



**NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA**

**SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**COURSE CODE:PCR 421**

**COURSE TITLE:INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS  
AND PEACE BUILDING**



**PCR 421  
INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS AND PEACE  
BUILDING**

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Published by  
National Open University of Nigeria

Printed 2009

ISBN: 978-058-559-1

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## **Introduction**

Welcome to PCR 421: International Organisations and Peace Building.

PCR 421 is a three – unit course that has a minimum duration of one semester. It is suitable for the students of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution. The course consists of twenty one units and a Course Guide. The course has been designed to suit the prevailing situation within the various international organisations in their peace-building activities, especially on the African continent and other developing nations of the world.

The Course Guide tells you briefly what the course is all about, course materials to consult and how to get the optimum from them. It suggests some guidelines on the time needed in each study unit of the course. It also tailors your mind on your tutor-marked assignments.

You are advised to attend tutorial classes to discuss the problems with the course facilitators at the study centre.

## **Course Aims**

The Aims of this course are to:

- 1.0 Introduce you to the evolution of international organisations and reasons behind their establishment;
- 2.0 Enable you understand how they have fared so far, taking into focus their agencies;

3.0 Identify genuine efforts, core constraints and challenges in the field of global peace.

## **Course Objectives**

International Organisations and Peace Building as a course, takes you into an analytical discourse on the role of the various international organisations in pursuance of global peace. Consequently, the main objectives of the course include the following:

- i. Introducing the students to the definition, meaning and workings of international organisation towards global peace pursuance.
- ii. Identifying some constraints militating against the roles of the international organisation and giving recipe for them.
- iii. Explaining the need to nurture global peace through open economic policy for the overall benefit of mankind.
- iv. Emphasising the need for the major powers to focus more on the policy of teaching the under-developed nations how to fish and not just dolling out fish to them.
- v. Emphasising the need to respect international law in the face of any conflict.
- vi. Explaining the need to building sustainable peace through pre-conflict peace-building mechanisms and encouraging the formation of more regional organisations due to the proximity of regions to the theatres of conflict than international organisations with headquarters several thousands of miles away.

## **Working through This Course**

You are advised to read the study units, recommended books and other materials provided by NOUN to enable you complete this course. Each unit contains self assessment exercises and at some points in the course, you are required to submit assignments for assessment purposes. At the end of the course, there is a final examination. The course should take you about twenty weeks to complete. You need to allocate your time in order to complete the course successfully and on time.

## **Course Materials**

The major components of the course are:

- Course Guide
- Study Units
- Text Books and References
- Assignment File

## Study Units

There are twenty one study units and a study guide in this course, and they are as follows:

### **Module 1 Conceptualising International Organisation and Peace Building**

- Unit 1 Defining International Organisation and Peace Building
- Unit 2 International Organisations and Peace Building: Evolution
- Unit 3 International Organisations and Peace Building: Brief Analysis of Their Organs and Roles
- Unit 4 International Organisations and Peace Building: Constraints

### **Module 2 The Agents of Transformation in International Organisation and Peace Building**

- Unit 1 State and Non-State Actors in the Promotion of a Just and Peaceful Society
- Unit 2 Concept of Sovereignty in Relation to International Organisation and Peace Building
- Unit 3 Foreign Policies of the Major Powers as Facilitators or Conflict Generators in International Organisations and Peace Building
- Unit 4 The Role of Municipal and International Laws as They Affect International Organisations and Peace-Building
- Unit 5 Causes of International Conflicts

### **Module 3 Conceptual Framework: Peacemaking, Peace Keeping, Peace Enforcement, Their Problems and Structures in Global Politics**

- Unit 1 Definition of Peace Making, Peace Keeping, Peace Enforcement and Specific Case Studies
- Unit 2 Problems Associated with Peace Making, Peace Keeping, and Peace Enforcement in Africa
- Unit 3 United Nations and Peace Keeping Force
- Unit 4 International Organisations as Structures of Global Politics

### **Module 4 Roles of International Organisations in International Affairs**

- Unit 1 The Primary Roles of International, Continental and Regional Organisations in International Affairs and Peace Building
- Unit 2 A Critical Review of the Performance of the International, Continental and Regional Organisations in Their Efforts at Maintaining International Peace and Security
- Unit 3 The Role of International Court of Justice and Some Relevant Case Studies in Pursuance of Peace and Security
- Unit 4 Issues and Challenges in the Field of Global Peace

**Module 5 Emphasis on Pre-Conflict Peace Building in the International Community**

- Unit 1 Conflict Management and the Roles of Super-Powers in International Affairs
- Unit 2 A Review of The World's Economic Order as a Peace Building Phenomenon
- Unit 3 The World as a Global Village in the Context of International Peace and Security
- Unit 4 The Future of International Organisations in the Pursuance of Peace Building Activities

Module 1 gives a conceptual clarification of various international organisations and their evolution. Module 2 examines the pivotal role of state and non-actors and foreign policy of major powers as they affect the basic tenets for which the International Organisations were set up in their pursuit of global peace while Module 3 examines some specific problems associated with peace-building structures in global politics.

Module 4 goes into a deep discourse on the roles of the various international organisations and agencies, particularly the International Court of Justice, with some relevant case studies. Finally, Module 5 talks about the need to place emphasis on pre-conflict peace-building in the international community.

### **Text Books and References**

Some books have been recommended in the course. You are advised to consult them for further reading.

### **Assessment**

There are two aspects of the assessment in this course: Tutor-marked assignments and students self assessment exercises. You are expected to apply knowledge acquired during the course as well as knowledge gained in these recommended books for further reading. The Tutor-Marked Assignments must be submitted to your tutor for formal

assessment in accordance with the deadlines stated in the presentation schedule and the assignment file. The work that you submit to your tutor for assessment will count for 30% of your total score.

### **Tutor-Marked Assignment**

There is a tutor-marked assignment at the end of every unit. You are required to attempt the assignments. You will be assessed on all of them but the best four performances will be used for assessment. Each of the four selected will come from the five areas covered in the course namely: Conceptualising international organisations and peace-building, the agents of transformation in international organisations and peace-building, problems associated with peace-building generally, roles of the international court of Justice towards world peace, and lastly, the need to nurture peace through pre-conflict peace-building mechanisms. The assignments carry 10% each.

When you have completed each assignment, send it together with a (tutor marked assignment) form to your tutor. Make sure that each assignment reaches your tutor on or before the deadline. 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. Extension will not be granted after the due date unless under exceptional circumstances.

### **Final Examination and Grading**

The final examination for PCR 421: International Organisations and Peace building will be for 3 hours duration and will carry 70% of the total course grade. The examination will consist of questions which reflect the kind of the self assessment exercises and the tutor-marked questions you have previously encountered. You should use the time between completing the last unit, and taking the examination to revise the entire course. You may find it useful to review your self assessment exercises and tutor-marked assignments before the examination.

### **Course Marking Scheme**

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

<b>ASSESSMENT</b>	<b>MARKS</b>
Assignments 1-4	Four assignments, best three marks of the four count as 30% of course marks
Final Examination	70% of overall course score
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100%</b>



**Course Overview/Presentation Schedule**

<b>Unit</b>	<b>Title of Work</b>	<b>Week's Activity</b>	<b>Assessment (End of Unit)</b>
	Course Guide		
<b>Module 1</b>			
1	Defining International Organisations and Peace Building	1	Assignment 1
2	International Organisations and Peace Building – Evolution	1	Assignment 2
3	International Organisations and Peace Building – Brief Analysis of Their Organ and Roles	1	Assignment 3
4	International Organisations and Peace Building – Constraints	1	Assignment 4
<b>Module 2</b>			
1	State and Non-State Actors in the Promotion of a Just and Peaceful Society	1	Assignment 1
2	Concept of Sovereignty in Relation to International Organisations and Peace Building	1	Assignment 2
3	Foreign Policies of the Major Powers as Facilitators of Peace or Conflict Generators in International Organisations and Peace Building	1	Assignment 3
4	The Role of Municipal and International Laws as They Affect International Organisations and Peace-Building	1	Assignment 4
5	Causes of International Conflicts	1	Assignment 5
<b>Module 3</b>			
1	Definition of Peace Making, Peace Keeping, Peace, Enforcement and Specific Case Studies	1	Assignment 1
2	Problems Associated with Peace Making, Peace Keeping and Peace Enforcement in Africa	1	Assignment 2
3	United Nations and Peace Keeping Force	1	Assignment 3
4	International Organisations as Structures of Global Politics	1	Assignment 4
<b>Module 4</b>			
1	The Primary Roles of International,	1	Assignment 1

	Continental and Regional Organisations in International Affairs and Peace Building		
2	A Critical Review of the Performance of the International, Continental, and Regional Organisations in Their Efforts at Maintaining International Peace and Security	1	Assignment 2
3	The Role of International Court of Justice and Some Relevant Case Studies in Pursuance of Peace and Security	1	Assignment 3
4	Issues and Challenges in the Field of Global Politics	1	Assignment
<b>Module 5</b>			
1	Conflict Management Technique and the Roles of Super Powers in International Affairs	1	Assignment 1
2	A Review of the World's Economic Order as a Peace Building Phenomenon	1	Assignment 2
3	The World as a Global Village in the Context of International Peace and Security	1	Assignment 3
4	The Future of International Organisations in the Pursuance of Peace-Building Activities	1	Assignment 4
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>21</b>	

### How to Get the Most from This Course

In distance learning, the study units replace the lecturer. The advantage is that you can read and work through the study materials at your pace, time, and place that suit you best. Think of it as reading the lecture notes instead of listening to a lecturer. Just as a lecturer might give you in-class exercise, your study units provide exercises for you to do at appropriate times. Each of the study unit follows the same format. The first item is introduction to the subject matter of the unit and how a particular unit is integrated with other units and the course as a whole. Next 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. You should use these objectives to guide your study. When you have finished the unit, you should go back and check whether you have achieved the objective or not. If you make a habit of doing this, you will significantly improve your chances of passing the course. Self assessment exercises

are interspersed throughout the units and answers are within the unit contents. Working through these tests will help you to achieve the objectives of the units and prepare you for the assignments and the examination. You should tackle each self assessment exercise as you come across it in the study units.

### **Facilitators/Tutors and Tutorials**

There are 15 hours of tutorials provided in support of the 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 to enable him provide assistance to you during the course. You must send your tutor-marked assignments well before the due date. They will be marked by your tutor and returned to you as soon as possible. Do not hesitate to contact your tutor by telephone or e-mail if you need help. Contact your tutor if:

- You do not understand any part of the assigned readings;
- You have difficulty with the self assessment exercise;
- You have a question or a problem with an assignment with your tutor's comment or with the grading of an assignment.

You should try your best to attend tutorials. This is the only way 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 benefit from course materials, prepare a question list before attempting them. You will gain a lot from participating actively.

### **Summary**

PCR 421 aims to introduce students of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution programme, to how they can apply the benefits, gained from this course in understanding their immediate environment. In Africa, and in many other third world countries of the global community, activities of several international organisations in areas of pre and post conflict peace-building ventures are visible. The absence of a full scale third world war since 1945 and efforts at turning the heterogeneous international community into a global village, through various initiatives is largely attributable to the activities of these international organisations. Despite pockets of conflicts in some parts of the world, these international organisations often make their services available, at very great risk. Concerted efforts must now be made by various countries to strengthen their support for these international organisations

through the removal of encumbrances by powerful nations as well as obnoxious governance by many leaders of the third world. Bad governance leads to system collapse and serious economic crises. What follow will be violent conflicts resulting in serious refugee problems thus endangering global peace

From the foregoing, it is clear that this course is essential as it will enable you to understand the dynamics of building and maintaining peace, and resolving conflicts in your community, Nigeria, and by extension, the larger global community.

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Published by  
National Open University of Nigeria

Printed 2009

ISBN: 978-058-559-1

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## **MODULE 1      CONCEPTUALISING INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION AND PEACE BUILDING**

Unit 1	Defining International Organisation and Peace Building
Unit 2	International Organisations and Peace Building: Evolution
Unit 3	International Organisations and Peace Building: Brief Analysis of Their Organs and Roles
Unit 4	International Organisations and Peace Building: Constraints

### **UNIT 1      DEFINING INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION AND PEACE BUILDING**

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2.0	Objectives
3.0	Main Content
	3.1 Definition of Terms
	3.2 Peace Building
4.0	Conclusion
5.0	Summary
6.0	Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0	References/Further Readings

#### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

The world has become a global village through various institutions that have brought sovereign states together, for the overall propagation of world peace and harmony.

Despite the existence of these organisations, we hear and read daily through the media, both local and international, the unease that has permeated world politics. The obvious neighbourhood effect a warring nation, with unresolved internal strife, would exhibit on the adjoining states and sub-region can not be over emphasized. The world will be a better place for us all if we reflect on the basics that compelled a hitherto heterogeneous world into a homogenous society. The pride of liberty, we are told, is external vigilance. This unit, therefore, is to enable you understand the concept of international organisations with a view to understanding their links with peace building activities globally.

## 2.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- define the concept of international organization and peace-building
- explain the context and attitude that give rise to violence
- explain the relationship between international organisations and sovereign states.

## 3.0 MAIN CONTENT

### 3.1 Definition of Terms

#### **International Organisation**

International organisation has various meanings. Ordinarily, it could be referred to as an organisation that embodies the world community, with its members drawn from independent sovereign states. It could be in form of religious organisations that cut across national boundaries. Similarly, international organisations could spring from economic and cultural collaborations, and many other spheres between states. One of the major characteristics an international organisation should possess is that it must be trans-border in outlook and must involve two or more sovereign states.

