The very

structure and process of globalisation perpetuates and reproduces unequal relationships and opportunities between the North and the South. Some would argue that free international trade and unhindered capital flows across countries will lead to a contraction in the North-South divide. In this case, more equal trade and flow of capital would allow the possibility for developing countries to further develop economically. As some countries in the South experience rapid development, there is some evidence that those states are developing high levels of South-South aid. The United Nations has also established its role in diminishing the divide between North and South through its Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). These goals seek to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger; achieve universal primary education; promote gender equality and empower women; reduce child mortality; improve maternal health; combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases; ensure environmental sustainability, and develop a global partnership for development by the year 2015.

2.3.6 Global Economic Coalition

The integration of the world economy and the trading system has been enhanced by the forces of satellite technology and electronic communication. Financial markets, financial transactions, and international financial institutions are in a grand coalition determined to move resources from regions of low returns to regions of high profit. Furthermore, the increasing integration of international trade and finance inevitably entails the localisation of the international system.

The economic imperative of the abysmal performance of the developing world is traceable to the wholesale embrace of capitalism and the free-market economy as the dominant mode of production. A review of the activities of the international economic system actors shows a prevailing pattern of interdependence and mutual dependence. However, while the developing countries are engrossed with the export of mineral resources for the importation of finished goods from the industrialised nations, the West continues to deepen poverty in these areas by moving productive resources to the metropolis.

Developing country coalitions in the multilateral trading system is not new, but they have evolved significantly. The Group of 77 (G77) developing countries have operated in the international trade arena since the 1960s. Along with the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), it has played a particularly significant role in UNCTAD and has made periodic political statements on WTO matters. One of the first WTO-specific negotiating coalitions of developing countries was the Informal Group of Developing Countries (IGDC), which was formed by a sub-set of developing countries in the lead up to the launch of the Uruguay Round, and became the G-10 in 1982. The Doha Round of WTO negotiation has been notable for the greater use of coalitions by WTO Members than in earlier GATT Rounds. Moreover, developing countries now lead and participate in a greater number of these coalitions than in earlier GATT negotiation processes.

Optimists argue that the rise of coalitions, and several large emerging developing countries at the centre of WTO decision-making, is attenuating the asymmetries of power in WTO negotiations. Certainly, the stalemate in the Doha negotiations was partly a reflection of the impact that developing countries and their coalitions exerted on the process and the outcomes of WTO negotiations. However, more skeptical analysts argue that while the efforts of developing country coalitions have altered the 'atmospherics' of trade negotiations, for many of the poorest and weakest countries they have diminished the appearance but not the reality, of exclusion from the process. Collective bargaining through coalitions, alliances, or regional groups is a key mechanism that countries can use to influence outcomes in multilateral trade negotiations.

The academic literature on collective bargaining yields a useful set of categories to differentiate among the spectrum of collaborations among countries in the multilateral trade arena. According to Birkbeck & Harboud (2011), in terms of composition, there are at least three kinds of groupings among countries in the WTO context:

- a. Issue-Based Coalitions (e.g., the G-20, the G-33, the NAMA-11), the Core Group on Trade Facilitation;
- b. Characteristic-Based Groups, such as groups of countries with similar levels of development or weight in world trade (e.g., the Least Developed Countries (LDC) Group, the Small Vulnerable Economies (SVE) Group, and the G-77/China);
- c. Region-Based Groupings (e.g., the African Group, the African, Caribbean, and Pacific (ACP) Group, the Group of Latin American countries (GRULAC)); and;
- d. Combined Groupings of developed and developing countries (e.g., the Cairns Group and the Friends of Fish).

The purpose of coalitions varies considerably. Some groups focus on advocacy and lobbying on broad political priorities, whereas others are targeted negotiating groups keen to advance deal-making on specific topics. Some groups are single-issue coalitions whereas others advance a broad set of priorities and political perspectives. Some groups form to respond to a specific threat and dissolve after a certain period. Historically, many developing country coalitions have pursued 'distributive' negotiating strategies (where the focus is getting or protecting the largest possible segment of a given 'pie' of potential trade benefits). More recently, there are cases where a more 'integrative approach is being explored (e.g., where the focus is on collaborating to explore possibilities to increase the overall size of the pie and to find solutions that yield improvements for all parties).

The dynamics of International Economic Relations continuously give rise to new emerging regulatory arrangements (the Kyoto Protocol, the Global Compact, and the Fair Labour Association), that seek to address the environmental constraints of unrestricted consumption. Global capital and an economic coalition were initiated by the Allied partners during the negotiations leading to the establishment of the United Nations Organisations in 1944. That economic coalition was established by the western powers as

constituted in the proposed membership of the Security Council. Pointedly, the fruit of the global economic coalition is found in the establishment of the IMF, World Bank, World Trade Organisation, and other international finance corporation agencies that deny market and financial access to the developing nations of the 'South' through stringent monetary requirements.



Self-Assessment Exercise

1. According to the video above, the 21st century is expected to usher in full capitalism that ensures international cooperation based on a free-market system and democracy. True or False?
2. The idea of categorising countries by their economic and developmental status classified and divided the world into the following except.....
 - a. Third World b. First World c. Second World d. Last World.
3. International Economic Analysis is about?
 - (a) Global Trade Integration (b) Sporting Analysis (c) Political Organisation



2.4

Summary

In this unit, we have learned that the United Nations agencies, especially the World Bank and the IMF are not necessarily true agents of development and hence, a clog in the wheel of development. The structural inequalities in these institutions have put the developing countries in a more disadvantaged position and further impaired their debt-ridden development model.

Small and poor developing countries face well-known structural constraints and power asymmetries in their international economic relations. Their limited economic weight often produces pessimism about the prospects for such countries to international trade negotiations.

For many developing countries, participation in coalitions with other developing countries as well as in groupings and alliances with developed countries is an increasingly popular strategy for boosting their influence. A core preoccupation of those keen to ensure greater fairness in the multilateral trading system is the representation of small, weak, and poor countries in WTO negotiations and in ensuring their participation in the WTO system generate concrete benefits for them.



2.5

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2.6

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise

- i. True
- ii. D. Last World.
- iii. A. Global trade integration.

Reason: Global trade encourages global integration politically and economically.

Unit 3: Introduction to International Law

Unit Structure

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 Main Content
 - 3.3.1 The Workings of International Law in International Relations
 - 3.3.2 Sources of International Law
 - 3.3.3 Subjects of International Law
 - 3.3.4 Distinctions between International Law and Municipal Law
- 3.4 Summary
- 3.5 References/Further Reading/Web Resources
- 3.6 Answer to Self-Assessment Exercise



3.1 Introduction

Did you know that most nations are said to comply with International Law, but that appears open to discussion bearing in mind the number of human rights violations still happening around the world? While the international community does try to hold all nations to International Law, it is not always viable. Despite this reality, and in the absence of a world government in the real sense, there is yet the need for the existence of mechanisms that would give the world an impression of law and order. This justifies our previous opinion that the international system is not unavoidably orderly. This unit would treat all the issues related to the institutional processes of international law as this relates to the international system.



3.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Describe the workings of international law in international relations
- Explain the various sources of international law
- Distinguish between international law and municipal law
- Critique the basis for the existence of international treaties and agreements



3.3 Main Content

3.3.1 The Workings of International Law in International Relations

It could be argued that the first instrument of modern public international law was the 'Lieber Code', passed in 1863 by the Congress of the United States, to govern the conduct of US Forces during the United States Civil War and

considered to be the first written recitation of the rules and articles of war, adhered to by all civilised nations; the precursor of public international law. In the years that followed, other states subscribed to limitations of their conduct, and numerous other treaties and bodies were created to regulate the conduct of states towards one another in terms of these treaties, including, but not limited to, the Permanent Court of Arbitration in 1899; the Hague and Geneva Conventions, the first of which was passed in 1907; the International Court of Justice in 1921; the Genocide Convention; and the International Criminal Court, in the late 1990s. Because international law is a relatively new area of law its development and propriety in applicable areas are often subject to dispute.

International law is developed and agreed upon by those that make up the international system, but not every nation-state is a member or has a part in the process.

Due to the diverse legal systems and applicable histories of different countries, laws addressing international law include both common law (case law) and civil law (statutes created by governing bodies). Their application covers all the facets of national law, including substantive law, procedure, and remedies. Although there is no definitive governing body overseeing international law, the United Nations is the most widely recognised and influential international organisation and the International Court of Justice (ICJ) is its judicial counterpart.

There are three main legal principles recognised in much of international law, which is not required, but is based chiefly on courtesy and respect:

1. The principle of comity- in the instance where two nations share common public policy ideas, one of them submits to the laws and judicial decrees of the other. International law is the body of legal rules which apply between states and other nations that have been granted international personality. It is seen as a body of rules that have been accepted by civilised nations as being binding in their relations with one another.
2. Act of state doctrine- respects a nation as sovereign in its territory and its official domestic actions may not be questioned by the judicial bodies of another country. It dissuades courts from deciding cases that would interfere with a country's foreign policy.
3. Doctrine of sovereign immunity- deals with actions brought in the court of one nation against another foreign nation and prevents the sovereign state from being tried in court without its consent. To be determined a sovereign state; a nation must run its government, with its territory and population.

Based on your experience, can you explain the two basic categories of international law?

There are two basic categories of International Law; Public International Law and Private International Law. Public International Law covers the rules, laws,

and customs that govern and monitor the conduct and dealings between nations and/or their citizens. The UN deals largely with public international law, which defines the relationships between different nations or between a nation and persons from another country. It assumes that whenever a law has been accepted, it establishes mutual rights and obligations. Public international law concerns the structure and conduct of sovereign states; analogous entities, such as the Holy See; and intergovernmental organisations. To a lesser degree, international law also may affect multinational corporations and individuals, an impact increasingly evolving beyond domestic legal interpretation and enforcement. Public international law has increased in use and importance vastly over the 20th century, due to the increase in global trade, environmental deterioration on a worldwide scale, awareness of human rights violations, rapid and vast increases in international transportation, and a boom in global communications.

Click on the link below to watch a video on the Principles and Practice of International Law



<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a0f0Hwiuek0>

Private international law generally deals with individual concerns, such as civil or human rights issues, not only between a government and its citizens but also in how its citizens are treated by other nations. Private international law handles disputes between private citizens of different nations.

Throughout the long history of international law, States were the only actors in international relations. The norms of contemporary international law continue to govern mainly the relationship between states and the relations of states with international organisations and other international institutions constantly interacting with each other. Whenever a law has been accepted, it establishes mutual rights and obligations. International law is influenced by international politics, and the forces of international law are not the sense of justice, nor the sense of right, but the fact that nations accept to be bound by these laws. In particular, international courts and international arbitration, investigation, conciliation, and other commissions, which are created by agreement between the states and are, guided in their activities by international legal regulations, especially rules of general international law. Some of these international bodies, such as the International Court of Justice, are a body of a universal character, since they create an international community of states and access to them is open to countries.

Generally, international law consists of rules and principles of general application dealing with the conduct of states and intergovernmental organisations and with their relations, as well as with some of their relations with persons, whether natural or juridical.

3.3.2 Sources of International Law

International law is the rules and regulations in form of behavioural norms and ethical codes that regulate the conduct of man in an organic society, and also on the international scene. Sources of international law are the materials and processes out of which the rules and principles regulating the international community is developed. They have been influenced by a range of political and legal theories. The idea of international organisation was new and alien to the Romans, although Rome contributed immensely to the development of international law.

Hence, modern international law originates essentially as a result of the urgency of human survival in the mid-20th century. Humanitarian considerations are the inspirational basis of rules of international law because the primary need of our time is to control the environment for the benefit of man. The basic fundamental premise of modern international law as expressed under the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), where the empire and the church were dissolved into nation-states, is sovereignty, territorial integrity, equality of nations, and non-interference in the affairs of nations. These principles formed the basis of international law and were emphasised at the Treaty of Utrecht 1713. In the American and French Revolutions of 1776 and 1789 respectively, these ideas of neutrality in cases of boundary clashes between nations were settled using the principles laid down in the Roman law.

The factors that stimulated the growth of international law include the industrial revolution, development of trade, and the emancipation of nation-states, all of which created huge demands for raw materials, and market access, thereby bringing about persistent clashes. Hence, international law was negotiated and established to regulate trade activities and provide a congenial atmosphere for trade to flourish among the European nations.

Article 38 (I) of the 1946 Statute of the International Court of Justice is generally recognised as a definitive statement of the sources of international law. It requires the court to apply among other things:

- a. International conventions expressly recognised by the contesting states, and
- b. International custom, as evidence of a general practice of law.

Other sources of public international law are:

- c. International treaties,
- d. Custom,
- e. General principles of law,
- f. Judicial decisions and teachings;
- g. Juristic writings;
- h. Resolutions of the Security Council and the general assembly.

3.3.3 Subjects of International Law

Traditionally, sovereign states and the Holy See were the sole subjects of international law. From the Peace of Westphalia (1648) till the creation of the United Nations system, it was considered that the 'State' was the sole subject of international law: that international law only applied as between States. States, as the subjects of international law, had an international personality which meant that they had the right to have their claims respected internationally. With the proliferation of international organisations over the last century, they have in some cases been recognised as relevant parties as well, as recent interpretations of international human rights law and international trade law have been inclusive of corporations, and even of certain individuals.

The international court of justice, in its 'Reparations of Injuries Advisory Opinion' 1949, confirmed that other entities could be subjects of international law. Though it made plain that while sovereign states possess all the rights and duties on the international plane, that other entities such as inter-governmental organisations, as well as the individual, and multi-national corporations, might possess rights and duties which states would ascribe to them.

The State

Reference is ordinarily made to Article I of the 1933 Montevideo Convention on the Rights and duties of states as being indicative of the criteria required to be established as a state in international law. The state as a person of international law should possess the following qualifications:

- a permanent population;
- a defined territory;
- government; and
- a capacity to enter into relations with the other states.

Inter-Governmental Organisations

Inter-Governmental Organisations are entities that are constituted by states, have states as their members, and are based on a constitutive treaty. In the 1949 Reparations of Injuries case, the International Court of Justice recognized that the United Nations (like other IGOs) has a 'functional personality' that is: legal personality to the extent required to carry out the tasks which states have assigned to it.

The Individual

As a subject of international law, the individual has both rights and obligations. Rights are manifest in international human rights law, while obligations are generally encompassed within international criminal law.

The Holy See

This focuses on the role and position of the Pope in international law, and international relations in general. The international legal personality of the Holy See and by extension being a subject of international law is predicated upon the fact that the Pope, as the spiritual head of the Catholic Church and the Vatican City has maintained international relations with states for the protection and promotion of the interests of the Catholic Church and the spiritual values upon which it is founded. States enter into concordant, specifically treaties with the Holy See, which makes it for the states to receive accredited diplomatic representatives. This is an aspect of the international legal personality of the Holy See. In this respect, the Holy See can sue and be sued.

3.3.4 Distinction between International Law and Municipal Law

Public international law establishes the framework and the criteria for identifying states as the principal actors in the international legal system. As the existence of a state presupposes control and jurisdiction over territory, international law deals with the acquisition of territory, state immunity, and the legal responsibility of states in their conduct with each other. International law is similarly concerned with the treatment of individuals within state boundaries. There is thus a comprehensive regime dealing with group rights, the treatment of aliens, and the rights of refugees, international crimes, nationality problems, and human rights generally.

The principal feature of municipal law is the existence of a legislature and a court system that can settle legal disputes and enforce the law. At the international level, however, there is no legislature in existence and it is by way of agreements between countries (treaties) that international law is made. This can also be described in the following way: Municipal law is hierarchical or vertical - the legislature is in a position of supremacy and enacts binding legislation, while international law is horizontal- all states are sovereign and equal.

As a result of the notion of sovereignty, the value and authority of international law are dependent upon the voluntary participation of states in its formulation, observance, and enforcement. Although there may be exceptions, it is thought by many international academics that most states enter into legal commitments with other states out of enlightened self-interest rather than adherence to a body of law that is higher than their own.

International Treaties and Agreements

International agreements are formal understandings or commitments between two or more countries. An agreement between two countries is called "bilateral," while an agreement between several countries is "multilateral." The countries bound by an international agreement are generally referred to as "States Parties."

Under international law, a treaty is any legally binding agreement between states (countries). A treaty can be called a Convention, a Protocol, a Pact, an Accord, etc.; it is the content of the agreement, not its name, which makes it a treaty. Thus, the Geneva Protocol and the Biological Weapons Convention are both treaties even though neither has the word “treaty” in its name. Under U.S. law, a treaty is specifically a legally binding agreement between countries that requires ratification and the “advice and consent” of the Senate. All other agreements (treaties in the international sense) are called Executive Agreements, but are nonetheless legally binding for the U.S. under international law.

A treaty is negotiated by a group of countries, either through an organization set up for that specific purpose, or through an existing body such as the United Nations (UN) Council for Disarmament. The negotiation process may take several years, depending on the topic of the treaty and the number of countries participating. After negotiations are finished, the treaty is signed by representatives of the governments involved. The terms may require that the treaty be ratified as well as signed before it becomes legally binding. A government ratifies a treaty by depositing an instrument of ratification at a location specified in the treaty; the instrument of ratification is a document containing a formal confirmation that the government consents to the terms of the treaty. The ratification process varies according to the laws and Constitutions of each country. In the U.S., the President can ratify a treaty only after getting the “advice and consent” of two thirds of the Senate.

Unless a treaty contains provisions for further agreements or actions, only the treaty text is legally binding. Generally, an amendment to a treaty is only binding to the states that have ratified the amendment, and agreements reached at review conferences, summits, or meetings of the state’s parties are politically but not legally binding. An example of a treaty that does have provisions for further binding agreements is the UN Charter. By signing and ratifying the Charter, countries agreed to be legally bound by resolutions passed by UN bodies such as the General Assembly and the Security Council. Thus, UN resolutions are legally binding on UN Member States, and no signature or ratification is necessary.

In addition to treaties, there are other less formal international agreements. These include such efforts as the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) and the G7 Global Partnership Against the Spread of Weapons of Mass Destruction although the PSI has a “Statement of Interdiction Principles” and the G7 Global Partnership has several statements by G7 leaders, neither has a legally binding document that lays out specific obligations and that is signed or ratified by member countries.



Self-Assessment Exercise

I. The workings of international law, in International Relations coincide with all but one of these submissions:

- (a) Framework for the practice of a stable and organised international relation;
- (b) Platform for political party formation
- (c) A set of rules generally regarded and accepted as binding in relations between states and nations.

2. International Law and Municipal Law deal with:

- (a) Relations between/among states within the international system, while municipal Laws deal with issues of a sovereign state, for the people in a defined territory, city or town.
- (b) Both apply to international and local army.
- (c) Relations between rural and urban husbandry



3.4 Summary

In conclusion, it is obvious that the debate on the chaotic and disorderliness or otherwise of the international system still holds currency. While there are theoretical views to the effect that the international system is chaotic and disorderly in the absence of a world government that could act as regulator in the relationship between and among subjects of international law; states and non-state actors included. This has been the case since the beginning of the interstate system and the efforts that have been made have not in any way changed the position of the realists that the contemporary inter-state system is anarchic and chaotic without standard rules and behaviour. This position is held despite the creation and existence of several mechanisms that could bring states and non-state actors to book. According to the realists, being subjects of international law does not compel a state to obey rules and regulations imposed by international law or treaties. Reference is often made to the judgment passed on the Sudanese president by the International Court of Justice at The Hague, which is still disobeyed with reckless abandon. First is the fact that there is no international police authority that is mandated to arrest such personality, and rather for other states to isolate Sudan based on the judgment passed on the president, other states carry on their relationship with Sudan like no issues have occurred. On the other side of the spectrum, the idealists argue that the moral burden imposed by the existence of international law curtails states from acting arbitrarily. Because of the possibility of condemnation by other actors, states are therefore wont to act according to stated international rules and regulations, as long as their sovereignty is not affected.

In summary, this unit captures the limitations of states in respect of their relationships with one another and fact, with other non-state actors. It is suggested that despite the quest for the realisation of national purpose, as enshrined in the principles and objectives of national interest, states are limited and hindered to the extent that they would not violate the sovereignty of other states, or go against the rules and regulations that bind actors in the international system. Though different from municipal law, and perhaps not as effective as municipal law, international law remains the law.



3.5

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3.6

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise

- i. B. Platform for political formation.
- ii. A. Relations between/among states within the international system, while municipal Laws deal with issues of a sovereign state, for the people in a defined territory, city or town.

Unit 4: Historical Development And Framework Of International Organisations

Unit Structure

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Learning Outcomes
- 4.3 Main Content
 - 4.3.1 History of International Organisation
 - 4.3.2 Characteristics of International Organisation
 - 4.3.3 Grouping/Classification of International Organisation
- 4.4 Summary
- 4.5 References/Further Reading/Web Resources
- 4.6 Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise



4.1 Introduction

Understanding the dynamics of the international system requires an appreciation of the workings of the international organisations, on whose platform state actors present their activities. Hence the shift is made in the approach to the study of international politics that emphasise international organisations, thereby relegating the state-centric view to the background.

This only validates the position that the study of the international system consists of states interacting with international organisations and other non-governmental actors. Hence, international organisations are inter-governmental organisations in global terms, drawing their membership from every region of the world.

This unit however, introduce us to the workings of international organisations, thereby showcasing their importance in the whole gamut of international relations. Invariably, the activities of international organisations have implications for world peace and security.



4.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Trace the history of international organisations
- Analyse international organisations with focus on their characteristics and groupings
- Describe the functions of international organisations with reference to a particular international organization.



4.3 Main Content

4.3.1 History of International Organisation

The historical evolution of international organisations dates back to the 19th century while the 20th century is described as the period for the proliferation of global and regional organisations. The Congress of Westphalia of 1648 was a significant milestone in the development of an international organisation, as it also marked the evolution of the state system. In the 19th century, diplomacy was the traditional medium through which international affairs were conducted, especially during the concert of Europe, where states met to debate political issues of mutual interest, based on the awareness of interdependence.

One of the most significant developments in the latter half of the 19th century was the emergence of a multitude of international administrative agencies or public international unions, in response to the growing need for cooperation in resolving economic and social problems requiring coordinated action. Among the international organisations that were set up were the European Commission for the Danube (1806); the International Bureau of Telegraphic Administrations (1868); the Universal Postal Union (1875); the International Bureau of Weights and Measures (1875); among others.

Watch the video below to get more information on the evolution of international organisations



https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g-GL4_lm5yA

How will you relate the information in this video to the evolution of international organisations in Africa?

Another important evolutionary trend of international organisations was the Hague system of international conferences. This provided the platform for international negotiation and led to a more realistic definition of 'community of states.' An attempt was then made to institutionalise the international relations process of settling international disputes with the establishment of agencies, like the 'Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes' adopted in 1899. This brought about the appointment of an ad-hoc

commission of inquiry, and for the creation of a permanent court of arbitration. The Hague system, the Council of Europe, and the Public International Unions attested to the potential value of international organisations as instruments of world peace, through the institutionalised procedures and crisis management in the conduct of international relations.

However, the formalised phase in the evolution of international organisations began with the establishment of the 'League of Nations and later the 'United Nations Organisation'. The League of Nations was designed to provide an institution through which its members, acting collectively, might identify threats to world peace and take measures such as sanctions and even military action to stop an aggressor. The United Nations Organisation, coming on the failure of the League of Nations, is committed to maintaining international peace and security. Attempts to end the war and discussions on post-war policy led to a series of conferences and declarations; among which was the Moscow Declaration, which proclaimed the need to establish a general international organisation, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all states, for the maintenance of international peace and security. In furtherance of the objective for countries of the world, to join in the building of international peace and security, forty-four states met in Bretton-Woods, USA, where two international financial organisations known as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank), were established.

On August 21, 1944, a meeting of the great powers –USSR, Britain, USA, and China was held at Dumbarton Oaks, in the U.S.A., to draw up proposals for a general international organisation, leading to agreements concerning the establishment of the United Nations. On October 24, 1945, all the big powers had ratified the charter, to bring the international organisation, which now stands at about 193 member-states, into effect.

4.3.2 Characteristics of International Organisations

Common but basic features of international organisations that are embedded in the discussion above are as follows:

- a. Global intergovernmental organisations are established, employing an agreement between two or more states.
- b. The states involved decide to surrender part of their sovereignty to the international organisation.
- c. Consensus, recommendation, and cooperation inform state action, rather than coercive enforcement.
- d. International organisations are composed of sovereign, independent states, voluntarily joining, in a common pursuit of certain goals;
- e. International organisations establish certain organs that are assigned special duties.
- f. The administrative headquarter, which is termed the secretariat, performs the executive functions through the Secretary-General and world-class civil servants.
- g. International organisations do not possess a legislative body that has the power to make laws.

- h. Legislative functions are carried out through conferences, like the summit of the UNO.
- i. The Actors that shape the activities of International Organisations determine the type of decisions and whose interest such decisions are designed to serve.
- j. Officials of government action under the influence of their respective governments, based on specific foreign policy objectives.
- k. Members of the conferences are selected as representatives of government officials, who agree or disagree on the decisions taken at the conference, as a reflection of the official position of their governments.
- l. Decision-making at the conference is governed by the democratic principles of majority rule and equal voting rights.
- m. Some International Organisations, possessing compulsory jurisdiction over disputes between states, have institutions with legal or quasi-legal powers.
- n. In the settlement of disputes, International Organisations employ methods of negotiation, inquiry, mediation, and conciliation.
- o. Permanent Secretariat is occupied by members of the Organisation, from different nationalities, chosen to serve the organisation, regardless of their nationality.
- p. International Organisations possess features, such as membership.

- q. International Organisations have formal structures that are continuous and are established through an agreement, such as a treaty.

4.3.3 Groupings/Classifications of International Organisations

International Organisations, can be classified according to membership; aims, functions, and Structure. Accordingly, we have universal global organisations; regional organisations; sub-regional organisations, alliances, and pluralistic organisations, as well as political groupings.

a. Universal Organisations

A global organisation in which all or almost all the states in the world are members; for example, the United Nations Organisation. This is a multi-purpose global organisation that operates in various facets: security, social, economic, cultural and educational, and scientific exchange. There are, also, single-purpose or functional global organisations, specialised intergovernmental organisations like the International Labour Organisation, World Health Organisation, International Monetary Fund, Food, and Agricultural Organisation, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, etc.

b. Regional Organisations

In the international system, there is a trend for nation-states to form regional groupings, embracing the territory of a few states. Regional organisations make themselves jointly responsible for the peaceful settlement of disputes, which may arise among themselves; and for the maintenance of peace and security in their respective regions. Regional organisations like the African Union and the European Union are formed to safeguard their interests and the development of their economic and cultural relations. Regional organisations are arrangements by a voluntary association of sovereign states within a certain area. Regional organisations exist to take joint action in the event of any threat to their economic, social, and political security.

There are two major recurrent patterns of regional organisations – the hegemonial one, in which a great power serves as a nucleus, around which the lesser powers cluster, either to seek the protection from their bigger enemies or the protection of the hegemon. The other is the political units with less pronounced disparities of power, which unite against a common danger. Among the regional organisations operating in the international system are the organisation of American States (OAS) 1890; African Union (AU); the Arab League; the European Union, etc.

Can you think of other classifications?

c. Economic groupings

These are regional institutions like the Economic Community of West African States–ECOWAS; and the Southern African Development Commission-SADC organised to bring rapid economic development, to member-states. Economic integration has given much impetus to the formation of regional arrangements that proceed from bilateral mutual assistance among states, which gradually developed into a broader political organisation. This tendency toward international regionalism is an acknowledged feature of the contemporary international system. Economic groupings also include cartels like the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), which exist to protect the interest of its members in the global system.

The ECOWAS, which came into existence in 1975, is primarily concerned with the sub-regional economic integration, for economic growth and development of the sub-region. Through the establishment of an institutional framework for the formation of contemporary economic regional bodies in the North, East, and South Africa, the concept of an African common market could be realised, after the merger of the various sub-regional blocks.

Economic groupings enhance economic integration and address the protectionist practices, necessitated for the protection of infant industries. According to article 2 of the Treaty of Lagos; the ECOWAS shall aim to promote cooperation and development, in all fields of economic activities, particularly in the fields of industry, transport, energy, agriculture, etc to raise the standard of living of its people, increase and maintain economic stability, and foster closer relations among its members. According to the Treaty of ECOWAS, some of the aims and objectives include the following:

- I. The community aims to promote co-operation and integration, leading to the establishment of an economic union in West Africa, to raise the living standards of its peoples, and to maintain and enhance economic stability, foster relations among member states and contribute to the progress and development of the African continent.
2. To achieve the aims set out in the paragraph above, and under the relevant provisions of this treaty, the community shall, by stages, ensure that:
 - a. the harmonisation and coordination of national policies and the promotion of integration programs, projects, and activities, particularly in food, agriculture and natural resources, industry, transport, and communications, energy, trade, money and finance, taxation, economic reform policies, human resources, education, information, culture, science, technology, services, health, tourism, legal matters.
 - b. the harmonisation and coordination of policies for the protection of the environment
 - c. the promotion of the establishment of joint production enterprises
 - d. The establishment of a common market, through
 - i. the liberalisation of trade, by the abolition, among member states, of customs duties levied on imports and exports, and the abolition among the Member States, of non-tariff barriers to establish a free trade area at the community level
 - ii. the adoption of a common external tariff and a common trade policy vis-à-vis third countries
 - iii. the removal, between member states, of obstacles to the free movement of persons, goods, service, and capital, and to the right of residence and establishment.
 - iv. the establishment of an economic union through the adoption of common policies in the economic, financial social, and cultural sectors, and the creation of a monetary union
 - v. the promotion of joint ventures by private sectors enterprises and other economic operators, in particular through the adoption of a regional agreement on cross-border investments.

D. Political Groupings

Political groups like the organisation of African Unity (the African Union), were formed to face the challenges of colonialism, exploitation, and imperialism. This includes countries across the world as you can see in Figure 3. The objectives of political groupings are to achieve greater unity and solidarity between the member countries and the peoples; accelerate rapid political and socio-economic integration; promote peace, security, democratic principles and institutions, popular participation, and good governance.



Fig. 3: International Organisations

e. **Functions of International Organisation-ECOWAS Example**

ECOWAS was also set up to promote the idea of collective self-sufficiency among the states. As a trading union, it is also meant to create a single, large trading bloc through economic cooperation among the member states. ECOWAS also functions as a peacekeeping force amongst member states. Over time, joint military forces have been sent to intervene in a bloc's member at times of political unrest. Such include interventions in Ivory Coast and Liberia in 2003, Guinea-Bissau in 2012, Mali in 2013 and Gambia in 2017.

The union aims at creating a borderless region where the population across its member states have access to resources and opportunities across the countries. Such access includes free movement, access to efficient education, health systems and trading while maintaining peace and security. ECOWAS is governed in accordance with the principles of democracy and the rule of law. The treaty of Lagos was revised and signed on the 24th of July, 1993 in Cotonou. ECOWAS is one of the regional blocs of the African Economic Community (AEC).

Member countries that make up ECOWAS are Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Cote d' Ivoire, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Senegal and Togo.

Today, the union is recognized as a successful one that has fostered peaceful integration amongst its member states



Self-Assessment Exercise

1. An international convention or treaty is an agreement between:
 - a) North and South
 - b) Different Countries and Legally Bounding
 - c) Transport Union and State Government
 - d. Different countries that is binding the contracting states within the international system.
2. The following are examples of economic groupings;
 - a) ECOWAS
 - b) OPEC
 - c) Postal Union
 - d) SADC



4.4 Summary

International organisations, whether at regional or global levels or concerned with specific objectives or generally broad objectives are one of the critical non-state actors in the system. Their actions both influence and are influenced by the actions of states. Instructively, the tendency is for nation-states to employ international organisations to sanction and influence member states, to bring their actions in line with globally accepted practices.

The emergence of a mass of international administrative organisations in response to the growing need for interdependence fostered by the information and technology revolution necessitates the resolution of economic and social problems using coordinated action. International organisations are a group of multi-faceted and purposeful institutions possessing high calibre financial and human resources and imbued with state power to affect the decisions of the global community holistically or within regional blocs. It is noted that their activities and operations encompass the social, economic, political, and military dimensions. International organisations are becoming even more relevant in the present age of globalisation and hi-tech-based conflicts.