Akinboye and Ottoh (2005) opine that an International organisation is composed of sovereign independent states, voluntarily joining in a common pursuit of certain goals.

In the opinion of Palmer and Perkins (1969), an international organisation is “any co-operative arrangement instituted among states usually by a basic agreement, to perform some mutually advantageous functions implemented through periodic meetings and staff activities.”

Equally worthy of mention is the definition given by Plano and Olton (1988) that “an international organisation is a formal arrangement transcending national boundaries that provides for the establishment of an institutional machinery to facilitate co-operation among members in security, economic, social, or related fields.” Succinctly put, it is perceived as a formal institution established by sovereign states through a consensus, and a solid structure, with a view to pursuing the common interest of its members. With this, it could be adduced that an international organisation could be seen as a forum for the collaboration and propagation of the foreign policies of its sovereign member states, in the pursuit of international peace and security.

You need to bear in mind that international organisations do not have the status of a state and by implication, do not operate branches similar to that of a government anywhere but they could establish institutions that have legal or quasi legal powers to perform certain special functions. This status will be further discussed in subsequent modules.

Further, it is customary that the headquarters of an international organisation must be such that it accommodates divergent nationalities - indigenes of the member states.

Summarily, though, not conclusively, international organisations must generate members from two or more sovereign states, must have formal structures that serve as the co-coordinating centres, and should be seen to have been established by a mutual consent, in form of treaty or an enforceable legal document.

### **Peace Building**

Albert (2001) in a scholarly treatise *Introduction to Third party Intervention on Community Conflicts* gives an instructive and deep-rooted analytical discourse of what peace building entails. He says that the peace that emanates from conflict transformation workshops or conciliation, negotiation and mediation exercises is often misconstrued as an indication that the conflict in question has been resolved. He emphasizes the enormity of the degree of the damages that the conflict could have initially generated as requiring a follow up. This, according to him, is because no matter how well designed the intervention project could have been, the problems would have to be removed gradually.

Therefore, it is necessary to follow up an intervention project into a community conflict, with some post-conflict peace-building activities. Peace building has to do with repairing relationships, institutions, and social facilities and putting in place schemes that can help the disputing communities to be re-united. Boutros – Ghali (1992:11) former U.N. Secretary-General, in his widely cited publication, *An Agenda for Peace* defines post conflict peace-building as “action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict.” Boutros -Ghali in 1995, also advocated the need for pre-conflict peace-building in which he emphasized measures such as “(de) militarization, the control of small arms, institutional reform, improved police and judicial systems, the monitoring of human rights, electoral reforms and social and economical development.”

Rechler (1997:61) also presented pre-war peace-building as

*preventive measures that aim to reduce the gap between the rich and the poor; to promote and implement human rights and the rights of the minorities, and to promote durable development and the realization of a just and fair social order in which there is no discrimination based on race or sex.*

### **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

Is peace-building a pre or post conflict affair? Discuss

Fagbemi (2004), writing in the maiden edition of *Peace-Building*, a quarterly publication of West Africa Network for peace building Nigeria (WANEP-Nigeria) reiterates that peace building seeks to strengthen the prospects for peace through initiatives that foster and support sustainable structures and processes with potentials to enhance peaceful co-existence, decrease the likelihood of the outbreak, re-occurrence, or continuation of violent conflicts. He says further that the central focus of peace building is to enhance the indigenous capacity of a society to manage conflict without violence and/or break the cycle of violent conflicts.

Since the ultimate aim of peace building is human security, it endeavours to harmonise instrumentalities of humanitarian objectives with those of political, economic and social wherewithal.

Generally, it could be averred that peace building, at any level ('pre', 'post' or 'post-post' level) is geared towards ensuring democratic gains, rule of law, equitable access to resources and sustainable development.

If you cast your mind back to Albert's analytical discourse on peace building, you will readily come to terms with the fact that peace building is the main umbrella harbouring conflict management techniques i.e. negotiation, mediation, adjudication, good offices etc.

The United Nations says that in addition to humanitarian aid or emergency assistance, designed to provide the immediate means of survival for populations at risk, the main categories of intervention are: peace-making, an intervention designed to end hostilities and bring about an agreement, using diplomatic, political and military means as necessary as well as peace-keeping, which is described as monitoring and enforcing an agreement, using force as necessary. This includes verifying whether agreements are being kept and supervising agreed confidence building activities.

These and many other peace-building concepts will be addressed in the subsequent chapter.

Peace building is not primarily concerned with conflict behaviour but addresses the underlying context and attitude that give rise to violence, such as unequal access to employment, discrimination, unacknowledged and unforgiving responsibility for past crimes, prejudice, mistrust, fear, hostility between groups, etc. I need to enjoin you to see “Peace Building” as a concept that is often employed to describe a situation that has peace-enhancing outcomes and it attaches great importance to how things happen.

In others words, it is about the process as well as the activity itself and its outcome.

#### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

It is very pertinent for you to know what the concept of international organisation is, with a view to enabling you understand the rudiments of their being powerful tools for global maintenance of peace. Their emergences have been of an immense benefit to mankind as subsequent units will reveal.

#### **5.0 SUMMARY**

Given the level of the involvement of various international organisations in various theatres of pre- and post conflict peace-buildings activities, a clear understanding of their activities, as postulated by various scholars will be of immense benefit to you in enriching your knowledge in your study. With an understanding of what they stand for, this first unit is welcoming you to an interesting treatise on the study of international organisations and peace-building.

#### **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

Define the concept of international organisation and peace-building.

## 7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

Akinboye, S.O. and Ottoh, F.O. (2005). *A Systematic Approach to International Relations*. Lagos: Concept Publications.

Albert, I.O. (2001). *Building Peace, Advancing Democracy: Experience with Third-Party Intervention in Nigeria's Conflicts*. Ibadan: John Archers.

Albert, I.O. (2001). *Introduction to Third-Party Intervention in Community Conflicts*. Ibadan: John Archers.

John Baylis and Steve Smith (2001). *The Globalisation of World Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

## **UNIT 2      EVOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS**

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- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 Evolution of International Organisations
  - 3.2 Various forms of International Organisations
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

Robert H. Jackson (2001) writing on the origin of the evolution of international society, stated that the origin of international relations can only be a matter of speculation but speaking conceptually, it was a time when people began to settle down on the land and form themselves into separate territory-based political communities.

Each group then realized that as they would be co-existing with neighbouring groups, they could not afford to feign ignorance of the need for homogeneous relationship with their neighbours for political, social, and economic expediency. By extension, each group equally had to deal with groups that, though, further away, but whose actions were still capable of affecting them. This is what is referred to in international relations as “neighbourhood effect of issues.” In a nutshell, the need to be each other’s keeper and to make the world conflict free was the embryonic purpose of the evolution of international organisations.

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

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

- explain the reasons behind the evolution of international organisations
- explain its initial difficulties
- highlight the roles of the various powers in the formation of the United Nations
- identify various forms of international organisations.

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 Evolution of International Organisations**

International organisations have been in existence since the primitive or stone ages, just in similarity to the existence of traditional as well as modern societies.

##### **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1**

Do You Remember the Slave Trade Cartels – Trans-Saharan and Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade? Discuss, linking them with international organisations.

History is agog with ancient centres of civilisation in many parts of the world like China, India, Mesopotamia and Egypt. The vogue then was the reign of Kings who had the power to enter into diplomatic treaties on behalf of their countries. That was the embryonic stage towards the formation of international organisations. History also has it that after the defeat of cartage and the conquest of the Mediterranean world, as well as most of western and central Europe, Rome established a kind of universal empire. The type of universal empire Rome established was overtaken by civilization but the relics Roman Empire left behind helped in the development of international law.

##### **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISES 2**

Name the three acknowledged law givers of the world, in ancient times.

In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the council of Constance met to resolve rival claims to the papacy, the success of which would have helped to redirect the political as well as the spiritual fortunes of Europe.

However, the medieval era seemed sealed for ever with the coming on board of reformation and counter-reformation.

##### **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISES 3**

Can you recollect the principal actors of reformation and counter-reformation?

At the same time, with the emergence of Age of discoveries, expansion of trade and commerce and evolution of state system in the 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup>, and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, international relations assumed a new dimension.



The congress of Westphalia of 1648 was a watershed in the development of international organization as it stamped the emergence of state system. You need to ask yourself the significance of this Westphalia congress of 1648. The answer was succinctly given by Gerald Mangone (1954) thus:

*No international organization was established by the peace of Westphalia in 1648; But the joining of practically every European State in a diplomatic conference signaled the opening of a new era in international relations.*

Going by the words of Gerald Mangone (1954) the intricacy of an international body had taken place and since 1648, the world order assumed a new dimension. A sound foundation for the settlement of disputes in a win-win method, through peace-building mechanisms was established.

Equally significant in the evolution of international organisation was the Vienna Congress of 1814-1815 which witnessed the gathering of Europeans where their political problems were discussed. That conference was very significant as it was a bold attempt to lay a solid foundation of a homogeneous Europe, with the multiplier effect for a peaceful world order.

The 19<sup>th</sup> century witnessed the emergence of intensive diplomatic medium of contact between states where international affairs were conducted. The concert of Europe, known as an exclusive club for great powers, met very frequently to discuss issues of mutual interest, which was an indication of their awareness of the need to either end wars or avert any issue that could result in war.

In the latter part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, various international organisations emerged due to the growing need for collaboration in areas of economic and social problems. Among these organisations were the European Commission for Danube (1806), the International Geodetic Association (1864), the International Bureau of Telegraphic Administration (1868), the Universal Postal Union (1875), the International Bureau of Weights and Measures (1875), the International Copyright Union (1886), the International Office of Public Health (1903), and the International Institute of Agriculture (1905).

The Hague system of international conferences was, yet, quite significant in the origin of international organisations as it became a forum for international negotiations. What could also be seen as a landmark achievement of the Hague system was the inclusion of both

European and non-Europeans as well as a fusion of both big and small states on the level of equality. What mattered most was the need for seeking peaceful solutions to international problems. That idea was given impetus to in 1899 through the adoption of the convention for the pacific settlement of international disputes which also influenced the appointment of ad-hoc commissions of inquiry and the creation of a permanent court of arbitration. The importance of international organisations as an antecedent to world peace was the focus of the Hague system. Rather than emphasizing the issue of European problems, global issue took the central stage.

However, much as the aforementioned international organisations tried to address global problems as it affected their area of specialization, the need for an all encompassing international organisation which will be the umbrella under which all other organisations could be operating was still kept in abeyance.

This attempt was realized with the formal establishment of the League of Nations in 1919. The League of Nations was the first international organisation with a clear mandate for tackling global political conflicts, acting in collaboration with all member states to identify threats to peace and take appropriate measures, including military actions to avert war.

The article of the league, known as the League of Nations covenant, was submitted for ratification to the peace conference in April 1919 by the then five great powers of the world – Britain, France, the United States of America, Italy and Japan, and it later became an integral part of the Treaty of Versailles, a treaty signed at the end of the first world war. Geneva was unanimously chosen as the Headquarters of the League of Nations.

You will recall that attempts have been made to aid the evolution of international organisations. You will also observe that various international organisations sprang up to address certain specific issues. However, the first major attempt at galvanizing these independent international organisations did not come until 1919, after a fierce world war I, usually referred to by some scholars as European War.

You need to know what factors culminated in the establishment of the League of Nations.

Akinboye, and Ottoh, (2005) provide four significant factors that influenced the establishment and the nature of the League of Nations:

1. Official and non-official proposals put forward during the World War I for the maintenance of peace after the conclusion of hostilities.
2. Earlier developments in international organisations such as the historic concert of Europe, the Hague system and the public international unions. For instance, the council of League of Nations was a “revised edition” of the concert of Europe, while the assembly of the League reflected the basic objectives of the Hague system in a general conference of states that met periodically. The secretariat of the League of Nations was, to a large extent, based on the public international unions of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.
3. Although, the League was unmistakably the product of earlier developments, it owed its immediate existence to the frightful realities of the World War I.
4. The post-war international political scenes which were characterized by the existence of a military coalition of victors; the dominant position of the allies and their associations (as the multinational European empires crumbled, the number of small states increased); the dissent among the great powers, both within their ranks and between large and smaller states; and the League of Nations, were a product of the ideological climate of the day – a reflection in the field of international politics of 19<sup>th</sup> century liberalism. The League of Nations, from all indications expressed a strong opinion on the values of the democratic theory, among which was a belief in the influence of public opinion on international relations and the covenant provided for the right of self determination of nations, by the then American President, Woodrow Wilson. In his view, “nation is the natural and proper unit of world politics, and that the only sound and moral basis for international order is a settlement which enables people to achieve autonomous existence within a system dedicated to the preservation of sovereignty of nations”, Akinboye concluded. You will marvel at the liberal attitude demonstrated by men of good will in their attempts to build peace in a troubled world. You will also give kudos to those who took the pains to acknowledge their efforts at various fora.

However, several reasons, both remote and immediate, combined together to set aflame the collapse of the League of Nations, an event that snowballed, yet into another world war in 1939. These and many more will be dealt with in the subsequent chapters.

You will recall that after the World War I, the League of Nations was formed, principally to maintain international peace and security with a view to averting future wars. Its collapse led to the World War II, and that equally led to the search for another international organisation, to replace the collapsed League of Nations. It was under this serious conflict that the United Nations was born.

But you need to ask – what purpose or purposes was the formation of this body meant to serve? What were the peace-building structures that served as catalyst to transform into the code name – United Nations? Will it not go the way of the former? Many more questions and hypotheses will be agitating your mind.

As earlier mentioned, the World War II started in 1939. It was of a greater dimension than the World War I. As it was raging on, series of efforts at ending the war were undertaken. The first of such significant attempts was the meeting between Sir Winston Churchill, the Prime Minister of England and Franklin Roosevelt, the American President in 1941 on board the American Cruiser, Augusta, off the coast of Newfoundland, and at the end of the meeting, issued a declaration of policy which later became known as the Atlantic Charter. It was not an agreement but a joint declaration of assumptions which the two leaders wished could transform the post-world war, if adhered to.

The charter declared that during and after the war, the basic human freedoms were to be respected and that no territory should change hands after the war without the consent of its inhabitants. The charter also solicited for the recognition of the right of any state to determine its own form of government and that full sovereign rights and right of self-government must be restored to any country which had been, hitherto deprived of these inalienable rights.

Equally pleaded for was the need to accord equal rights to every state, big or small, to have her share of the world's raw materials to pursue her economic growth. Above all, the charter called for economic collaboration among states, hoping with economic equilibrium, there would be social security.

#### **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISES 4**

Write a short note on the Italian invasion of Ethiopia and its aftermath.

You will see these were strong peace-building measures in a troubled world. In 1942, the United States, Britain, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and China signed a document referred to as the Declaration of the United Nations. That bold step was followed by forty three other states appending their signatures to the historic document.

What followed was the great meeting of these world peace-builders in San Francisco for the drafting of the United Nations' Charter in which the signatories pledged to adopt the Atlantic Charter as well as collaborating together in areas of military and economic spheres to compel the Aggressors – (Germany, Italy, Japan and their allies) to surrender unconditionally and also agreed never to enter into any peace treaty on individual basis with the enemy. In 1943, series of diplomatic shuttles were undertaken by some international personalities including Winston Churchill, Roosevelt, etc to sell the idea of peaceful co-existence. The conference on food and agriculture took place on the understanding that collaboration in vital human survival spheres the world over should be one of the post-world war II peace-building antidotes.

In 1943, a declaration in Teheran (Iran), seeking for the collective and active involvement of all nations, big and small, was canvassed which was geared towards the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and anything that endangered human existence. The principal actors of that conference were Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin. Without doubt, that was yet another open invitation to all men and women of goodwill all over the world to partake in international peace and security.

These constant appeals did not make much meaning to the enemies as the war was still raging. Its continuation brought along with it serious economic and social chaos, all over the world. Here in Nigeria, you might have heard of an era called “Salt Scarcity era.”

As a further effort to galvanise the gains of the past, and in a bold attempt to see to the creation of an all – embracing world body /organisation for peace, a meeting of the representatives of forty four [44] states met in July 1944 in a place called Breton Wood in England where a firm decision was made that lasting peace would be a mirage unless the harsh economic and social deprivations were tackled. It was at this meeting that the establishment of two international financial institutions came to life. They were the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (simply called World Bank) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

You will recall that under this topic, the establishments of many organisations of international standards have been mentioned. However, the need for an all encompassing umbrella organ which will shelter others was yet to be formally established.

Realizing the desirability of concluding this formality, the great powers of the world – USSR, Britain, USA, and China met at a meeting in

Dumbarton Oaks in the USA on August 21, 1944 to draw up proposals for a general international organisation. The significance of the meeting could not be over-emphasized as it provided the major provisions of the United Nations Charter, though, tentatively. The establishment of basic organs and their responsibilities were also drafted.

After the August 21, 1944 Dumbarton Oaks meeting in the USA, a further drafting conference was called to fine-tune the previous meeting. Invitation to this conference was extended to all the states that had declared war on the aggressors – Germany & Japan by March 1945. Such nations too must have appended their signatures to the instrument “Declaration of the United Nations.”

The efforts of the powers in search of peace were rewarded when, after series of diplomatic maneuvers and negotiations, representatives of fifty [50] states signed the draft to create the charter of the United Nations on 26<sup>th</sup> June 1945 in San Francisco.

However, as the charter could not come into effect until signed by all the big powers, this was accomplished on October 24, 1945 and the organization came into full effect. This date October 24, of every year is thus celebrated all over the world as the UNITED NATIONS DAY.

## **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISES 5**

What is the significance of October 24, to humanity?

### **3.2 Various Forms of International Organisations**

You need to know that international organisations are in various forms. Some are global, which could embrace nearly all states in the world. In this category is the United Nations described above. Also, in the category of international organisation are those involving states in the same region, continent or sub-region. In this category are the Commonwealth of Nations, African Union, Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), European Union (EU), European Economic Community (EEC), Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), Arab League, Organisation of American States (OAS), etc.

Some of these will be further discussed in Module 3.

## **4.0 CONCLUSION**

This unit reflected deeply on the structures deliberately put in place for an enduring peace building since the end of global hostilities.

Consolidation of the efforts of our heroes past, no matter how little, will make the world a better place for us all.

## 5.0 SUMMARY

The reasons which motivated the evolution of international organisations have been largely justified in areas of war prevention. The sporadic internal strife in some developing states are being addressed, while the intensity of some conflicts are responding to various peace building mechanisms.

## 6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

State the origin of international organisations and peace – building.

## 7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

Akinboye, S.O. and Ottoh, F.O. (2005). *A systematic Approach to International Relations*. Lagos: Concept Publications.

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## **UNIT 3      BRIEF ANALYSIS OF THE ORGANS OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS IN PURSUANCE OF WORLD PEACE**

### **CONTENTS**

- 4.0 Introduction
- 5.0 Objectives
- 6.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 General Assembly
  - 3.2 The Security Council
  - 3.3 The Secretariat
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

Let us remind ourselves that the core reason for establishing international organisations is the maintenance of world peace, through economic, social, and political collaboration. The need for being each other's keeper; rejoice with a rejoicing state and mourn with a mourning state had been established as breeding homogeneity and deep-rooted co-existence.

Towards that end, the establishment of specific organs to carry out those functions became expedient while the main international organisations would be the peak umbrella that would shelter the various organs and sub-organs. We have earlier mentioned various international organisations, whether global, regional, sub-regional or continental. However, since the United Nations is the foremost, we are concentrating on its organs, while reference will be made to others within the text.

In a nutshell, the main organs of the United Nations are the General Assembly, the Security Council and The Secretariat.

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

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

- specify the organs of the United Nations
- identify those agencies established to augment the services of the UN
- demonstrate an understanding of the working activities of those agencies in line with peace building.

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 General Assembly**

The General Assembly meets once in a year usually in September, and representatives of all member states are represented. Each member state has five representatives but has only one vote. Besides the normal once a year meeting, an extra ordinary meeting could be called by the Secretary General if directed by the Security Council or if the majority of member nations wish it, to discuss matters of world peace.

Decisions are normally reached by a 2/3<sup>rd</sup> majority of the members present, or by a simple majority. Other functions the General Assembly performs include discussing and voting on matters forwarded to it by the Security Council, electing six non-permanent members of the Security Council, as well as the eighteen members of the social and economic council. Similarly, it is the responsibility of the Assembly to elect judges of the International Court of Justice in conjunction with the Security Council. Equally, the General Assembly performs the function of promotion of international co-operation in economic, social, cultural, educational and medical fields. The Assembly is also responsible for the vetting and passing of the financial obligations of the organisation as well as serving as a check on the administrative arm of the United Nations made up of the Secretary General and his international civil servants.

#### **3.2 Security Council**

The Security Council is the permanent decision-making organ of the UN and all the members are bound to carry out its resolutions. At its inception in 1945, it had eleven members – five permanent (United States of America, Soviet Union, Great Britain, France and China) and six elected for a term of 2 years. By 1963, the number of the Council increased to 15 due to the increase in the number of membership of the UN. Any of the permanent members could veto any bill found detrimental to its welfare.

The Security Council performs a number of functions. It is charged with the responsibility of maintaining peace and security among the nations of the world. It can also investigate any situation that may bring about danger and recommend measures for restoring peace. An example was the 12 resolutions the Security Council passed to ensure that Iraq pulled out of Kuwait in 1991. When persuasion to settle any dispute fails, the council, through article 7, may order military action to which every member nation is expected to send troops.

### **3.3 The Secretariat**

The foremost officer of the United Nations is the Secretary-General who, in combination with his international staff, is responsible for the day-to-day running of the Headquarters and ensures the implementation of the decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. In addition, he is responsible for bringing before the Council any problem identified as being capable of disrupting world peace. He is, by international law, regarded as number one world civil servant. His election is by the General Assembly through the recommendation of the Security Council.

Interestingly, the former occupiers of this exalted office from its inception to date were: Trygavie Lie of Norway, Dag Hammarskjold of Sweden, U Thant of Burma, Boutros Boutros – Ghali of Egypt, Kofi Anan of Ghana. Ban ki Mon of South Korea is the current occupier of this office.

Since peace building is the chief task of the United Nations, some other agencies were also established to augment the services of the United Nations.

These include : The International Labour Organisation [ILO] with its headquarters in Geneva, concerned with labour conditions; the Food and Agricultural Organisation [FAO] based in Rome and concerned with world food supplies and agricultural development, especially in the third world; the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation [UNESCO] in Paris, which coordinates educational research and promotes international scientific and cultural co-operation; and the International Court of Justice, based in the Hague, which sees to the judicial settlement of conflicts referred to it by conflict-states. Others include the United Nations International Children's Educational Fund (UNICEF) set up in 1946, and the World Health Organisation (WHO) set up to see to the health needs of the world. This list is by no means conclusive, so you are enjoined to seek for more information on the UN and its agencies from various authorities to enhance your knowledge.

### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

This unit has emphasized the importance of the United Nations Organisation in its determination to put in place structures that would galvanise the world towards greater global peace, without being unmindful of the existing spots of conflict. In short, the very existence of these organs makes the United Nations to become the instrumentality for measuring global conscience.

## **5.0 SUMMARY**

This unit has dealt with the United Nations organs and agencies, and their concerted efforts towards peace-building as the universe is fast becoming a global village.

## **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

Name and discuss the organs of the United Nations.

## **7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS**

Akinboye, S.O. and Ottoh, F.O. (2005). *A systematic Approach to International Relations*. Lagos: Concept Publications.

Albert, I.O. (2001). *Building Peace, Advancing Democracy: Experience with Third-Party Intervention in Nigeria's Conflicts*. Ibadan: John Archers.

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## **UNIT 4      CONSTRAINTS OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION AND PEACE BUILDING**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 Cultural incompatibility and others
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

The core values and norms of international organisations are embedded in international peace, and security. Respect for the sovereignty of each state and non-interference in the internal affairs of member states are also canvassed. Equally canvassed are the sanctity, integrity and inviolability of all existing states, irrespective of their economic or social standing. There also must be self-determination as regards a form of government a state wishes to adopt, as well as adaptation of her culture and any internal assumption of a sovereign state.

The totality of these assumptions could be seen as signifying the uniqueness of an international society. However, much as these qualities of a sovereign state are allowed to flourish, they nonetheless pose some constraints in maintaining international peace.

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

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

- have an understanding of the constraints of international organizations
- articulate areas that could be improved upon in ensuring global peace, however relative.

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 Cultural Incompatibility and Others**

Culture, according to Oyewo (2002) is the sum total of learned behaviours of a group of people, which are generally considered to be the tradition of that people, and are transmitted from generation to

generation. Quoting (Shils 198:12), Albert (2001) further advanced the views that culture includes material objects of the people's belief, images of persons and events, practices and Institutions. It is evident in buildings, monuments, landscapes, sculptures, paintings, tools and machines. Culture shapes individual and group attitudes and behaviours because it is based on shared history and the human need for recognition.

With the above definition of culture, it is very unlikely that the whole zones of the world will have a homogenous culture. First, the international society is a vast one and each sovereign state has a way of life, unique to it. You must have heard of people talk about Western Culture, Eastern Culture, African, Indian, Scandinavian culture, etc. The absence of a common culture clearly demonstrates a major difficulty in regulating each state's way of life.

Further, the world is so diverse and easily identifiable through geographical settings. For example, African states often take collective resolve when an issue concerns a member of the continent irrespective of the culpability of such state. This applies to Europeans, Latin American states, Communist and other regional groupings who might have economic, political or cultural ties.

We also reflect on the constant struggle for self determination by some ethnic groups while some member nations too have attempted to annex others.

Equally seen as a very potent and agonizing constraint is the doctrine of non-intervention in the internal affairs of member states. If you cast your mind back to the prevailing security threat in Africa, you will realise that what is the order of the day as a security threat comes from within each state, either in form of armed rebels/militia, or from the government itself. If we realise the effect an armed internal strife in a state could have on its neighbours, the doctrine of non-intervention in the internal affairs of a member state, unless revisited, would require a re-definition.

Darfur region in Sudan, and Somalia are good examples. A failed or collapsed state breeds refugees and would continue to undermine her citizens' livelihood.

### **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

What were the implications of the Liberian conflict on the West African sub-region?

Again, the principle of equality of member states, whether rich or poor, big or small is a mere slogan. In the midst of super-powers and underdeveloped states, the dichotomy is obvious. Powerful states bully third world states into submission. The socio-economic disparity often compels poor states to seek for regular international economic aid, a situation that makes exploitation of the underdeveloped states by the industrialized members a daily occurrence.