4.5 References/Further Readings/Web Resources

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4.6

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise

1. d) An International Convention or treaty is an agreement between different countries that is binding the contracting states. Any country or state that veneges is referred to as a rogue state.

2. c) Postal Union.

MODULE 2: THEORIES AND PRACTICE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Module Introduction

In this module, more emphasis will be laid on different theories which are related to international relations. The five units stated below explains further.

- Unit 1 Integration Theories and the Application
- Unit 2 System Theory and Its Application
- Unit 3 Balance-of-Power Theory and Its Application
- Unit 4 Power Theory and Its Application
- Unit 5 Strategies, Theories and Practice for Defense and Security

Unit I: Integration Theories And The Application

Unit Structure

- I.1 Introduction
- I.2 Learning Outcomes
- I.3 Main Content
 - I.3.1 Theories of International Relations
 - I.3.2 Functionalism Theory
 - I.3.3 Neo-Functionalist
 - I.3.4 Federalist Approach
- I.4 Summary
- I.5 References/Further Reading/Web Resources
- I.6 Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise (s)



I.1 Introduction

Integration theories are major approaches to the study of international relations. Within the realm of this theory, some models lay the basis for cooperation and collaborations among states. All of these approaches would be thoroughly treated in the unit.



I.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Analyse the basic integration theories of international Relations
- Apply the integration theories of international relations to international matters



I.3 Main Content

I.3.1 Theories of International Relations

Integration theories are regarded as major approaches to studying international relations. A lot of scholars have shared their views on the meaning of integration theory giving a plethora of analyses. However, what seems to be generally accepted by all scholars is that integration is the process of merging hitherto isolated parts into a formidable whole, to make the newly found co-operations meet the lapses and fill the lacuna brought about by being isolated. This thereby brings about a cooperative understanding among the component units which enables each to unite to make available to others in the group. Its strength include, for instance, technology, market, labour, natural resources etc. and be able to tap from other groups to fill its weaknesses. For instance, lack of market, manpower,

technology etc. thereby creating opportunities for itself that may not have been possible if it stands alone, and such integration goes a long way in helping it to combat what would have originally threatened its existence.

Nations can no longer pretend to enjoy the luxury of isolation, most especially newly formed states. It is a natural phenomenon to want to belong, because the advantages of integration are too numerous to mention, compared to what a nation stands to lose if it chooses to be in isolation. Integration is an essential aspect of an interdependent world. Integration tends to favour neighbouring states, that is, nations that share the same geographical location, because of the relative advantage of proximity. Having the same border gives a feeling of neighbourliness; goods and services are easily transferred and the union is more formidable as a result of the nearness to one another.

Some of the advantages that nations enjoy as a result of co-operation with other nations are that it gives their leaders enormous opportunity to focus on their national government since their co-operation with other states creates understanding which ultimately prevents such nations from going into conflict with one another. In essence, when nations are not having friction with one another, their leaders have enough time to focus on their primary aims within their nation since they are at peace with a foreign nation.

The following approaches to integration will be examined

- Functionalism
- Neo-functionalism
- Federalist

1.3.2 Functionalism Theory

Functionalism or the functionalist approach in international relations originated as a result of the experience of the war of the 1930s, making it one of the oldest schools of thought on integration. This approach developed majorly because of the fear of obsolescence of the state as a form of social integration and to establish new ways of achieving an international system of orderliness, which lead to peace and provision of welfare.

Functionalism is associated with the work of David Mitrany, a US political scientist. For him it represents a theory of interstate co-operation, that is, the explanation for co-operation among states is to identify the common solution to huge problems of the international system. Functionalists hold that cooperation is organised on the principle of “form follows function” (Rosamond, 2000). For functionalist economic integration, most precede the political one.

The role of elites in this integration process cannot be overemphasised. Functionalism is applauded for trying to replace territorial units with functional ones that will meet the needs of providing security and welfare to the units involved in the integration. For functionalists, integration is a process with no end-point, and it also laid the foundation for neo-functionalism.

From David Mitrany's thesis, Europe was a witnessing crisis, and there was a need to foster integration. Functionalist writers captured the spirit of functionalism when they predicted that the coming together of France and Germany to form the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) will create a precondition for a peaceful post-war co-existence. This approach established that between France and Germany, trust is inevitable, for the integration of the state with similar institutions will ultimately lead to cooperation and security.

Scholars like Immanuel Wallenstein have also used the concept of functionalism, as he described the theory 'functionalist' as a function of the preferences of a system and not the preference of an agent. From the above, it can be deduced that integration develops its internal dynamics, which further improves the relations among parties involved to encourage more cooperation in other areas. With the functionalist approach, scholars have been able to give importance/value to regional integration at the expense of state or government, this does not mean that the state as an actor in the international system will be excluded this would indeed prove erroneous.

It must be mentioned that functionalism provides a reliable alternative to a realistic approach to studying international relations. Realism happens to be the dominant theoretical approach for understanding international relationships, but functionalism can constructively and adequately challenge the realist concept of cooperation. Rather than the self-interest that realists see as a motivating factor for integration in the international system, functionalists focus on common interests shared by states.

Which other integration theory can you think of?

1.3.3 Neo-Functionalism Theory

Neo-functionalism was developed in the mid-1950s by American scholars who first tried to theorise the new forms of regional cooperation in the wake of World War II. This approach mainly concerns itself with the process rather than the results. Under this approach, we talk about concepts like 'spill-over, 'pull-back etc. Some theorists view neo-functionalism as the "authoritative version of European integration", reasons for this assumption will be revealed as we progress.

Neo-functionalism is deemed the most sophisticated and the most complex of all theories on integration; it is theoretically grounded with ideas on the gradual integration process, making it a very difficult theory to simplify for easy understanding. These complexities and sophistication could be attributed to the simple reason that this theory takes this dimension because it is one theory that combines federalist and functionalist theory into a single whole to give a concrete and well refined, sophisticated but yet very interesting approach to the study of integration in international relations.

Some notable neo-functionalists include Ernest B. Haas and J.S Nye. Haas believed that the entire politics bring along loyalties, expectations and

political activities towards a new centre whose institutions exercise or request jurisdiction over the pre-existing national state. The outcome of this process of political integration is represented by a new political community, over imposed on the pre-existing ones. Haas further talked about the interaction between political actors, whereby after the integration process has begun, member states are prepared to limit their sovereignty by transferring some competencies to the supranational level (Haas, 1964).

The neo-functional approach is a strategy and at the same time a theory of integration. In the formation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in the early 1950s, neo-functionalism was the prevailing strategy for the integration and subsequently that of EURATOM and EEC. According to this theory, the idea of integration in one area can inspire integration in another, creating a domino effect due to its functionality in certain areas. This is adequately explained using the spill-over effect. More to this theory is the fact that, as a result of its functionality, it will propel the elite to buy into the idea, and thereby become the key agents of selling the idea to the larger population, more so contributing to an expansion of the integration. From the above we can conclude that neo-functionalism leads to the establishment of a supranational regional organisation, through the gradual implementation of policies that divert loyalty to a new centre, more so the feedback loop between the newly established centre will become stronger, while that which exist between the state and the society will be weakened.

Spill-over could be made possible by actors and it could also be automatic, due to its capacity of what neo-functionalists scholars call an “internal expansive logic”. This shows that there are two kinds of spill-over which are:

- a. **Functional spill-over:** - The functional spill-over is made possible as a result of integration in certain policy areas, which create or lead to the initiation of another policy in other areas.
- b. **Political spill-over:** - The political spill-over is the voluntary creation of supranational organisational to make available certain positive advantages.

In the process of spill-over, linkages could be made possible by external factors, as well as competition among the political elite who try to jostle for recognition in the newly found centre, but it is striking to know that, in this process, if care is not taken, we could have a situation called ‘spillback; which is a backfire effect.

Most theories of integration are seen as normative, but neo-functionalism is inclined to be different, largely since it makes use of empirical data in explaining and describing the process of integration.

Strategies that could bring about integration were also reviewed under this theory; the role of actors who serve as agents of socialisation was made imperative, as they play a key role in interacting between the states and groups within the state. This is also part of a criticism of a theory regarded as being too elitist.

Also, there is an alleged defectiveness in the neo-functionalists' assumption of a possible shift of attention and loyalty towards a new centre that usually leads to the formation of a new political community.

1.3.4 Federalist Approach

A classical federalist thought is about the establishment and maintenance of a political federation, whereby there is a dual political structure that divides authority between the centre and the units of the federation. This is necessary and expected to be sufficient in ensuring integration in a diverse community of great territorial and/or national differences.

As a result of the European security dilemma, federalism was employed to ensure cooperation among states and to solve their dispute peacefully, more so to ensure the prosperity of its citizens. Attaining a 'Federal Europe' was the target of the federalists. This is premised on the voluntary union for the preservation of the welfare, security and prosperity of the citizens in the union, and still recognising and maintaining national identities and interests in line with the general purpose of the union.

The federalist approach is dominated by political elite, who through the use of persuasion and involvement in a debate can convince the parties involved to adopt the federal idea, which will ultimately lead to establishing a federation. Federalists, despite having as their goals; peace and welfare also seek political initiative for the creation of supranational structures, still tend to be more interested in the goal of political integration.

The name federation is derived from the Latin word *foedus*, which means alliance. It is an agreement entered into voluntarily and implying a degree of mutual trust and duration. According to Wheare (1964) the federating units "...must desire to be united but not to be unitary". What distinguishes a federation from a unitary state is that the former consists of two or more levels of government. The community tends to realise that the union brought about by federating ensures some degree of economic advantage and serve the purpose of uniting military strength against foreign powers. Several factors are responsible for integration and these includes;

- a. Security: - A community standing alone might not have sufficient military might to resist external aggression hence the need to join forces with other communities to build a reliable and dependable military force that would ensure security against foreign threats.
- b. Commonness: - This is a result of having similar characteristics either in culture, political institutions, etc. leading to understanding and a sense of oneness.
- c. Economic: - Countries that integrate tend to enjoy relative economic advantages from one another's strengths, opportunities and weaknesses.

d. Geography: - countries that are located near one another tend integration, for integration is difficult among nations that are far off from each other.

Despite the imperative of the above factors in triggering federalism, it cannot all bring about the union by themselves. This is where the indispensability of the elite comes in to demonstrate leadership. This is a factor of leadership, of skill in negotiation and propaganda, can make all the difference between stagnation and active desire for union. Despite all that has been mentioned, according to Wheare (1964) it is the similarity of political institutions that is the most imperative for the formation of the union. A federation according to where's model is desired and does not possess neo-functionalist concepts such as spill-over, thereby making it organic, that is, a federation is not automatic.

In this theory of integration, forming a union depends on a federal bargain in the political, social and economic areas of the federating units. Politicians could perceive a threat to their existence; either internal or external threats then decide to join forces with another, either for military aggression or aggrandisement. The political elite involved form this union to prevent threats thereby giving away some of their sovereignty, barely because the risk of forming a union for the sake of participation and protection outweigh that of having independence.

From the foregoing, one can conclude that the endpoint of integration under this model is, the forming of a federation, and to make this happen, the federating units must have the following characteristics:

1. A common cultural basis: here, they have to possess similar cultural threats such as a common way of life, tradition, language etc. language is imperative in other for the units to be able to understand concepts like democracy, rule of law etc.

2. An institution upholding the federal idea: here, we refer to such institutions as the Supreme Court, powerful enough to settle the dispute and weak enough not to be able to destroy the union.

The essence of this theory is the formation of a new state which a new centre becomes. Integration forms a unit that is stronger than when the parties to the union were independent. The motivating factors for this integration could be internal and external threats, but the role of the elite is also worthy of mention, for it is interest (which include becoming stronger in the case of threats, protection and participation), which triggers the process and not ideology.

Application of Theories of International Relations to International Matters

Theories of International Relations allow us to understand and try to make sense of the world around us through various lenses, each of which

represents a different theoretical perspective. In order to consider the field as a whole for beginners it is necessary to simplify IR theory. International relations theories can help us understand the way the international systems work, as well as how nations engage with each other and view the world. Varying from liberal, equality-centric strategies to straightforward realist concepts, international relations theories are often used by diplomats and international relations experts to dictate the direction that a government may take in regards to an international political issue or concern. By studying the following key international theories, professionals in the field can better discern the motivations and goals driving policy decisions worldwide.

Click on the link below to watch a video on integration theories in international relations.



<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AFCmc0E3QWM>

How will apply these theories in solving international relations issues in Africa?



Discussion Forum

Discuss functionalism as a theory of regional integration and how applicable is the theory to African situation, especially, ECOWAS?



Self-Assessment Exercise

- i. Most theories of International Relations are based on the idea that:
 - (a) States always act in accordance with their national interest;
 - (b) in accordance with the opinion of the council of Elders
 - (c) In accordance with the Acts of European Law.
- ii. The following approaches to integration were examined in this unit, but one.
 - a) Functionalism
 - b) Neo-functionalism
 - c) Federalist
 - d) Laissez fare



1.4 Summary

This work has provided a detailed insight for students of international relations to vividly understand integration theories. Theories such as; functionalist, neo-functionalist and federalist approaches have been discussed at length.

Integration theories have been essential to keeping peace and harmony in the international system. Moreover, they dwell more on the economic and socio-cultural benefits of international relations, rather than the political.



I.5

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I.6

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise

i. a) Theories of International Relations allow people to understand and try to make sense of the world around us, through various houses, each of which represents a different perspective. Therefore, national interest of the state is often considered a priority.

ii. d) Laissez fare

Unit 2: System Theories And The Application

Unit Structure

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcomes
- 2.3 Main Content
 - 2.3.1 System Theories
 - 2.3.1.1 Talcott Parsons
 - 2.3.1.2 Gabriel Almond
 - 2.3.1.3 David Easton
 - 2.3.1.4 Morton Kaplan
- 2.4 Summary
- 2.5 References/Further Reading/Web Resources
- 2.6 Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise



2.1 Introduction

Did you know that no one theory is capable of analysing every issue? Hence, as students and scholars in the making, there is need to explore the variety of theories in international relations. Theories are analytical blocs for describing, explaining and predicting events. Various theories can apply to variety of scenarios. For the sake of this discourse, the theory to be analysed is the systems theory which started as the general systems theory in the work of Ludwig von Bertalanffy (Varma, 1999).



2.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Analyse the various System theories of International Relations
- Apply the System theories to international relations in given situations



2.3 Main Content

System Theories

The theory was initially developed under the name “General Systems Theory,” propounded by the biologist, Ludwig von Bertalanffy, before being adapted into other social sciences, like anthropology and political science. In the biological sciences where the theory first developed, it meant biological system, in the field of sociology, it meant social system, and in the discipline of political science, it meant political system. This theory has indeed been very operational in the social sciences. It concerns itself simply with the system, be

it economic a system, political system, biological system or social system. The work of the following intellectuals Talcott Parsons, Gabriel Almond, David Easton and Morton Kaplan are essential for understanding the theory.

Click on the link below to watch a video on system theory.



<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ILlc-EKOY-w>

Can you reflect on how you can apply system theory to sustain international relations?

The system is made up of related part which works together as whole to ensure the achievement of certain purposes. From the above simple definition of a system, we realise that to achieve a certain purpose, different parts relate together to form a whole for the system to function effectively. More so, the parts that come together are also made up of subparts, which in the case of the systems theory are called a subsystem as you can see in Figure 4.



Fig. 4: Different Components working as a System

2.3.1.1 Talcott Parsons

One of the intellectuals that had the most influence in writing on the systems theory is Talcott Parsons, for his work influenced many writers in the field of

Political Science, such as Gabriel Almond and David Easton. Parsons proposed three levels of analysis of a system; these are:

1. Social system
2. Cultural system
3. Structural system

Each one of the above serves as a function for the other. He came up with the idea of 'functional prerequisite', which are functions that must be performed by structures in the system for the system to function effectively. The concepts of structure designate the features of the system which can be treated as constant in the face of other significant elements. Parsons' basic functional classification that underlies the whole scheme of a systems approach is based on four principal elements. These are more appropriately referred to as Parsons' four-function paradigm. The four-functional paradigms are:

1. The function of pattern maintenance
2. The function of goal attainment
3. The function of adaptation
4. The function of integration

Conclusively, for the international system to be stable, components that perform the above functions must be put in place at the regional/global levels.

2.3.1.2 Gabriel Almond

From a political science perspective to Parsons' analysis, we can elaborate on our findings with the 1965 work of Gabriel Almond. This is elaborated with the input and output functions.

1. Input function: - this includes interest articulation/interest aggregation. Interest articulation/aggregation in international relations could be made possible by international organisations such as the International Labour Organisation (ILO), Amnesty International etc., who make demands on national actors in form of demands that favour their interests in the international environment.

2. Output function: - according to Almond, these are in form of rulemaking, rule adjudication and rule application. The output is made possible as a result of the demand on the system that comes out as output in form of policy. A policy consists of actions that authoritatively allocate values. These policies tend to impact the environment.

The transformation of input into output is made possible by the conversion processes which are in form of structures. Such structures include the legislature. For the international system to perform effectively, it must properly convert input into output to maintain the equilibrium in the international environment.

2.3.1.3 David Easton

Parsons' work is improved upon by David Easton in his 1953 book titled, "The Political System". In this, he defined a political system as a "system of interaction in any society through which binding and authoritative decisions are made". He emphasises that in a political system, we have structures and actors who interact individually and collectively, performing roles that leads to decision making. He further stressed that inputs get into a political system in form of demand and support. The political system absorbs these inputs and converts them to output which is in form of authoritative decisions.

The political system according to David Easton is made up of four parts namely:

1. Inputs: - this is informed of demands made on the political system for certain decisions to be made, and it is also backed by support.
 2. Outputs: - this is the outcome of the demands made on the political system and it takes the form of authoritative decisions; that is policy.
 3. Conversion process: - this is the stage where input gets transformed into output in the political system.
 4. Feedback: - the feedback is the response the policymakers get from the environment, telling them of the success or otherwise of their policy.
- Stability is maintained in the system when the inputs are received and are properly converted into output. This will ensure continuity and progress of the system, but when there is an alteration in the input-conversion-output process, this will lead to systemic decay of the political system. Below is a diagram representing the system theory:

Inputs: Demands and support

Political System: Conversion process

Output: Authoritative decision (Policy) Feedback

David Easton provides us with a conceptual framework that applies to all political systems. He proposed that decision-makers are faced with the task of putting input into the political system, this input comes in a form of demand and support; this support help to cope with demand. The result of coping is policy. The policy consists of actions that authoritatively allocate values. Policy impacts the political environment (local, national and international), while in turn altering the demand and support experienced by leaders.

3.1.4 Morton Kaplan

The system theory was applied to the international system by Morton Kaplan. In this, the System theory refers to how the international system of separately interacting states impact each state; a situation in which the whole shapes the unit. The general system theory also uses the concept of input and output, but the conversion process in political science is what is referred to in the general systems theory as "throughput".

A super system as a whole consists of input and output; the input is what goes in, while the output is what comes out, therefore the output is as a result of input. If a system takes in input, and one cannot see what goes on within it but then, the output still comes out, this is referred to as “black box”, but when the input goes in and what goes on in the system can be seen, then this is called “white box”. If we apply this explanation of the black box to politics, it means that the system is porous, and that of the “white box” means that the system is transparent. In essence, the black box system will lead to disequilibrium in the international system, while the “white box” system would maintain equilibrium in the international system. From the angle of the whole, the parts are seen as subsystems, while from the angle of the part, the whole is seen as a super system. Systems can also be defined as interdependent parts which accept the impact or influence from the external environment. The interdependence in the above definition means that the whole depends on the parts and the part depends on the whole, so if there is any change in any of the parts, it will affect the whole system or cause change.

Stanley Hoffman defines the international system as “a pattern of relations among the basic units of world politics, characterized by the scope of the objectives pursued by those units and of the task performed among them as well as by the means used to achieve those goals and perform those task”. The intensity of interaction may however differ from place to place; the European nations are said to interact better than the nations of Africa.

McClelland sees the systems theory as “a way of thinking, having the proportion of a world view, by this he means that nations come in contact through a complicated framework to form a process of interaction”. In the process of this interaction, nations tend to act in ways that preserve their national interest. From the foregoing, we can define the international system as a ‘two-way thing’, whereby nations interact in the international system to give what it has and to take from the environment; what it lacks.

Kaplan’s models of the international system

Kaplan mentioned five models of the international system and there are:

Balance of power system

There is no precise definition as to the meaning of balance of power, but going by popular consensus, we realise that balance of power aims to ensure that there is equilibrium on the distribution of power among the actors in the international system at any given time, to ensure that no one nation in the international system gains much power to be dominant over others. In other words, the balance of power aims to prevent unipolar. Kaplan thought that at any given point, there should be five or six essential actors. In the case of the First World War, the essential national actors were United States, Germany, England, France and Italy.

The bipolar system

Kaplan thought that an unstable balance of power system would lead to a bipolar system, whereby two actors will claim dominant control of two different blocs in the international system. Kaplan stated two bipolar systems which are;

- Loose bipolar system
- Tight bipolar system

Loose bipolar system

This is what is obtainable in the modern world today, whereby the two dominant powers were surrounded by less powerful and non-aligned states. The weaker of the two superpowers often become loose by seeking an alliance with other lesser powers.

Here are some of the differences between the balance of power and the loose bipolar system

1. Under the loose bipolar system, both the supranational actors and the national actors are active participants.
2. While under the loose bipolar system, in each bloc, there is a lead actor, but under the balance of power system, the supranational actors are divided into blocs and sub-classes such as universal actors like The UN and NATO.

In essence, in a loose bipolar system, we have the predominance of two major powers (in the case of the Cold War we had the USA and USSR), universal actors (the UN), non-member actors (non-aligned states).

Tight bipolar system

Kaplan explained that in the tight bipolar system, the major feature is the disappearance of the non-member actors (non-aligned states) and the universal actors (The UN), thereby leaving the system for the dominance of two major actors. Kaplan further stressed that for stability to be maintained in the tight bipolar system, there has to be a hierarchy in the international system, otherwise, it will lead to a loose bipolar system.

The universal actor system

In the universal actor system, the national interest of the nation is subordinated to that of the international system, which is the maintenance of peace and stability. State actors are therefore constrained to use peaceful means in achieving their objectives because the universal actor (The UN) possesses deterrence mechanisms against the possibilities of war.

The creation of this system is made possible after a long spell of instability. The greatest advantage of this system is that, even though national actors keep striving for more powers, the universal actor (The UN) is powerful enough to prevent the national actors from going to war with each other. Despite this, the national actors still have their individuality.

Hierarchical international system

Under this system, practically all nations come under one universal actor except for one. There are two types of hierarchical international systems, and they are:

1. Directive hierarchical international system: - this is brought about by the world conquest of a national actor (e.g., Nazi system). This turns the conquered states into sub-divisions of the triumphant national actor.
2. Non-directive hierarchical international system: - here, the system is controlled by democratic tenets and principles.

There exists a pensive mood in the directive hierarchical system that creates a heated and tensed relationship among actors, this does not exist under the non-directive system.

Unit veto system

In this system, chaos is the order of the day. This system can be described using Thomas Hobbes' state of nature. National actors consider the possession of a weapon of destruction imperative, for the destruction of other national actors. The universal actor that could have served as the mediator in such a system does not exist, thereby giving national actors the freedom to destroy each other at will.



Self-Assessment Exercise

- i. According to the video above, the various system theories of International Relations such as realism, liberalism, Marxism, constructivism, will be incomplete without....., as a result of its significance. (a) feminism (b) boyism (c) mannism (d) capitalism.
- ii. Systems theory, in social work, is based on the idea that behaviour is influenced by a variety of factors, working together as a system, such as: (a) family, friends, social setting, (b) family, domestic animals and a law officer.



1.4 Summary

Kaplan is one scholar that devoted most of his time to the study and writing of the rigorous and sophisticated systems theory in international relations. Most of the other scholars in this field have barely done half the work done by Kaplan, but are quick to criticise some part of his work. In the literature review on the systems approach to the study of international relations, we realise that Kaplan is the most relevant to this theory, and this indeed makes him the chief exponent of the system approach to international relations.

The various scholars that we have examined have been able to give us a detailed assessment of the systems theory. With this, graduate students have been equipped with detailed material on systems theory, and after studying this material, students should be knowledgeable enough to analyse international politics using the work of any of the scholars mentioned in this material.



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Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise

(a) Feminism. This is because feminism theory focuses on analysing gender inequality – including discrimination, objectification (especially sexual objectification, oppression, patriarchy, stereotyping, etc.

(a) These factors, including family, friends, social setting, including economic class and the environment at home, combine together, to make a successful combination of either economic or social events.

Unit 3: The Balance Of Power Theories

Unit Structure

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 Main Content
 - 3.3.1 The Meaning and the Workability of Balance of Power Theory
 - 3.3.2 The Application of the Balance of Power System
 - 3.3.3 State of Equilibrium
 - 3.3.4 State of Disequilibrium
 - 3.3.5 Techniques of Balancing Power
 - 3.3.6 Balance of Power Today
 - 3.3.7 Weaknesses of Balance of Power
- 3.4 Summary
- 3.5 References/Further Reading/Web Resources
- 3.6 Answers Self-Assessment Exercise



3.1 Introduction

The underlining theme of international relations is that the international system is anarchic, chaotic and disorderly. This presumption is derived from the whole essence of sovereignty on one hand, and the limitations that hinder the effectiveness and efficiency of international law. Thus, state actors have limited boundaries in the conduct of their actions. To attain a measure of stability, therefore, state actors have had to devise mechanisms that limit the

propensity of the international system for chaos, anarchy and disorderliness. Specifically, states have had to contend with curbing the misuse of power/capabilities among themselves. Hence, the creation of a balancing act to ensure that very powerful states are not left to ride roughshod over the less-powerful ones.

This unit would undertake a thorough examination of the balance of power theory against the background of competition for power among state actors.



3.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Explain the workability of balance of power
- Demonstrate the application of Balance of Power to international relations and security
- Analyse the various weaknesses of Balance of Power



3.3

Main Content

3.3.1

The Meaning and the Workability of Balance of Power

Theory

There is no universally accepted definition of balance of power in the study of international relations. What is constant among the numerous explanations of the balance of power is that it is a mechanism devised to check the tendency towards armed hostilities between and among nations through the balancing of capabilities that may be available to a single state or a group of states as depicted in Figure 5.

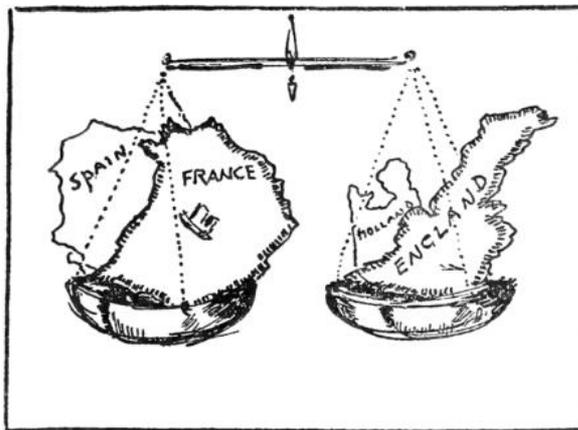


Fig. 5: Balance of Power

In effect, it is a coalition of minds that deter or ward off intending aggressors so that the possibilities of conflict can be countered or nipped in the bud.

The international arena is made up of state actors with varying degrees of interests, which is encapsulated as the goals of the country's national interest. These interests may be variable, permanent, long-range, etc. but they form the core of the reasons for the existence of the state. The divergent nature of these interests among state actors and the determination for their pursuit often degenerate into inter-state conflicts. For instance, there were clashes of interest between the US and Saddam Hussein's Iraq several times. Two of the most devastating outcomes of the conflicts were the Gulf War and the US invasion of Iraq.

In both pre-modern and modern societies, human nature is restrained and contained through the legal system and the enforcement of the legal codes by the government. However, with the absence of a "world government" in the international system to regulate and curtail the actions of states, the international system is presumed to be anarchic, because even with the existence of international law, the international system cannot work as a government. For instance, the sentencing of the Sudanese President, Omar

Al-Bashir by the international criminal court bears only a moral weight, there is no government to ensure that the President of Sudan is indeed prosecuted for the offences he was charged with. In effect, the balance of power mechanism exists on the belief that order can be ensured, assured and maintained through the collaboration of power by countries of like-mind.

The term “Balance of Power” therefore refers to the distribution of power capabilities of various states through the creation of alliances. The BOP theory operates on the assumption that “when one state or alliance increases its power or uses it more aggressively, threatened states will increase their power in response thus, forming a counter-balancing force” (Akinboye & Ottoh, 2009).

One may wonder how the balance of power system may resolve or act as a deterrent to conflicts. A good example of the balance of power theory in operation was during the Cold War (which pitched the East against the Western bloc of states), where the combination of the powers available to both the United States and its allies and the Soviet Union and its allies had parity both in terms of conventional weapons and nuclear arms. Both groups of states had the capability for “overkill”, and this acted as a deterrent for going to war. Going to war between both blocs would have resulted in mutually assured destruction. Under such circumstances, the possibilities of war become very remote, as such, peace is maintained.

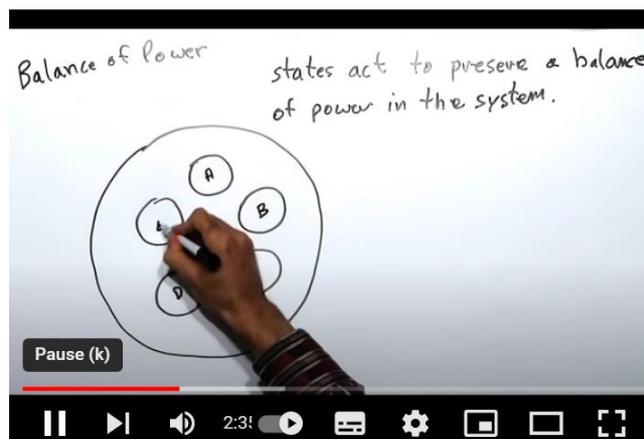
The theory, therefore, justifies the application of alliance networks and collaborations in deterring aggressor states in the international system. The theory is premised on the assumption that the coalition of forces would be presumed to be more powerful than the military strength and possession of a single aggressive force or a coalition of forces.

3.3.2 The Application of the Balance of Power System

In clear terms, the balance of power refers to the conglomeration of states devolved into two or more groups whose combination of military, economic and diplomatic weights and capacity for action are more or less the same (Spanier, 1987). Since each group of states possess similar capabilities, none would have the capacity to effectively dominate the others. This greatly reduces the possibility of aggression and conflict because there is much to lose in going to war with equal power. This is in contrast to a situation in which a very powerful country deals with a very weak one, victory is more assured to the more powerful country and as a result, aggressive action is more attractive as a means to protect a country’s national interests. Based on the high level of actual risks, states are necessarily forced to deal with one another through other means when a situation of the balance of power is achieved and maintained. The balance of power mechanism took its roots in Europe and for centuries was applied as a tool for maintaining peace. It was prominent in Europe between the end of the 30 years’ war and the subsequent Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 till the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. Essentially, the major initiators and participants in the mechanism were European nations, because all international power resided in

Europe, and there were no states outside of Europe that were capable of exerting the required influence on the balancing process.

Click on the link below to watch a video on balance of power and its application



<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-VwCm889Vqo>

Can you reflect on how balance of power can be used to regulate your society?

3.3.3 State of Equilibrium

A state of equilibrium connotes the condition of a system in competing influences and balanced forces. The equilibrium state indicates symmetry or balance, such that addition or subtraction from either side of the spectrum would result in a tilt. It is essential to attain and maintain balance in the international system; it remains the most assured guarantee of global peace and harmony.

Theoretically, a state of equilibrium is one in which there is an even distribution of power among groups of states that have formed one form of alliance or the other. This ensures that no one group of states is perceived as the singular dominating entity in the global arena. It should be noted that a state of equilibrium is not static but rather is constantly being adjusted by the relative changing fortunes of nations so that new equilibriums are always in the process of being created, or old states restored.

3.3.4 State of Disequilibrium

A state of disequilibrium is when there is a preponderance or one-sided shift of power to a single nation-state or existing alliance. What this implies is that there is no counter-balancing force(s) to the manoeuvrings of the dominant state. A recent event as the Libya crisis of 2011 should drive home this point. While the Western allies under the aegis of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) assisted the civil society in Libya to topple the Gaddafi regime, it must be made clear that the system was in a state of disequilibrium

as it concerned the Libyan case. If Libya had its allies commanding similar power and capabilities commensurate with that possessed by NATO, the possibility of the Libyan invasion would have been very remote. Indeed, some other methods and means would have been employed to resolve the Libyan imbroglio. Thus, a state of disequilibrium provides the opportunity for the powerful state or alliances to dominate the less powerful ones.

3.3.5 Techniques of Balance of Power

The following are the major techniques of balancing power in the international system. They are:

1. Alliance
2. Armament
3. Divide and Rule
4. Neutralisation

Alliance

This is a technique of balance of power whereby a state seeking to curb a potential hegemon before it becomes too strong, therefore enters into a security co-operation of two or more states to ally against the prevailing threat. A good example of this occurred during the Second World War when the Allied Nations united in an alliance against Germany and its allies. States will woo alliance partners by adapting to them. Example: France and Russia attempting to appear more alike to one another to form their alliance in 1894. For security, states are willing to align with anyone. The weaker partner in an alliance will determine policy in a moment of crisis, international competition will tend to force states in a multi-polar order into two blocs. Having two blocs does not mean that the system is bi-polar, because alliance shifts and defections can still occur. These alliance shifts and defections make the multi-polar order dangerous. The flexibility of alliances makes for rigidity in strategy. For bi-polar alliances:

Alliance leaders do not need to worry much about the faithfulness of followers. In bi-polar systems, there will be unequal burden-sharing between the major and minor powers in an alliance. Major Powers in a bi-polar system do not need to make themselves attractive to alliance partners. For example, the Soviet Union and the U.S. did not alter their strategies to accommodate allies. The rigidity of bi-polar alliances makes for a flexible strategy.

For its parsimony and theoretical rigour, neorealism has been the baseline for most international relations theory over the last 20 years. It has prompted a rich literature critiquing it on several fronts: for instance, neoliberals say that it does not take seriously enough the possibility that states may choose absolutely over relative gains, particularly in situations where institutions can alter payoffs; constructivists argue that it fails to recognise how agents and structures are mutually constitutive, and people from all over the map say that

it is too generalised and yields little in the way of testable implications. Nevertheless, the theory has been hugely influential.

Armament

This is where two nations in their struggle for power build up arms or engage in an arms' race in preparation for war or in a bid to overwhelm the others. An example of this scenario played out during the Cold War, between the Eastern and the Western blocs of states. The resultant effect of this is that it creates tension and instability in the international system. Also, the socio-economic development of citizens suffers as a large chunk of budgetary expenditures goes to acquiring military hardware. Balance of power uses this technique to make sure that no single nation has a monopoly over the weapons of destruction. This system would deter either nation from resorting to war without first exploring other means of resolving their conflicts.

Divide and Rule

This is where two nations are put against one another to take away the chances of them combining forces. Divide and rule could also be seen as a situation in which a country is divided among some powers to maintain equilibrium in their power base. A typical example is a division of Poland between Russia, Austria and Russia. This was used to ensure balance in Europe at the time.

Neutralisation

This is best explained by the circumstances of Germany, France, Italy and Switzerland during the First World War. Having confessed to neutrality, the position of Switzerland during the war was fundamental to the effects of the war on its neighbours, namely; Germany, France and Italy. Thus, in preserving the balance, none of Switzerland's neighbours could agree on its addition to one or both of the other states, because Switzerland was too strategically important. In effect, the agreement was to accept the neutrality of Switzerland and to keep "hands-off", thereby maintaining the country as a buffer zone between the three neighbours.

3.3.6 Balance of Power Today

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 left the United States as the World's sole superpower. Balance of power suggests that without the Soviet threat, the United States, as the dominant world power will cause disequilibrium in the global system. For example, key countries such as; China, Russia, France and Germany all opposed the United States' invasion of Iraq in 2003. Yet, this opposition did not stop the United States from acting, thereby exposing the huge gap in military capability that now exists between the United States and the rest of the world. Small states that fear the United States are no longer able to join a counterbalancing coalition to protect their security. Instead, many are developing nuclear weapons in an attempt to dramatically expand their military capability. For example, North Korea claimed in 2003 that it was

developing nuclear weapons to balance against United States power. Similarly, the intentions of Iran in embarking on a nuclear programme are still causing ripples among the powerful countries of the world.

The changing nature of power in today's international system further complicates the operation of the global balance of power. Globalisation, the internet, weapons of mass destruction and other technological developments have made it possible for small states and even non-state groups to acquire significant power. In the future, the balance of power may continue to operate among states engaged in prolonged disputes, but it is less applicable to conflicts involving terrorists and other non-state groups.

3.3.7 Weaknesses of the Balance of Power

The balance of power system has been very useful in curtailing the excesses of states, but it has also received some criticisms. One of such is that, even with the balance of power in place, the Second World War still broke out. What this implies is that balance of power as an instrument of preventing war was unable to prevent the anarchy that engulfed the world as a result of that war.

Also, critics have argued that the collapse of the Soviet Union has created hegemony in the United States and this poses a challenge for the balance of power system. The challenge to the balance of power in international relations is how to correct the present power configuration in the international arena without disturbing the present balance which tilts in favour of the United States. However, despite the shortcomings of the balance of power, it remains a useful system for stabilising the international arena.



Discussion Forum

Discuss state of equilibrium and disequilibrium in the international system.



Self-Assessment Exercise

- i. As you have watched in the video above, the balance of power suggests that states may secure their survival by preventing any one state from gaining enough military power to:
 - (a) Dominate others (b) be weakened (c) become innocuous (d) War
- ii. Balance of power can be demonstrated through.....
 - (a) Alliance and Counter Alliance (b) Acquisition of Foreign Exchange (c) Headship of a Nation (d) Fight each other.



3.4 Summary

This unit has provided an examination of one of the fundamental mechanisms for maintaining peace and harmony in the international system. The unit provides clues as to the meaning, operation and techniques of the balance of power theory. Similarly, arguments that tone down the capacity of the mechanism is also treated in the unit. Although, the relevance of the balance of power technique may not be as strong as it was in the era of the Euro-centric international system. The features of the contemporary state system equally allow for the use of the balance-of-power system to maintain global peace and security.

It is made clear that the balance of power mechanism was very useful in curtailing the excesses of states in the Euro-centric state system. However, its efficacy has been called to question since the outbreak of the Second World War, and more recently, some of the seeming unilateral actions of the United States have called to question the efficacy of the balance of power mechanism. Therefore, it is safe to surmise that the contemporary international system is witnessing a period of balance of power disequilibrium. Despite some of its weaknesses though, its ability to stem the tides of conflict cannot be entirely washed away.



3.5

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3.6

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise

i. (a) The goal of balance of power is to prevent any power from becoming too strong, first by determining aggression, but if that fails, by ensuring that the aggressor does not significantly alter the balance of power.

ii. (a) Alliance and Counter Alliance. Balance of power theory holds that there is a continual rebalancing of power among nation-states. As a world, where one country is an absolute power is called a hegemony, the international system is trying to ensure the adoption of the balance of power systems even though, states' power is influx. Yet states ensure their survival by presenting enduring military supremacy by any one state.

Unit 4: The Power Theory And Its Application

Unit Structure

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Learning Outcomes
- 4.3 Main Content
 - 4.3.1 The Power Theory
 - 4.3.2 Critique of Power Theory
 - 4.3.3 Dimensions of Power
 - 4.3.4 Elements of Power
 - 4.3.4.1 Military Strength
 - 4.3.4.2 Technology
 - 4.3.4.3 Resources
 - 4.3.4.4 Demographic Element
 - 4.3.4.5 Economic Development
 - 4.3.4.6 Dimensions of Power
- 4.4 Summary
- 4.5 References/Further Reading/Web Resources
- 4.6 Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise



4.1

Introduction

Inter-state relation is one of the fundamental characteristics of the international system. Inherent in the relationship, is the pursuit of the goals, desires and aspirations of each as embedded in the national interest. The success or otherwise of this pursuit would most likely depend on the amount of power in the possession of each state. The acquisition of power is therefore a fundamental necessity for states in the system. This unit would expose us to the main issues relating to states' power. The ability to use power or the hindrances encountered in the process of using power to achieve objectives would be treated in this unit.



4.2

Learning Outcomes

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

- Explain the Power Theory
- Critique the Power Theory
- Explain the various dimensions of Power Theory
- Analyse the elements of Power as they relate to conflict resolution



4.3

Main Content

4.3.1 The Power Theory

Power can generally be thought of as the ability to influence others, despite their resistance; thereby making it possible for powerful state 'A' to ensure that state 'B' does what state 'A' expects and can prevent state 'B' from doing same to her. In the classical power theory, it is assumed that nations always seek to maximise their power to serve their interests. This creates open-competition which can sometimes lead to war.

Power theory is one of the central theories of international relations. Put simply, power theory provides the epistemological explanation of inter-state relations through the use of force or by threats of the use of force. This theory uses power as its tool of analysis. The possession of superior power allows a nation-state to pursue its interests by whatever means necessary. For the classical realists, the desire to seek power comes from a combination of human nature, which is inherently self-interested and rational, and certain historical conditions that make international anarchy the status quo between nations. In society, human nature is restrained through the law and its enforcement by the government; because there is no "world government," countries can only be restrained by the power of other countries. Power is also used when describing states or actors that have achieved military victories or security for their state in the international system. This general usage is most commonly found among the writings of historians or popular writers. For instance, a state that has achieved a string of combat victories in a military campaign against other states can be described as powerful. An actor that has succeeded in protecting its security, sovereignty, or strategic interests from repeated or significant challenge can also be described as powerful.

Watch the video below for more information on power theory and its application.



<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TyEwBA8MF5c>

One of the schools of thought that advocate the power theory is the realist school of thought which uses power as a tool of analysis in international politics. The nation with greater power overwhelms the other as a result, the objective of all states action is to acquire, retain or increase its power. Power theory goes further to claim that chances of war between a dominant state and less powerful state is very remote. The dominant state would be too

powerful for the challenger state which cannot act against its dissatisfaction. States pursue varied objectives, but whatever these objectives, and however they choose to pursue them, states must have the power to achieve what they set out to achieve. The ends and means of balancing the objectives of states are however very rare.

We can see evidence of conflict during the Cold War. Strong powers such as the United States waged war against weaker ones such as Vietnam. Interestingly, the de facto defeat of the United States in Vietnam and of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan point to a more complex conception of power than mere economic or military might. Indeed, many of the more recent theories of international relations argue that power as traditionally defined by realists such as Hans Morgenthau is inherently vague and open to interpretation based on particular situations. Still, it can be effectively concluded that power is fundamentally concerned with what a country can do, and what it can prevent another country from doing to it. How this is done may be changing, as irregular warfare and terrorism become more prominent, yet the essence of competing wills and interest in the international arena remains.

It goes further to assume that since the sovereign state is at the heart of the state system, the first and most fundamental prerequisite requirement for any state to remain independent is power. The logic is therefore that a state may have a large amount of power or relatively little, but for its independence, it must have sufficient amount to ward off potential threats. Various mechanisms are employed in ascertaining independence; mobilisation of adequate power or formation of alliances of common interest states to ward off aggression. Under the analysis of power politics, four specific factors are known to be constant, they are;

- a. There must be a conflict of values or interests- this proposition suggests that for the show of power to be manifest, there must be disagreement between two states or among groups of states. In essence, it is either state A perceives state B as acting against state A's interest. Under such circumstances, the protection of interest may lead to a show of power.
- b. Compliance- power is premised on the ability of a state to enforce compliance with its interest by other states. The ability to deploy superior force would provoke the less powerful state to comply with the demands of the more powerful state.
- c. Possibilities of invoking sanctions that may inflict severe deprivations- this imply that the cost of non-compliance to the demands of a more powerful state by a weak state would be more than compliance. In short, the threatened state B thinks that the opposing state A's superior threat of sanction is credible and real.
- d. Extreme differences may result in force- a resort to force is an indication of failure to attain objectives by threats of punishment.

Yet, the use of force may still not guarantee the realisation of these objectives.

So, what are the criticisms of this Power Theory?

4.3.2 Criticisms of Power Theory

This theory has been criticised for putting too much emphasis on only power as the tool of analysis. The argument is that power alone (acquisition, retention, management, etc.) cannot be used to explain all the dynamism of state interaction.

Power theorists advocate that the use of force or threat or the use of force is the main strategy that states use to pursue their interests, the critics opined that there are other means by which states pursue their interests such as; persuasion, propaganda, economic instrument, as well as manipulation. Furthermore, the argument is also presented of the possibility of other forms of inter-state cooperation and collaboration that improve the cause of humanity beyond the drive for power. In this respect, socio-cultural relations and sporting activities have been found as useful tools for maintaining peaceful and harmonious co-existence among states. The criticism goes further to explain that if every activity of states has been power-inspired, there would have been many more clashes of international dimensions. This argument is premised on the fact that the last major physical international confrontation took place over half a century ago; the Second World War, yet the world has not become a theatre of another war on the global scale. Though there may be pockets of wars and conflicts in different regions of the world, the absence of a coordinated war among the various centres of power weakens the arguments of the power theorists substantially.

Despite these objections, the power theory remains a very useful tool of analysing how nations pursue their interest.

4.3.3 Dimensions of Power

The analysis of power is sometimes difficult to explain because power can be analysed from both the abstract and empirical dimensions. Power can be viewed from the possession of tangible assets or capabilities as well as the possession of intangible assets. The tangible assets may be objectively quantified. For example, army size, population, economy etc. Although, even such quantification may not have clear-cut measure, despite the possibilities of quantification, it may not be easily ascertained whether state 'A' is more powerful than state B'.

Power equally involves other dimensions which are difficult to quantify or measure. These intangible possessions may be useful for power assessment at the level of non-military measurement of determinants of power. Similarly, power can be relational. Relational power exists between two states when there are acceptable standards or indices of measuring power. Nigeria may be seen to be more powerful than Togo, because based on economic indicators provided by global agencies; Nigeria possesses a better economy and greater military strength. This is also the case when Nigeria is compared with the

United States of America, where Nigeria is presented as a non-powerful nation. To this extent therefore, power is regarded as relational.

In a significant sense, power could be perceived from the psychological dimension. This is because a nation's power may largely depend on the perception of other nations of its strength. A very important means of exploring this possibility is the display of strength that nations usually exhibit at every given opportunity. Similarly, they help foster peace in conflict-prone areas by sending their military contingents. The whole essence of these activities is sometimes embedded in swaying the perception of others to their possession of military strength.

4.3.4 Elements of Power and how they Relate to Conflict Resolution

Fundamentally, being powerful as a state requires the combination of some critical elements. A state may be powerful without possessing all of these elements, but some of these elements must be present for a state to be regarded as powerful. These are:

1. Military strength
2. Technology
3. Resources
4. Qualitative population/demography
5. Economic development

4.3.4.1 Military Strength

The military strength of a nation goes a long way in determining its ability to wage a war or prevent other states from waging a war against it. A nation with a large and well-equipped standing army will be seen as a force to reckon with in the international community. Hence, any nation that seeks to pursue its national objectives, some of which may lead to war, must develop the capacity for war by outfitting its armed forces with modern means of warfare. Any challenging state realising that it faces a superior army would readily seek other means of resolving conflicts rather than open warfare.

There have however been contentions on the measure of military strength as an element of state's power. The questions arise based on the comparison between the armaments of various states. For instance, what number of AK47 automatic rifles would be equal to what number of sub-machine guns? Despite this unclear means of measurements, states have never stopped building their arsenals. Furthermore, the more powerful states are more easily known based on their experiences in the acts of warfare, moreover, the military shows of capabilities that are conducted at intervals to display newly acquired military weapons and hardware could help in determining the power capabilities of some states. The knowledge is very useful for deterring aggression and offensives.

The primary reason for the existence of the military is to engage in combat, should it be required to do so by the national defence policy, and to win. This represents an organisational goal of any military, and the primary focus for military thought, through military history. The "show" of military force has been a term that referred as much to military force projection, as to the units such as regiments or gunboats deployed in a particular theatre, or as an aggregate of such forces. In the Gulf War, the United States central command controlled military forces (units) of each of the four military services of the United States. How victory is achieved, and what shape it assumes is studied by most, if not all, military groups on three levels.

4.3.4.2 Technology

With the transformation of the international system through high-level technology, especially information technology and fighter jets, this has made the perception of power capabilities changed. Thus, the possession of modern technology has become one of the indexes of power. The development of advanced technology gives a nation an edge in the age of information communication technology. This explains why states that wishes to be taken seriously at the global stage commits vast resources to its research and development institutes.

Technological advancement helps in gathering intelligence information and reports that are useful in ascertaining other state's capabilities and potentials. Beyond this, is also the ability for developing nuclear technology that may be used in both peacetime and wartime. For instance, the Drone War is evidence of the high level that has been reached by states in the prosecution of war. It is important to note that a country with low-level technology is bound to fail in periods of war.

4.3.4.3 The Possession of Natural Resource

A nation which is not only rich in natural resources but has also been able to harness these resources and channel it towards productive development is bound to be taken seriously in the global arena. For instance, Russia, which has one of the world's largest reserves of natural gas, was able to use this to develop into a world power. Beyond this, the possession of scarce natural resources allows nations the bargaining ability, even against nations that are militarily very strong. Thus, the judicious use of natural resources can provide the necessary leverage for nations in the modern era.

4.3.4.4 Qualitative Population /Demography

The population is an index for power, a country that is highly populated is positioned to play an active role in international system. Aside of the ability of the state to be able to deploy its active population in the case of ground-war, despite the high-level of technology in contemporary times, the quality of the population is also fundamental to the power potentials of states. A qualitative population bestows on a nation, the capacity and capability to play an active role in the international system.

4.3.4.5 The Level of Economic Development

The nation's capacity or capability to play an active role on the international system is greatly determined by the level of its economic development. For a developed economy, playing a major role in international relations would be understandable as against a situation in which the state possesses an underdeveloped economy, in which the citizenry lives in poverty and squalor. Therefore, the growth that is measured in terms of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and per capita income are important elements in the formulation of a country's foreign policy.



Self-Assessment Exercise

- i. Power theory states that States may secure their survival by preventing any one State from gaining enough military power to:
 - (a) Secure a clear (b) Invest in oil exploration (c) dominate all others (d) help others
- ii. Elements of power include one of the following.....
 - (a) Military Strength (b) Strong Police (c) Strong Leadership (d) Strong Party.



4.4 Summary

This unit has provided an analysis of how power is used by nations to pursue their goals in the international system. We have also examined the varying dimensions of power. It can be concluded that power is fundamentally concerned with the actions a nation can undertake, and the ability to prevent other nations from undertaking actions that are deemed to be injurious to its own goals and objectives.

The importance of power as a tool of analysis in the international system has been identified as very critical. Similarly, we have also been able to explain the various elements that are fundamental to the power capabilities of states. While all of the elements are not essential to being powerful, the possession of none of the elements renders the states weak. Similarly, we have been able to show that power is relational, and it encompasses both tangible and intangible factors.



4.5

References/Further Readings//Web Resources

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4.6

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise

- i. (c) The theory assumes that the intention of a State occurs or is influenced at the global level, and leaving out a room for incorporating individual state policies and practices.
- ii. (a) Military Strength.

Unit 5: Strategies, Theories And Practice For Defense And Security

Unit Structure

- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Learning Outcomes
- 5.3 Main Content
 - 5.3.1 Strategies for Defence and Security of a Nation
 - 5.3.2 National Defense and Security
 - 5.3.3 Theories of Defense and Security
 - 5.3.4 Practices that Enhance Defense and Security System
- 5.4 Summary
- 5.5 References/Further Reading/Web Resources
- 5.6 Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s)



5.1 Introduction

All strategic practice reflects some theory, even if it is ill understood or, more likely, ill chosen. Strategic theory literally is unavoidable, no matter how hostile you are to abstraction or to academic pontification and pretension. After all, the primary value of theory simply is explanation. Unless you can act strictly with a flow of expressive doings that have inherent and incontestable significance, you will find it impossible to avoid the (possibly malign) influence of particular meaning. We theorize in order to make sense of our subject, whatever it happens to be. It is impossible to frame and develop a sensible argument hostile to theory per se. Of course, it is all too easy to be antagonistic towards particular theorists and/or particular theories. Important though it certainly is to comprehend the basic function of theory — which is to provide persuasive explanation — it is no less essential to understand that theory, including strategic theory, is fundamentally incomplete, indeed is impossible, in an absence of respect for the practice of strategy. Strategic theory only has meaning and value for its contribution ultimately to strategic practice. The theory does not

yield explanation that is useful as understanding for its own scholarly sake. It must yield useful knowledge. Strategic theory is not pursued as a fine art that can be judged with no reference to practical utility.



5.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Explain the strategies for defense and security
- Analyse the various theories of defense and security

- Discuss the practices that enhance the defense and security



5.3

Main Content

5.3.1 Strategies for Defence and Security of a Nation

Many scholars are confused about the core of the subject of strategy. Although I believe that strategy, the function, is eternal and universal, apparently not everyone agrees. Some scholars, especially historians, prefer to believe that strategy is a relatively modern invention, indeed is one that has been migrating in meaning since it first emerged in French, English, and German in the 1770s. I must say that I find this belief in the modernity of strategy to be close to absurd. However, I have test-driven the view that strategy is a modern invention or discovery at gatherings of senior American historians, who, I must report, found the thesis to be ridiculous.

The view that we could not have strategy 'before the word', was rejected almost out of hand. The point is that strategy as a function has always been understood and attempted, regardless of the availability or otherwise of a neat enough concept in the contemporary language of choice. Experience does not always require language that today we find to be conducive to appropriate thought. Over the course of the 20th Century, strategy substantially migrated from the Clausewitzian focus upon the use made of battle for the political purpose of a war, towards the paying of greater attention to the value of military power for the ends of policy, whatever they may be. The change was modest, but noticeable, in its post-Victorian deemphasizing narrowly of battle as a principal engine of strategic history. We in the West became somewhat disenchanted with the strategic promise of and in battle by the grim protracted events of 1916 and 1917 in particular.

We humans have always sought to behave strategically, in good part because there is not, and have never been, any practicable alternative. Functionally, the Greeks did strategy, as also did the Romans. The fundamental abstract architecture of strategic theory applied in all climes and circumstances. Just four words express the core of the matter — (Political) Ends, (Strategic) Ways, (Military) Means, and the Assumptions that inform and can well drive action. Strategy is both singular, as a function including any and all purposive behaviour, and plural as in the strategies pursued in particular cases. Just as strategy has to be appreciated in the singular and the plural form, so also it requires registration as both constant in nature, but ever liable to change in character as strategic history marches on.

While we can recognize a general theory of strategy, and strategies of diverse character for individual cases, also it appears to be true to claim that particular general theory is appropriate for each reasonably distinctive character of military power (landpower, seapower, airpower, cyberpower, possibly nuclear weapons, and even special operations). I should mention that I spent several decades worrying at the issues raised by nuclear armed forces,

while at the present time I am seeking to make sense of the relationship between strategy and tactics in Special Operations.

Defence Studies on the other hand, is concerned with the study of military institution-building, war and warfare, defence policy, national and international security, military strategy in war and peacetime, alliances and alliance-building, and conflict management (especially peace keeping, peace-building, and peace-making), among others.

5.3.2 National Defence and Security

National security, or national defence, is the security and defence of a sovereign state, including its citizens, economy, and institutions, which is regarded as a duty of government. Originally conceived as protection against military attack, national security is widely understood to include also non-military dimensions, including the security from terrorism, minimization of crime, economic security, energy security, environmental security, food security, and cyber-security. Similarly, national security risks include, in addition to the actions of other nation states, action by violent non-state actors, by narcotic cartels, and by multinational corporations, and also the effects of natural disasters.

Governments rely on a range of measures, including political, economic, and military power, as well as diplomacy, to safeguard the security of a nation state. They may also act to build the conditions of security regionally and internationally by reducing transnational causes of insecurity, such as climate change, economic inequality, political exclusion, and nuclear proliferation.

The concept of national security remains ambiguous, having evolved from simpler definitions which emphasised freedom from military threat and from political coercion. Among the many definitions proposed to date are the following, which show how the concept has evolved to encompass non-military concerns:

- "A nation has security when it does not have to sacrifice its legitimate interests to avoid war, and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by war."
- "The distinctive meaning of national security means freedom from foreign dictation."
- "National security objectively means the absence of threats to acquired values and subjectively, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked."
- "National security then is the ability to preserve the nation's physical integrity and territory; to maintain its economic relations with the rest of the world on reasonable terms; to preserve its nature, institution, and governance from disruption from outside; and to control its borders."
- "National security... is best described as a capacity to control those domestic and foreign conditions that the public opinion of a given

community believes necessary to enjoy its own self-determination or autonomy, prosperity, and wellbeing."

- "National security is an appropriate and aggressive blend of political resilience and maturity, human resources, economic structure and capacity, technological competence, industrial base and availability of natural resources and finally the military might."
- "[National security is the] measurable state of the capability of a nation to overcome the multi-dimensional threats to the apparent well-being of its people and its survival as a nation-state at any given time, by balancing all instruments of state policy through governance... and is extendable to global security by variables external to it." National and international security] may be understood as shared freedom from fear and want, and the freedom to live in dignity. It implies social and ecological health rather than the absence of risk... [and is] a common right."

5.3.3 Theories of Defense and Security

Concept of defence and security has been always at the centre of attentions in understanding international relations. Different definitions are provided for the concept according to the variety of theories and approaches. Among the definitions, Wolfers' idea on concept of security achieved the most popularity among political scientists. He argues that the numerous elements such as national characters, preferences, and prejudices shape overall understanding out of concept of security. But what is the central to understand the concept is the lack of threat and fear against the values of a nation. But according to different theoretical approaches in studying international relations, the lack of threat against the values of nations is interpreted differently. Some of these theories and approaches include the following in the next paragraphs as discussed below.

Rationalism is based on positivism and it argues that social and political phenomena can be explained in a way that scientists use for explaining natural world, whereby they argue that facts and values are two separated things. Therefore, the regularities of the social phenomena can be uncovered by empirical validation and falsification. Thus, rationalists argue that actors and concepts are exogenously given, and the actors act in a pre-given world according to the demands of instrumental reason. There are two rationalist theories, namely realism and liberalism.

In particular, realism was the dominant approach used in analyzing the security issues of the U.S.A and U.S.S.R during the Cold War. Realism was a response to the liberal idealism of 1920s and 1930s. There are different kinds of realism; these include classical realism that was dominant until the first decades of the twentieth century, whereas modern realism rose in 1939 and was dominant until 1979, and neo-realism which began in 1979. Conceptually, realism can be categorised into different types of historical realism and with Machiavelli and Carr as the main thinkers, whereas structural realism also has several major thinkers such as Thucydides, Morgenthau, Waltz. All the realist thinkers adapt the main concepts of realism and there is also a compromise

on their meaning; however, the differences between them are about the ways in which the principles of realism are followed and the way security is provided.

In his famous book entitled "Twenty year's crisis, 1936-1946", historical realist, Carr believed that that utopian thinking was basis of collective security after World War I which led to World War II. According to Carr the optimism of collective security made the countries to ignore principle of self-help and in result threatened the security of many countries. Therefore, league of nations which was based on collective security had its root in misinterpretation of major power' aspirations. In other words, the main reason of World War II was moving from realist approach of interpreting security of the states towards liberal interpretation. According to realist approach, states cannot trust others but themselves in term of security issues. According to Herz Security dilemma is the reason realists emphasize on to justify the lack of trustiness among states.

Security dilemma is a situation in which increase in security of a states leads to feeling of insecurity for others. Structural realism was a response to the challenges created by interdependence theory. It attempted to cover the weaknesses of historical realism. Some thinkers, such as Robert Gilpin and Stephan Krasner, emphasized on the roles of the states under the condition in which extra national actors seemed to challenge their primacy (Krasner 1976; Gilpin 2001). Meanwhile, theories such as Regime theory and hegemonic stability theory were designed to answer these challenges against the classical realism. These theories insist that the existing of hegemony that supports international regimes is the main cause for security in the political world.

The theorists of structuralism can be divided into two main groups. The first group includes Thucydides and Morgenthau, who believe that power-politics is the main law for human behaviour. Among others, the main cause of war and insecurity for Thucydides is the fear that brings the feeling of insecurity. For him, the fundamental cause of the Peloponnesian War rooted in the rise of Athens and the fear or the feeling of insecurity that had been caused in Sparta. On the contrary, Morgenthau argued that the states' wishes to achieve and promote power had its roots in the nature of human kind; in other words, war was the result of the forces that are inherent in human nature. Second group, just like the first one, believes that the main goals of the foreign policy of states are power and security. Nonetheless, the second group can be divided into two main sub-groups, namely the concepts of security and power, which include offensive and defensive.

In more specific, the defensive ones pay attention on security more than power, whereas offensive realists believe that power is more important than security, even if achieving it will threaten the security of state. Waltz published two books entitled, "Man, the state, and War", and "Theory of International Politics". In the first book, he emphasized on three images in analyzing the cause of war in the international politics; these include human nature, the nature of states, and the anarchical environment in which all states coexist without any central government or authority. In this book, he also reviewed

the main historical ideas on the causes of war and security. Gradually, liberals modified some core ideas of liberalism because of its inability to find a proper explanation for events during the Cold War. Hence, the ideas of Realism were challenged by some new approaches of liberalism. The most important writers who had modified liberalism are Joseph Nye and Robert Keohane. In particular, Joseph Nye and Robert Keohane in their common book entitled, "Power and Interdependence" believe that new actors are as important as states for the analysis of the international politics, but their statement does not mean that they believe in the disappearance of international conflicts. However, they believe that conflicts and security issues will take a new form and they may even be more in number (Keohane & Nye, 2001).

Liberalism is a theory about state as compared to realism that seeks to adapt the concepts of security and justice. Liberalism believes that human kind likes co-operation and progress. Unlike what realists believe, violence and war do not have their root in the nature of human kind but the existence of corrupt institutions and the lack of appropriate facilities lead to selfish behaviour among the states. Thus, liberalism believes that nations are able to achieve peace and emphasizes on democracy and creating good states and international organizations, in which the world will finally be led into more peaceful one. In addition, liberalism believes in the good nature of human kind and concludes that states are group of people that create it. Therefore, like human kind, states are able to achieve peace and security through co-operation. It is the point that realists reject because they believe co-operation is rather fragile.

Constructivism argues that states define their identities in relationship to other states. Nonetheless, its analysis is different from realism. In contrast to realism, it believes that the structure is a result of the social relations such as common knowledge, and interactions more than materialistic capabilities. Meanwhile, perceptions, expectations and common knowledge form the structure are determinant factors. Constructivism argues against the principal concepts of realism on security, self-help and anarchy. On the basis of constructivist ideas, these concepts are institutions that are relatively stable sets of identities and interests.

5.3.4 Practices that Enhance Defence and Security System

Beginning with the African continent, conceptualizing and understanding the National Security choices and challenges of African States is a difficult task. This is due to the fact that it is often not rooted in the understanding of their (mostly disrupted) state formation and their often-imported process of state-building. Although, Post-Cold War conceptualisations of Security have broadened, the policies and practices of many African states still privilege national security as being synonymous with state security and, even more narrowly- regime security.

The problem with the above is that a number of African states (be specific) have been unable to govern their security in meaningful ways. They often fail to be able to claim the monopoly of force in their territories, the hybridity of security 'governance' or 'providers' thus exists. States that have not been able to capture this reality in official National Security strategies and policies often find their claim over having the monopoly of force and thus being the Sovereign challenged. This often leads to the weakening of the state. Examples of such states are South Sudan and Somalia. African countries handle their security and defence system according to their needs and as issue of security or insecurity arises.

But, in other parts of the world, practices may be different and could be influenced or determined by other factors. National Security ideology as taught by the US Army School of the Americas to military personnel was vital in causing the military coup of 1964 in Brazil and the 1976 one in Argentina. The military dictatorships were installed on the claim by the military that Leftists were an existential threat to the national interests. In China, the Ministry of State Security was established in 1983 to ensure "the security of the state through effective measures against enemy agents, spies, and counterrevolutionary activities designed to sabotage or overthrow China's socialist system."