Under this situation, what readily comes up is usually aid induced action. Rich states who have exploited the naivety of poor member states are yet the same that will be sending aids to the poor states. The issue of self reliance is alien to poor states and under such a situation, equality in decision making is ruled out.

Another constraint on international organisation could be traced to the emergence of global societies like the International Red Cross, Amnesty International, etc. They emphasize the need to respect the sanctity of human right in all endeavour. Human Rights of all citizens, irrespective of their state of origin are their hallmark and sovereign states are regularly being reminded of their legal and moral rights to their citizens. Non-governmental organisations have influenced and complemented actions of international organisations in the past. You will, no doubt, see that the activities of these global societies have reduced the sovereignty of member states.

You still need to know that at the embryonic stages of the evolution of international organisations, dynastic families held state sovereignty and could, for selfish reasons, initiate aggressive war for personal aggrandizement. Do you recollect the issue of Mukluks of Egypt? Yet, at a period Sovereign states controlled foreign territory as colonial land. African countries were worst hit. The principle of paternalism adopted for Congo Libreville by the King of Belgium must be recollected.

However, due to the Atlantic Charter earlier referred to, and subsequent dynamic policies of the United Nations, the rights of colonization, annexation and other obnoxious crime against human rights have been discontinued. What you need to know is that the parochial action of some individual actors who doubled as state actors served as a constraint to international organisations.

The veto power given to the permanent members of the United Nations is a great agent of destabilization. In an organisation said to be based on equity, the jettisoning of majority of state's wish through fiat act of some few states, under any guise is an invitation to chaos.

The inability to put a stop to proliferation of arms is a serious threat to world peace. Despite various treaties – SALT I and SALT II, some countries are still bent on manufacturing destructive weapons which they may not properly control in time of anger. The issues of Iraq-Iran War and the use of banned weapons readily come to mind. Developed nations still defy United Nations order by exporting arms and ammunitions of all sorts into the underdeveloped nations, thereby, aggravating conflict situations there.

Lastly, the issue of peace and security is universal and not confined to a specific geographical location. A dispute in a particular state must be addressed to bring about a positive transformation through the appropriate machinery. Inability to do this has compounded the problem of world peace. Darfur, Somalia and a few other hot spots of war are examples, and they have multiplier effects on a global scale.

#### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

Michael Stewart, a former British Foreign Secretary, once described the life of man outside society as being solitary, brutish, nasty, and short. He was essentially reminding us that a homogenous society breeds security and mutual well-being. By this, the world would be a better place for us all if we eschew bitterness and rancour and promote those issues that are germane to world peace.

#### **5.0 SUMMARY**

This unit has itemized some cogent constraints militating against the operations of international organisations and which must be dealt with to enable us appreciate more the dividends of globalisation. By and large, there is a ray of hope in view of greater awareness of the importance of peace in economic, social and political spheres.

#### **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

Identify some of the constraints facing international organisations in their various endeavours to build global peace. Discuss any two.



## 7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

Akinboye, S.O. and Ottoh, F.O. (2005). *A systematic Approach to International Relations*. Lagos: Concept Publications.

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## **MODULE 2 THE AGENTS OF TRANSFORMATION IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS AND PEACE BUILDING**

Unit 1	State and Non-State Actors in the Promotion of a Just and Peaceful Society
Unit 2	Concept of Sovereignty in Relation to International Organisations and Peace Building
Unit 3	Foreign Policies of Major Powers as Facilitators of Peace or Conflict Generation in International Organisations and Peace Building
Unit 4	The Role of Municipal and International Laws as They Affect International Organisations and Peace-Building
Unit 5	Causes of International Conflicts

### **UNIT 1 STATE AND NON-STATE ACTORS IN THE PROMOTION OF A JUST AND PEACEFUL SOCIETY**

#### **CONTENTS**

1.0	Introduction
2.0	Objectives
3.0	Main Content
3.1	Definition of Terms
3.2	State and Non-State Actors in the Promotion of a Just and Peaceful Society
3.2.1	Impact of Transnational Organisations on States Sovereignty
3.2.2	Transnational Criminals and Their Political Impact
3.2.3	Transnational Guerrilla Groups and their Political Impact
3.2.4	Non-Governmental Organisations and Their Political Impact
4.0	Conclusion
5.0	Summary
6.0	Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0	References/Further Readings

#### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

No doubt, the world has been in what could rightly be described as a perpetual flux. Before the advent of a universal international organisation, the world had been under a system, tagged multi-polar, meaning several powers at a time. The bitter rivalry amongst them

became prominent during the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 and the theatre of their rivalry shifted to Africa. Events were unfolding until mere rivalry between Austria and Serbia snowballed into the World War I. Certain well-meaning personalities made spirited efforts to restore the world unto a path of peace, which resulted in the birth of the League of Nations. Due to intrigues amongst the contending powers, the League collapsed and the World War II started. Its successful prosecution by the Allied Forces left the world with a bi-polar system that is Western and Eastern powers. At the peak of the Cold War, Africa became a market of ideological survey: the Congo crisis remains a sour political memory. Similarly, the Cuban crisis nearly snowballed into world war III, but the statesmanship exhibited by Kennedy and Khrushchev saved the world from what could have been another war. Do you recollect those immortal words by J.F.K to Khrushchev? “Let’s explore the wonders of the star, instead of its terrors”. He was emphasizing the need for arms limitation so that the economic and social needs of the less privileged could be addressed. The role of the state and non-state actors, as well as international personalities who have, in one way or the other contributed to making the world relatively peaceful will be addressed. Also, the combination of issues that played critical roles either for, or against, in the pursuit of global peace will be addressed.

## **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

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

- define in simple terms the concept of state and non state actors
- identify specifically those who fall under the category of state and non-state actors
- explain the role of non-governmental organisations in peace-building activities as well as their shortcomings
- demonstrate in clear terms how the efficient collaboration of both state and non-state actors can advance international peace.

## **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

### **3.1 Definition of Terms**

#### **Network**

Refers to communication structure for individuals or non-governmental organisations for exchange of information, experiences or in the discussion of tactics or political goals. The network may be in an area of access to e-mail database, internet discussion group or a website.

### **Social Movement**

This refers to the collective political traits exhibited by a people having a diffuse sense of collective identity, solidarity and homogeneity. This concept embraces the different NGOs and networks, their members, including other individuals that embrace the same tenets.

### **Inter-Governmental Organisation**

Is an international organisation with full legal membership, open only to sovereign states and where decision-making authority rests with representatives of such sovereign states.

### **International Non-government Organisation (INGOs)**

Is one in which membership is open only to transnational actors. The activities of the INGOs centre on mirroring global diplomacy as it is initially an assembly of national NGOs from various countries. This finds semblance in organisations like Amnesty International, global INGO, composed of country-based sections, each having a structure of local adherents. INGOs also recruit companies, individuals and even political parties as agents.

### **Hybrid INGO**

This is an international organisation that cannot be adequately pinned down to a specific title. Just as governments form international government organisations, and non-government organisations form the international non-government organisations, the hybrid international.

## **3.2 State and Non-State Actors in the Promotion of a Just and Peaceful Society**

The concept of state and non-state actors is derived from the international system which sees international politics as a collaborative action between states (as state actors) on one hand, and economic bodies, social groups, such as banks, industrial companies, students, environmentalists, women organisations, and so on (as non-state actors).

You need to focus your mind on the assumption of a master and a servant or at best, a primary and secondary order of hierarchy. But the effects of globalisation in all sphere of human endeavour has cast a second look at this assertion.

The term non-state actors imply that states are predominant while other actors are secondary. This reference is laced with ambiguities as it does

not accord a precise position to intergovernmental organisations either as inter-state or non-state organisations. This being so, because it will be erroneous to put into a straight jacket actors that operate with different structures, different resources, and different ways of influencing political system.

As a way out of differentiating the roles between state and its agencies, scholars have coined the use of “transnational” in order to bring their collaborative peace-building efforts to bear on the people. In its often – repeated application, diplomats have re-designed the word “transnational” to mean giant companies (like Big Banks, Oil Giants etc) while other non-profit making and non-violent groups are called Non Governmental Organisations-NGOs. However, to eliminate the ambiguity, the term ‘transnational’ is being adopted to cover those actors outside the term state, that is private actors and clarifying each, whether a company or another type of transnational actor is being discussed. By virtue of international law, non-state actors include government departments and bureaucracies, legitimate transnational actors, non-legitimate transnational actors, criminals (who crises-cross borders), guerillas and liberation movements, transnational companies, political parties, and single-country NGOs.

The discipline of peace and conflict studies, through empirical research, has come up with the conclusion that in order to maximise peace-building efforts which global politics demands, there must be collaborative efforts between states and many other actors from each country. This becomes more expedient if we take a critical look at the totality of governments in the global system, which is less than 200 while there are about 81,000 transnational organisations. Below is a brief analysis of transnational bodies and NGOs:

- 60,000 major transnational companies (such as Shell, Barclays, Ford, Microsoft, etc. with over 500,000 foreign affiliates).
- 10,000 single-country non-government organisations such as Freedom House (USA), Medicines Sans Frontiers (France), Population Concern (UK), or the Women’s Environmental Network (UK) with significant international activities.
- 250 Inter- governmental organisations (IGO) such as UN, NATO, EU or the International Coffee Organisation, as well as;
- 580 International non-governmental organisations (INGO) such as Amnesty International, the Baptist World Alliance, the International Chamber of Shipping, the International Red Cross together with a similar number of international caucuses and networks of NGOs.

You need to internalize it that the interaction of these non-state actors otherwise referred to as transnational actors with the government of each state strengthens peace-building processes in global politics. While the mere mention of some transnational actors dulled illegitimate like guerrilla groups and criminal gangs may sound fearful, yet, they have some impact. This will be further discussed under international and municipal laws.

### **3.2.1 Impact of Transnational Organisations on States Sovereignty**

As there are legitimate groups, there are also illegitimate groups; depending on the angle we view them. As deplorable as this combination assumes, each acts as a catalyst to peace building. However, a distinction must be made between activities considered criminal and those embarked upon for “legitimate” purposes. Among the criminal acts around the globe are issues of, but not limited to drug trafficking, money laundering, fraud, robbery, child abuse, etc, while those considered legitimate find a safe harbour in guerrilla and freedom fighting activities, amongst others. These above assumptions notwithstanding, those activities bordering on violent behaviour, whether tagged legitimate or criminal by the actors are usually viewed by governments as challenges to their authority which must be met with ruthless action.

You now need to know some activities of certain groups tagged illegitimate as well as those engaged in guerrilla activities.

### **3.2.2 Transnational Criminals and their Political Impact**

Drug trafficking and Arms trade, among other international crimes, are the most auspicious. Others in the category of international trade, but not as profitable as drug and arms include high value, easily transported goods like diamonds, computer chips, piracy of video films and trade in internationally counterfeited goods on a massive scale. The realisation of the global havoc these illicit trades have, especially their threat to the sovereignty of each state, is responsible for the enactment of international laws to curb them.

There are certain problems arising from dealing with these criminals resulting from sovereignty. For example, a national who commits crime in another country or a national of a given country who deals in criminal activities with a national of another country could raise the issue of sovereignty as to where he should be tried.

Another example is the issue of criminal financial flows for the illicit activities of a group which can not be predicted. There has been greater attention to issues of money laundering from various parts of the globe which is being speculated to be the source of aiding and abetting terrorism. It is also established that without the active connivance of some financial institutions, money laundering could not be effected. Again, drug trade on international scale could not have been possible if there had been no trans-border activities, involving land, sea and air. These render any plea of alibi by any government untenable and by extension, a desecration of their sovereignty.

As regards arms trade, various ban treaties notwithstanding, the rate at which arms banned in a given country find their way to other countries to aggravate conflict and violence there, has rendered the issue of sovereignty innocuous.

Further, the issue of arbitrage against criminals produces a harrowing experience on sovereignty. An example is Amado Tijuana, a Cameroonian, accused of trans-border crime in Nigeria who has been using his sovereignty as a non-Nigerian to plead for alibi. It has again being realised that when a gang of organised criminals are dislodged in a country, they migrate to another sovereign state to feather their nests.

Another problem of sovereignty is that international law has pronounced that extra territoriality is permitted in adjudicating cases of criminal behaviour in special cases such as war crime, high jacking, hard drug trade, human rights abuse, terrorism, diplomatic misdemeanour, money laundering, in countries not directly affected by such offence. In short, the world has become a global village as any international crime committed in a given country could reverberate through countries b-z, just similar to neighborhood effect in any given situation.

### **3.2.3 Transnational Guerrilla Groups and Their Political Impact**

One major characteristic of guerrilla groups is that political grievances are usually expressed through force of arms. They are in various groups and each has its methodology. There are nationalist movements with political agenda, propagated through estranged minorities as the militia in Africa or religions sects in the Middle East or Europe. They are tagged different appellations, depending on the orientation of the definer, such as terrorists, guerrillas, freedom fighters or liberation movements. These groups galvanize support internationally, either through a similar organization who suffers the same fate abroad or any government hostile to their home government.

Although, governments are always unwilling to accept the use of violence by any group to press home their demands, even, when the group is convinced that such would assist them realise their dream, they do put a listening government on its toes for the need to initiate enduring peace-building processes.

Governments' efforts to nip the activities of these groups in the bud have not been largely successful because national liberation movements can no longer be viewed as innocuous in an inter-state system. What may have started as illegitimate, infinitesimal groups could gain support through a process of collaboration where international legitimacy now supports internal legitimacy. These have combined together to send signals to various states that repression of activities tagged criminal can only be nipped in the bud through good governance and sound policies for both social and economic change, especially in an era where virtually every government, irrespective of its status, undertakes mobilising external support in her drive to exercise internal control over criminals or guerrilla groups.