The state of the Republic of India's national security is determined by its internal stability and geopolitical interests. While Islamic upsurge in Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir demanding secession and far left-wing terrorism in India's red corridor remain some key issues in India's internal security, terrorism from Pakistan based militant groups has been emerging as a major concern for New Delhi. The National Security Advisor of India heads the National Security Council of India, receives all kinds of intelligence reports, and is chief advisor to the Prime Minister of India over national and international security policy. The National Security Council has India's defence, foreign, home, finance ministers and deputy chairman of NITI Aayog as its members and is responsible for shaping strategies for India's security in all aspects.

Illegal immigration to India, most of whom are Muslims from Bangladesh and Myanmar (Rohingya Muslims) are a national security risk. There is an organised influx of nearly 40,000 illegal Bangladeshi and Rohingya Muslim immigrants in Delhi who pose a national security risk, threaten the national integration, and alter the demographics. A lawyer Ashwini Upadhyay filed the Public interest litigation (PIL) in the "Supreme Court of India" (SC) to identify and deport these. Responding to this PIL, Delhi Police told the SC in July 2019 that nearly 500 illegal Bangladeshi immigrants have been deported in the preceding 28 months.[45] There are estimated 600,000 to 700,000 illegal Bangladeshi and Rohingya immigrants in National Capital Region (NCR) region specially in the districts of Gurugram, Faridabad, and Nuh (Mewat region), as well as interior villages of Bhiwani and Hisar. Most of them are Muslims who have acquired fake Hindu identity, and under questioning, they pretend to be from West Bengal. In September 2019, the Chief Minister of Haryana, Manohar Lal Khattar announced the implementation of NRC for Haryana by

setting up a legal framework under the former judge of the Punjab and Haryana High Court, Justice HS Bhalla for updating NRC which will help in weeding out these illegal immigrants.

In the years 1997 and 2000, Russia adopted documents titled "National Security Concept" that described Russia's global position, the country's interests, listed threats to national security, and described the means to counter those threats. In 2009, these documents were superseded by the "National Security Strategy to 2020". The key body responsible for coordinating policies related to Russia's national security is the Security Council of Russia. According to provision 6 of the National Security Strategy to 2020, national security is "the situation in which the individual, the society and the state enjoy protection from foreign and domestic threats to the degree that ensures constitutional rights and freedoms, decent quality of life for citizens, as well as sovereignty, territorial integrity and stable development of the Russian Federation, the defence and security of the state."



Self-Assessment Exercise

1. The following could be regarded as security theories except one ?
 - (a) Realism
 - (b) Structuralism
 - (c) Strategy
 - (d) Liberalism.

2. The threats to national security are _____ and _____, apart from one.
 - (a) Food Insecurity
 - (b) Farmers and herder's conflict
 - (c) Terrorism and Naxalism
 - (d) Democracy and Good Governance.

3. National security, or national defence, is the security and defence of a sovereign state, including its citizens, economy, and institutions, which is regarded as a duty of government.
True or False?



5.4

Summary

The concepts of strategy, defence and security have always been at the centre of attentions in understanding international relations. Different definitions are provided for the concept according to the variety of approaches. Among the definitions, Wolfers' idea on concept of security achieved the most popularity among political scientists. He argues that the numerous elements such as national characters, preferences, and prejudices

shape overall understanding out of concept of security. But what is the central to understand the concept is the lack of threat and fear against the values of a nation (Wolfers 1952). But according to different theoretical approaches in studying international relations, the lack of threat against the values of nations is interpreted differently.

The mentioned complexity caused developing of the concepts such as security and insecurity dilemma, value dilemma, collective security, and security regimes that are to interpret and solve the problem of security. This unit is to explain the main theoretical approaches on the concept of defence and security. For this purpose, three main approaches on the concept of defence and security were included, namely rationalism, realism, liberalism and structuralism among others.

In summary, this unit has been able to examine the concepts of strategy, defence and security. It has assessed the concept national and defence security of nations. It re-examined various theories of defence and security and theories of conflict resolution because it is crucial in the study conflict. It concluded with the examination of practices that enhance defence and security system.



5.5

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5.6

Answers to the Self-Assessment Exercise

- i) (c) Strategy
- ii) (d) Democracy and Good Governance.

iii) True.

MODULE 3: ACTORS IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

Module Introduction

In module three, the important factors of state actors, non-state actors, alliance system, balance of power, collective security and dispositions to personalities that play prominent roles in international relations are all carefully examined and

Unit 1 State Actors in International Relations

Unit 2 Alliance System, Balance of Power and Collective Security

Unit 3 Non-State Actors in International System

Unit 4 Dispositions to International Personalities

Explained in the four units

Unit I: State Actors In International Relations

Unit Structure

- I.1 Introduction
- I.2 Learning Outcomes
- I.3 Main Content
 - I.3.1 Conceptualising the State as an Actor
 - I.3.2 Situations that warrant the Intervention of State Actors
 - I.3.2.1 Failed States
 - I.3.2.2 Developed States
 - I.3.2.3 Developing States
 - I.3.2.4 North/South Divide
- I.4 Summary
- I.5 References/Further Reading/Web Resources
- I.6 Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s)



I.1 Introduction

International relations as a discipline can be seen or presumed to encompass the whole gamut of relationships in the international system. It involves the issues of high and low politics, the volatile to the mundane, and the conflictual and the cordial. In these very types of relationships, some actors and players initiate and carry out the various types of interactions. These actors include the state and the non-state actors. There have been debates about the importance of the state in contemporary international relations, the debates remain on-going thus, the importance of focusing on the state as an actor without necessarily comparing the state with other actors in the system.

This unit would throw more light on the features and characteristics of the state as an actor in international relations. It goes further to explain some of the fundamental categorisations that the state has been known with.



I.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Describe state actors in international relations
- Analyse roles of state actors in international



I.3 Main Content

1.3.1 Conceptualising the State as an Actor

Theoretically, the state is the basic actor in international relations. All forms of interactions, even those that are not carried out by the state, revolve around the state. This major catalyst for international relations can thus be defined as a legitimate and organised political entity controlled by a government (including the various arms and levels), with human inhabitants and whose independence is recognised by other states. In other words, state actors are the governments of the countries in the world. Hence, every state in the global arena is categorized under state actors; for example, USA, UK, China, Germany, France, Vatican state, Singapore etc. They are the major and the dominant actors on the international stage.

Click on the link below to watch a video on State as an Actor

https://youtube.com/playlist?list=PL_gz7LWl9zzNNwYTHQ8jN7-Rle7vf_hpq

States differ in size but share similar characteristics. For a political entity to be regarded as a state, the following features must be presented:

- Sovereignty
- Territory
- Population and Nationalism
- Armed Forces
- Recognition
- Government

Sovereignty: -This is arguably the most essential character of the state. The sovereignty of a state refers to the legal attributes that compel others to accept a political entity as a state. The possession of sovereignty guarantees the existence of equality among states and ensures that interference is not acceptable under normal circumstances. There are two types of sovereignty; external and internal sovereignty.

External sovereignty is required in the conduct of relations and interactions with the rest of the world. This sovereignty ensures that the state creates the basis for its foreign-policy objectives and works towards the actualisation of the objectives. External sovereignty is that instrument that guarantees the freedom and independence of states. It is the recognition by the rest of the world that a state is not under the rule of another state. Can you give an example in Africa? For instance, Africa's colonial political entities became sovereign states when they were granted their independence. In other words, a state under the yoke of colonialism, invasion or occupation does not possess the instrument of external sovereignty. When a state becomes sovereign, it is therefore at liberty to determine its own national interest, thereby able to define; vital and core interests, long, medium and short-range interests, etc.

Internal sovereignty, on the other hand, is the instrument that confers legitimacy to the government of a country. Under this arrangement, the citizenry accepts the authority of government and are willing without force or

coercion to obey the laws of the land as enshrined in the constitution, and to carry out their obligations, and legitimately await the fulfilment of their rights by the government. In essence, internal sovereignty is a 'sine qua non to domestic tranquillity and general well-being of the people. In the wake of the Arab Spring, the subsisting governments of Tunisia, Egypt and Libya had lost their internal sovereignties before their overthrow. In the instance of Syria, the civil disobedience that has remained constant in the country is suggestive of the fact that the government no longer

commands the respect of the citizenry, and therefore, the internal sovereignty does no longer exist.

Territory: -for a state to be so recognised, it must have a clearly defined territory. Thus, there is the existence of international borders which demarcate the various states from one another. Aside from land borders, sea-territories and air-space are also fundamental in the definition of territories. Thus, for a political entity to be regarded as a state, it must possess its territories on the land, sea and in the air.

Population and Nationalism: -a state must also have its population made up of its citizenry, who must share common basic characteristics, such as; value systems, norms, cultural orientation, etc. The population of the state is indicative of the history of the state, and also defines the identity of the state. It is expected that the citizenry should be loyal to the government and the state, and in effect, display some level of nationalism at critical periods, as and when required.

Armed Forces: -based on the fact that a political entity must be able to protect itself against external aggression, whether on land, in the sea or air, a state must possess its military force, which must include the army, navy and air force. Though the level of military strength and capability may differ, each state must at all times have a standing army.

Recognition by other States: -a state must also seek recognition from the rest of the international community. It is that recognition that allows for participation in the interaction among the comity of nations. Such recognition provides mutual benefits for all concerned since the international system has evolved into an interdependent global village. Recognition, whether in its de jure or de facto is of immense importance for a political entity to be regarded as a state.

Government: -this refers to the instrument through which the aspirations and objectives of the state are realised. The government as an instrument of the state is mandated to ensure the pooling of human and material resources in the pursuit of the state's national interest. In this respect, the government represents the state at all international functions, including the signing of treaties and agreements on behalf of the state. The strength of the state is therefore determined by the functionality of its government.

1.3.2 Situations that Warrant the Intervention of State Actors

Certain development and events of the international system do lead to some situations that could warrant interventions in the affairs of a state. In such situations warranting such interventions, states could be described or known as:

- Failed States
- Developed States
- Developing States
- North/South Divide

1.3.2.1 Failed State

A failed state is unable to effectively maintain all or some of the essential characteristics of a state. It could also be referred to as a “collapsed” or “disintegrated” state. In effect, the political structure of a failed state would have been crippled by significant variables. Max Weber argues that a state can be described as a failed state if it fails to maintain either or both internal and external sovereignty, thereby losing the ability for internal “monopoly of power”. A failed state is therefore an unworkable state, which may likely disintegrate or be dismembered. This means that a failed state is one without a sovereign government, a state that has lost control of its borders, a state where the government cannot guarantee the safety of its citizens, a habitat for the procreation of corruption and criminality. Although sometimes, states move from being failed to regain their statehood.

Failed states have specific characteristics which are the indicators that demonstrate their status. These indicators have been presented as the Failed States Index (Patrick, 2007). They are categorised into the social, economic and political indicators, and based on the performances of these indicators’ states are assessed. The indicators are:

Social indicators:

Demographic pressures

Populace emigration

Brain-drain

Economic indicators:

Economic and social inequality

Economic decline

Political indicators:

Widespread corruption

Violation of human rights

Illegal Security mechanism

The decline of public services

The intervention of foreign forces

Rise of factionalised elites

These conditions are reflections of unhealthy domestic conditions, some of which could arise as a result of internecine and ethnic wars and class or group rivalries. Therefore, the inability to manage the contending objectives of the various forces in a state could trigger conditions that may turn the state into a failed state. Unfortunately, the failed state condition also has snowballing effects on its environment, called domestic effects, and also on its region, called neighbourhood effects.

Domestic effects are evident when there is massive emigration and consequently, the massive inflow of refugees into neighbouring states. It should also be noted that once a state loses control of its borders, illegal activities such as drug production and trafficking thrive. These domestic effects trigger the neighbouring effects, which could come in form of the spread of various kinds of diseases, including, HIV/AIDS. Beyond these, conditions in some failed states may alter the political and socio-economic circumstances of neighbouring states. In recent years, quite several countries in Africa have experienced this condition.

1.3.2.2 Developed States

The concept of development about the circumstances of states focuses on the economic well-being and the social welfare opportunities open to the general populace. It is meant to be a reflection of the economic circumstances of the people. However, in recent times, conditions such as political stability, socio-cultural harmony, level of education, infrastructural development, etc. have been the economic indicators in determining whether a state is developed or not. A developed state can therefore be defined as one that has recorded remarkable growth and development in its economic, political and social spheres. Such states are also called “advanced state”, “industrialised state” or “a first world country”. Most states that qualify for this categorisation are found in the Western world, comprising of most Western and Central European countries and the United States of America. In the qualifications, rankings are undertaken using the assessment of the following variables:

Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per Capita: This is the total worth of goods and services produced in a state within a particular period.

Level of Industrialisation: the economic and social system is defined by the industrial growth and development in a state.

Human Development Index (HDI): this is a combination of the economic measure, national income, life expectancy and education of the populace.

Instructively though, the United Nations Statistics Division argues that there is no established convention for the designation of “developed” and “developing” countries or areas in the United Nations system. The designations “developed” and “developing” are intended for statistical convenience and do not necessarily express a judgment about the stage reached by a particular country or area in the development process”. Despite this position, there are fundamental differences in the level of development among states.

I.3.2.3 Developing States

On the other extreme are countries that do not meet any of the criteria used in the assessment of the level of development. For these states, it is found that while the economic conditions are worrisome, political stability is not guaranteed, as such the necessities of life become a herculean task to achieve. Most of these countries suffer from a lack of infrastructure and in some cases, infrastructural decay. These unfortunate conditions are not helped by massive corruption, which is usually the order of the day because of the absence of adequate control systems. In most cases, the economies are comatose and highly dependent on aids and assistance from external sources. These states are also referred to as Less Developed Countries (LDCs), Least Economically Developed Countries (LEDCs), “Underdeveloped Nations”, Third World Nations”, non-industrialised states”, “Least Developed Countries (LDCs). All these are euphemisms that subtly suggest inferiority (Sullivan & Sheffrin, 2003). There has however been contention over time that the suggestive inferiority toga should be discountenanced because the concerned countries are known to attempt treading the path to growth and development thus, the adoption of the “Developing State” concept.

Characteristically, developing states can be perceived as the under-privileged and deprived countries of the world, mostly from Africa and Latin America. Their low level of development and growth is usually characterised by the fragility present in their economic, political and social lives. Their economy is usually dominated by the agricultural sector (primary products) which is crippled by low investments and productivity. As a result of the lack of industrialisation, the primary or crude products cannot be refined, and are therefore exported to the developed parts of the world for processing. Mostly, such products after being refined and packaged are now imported by the developing country, which happens to be the originating country of the product. In the long run, the developing country’s unrefined product that was sold cheaply is now being bought at exorbitant as refined products. Without a doubt, these countries have become vulnerable states, because of their positions at the periphery of the international economic system. Except fundamental changes take place, most developing countries may never cross the line to development.

Specifically, therefore, a typical developing country would be characterised by the following features; low Gross National Income, high infant mortality rate, lack of infrastructure (epileptic power supply), low literacy level, poor educational facilities, the balance of payments deficits, mono-product economy, political instability, corruption, weak control systems, among other features.

Role of State Actors in International Relations

1. The sovereignty, or right to rule, of states must be recognized by other states in the system to achieve statehood.
2. States are important actors in international relations because their governments set the rules structuring how their citizens interact (through trade or working abroad, for example) with people all over the world.

3. In a world with many different countries, cultures, and points of view, actors in international relations attempt to work with each other to advance their own interests.
4. State actors represent and conduct the foreign policy and diplomacy on behalf of the state.
5. Protect the borders, boundaries and the territorial integrity of the state.

1.3.2.4 North/South Divide

It is also instructive to note that states are categorised through the premise of hemispheric positions. Although, the geo-strategic arrangement does not follow any defined pattern, however, it provides an indication of the wealth of a country for analysis and decision-making. The states of the north are regarded as the rich countries of the world, while the states of the south are the poor countries. Under rigid geographical consideration, this classification would be regarded as faulty. This is because, a country like the United States of America, which is a prominent country in the north is put in the same category as the rich countries in Europe. It is noteworthy that the US and the countries of Europe are not geographically contiguous. The same argument goes for countries of the south, in a category that includes African countries, India and Latin America. This is because Africa, Asia and Latin America are devoid of geographical propinquity. However, as earlier mentioned, for analysis and decision-making, the countries of the north are the economically developed states of the world, while those of the south are the developing states of the world.



Self-Assessment Exercise

- i.) What situation and development will warrant the intervention of State Actors in the affairs of states?
 - a. Failed State
 - b. Good State
 - c. Nice State
 - d. Natural State
- ii) All of the following except one is not a political indicator of a failed state;
 - a) Widespread corruption
 - b) Violation of human rights
 - c) Illegal Security mechanism
 - d) Independence period.



1.4 Summary

This unit is an attempt to examine the import of the state as perhaps the most significant factor in the international system. While not delving into the theoretical debate concerning the most important actor, it has exposed the importance of the state as an actor. In so doing, the unit has equally presented three of the various categories of states that exist. This categorisation took cognisance of the political, economic and socio-cultural indices.

The state is an important factor in the international system. However, in the categorisation of states, it is important to note that the major delimiting factor is that the major concepts have no precise definitions and can have only subjective definitions and meanings; for instance, in the case of the “developed” state, growth and development are neither stagnant nor static. There are also various arguments condemning the international adoption of the term “under-developed” and the re-adoption of the term “Less Economically Developed Countries”.



1.5

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1.6

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise

- i. A-Failed State.
- ii. D-Independence Period.

Unit 2: Alliance System, Balance Of Power And Collective Security

Unit Structure

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcomes
- 2.3 Main Content
 - 2.3.1 Alliance System and Balance of Power
 - 2.3.1.1 Alliance System in security system
 - 2.3.1.2 Balance of Power in Collective Security
- 2.4 Summary
- 2.5 References/Further Reading/Web Resources
- 2.6 Answers to the Self-Assessment Exercise(s)



2.1

Introduction

Alliance is a device by which a combination of nations creates a favourable balance of power by entering into military or security pacts aimed at augmenting their own strength vis-a-vis the power of their opponents. However, an alliance among a group of nations, almost always, leads to the establishment of a counter alliance by the opponents. The balance of power theory in international relations suggests that states may secure their survival by preventing any one state from gaining enough military power to dominate all others.



2.2

Learning Outcomes

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

- Explain the meaning of Alliance system and Balance of Power
- Interrogate Alliance System in security system
- Analyse the role of Balance of Power in Collective Security



2.3 Main Content

2.3.1 Alliance System and Balance of Power

An alliance system is a formal agreement or treaty between two or more nations to cooperate for specific purposes. An alliance system can also be defined as an agreement between individuals, families or corporations. However, the term alliance system is most often used in reference to a historical event when an agreement was reached to prevent the outbreak of war or to define territorial borders. But, “Whenever the term Balance of Power is used without qualification, it refers to an actual state of affairs in which power is distributed among nations with approximately equality.”

“Unmanaged struggle for power can be a source of war in international relations.” Such a realization stands universally recognized and it has led to the development of certain devices of power management. One such device has been Balance of Power. In fact, Balance of Power has been traditionally an important fact of international relations. It has been guiding the decisions and policies of nations. Since the 17th century. Several scholars regard it as the best guide for securing the goals of national interest without getting involved in war. Up to the first half of 12th century, Balance of Power was regarded as being the only known modern device of international management of power. “Balance of Power is a nearly fundamental law of politics as it is possible to find.” Palmer and Perkins also hold that balance of power principle has been “a basic principle of international relations. It is indeed very difficult to define Balance of Power. It has been defined it differently by different scholars.

2.3.1.1 Alliance System in security system

Collective security exists when all states pledge to defend the security of all other states under international law. Collective security arrangements are systemic. They involve all—or almost all—states that constitute an international system. Moreover, it is also different from an alliance since collective security is made to focus on internal regulation required universal membership, but alliance is made to deter or reduce international tension and challenges. Collective security or security system can be understood as a security arrangement, political, regional, or global, in which each state in the system accepts that the security of one is the concern of all, and therefore commits to a collective response to threats to, and breaches of peace. Collective security is more ambitious than systems of alliance security or collective defense in that it seeks to encompass the totality of states within a region or indeed globally, and to address a wide range of possible threats. While collective security is an idea with a long history, its implementation in practice has proved problematic. Several prerequisites have to be met for it to have a chance of working. It is the theory or practice of states pledging to defend one another in order to deter aggression or to target a transgressor if international order has been breached. Collective security can be understood as a security arrangement in which all states cooperate collectively to provide security for all by the actions of all against any states within the groups which might challenge the existing order by using force. That contrasts with self-help strategies of engaging in war for purely-immediate national interest. While collective security is possible, several prerequisites must be met for it to work.

Collective security also contrasts with alliances by different ways. In a Ph.D. dissertation by Andreatta, collective security is based on the perspective of all together in a group against any of them, rather than on unilateral idea of some against specific others.[17] Alliances have the form of two groups against each other, such as states A+B+C against states Y+Z; however, collective security takes the form of conducting one agreement between A+B+C+Y+Z against any of them. Moreover, it is also different from an alliance since collective security is made to focus on internal regulation required universal membership, but alliance is made to deter or reduce an outside threat as an exclusive institution. In an alliance, a state would see its allies as an absolute

gain and its enemies as a relative gains without legal obligation. In contrast, collective security follows the case of neutrality, as the whole group is required to punish the aggressor in the hope for it not to violate general norms, which are beyond the states' control, rather than by their self-interest. The opposite of short-term interest in which allies fight against a common threat, collective security tends to use universal interests for global peace.

Sovereign nations eager to maintain the status quo willingly co-operate and accept a degree of vulnerability and, in some cases for minor nations, also accede to the interests of the chief contributing nations organising the collective security. It is achieved by setting up an international co-operative organisation under the auspices of international law, which gives rise to a form of international collective governance, despite being limited in scope and effectiveness. The collective security organisation then becomes an arena for diplomacy, the balance of power, and the exercise of soft power. The use of hard power by states, unless legitimised by the collective security organisation, is considered illegitimate, reprehensible, and necessitating remediation of some kind. The collective security organisation not only gives cheaper security but also may be the only practicable means of security for smaller nations against more powerful threatening neighbours without needing to join the camp of the nations that balance their neighbours.

2.3.1.2 Balance of Power in Collective Security

Collective security, on the other hand, is a system for maintaining peace and security through collective action. Balance of power focuses on the distribution of power and influence among states, while collective security focuses on the maintenance of peace and security through cooperation and collective action. The balance of power refers to the concept of power or militaristic force that is being evenly distributed among the various states of a country. Learn more about understanding the balance of power.

Collective security is a concept where states collectively come together against one state or group. During the Second World War military alliances formed collective security for the defence of the Nation state against the aggression of other states. It ensures actions against any aggressive state who endanger the security of other states. Here security of the state becomes the responsibility of the whole group. Collective security can be ensured by military or non-military methods. It is a collective arrangement to maintain peace. International organisations like the League OF Nation and the United Nations were set up to maintain peace in the world. The concept of collective security is based on the belief that the security of one state cannot be ensured at the expense of the security of others, and that security should be maintained through cooperation and collective action.

Collective security is a concept in international relations that refers to the idea that the security of each individual state is interconnected and that an attack on one state is an attack on all states. The idea behind collective security is that states should work together to prevent conflicts and maintain peace and security in the international system, rather than relying on

individual states to ensure their own security. The concept of collective security emphasizes the importance of cooperation among states and the need for collective action to address security threats and challenges. This approach seeks to promote peace and stability in the international system and prevent the outbreak of war by making it clear that an attack on one state will be met with a collective response from the international community.

A link to a text is provided below examining balance of power and collective security.



https://books.google.com.ng/books?id=9jy28vBqscQC&printsec=frontcover&q=balance+of+power&hl=en&sa=X&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=balance%20of%20power&f=false



Self-Assessment Exercise(s)

- i. Balance of power and collective security are interrelated as they both aim at peace and security through cooperation and collective action. True or False.
- ii. An alliance system is a formal agreement or treaty between two or more nations to cooperate for specific purposes, and it involves the following except;
(a) Security (b) Understanding (c) Power Distribution (d) Instability



2.4

Summary

This unit has provided enlightenment on alliance, balance of power and collective security in the posture and policy of a nation or group of nations protecting itself against another nation or group of nations by matching its power against the power of the other side. States can pursue a policy of balance of power in two ways: by increasing their own power, as when engaging in an armaments race or in the competitive acquisition of territory; or by adding to their own power that of other states, as when embarking upon a policy of alliances.

In summary, this unit has revealed the importance of alliance system, the balance of power and collective security in international relations suggests

that states may secure their survival by preventing any one state from gaining enough military power to dominate all others. If one state becomes much stronger, the theory predicts it will take advantage of its weaker neighbors, thereby driving them to unite in a defensive coalition. Some realists maintain that a balance-of-power system is more stable than one with a dominant state, as aggression is unprofitable when there is equilibrium of power between rival coalitions.



2.5

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2.6

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise

- i. True
- ii. (d) Instability

Unit 3: Non-State Actors In International System

Unit Structure

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 Main Content
 - 3.3.1 Typologies of Non-Intergovernmental Actors
 - 3.3.1.1 Multinational Corporations
 - 3.3.1.2 The Red Cross Society
 - 3.3.1.3 The Catholic Church
 - 3.3.1.4 The Terrorist Groups
- 3.4 Summary
- 3.5 References/Further Reading/Web Resources
- 3.6 Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s)



3.1 Introduction

This unit is the third in the series of units dealing with the actors in the international system. The set of actors treated here are those that though have influences on the international system and by extension, states behaviour, but are not representatives of the government. These are international actors that are not intergovernmental in nature and processes, therefore they do not represent the interest of any government, and rather they are more particular about the interest of the different groups they represent.

State actors are complemented by non-state actors. These non-state actors help establish cordial international relationships among states. There are two types of non-inter-governmental non-state actors and these are:

- International non-profit organisations: International Olympic Committee and the International Red Cross
- Multinational/International corporations The Coca-Cola Company, Toyota, Sony and Samsung.



3.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Explain the meaning of non-state actors
- Interpret the roles of Non-State Actors in International System



3.3

Main Content

3.3.1

Typologies of Non-Intergovernmental Actors

3.3.1.1 Multinational Corporations

These are also referred to as transnational corporations. Multinational corporations or enterprises are companies that produce and distribute goods and services in more than one country as indicated in Figure 6.



Fig. 6: Multinational Corporations

A corporation that has its facilities and other assets in at least one country other than its home country, such companies have offices and/or factories in different countries and usually have a centralised head office where they co-ordinate global management. Very large multinationals have budgets that exceed those of many small countries.

Multinational corporations have been described as the “first institution in human history dedicated to centralise planning on a world scale.” Here, the major players are the “host countries” and the “parent countries.” The host countries are the developing states and the “third world” countries while the parent countries are the developed states where the company headquarters are situated. Multinational enterprises maintain the autonomy of power through an existing structured centralised system. This centralised system of operation is maintained through the present hierarchal structure where decisions are made in the parent countries and regular reports are also sent for assessment and reviews.

There are four main types of corporations and they are:

1. Extractive multinational corporation
2. Agricultural multinational corporation

3. Service multinational corporation
4. Industrial multinational corporation

The Extractive Multinational Corporation: are into the extraction of mineral resources from land and sea. They extract these mineral resources and convert them into finished products.

The Agricultural Multinational Corporation: plant seeds harvest the crops and process them as food. They also harvest wood and turn it into finished products such as paper and furniture.

The Service Multinational Corporation: are service providers.

The Industrial Multinational Corporation: manage, manufacture and distribute, automobiles, aeroplanes, home appliances, computers just to mention a few. The 1950s in political history ushered in the multinational corporation revolution. This period witnessed the growth and development of corporations worldwide. This Revolution also ushered in minimal development for host countries.

Theoretical Schools Of Thought on Multinational Corporations

There are contending schools of thought on the propriety or otherwise of multinational corporations. These schools of thought have concerned their attention on the impact of the operations of multinational corporations in the developing countries of the world. While some of the schools condemn the operations of MNCs, others have applauded the same.

These schools of thought together with their various interpretations can be categorized into three and they are:

- The Marxist – Leninist Interpretation
- The Mercantilist Interpretation
- The Liberal Interpretation

The Marxist- Leninist Interpretation

This can also be referred to as the Imperialist interpretation of the role of multinational corporations. The two major sub-players are the capitalists and the proletariat which are the rich and the poor states. This school of thought argues that multinational corporations are exploitative platforms through which the unsuspecting proletariat are exploited on a global corporate level.

The Mercantilist Interpretation

The growth of multinational corporations is an outward reflection of the West's dominance of the world economy. It is argued that multinational corporations encourage trade and business activities with other countries to create wealth in the parent or home country. Robert Gilpin argued that "political values and security interests are the crucial determinants of international economic relations...throughout history; each successive

hegemonic power has organised economic space in terms of its interest and purposes.”

The Liberal Interpretation

Here, multinational corporations are seen as independent actors and not as an exploitative platform. This school of thought argues that multinational corporations with the technology and labour and overall development can in turn help eradicate poverty in all of its host nations. It is argued that as long as these corporations maintain autonomous control, there will be adequate welfare packages for all players. George Ball, a former undersecretary argued that the “Cosmo- Corp” which is a multinational corporation “has outgrown the state...” here, these businesses only desire entry into foreign markets. The “Cosmo-corps” are the “globalists who see the world as described by Peter Drucker as “a global shopping centre.”

These differing interpretations have however not diminished the importance of multinational corporations in international relations; in fact, they have even become more important as a result of globalisation. In effect, the transformation in telecommunication and transport technology has been useful in enhancing the effectiveness and the overall power of multinational companies. It has been argued that “the rise of the planetary multinational enterprise is producing an organisational revolution as profound in its implications for modern man as the industrial revolution and the rise of the nation-state. Specifically, the existence of a multinational corporation as a global non-state actor is useful based on the following;

- The creation provides a platform for waiving protectionist policies and high importation tariffs. For instance, most American corporations established European subsidiaries to boycott the high tariffs placed on the importation of goods
- Boycotting these tariffs helps increase the product and service profit margin for foreign investors while creating employment opportunities in these host countries.

3.3.1.2 The Red Cross Society

The International Committee of the Red Cross Society, a non – governmental organisation was founded in 1863 in Geneva Switzerland by Jean- Henri Dunant. Jean-Henri Dunant in his self-published book titled “**A Memory of Solferino**” asked:

Will it not be possible, in time of peace, to form relief societies to have care given to the wounded in war time by zealous, devoted and thoroughly qualified volunteers?

This non-governmental organisation won the Nobel Peace Prize Award in 1917, 1944 and 1963. There are about 97 million volunteers, members and staff worldwide. Its main focus is to provide humanitarian aid and support for those in need, protect human life and health, ensure respect for human rights, and prevent and help reduce human suffering, during war help care for the

prisoners of war and in peacetime, help care for the victims of man-made and natural disasters. This arm of the organisation has been authorised by the “international humanitarian law to protect the life and dignity of the victims of international and internal armed conflicts”. It is an organisation whose main focus is to provide humanitarian aid and support for those in need; various independent bodies exist within the organisation.

One of the most important arms of the Red Cross, though sharing its principles, ideologies, objectives, symbols and governing organs is the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC). The IFRC was formed in 1919. On an international level, the IFRC organises assistant missions responding to large-scale emergencies, this body exists in most countries. Each branch works as an autonomous body in the host country but still respects the tenets of international humanitarian law. In most countries, they assist the available health care services to provide emergency medical assistance when help is needed. There are currently 186 recognised National Societies.

The importance of the Red Cross society as a global brand committed to the plight of the wounded, distressed, victims of emergency and both natural and man-made disasters cannot be overemphasised. The Red Cross continually gets involved in conflicts all over the world, not as belligerents, but as an organisation responsible for taking care of humanitarian conditions that are the fall-outs of crisis. The mandate of the Red Cross allows the organisation to participate in negotiations, debates and other forms of activities to ensure peaceful coexistence in the world.

3.3.1.3 The Catholic Church

The Roman Catholic Church has been categorised as the oldest non-governmental organisation in the world, with a population of 1.81 billion in 2009 according to the statistics published in the new *Annuario Pontificio*. To effectively propagate the gospel, the church has learned the tactics of peaceful co-existence with other faiths and governments. The church has evolved both as a religious and political institution and its influence on promoting world peace can hardly be questioned. In 1979, during the late Pope John Paul II's visit to Poland, the government was concerned and swayed by the huge crowd that gathered to welcome the Pope. The Catholic Church condemns poverty, oppression and the violation of human rights in every part of the world, but especially the Third World Countries. The church has also condemned the use of nuclear weapons and appealed to the developed world to help alleviate poverty in the developing world. In essence, the Catholic Church has a strong voice in global political, economic and social conditions. The Pope, the leader of the Catholic church and a highly respected world leader has severally made pronouncements regarding political conditions in countries all over the world, and also equally be involved in the negotiation of freedom of political prisoners in different parts of the world.

In effect, therefore, the sheer population, cutting across continents, races, sexes, ages and regions of the world make it imperative for giving deserved attention to the position of the Catholic Church in international politics.

3.3.1.4 Terrorist Groups

Terrorism is turning out as the most vicious, destructive and dangerous activity that a group can inflict on the system in contemporary international relations. A terrorist group or organisation is a political movement that uses terror as a weapon to achieve its goals and objectives. This kind of organisation thus engages in terrorist activities or terrorism. According to the United States Department of Defence, terrorism is “the calculated use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear, intended to coerce or intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious or ideological”. Similarly, the US Federal Bureau of Investigation defines terrorism as: “unlawful use of force and violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives”. Robert Pillars’ definition captures the whole gamut of the activities of terrorist groups. According to the author: “Terrorism is fundamentally different from these other forms of violence, however, is what gives rise to it and in how it must be countered, beyond simple physical security and police techniques. Terrorists’ concerns are macro concerns about changing a larger order; other violent criminals are focused on the micro-level of pecuniary gain and personal relationships. ‘Political’ in this regard encompasses not just traditional left-right politics but also what is frequently described as religious motivations or social issues” (Laquer, 1977).

The activities of modern terrorist groups can be traced to 1793 during the reign of Maximilien Robespierre. His philosophy was, “subdue by terror the enemies of liberty, and you will be right as founders of liberty”. Thus, intimidation begets freedom. His views and actions laid the foundation for modern terrorism. Now terrorist groups believe that sadism and cruelty will usher in their preferred political, economic and social system. They also set out to accomplish their set goals by terrifying groups who do not support their philosophy and thus attack the symbols of the “heretics”. They destroy symbols and replicas and murder people that represent that which they oppose. For example, the September 11 Attack in the US and the activities of Boko Haram in Nigeria. Terrorist groups can be identified by the form of their activities, and oftentimes, the comments they make after inflicting destruction on the populace or the symbols they represent.

The organisational structure of a group determines its strengths and weaknesses. General knowledge of the prevalent models of terrorist organisations leads to a better understanding of their capabilities. Knowledge of the different labels and systems of classification that have been applied to groups and individuals aid us in discarding useless or irrelevant terms, and in determining the purpose and usefulness of each terminology.

In recent times, the popular image of a terrorist group operating according to a specific political agenda and motivated by ideology or the desire for ethnic or national liberation dominated our understanding of terrorism. While still true of some terrorist organisations, this image is no longer universally valid. Also, a generational change in leadership of established groups is in many cases ushering in a more destructive and relentless type of organisation.

There are two general categories of the organisation; hierarchical and networked. The age of an organisation is one of the determinants of whether it is likely to adopt a network or hierarchical structure. Newer groups tend towards organising or adapting to the possibilities inherent in the network model. Ideology can affect the internal organisation, with strict Leninist or Maoist groups tending towards centralised control and hierarchical structure. Within the larger structure, virtually all groups use variants of cellular organisations at the tactical level.

Terrorist groups that are associated with political activity or organisation will often require a more hierarchical structure, to coordinate terrorist violence with political action. It also can be necessary for a politically affiliated group to observe “cease-fires” or avoid particular targets in support of political objectives. This can be difficult to enforce in networked organisations.

Terrorist groups can be at various stages of development in terms of capabilities and sophistication. Newer groups with fewer resources will usually be less capable and operate in permissive areas or under the tutelage of more proficient organisations to develop proficiency. Also, groups professing or associated with ethnic or nationalist agendas and limiting their operations to one country or a localised region tend to require fewer capabilities. Groups can coalesce from smaller organisations, or splinter off from larger ones.

The groups can be categorised into the following:

- The ethnocentric groups: identity-driven
- The nationalistic groups: some freedom fighters employed terrorist tactics
- The revolutionary groups: seeking transformation of an order
- The political groups: politically motivated
- The religious groups: deep-seated religious inclinations
- The social groups: seeking a forceful change of the social order
- The domestic groups: internal agitations and antagonisms
- The transnational groups: trans-border activities

The Role of Non-state Actors in International System

Non-state actors play a major role in foreign policy making of nation-states and significantly influence their foreign policy behaviour. They lobby in domestic as well as international settings and mobilize their home or host states and national and global public opinion.

The emergence of non-state actors and the transnational relations has attacked the state-centric international system. It has changed the nature of international relations. Non-state actors have forced a change in the concepts of sovereignty and nationalism. These have affected the role of the nation-states as the actors in international relations.

The policies, decisions and actions of the nation-states now bear the increasing influence of the presence and activities of the non-state actors. The latter have emerged as powerful non-political, commercial, economic, cultural, or trading actors in the international environment. They analyse the role of non-state actors, Inter-governmental organisations (IGOs), international non-governmental organisations (i.e., INGOs or NGOs) and multinational corporations (MNCs).

Many scholars have observed that these help to build and broaden the foreign policy agendas of national decision-makers by serving as transmission belts through which one nation policies becomes sensitive to another's. At the same time non-state actors are pursuing their interests largely outside the direct control of nation-states. However, these frequently involve governments in particular problems as a result of their activities.

Click on the link below to watch a video on the impact of non-state actors in international system



<https://youtu.be/ees2-DckbJU>



Self-Assessment Exercise

- i. Non-Governmental Organisations are institutions that are established by non-state actors or at least one side of these organisations is not states. True or False?
- ii. List the non-intergovernmental non-state actors discussed in this unit include the following except
 - a. The Catholic Church
 - b. The Red Cross Society
 - c. The Terrorist Groups
 - d. The Protesters



3.4

Summary

This unit has been an expose to the contributions of non-state, non-intergovernmental actors in the international system. The unit explains their relevance and importance to international relations. Of all the actors examined, terrorist groups are the only violent actor, and the amorphous character of terrorism makes it a major threat to global peace and security.

It is now clear that even though all parties are separate entities, all contribute in one way or the other to the development of states and consequently to both the even and uneven distribution of wealth, and world peace. Non – state actors especially non-governmental organisations through mediations act as important catalysts to peace–building and peace-keeping nationally and internationally. Other non-state actors are equally relevant and participate in directing the course of international affairs, but the roles move from the violent to the peaceful.



3.5 References/Further Readings/Web Resources

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3.6 Answers to the Self-Assessment Exercise

- True
- (d.) The Protesters

Unit 4: Dispositions To International Personalities

Unit Structure

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Learning Outcomes
- 4.3 Main Content
 - 4.3.1 The Papacy
 - 4.3.2 The US Presidency
 - 4.3.3 The British Crown
 - 4.3.4 UN Secretary-General
- 4.4 Summary
- 4.5 References/Further Reading/Web Resources
- 4.6 Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise



4.1 Introduction

Did you know that some important personalities in the world can easily influence decisions in different countries? This unit studies the roles of personalities who under their official positions continue to have an impact on the course of international relations. The offices impose strong power on the individuals occupying the position. The unit would therefore dissect the impact of the Pope, the US president and the British queen/king on international relations through their actions and utterances. It would be observed that the underlining intentions of these offices remain the maintenance of a just, fair and equitable world.



4.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Analyse the attributes of an international personality
- Evaluate the contributions of international personalities to international relations and security



4.3 Main Content

4.3.1 The Papacy

The papacy is the official seat of the Pope. It has a very long history of deep spiritual and religious power. It is the headquarters of the Roman Catholic Church. The Pope is the Bishop of the Roman Catholic community in Rome and the overall leader of the Catholic Church Worldwide. With over a billion Catholics spread across the length and breadth of the world, the Pope's power has exceeded the spiritual and religious and has fundamentally become political as represented in Figure 7. The Pope traverses the world like a

colossus and he has given the respect accorded heads of state and government. Although personal idiosyncrasies usually impact the visibility of the Pope, the influence of a Pope has never whittled.



Fig. 7: The Pope

There are claims that the first Pope was Pope Marcellinus (340AD) while others counter this by claiming that the position of the Pope only became recognised in the 6th century and Pope John, I was the first Pope (523-6AD). The incumbent Pope is Pope Benedict XVI who was elected at The Sistine Chapel during a closed-door meeting called The Conclave in 2005 through the votes by ballot of the Sacred College of Cardinals (cardinals below the age of 80). This ballot style was enforced by the late Pope John Paul II (Sullivan, 2001).

The Pope is the head of the Vatican state, supposedly an appointed man of God with religious and political roles. His religious roles form his principal and primary functions which are the ecclesiastical jurisdiction also called the “Holy See” or the “Apostolic See”. The Pope because of his position occupies one of the most influential seats in the world and the global Catholic community respect and see him as the successor to Peter. The Pope through the Church pioneered and contributed to the spread of Christianity, Pope Pius XII, also participated albeit passively during the Holocaust. During the middle age, the Pope through dialogues and interferences helped evade wars; they also acted as mediators between the monarchs and the people (the government and the citizenry).

In the modern days, the Papacy has been involved with the protection of human and individual rights, voluntary and charitable works, evangelical works and the propagation of the Gospel. Protestants and non-Catholics, in general, fail to recognise the office of the Pope for according to them, the New Testaments fails to make mention of the Papacy nor Peter as the Pope, yet the office of the Pope remains very influential.

Historians counter Protestant criticisms by stating that Father Irenaeus in 180AD wrote a letter that singled out Peter as the one who started the church in Rome. The Pope’s official Cathedral is the Basilica of St. John Lateran and his residence in the palace of the Vatican. He performs both worldly and spiritual roles. Between 1560 and 1648, the Pope established the Catholic reformation. Through this establishment, the Pope was able to orient

the populace and counter the views of the Protestant reformers that the Pope was anti-Christ and the office of The Pope was corrupt. The pastoral constitution stated the roles and functions of the church and by extension, the Pope, he stated: “that the church shared the joy and hope, the grief and anguish of contemporary humanity, particularly of the poor and afflicted”.

It also treated areas such marriage and family, cultural, social-economic life and political community, war and peace and international relations”. American representatives were also invited to sit at the council meetings and they influenced the council and their declaration of universal religious freedom. Mark Armstrong clearly states the role and position of the church when he said that “religious institutions play only a modest, indirect role in the development and implementation of foreign policy” (Lang, 2002). But as moral teachers and bearers of ethical traditions, religious communities can help to structure debate and illuminate relevant moral norms. They can help to develop and sustain political morality by promoting moral reasoning and by exemplifying values and behaviours that are conducive to human dignity.

The pope and the church offer religious platforms for the analyses that directly affect mankind. Some of these issues are human rights (the violation and protection), poverty and war just to mention a few. In the early 1990s, the United States Catholic community called on their government to help avert conflicts and stop conflict in nations experiencing conflicts through humanitarian intervention. It is important to note that it was Pope John XXIII that helped to shift the focus of the church from been protecting only the rights of Catholics and their institutions to supporting the rights of different people and trying in every way to remain unbiased. His words sent in sparks of revolution, for instance, Pope John Paul II in his 1979 speech in Warsaw publicly condemned Eastern Europe Communist policies. In 1968, Latin American Bishops unified their condemnatory tone against the injustice meted out on the poor condemned the discriminatory and highly – classed society, and adopting a “preferential option” for the proletariat.

In 1999, U.S.A Bishops spoke about a global economic issue. In a statement titled “A Jubilee Call for Debt Forgiveness” where they talked extensively about charity. By talking about charity, they were asking for debt reduction or cancellation, appealing to sentiments rather than to judging and analysing issues justly. In 1943, the Catholic Relief Services (CRS) was created to care for those affected by the impacts of World War II. Today, it provides relief services for impoverished nations in the world, it is important to note that the main challenge that the Church faces is the fact that it is not a global organisation, and they are either non-existent in some countries or they form the minority group in countries that are experiencing conflicts.

4.3.2 The US Presidency

The US president is the head of the United States of America and the incumbent president is Joseph Biden. The office of the president is an influential seat and the president is a major catalyst in defining and determining the relationship that should exist between nations. The official residence of

the president is the White House. The US constitution absolves the president and makes him the commander-in-chief of the American armed forces and it also gives him the power to sign treaties. The presidents pursue their policies through various mediums and some of them are diplomatic relations with other states- the State Department ensures this. America also voices her opinions about issues through the UN, makes donations to the World Bank for financing and sponsoring development and reconstruction. The International Monetary Fund was established in 1944 to help stabilise world currencies and lends money to needy nations.



Fig. 8: The US President

The US presidency is the epicentre of US foreign relations; thus, the president drives the foreign policy of the states towards achieving the principles and objectives of the national interest. The officially stated goals of the foreign policy of the United States, as mentioned in the foreign policy agenda of the U.S. Department of State, are "to create a more secure, democratic, and prosperous world for the benefit of the American people and the international community". In addition, the United States House Committee on Foreign Affairs states as some of its jurisdictional goals: "export controls, including non-proliferation of nuclear technology and nuclear hardware; measures to foster commercial intercourse with foreign nations and to safeguard American business abroad; international commodity agreements; international education; and protection of American citizens abroad and expatriation". Subject to the advice and consent role of the U.S. Senate, the president of the United States negotiates treaties with foreign nations but treaties enter into force only if ratified by two-thirds of the Senate.

The president is also a commander in chief of the United States armed forces, and as such has broad authority over the armed forces; however only congress has authority to declare war, and the civilian and military budget is written by congress. The United States Secretary of State is the foreign minister of the United States and is the primary conductor of state-to-state diplomacy. Both the secretary of state and ambassadors are appointed by the president, with the advice and consent of the Senate. Congress also has the power to regulate commerce with foreign nations. All of these ensure that the president of the United States must lead the state's global adventure.

The main trend regarding the history of U.S. foreign policy since the American Revolution is the shift from interventionism before and after World War I, to its growth as a world power and global hegemony during and since World War II and the end of the old War in the 20th century. Since the 19th century,

US foreign policy also has been characterised by a shift from the realist school to the Idealistic or Wilsonian school of international relations. After the end of the Second World War, the US international profile became further enlarged.

4.3.3 The British Crown

The monarchy is the “raft of people who are paid out of the civil list”. Structuralist Marxism argues that the monarchy symbolises an “ideological state apparatus” through which stability is retained while the elite theorist claims that the monarchy represents the elites whose presence invariably help to define and sustain the classed society. The British monarchy is over 1195 years old and it and the parliament are the main ingredients of British sovereignty. The monarch and in this case, the queen is the head of state of the armed forces. It ascertains its relevance through the allegiance oath taken by the judiciary and the armed forces as both swear allegiance not to the state but the crown. Before the 18th century, the British ruler had legislative and executive powers but things changed in the 18th century during the reign of Queen Victoria.

From then on, the queen became a constitutional monarch. This is however mainly a symbolic and ceremonial post as they are advised by the executive arm of the government. The monarchy however maintains the power to declare war, make peace, impeach and select a prime minister, appoint judges, magistrates and councillors. The royal family and the queen also usually act as patrons of non-governmental, voluntary and charitable organisations. Tony Blair stated during the Jubilee celebration that the queen who is also the monarch “adapted the monarchy successfully to the modern world”. The present head of the British Empire is queen Elizabeth II, who was crowned on the 6th of February, 1952. She has the sole responsibility of overseeing the affairs of the United Kingdom and its territories worldwide. She and the royal family are saddled with official, ceremonial and representational duties. The queen’s roles are dictated, controlled and limited by the British constitution although it is important to state that the queen is committed to public duty and service. The monarchy also upholds the British culture and tradition; decency, respectability and stability just to mention a few. The queen appoints the prime minister and bestows honours on worthy and deserving citizens.

The British crown can be traced back to 1000 with the evolvement of the kingdoms of England and Scotland. It should be noted that The Act of Settlement 1701 excluded Roman Catholics by birth or through marriage from the royal lineage. In 1707, there was the amalgamation of the kingdoms of England and Scotland and this fusion led to the creation of the Kingdom of Great Britain and in 1801, the kingdom of Ireland was fused with the Kingdom of Great Britain and this led to the creation of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

In the 1920s, a vast majority of Irish states broke away from the kingdom and went ahead to form the Irish Free States and after the Second World War, most of the erstwhile colonies and territories gained independence, after this,

Queen Elizabeth II adopted the title head of the Commonwealth. This however is only a ceremonial title. The monarch also plays a constitutionally approved role in the church and in this case, the incumbent queen, Queen Elizabeth II acts as the governor of the Church. The queen and prime minister play a ceremonial role in the appointment of the archbishops and bishops in England.

Indeed, the British crown has been one of the most important non-state actors in both the ancient and the modern world. Being the head of the British Empire, the monarch is accorded the highest respect possible by the British public, but what is however puzzling is that the international community equally accords the British crown the best form of respect ever possible. This is not unconnected to the great strides that Britain had made in the 19th century through the colonisation of territories all over the world. This makes the British Empire or colonised territories extend to every part of the globe; Africa, America, Asia, Oceania, etc. Britain colonised the US, Australia, New Zealand, India, and numerous countries in Africa (Levine, 2007). Most of these countries gained independence and became members of the Commonwealth of Nations. The Commonwealth of Nations is led by and exists on the goodwill of the British crown.

Quite a number of British colonies, even after independence ceremonially respects and accords ceremonial roles to the British monarch. In this respect, we have Australia, New Zealand, and Nigeria until 1963. This translates to the fact that the importance of the British monarch transcends the United Kingdom. Though may not be as powerful as it was in the earlier centuries but yet still commands immense respect both in and outside of Britain. This respect is even more glaring on states and official visits, and also in the yearly meetings of the Commonwealth Head of State and government meetings. By extension, therefore, the position of the British monarchy on the issue of relevance to the international system is very important and regarded with the utmost respect by states and other non-state actors.

4.3.4 UN Secretary-General

The secretary-general of the United Nations is the head of the secretariat of the august organisation. The occupier of the office can be regarded as the number one public servant in the world. He represents the views of not just a country, but the combination of the views of all the membership of the UN. In essence, the secretary-general speaks for the world. He is expected to represent the ideals upon which the UN was founded, that is, to guarantee international peace and security.

The secretary-general was envisioned by US President Franklin D. Roosevelt as a "world moderator," but the vague definition provided by the UN charter left much room for interpretation by those who would later occupy the position. The role is further defined as "diplomat and advocate, civil servant and CEO." Nevertheless, this more abstract description has not prevented the office holders from speaking out and playing important roles on global issues, to various degrees. Article 97 of the UN charter states that the

secretary-general shall be the "chief administrative officer" of the organisation, but does not dictate his specific obligations. This provides the required leverage for each individual to stretch his abilities to the limits in carrying out the functions of the United Nations.

According to an observer, "The personal skills of the secretary-general and his staff are crucial to their function. The central position of the UN headquarters in the international diplomatic network is also an important asset. The secretary-general has the right to place any dispute on the provisional agenda of the Security Council. However, he works mostly behind the scenes if the members of the council are unwilling to discuss a dispute. Most of his time is spent on good offices missions and mediation, sometimes at the request of deliberative organs of the UN, but also frequently on his initiative. His function may be frustrated, replaced or supplemented by mediation efforts by the major powers. UN peace-keeping missions are often closely linked to mediation (peace-making). The recent improvement in relations between the permanent members of the Security Council has strengthened the role of the secretary-general as the world's most reputable intermediary".

The list of all UN secretaries-general is presented below:

- Gladwyne Jebb
- Trygve Lie
- Dag Hammarskjold
- U Thant
- Kurt Waldheim
- Javier Perez de Cuellar
- Boutros Boutros-Ghali
- Kofi Annan
- Ban Ki-Moon
- Antonio Guterres

All of these individuals have at various times led the secretariat of the organisation and have worked towards ensuring the continued relevance of the organisation in international relations.

Attributes of an International Personality (Mr. Antonio Guterres)

António Manuel de Oliveira Guterres was born 30 April (1949) is a Portuguese politician and diplomat. Since 2017, he has served as secretary-general of the United Nations, the ninth person to hold this title. A member of the Portuguese Socialist Party, Guterres served as prime minister of Portugal from 1995 to 2002 (Figure 9).

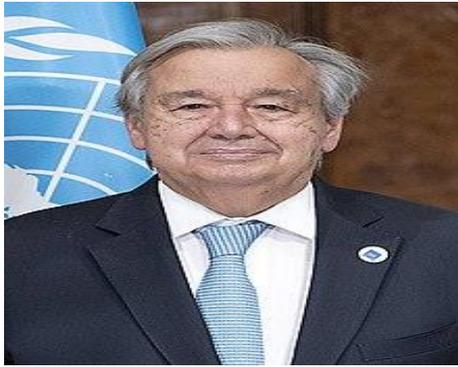


Fig. 9: UN Secretary General (Antonio Guterres)

Guterres served as secretary-general of the Socialist Party from 1992 to 2002. He was elected prime minister in 1995 and resigned in 2002, after his party was defeated in the 2001 Portuguese local elections. After six years governing without an absolute majority and with a poor economy, the Socialist Party did worse than expected because of losses in Lisbon and Porto, where polls indicated they had a solid lead. Eduardo Ferro Rodrigues assumed the Socialist Party leadership, but the general election was lost to the Social Democratic Party, led by José Manuel Barroso. Despite this defeat, polling of the Portuguese public in both 2012 and 2014 ranked Guterres the best prime minister of the previous 30 years.

He served as president of the Socialist International from 1999 to 2005, and was the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees from 2005 to 2015. Guterres was elected secretary-general in October 2016, succeeding Ban Ki-moon at the beginning of the following year and becoming the first European to hold this office since Kurt Waldheim in 1981. Guterres was born in Parede and raised in Lisbon, Portugal, the son of Virgílio Dias Guterres (1913–2009) and Ilda Cândida dos Reis Oliveira Guterres (1923–2021).

He attended the Camões Lyceum (now Camões Secondary School), where he graduated in 1965, winning the National Lyceums Award (Prémio Nacional dos Liceus) as the best student in the country. He studied physics and electrical engineering at Instituto Superior Técnico – Technical University of Lisbon in Lisbon. He graduated in 1971 and started an academic career as an assistant professor teaching systems theory and telecommunications signals, before leaving academic life to start a political career. During his university years, he joined the Group of Light, a club for young Catholics, where he met Father Vítor Melícias, a prominent Franciscan priest and church administrator who remains a close friend and confidant.

Guterres's political career began in 1974, when he became a member of the Socialist Party. Shortly thereafter, he quit academic life and became a full-time politician. In the period following the Carnation Revolution of 25 April 1974 that put an end to Caetano's dictatorship, Guterres became involved in Socialist Party leadership and held the following offices:

- Head of Office of the Secretary of State of Industry (1974 and 1975)

- Deputy for Castelo Branco in the Portuguese National Parliament (1976–1995)
- Leader of the parliamentary bench of the Socialist Party, succeeding Jorge Sampaio (1988).

Guterres was a member of the team that negotiated the terms of Portugal's entry into the European Union in the late 1970s. He was a founding member of the Portuguese Refugee Council in 1991.

In 1992, after the Socialists' third consecutive defeat in Parliamentary elections, Guterres became secretary-general of the Socialist Party and leader of the opposition during Aníbal Cavaco Silva's government. At the time, he was the party's third leader in six years. He was also selected as one of the 25 vice presidents of the Socialist International in September 1992.

His election represented a break with tradition for the Socialists: not only was Guterres not associated with either the faction around then-president and former prime minister Mário Soares or the party's left wing led by Guterres's predecessor Sampaio, but he was also a devout Catholic, running counter to the party's historical secularism. He consulted with Portugal's civil society in formulating policy, meeting a range of intellectuals, scientists and entrepreneurs from across the country and the political spectrum in the run-up to the next general election. Aníbal Cavaco Silva did not seek a fourth term as prime minister of Portugal (in order to run for the 1996 presidential election) and the Socialist Party won the 1995 parliamentary election. President Soares appointed Guterres as prime minister and his cabinet took the oath of office on 28 October that year.

Guterres ran on a platform of keeping a tight hold on budget spending and inflation in a bid to ensure that Portugal met the Euro convergence criteria by the end of the decade, as well as increasing rates of participation in the labor market, especially among women, improving tax collection and cracking down on tax evasion, increased involvement of the mutual and nonprofit sectors in providing welfare services, a means-tested guaranteed minimum income (known as the *Rendimento Mínimo Garantido*), and increased investment in education. He was then one of seven Social Democratic prime ministers in the European Union, joining political allies in Spain, Denmark, Finland, Sweden, Greece and the Netherlands.

Contributions of International Personalities to International Relations and Security

These International Personalities are selected on the basis of several factors like fame, influence and most importantly, their contribution to the society. These are people who have one way or the other influenced global order, humanity, issues and works of life. These International Personalities are selected on the basis of several factors like fame, influence and most importantly, their contribution to the society. These are people who have pioneered their respective fields. People, who have revolutionized their fields of study or work, people who have changed the course of history in their time. people who have been the harbingers of hope and justice for others.

For example, taking the UN Secretary General as an example,

- The secretary-general, appointed by the General Assembly's 193 member states, serves as the chief administrative officer of the United Nations.
- Common responsibilities include making appointments to UN posts, overseeing peacekeeping missions, and mediating conflict.
- Previous secretaries-general have often struggled to balance the role's competing interests. Current officeholder António Guterres has focused on climate change, peacekeeping, and reforming UN management.

The current secretary-general, Portugal's António Guterres, has focused on advancing sustainable development and regulating digital technologies, even as he has faced a staggering range of crises, including worsening climate change, the COVID-19 pandemic, and Russia's war in Ukraine. Despite the challenges that all secretaries-general have confronted, what appears to be constant is the ambiguous nature of the position itself—a role bifurcated between the tasks of “secretary” and “general,” and almost always more of the former than the latter.



Self-Assessment Exercise

- i. The Pope is the Bishop of the Roman Catholic community in Rome and the overall leader of the Catholic Church.
Yes or No?
- ii. _____ can be regarded as the number one public servant in the world.
a. US President b. Russian President c. The Pope d. UN Secretary General



4.4

Summary

In this unit, you have learnt about the various personalities and how they help to form and define the types of global relationships that would exist among states globally. In essence, therefore, the unit emphasises the fact that the international system exists based on interactions among state and non-state actors (both governmental and non-governmental actors included).

This unit studies the various personalities that shape global politics and economy and how their decisions affect the international system. These personalities are however as important to the extent to which the offices they occupy permit. Their impacts extend beyond the borders of specific countries and include the whole of the globe. Though the effectiveness of the office may be constrained by the degree of flamboyance displayed by the office-holder, yet the offices remain important to the extent of affecting international relations.



4.6

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4.6

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise

- i. Yes
- ii. (d)-UN Secretary General.

MODULE 4: POWER RELATIONS IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

The units discussed in this module are the factors/powers that formed a nation-state. Any nation-state that lacks all these components cannot class as one of the developed or super state. Therefore, a careful study of all these units will determine whether a state is developed or undeveloped or a developing state.

Unit 1 Political Power in International Relations

Unit 2 Economic Power in International Relations

Unit 3 Socio-Cultural Power in International System

Unit 4 Military Competency in the International Sg145 system

Unit 1: Political Power In International Relations

Unit Structure

- I.1 Introduction
- I.2 Learning Outcomes
- I.3 Main Content
 - I.3.1 Concept of Political Power
 - I.3.2 Power as Capability
 - I.3.3 Soft Power
 - I.3.4 Hard Power
- I.4 Summary
- I.5 References/Further Readings
- I.6 Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s)



I.1 Introduction

This unit deals with one of the most essential analytical variables in international relations. It interrogates the meaning of political power as a weapon to be wielded by states in their interactions with one another. Political power in this sense could be perceived as an abstraction, because a less militarily powerful state may wield enormous political power. Thus, this unit would look deeply into the conditions that may confer political power on a state and how states leverage such power to achieve the objectives of their national interest.

Essentially, therefore, we would be assessing the import of power politics on international relations- the extent to which the political machinations and manoeuvrings of a nation can confer power; influence and authority on such nations and their interactions with the rest of the world. Power politics is taken as a state of international relations in which sovereigns protect their interests by threatening one another with military, economic, or political

aggression. Power politics is invariably a way of understanding the world of international relations: nations compete for the world's resources and it is to a nation's advantage to be manifestly able to harm others, it prioritises national self-interest over the interest of other nations or the international community. Techniques of power politics include, but are not limited to, conspicuous nuclear development, pre-emptive strike, blackmail, the massing of military units on a border, the imposition of tariffs or economic sanctions, bait and bleed and bloodletting, hard and soft balancing, buck-passing, covert operations, shock and awe and asymmetric warfare.

In this unit, we are concerned with political power that emanates from established authority that gives the right to command and the duty to obey. Power should be seen as a relationship among nations, not a characteristic, or quality.



1.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Explain the concept of political power
- Analyze the place of political power in international system and security
- Explain the role of Soft Power and Hard Power in international system



1.3 Main Content

1.3.1 Concept of Political Power

Before we talk about political power, first let us conceptualise what we mean by power. Power is very fundamental to political analysis. Power as a concept has many different meanings to different people thus making it very difficult to define. However, power can generally be described as the ability to influence other states to do what state 'A' wants and to prevent them from doing the same to state 'A'. One can exert power over others through the possession of means of sanctions or rewards.

Did you know that having power allows nations to pursue and protect their interests and to control the actions of others?

Contemporary discourses generally speak in terms of state power, indicating both economic and military power. Those states that have significant amounts of power within the international system are referred to as middle powers, regional powers, great powers, superpowers, or hyper power/hegemony, although there is no commonly accepted standard for what defines a powerful state. Political scientists principally use "power" in terms of an actor's ability to exercise influence over other actors within the international system.

This influence can be coercive, attractive, cooperative, or competitive. Mechanisms of influence can include the threat or use of force, economic

interaction or pressure, diplomacy, and cultural exchange. All of these are politically motivated. According to Freeman (1997), “power is the capacity to direct the decisions and actions of others. Power derives from strength and will. Strength comes from the transformation of resources into capabilities; will infuse objectives with resolve. Strategic marshals’ capabilities and brings them to bear with precision. Statecraft seeks through strategy to magnify the mass, relevance, impact, and irresistibility of power. It guides the ways the state deploys and applies its power abroad. These ways embrace the arts of war, espionage, and diplomacy. The practitioners of these three arts are the paladins of statecraft”. To be able to wield remarkable political influence, states cooperate with others to carve spheres of influence and create blocs and alliances.

Political power in international system and security (Spheres, blocs, and alliances)

Under certain circumstances, states can organise a sphere of influence or a bloc within which they exercise predominant influence. Historical examples include the spheres of influence recognised under the concert of Europe or the recognition of spheres during the Cold War following the Yalta Conference. The Warsaw Pact, the "Free World", and the Non-Aligned Movement were the blocs that arose out of the Cold War contest. Military alliances like NATO and the Warsaw pact are another platform through which influence is exercised. However, "Realist" theory often attempts to stay away from the creation of powerful blocs/spheres that can create hegemony within the region.

The political power of a state also arises based on the military victories that were achieved in the past. Thus, a state that has achieved a string of combat victories in a military campaign against other states can be described as powerful. An actor that has succeeded in protecting its security, sovereignty or strategic interests from the repeated or significant challenge can also be described as powerful. Hence, such state-actor would wield commensurable political influence in international politics.

Click on the link below to read more on political powers in international relations



<https://fhsu.pressbooks.pub/orientationpolisci/chapter/chapter-7-international-relations--and-comparative-politics/>

1.3.2 Power as Capability

Power is also used to describe the resources and capabilities of a state. This definition is quantitative and is most often used by geopoliticians and the military. Capabilities are thought of in tangible terms- they are measurable, weighable, quantifiable assets. Thomas Hobbes spoke of power as a "present means of obtaining some future apparent good." Hard power can be treated as a potential and is not often enforced on the international stage. In this respect, two types of political power can be identified: hard and soft power. The former is coercive, while the latter is attractive.