### **3.2.4 Non-Governmental Organisations and Their Political Impact**

The United Nations defined an acceptable NGO thus:

- (a) An NGO should support the aims and the work of the United Nations. This is with a view to minimising distractions of the UN activities which primarily are geared towards global peace and security.
- (b) An NGO should be a representative body, with identifiable headquarters, and officers, responsible to a democratic policy-making conference.
- (c) An NGO cannot be a profit-making body.
- (d) An NGO cannot use or advocate violence.
- (e) An NGO must respect the sanctity of non-interference in the internal affairs of states. However, by an amendment effected in 1968, an NGO concerned with human rights should not restrict its activities to a particular group, nationality or country.
- (f) An international NGO is so called if not established by intergovernmental agreement.

In order to have a good grasp of the political impact of the NGOs towards global peace-building activities, some key concepts must be understood. These include, but not limited to, the following:



- Non Government Organisation refers to any group of people, relating to each other regularly in some formal manner and engaging in collective action, in as much as such actions are not profit-oriented, non-violent and are not government sponsored.
- It should not engage in any global politics.
- National non-government organisations in any country may engage in transnational activities as it is recognised that international NGOs are a major source of global diplomacy.

Some notable international NGOs include:

- Amnesty International
- Green Peace
- Red Cross
- Caritas Organisation
- Save the Children
- International Chamber of Shipping: technical bodies
- International organisation for standardisation or professional bodies e.g. World Medical Association.

#### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

In a nutshell, this unit points out that peace-building should be the bedrock of both the government and other organisations, acting in concert and promoting goodwill.

You need to know that in the period of antiquity, before the advent of nation - state system, rules of conduct for the regulation of relationships between independent communities, such as recognising treaties, immunities of ambassadors, and certain laws and usages of war had been in vogue, even before Christianity and in such places as ancient Egypt and India. This further confirms that pre-conflict peace-building has been an age-long practice while antidote had also been planned for post-conflict peace-building.

#### **5.0 SUMMARY**

This unit has dealt explanatively with issues relating to state and non-state actors. It also identified those that fall within the different categories and what could make or mar their objectives. A good understanding of their roles will be of immense benefit in identifying areas that could best assist in promoting world peace.

#### **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

What do you understand by the term state and non-state actors? Discuss.



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## **UNIT 2      CONCEPT OF SOVEREIGNTY IN RELATION TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS AND PEACE BUILDING**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
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    - 3.1.1 Historical Antecedent of the Concept
    - 3.1.2 Where Does Sovereignty Reside?
    - 3.1.3 Methods of Acquiring Sovereignty
    - 3.1.4 Methods to Lose Sovereignty
    - 3.1.5 Limitations of Sovereignty
    - 3.1.6 Types of Sovereignty
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### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

Several scholars have spoken eloquently about the concept of sovereignty but before venturing into the scholastic sphere, you need to have it in mind that sovereignty is somehow synonymous with statehood and simply refers to freedom from external influence in the administration of the internal affairs of a state. By extension, it means a sovereign state has the right to enter into diplomatic relations with any other state, a status that makes such sovereign state a bonfire member of the community of nations.

The assumptions above clearly demonstrate that we can only talk of sovereignty when a state is in place. This reminds us of the historic peace treaty of Westphalia in 1648 which was the precursor of state and international system, culminating in the emergence of the concept of sovereignty.

The world today harbours several sovereign states which in turn constitute the international system. If our assumption of an absolute sovereign state is taken seriously, there might be a serious conflict of interest as the need of a state may be the curse of another. In order to live harmoniously together, exchange ideas beneficial in economic, political, social, cultural and other spheres of meaningful existence, the

term “sovereignty” must give room to permeability as will be further expanded on in this unit.

## **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

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

- conceptualize the term sovereignty
- explain its historical origin and methods of acquiring it
- have a good knowledge of where it resides and its limitations.

## **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

### **3.1 Conceptual Clarification**

In the light of the above, Hoffman (1987) sees a sovereign state as one with full and exclusive powers within its jurisdiction, but with some reservations set by applicable international law.

This signifies that even though, a state is recognized to have its sovereignty, and can regulate its internal activities and external relationship with other states, it must do so in accordance with peace-building motives as the concept of global politics does not allow a state to use its sovereignty to disrupt the peace of its neighbours and by extension, jeopardise global peace. The proviso of checks and balances on sovereignty becomes necessary, as the concept of sovereignty of states in its absolute applicability and in its parochial form, run counter to the tenets of international justice as some states are reluctant to submit to the dictates of external authority, even, in the face of the obvious. A plague in a given state may, if not checked through concerted efforts of other states, have neighbourhood effect on others.

Reviewing the concept of sovereignty in its embryonic form, Claude Jr. (1964) sees sovereignty as the “authority without accountability” which was the attribute of monarchs in the medieval period until the situation changed with the formation of states and international system which compelled the monarchs to share their powers with the national states.

Claude Jr. (1964) was referring to the overzealousness of the absolute monarchs over their subjects under the guise of sovereignty which the philosophers criticised, and emphasised the need for obedience only to a just sovereign king and that the people deserve the right to refuse to obey an oppressive sovereign. In addition, it was postulated, that those in authority must do justice while those under their control must obey. Conversely, the governed reserve the right to disobey, when those in government forsake their responsibilities.

The work of those philosophers had so much impact on the concept of sovereignty as it enlightened both the rulers and the ruled on the need to uphold peace-building tenets through good governance.

Further, the concept of sovereignty of the states' inalienable internal rights, in comparison to their responsibilities to the international community, places emphasis on the altruism that there is an external sovereignty as a prelude to peace-building - processes. Sovereignty is a concept that reminds us of some notable philosophers like Jean Bodin, Jean Austin, Harold Laski, A.V. Dicey and Thomas Hobbes.

Bodin says sovereignty is the "Supreme power over citizens, unrestrained by law."

To Austin, a sovereign is that definite superior to which habitual obedience is rendered by the mass of men and who does not himself obey any higher authority. This approach of Austin is referred to as legal positivism or analytical jurisprudence because this approach considered every law or rule as a command. Austin is of the view that the person having the sovereignty or a group (wherever the sovereignty rests) is incapable of legal limitations.

Laski, in his postulation, sees sovereignty simply as the independence of a modern state while Thomas Hobbes described sovereignty as the overwhelming legal powers of the parliament to legislate without any legal restriction. He also came up with the theory of social contract which he defined as an agreement between the rulers and the ruled, the rulers to do justice while the ruled should obey. Conversely, the governed reserve the right to disobey if those in government shirk their responsibilities.

### **3.1.1 Historical Antecedent of the Concept**

It has to do with history of the modern nation state, the emergence of the secular state, and the resolution of the religious struggles of the 16<sup>th</sup> century between the Pope and Emperor over ultimate power on civil matters.

The Schism of the Roman Empire and the Peace Treaty of 1648, known as Westphalia Peace Treaty were the embryonic stage of the modern nation state. This was followed by the Barbarian Conquest of Europe which did not douse local feelings of distinctive identity and legal identity because, within the political units of Barbarian Europe, various classes were in vogue i.e. office of Chief, King or Monarch as well as various elected officials.

Those who belonged to distinctive groups only recognised the authority of its head as its sovereign and rejected that of either the Pope or Emperor. They also upheld the tenets of the religion handed to them by their local head and rejected the authority of the universal Church and universal law.

From then onwards, there emerged within the Empire distinct legal personalities, within distinct territories, under distinct monarchs. It was in relation to these developments that the concept of sovereignty was developed.

### **3.1.2 Where Does Sovereignty Reside?**

You will recall the various definitions of sovereignty by various philosophers. From these, it seems difficult to arrive at a precise location of the concept of sovereignty.

However, four schools of thought have attempted to direct us in line with their hypotheses. The first school of thought was that propagated by Thomas Hobbes and Machiavelli, who behaved and accepted the Monarch or Prince as the sovereign.

The second school was represented by John Locke and Machiavelli again. John Locke is recognised as an apostle of democratic sovereignty. His theory is in support of democratic principles in that he illustrated the idea of people who gave up their natural authority, not to an individual or a clique but to the society. As for Machiavelli, he seemed to favour the Prince and Monarch as repository of sovereignty on one hand, as contained in his book, *The Prince*, while on the other hand, his *Discourses* supported democratic republic as superior to other political forms as repository of sovereignty.

Jean Jacques Rousseau represented the third school of thought as he saw the supreme powers of the sovereign as evolving from the general will of the people. By general will, he aggregated the sum total of individual will from different angles to total up to the collective will of the majority.

An illustration of what is regarded as general will could be likened to the debate on whether Nigeria should take I.M.F. loan or not with its conditionalities which was thrown open to Nigerians of all shades to decide. At the end of the debate, it was decided that Nigeria should not take the loan. Eventually, these views were adopted by the government as the general will and the government rejected the I.M.F. loan.

The Federal School of Thought is the fourth. This school is of the view that sovereignty in a unitary state is vested in a person, a group of persons, or the parliament while its location in a Federal State is a bit complex in that the arms of government competing for domestic sovereignty are: the Federal Authority, States, Supreme Court and the People. In a Federal State, you need to understand that the supreme power to make laws as well as the supreme political power to stabilise or destabilise governments and the institutions that make laws is not concentrated in an individual. They are shared by various organs of government as contained in the rigid document of some states, known as the constitution.

### **3.1.3 Methods of Acquiring Sovereignty**

Four ways stand out through which states could acquire sovereignty. These include:

- (a) Through a formal granting of independence by colonial masters.
- (b) Through a successful revolution or liberation war
- (c) Through a successful secession.
- (d) When a territory not claimed by any state succeeds in getting other states to recognize its independence.

### **3.1.4 Methods to Lose Sovereignty**

- (a) Voluntary
- (b) Annexation

An independent state can decide to merge with another independent state, like the merger between Tanganyika and Zanzibar in 1964 which metamorphosed into Tanzania. We have also witnessed the forceful annexation of some states and an immediate case study was the forceful annexation of Kuwait by Saddam Hussein's Iraq, which was however renounced when the international community resisted the action through military intervention.

### **3.1.5 Limitations of Sovereignty**

According to Jean Bodin, Sovereignty, as extra-ordinary as its concepts appear, is limited by some characteristics which include, but not limited to the following:

- (a) Divine Law (emanating from God Almighty)
- (b) Reason (Limitation perceived through reason)
- (c) International Law (as established by customs and treaties)
- (d) Leges imperil (laws of the realms)
- (e) Right of private property (which belongs to individuals and groups).



### **3.1.6 Types of Sovereignty**

#### **Legal Sovereignty**

This is the sovereignty defined as the supreme power to make, change, amend, clarify, revise and/or codify laws.

#### **Political or Popular Sovereignty**

It is the supreme power invoked to sustain or destroy those who make the laws. It is with the people and is usually demonstrated through their votes.

#### **Domestic or Internal Sovereignty**

This is the perpetual power a state possesses over its citizens and subjects, unrestrained by law.

### **3.1.7 Relevance of the Concept of Sovereignty towards Peace Building in a Global Society**

You need to bear in mind that sovereignty is considered to be the bedrock of international law and the link in inter-state relations.

Mere mention of sovereignty tells you that a state possesses a legal entity and must be so accorded. This is in line with the doctrine of equality of States as alluded to in 1935 by Haile Selassie during the Italian invasion of Abyssinia. At the then League of Nations' meeting in Geneva, He made a prophetic statement thus: "You promised that the independence granted to small nations shall be respected and guaranteed on equal basis but you kept mute on Italian invasion of my country. God and history shall always remember your judgment."

He was basking in the sovereignty of his country, though small, but at least, guaranteed by international law.

The doctrine of sovereignty has cautioned the excesses of some belligerent states which have no respect for international law.

As pointed out by Akinboye and Ottoh (2005), sovereignty is a non-convenient doctrine to those states prevented from acting without caution. Although that doctrine has given some states room to remain aloof in the face of necessary concerted efforts to stamp out global ills, yet, it has regulated the belligerence of states in international politics.

Sovereignty, under normal circumstances guarantees respect, dignity, and inviolability of states in the international system. This aspect is a worthy peace-building mechanism as respect begets respect. It guarantees diplomatic maneuvering among states on a platter of cordiality.

Quoting Palmer and Perkins, if sovereignty is directed to constructive purposes, it would evoke some of the finest of human sentiments for the service of worthy ends.

#### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

The term sovereignty is a double-edged sword that needs caution in enforcement as it could stall meaningful dialogue and collaborative efforts which globalization of political and economic ventures is encouraging. Its application must always be with the best intention in order to advance the cause of justice and peace building in the world.

#### **5.0 SUMMARY**

This unit has treated the concept of sovereignty, its origin, methods of acquiring it, where it resides and its types. Similarly, it discussed how to lose it, its limitations and its relevance towards peace building in a global society were discussed.

#### **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

What is the origin of the concept of Sovereignty? Discuss how to acquire it, lose it and the different types.

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

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### **UNIT 3 FOREIGN POLICIES OF THE MAJOR POWERS AS FACILITATORS OR CONFLICT GENERATORS IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS AND PEACE BUILDING**

#### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 The Major Powers and Their Foreign Policies
    - 3.1.1 The United States of America
    - 3.1.2 Foreign Policy of Russia
    - 3.1.3 British Foreign Policy
    - 3.1.4 French Foreign Policy
    - 3.1.5 Foreign Policy of the Peoples' Republic of China
    - 3.1.6 An Appraisal of the Foreign Policies of the Super-Powers as Either Facilitating Peace or Generating Conflict
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

#### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

A brief look at what foreign policy analysis stands for is needed before analysing the foreign policies of major powers either as conflict generators or as peace building facilitators.