Hard power refers to coercive tactics: the threat or use of armed forces, economic pressure or sanctions, assassination and subterfuge, or other forms of intimidation. Hard power is generally associated with the stronger of nations, as the ability to change the domestic affairs of other nations through military threats. Realists and neorealists are advocates of the use of such power for the balancing of the international system. On the other hand, soft power refers to the process of attaining international influence without recourse to violence. Joseph Nye is the leading proponent and theorist of soft power. Instruments of soft power include debates on cultural values, dialogues on ideology, the attempt to influence through a good example, and the appeal to commonly accepted human values. Means of exercising soft power include diplomacy, dissemination of information, analysis, propaganda, and cultural programming to achieve political ends.

In the modern geopolitical landscape, several terms are used to describe various types of powers, which include the following:

- **Superpower:** can be described as "great power plus great mobility of power". The United States is currently considered a superpower with China, India and the European Union being potential superpowers.
- **Great power:** In historical mentions, the term great power refers to any nation that has strong political, cultural and economic influence over nations around it and across the world. China, France, Germany, Japan, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States are often considered to be current great powers.
- **Regional power:** used to describe a nation that exercises influence and power within a region. Being a regional power is not mutually exclusive with any of the other categories of power. Many countries are often described as regional powers, among those are India, South Africa, Israel, South Korea, Brazil, Indonesia, Nigeria and Turkey.
- **Middle power:** a subjective description of second-tier influential states that could not be described as great powers.
- **Energy superpower:** describes a country that has immense influence or even direct control over much of the world's energy supplies. Saudi Arabia and Russia, possibly Canada generally acknowledged as the world's current

energy superpowers, given their abilities to globally influence or even directly control prices to certain countries.

- **Cultural/Entertainment Superpower:** describes a country that has immense influence or even direct control over much of the world's entertainment or has an immense large cultural influence on much of the world. Although this is debated on who meets such criteria, many agree that the United Kingdom, United States, France, India and Japan are generally acknowledged as the entertainment and cultural superpowers, given their abilities to distribute their entertainment and cultural innovations worldwide.

1.3.3 Soft Power

Soft power is the ability of a state to achieve its desires through options and attraction. It can be contrasted with 'hard power that is the use of coercion and payment (Nye, 2004). Soft power can be wielded not just by states but also by all actors in international politics, such as NGOs or international institutions. The primary currencies of soft power are an actor's values, culture, policies and institutions- and the extent to which these "primary currencies", can attract or repel other actors to "want what you want".

In any discussion of power, it is important to distinguish behaviour (affecting others to obtain the preferred outcomes) from the resources that may (or may not) produce those outcomes. Sometimes actors with more power resources are not able to get the outcomes they wish. Power is a relationship between an agent and a subject of power, and that relationship will vary with different situations. Meaningful statements about power must always specify the context in which the resources may (or may not) be converted into behaviour.

Soft power is not merely non-traditional forces such as cultural and commercial goods, as this confuses the resources that may produce behaviour with the behaviour itself- what Steven Luke's calls the "vehicle fallacy." Neither is it the case that all non-military actions are forms of soft power, as certain non-military actions, such as economic sanctions, are clearly intended to coerce and is thus a form of hard power.

That said, military force can sometimes contribute to soft power. Dictators like Adolf Hitler and Joseph Stalin cultivated myths of invincibility and inevitability to structure expectations and attract others to join them. A well-run military can be a source of attraction, and military-to-military cooperation and training programs, for example, can establish transnational networks that enhance a country's soft power.

Napoleon I's image as a great general and military hero arguably attracted much of the foreign aristocracy to him. Likewise, first deputy chairman Anastas Mikoyan of the USSR was praised in 1959 for an informal diplomatic tour of the USA that successfully relied more on charming the American public than bargaining with the House White to ease international tensions. The impressive job of the American military in providing humanitarian relief

after the Indian Ocean tsunami and the South Asian earthquake in 2005 helped restore the attractiveness of the United States. Of course, misuse of military resources can also undercut soft power. The Soviet Union had a great deal of soft power in the years after World War II, but it destroyed it by the way that they used their hard power against Hungary and Czechoslovakia, just as military actions by America in the Middle East undercut its soft power.

1.3.4 Hard Power

This describes political power obtained from the use of military and/or economic coercion to influence the behaviour or interests of other political bodies. As the name would suggest, this form of political power is often aggressive and is most effective when imposed by one political body upon another of lesser military and/or economic power. Hard power is a theory that describes using military and economic means to influence the behaviour or interests of other political bodies. It is used in contrast to soft power, which refers to the power that comes from diplomacy, culture and history.

While the existence of hard power has a long history, the term arose when Joseph Nye coined 'soft power' as a new and different form of power in a sovereign state's foreign policy. Hard power lies at the command. Hegemony ends of the spectrum of behaviours and describes a nation's ability to coerce or induce another nation to perform a course of action. This can be done through military power which consists of coercive diplomacy, war and alliance using threats and force with the aim of coercion, deterrence and protection. Alternatively economic power which relies on aid, bribes and economic sanctions can be used to induce and coerce.



Self-Assessment Exercise

- i. In the modern geopolitical landscape, mention three terms used to describe various types of powers, which include the following except one:
 - a. Regional Power
 - b. Super Power
 - c. Great Power
 - d. Political Power.
- ii. Hard power is different from soft power because:
 - a. Soft power is free
 - b. military and/or economic coercion
 - c. simple
 - d. Very expensive.



1.4 Summary

This unit has critically examined the meaning of the concept of power as a political tool in international relations. In this respect, we have been able to analyse the various dimensions of political power and its impact on the conduct of international relations. Political power is essential and effective to the extent that the state can use it to achieve its aims and objectives without firing a shot. The use of political power can be found in its ability to support the objectives of the state effectively.

In summary, it is made clear that the possession of political power could very much guarantee the attainment of a state's national interest. The unit interrogates the contentious issue of political power at the international arena, thereby presenting the various forms of powerful capabilities that exist today. In the final analysis, the importance of soft and hard power is stressed, as nations jostle to attain their national objectives.



1.5

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1.6

Answers to the Self-Assessment Exercise

- (d)-Political Power
- (b) military and/or economic coercion

Unit 2: Economic Power In International Relations

Unit Structure

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcomes
- 2.3 Main Content
 - 2.3.1 What is Economic Power and how does it Relate to International Relations?
 - 2.3.2 and Economic Power
 - 2.3.3 Limitations of Economic Power
 - 2.3.4 Has Economic Power Replaced Military Power
 - 2.3.5 Measuring Economic Power
 - 2.3.5.1 Gross National Product (GNP)
 - 2.3.5.2 The Level of Industrialisation
 - 2.3.5.3 The Rate of Technological Advancement
 - 2.3.5.4 Good Governance as a Pillar of Economic Power
- 2.4 Summary
- 2.5 References/Further Reading/Web Resources
- 2.6 Possible Answer to Self-Assessment Exercise(s)



2.1

Introduction

In this unit, we shall be examining the import of the possession of economic power in contemporary international relations. This is on the basis of the importance of economic power as a tool of engagement in inter-state relations. Furthermore, the level of economic power is a significant variable in the maintenance of international peace, harmony and security. Thus, the unit would investigate the role of economic power in the assessment of the living conditions and the wellbeing of the people. The wealth of a nation gives it a leverage as well as bargaining power in the world system. It also serves as the foundation for the armaments industry and is heavily relied upon during war. A state's political power is heavily reliant on its economic base.



2.2

Learning Outcomes

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

- Describe Economic Power as it relates to International Relations
- Explain the link between globalization and Economic Power
- Analyze the role played by Economic power in international system and security
- Discuss the parameters used in measuring the economic strength of a nation



2.3

Main Content

2.3.1 What is Economic Power and how does it Relate to International Relations?

There is a general belief that the 21st century is characterised by the notion that economic power is an important strategic asset. But what is economic power? How is it changing? And how can it be measured? Economic power can broadly be defined as the ability of state 'A' to control or influence the behaviour of other states through the deliberate and politically motivated use of economic assets as depicted in Figure 10.



Fig. 10: Economic Power

It is the power to produce and to trade what one has produced. Economic power implies that a state is in a position to use, offer, or withhold such assets even when they are in private hands. For example, by mandating trade embargoes or imposing controls on exports to targeted countries. The exercise of economic power may well have economic costs because almost by definition it entails interfering with decisions made for economic reasons.

Economic power can also be thought of as the ability to resist external control or influence because dependence on external suppliers is sufficient enough to preclude a vulnerability to outside pressure. The United States for instance imports about two-thirds of its oil from foreign sources and is thus vulnerable to oil exporters as a group, although not any single country could alter US foreign policy based on its economic strength. But what is sometimes forgotten is that sellers need markets. If the United States were to significantly reduce its appetite for foreign oil, it will gain relative economic power over its suppliers. Persuading others to establish a 'customer cartel', as some have suggested would have an even greater effect on the balance of economic power.

An extreme example of the ability to resist external control is economic self-sufficiency. Certain great empires of history such as imperial China were almost entirely self-sufficient. But in today's world, the pursuit of economic self-sufficiency results in lower levels of technology and productivity and a greater degree of poverty than would otherwise be the case (North Korea is

a perfect example). If market forces are allowed to operate, some countries will be more self-sufficient than others, but none will be completely self-sufficient in all sectors. This re-echoes the interdependent nature of the contemporary state system; no nation can provide all of its own needs, hence, the need for global interactions.

It is worthy of note that in international relations, economic power begets political power. The economic power of a state has often been used as an instrument to punish other states. Whenever a nation-state behaves in a way that violates international norms, a common response by some states is to discontinue trade relations or impose economic sanctions on the offending state. The United States and Russia lead the world in coal, steel, crude oil and electricity production. The possession of these resources provides wide leverage for these two countries to dominate international relations of the contemporary era.

From the point of view of power relations, industrialised states are in a much better position than others. They can supply more weapons for their armies and more goods for their people. The enormous oil resources of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait have given them a powerful policy weapon as was shown by the diplomatic result of their oil embargo against the United States in 1973-1974. Nigeria's oil wealth was also used as a potential weapon of diplomacy in international politics as demonstrated in Nigeria's role in Southern Africa under the Mohammed/Obasanjo regime. With the immense resources accruing to the government from the sale of crude and refined oil, Nigeria was able to pursue a vigorous and vibrant foreign policy in the Southern-Africa sub-region, to the extent that the country was endowed with the title of a frontline state.

In essence, therefore, it is safe to surmise that the adequate use of natural resources, which are readily accessible for exploitation and the required plant system necessary for transforming the natural resources into commercial and military goods, add considerably to the power of a country.

2.3.2 Globalisation and Economic Power

Throughout much of recorded history, the assets associated with economic power consisted primarily of land, natural resources, and the ability to spend more than one's adversaries on weapons and wars. In a global economy, these elements, while still important contribute less to overall economic power than what societies and states can create for themselves; sound financial and macroeconomic policies, an educated and adaptable workforce, market-based competition, a supportive infrastructure (including transportation, communication and energy distribution) and a stable and welcoming investment climate backed by good governance and predictable policies. These self-created assets virtually guarantee a competitive niche in the global economy. They fuelled the remarkable performance of Japan and the "Four Tigers" (South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore) during the 1970s and 1980s. Similarly, the reforms launched by Deng Xiaoping in the late 1970s transformed China from an autarchic economic backwater to the economic

powerhouse it has become today. This was in part due to China-centered production networks and widespread pro-market reforms; Asia has experienced robust growth. Its success should not be exaggerated; however, the region suffers from a variety of economic, political and demographic weaknesses. It is highly dependent on the global economy and remains vulnerable to internal and external shocks.

According to one of the United Nations' economic agencies, globalisation is "a widely-used term that can be defined in some different ways. When used in an economic context, it refers to the reduction and removal of barriers between national borders to facilitate the flow of goods, capital, services and labour... although considerable barriers remain to the flow of labour... Globalisation is not a new phenomenon. It began towards the end of the 19th century, but it slowed down during the period from the start of World War I until the third quarter of the 20th century. This slowdown can be attributed to the inward-looking policies pursued by many countries to protect their respective industries... however, the pace of globalisation picked up rapidly during the fourth quarter of the 20th century...".

Just as globalisation has altered the content and context of economic power, so has it limited the sovereignty associated with it. A single nation has only a partial ability to claim autonomous economic power and to use it unilaterally. China, for instance, still depends heavily on markets in North America, Europe, and Japan. This means that China's national economic power cannot be wielded autonomously and at will because doing so would undermine the economic growth that the Chinese leadership needs to maintain its legitimacy.

Until fairly recently, products were made in one country and sold to customers in another. But thanks to the revolutions in transportation and information technology, most of the world's biggest companies now operate in numerous countries. Although the components of a product may come from multiple sources, that product's label usually records only the point of final assembly and shipment.

The first decade of the 21st century has witnessed a major shift in financial power from the West to other parts of the world, particularly Asia in the guise of globalisation. By allowing for unhindered access through the borders of various countries, the globalised world has ensured that states that could take advantage of the present configuration are allowed to stretch their economic tentacles, and by extension, wealth. Unfortunately, the states in the centre (the developed world) have entrenched their hegemonies and taken advantage of the globalisation phenomenon to fortify their economic power, while, the states at the periphery (the developing world) continue to wallow in abject poverty. Thus, the opportunities presented by globalisation for countries to deepen their economic bases have been unevenly utilised.

Role Played By Economic Power in International System and Security

Behind the foreign policy and external relations of every nation lies the economic wellbeing of the nation. Security studies, also known as international security studies, is an academic sub-field within the wider discipline of international relations that studies organized violence, military conflict, national security, and international security.

While the field (much like its parent field of international relations) is often meant to educate students who aspire to professional careers in think tanks, consulting, defense contractors, Human Rights NGOs or in government service positions focused on diplomacy, foreign policy, conflict resolution and prevention, emergency and disaster management, intelligence, and defense, it can also be tailored to students seeking to professionally conduct academic research within academia, or as public intellectuals, pundits or journalists writing about security policy.

Some scholars have called for expanding security studies to include topics such as economic security, environmental security and public health. Stephen Walt has argued against this expansion, saying it would undermine the field's intellectual coherence. While the field is mostly contained within political science and public policy programs, it is increasingly common to take an interdisciplinary approach, incorporating knowledge from the fields of history, geography (stressing classical geopolitics), military sciences, and criminology.

2.3.3 Limitations of Economic Power

Despite the strength inherent in the economic power of any country, there are still limitations to the extent to which it can be applied in international relations. In an increasingly globalised world, it is becoming more tasking to influence the system through the deliberate use of economic assets as a weapon. Certain “smart sanctions” – such as denying visas to family members of dictators and freezing their bank accounts – may have some effect. But efforts to apply trade embargoes and other forms of economic coercion to influence another country’s political or military behaviour fail more often than not, especially when the targeted state perceives that the reforms sought by the outside world threaten its survival. Worse still, economic sanctions often end up enriching elites, who have ready access to the black market, and impoverishing everybody else.

Cases abound of how various countries violated the sanctions imposed on South Africa during the apartheid era. Similarly, countries have been found wanting in following up with sanctions regimes and trade embargoes in very many occasions, against authoritarian regimes in many parts of the world. The underlining fact, therefore, is that the use of the economic asset as a weapon of achieving aims and objectives is intricately tied to each country’s national interest. To this extent, economic power may be said to have limited impacts in the pursuit of certain courses of action in international relations.

2.3.4 Has Economic Power Replaced Military Power

At the end of the Cold War, some pundits proclaimed that geo-economics had replaced geopolitics. In effect, economic power was expected to become the key to success in world politics, a change that many people thought would end in a world dominated by Japan and Germany. Political observers have long debated whether economic or military power is more fundamental. The Marxist tradition casts economics as the underlying structure of power, and political institutions as a mere superstructure, an assumption shared by 19th century liberals who believed that growing interdependence in trade and finance would make war obsolete. This belief is yet to materialise - wars may be fought for economic reasons, but economic relations may not be able to replace the propensity to go to war.

Military power, which some refer to as the ultimate form of power in world politics has very strong limitations in the absence of a reliable and strong economic base, thus, a thriving economy is required for the prosecution of the war. The argument for primacy between military and economic power is a matter for conjecture, which is determined by the context and content of the scenario.

Judging whether economic interdependence produces power requires looking at the “balance of financial terror” analogous to the Cold War military interdependence in which the US and the Soviet Union each had the potential to destroy the other in a nuclear exchange. In a recent development, a group of senior Chinese military officers, angered over US arms sales to Taiwan, called for the Chinese government to sell off US government bonds in retaliation. Their suggestion was not heeded. Economic resources can produce soft-power behaviour as well as a hard military power. A successful economic model can finance the military resources needed for the exercise of hard power.

2.3.5 Measuring Economic Power

The national security implications of economic power transcend the ability to finance a higher defence budget and field expensive weaponry. Signs that a country is on the road to economic power include a strong and stable currency, adequate foreign exchange reserves; inflows of foreign investment, rising productivity, manageable inflation, and a declining level of poverty. Other indicators reflect the degree of urbanisation, levels of education, the growth rate of the Gross National Product (GNP), rate of technological advancement, the level of industrialisation, social indicators such as life expectancy and others. All of these can be measured. Several volumes have been written on each of these variables generally used as indices or measures of economic power. However, a brief explanation shall be given on some of them for the benefit of those unfamiliar with the concepts.

2.3.5.1 Gross National Product (GNP)

It is an important index of economic power. It provides a comprehensive picture of the economy of a state. It shows what is produced, as well as the distribution of income. The maximisation of the growth of GNP shows the level of economic development. Some states achieve this through capital accumulation and industrialisation. Others pursue the same goal through improved performance of the factors of production and improved techniques of production. The rate of growth of the GNP is used as an index of the performance of the economy. It also determines countries that are developed and those that are not. GNP is calculated thus: Consumption + Government Expenditure + Investments + Exports + Foreign Production by indigenous companies – Domestic Production by foreign companies.

2.3.5.2 The Level of Industrialisation

The industrialisation has been viewed as a superior way of life. Rich states are believed to be rich because they are industrialised and poor states are backward. After all, they are primary producers. When the greater percentage of a state's population is engaged in industries rather than agriculture, this shows the level of development.

2.3.5.3 The Rate of Technological Advancement

Technology is defined as a totality of the means employed to provide gadgets necessary for human substance and comfort. It also implies a way of doing things through the application of knowledge derived from a systematic investigation of natural forces and materials. When this is applied in the process of production, it leads to greater output. Therefore, states that have been able to develop and apply technology are bound to be perceived as being more developed than those without technology.

2.3.5.4 Good Governance as a Pillar of Economic Power

The politician who demands huge bribes and send millions of dollars to foreign bank accounts stunt their countries' development in multiple ways. Good governance allows for stability upon which the economy of the state can flourish. The good governance regime provides for the adequate use of the resource possessions of a country and the opportunity for the critical mass of the people to survive through positive engagements. When the enabling environment is provided by the government, the people can engage in economic activities that would have long-run effects on the economic growth and development of the country. The absence of a good governance regime has the propensity for dwindling the capacity for economic advancement.



Self-Assessment Exercise

1. Economic power can be measured by all of the following except one;
 - a) Gross National Product
 - b) Level of Industrialisation
 - c) Rate of Industrialisation
 - d) Military power.
2. In international system, economic power may be limited or affected by these factors apart from one:
 - a) Visa Denial to family members of the dictator
 - b) other economic sanctions
 - c) regular elections
 - d) Freezing of Bank Accounts.



2.4

Summary

This unit has provided an examination of the meaning, dimensions and measurement of economic power. It also examined the connection between a state's economic power and political power, and by extension, military power, in the context of the struggle for power and allocation of values in the international system.

In summary, the economic power of a country is a very viable tool for influencing other states in the system. Thus, economic power is strongly tied to the pursuit of strong and vibrant foreign-policy objectives therefore, the greater the level of economic power, the greater the ability of a state to command respect in the international community.



2.5

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2.6

Answers to the Self-Assessment Exercise

- i. d) Military power.
- ii. c) regular elections

Unit 3: Socio-Cultural Power in International System

Unit Structure

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 Main Content
 - 3.3.1 Meaning of Socio-Cultural Power
 - 3.3.2 The Policy of Assimilation
 - 3.3.3 Modernisation
 - 3.3.4 Geography
 - 3.3.5 Globalisation
 - 3.3.6 Counterculture
- 3.4 Summary
- 3.5 References/Further Reading/Web Resources
- 3.6 Self-Assessment Exercise(s)



3.1 Introduction

This unit brings to light, the need to examine the power concept in international relations beyond the tangible object. The intangible power at the disposal of states could also make the state very influential, depending on the ability of the state to adequately utilise it to its advantage. Socio-cultural power in this context concerns all that patterns to the identity and value-system of the people. The unit commences with the use of the French colonial policy of assimilation as an instrument of cultural power on African francophone colonial states even after colonialism. We would thereafter expose the impact of the era of modernisation on global cultural orientations, and also explain the strategic role that the geography of a state can play in the process of realising the state's national-state. The last section is the explanation of how globalisation is able to spread a cultural revolution across the globe, and lastly, the import of counterculture would also be assessed.



3.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Explain the meaning of socio-cultural Power
- Assess the roles of socio-cultural power in international system



3.3

Main Content

3.3.1 Meaning of Socio-Cultural Power

The field of sociology helps us to understand our culture and society better. Through this discipline, we get a vivid evaluation of the effects of social actions as it affects the international community. In the words of Linton (1964), "culture of a society is the way of life of its members; the collection of ideas and habits which they learn, share and transmit from generation to generation". Culture determines a people's way of life, the acceptable patterns of behaviour in society and the flow of regular behaviour. For an infant born into this world, s/he knows nothing, but right from infancy, it starts to learn from its mother, family, peer group and so on, how to relate with other people in the society, ethics of right and wrong and so on. The new-born imbibes the ideals of the society through a process called socialisation.

Socialisation is the process of imbibing the norms of society. Just like it is for individuals, so is it for states in the international environment. These norms are the values that the society deems fit and considers the ideal and proper way of life. In international relations, there are general norms that are shared within the comity of civilised nations, for instance, the conduct of diplomacy, the waging of war, etc.

The culture of a people determines the identity of its people, that is; what the particular group is and others are not. This makes the group members want to identify with their type and desist from others that are not of the same group. The process of conducting this identification is enhanced by the power potentials available. In this respect, Weber (1946) defines power as "the chance of a man or several men to realise their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action". That is, the ability to get one wishes even if they are against that of the others. A more analytical definition of power was also provided in Luke's (1974) where power is defined thus: "A exercises power over B when A affects B in a manner contrary to B's interest. In essence, socio-cultural power can be defined as the combination or interaction of social and cultural elements of a particular group of people, which has the power to influence the attitudes and orientations of another group in another society.

The process by which a particular culture that prevails in a given society can influence that of another people in a different location all together is gradual and can take ages, but in the new era of development, this can take place with the speed of light. The next explanation would examine how the French Policy of Assimilation was executed to ensure the dominance of the French culture over the African culture, with particular attention on Senegal.

Click on the link below to learn more about cultural power in international relations



<https://youtu.be/ohwkcVY86zU>

Roles of Socio-Cultural Power in International System

Culture is basically called as soft power in common international policy tradition and custom. What is obvious and understood from the content of scholars' words in explaining soft power, is that soft power is the product and outcome of positive imagination, self-justifying presentation, and acquiring credibility in national and international public thoughts. Also, the indirect influence power with satisfaction on others etc. so that today, this interpretation of power is used against hard, military power and facilities which is somehow accompanied by physical violence and force. Therefore, it can be said that soft power is the ability to form others' preferences and its type is persuasion while the rough face of hard power is forcing and obliging. Joseph Nye, one of the pioneers of discussing soft power, in the book titled as "The Application of Soft Power", believes that soft power is the special attention to occupying mental space of another country through attraction and also a country achieves soft power when it is able to use information and wisdom to finish conflicting subjects and draw the conflicts to take advantages of them.

Some of the factors that create or strengthen soft power, are promotion of language and literature, propagating ideals and excellent values, ideological status, appropriate and wide diplomatic relationship, cultural relations and exchanges. Also, presentation of a desired image of self, appropriate using of information and culture along diplomatic objectives, designing and adopting accepted policies and strategies, removing negative historical mentalities, acquiring progressed scientific position and technologies, high economic capability, the power of forming and controlling public thoughts, the power of influencing on beliefs and attitudes, having worldwide news channels and the power of producing and distributing various media products to countries and influencing on international media.

Also, good behavior and adopting acceptable positions in dealing with international crises, presentation of humanitarian services, observing human rights standards, supporting green movements and environment, participation

in peace movements and peace-keeping forces, formation of friendship associations with different countries, wide presence in cultural societies and cultural consultations broadly are effective in creating and strengthening cultural power. Some of international relations authors have mentioned other effective factors on producing and strengthening soft and hard power which are geographical status (climate, extent of territory, geopolitical status, population and human resources), industrial capacity, communications, scientific talents, inventions, initiatives, administrative and governmental organization, ideology and social ethics, information and level of knowledge, leadership wisdom and national spirit.

It can be generally said that of features and checks of soft power is its popularity and informality. In other words, soft power can produce a compatible dialogue with the public at the time when it doesn't require hard power and can produce local, regional and transnational dialogue and give its message to the public thoughts of the world without limitations and orders of hard power. It is worth mentioning that the power that is achieved in this way shouldn't be taken mistakenly instead of populism and producing dialogue vulgarly but soft power (cultural power) means specializing and rationalizing the field of power in all areas.

3.3.2 The Policy of Assimilation

Socio-cultural power tends to manifest when the cultural values of a people are forced on or transmitted to another people without the ability to prevent the impact as depicted in Figure 11.



Fig. 11: A Representation of Cultural Assimilation

We can see a semblance of this in the French policy of assimilation. The idea of the French policy of assimilation came up as a result of the French revolution which emphasised freedom, fraternity and equality, and these were to be extended to anyone that was French; thereby giving the same rights and privileges which a French man in France enjoys to the Africans in the four communes of Senegal. The French policy of assimilation was aimed at 'French-frying; Africans by imbibing in them the French cultural ethos. The government of France during colonisation saw the assimilation policy as a way of making Africans become Frenchmen. The Frenchman sees his culture as "numero uno", and every other culture comes after, so the French believed

that if you are not French, then you do not have a culture. For the above-stated reason, they decided to use the assimilation policy to turn Africans into French citizens, by imbuing in them, the French culture which they saw as the supreme.

The power the assimilation policy had was that an African in any of the four French communes of Senegal, that had imbibed the French culture; dressed as the French, talked like the French and behaved like French men, had the same rights as the French man living in France. Naturally, the French policy of assimilation met with some stiff opposition by some Africans, who refused to do away with their own culture, but their colonial masters (French government) put in place strict disciplinary measures to ensure compliance. Such disciplinary measures included refusing those Africans that refuse to be assimilated access to social and welfare amenities, and most especially, deviants were dealt with by public flogging. By the late 19th century, a large number of Africans in the four communes of Senegal had already been assimilated. This confirms the tremendous power the culture of a people has on another.

The French policy of assimilation also went under intense criticism in France; as some argued that no matter how much right is extended to Africans they will remain Africans, some people in France also saw the assimilated Africans as inferior Frenchmen or second-class citizens and so on. As a result of these issues and several others, the French government decided to change the assimilation policy to the policy of the association.

With the new policy of association, the colonial masters were supposed to recognise and respect the African culture and traditions, rather than try to eliminate African culture and merge the African man forcefully into the French culture. Another aim of the policy of association was to rule the Africans indirectly by using natives, and also, the policy of the association was to ensure the retention of the African tradition, customs and laws. In reality, only the name of the policy was changed; from assimilation to the association, but the elements of the policy of assimilation remained in the policy of the association. It is interesting to note that despite over 50 years of independence, the French culture still has a stronghold on the former French colonies in Africa, thereby the French had been able to propagate their ideas, norms and identities beyond the shores of Europe and to other parts of the world.

3.3.3 Modernisation

This is mainly an economic concept, which deals with how underdeveloped nations can become developed, simply by adopting the same methods and procedures which the developed nations used in achieving development. This concept is also very instrumental in sociology because it has to do with the inequalities that exist between less developed and developed countries.

The concept of modernisation is concerned with the process of transformation of less developed nations from their traditional society to

modern society. The concept has been one of the major perspectives of the study of national development and underdevelopment in the discipline of sociology since the 1950s, the modernisation theorists study the political, social and cultural implications of economic growth, as well as the conditions necessary for economic growth to occur. Theorists that have written on modernisation hold that the underdeveloped nations are at a pre-modern stage of development and that for them to be able to attain the stage of development attained by Western European and North American societies, they must emulate their processes. By this, modernisation theorists mean that less developed societies will have to import western ideology and put aside their traditional ways of conducting state policy, as this would ensure that less-developed nations become westernised.

By implication, we can see that modernisation is a strategy of the West to ensure that every society in the world inculcates the western way of life; meaning that all of the traditional ways of life of the less developed societies will be discarded in place of the predominant norms of the West. This strategy is merely in favour of the West, to ensure that they can sell their mental construct of development to the rest of the world, implying that the presumed less developed nations of the world may never be able to embrace development except they subscribe to modernisation.

3.3.4 Geography

The geographical location of a people has a tremendous influence on their socio-cultural activities. It is imperative to note that certain geographical locations favour certain groups of people. Factors such as weather, climate, mode of dressing and so on, are some of the variables to be considered under geographical factors of socio-cultural power. It is expected that when a person changes location from his/her original place of domicile to an extremely different location, for instance, if an African relocates to Europe, such an individual does not expect the same weather condition in Africa to apply to Europe, such an individual will have to adjust to new and sometimes strange environmental conditions; a movement from the tropical weather condition to an extremely cold weather condition, such situation will; have an impact on the individual's environmental orientation, some individuals may fall sick in the process of adapting, while some may develop chronic side effects. Hence, such changes in an individual's geographical environment change the individual's environmental orientation; from wearing light material clothes that suit the harsh weather conditions of Africa, the individual now has to wear thick layer clothing which suits the extreme weather conditions of Europe.

In essence, the individual subconsciously starts adopting new ways of dressing, which is extremely different from what the individual's natural culture permits. What was meant to be a mere method of adapting to the extreme weather conditions in Europe, now takes its toll on such an individual's cultural habits in terms of dressing? As a result of staying a little while in Europe or maybe a couple of years, the individual now takes the European way of dressing as a permanent culture, to the extent that when such an individual returns to

Africa on vacation, s/he refuses to revert to their original mode of dressing, thereby seeing the European culture as their new and permanent way of life.

This shows that the change of geographical location from one part of the world to a different part of the world has an immense effect on one socio-cultural orientation.

3.3.5 Globalisation

What of Globalisation?

This happens to be one of the key phenomena that are shaping our contemporary world. Globalisation means communicative practices from local to global levels, in essence, it provides an avenue through which socio-cultural power is exercised, resisted and contested. It is the spreading and homogenising of culture across the globe.

According to Giddens, globalisation is the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa. Cultural globalisation is the rapid traversing of ideas, attitudes and values across national borders. This sharing of ideas generally leads to interconnectedness and interaction between peoples of diverse cultures and ways of life.

Mass media and communication technologies are the primary instruments for cultural globalisation. Global news services such as CNN disseminate the same events and issues across the world including some of the most remote locations in the world. This internationalisation of news exposes countries to foreign ideas, practices, and lifestyles. The development of computer technology- with its social networking sites, video sharing websites, blogging sites and various other permutations- has served to accelerate cultural globalisation as there are no boundaries on the World Wide Web. Advances in transportation have also facilitated physical travel to other countries, which in turn, has encouraged cross-cultural exchanges.

As a result of globalisation, some cultures are getting lost. In countries that have high economic power, a lot of innovations are invented, and this creates a wide gap between such countries and developing countries. The effect is that less developed countries such as the ones we have in Africa, tend to want to imitate the developed nations in terms of their way of life and so on, thereby leaving behind their norms and values for another. With this, it is obvious that globalisation damages cultures of economically weak countries, to the advantage of stronger and advanced nations. The culture of the weaker nations could face extinction.