In a nutshell, foreign policy of a state is predicated on that state's "national interest" to the extent that only the most senior members of government are entrusted with overseeing and controlling the policy process. In essence, the making of foreign policy is always the prerogative of government, and when decisions are so made, they are usually transferred to their foreign departments for implementation.

Their implementation now requires diplomacy as it is through diplomacy that decisions are implemented, policy activated as well as the achievement of policy objectives which might be established by the political leadership. Ostensibly, foreign policy is the interaction between states which satisfy the definition of a state in international law. Further, it is the action a state pursues in its interaction with other sovereign states in the international environment in order to achieve its set goals and objectives in its "national interest."

According to Akinboye and Ottoh (2005), “foreign policy denotes the authoritative action which governments take or are committed to take in order, either to preserve the desirable aspects of the international environment, or, to alter its undesirable aspects.”

Adele (1995) also defines foreign policy “as the actions of a state towards external environment and the conditions under which those decisions are formulated.” He also sees foreign policy as a coordinated strategy with which institutionally designated decision makers seek to manipulate the international environment in order to achieve certain national objectives.

## **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

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

- analyse the foreign policies of major world powers
- articulate their effect on world conflict situations and peace-building activities
- identify areas where the third world or developing countries could disentangle themselves from the yoke of ideological warfare.

## **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

### **3.1 The Major Powers and Their Foreign Policies**

Several reasons, both remote and immediate, come together to serve as factors determining the foreign policies of the major powers of the globe but before going into their discourse, you need to refresh your memory about these powers who are the primary movers and shakers of global politics.

They are: the United States of America, Russia, Great Britain, France and China.

#### **3.1.1 The United States of America**

The United States of America, the richest country in the world has a GNP of over five trillion dollars. It operates a Federal System of government.

Under the American constitution, powers over affairs are shared between the President and the Congress. The President is Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces but the Congress must authorize money for the Forces. The President appoints Ambassadors but the

appointments must be confirmed by the Senate. The President may negotiate treaties with other countries but the Senate must ratify them by a 2/3 votes. Only Congress can regulate commerce with other nations and declare war but the President may take military measures in case of any emergency and report back later to the Congress.

Constitutionally, an American President is very strong and there is no room for lackadaisical attitude. In 1950, Henry Truman sent American troops into South Korea to help repulse the North Korean attack on that country. Similarly, in the 60s, John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson sent American forces into South Vietnam. In 1970, Richard Nixon extended the war into Laos and Cambodia without congressional approval.

However, with the standard of other democratic nations, the ability of an American President to act decisively appears modest. An example was the inability of President Woodrow Wilson to take his country into the League of Nations after World War I due to the widespread opposition in the United States. The most important check on the American President is congressional control over the budget. Besides this, Congress has passed laws limiting the President's freedom of action on some strategic issues. For example, whenever the President wishes to sell arms worth more than twenty five million dollars to any country, Congress could block the sales if it adopts a concurrent revisit to that effect within 30 days. In 1973, Congress passed the "War Power Resolution" that requires the President to consult with it before sending American troops into hostile situations. After the forces have been sent, the President must report to Congress within 48 hours. After the briefing by the President, if the Congress does not pass a declaration of war in such region, the troops must be recalled.

### **Effect of Public Opinion on America's Foreign Policy**

Public opinion, influenced by persons, in and out of government is actively involved in shaping American foreign policy as well as the attitude and belief of the foreign policy elite. These foreign policy elites consist of senior officials of the State Department and National Security Council concerned with foreign affairs, various private organisations that help shape elite opinions. In addition, influential newspapers, columnists, writers, lobbyists, university dons, and others make good input into the formulation of the foreign policy of the United States of America.

## **Ideology**

It will be an understatement if we do not give ideology a pride of place in the shaping of American foreign policy, that is, if we limit her foreign policy to anti-communism alone. However, we can not limit her foreign policy to ideology alone as ideology only serves as a smokescreen for the pursuit of her economic interest, power and global influence.

The manner people settled in America ginged her to be pre-occupied with championing the call for freedom, free enterprise, and anti-communism. Most of the settlers had emigrated from various parts of Europe, either to escape from religious persecution, in search of greener pastures or just seeking pleasure. The settlers had gone to work in their struggles to achieve freedom from British Colonial domination. They detested taxation, without consultation and the emergent nation-state was built upon the principle of free enterprise and respect for human rights.

Phases in American Foreign Policy:

1. Isolationism
2. Containment
3. Retrenchment
4. Post cold war ear

You need to have a brief analysis of each with a view to seeking more knowledge on these phases in other books on American history.

## **Isolationism**

The core issue of America's foreign policy before World War II was its non-involvement with other great powers, both politically and militarily. Isolationism did not imply withdrawal from the rest of the world. It did not prevent her from interference and conquest in Latin America and the Far East. The essence of isolationism was to ensure that America was stopped as an extension of battle ground of the conflicts between European Powers, which was borne out of her colonial experience.

The New World, as America was known then, was treated as mere pawns by the European powers in the past which they resented. American leaders in the past, like George Washington, in 1796, urged his country men to avoid entangling alliance but he was not specific. However, Monroe's famous message to the Congress, known as Monroe Doctrine of 1823 was quite explicit and served as a guide to subsequent American foreign policy. He emphasised two spheres: "Let the old world keep away from the new world." It called on Europe to stop

meddling in the affairs of the United States and Latin America. The policy of isolationism worked well for the United States as it enabled America to establish herself as a great power while the European powers continued with fruitless wrangling. The United States established a strong foothold in Latin America and the Caribbean which served as sources of raw materials and new markets for her. She seized the opportunity to drive out Spain from Cuba and Puerto Rico. In a further bold attempt to secure access to the Chinese market, the United States took the Philippines from Spain and secured an open door policy in China, calling for the right of all interested powers to trade freely with China.

### **Containment**

After World War II in 1945, America's foreign policy assumed an international dimension as it was directed towards the containment of communism. This was to prevent Western Europe from going communist as the Soviet Union was about installing communist governments in Eastern Europe. This fear was rife when the United States considered the political and economic climate in Europe after the war, particularly, the leverage that the communist party of France and Italy could gain from the economic chaos prevailing in their countries after the war. It was assumed by the United States that if these countries were subverted from within, the political fate of the rest of Europe would be in doubt. Containment policies were in three (3) phases.

- (a) Truman Doctrine put forward the Domino theory and Greece and Turkey was the first dominos. Economic and military aids were sent to them. The economic and military aid to Greece was to enable the Greek Monarchy win the civil war against the communists while, the aid to Turkey was to strengthen Turkey's resistance against political pressures from Russia. This was to forestall a situation where both Greece and Turkey will embrace communism, an action which could jeopardise oil supply to Western Europe from the Middle East and therefore cut away Western Europe from American influence.

- (b) Marshal Plan

The Marshal Plan, named after American Secretary of State was an economic theory, designed to bring about economic recovery in Western Europe to forestall a communist incursion there. This was started off with \$12 billion to aid the reconstruction of war shattered economies. The USA lured England and France to embrace the plan by asking them to amalgamate their two zones in Germany with that of the USA, to create Western Germany State. By that system, Western Germany



would benefit from the revival aid and prevent the emergence of the communists in the West German Parliament.

- (c) In 1949, the USA, in her bid to curtail the spread of communism, and to foster the development of strong non-communist governments in Western Europe, formed an organisation known as NATO. This was a treaty that tied the fate of USA to that of Europe, as its main principle was based on a rigid understanding that an attack on any of the signatories was considered an attack on all. NATO was the security group to protect the economic aid to be provided by the Marshal Plan.

### **1. Containment – Phase II**

It was in the Far East and involved America's strategy in dealing with French's activities towards Indo-China. Although, the USA was opposed to imperialism, yet, it turned deaf ears to French's policy there due to the fraternisation with France in the formation of NATO.

Before June 1950, the Truman Administration made no linkage between the communists in Vietnam and those in China as the USA was seeking ways to reach accommodation with China. The USA assumed that the traditional hostility between China and Russia would neutralise ideological ties but Chairman Mao Tse-Tung's foreign policy statement on 1<sup>st</sup> July 1949, aligning China with Soviet Union in the struggle against imperialism which was sealed by a treaty of friendship and alliance jolted her. This frustration led President Truman to formulate an Asian containment policy, and went further to prevent Russia from involving herself in Japan's post-war occupation and kept her as America's sole preserve.

### **2. Containment - Phase III**

This was the globalisation of containment which was signaled by the Korean War. Korea was divided into North and South. The North, controlled by Communist Russia attacked the South, controlled by the West and as the USA felt the North had no potential to attack the South without the tacit support of the Soviet Union, concluded that communism could no longer be viewed as a separate national phenomena, but a monolith centrally directed and controlled by the Soviet Union. Toward the realisation of that objective, the USA signed deterrent pacts all over the world with Japan in 1951, New Zealand and Australia in 1951, Middle East and South Asia in 1955, and South East Asia in 1954.

In the era of global containment, the quest for nuclear superiority was a permanent feature of America's foreign policy. While the Korean War served as a catalyst that helped to bring about the global containment policy, the Vietnam War shattered it. The Vietnam War signified a failure in America's willpower. As Robert Art (1993) put it, Vietnam was America's imperial war except if viewed from the perspective of South East Asia dominoes. Vietnam was of little importance to the USA, even then, America failed to withdraw from the war at the right time.

### **3. Retrenchment**

The discipline of Peace and Conflict studies recognises that when violent conflict reaches a hurting point, when both parties see that the intervention of a third party or a change in strategy is desirable, then, solution is in sight. That was the situation which brought about a dramatic change in America's foreign policy. The achievement of nuclear parity between Russia and America, the world's two foremost military powers dictated America's change from containment to diplomatic maneuvering in the 1970. Retrenchment was not a retreat from the efforts at restraining or curtailing communism but the search for new means to achieve old goals.

These diplomatic maneuvering manifested in America's visit to China as well as the SALT treaties between the United States and Soviet Union. This new approach improved USA's relationship with her adversaries but created some problems for her in her relations with her allies who suspected her fraternisation with those opposed to NATO, especially, regarding the ambivalence posture of the USA on the defense policy of NATO. President Nixon ordered that the allies should provide the bulk of troops for their own defense while the USA will only provide money and arms, an indication that Americans will never experience another Vietnam.

In America's colonial struggle with Britain, the settlers resisted the idea that laws governing them had to be passed by British parliament in far away Europe. They also wanted the freedom to trade with the rest of the world, right to property etc.

#### **3.1.2 Foreign Policy of Russia**

Russia has undergone profound upheavals, revolutions and restructuring in its history. The Old Russian Empire extended over the centuries from Europe to the Far East, making Russia the biggest country in the world. As the successor to the Russian imperial state, the Soviet Union functioned as heir and custodian of the interest of the Russian Nation,

which was the largest in the USSR, constituting 52% of the population of two hundred and eight million (208,000,000). Russia had been an imperial and traditionally ruling nation. Russian character of the then Soviet state was unmistakable. Russian language was the lingua Franca and Russians dominated all the state's institutions.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia became the juridical successor to the former Soviet Union. She was not significantly separated from the rest of Europe as there are no barriers, besides artificial ones between former Soviet Union and the rest of Europe.

### **Geographical and Historical Factors Which Shape Russian Foreign Policy**

Vernon Aspaturian (2001) opined that the most permanent conditioning factor in a country's foreign policy is geography.

He explained further that location, topography and natural resources are potent determinants of a country's economic and military power. He emphasised that the above factors notwithstanding as they are relative, certain prerequisites are still needed such as a country's cultural traditions, political institutions, size and diversity of its population, the exploitation of its natural resources, and the skill of its statesman. The Soviet Union, like the Tsarist Russia, was the largest single intercontinental empire in the world. Embracing fully half of two continents, the Soviet Union had the world's longest and most exposed frontier in the world.

In the past, Russia's geographical position exposed her to continuous subjugation from various fronts.

What exposed Russia's disunity to the outside world and encouraged foreign intervention were the revolution of 1917 and the terrible purges of the 1930s when Stalin undertook to enforce unity in Russia. After surviving each conflict, she embarked on a military campaign which she hopes could help her gain more territories but by 1921, she realised the campaign was a failure. However, by the end of World War II, due to her strategic position and contribution to the Allied Victory, Russia succeeded in bringing all of Eastern Europe under her leadership.

### **3.1.2 Soviet Foreign Policy Formulation Processes**

The formulation of foreign policy in the Soviet Union is the exclusive preserve of some institutions, about five in number.

These are:

- (a) The Party Congress
- (b) The Central Committee
- (c) Politburo
- (d) The Interest Groups
- (e) The Ministry of Foreign Affairs

#### **(A) The Party Congress**

The party congress is the highest but in practice, is the most degraded of the institutions in the foreign policy formulation. Since global politics is dynamic, it follows that policy formulation too should be such as to meet the exigencies of international politics.

The party congress meets every five years and its massive size of delegates, about two thousand, became an unwieldy, rubber stamping organ of the leaders' decisions.

#### **(B) The Central Committee**

The initial purpose of the central committee was to guide the entire work of the party in the interval between congresses and direct the work of the government.