Globalisation brings about inequality in the international arena; one party benefit more at the detriment of another. The way of life in Europe that is transmitted through globalisation to Africa, and is adopted in Africa, ensures that there is a conducive atmosphere for Europeans when they come to Africa, because some Africans in Africa already exhibit European ways of life,

whereas, the reverse is the case in Europe. This inequality is because the content of their social culture has subordinated or adulterated African culture, and this is made possible by the power of globalisation.

3.3.6 Counterculture

The penetration of a particular culture by another does not always undergo a smooth process. Though culture is very powerful in manifestation, that explains the reason for stiff opposition when a cultural intrusion threatens the existence of subsisting cultural orientation and ideals.

A counterculture can be defined as a group that share similar socio-cultural characteristics, and come together to oppose the dominant form of a social system or try to prevent the existence of any other form of the social system different from its. A countercultural action or expression communicates disagreement, opposition, disobedience or rebellion. A counterculture rejects or challenges mainstream culture or particular elements of it.

This Might Mean:

- Protesting against a particular situation or issue
- Rebelling against the accepted or acceptable way of doing things
- Struggling for liberation when you are oppressed or marginalised
- Finding new ways to represent yourself when you are misrepresented or simply not represented
- Creating your own culture when you are dissatisfied with the culture that is made for you

In the 20th century, countercultural points of view were commonly expressed as an action. The countercultural pamphlets, flyers, posters, newsletters and independent newspapers, fanzines or magazines are therefore the ephemera or 'remains' of a larger active expression. Often, they were originally meant to serve immediate, sometimes urgent, purposes: to promote action, gather support or inspire change.

In Nigeria, an example of a counterculture group is Jama'atul Ahlus Sunna Lid Da'awaTis Jihad, popularly known as Boko Haram. This is an Islamic fundamentalist group dominant in the Northern part of Nigeria. The name Boko Haram is Hausa; Boko means western, or better still non-Islamic education, while Haram, an Arabic which means forbidden or sin. The Islamic sect Boko Haram sees western education and western culture as evil and will kill to prove that point.

Several counterculture groups exist all over the world, Boko Haram is just one of them. Boko Haram makes its voice heard by detonating bombs at strategic places in the northern part of Nigeria, it also makes use of suicide bombers. This group is holding the government of Nigeria to ransom, just because it is against western education and western culture in the north, instead, it wants all the northern states to become sharia states.



Self-Assessment Exercise

- i. A countercultural action or expression communicates all of these except
 - a. Disagreement
 - b. Opposition
 - c. Disobedience
 - d. Love.
- ii. Mode of eating is an important aspect of culture in any part of the world, especially in Japan as seen in the video.
Yes or No.



3.4

Summary

The present existing world order is an unequal one. The West has been at the forefront of ensuring that they remain the dominant actors in the international system, while indirectly subordinating the cultures of the other groups. This act of relegating the cultures of other state actors in the international system has existed for several centuries. The South is however at a stage whereby, the realisation of the denigration of the culture is no longer acceptable, however, the alternative modes of exiting the unfortunate circumstances are not forthcoming. Cultural globalisation has made the task even more daunting.

The unit reveals some of the factors responsible for the domination of one culture by another. Incidentally, the West has devised specific means of ensuring the dominance of its culture in the international arena. This socio-cultural power has added to the influence being wielded by the advanced countries of Europe and America over the developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America.



3.5

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3.6

Answers to the Self-Assessment Exercise

- i. (d)-Love
- ii. Yes

Unit 4: Military Competency In The International System

Unit Structure

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Learning Outcomes
- 4.3 Main Content
 - 4.3.1 Concept of the Military in the International System
 - 4.3.2 Military Capability
 - 4.3.2.1 Combat Readiness
 - 4.3.2.2 Force Structure
- 4.4 Summary
- 4.5 References/Further Readings/Web Resources
- 4.6 Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s)



4.1 Introduction

Why do countries need military competencies in international relations? As part of expatiating on the issue of states' abilities to command respect in the international arena through the pursuit of national interest, we shall be undertaking a thorough examination of the influence of military capability on the extent to which a state can influence the course of international relations.



4.2 Learning Outcomes

By The End Of This Unit, You Will Be Able To:

- Explain the concept of the military in international relations
- Appraise the roles of the military in promoting International System
- Appraise the capabilities of the military in international system



4.3 Main Content

4.3.1 Concept of the Military in International System

The existence of a military organisation or institution is one of the characteristics of statehood, beyond conferring legitimacy on the state, it is also essential for the existence and survival of the state. The military is “an organisation authorised by its greater society to use lethal force, usually including use of weapons, in defending its country by combating actual or perceived threats”. All through the ages, the size and the organisation of the military has always determined its strength and capability, these in turn determine the level of respect the state can command in the international arena. The institution comprises the army, navy and air-force, and it is

principally concerned with the execution of the national defence policy. In the execution of these policies, the military is driven by its capabilities, which can be assessed by the quality of the military command, economics and military intelligence. Every nation in the history of humanity had different needs for military forces.

Military Command

The first requirement of the military is to establish it as a force with a capability to execute the national defence policy. Invariably, although the policy may be created by policy makers or policy analysts, its implementation requires specific expert knowledge of how the military functions, and how it fulfils roles. The first of these skills is the ability to create a cohesive force capable of acting on policy as and when required, and therefore the first function of the military is to provide military command. One of the roles of military command is to translate policy into concrete missions and tasks, and to express them in terms understood by subordinates, generally called orders. Military command makes effective and efficient military organisation possible through delegation of authority which encompass organisational structures as large as military districts or military zones, and as small as platoons. The command element of the military is often a strong influence on the organisational culture of the forces.

Military Personnel

Another requirement is for the military command personnel, often called the officer corps, to command subordinated military personnel, generally known as soldiers, sailors, marines, or airmen, capable of executing the many specialised operational missions and tasks required for the military to execute the policy directives. During peacetime when military personnel are mostly employed in garrisons or permanent military facilities, they mostly conduct administrative tasks, training and education activities, and technology maintenance. Another role of military personnel is to ensure a continuous replacement of departing servicemen and women through military recruitment, and the maintenance of a military reserve.

Military Intelligence

The next requirement comes as a fairly basic need for the military to identify the possible threats it may be called upon to face. For this purpose, some of the command and other military and often civilian personnel participate in identification of these threats, which is at once an organisation, a system and a process collectively called military intelligence (MI). The difficulty in using military intelligence concepts and military intelligence methods is in the nature of the secrecy of the information they seek, and the clandestine nature that intelligence operatives work in obtaining what may be plans for a conflict escalation, initiation of combat or an invasion. An important part of the military intelligence role is the military analysis performed to assess military capability of potential future aggressors, and provide combat modelling that helps to understand factors on which comparison of forces can be made. This

helps to quantify and qualify such statements as "China and India maintain the largest armed forces in the World" or that "the U.S. Military is considered to be the world's strongest".

Military Economics

More commonly referred to as defence economics, this is the financial and monetary efforts done to resource and sustain militaries and for financing military operations including war. The process of allocating resources is conducted by determining a military budget which is administered by a military finance organisation within the military. Military procurement is then authorised to purchase or contract provision of goods and services to the military, whether in peacetime at a permanent base or in a combat zone from local population.

Capability Development

Capability development, which is often referred to as the military "strength", is arguably one of the most complex activities known to humanity because it requires determining: Strategic, operational and tactical capability requirements to counter the identified threats; Strategic, operational and tactical doctrines by which the acquired capabilities will be used; identifying concepts, methods and systems involved in executing the doctrines; creating design specifications for the manufacturers who would produce these in adequate quantity and quality for their use in combat; purchase the concepts, methods and systems; create a forces structure that would use the concepts, methods and systems most effectively and efficiently; integrate these concepts, methods and systems into the force structure by providing military education, training, and practice that preferably resembles combat environment of intended use; create military logistics systems to allow continued and uninterrupted performance of military organisations under combat conditions, including provision of health services to the personnel and maintenance for the equipment; the services to assist recovery of wounded personnel and repair of damaged equipment; and finally post-conflict demobilisation and disposal of war stocks surplus to peacetime requirements. Development of military doctrine is perhaps the more important of all capability development activities because it determines how military forces were, and are used in conflicts, the concepts and methods used by the command to employ appropriately military skilled, armed and equipped personnel in achievement of the tangible goals and objectives of the war, campaign, battle, engagement, action or a duel.

Military Science

Because most of the concepts and methods used by the military, and many of its systems are not found in the commercial use, much of materiel is researched, designed, developed and offered for inclusion in arsenals by military science organisation within the overall structure of the military. Military scientists are therefore found to interact with all arms and services of the armed forces, and at all levels of the military hierarchy of command.

Although concerned with research into military psychology, and particularly combat stress and how it affect troop morale, often the bulk of military science activities is directed at the military intelligence technology, military communications and improving military capability through research, design, development and prototyping of weapons, military support equipment, and military technology in general that includes everything from global communication networks and aircraft carriers to paint and food.

Military Logistics

Possessing military capability is insufficient if this capability cannot be deployed for, and employed in combat operations. To achieve this, military logistics are used for the logistics management and logistics planning of the forces supply "tail", the consumables and capital equipment of the troops.

Although mostly concerned with the military transport as a means of delivery using different modes of transport from military trucks to container ships operating from permanent military base, it also involves creating field supply dumps in the rear of the combat zone, and even forward supply points in specific unit's tactical area of responsibility.

These supply points are also used to provide military engineering services such as the recovery of defective and derelict vehicles and weapons, maintenance of weapons in the field, the repair and field modification of weapons and equipment, and in peacetime the life-extension programs undertaken to allow continued use of equipment. One of the most important roles of logistics is the supply of munitions as a primary type of consumable, their storage and disposal.

Military Operations

While capability development is about enabling the military to perform its functions and roles in executing the defence policy, how personnel and their equipment are used in engaging the enemy, winning battles, successfully concluding campaigns, and eventually the war, is the responsibility of military operations. Military operations oversee the policy interpretation into military plans, allocation of capability to specific strategic, operational and tactical goals and objectives, change in posture of the armed forces, the interaction of combat arms, combat support arms and combat support services during combat operations, defining of military

missions and tasks during the conduct of combat, management of military prisoners and military civil affairs, and the military occupation of enemy territory, seizure of captured equipment, and maintenance of civil order in the territory under its responsibility.

Throughout the combat operations process, and during the lulls in combat military intelligence provides reporting on the status of plan completion and its correlation with desired, expected and achieved satisfaction of policy fulfilment.

Military Performance Assessment

The last requirement of the military is for military performance assessment and learning from it. These two functions are performed by military historians and military theorists who seek to identify failures and success of the armed force and integrate corrections into the military reform with the aim of producing an improved force capable of performing adequately should there be a national defence policy review.

4.3.2 Military Capability

Military capability is defined by the Australian Defence Force as "the ability to achieve a desired effect in a specific operating environment". It is defined by these interdependent factors: combat readiness and force structure.

In terms of technologies, weapons and equipment use, it represents assets that exist to perform specific functions in relation to requirements of the statement about present or future military operations as derived from the national defence policy/strategic as you can see in Figure 12.



Fig. 12: Military Capability

A national capabilities development plan seeks to provide a global understanding of capability needs, capability trends and potential capability shortfalls.

Military capability is often referred to in terms of low, medium and high, although this usually refers to the type, quantity and sophistication of technology being used in combat operations, and the severity of threat to security of the state.

4.3.2.1 Combat Readiness

Combat readiness is a condition of the armed forces and their constituent units and formations, warships, aircraft, weapon systems or other military technology and equipment to perform during combat military operations, or functions consistently with the purpose for which they are organised or designed, or the managing of resources and personnel training in preparation for combat. Most armed forces maintain varying levels of readiness by the troops to engage in combat due to economic considerations which vary often. You need to understand that in modern armed forces troops designated Special Forces are usually those kept at the highest state of readiness for

combat, and are often alerted only a few hours before being committed to combat. Where time is of the essence in military action being initiated, the troops, such as pilots of interceptor aircraft, may be kept in constant state of combat readiness.

4.3.2.2 Force Structure

A force structure is the combat-capable part of a military organisation which describes how military personnel, and their weapons and equipment, are organised for the operations, missions and tasks expected from them by the particular doctrine of the service or demanded by the environment of the conflict.

Force structuring considers the allocation of officers and other service men and women, their skills, and the relationship between their military units required to provide mutual support during military operations as a military capability of the armed forces in part or as a whole. The totality of the force structure committed to any given military operation, mission or task is called an order of battle. Force structure planning is imbued with its own peculiarities in that the organisation of the command structure within the order of battle is not usually reflected in the force structure, but rather, would only reflect the force command hierarchy and their relative deployment.

The adaptability of any force's force structure is usually tested in wartime to reflect changing nature of warfare, and therefore military doctrine, it usually entails for the participants. Force structure is also often shaped by forces of necessity when there is a lack of trained personnel, experience or appropriate equipment. Currently changes in force structure can be caused not only by changes in forms of warfare and doctrine, but also rapid change in technology and budgetary considerations based on the wider national economy.

Roles of the Military in Promoting the International System

In many countries around the world, the pursuit of foreign policy goals may involve use of military forces to participate in peacekeeping operations, military exercises and humanitarian relief missions, or to carry out more traditional military tasks such as the securing of borders. Here, we consider the growing importance of developing country militaries in global affairs, and the threats and opportunities this growth presents for infectious disease surveillance and control in civilian populations.

During the 1990s, military forces in developing countries comprised an increasing proportion of the global total military as the United States and other high-income countries made significant reductions in force size. According to one set of troop strength estimates, militaries in developing countries currently comprise 17 of the 25 largest active duty forces worldwide, with a combined total of 10.5 million of the 14.3 million personnel in these 25 forces.

Currently, military forces from developing countries are deployed to participate in many multinational operations. Increasing engagement abroad is evident in UN peacekeeping operations. Between 2001 and 2006, the number of high-income countries contributing military forces to UN peacekeeping operations decreased slightly from 24 to 23, and the number of military personnel contributed by high-income countries fell from about 8000 to 2000. During the same period, the number of developing countries contributing military forces increased from 53 to 73, and the number of personnel contributed nearly tripled, from about 22 000 to about 63 000.

Developing countries also supply forces to non-UN multinational missions. The African Union Mission in Sudan draws its approximately 7000 military personnel from Chad, Egypt, Gabon, the Gambia, Kenya, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, South Africa and Zambia. The Multinational Force and Observers in the Sinai Peninsula includes about 800 military personnel from Colombia, Fiji and Uruguay, in addition to contingents from Canada, European countries, New Zealand and the United States. As of January 2007, stability operations in Iraq included forces from 22 developing countries.

Military personnel from developing countries are frequent participants in multinational military exercises to improve collaboration and practise tactical plans with allies. For example, military forces and observers from 18 countries, including several in central and South America, exercise plans every year for defending the Panama Canal. Following the September 11, 2001 terror attacks, the United States military established the Combined Joint Task Force - Horn of Africa in Djibouti to assist countries in eastern African in combating terrorism. In a recent exercise led by Combined Joint Task Force - Horn of Africa, military forces from Kenya, Uganda, the United Republic of Tanzania and the United States practised a coordinated response to humanitarian emergencies.

Disaster relief missions also draw on military forces from developing countries. These forces made a significant contribution to the multinational response to the December 2004 Indian Ocean earthquake and tsunami. Militaries from Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Thailand, among others, contributed medical, logistical and engineering personnel, as well as aeroplanes, helicopters and ships.

Capabilities of the military in international system

The ideal for national governments in addressing their defence and security needs should be to agree an overall strategic assessment of the character and scale of the threats they face and seek to provide capabilities that can, as closely as possible, address these. However, the return of great-power, or state-on-state, competition, is leading to a renewed focus on how to assess relative military capability. In deciding what military capabilities to procure, or simply to maintain in service, political leaders and military planners have to find solutions that bring into some sort of equilibrium threat analysis, available resources and the level of ambition a country defines for itself.

In one, countries may be grouped into some form of structure, like tiers, without much supporting explanation. Another approach is to analyse military capability through complex frameworks drawing together judgments including on doctrine, organisation, training, materiel, leadership and education, personnel, facilities and interoperability, or, in UK terminology, Defence Lines of Development (DLODs – training, equipment, personnel, information, concepts and doctrine, organisation, infrastructure and logistics).

The Military Balance has since explored more qualitative elements of military capabilities, such as flying hours and the legislative hurdles that states have to overcome before they can deploy their military forces. Indeed, for a rigorous ranking of military power, a large number of quantitative and qualitative variables need to be assessed. However, for a basic judgment on what kind of military actor a country is and aspires to be, it should suffice to examine its core capability portfolio.

Watch the video below for more information on military competence



<https://youtu.be/BrWRaQo4dkg>



Self-Assessment Exercise

- i. According to the Australian Defence Force ----- is defined as "the ability to achieve a desired effect in a specific operating environment".
 - a. War b. Violence c. Military Capability d. Demonstration
- ii. Military intelligence is regarded as the basic need for the military to identify the possible threats it may be called upon to face.

True or False



4.4

Summary

The role of the military in the international arena cannot be overemphasised. It is no longer news that nations go to war with one another regularly, and for a nation to gain respect in the international arena, it requires a strong military base that has the capacity to withstand the enemy, at any time. The strength

of a nation's military also goes a long way in determining a nation's foreign policy. At home, the military is also very important, as it

serves as the custodian of peace and security within the nation, which is its traditional role. In this work, we also examined other issues pertaining to the military as a significant institution in any country.

To sum it all up, we surmise that civilian governments must play their part in keeping the military in its traditional role, because it is the general consensus among scholars that the worst civilian government is better than the best military government, in other words, the military should not participate in the political administration of government.



4.5

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4.6

Answers to the Self-Assessment Exercise

- i. (c)-Military Capability.
- ii. True.

MODULE 5: CONTEMPORARY GLOBAL SECURITY

Introduction

International community has come to a new term of new world order due to the menace of security threat ravaging human being. Base on this, the think-tanks have devised mechanisms to curb the various acts and bring peace among the nations. Therefore, this module explains in details what is terrorism and the mechanisms to curb and make the world a safer place.

Unit 1	Fundamentals of Global Security
Unit 2	Contemporary Security Threats
Unit 3	Diplomacy in International Relations
Unit 4	The Nature and Character of Terrorism

Unit I Fundamentals of Global Security

Unit Structure

- I.1 Introduction
- I.2 Learning Outcomes
- I.3 Main Content
 - I.3.1 Meaning of Global Security
 - I.3.2 Features of Global Security
 - I.3.3 Goals of Global Security
- I.4 Summary
- I.5 References/Further Reading/Web Resources
- I.6 Answers to the Self-Assessment Exercise



I.1 Introduction

This unit discusses a range of global contemporary security challenges providing a set of key concepts that help you develop an in-depth understanding of the post-Cold war geopolitical and strategic environment. It seeks to provide you with the analytical tools for analysing and assessing respective policy responses, and for developing critical perspectives that go beyond the mere explanation of political practice. In doing so, the course draws on issues of security, illustrating ways in which various approaches can serve as a framework for analysing global and regional security. The unit places particular emphasis on the dichotomy between problem-solving and critical approaches to the study of global security and this is also reflected in the way it is assessed: the policy brief challenges your problem-solving skills whereas the essay and the tutorial discussions give you room for critical reflection.



I.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Explain the meaning of Global Security.
- Analyse the features of Global Security.
- Analyse the various goals of Contemporary Global Security.



I.3 Main Content

I.3.1 Meaning of Global Security

From the earliest human records, warfare has been both an organizing focus and a prime source of political motivation. Countless battles have been fought in the course of colonizing the planet, and the experience has created a legacy of military confrontation that many people consider immutable. Since

preparations for war and the occasional conduct of it have been central preoccupations for virtually all the major states throughout time, it is widely assumed that the pattern is rooted in human nature and will endure indefinitely. But contemporary civilization is undergoing a monumental transformation affecting its most basic features. The combined effects of information technology, population dynamics, and the globalization of economic activity are altering some of the critical operating conditions of human societies and appear to be inducing a new pattern of interaction. Correspondingly, fundamental changes in the practice of war-or what is now more politely called global security-can be expected to follow.

Principles of Global Security anticipates the major implications of this

massive transformation for security policy. John D. Steinbruner, one of the nation's leading specialists on defense issues, identifies formative problems and organizing principles relating to the predictable issues of security. He examines in sequence how the configuration of nuclear and conventional forces might be affected, how the problems of communal violence and dangers of technical proliferation might be managed, and how security relationships among the major states might be altered. One of the fundamental implications of globalization in a post-cold war environment is a shift in security policy from deterrence to reassurance,

from active confrontation to cooperative engagement. Without an opponent to justify preparation for large-scale traditional missions, nations must establish safer and less volatile patterns of deployment. Maintaining global security in the 21st century calls for a reconfiguration of basic relationships among historical opponents, as well as revisions in military practices. This visionary work will stimulate productive thinking among policymakers seeking to reshape the legacies of the cold war with a new conceptualization of global security.

Global security can also be seen as human security which consists of two main components- freedom from fear and freedom from want. The list of human security threats is broad, but can be narrowed under seven main categories: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security, and political security.

1.3.2 Features of Global Security

Global security aims not only to promote cooperative interaction between states, but also peaceful coexistence between cultural groups and civilizations. It combines a proposed new classification of global security that comprises five dimensions of security - human, environmental, national, transnational, and transcultural security - and the idea that justice is a prerequisite for security. Specifically, the multi-sum security principle states that: "In a globalized world, security can no longer be thought of as a zero-sum game involving states alone. Global security, instead, has five dimensions that include human, environmental, national, transnational, and transcultural security, and, therefore, global security and the security of any state or culture cannot be

achieved without good governance at all levels that guarantees security through justice for all individuals, states, and cultures."

Global security includes military and diplomatic measures that nations and international organizations such as the United Nations and NATO take to ensure mutual safety and security. This unit provides analyses that help policymakers understand political, military, and economic trends around the world; the sources of potential regional conflict; and emerging threats to the global security environment.

There is a need to review international law and reform the major international security institutions so that they can effectively meet the new threats and challenges. The community of states must redefine some of the norms and principles of international law, in particular the principles of absolute sovereignty and non-intervention. Rules must be elaborated in domestic legislation for protecting the right of nations to self-determination both with regard to individuals and the participation of minority groups in public life. Thus, at the beginning of the new century the most important task is to promote democratization not only between states but also within them. The emergence of democracy as a universally accepted form of government is the crucial new organizing principle.

In his opening address to the conference Towards a Community of Democracies, held in Warsaw in June 2000 and attended by over 100 ministers of foreign affairs and other high representatives of the international community, Polish Foreign Minister Bronislaw Geremek asked 'Why democracy?' In answering this question, he presented five compelling reasons: (a) human rights; (b) peace and security, both within and between nations; (c) economic development and the well-being of individuals and whole societies; (d) justice and solidarity; and (e) participation, responsibility and empowerment of the individuals and social groups which form civil society and thus have a say in shaping government policy priorities.

The conference confirmed the participants' commitment to respect for the instruments of international law, recognized the universality of democratic values and stressed the interdependence between peace, development, human rights and democracy. An essential element of the Warsaw Declaration is that its 19 rules, described as the core democratic principles and practices, have traditionally belonged to the exclusive, discretionary competence of governments. The representatives of the democratic states and the 'emerging democracies' agreed to abide by these tenets in practice and 'to support one another in meeting these objectives which we set ourselves today'. The principles of democracy elaborated in the Warsaw Declaration include regular, free and fair elections—open to multiple parties, conducted by secret ballot, monitored by independent electoral authorities and free from fraud and intimidation. However, democracy is not confined to free elections only, as even today, many dictators enjoy the support of most of their constituencies.

1.3.3 Goals of Global Security

There are global public goals, the cooperative pursuit of which will amplify the capacity of nations to work together and find common ground in addressing issues where current differences preclude critical short-term progress. Some of these goals are issues of critical importance where the quality of life for billions of people is at stake. These include: ending terrorism, preventing pandemic diseases, obtaining cyber security and stable financial markets, and bringing about peaceful democratization in transitioning countries. There are other issues that challenge the very existence of civilization. Success in these arenas is imperative. Cooperation is an existential necessity. We must, for example, cooperate universally to achieve success in stabilizing the climate, protecting the oceans and rainforests, and ensuring that nuclear weapons are never used.

Achieving these goals, possibly even working cooperatively to move toward such achievements, will constitute global public common goods of the highest value. Failure to engage in such a new bold approach, commensurate with the unique challenges facing all of humanity today, will ensure immeasurable suffering. For example, predictions relating to a degraded climate by legions of incredible scientists range from disastrous to downright apocalyptic. We know that any use of a nuclear weapons will disrupt society in dramatic ways, but few recognize that a mere 100 blasts could push tons of material into the atmosphere causing a drop in climate and massive famine sufficient to kill billions from starvation and render civilization a meaningless dream of the past. There are over 17,000 of these horrific devices in the world with thousands poised and ready to strike in short order.

Moreover, these weapons constitute a wall of threat and fear between peoples and countries where bridges of trust and cooperation are required. The business community has figured out how to work in a coordinated manner, but the "security" community is still working with the mentality of existential adversity. Nuclear weapons exemplify this incoherence symbolically and in reality. The only guarantee that nuclear weapons will not be used is to eliminate them universally. There are immediate tangible steps that must be taken on the road to this goal: lower their political currency as well as their operational military posture of hair-trigger readiness; strengthen institutional verification and monitoring systems to inventory and control all nuclear weapons grade fissile materials; bring the test ban treaty into force; obtain a treaty ending any further production of weapons grade fissile materials; reduce arsenals minimal numbers; change the doctrines that guide policy decisions to eliminate roadblocks to disarmament progress: and, in diplomacy and law, establish the clearest framework for a legal, verifiable, enforceable, non-discriminatory, universal ban on these weapons.

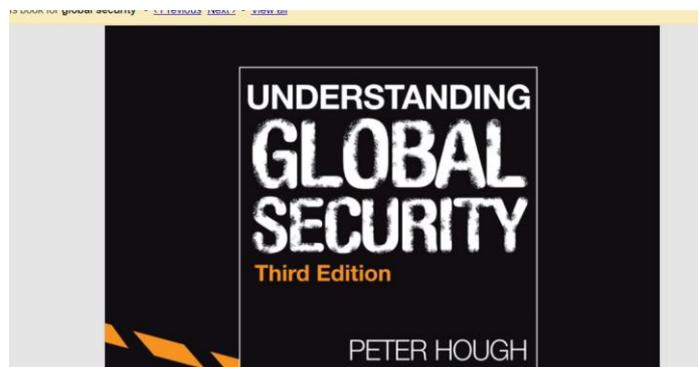
Without such steps, obtaining the cooperative environment required to address our critically important and existentially imperative concerns will remain problematic. We cannot at once threaten each other with annihilation and expect our pursuits requiring new levels of cooperation to succeed. Our shared vulnerabilities require a redefinition of security. In an interconnected

world our fates are connected. This obvious truth should compel us to more energetically minimize and ultimately resolve our differences in a spirit of peace and common need. For the sake of our survival we must succeed in obtaining the clarity of shared goals and galvanizing the creation of policies based on cooperation. We must do this for ourselves today and for future generations as well, for their well-being depends on our conduct today.

Every successful domestic legal system is based on principles of equity. The Golden Rule, in some iteration, is universal to all ethical systems, yet the international security community entirely neglects this lesson, and most glaringly in nuclear weapons policies. Imagine if the treaty banning biological weapons universally stated that while no country is allowed to use polio or small pox as a weapon, in the interest of strategic global stability "we" will permit nine countries to stockpile and threaten the use of the plague as a weapon. The world community would declare this an incoherent, unrealistic, and dangerous policy and this indictment would be correct. That is why we must correct the analogous example in the realm of nuclear weapons.

No country should have them and the failure to establish global norms against them makes stopping their spread very difficult and increases the likelihood of their use, by accident, madness or design. Pursuing the achievement of a universal ban on nuclear weapons - as not just a global common good but as a global common necessity - is accurate and empowering. Such an approach avoids repeating the errors of unsuccessful past attempts. Despite the pleas of numerous world leaders---which include nearly all Nobel Peace Laureates including President Obama, the overwhelming majority of nations, the unanimous ruling of the International Court of Justice, coalitions of powerful voices of US statesmen including Henry Kissinger, George Schultz, Sam Nunn, and William Perry, and diplomats, military leaders, and legions of experts around the world-- progress commensurate with the threat is lacking.

Read more on Global Security by clicking the link below:



https://books.google.com.ng/books?id=bvGMAgAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=global+security&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKewit_Zmzpcz9AhVbQPEDHaFABb0Q6AF6BAgEEAI#v=onepage&q=global%20security&f=false

Arguments posed by those who extol the perceived virtues of nuclear weapons--- that we need them to respond to unforeseen dangers and must maintain enough current nuclear capability to counter a first strike by another

country ---have not amplified our security at all, but delivered to the world enormous arsenals and no substantive operational plan to get rid of them. Advocacy for the elimination of nuclear weapons has not succeeded. One reason is that the debate is framed within a traditional 'national risk vs. benefit' analysis.

The debate poses the question incorrectly. It presumes that nuclear weapons provide a unique benefit to the security of privileged states, whilst also having controllable risks. On the other hand, most arms control advocates argue the risk is too great and that some having the weapons is a stimulant for proliferation. Even though this analysis is true, this approach to the debate has not succeeded. Counter arguments in the capitals of states with nuclear weapons consistently prevail and those who extol the value of nuclear weapons box the debate in an antiquated structure. Thus, in the risk/ benefit framework, it is difficult to overcome the argument that these weapons provide a beneficial deterrent against a potential, as yet unrealized, unforeseen, unknown, and unknowable threat. According to nuclear weapon advocates, we have a known, yet manageable risk, and an unknown risk could be far worse. They thereby successfully advance "the solution" of improving the management system by making concerted efforts to stop proliferation.

The reality is that nuclear weapons are a present, existential threat and do not provide national security. In fact, they constitute a pillar in a systemically dysfunctional international security order, which is not adequately addressing a set of pressing global threats. Nuclear weapons are a critical logjam for progress behind a large complex systemic problem: the lack of a sufficiently broad common security framework that integrates nuclear weapons elimination into the process of addressing all shared threats to human survival. So long as nuclear arms control practitioners insist on pursuing arms control and disarmament goals outside of a broader framework defined by cooperation and collective security, we will have a very hard time achieving success. We must place the elimination of nuclear weapons in the context of achieving the entire menu of existential global public goods.

Nuclear deterrence arguments must be framed within this more accurate context of holistic global sustainable security. Further, as part of our efforts to change the framework of debate, the issue must be placed in the context of accepted moral imperatives and existential necessities as part of changing the framework of the debate. We propose redefining security to meet critical and existentially imperative challenges. Success will be the obtaining of global common public goods of the highest value. These would be achievements worth celebrating.

So called "realists" who persist in asserting that international law, ethical principles in policy, finding common interests, are averse to the natural order and manner in which nations must behave are unable to come up with realistic solutions. They advocate the pursuit of a dominance model of security which we believe is unable to generate a sufficiently cooperative international order to respond to real security threats that have no military solution. Our new approach will focus on common goals and collective efforts

in a manner consistent with empirical, honest and accurate appraisals of our current existential situation and worthy of our highest ideals and most passionate efforts.



Self-Assessment Exercise

1. Goals of global security which are issues of critical importance to human existence include the following except one:
a) Ending terrorism b) Preventing pandemic diseases c) Obtaining cyber security d) All of the above.
- 2.) The features of global security combine a proposed new classification of global security that comprises new dimensions of security which include these apart from one:
a) Human b) Environmental c) transnational d) traditional



1.4 Summary

In this unit, you have learnt about the fundamentals of global security. We looked at the concept of global security, features of global security and even the goals of global security in a broader dimension. Students are expected to be able to understand the various dimensions of Global Security, its features, and goals. It is also believed, that students will explore their reading list in order to learn more on the subject of global security.

In all, this unit has dealt with the issue of global security which also includes military and diplomatic measures that nations and international organizations such as the United Nations and NATO take to ensure mutual safety and security.