Overtime, the central committee was also reduced to a sounding board for the leaders' rigmarole and met infrequently.

#### **(C) Politburo**

The most important organ of decision making was the Politburo of the Communist Party. The supreme power of the party was entrusted to this organ. Its internal organisation, composition and deliberations were secret. Under Stalin, the decisions of the Politburo on foreign policy were his own.

#### **(D) The Interest Groups**

The legitimacy of competing interest groups was not recognized in Soviet ideology as only the interests of the working class were recognized as legitimate. Various groups developed interest in defense

issues due to the role and status conferred on them. This is basically due to the fact that issues of foreign policy and defense are areas that attract priority attention in the allocation of money and scarce resources. For example, the military, the heavy industry managers, and party officials had vested interests in maintaining international tensions or creating the illusion of external danger. Conversely, officials of the state, bureaucracy, light industry managers, scientific groups, consumer groups/services managers, agricultural managers, and the consumers had vested interests in relaxation of international tensions. This is due to the assumption that they will benefit more from a policy that raises the standard of living.

### **(E) The Ministry of Foreign Affairs**

There seems to be a fusion of oversight functions between the Council of Ministers and the Party Presidium on the supervision of the Soviet Foreign Office. Technically, the Soviet Foreign Office fell under the supervision of the Council of Ministers but it enjoyed a direct unique relationship with the Party Presidium, as Soviet envoys to other important communist countries were considered primarily as emissaries from the party and secondarily, as government agents. Soviet missions abroad were organised into various divisions, each with separate channels of communication.

- i. The Ambassador and the staff report directly to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- ii. The Commercial Counselor at the embassy reports to the Ministry of Trade.
- iii. The Secret Police, usually disguised as minor diplomat, reports to the Security Ministry.
- iv. Attachés report to the Military Intelligence Headquarters.
- v. The Party Representative, disguised as a minor diplomat, reports to the foreign section of the Central Committee of the Party.

A special agency of the Central Committee is saddled with the screening, coordinating, and evaluation of information coming through various channels, and then submits its report to the Presidium to be used as a factor in the formulation of foreign policy and in the making of decisions.

Soviet diplomats were regarded as instruments, rather than makers of foreign policy. Their reports constituted a small fraction of the information on which the Presidium acted as they were expected to be concerned mainly with observations and suggestions, for more effective implementation of foreign policy.

Above all, you need to bear it in mind that the Soviet ideology was based upon the authoritative interpretation of changing events by Soviet leaders. This will come up again when we discuss the effect of these powers towards peace building processes.

### **3.1.3 British Foreign Policy**

#### **Preamble**

Due to Britain's location as an Island, Englishmen traditionally sought their fortunes in far away places through trade and Colonial settlements. By mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, large scale exchange of manufactured goods for overseas raw materials and foodstuffs had become the main feature of the British economy. Britain is predominantly a manufacturing country, largely dependent on outside sources of food and raw materials.

Britain has been pre-occupied with two major historical concerns and these are the continued maintenance of oceanic access to the rest of the world and the prevention of any potentially hostile power from dominating European continent. However, the means have changed over time. With limited resources in a new world, Britain's old command of the seas has become impossible (Remember America's declaration of Independence – 1776).

The United States became the decisive factor in Britain's quest for continental security, especially, when the Soviet Union became the strongest continental power in place of Germany.

#### **Foreign Policy Making Process in Britain**

Foreign policy formulation in Britain involve the under listed organs:

- vii. The Executive
- viii. The Foreign Service
- ix. Parliament
- x. Non-government agencies (The interest groups)
- xi. The Mass Media

#### **I. The Executive**

The political executive is legally supreme in foreign policy formulation in Britain. Foreign policy is presented to parliament at some stage but there are no constitutional provisions for parliament's approval for important international commitment like what obtains in the United States.

The Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary are those directly concerned with foreign affairs in the cabinet. Other cabinet members are regularly involved in the foreign policy formulation, like the Defense Secretary, who holds a unique position in the cabinet and who in turn links up with the Air force, Army and the Navy as well as the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

## **II. Foreign Service**

The Foreign Service officials specialise in various aspects of international affairs under the political system in Britain. This could be linked to heavy recruitment from elite universities such as Oxford and Cambridge as well as the adoption of a system based on competitive examinations. Further, since the top echelon of the service does not change with the political turnovers, professional competence are not only guaranteed, but enhanced.

## **III. Parliament**

The House of Commons debates but does not make foreign policy. Government policy is formulated in the cabinet, although, concern is usually shown for the preferences of the members of parliament who form the majority parliamentary party. On their part, members of parliament realise the need to exercise their influences softly and behind the scenes as their fate is tied to that of the government.

Besides occasional debates on foreign policy, question time in parliament presents opportunity for members to ask questions about particular aspects of foreign policy but such questions could be turned down if answering them might violate national security.

## **IV. Non-Governmental Agencies**

### **(a) The Interest Groups**

Interestingly, major British interest groups tend to have direct connections with a political party. For example, most of the interest groups are affiliated to the labour party while industrial leaders maintain close connections with the conservative party. Although, there is access to foreign policy makers, interest groups do not exercise overwhelming influence in foreign policy. An example of this was the British farm organisation which contributed to the delay in the Government decision to negotiate its entry into the European common market but could not prevent the decision, nor set the terms of entry. Other interest groups which influence foreign policy, though, not primarily organised for such, include churches, muslim organisations, the veteran groups and so on. However, some groups are organised around foreign policy issues

and these include, though not limited to the United Nations Association, the Royal Institute of International Affairs, and Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, etc.

### **(b) The Mass Media**

The major newspapers are molders of opinion since almost every person seriously concerned with national or international affairs reads the Times of London, the Guardian or Telegraph as well as the weekly Economist magazine.

## **The Substance of British Foreign Policy**

### **The Commonwealth**

The Commonwealth consists of two different elements of modern British overseas expansion. The first element is largely British – Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. These are countries in which British settlers dominate numerically and politically. The union of South Africa as it was then known was a special case as its British population was not dominant over time in relation to the white settlers of Dutch descent, and certainly not in relation to the black African population. The new member nations which are overwhelmingly Asian and African by population represent the 2<sup>nd</sup> element in the Commonwealth. Mainly, these nations have been governed by the British. Each member nation acknowledges the Queen of England as the symbolic Head of the Commonwealth. The new Asian and African nations do not accept the Queen as their own Head of State. There is no central authority above that of the respective governments although there are essentially administrative arrangements for a number of cooperative ventures, e.g. Commonwealth Secretariat located at Marlborough House in London. There are regular meetings of the Commonwealth Heads of Governments (CHOGOM). At these meetings efforts are made to adopt common policies on matters of intra commonwealth concern. The meetings used to be held in London until 1966 when it was held for the first time outside London in Nigeria. Since then meetings are held in member countries in rotation. At first the British adhered to an idealistic conception of Commonwealth citizenship, and throughout the 1950s she was open to immigrants from Africa, Asia and West Indies just like the old British Dominion. During the years of full employment in Britain there was large scale immigration of non-white people into Britain. This subsequently led to popular agitation against immigration. In response, successive British governments took steps to curtail immigration.



## Special Relations with United States of America

British leaders believe that their country has a special relation with the USA, different from that with continental European nations similarly joined with NATO. The ties of language and associated factors have facilitated this relationship. Within this special relationship, British government sought in the post war era to exert its influence on American policy often privately and informally. Good personal communication between a British Prime Minister and an American President has been an important part of the special relationship. To maintain such communication and effectiveness as a means of exerting influence, British officials try to avoid public dispute with American policy. As an illustration of this special relationship, the British Embassy in Washington has a staff of about 700 more than twice that of any other European Embassy in the United States. American policy does not suggest that Britain should choose between the United States and Western Europe. On the contrary, post war American policy has been to urge Britain to join Western integration while maintaining ties with the United States.

## British Economic Foreign Policy and the EEC

British dependence on overseas, means that economic matters are always in the forefront of all foreign policy issues.

Since World War II the most constant national concern has been the maintenance of sufficient volume of manufacture exports, along with so-called invisible earnings from various services to pay for needed imports of food and other materials. The British policy of low tariff was used to discriminate in favour of Commonwealth Nations, known as *Imperial Preference System* and was renamed *Commonwealth Preference System* after World War II. In return, Commonwealth Nations discriminated in favour of British manufactured goods. Britain's special commonwealth relationship contributed to the delay in her entry into the *European Economic Community (EEC)* but these were no longer sufficient to preclude British commitments to Europe. By the 1960's British trade with Western Europe became much greater and was growing much more rapidly than the Commonwealth. In 1974, Britain's exports to its EEC partners were worth twice as much as its exports to the Commonwealth. In the early 1950's Britain had no compelling reasons to join the integration scheme in Europe. Britain was then more prosperous than most of Continental Europe. She was concerned then with protecting her national identity and not to surrender part of her sovereignty but by the late 1950's, the change in economic circumstances dictated greater British concern with European trade as continental growth became more rapid. As the EEC began to succeed,

the first British response was to try in 1957 and 1958 to persuade the six members of the EEC to join Britain and several other European nations in a looser Free Trade Organisation that would afford only mutual tariff preferences for those countries unwilling to accept the other features of the EEC.

Following the rejection of this suggestion, Britain led the formation of the European Free Trade Association. In the early 1960 EFTA reduced tariffs among its seven members – (Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Austria, Switzerland, and Britain). The Association worked well to increase trade among the members but with its smaller population and non-contiguous character, it could not rival the EEC. Under Harold Macmillan, Britain began negotiating with the EEC in 1961. President De Gaulle vetoed her application in 1963 on the ground that Britain's inclination was too non-European for the EEC. Harold Wilson renewed the negotiation in 1967. This was also vetoed. Edward Heath began Britain's 3<sup>rd</sup> effort in 1970. Heath concluded the negotiation in 1971 and British membership commenced from 1973.

### **Security Policy**

NATO has been Britain's principal instrument of military security. Because of the Island's location, vulnerability and limited resources, the British were convinced that they cannot protect themselves against aggression without outside help. In particular, security against Soviet domination of the continent requires American help. So the cornerstone of British postwar European policy was to obtain an American commitment. Britain's need for American aid sometimes makes her feel like an American appendage rather than a partner. Britain has sought to avoid such an appearance. As one of the founding big five of the United Nations, Britain is a permanent member of the Security Council. Although British leaders show an emotional attachment to the ideals of the United Nations, British policy makers have found alliances, such as NATO, more reliable shields than the United Nations Charter. But the British spare no efforts in maintaining the United Nations as a gathering place for all nations, providing opportunities for discussion, negotiations and compromise.

#### **3.1.4 French Foreign Policy**

France found herself drastically weakened as a result of the effects of World War II. That regardless, she continued to nurse aspirations for greatness which formed the basis of her foreign policy thrust, thus:

- (a) The continuation of France's imperial position and,
- (b) European continental strength

- (a) By the continuation of France's imperial position, she wanted to maintain and preserve her empire in many parts of the world. France did not consider it reasonable to set her colonies free and the maintenance of her empire was seen as part of France's mission and a regular aspect of French culture and influence. France detested Germany because of the latter's occupation of the former in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 and 1871, and to avenge that sour memory, France entered into various alliances with both the West and East. In 1944, General De Gaulle visited Moscow and signed a Franco - Russian treaty of mutual friendship. France joined NATO which initially excluded Germany. The alliance provided security for France and in general terms, the integration of the empire. Article 5 of the treaty stipulated that an attack against any one of the members would be considered an attack on all, while article 9 provided for a permanent deliberative organisation and the establishment of a common military command. It will be recalled that Germany was excluded which suited France as earlier pointed out, and this gave France a position of strategic importance but a clear signal of a vacuum in the overall defense of European strategy.

On her part, the fear of Soviet attack, which was seen as having a balance of power, was a red signal to the United States which floated the idea of a re-consideration of Germany as a logical step in the constitution of a strong defensive line against Russian attack. This was eventually accepted by France and in December, 1954, the French National Assembly allowed Germany to become a member of NATO and to re-arm herself within the framework of NATO.

### **France Policy towards Her Empire**

You will recall we said earlier on that France had an extended Empire in many parts of the world which was administered through a centralised bureaucratic system in which Paris, through the colonial officials, made every decision and legislated for the empire. Its ideology was assimilation which encapsulated the theory that every inhabitant would be recognised as French citizens and to be represented in the French Parliament in Paris. This was in contrast to that of the British which prepared the colonial people towards political autonomy and self government through a policy of indirect rule.

That assimilation policy of France, which was against the tide of anti-colonialism, involved her in huge military expenditure in Indo-China, North Africa, and Middle East and so on. This unnecessary expenditure retarded her economy and made her almost bankrupt until during the 4<sup>th</sup> Republic, between 1956 & 1958 that France decided to tow the line of unstoppable move towards colonial emancipation. Under the

constitution of the 5<sup>th</sup> Republic, the country's president, General Charles De Gaulle was given broader powers to deal with the issue of de-colonialism. He was made the guarantor of Nations integrity, Commander-In-Chief of the Armed Forces, and had the responsibility for the conduct of foreign affairs, as well as the responsibility to negotiate and ratify treaties. Thus military, foreign, and colonial policies were his personal responsibility and calling cabinet meetings was just to rubber-stamp his intension which diminished the effectiveness of parliament.

However, it is significant to add that under General De Gaulle, though, at a huge cost, France ended colonialism. It is worthy of mention that in 1958, when De Gaulle offered the colonies the option of a political arrangement, tagged, French community or independence, all her territories, except Guinea Conakry, under Ahmed Sekou Toure, entered the French Community, and became Republics, federated with France. They accepted being governed from far away France and the French President was also President of such Colonial Nation.