1.5

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1.6

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise

- 1.) d) All of the above.
- 2.) d) traditional

Unit 2 Contemporary Security Threats

Unit Structure

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcomes
- 2.3 Main Content
 - 2.3.1 Meaning and Value of Contemporary Security Threats
 - 2.3.2 Characteristics of Security Threats
 - 2.3.3 Examples of Issues/Acts that Constitute Contemporary Security Threats
- 2.4 Summary
- 2.5 References/Further Reading/Web Resources
- 2.6 Self-Assessment Exercise(s)



2.1 Introduction

The reconceptualization of security has been triggered by the end of the Cold War, by the process of globalization, and by the gradual transition from the Holocene to the Anthropocene phase of earth history. From a philosophical perspective, in the contemporary security discussion the “dual moment of prevention and compensation of genuinely social and technical uncertainties” becomes decisive. These new uncertainties are no manifest or latent dangers emerging from individuals and societal groups that can be prevented by police and political measures but ‘societal risks. This implies that security is no longer a situation free of dangers, but rather an ‘insurance’ as a ‘technology of risks’ becomes a disposition of the social steering of modern societies.



2.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Examine the meaning and value of contemporary security threats
- Analyze the characteristics of security threats
- Explain the issues that constitute security threats



2.3 Main Content

2.3.1 Meaning and Value of Contemporary Security

With the shift of focus from protection against concrete dangers towards insurance in the context of abstract risks, security has become “a general ‘societal idea of value’ and a universally employed ‘normative concept’ that is used with different meanings in an affirmative manner.” Today ‘security’ as a political value, at least in Western thinking, has no independent meaning and is related to individual or societal value systems. As a social science concept, “security is ambiguous and elastic in its meaning.”

“Security, in an objective sense, measures the absence of threats to acquired values, in a subjective sense, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked”. From the perspective of social constructivist approaches in international relations ‘security’ is conceived as an outcome of a process of social and political interaction where social values and norms, collective identities and cultural traditions are essential. From this perspective, security is always intersubjective or “security is what actors make of it.” Again, security refers to an absence of objective dangers, i.e. of security ‘threats’, ‘challenges’, ‘vulnerabilities’ and ‘risks’, and of subjective fears or concerns, and to the perception thereof.

Security is achieved once the perception and fears of security ‘threats’, ‘challenges’, ‘vulnerabilities’ and ‘risks’ are allayed and overcome. While objective factors in the security perception are necessary, they are not sufficient. Subjective factors influence security perceptions. The perception of security dangers depends on the worldviews or traditions of the analyst and on the mind-set of policymakers that have often distorted the assessment of ‘new challenges’ and that “freeze international relations into crude images, portray its processes as mechanistic responses of power and characterize other nations as stereotypes”

While national security has the state as the major referent, human security has human beings and humankind as the referent. The answers to the questions of security for whom, from whom, by whom, of what values, from what threats and by what means differ fundamentally between both concepts. On the background of the observed widening, deepening and sectorialization of the security concept, this chapter reviews four objective security dangers and subjective security concerns often referred to as security ‘threats’, ‘challenges’, ‘vulnerabilities’ and ‘risks’, and the use of these basic concepts in different scientific research communities, especially those working on global environmental change, climate change, as well as hazards and disasters.

The state’s territory “can be threatened by seizure or damage, and the threats can come from within and outside of the state”. For Buzan different components of the state are vulnerable to different types of threats where

strong states are primarily threatened by outside forces while weak states may be challenged both from within and outside. From a national security perspective, scholars have distinguished between military threats (seizure of territory, invasion, occupation, change of government, manipulation of policy), economic threats (export practices, import restrictions, price manipulations, default on debt, currency controls etc., and those to domestic stability), and ecological threats (damaging the physical base of the state). These threats, Buzan (1983: 88) argued, “define [the state’s] insecurity, and set the agenda for national security as a security problem”.

These threats require understanding the state’s vulnerabilities. Weapons development as a combination of capabilities and intentions has been semi-independent from threats. Dealing with specific threats, an international security strategy focuses on “the sources and causes of threats, the purpose being not to block or offset the threats, but to reduce or eliminate them by political action.” (Hans Günter Brauch)

2.3.2 Characteristics of Contemporary Security Threats

Every nation faces threats. These threats can be social, such as aggression from a neighbouring country, infiltration from a terrorist group or global economic trends that compromise the nation’s welfare. In other cases, threats can be natural, such as hurricanes or viral pandemics. Any threat challenges a nation’s power and disrupts its well-being.

The field of national security safeguards against such threats. National security protects not only citizens but also the economic stability of national institutions. In the U.S., national defense has been a guiding principle of the government at least since 1947, when then-President Harry S. Truman signed into law the National Security Act.

Among other things, this legislation created the secretary of defense cabinet position, under whose leadership all branches of the military operated.

Crucially, national security and global security isn’t the same thing. National security involves a national government working autonomously to protect its citizens from threats. Global security involves a coalition of nations working together to ensure that each of them may enjoy peace and stability; this is a guiding principle of organizations like the United Nations.

One of the core responsibilities of national security is identifying potential dangers and readying the right response. This article will highlight five of the most consequential national security threats and provide insight into how governments respond to them. Anything that threatens the physical well-being of the population or jeopardizes the stability of a nation’s economy or institutions is considered a national security threat. National security threats can be further broken down into groups.

2.3.3 Issues that constitute Security Threats

Hostile Governments

Some national security threats come from foreign governments with hostile intentions. These threats may include direct acts of war and aggression. But they can also be subtler and harder to detect. Examples include espionage and election interference.

Terrorism

Countries also face threats from groups who don't formally represent a foreign government but may be sponsored or tolerated by foreign powers. Terrorist groups may seek to cause chaos and disruption through physical violence or, in some cases, cybercrime.

Proliferation

An enemy state doesn't have to take direct aggressive action for it to register as a potential threat to national security. The idea of proliferation, specifically with regard to advanced weaponry, may also be taken into account. If a hostile state is known to be stockpiling chemical weapons, developing nuclear capabilities or otherwise escalating its capacity for destruction, it qualifies as a national security threat, even without using those weapons in a direct attack.

Cybercrime

Online criminals pose a danger to national security, including those not associated with hostile governments or terrorist groups. Cybercriminals may hack economic institutions, government websites or power infrastructures as a way of stealing or extorting money. They may also commit cybercrimes to advance an ideological agenda as indicated in Figure 13.



Fig. 13: Cyber security

Natural Disasters and Diseases

Not all threats to national security involve the malignant influence of bad actors. Hurricanes, earthquakes and other natural disasters can pose serious damage to a nation's people and physical infrastructure. Pandemics like COVID-19 weaken health care systems and economies.

Pandemic Threats

For a recent example of a national security threat, look no further than the COVID-19 pandemic. While pandemics can unfold on a global scale, different countries face them in different ways, often to varying levels of success.

This still-unfolding global health crisis demonstrates how widespread disease endangers not only the physical wellness of citizens but also socioeconomic structures.



Self-Assessment Exercise

- i. Issues that constitute security threats include the following but one:
 - a) Terrorism
 - b) Sports development
 - c) Proliferation of Arms
 - d) Cybercrime.
- ii. The security actors in every society should include the following except
 - a. Government
 - b. Military
 - c. Political Elite
 - d. Vigilante



2.4

Summary

This unit has thrown light on some of the issues of contemporary security confronting the world. This unit took us through terrorism, proliferation of arms, cyber security and natural disasters as part of the major contemporary security threats in the world.

In summary, this unit re-emphasises the reality of security issues in the contemporary international system. Here, we are made to understand the workings of the critical variables when the issues of security and threats are concerned.



2.5

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2.6

Answers to the Self-Assessment Exercise

- i. b) Sports development
- ii. (d) Vigilante

Unit 3 Diplomacy in International Relations

Unit Structure

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 Main Content
 - 3.3.1 The Concept of Diplomacy
 - 3.3.2 Types and Functions of Diplomacy in International Relations
 - 3.3.2.1 Types
 - 3.3.2.2 Functions of Diplomacy
 - 3.3.3 Roles of Diplomacy and International Relations Especially During War Time
 - 3.3.3.1 Diplomacy also Reflects the Following Characteristics
- 3.4 Summary
- 3.5 References /Further Reading/Web Resources
- 3.6 Answers to the Self-Assessment Exercise(s)



3.1 Introduction

This unit focuses on the various issues about diplomacy as a means by which peace and security are maintained in the international system. Here, we would deal with all aspects of the subject matter.



3.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Explain the concept of diplomacy
- Analyse the types and function of diplomacy in international relations
- Evaluate the roles of diplomacy in international relations especially during war time



3.3 Main Content

3.3.1 The Concept of Diplomacy

Diplomacy can be regarded as the most fundamental means of seeking peace in the conduct of inter-state relations. The philosophical basis avers a scenario

whereby conflicting inter-state interests are resolved without resort to any form of conflict or war. It, therefore, presupposes a situation in which states assume the responsibility for ensuring peace, harmony and tranquillity in the international system, because they all have stakes in the system. Thus, no matter the level of opposition that the national interest of states may be, the overriding interest is that which encapsulates the interest of the entire system, which must be protected at all cost through non-military or violent means.

Diplomacy is therefore the tact and means of conducting international relations peacefully, with the sole aim of avoiding conflicts and wars. It is the art and practice of conducting negotiations between representatives of groups or states. Similarly, it can be referred to as the conduct of international relations through the intercession of professional diplomats concerning issues of peace-making, trade, war, economics, culture, environment and human rights.

The practice of diplomacy as an instrument by which the conduct of international relations is undertaken through peaceful means has undergone series of transformations over the various aeons. As the globe enters the various epochs, so does the practice of diplomacy adopt new methods, discard old unprofitable ways, to adapt to the current realities in the relationship among states. Being an instrument used specifically by state actors, it has evolved as a compilation of the norms, values, customs, and traditions of various states. In this respect, every state in the various era has contributed to the practice of diplomacy.

3.3.2 Types and Functions of Diplomacy

3.3.2.1 Types

Diplomacy exists in different ways and types, but the major and traditional types will be dealt with in this unit.

Bilateral diplomacy

This is the conduct of diplomacy between two sovereign states- this form of interaction between states is not an all-comers affair. Basically, it can consist of all patterns of relationships; economic political or cultural. The most fundamental principle is that the number of states involved is limited to two. Instructively, a particular state would tend to have bilateral relations with series of other states. This means that there are usually pockets of bilateral relations between states across the broad spectrum of the international system at any given time. Most often, trade agreements between two countries are typical examples of bilateral diplomacy.

However, there have been arguments among scholars that bilateral diplomacy has failed woefully in achieving the mandate that the conduct of diplomacy is meant to achieve. One of the most apparent examples of the failure is the outbreak of the First World War. It is believed that the complex pre-war

system of bilateral treaties had made it impossible to prevent the war. This argument is based on the belief that it was easier for nations to launch attacks on other nations that they had no treaties with. This allowed for encouraging aggressive adventures with reckless abandon, in the pursuit of national interest.

Similarly, bilateral diplomacy is regarded as overly protectionist, thereby shutting out non-treaty members in trade relations. This is somewhat disadvantageous, even to those states involved in such bilateral treaties. Specifically, the resort to bilateral trade agreements after the Great Depression was fingered for the deepening of the global economic downturn. Bilateral trade practices succeeded in producing a cycle of rising tariffs.

On a positive note, though, bilateralism possesses the flexibility and ease that is required for forging a common front and achieving common purposes. Furthermore, it favours the more powerful state, because, disparities in power, resources, finance, armament or technology are more easily exploitable in bilateral diplomacy.

Multilateral diplomacy

This refers to the conduct of diplomacy through the concerted efforts of multiple sovereign states. The underlining principle of multilateralism is that the creation of a broad-based avenue for discussing and taking action on issues concerning a single state, groups of states or multiple states would most likely prevent confrontation. Under the umbrella of multilateralism, states are encouraged to be allies and enjoined to fight for the cause of common humanity, rather than for narrow selfish interests.

The end of the Napoleonic wars ushered in the era of multilateralism to international relations. This encouraged the concert of Europe under the aegis of the Congress of Vienna in 1815. The main intention was to peacefully settle the issues that led to the outbreak of the Napoleonic Wars. This also encouraged the setting-up of the conference of Berlin in 1884 to dissuade European states from taking up arms against one another in their scramble for African colonies. This multilateral arrangement helped Europeans to peacefully share African territories.

Based on the inability to manage the complications arising from the creation of Germany, among other factors, cracks appeared in the Euro-centric system, and the First World War broke out. This however discouraged world leaders in their belief of the efficacy of multilateralism in assuring peace and harmony in the system, hence, the creations of the League of Nations after the First World War. But based on the contradictions inherent in the creation of the League of Nations, the Second World War broke out. Yet again after the war, the world took recourse to another multilateral organisation; the United Nations organisation. Indeed, the UN emerged as the true multilateral organisation principally as a result of the inclusion of the United States and USSR.

In the other forms of relationship, multilateralism has also become very relevant in the assurances of world peace and harmony. Thus, as against the continuation of bilateral relations, such multilateral organisations as the World Trade Organisation (WTO), World Health Organisation (WHO), International Telecommunications Union (ITU), among others have been established to foster peaceful and harmonious coexistence among states.

3.3.2.2 Functions of Diplomacy

As we have established, the main function of diplomacy is to ensure peaceful relations between countries. This might include negotiating trade deals, discussing mutual problems, implementing new policies, and tackling disputes. Diplomacy has existed since the beginning of the human race. The act of conducting negotiations between two persons, or two nations at a large scope is essential to the upkeep of international affairs. Among the many functions of diplomacy, some include preventing war and violence, and fortifying relations between two nations. Diplomacy is most importantly used to complete a specific agenda. Therefore, without diplomacy, much of the world's affairs would be abolished, international organizations would not exist, and above all the world would be at a constant state of war. It is for diplomacy that certain countries can exist in harmony.

There are in fact many functions of diplomacy that make diplomacy an essential ingredient for any peaceful and efficient change. The reason to negotiate with other persons has always been the same, to have better relations. Over the course of diplomacy being in existence, the structure of diplomatic posts has changed from a loose one to an organized institution made for a specific purpose. While the structure of diplomatic posts has changed, the functions always remained the same. There are four functions of diplomacy.

- The first function involves “representing a state's interests and conducting negotiations or discussions designed to identify common interests as well as areas of disagreement between the parties, for the purpose of achieving the state's goals and avoiding conflict”. Representations of a state as well as negotiation are the most important functions of diplomacy. Negotiations between two representatives are a key component in diplomacy, because in doing so the representatives find a common interest. Finding a common interest is vital in conducting negotiations because with a common interest representative are able to devise a solution that is in the interest of both sides.
- The second function of diplomacy involves “the gathering of information and subsequent identification and evaluation of the receiving state's foreign policy goals.” Diplomatic posts are concerned with gathering information; however, when the information is sent back to their native country a Foreign Ministry analyses the data and determines what foreign policy should be enacted. Political leaders choose what path is right for their country then.

- The third major function of diplomacy is expansion of political, economic, and cultural ties between two countries. For example, after WWII countries such as the United States and Britain aimed their foreign policy at the extermination of communism. In present day, the United States State Department engages international audiences to speak about politics, security, and their values to help create an environment receptive to US national interests. In addition, “the State Department annually sponsors more than 40,000 educational and cultural exchanges” (Diplomacy).
- Finally, the fourth function of diplomacy is that “diplomacy is the facilitating or enforcing vehicle for the observation of international law” (Ameri 2). It is the diplomat’s job to promote the country’s national interests and keep ties with other countries open. The emphasis put on diplomacy is not just dominant in today’s world; however it was a developing concept in the Renaissance as well.

3.3.3 Roles of Diplomacy in International Relations Especially During War Time

Diplomacy seeks to resolve conflict of interests among nations and to guarantee national interests in the international system. This is mostly in a non-violent manner. To achieve this, certain instruments are employed. The instruments of the statecraft include negotiation, persuasion, propaganda, mediation and conciliation, economic pressure, invocation of international judicial procedure, collective action through international security agencies, threat or demonstration of force, forceful measures short of war, full-blown war, or self-imposed isolation among others.

Negotiation

This involves the discussion among sovereign nation-states on issues of conflict or areas of co-operation to bring about some results, mostly in terms of agreed rules of conduct in their interaction or reciprocal obligation. Negotiations may proceed at any one of several levels and sometimes simultaneously at two or more levels i.e., could be directly between the head of government (summit level), correspondence or talks between foreign ministers (conference) or at plenary level among ambassadors of countries at international fora, e.g., UN general assembly.

Persuasion

Another basic technique of diplomacy is persuasion. This is an act of persuading or eliciting desired response or favourable reaction from the representative of another government by inducement, appeals to reason, magnanimity, self-respect, pride or even fear. At times, it could involve moral suasion or dissuasion of a country from embarking on a disastrous action. Through manipulation of words or press statements, statesmen and diplomats seek favourable responses to their policies and actions. At the failure of persuasion, attempts are made for compromises.

Propaganda

This is the deliberate manipulation of symbols to affect men's ideas, attitudes or behaviour in a particular way. It consists of messages in a context of action. It is aimed at psychological manipulation of opponents and attraction of sympathy, widespread support and approval. The purpose is to inspire the audience to act in a particular way. Most often it involves the distortion and upending of facts and reality. It was a prominent instrument during the Cold War era.

Mediation and conciliation

When nations cannot achieve or reach agreements through their resources, a third party may offer its good offices to help the disputant reach a compromise by providing an amicable platform for settlement. It does not only act as a channel of communication; it also offers suggestions for resolution.

Coercion

It is one of the forceful acts, which does not involve physical violence but is instituted to get the cooperation of the other parties involved. It could be the withdrawal of diplomatic relations as a coercive element. It may also involve issuing an ultimatum. It could involve the imposition of economic sanctions on opponents for defaulting on negotiated or bargained outcomes.

Judicial proceedings

This is the instrument of a nation-state availing itself of the international judicial court system, in most cases, following the ineffectiveness of bilateral diplomacy. Cameroon adopted this in its relation with Nigeria over the Bakassi Peninsula.

Arbitration

Nations sometimes resort to international arbitration when faced with a specific question or point of contention in need of resolution. For most of history, there were no official or formal procedures for such proceedings. They were generally accepted to abide by general principles and protocols related to international law and justice. Sometimes these took the form of formal arbitrations and mediations. In such cases, a commission of diplomats might be convened to hear all sides of an issue and to come to some sort of ruling based on international law. In the modern era, much of this work is often carried out by the International Court of justice at the Hague, or other formal commissions, agencies and tribunals, working under the United Nations.

Conferences

Other times, resolutions were sought through the convening of international conferences. In such cases, there are fewer ground rules and fewer formal

applications of international law. However, participants are expected to guide themselves through principles of international fairness, logic, and protocol.

Some examples of these formal conferences are:

- Congress of Vienna (1815) – After Napoleon was defeated, many diplomatic questions were waiting to be resolved. This included the shape of the map of Europe, the disposition of political and nationalist claims of various ethnic groups and nationalities wishing to have some political autonomy, and the resolution of various claims by various European powers.
- the Congress of Berlin (June 13 – July 13, 1878) was a meeting of the European Great Powers and the Ottoman Empire's leading statesmen in Berlin in 1878. In the wake of the Russo-Turkish War, 1877–78, the meeting aimed to reorganise conditions in the Balkans.

3.3.3.1 Diplomacy also reflects the Following Characteristics

Diplomacy as a reflection of world politics

The rules and rituals of international diplomacy have never been a self-contained system. The picture of the diplomat as an impeccably mannered aristocrat exchanging toasts, repartee, and subtle threats with his counterparts is a caricature derived from the Parisian scene in the court of Louis XIV. Rather, the protocols of diplomacy have always been a subsystem of the more comprehensive system of political relationships prevailing during a particular era among various sets of countries and international organisations. Thus, as world politics have evolved, so have the rituals, forms, and objectives of diplomacy, even though its most basic function to forge agreements among international actors has persisted.

The Requisites of effective diplomacy

Diplomacy in the world polity, like legislation in domestic politics, is directed toward getting parties to agree on a particular course of action (or inaction), so they will not have to be physically forced to accept it. But unlike the domestic legislative process, in which it is sufficient to obtain agreement among a controlling majority for the course of action to take place, in international diplomacy each participating state normally has the recognized unilateral right to accept or refuse what even a substantial majority of the states have agreed upon. (The major exception to this norm is the UN Security Council's authority, in situations threatening international peace and security, to order all states to obey its resolution.) Thus, diplomatic strategies must always be targeted specifically on each state whose adherence to an agreement is sought. Each state must be convinced that its interests will be

better served by agreeing to the arrangements under discussion than by refusing to agree.

Effective diplomacy, accordingly, requires the ability to induce agreement from states that may initially be opposed to a contemplated arrangement, but whose acquiescence is essential for its realization. Skilful diplomats can secure favourable terms for their countries by persuasively outlining the benefits and costs their counterparts can expect from alternative arrangements. This requires a detailed and accurate understanding of both the material conditions and the political circumstances (domestic and international) of the countries involved in a particular diplomatic encounter.

States with the material resources to affect their counterparts' preferences for alternative outcomes by credibly offering to provide valued objects ('carrots') or threatening to apply uncomfortable or painful sanctions ('sticks') have traditionally enjoyed an enormous advantage in the arenas of international diplomacy. But increasingly, states, international organisations, and political movements, deficient in the relevant material assets can redress such resource-power imbalances through artful appeal to, and manipulation of, the cultural and political values of the parties to a negotiation, other governments, and implicated transnational and sub-national groups. Success in regional and global coalition-building (what used to be called 'balance of power politics'), now penetrating beyond the crust of state sovereignty, has become the most important requisite of effective diplomacy, especially the new diplomacy.



Self-Assessment Exercise

- i. Mention the types of Diplomacy
 - a. Military Diplomacy b. Police Diplomacy c. Bilateral Diplomacy d. Education Diplomacy
- ii. The following are considered as techniques of diplomacy but one.
 - a. Fighting b. Negotiation c. Persuasion d. Propaganda



3.4

Summary

Finally, diplomacy is seen as fundamental to international relations. The art of diplomacy has been able to contain the possibilities of violent confrontations in the international system. The various modes and methods of diplomacy have been most relevant in curtailing the outbreak of major international wars.

In summary, the unit captured the relevant issues of diplomacy like the functions and the various types of diplomacy open to state actors in the international system.



3.5

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3.6

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise

- i. (c) Bilateral Diplomacy
- ii. (a) Fighting

Unit 4: The Nature And Character Of Terrorism

Unit Structure

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Learning Outcomes
- 4.3 Main Content
 - 4.3.1 Meaning of Terrorism
 - 4.3.2 Characteristics/Features of Terrorism
 - 4.3.2.1 Individual Terrorist Act
 - 4.3.2.2 Group terrorism
 - 4.3.2.3 State Terrorist Act
 - 4.3.3 Multiple Interpretations of Terrorist Acts
 - 4.3.4 War against Terrorism
- 4.4 Summary
- 4.5 References/Further Readings/Web Resources
- 4.6 Answers to the Self-Assessment Exercise



4.1

Introduction

Of the current most potential or actual, global threat to humanity, terrorism, or the threat of it, marks a significant challenge to world peace and harmony. The concept of terrorism, however, like most other concepts in the study of international relations has different meanings to different scholars. By way of consensus, however, the act of terrorism suggests imminent destruction of life and properties by aggrieved individuals, acting for themselves or on behalf of their organisations, groups, sects or states. This unit is the last of the subjects on the conditions of an archaic international system. Terrorism as a global phenomenon is comprehensively treated to allow for a deep understanding of the phenomenon.



4.2

Learning Outcomes

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

- Explain the concept of Terrorism
- Analyse the characteristics of Terrorism
- Analyse the Terrorism Acts in international system
- Appraise international wars against terrorism



4.3

Main Content

4.3.1 Meaning of Terrorism

Scholars of international relations and security studies have tried over the years to explain what is meant by the concept of terrorism. Given this, divergent explanations have emerged to provide for the explications of the term. Here, terrorism is seen as consisting of deliberate acts of a physical or psychological nature perpetrated on select groups of victims. It intends to mould the thinking and behaviour not only of these targeted groups but more importantly, of a larger section of society that identifies or share the views and aspirations of the targeted groups or who might easily be led to do so. The terrorists intend to intimidate or coerce both groups by causing them intense fear, anxiety, apprehension, panic, and/or horror as indicated in Figure 14.



Fig. 14: Terrorism

The groups that have been directly targeted experience these emotions to a much higher degree than the larger sections of society that the terrorist act is also intended to intimidate and coerce. The overall purpose of terrorism is to intimidate and coerce, not to eliminate a group physically or socially. The latter is called genocide. Terrorism refers more to unleashing terror against perceived enemies and their symbols. It is a violent way of showing grievances by aggrieved persons believed to have been deprived of their right to exist, survive economically or practice their beliefs. It presupposes, therefore, a reactionary application of tact to call attention to a particular peoples' course.

4.3.2 Characteristics/Features of Terrorism

Terrorist acts are manifested in various forms, driven by the intentions and capabilities of the terrorists. Essentially, the goal of the terrorist is fundamental to the terrorist act being perpetrated. Thus, individuals, groups and even states have been found engaging in terrorist activities. All of these shall be treated below.

4.3.2.1 Individual Terrorist Act

In most cases, the act of terrorism is carried out individually. It takes an individual to take the difficult decision of committing suicide before an act of terrorism become visible on a world scale. Most local and international terrorist groups do not exist without leaders, with international clout. Al Qaeda, for instance, has suffered a major setback since the demise of its leader, Osama bin Laden. Before now, two Libyans were arrested for their complicity in the December 21, 1988 Lockerbie bombing. Also, Ahmed Khalfan Ghailani, a Tanzanian, was arrested in Pakistan in connection with the Al-Qaeda's bombing of the U.S. embassies in East Africa in 1998, and Nigerian Muhammad Abdul Mutalab was sentenced recently to a life imprisonment in a U.S. court for attempting to bomb a US Airplane in December 2009. All of these individuals have engaged in individual terrorism. But certainly, they did not operate in isolation but rather in connection with a highly organised hierarchical group of individuals.

4.3.2.2 Group Terrorism

This is also known as organisational terrorism. It refers to the increasing capacity of global terrorists to acquire more members, greater geographic reach, high level of ideological sophistication and wider influence and impacts. Al-Qaeda, for example, has as its major goal: "the unification of other militant Islamist groups under its strategic leadership. Thus, after fleeing Afghanistan to Pakistan in 2001, the group founded a regional branch in the Arabian Peninsula and acquired franchises in Iraq and the Maghreb" (Farrall, 2001). This explains why even if we conceive that the group is losing grasp on its subjects, as a result of the big blow recently dealt on it by the United States Marine Corps, we cannot afford to underestimate the possibility of recuperation through its various subsidiaries.

Click on the link below to watch a video on the character of terrorism



<https://youtu.be/YHmRcY5JXsg>

Farrall (2001) argues that such treatment of the central al Qaeda separately from its subsidiaries overlooks its success in expanding its power through them. He, therefore, warned that the sub-groups should not be ignored because all have attacked western interests in their regions of operations. For emphasis, al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) has long targeted the

United States, but its efforts have moved beyond the execution stage only in the last two years, most recently with the foiled plot to bomb cargo planes in October 2010. Also, even though al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) has not yet attacked outside its own region, al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) was reportedly involved in the June 2007 London and Glasgow bomb plots. All these, notwithstanding, some states have also been accused of terrorist acts as we explain briefly below.

4.3.2.3 State Terrorism

Oftentimes, the vanity of conceptualization of individual and group terrorism is defeated by the understanding that the terror of the state is often historically antecedent to revolutionary terrorism masterminded by individuals or groups. Washington publishes an annual list of governments that it alleges aid terrorists. Typically, this list contains a majority of governments of Arab states plus Iran, Cuba and North Korea. This highlights the importance of how terrorism is defined. But according to Frederick Gareau (2004), if state terrorism were included in the definition, Washington would have to include itself on the list.

4.3.3 Multiple Interpretations of Terrorist Acts

We should be careful when we discuss terrorism in international security studies, so that we do not fall victims of personalised restricted interpretations of the concept by certain states and individual actors. The pursuit of a selfish (often referred to as national) interest by states in the international system may, as well, most times seem an act of terrorism. In the same token, diplomats often formulate definitions to satisfy their particular social agendas.

This is because, it is believed that one man's terrorist is another's freedom-fighter. For instance, the South African government passed an anti-terrorist law in 1967 which viewed the phenomenon in such a manner that virtually any political or social act came under its purview. Cooperating with UNICEF to reduce infant mortality or revealing the misconduct of a state official could have been constructed as "terrorism" by the white South African government of that time. P.W. Botha, the head of the Apartheid government, characterised Nelson Mandela, the head of the African National Congress, as a "communist terrorist".

On the other hand, the American Democratic Party's 1998 platform refers to South Africa as a "terrorist state". Explanations on what constitutes terrorism remain vague and very ambiguous, even the ones provided by the United Nations. The world body of states has not been able to define terrorism by way of separating individual, groups and state terrorisms. What the organisation has successfully done is the condemnation of the act of terrorism.

Explanations for acts of terrorism should not be sought in the predispositions of diplomats for meticulous precision. This is because diplomats are to operate in that murky realm that mixes semantics with politics, and politics

has dominion. Diplomats on any given side of an issue are forced to promote certain political agendas, and, to reiterate the well-known saying: “one man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter”. The anti-colonial developing countries exempted guerrillas fighting for independence from this denomination. The United Nations did recognise the legitimacy of liberation movements fighting for independence, but that still leaves open the question of how the fight was carried on. Washington either excused infractions committed by those developing world governments it supported, or labelled them “violators of human rights” rather than the more abusive term of terrorism. Students should be able to lucidly explain what actions are qualified to be taken as terrorism.

4.3.4 War against Terrorism

This would be examined in three dimensions namely:

- The roots of the war on terrorism
- The nature of the war on terrorism
- War on terrorism as a form of a counter-terrorism.

A. The roots of the war on terrorism

The purpose of examining the roots of the war on terrorism is to expose how the present war on terrorism began as Washington’s counterinsurgencies in the Middle East. The United States of America, in the past, supported the Shah of Iran and Saddam Hussein of Iraq, who after the Iranian revolution invaded Iran and fought a bloody war with it for eight years; and for Israel that has fought and terrorized Palestinians for over a century. It is a common knowledge that during the Cold War-counterinsurgency period, Washington viewed its enemies as communist-inspired insurgencies- as well as political movements charged as being so inspired or simply leftist movements.

B. The nature of the war on terrorism

Contemporary war on terrorism is a messianic, apocalyptic struggle of blameless good against consummative evil, tagged “axis of evil nations”. The primary enemy seems to be religious bigotry and terror, and not atheist as the previous enemy was. It is needless to mention that accusing fingers are often pointed at Israel as state that practices state terrorism and by supplying military and economic aid, Washington is an accomplice.

C. The war on terrorism as a form of counter-terrorism

It is believed in certain quarters that the aid and support that Washington currently gives to states to wage the war on terrorism has features in common with the aid and support previously provided to states that practiced state terrorism during the Cold War. “This parallel is scary”. The act of the U.S. special forces and that of the CIA have been described as counterterrorism, the re-baptised version of counter-insurgency.



Discussion:

In your own view and understanding, do you think Nigeria is winning the war against Boko Haram? What other options or ways can Nigeria exploit in curbing terrorism?



Self-Assessment Exercise

- i. War on terrorism is approached through some dimensions which includes one of the following.
 - a. The roots of the war on terrorism
 - b. Demonstrations
 - c. Protests
 - d. End Sars.
- ii. Characteristics of terrorism include the following except one
 - a. Group Terrorism
 - b. Aluta
 - c. individual Terrorism
 - d. State Terrorism



4.4

Summary

In this unit, you have learnt about terrorism in its various dimensions and explanations. The role of the United States in the encouragement, the spread and the war against terror were highlighted and the focus on the extant face of terrorism was explained. Students are expected to be able to differentiate between individual, group and state terrorism at the end of the course. Indeed, there are other subtle forms of terrorism that students need to understand. Explore this on your own.

It is now well known to us that the act of terrorism is not an end in itself but a means to an end. Those who engage in the terrorist activities often do so to react to certain actions of their victims or their governments in the past. It is also very obvious that many of the fight against terrorism have actually succeeded in promoting it, since those championing the fight are now guilty of counter-terrorist activities. The course has therefore showed us that the war against terrorism will become more meaningful and more justifiable only if those in charge champion the course of equity, probity and justice.



4.5

References/Further Readings/Web Resources

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4.6

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise

- i. (a) the roots of the war on terrorism
- ii. (b) Aluta