You must have noticed that amongst all French territories, only Guinea Conakry, under President Ahmed Sekou Toure rejected the French offer. You need to know why he did so and what the consequences were. The rejection was considered a slap on the face of France and General De Gaulle made Guinea to suffer for it. Being the custodian of France's foreign policy and the symbol of France in all spheres, he rendered Guinea Conakry totally innocuous, completely impotent in all spheres for days as French personnel in Guinea, including medical personnel of all grade, engineers, technicians, and any staff that had to do with the day-to-day existence of that nation, were recalled and all air lifted away. There was pandemonium all over the country as electricity was no more and the whole nation was in darkness. The situation was in that state for three days after which the Prime Minister of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah rose up stoutly to redeem the battered ego of Guinea. He drafted his country's personnel to Guinea and within a few hours, life returned there and Sekou Toure, who did not succumb to France's day-light humiliation of African race survived. That survival sent signals to France that her game of assimilation was up.

Between 1959 and 1960, the idea of French Community was abandoned and by 1962 the last colony of France in Africa, Algeria, after a long and costly war, was granted full independence.

### **France's Relation with NATO**

General De Gaulle was not comfortable with power disparity within NATO members which forced him to propose the establishment of a directorate of three, comprising England, France and the United States with a joint responsibility for global strategy. The rejection of that suggestion compelled France to withdraw from NATO's integrated command. France then withdrew her forces from NATO on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1966 and also demanded the withdrawal of all United States' armed forces from NATO soil by 1<sup>st</sup> April, 1967.

### **France and the European Common Market**

General De Gaulle, under an illusion that the European Common Market will be placed under French hegemony, embraced it, because she possessed atomic weapons denied Germany by virtue of the 1955 peace accord.

Britain's intention to join the market was hindered by France's conditionality that Britain must cut off her intimate ties with the United States as such ties might reinforce America's influence in Europe. As Britain was not ready to do so, France vetoed her membership. France then turned to Germany, her traditional enemy and signed a treaty in 1963 for consultations on defense, foreign policy and cultural affairs. It was based on France's assumption that West Germany would accept French rather than American leadership and protection. With Germany's ambivalence, the treaty became moribund. The common market made giant strides towards becoming genuine supra-nationality, contrary to the perception of De Gaulle who advocated that it should remain a purely economic arrangement to be held together by the will of sovereign and independent states.

### **France's Nuclear Strategy**

It was the belief of General De Gaulle that in order to maintain the balance of power, France must develop nuclear weapons. Accordingly, on 13<sup>th</sup> February, 1960, France exploded her first atomic device in the Sahara desert, facing south wards. The effect of that nuclear test was heavily felt in West Africa as it came along with a disease known as "influenza" that killed a lot of aged people, especially, in Nigeria.

When De Gaulle left power in 1962, his assumptions of an independent Europe under French hegemony, to undermine Soviet and American positions in Eastern and Western Europe respectively, and to prevent Soviet-America cooperation had failed.

Under President Pompidou, De Gaulle's system was replaced by practical considerations for economic motives and he was equally in favour of British admission into the European common market which could bring stronger European ties. Other French Presidents after Pompidou followed the same policy as his was in contrast to the Gaullist idea. They were Discard d'Estaing, Mitterrand, and Chirac.

It is equally worthy of mention that, Pompidou continued to maintain relations with French speaking Africa, like De Gaulle, and to improve relations with North African States of Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria. France embarked on some projects with European States like the manufacture of the Concorde Airplane, a joint project between France, Germany and Britain. One of the most important landmarks in the progress towards closer co-operation in the European community took place during the era of Discard d'Estaing. At the Summit of Paris in 1974, leaders of the community decided to be meeting on an annual basis. They also decided to coordinate diplomatic actions in all areas of international affairs so that they could speak with one voice through their designated president.

### **3.1.5 Foreign Policy of the Peoples' Republic of China**

In analyzing China's foreign policy, some physical, historical and ideological factors come to play.

#### **Physical Factors**

The proportion of the world map taken up by China is extensive. China has a population of 2.7 billion. This factor of the sheer size of China gives her neighbours like India and Japan, fear of expansionism by China.

Chinese leaders themselves have often spoken of their determination to recover their lost territories, with regard to the living space required for national survival. Between 1689 and 1899, China had lost over 4 million square kilometres of land to various invading powers, notably Russia, United Kingdom and Japan. China's leadership had persistently sworn to recover Taiwan which is still being regarded as a province of China.

#### **Historical Factors**

Chinese Leaders' calculation of their national life during the past decades had been an assumption that most of their woes emanated from contact with the "Foreign Devil" or Western imperialists.

One of their cherished leaders, Chin-Ka-Chek heaped the disintegration of the Minchin Dynasty of China on the activities of the imperialists,

particularly in areas of unequal treaties, which ravaged the Chinese traditional structure of the family, village and community. The destructions by Western troops in the 19<sup>th</sup> century led to the general feeling in China that evil is inherent in foreign contact.

### **Ideology**

Chairman Mao Tse-Tung created an Asiatic form of Marxism. He changed Marxism from its European nature to an Asiatic form. He built a communist party of a peasant guerrilla army based in the countryside as opposed to the classical Marxist method of a workers' movement seizing power in cities. Mao instituted China's Cultural Revolution from 1966 to 1968. He waged a relentless attack on what was called "Moscow Revisionism." Mao's belief was that power flows from the barrel of the gun and that armed struggle in the countryside is the most reliable path to power. What compelled China to champion communist causes throughout the world was its confrontation with Moscow.

### **Objectives of China's Foreign Policy**

The main objectives of China's foreign policy could be placed under three headings: territorial integrity, universal equality and national security.

#### **Territorial Integrity**

China is still of the view that it has not achieved territorial integrity, even though, it now possesses nuclear power and its armed forces are the third largest in the world. Its assumption is based on the assertion that as long as Taiwan is outside its control, its territorial integrity is yet to be achieved. China's fear is borne out of the fear that capitalist U.S.A influence on Taiwan might be inimical to China's interest.

#### **Universal Equality**

The drive for universal equality by China was as a result of the status of inferiority placed on her before the emergence of Chairman Mao's reign, despite its size. However, her representation at the United Nations since 1972 and the presence of over 100 foreign embassies in Beijing, capital city of China signified a significant success in that drive.

#### **National Security**

History comes to play in China's bid for national security. She was vulnerable to subversion and invasion of its frontiers by external forces and since the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949,

security considerations have played a prominent role in China's foreign policy. The Korean War of 1952-1953, the Indo-China conflict of 1964-1972, and the Soviet border incidents between 1962-1969, have reinforced China's consideration on national security. China's assuredness for prosecuting its foreign policy includes the vast population which offers superior military manpower, compared to countries in South Asia and South East Asia.

Nowadays, China's decision makers do not consider territorial expansion as an ideologically acceptable means of alleviating internal problems. China is today economically self-sufficient with oil export that provides leverage to nearby countries.

China has diplomatically regained her territory of Hong Kong which Britain colonised in 1842. In her early days, the Peoples Republic of China was politically isolated and economically weak but the peace-building approach adopted to bring life and hope to her people was a policy tagged "People to People" diplomacy and propaganda. Premier Chou En Lai traveled abroad extensively and also hosted foreign leaders, stressing China's desire for peace.

Bilateral friendship associations and cultural tours were used to promote positive image for China. At the same time, in line with global peace-building diplomatic shuttle, support was given to East Europeans, Africans and Asians with common interest, regardless of ideological differences in areas such as road building, rail roads and so on. Tanzam railways (Tanzania – Zambia) signify Afro-China's cooperation. This type of support sold China abroad positively and its distinct advantage is that the needs of many developing countries are met through Chinese experience and simpler technology, in particular, the austere life styles of techniques cost host government less than Russian and America Counterparts.

### **3.1.6 An Appraisal of the Foreign Policies of the Super – Powers as Either Facilitating Peace or Generating Conflict**

First, we have discussed America's pre-occupation with free enterprise and fight against communism. We also viewed her concern with democracy and human rights against history. In her struggle with Britain, the American settlers resisted the idea that laws governing them had to be passed by British parliament in far away Europe, and without their input. They also wanted the freedom to trade with the rest of the world, the right to property, etc. The country went through a civil war over slavery, resulting in the abolition of slavery and respect for human rights.



In spite of America's apparent pre-occupation with democracy, America has often sacrificed these principles in her relations with other countries when the principles clash with her other interests. For instance, it was America that supported dictatorship in the Dominican Republic and Zaire as well as anti-government Guerrilla in Nicaragua. America made loud anti-colonial pronouncements in the early years of the new American State, deriving from her own anti-colonial struggle. However, when anti-communism became a major plank of her foreign policy, she was ready and willing to jettison anti-colonialism. There was an element of hypocrisy in America's anti-colonial posture as she herself undertook colonial expansion in North America, Latin America, Caribbean, Philippines, and even in Japan. America is a loud critic of human rights violations. This could be explained partly in terms of anti-communist propaganda and partly because of the powerful Jewish lobby. However America has been able to condone human rights violation in countries like Haiti, Iran - under the Shah, Philippines under Marcos within the context of her anti-communist global strategy.

Withdrawal of America's support for the Zairian dictator, Mobutu Sese Seko led to his downfall and overthrow by Lawrent Kabila. In the height of the cold war, America had propped up Mobutu's regime in its anti - communist drive in Central and Southern Africa. Withdrawal of America's support also led to the weakening of the military strength of Jonas Savimbi of Angola and Alphonso Diakama of Mozambique.

While America had used her enormous diplomatic maneuvering to bring about the re-unification of Germany, and had reached out to the East in an effort to build global peace, what could best be seen as America's pre-occupation at this point in time is her economic interest, and she would go to any length, either conventional or unconventional to protect it.

An appraisal of the foreign policy of Russia could be viewed thus: from being a pariah State in 1917, beset with social convulsions, civil wars and foreign occupation, it has been transformed within half a century to a global power, second only to the United States of America in power, prestige and influence.

Soviet foreign policy operated within the framework of a bi-polar world of communism versus capitalism. The author of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, Aspaturian, concluded that if measured against a traditional yardstick of power politics, the Soviet Union was resounding success. He noted that World War II was the most important factor in the rise of Soviet power and the decline of the power of other States.

Germany was dismembered and occupied, Japan was disarmed, and Italy was dispossessed of her colonial empire. France, Great Britain and the Netherlands progressively relinquished their colonies. During the same period in view, the Soviet Union annexed vast territories in Europe and Asia, displacing Japan and Germany respectively.

An international sub-system of 14 Communist States was established. Communist Party sprang up in over 70 additional countries with large mass parties in France, Italy and India, inspired by Marxist – Leninism.

However, if measured against its initial ideological purpose, the Soviet Union was a failure. Instead of transforming the world, it was the Soviet Union that was transformed from a self appointed centre of world revolution dedicated to the destruction of the existing social and political order. It was transformed into global power, with interest in stabilising the status quo. The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1993 spelt the final doom for the union which had been held together by force for over 70 years and it disintegrated into numerous independent States. Communist parties lost power in many Eastern European countries.

The effect of these developments was to drastically reduce the power, prestige and the influence of Russia, leaving America as the sole super power in a uni-polar international system.

Britain's foreign policy has been largely programmed to take care of her self interest. NATO has been Britain's principal instrument of military security. The British were convinced that they could not protect themselves against aggression without outside help because of her location as an Island, vulnerability, and limited resources. Further, security against Soviet domination of the continent requires American help.

All this goes to show that the cornerstone of British post war European policy was to obtain an American commitment. Various uncooperative attitudes towards the UN by the USA finds support with Britain. The recent Iraqi War speaks volume. Although, British leaders show an emotional attachment to the ideals of the United Nations as she is a permanent member, British policy makers have found alliances such as NATO more reliable shields than the United Nations Charter.

The foreign policy of France has been clearly demonstrated abinitio through empire building syndrome. Their policy of assimilation which was abandoned under heavy resistance by the colonised oppressed colonies was an eye opener. France found the Sahara desert convenient to test an atomic bomb and directed it against Southern Africa to convince us that Africans are guinea pigs. The devastating effects of the

test hit Nigeria and West Africa generally like a hurricane as it claimed several lives. In a nutshell, “National Interest” is France’s hallmark in her foreign policy formulation. The foreign policy of the Peoples’ Republic of China has been closely associated with their history. They were seen as very inferior set of people and humiliated by the advanced States. They resented this and embarked on what could give them self-reliance. With teeming population, self determination, and total commitment of both leaders and the led, they have emerged as a force to be reckoned with in world affairs. They are not only self-sufficient, but ready to help other developing states to have economic independence.

In all, the foreign policies of the big five are essentially built on the premise of self-reliance and an aggressive policy of protecting anything that would jeopardise their economic interests. The third world countries should explore their own potentials to better their lot and embrace good governance. Anything to the contrary will make them perpetual aid seekers, leading to loss of honour and the erosion of national dignity.

#### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

The importance of less emphasis on parochial national interests by major powers in their aggressiveness to re-order global politics to suit their whims and caprices was discussed in this chapter. It is hoped that the major powers would reflect more on what binds us together than how they can entrench their exploitative foreign policies as the world has now become a global village. Reprisal attacks for wrongs done in a country thousands of kilometres away now stare the aggressor/initiator in the face.

#### **5.0 SUMMARY**

This unit has discussed the foreign policies of the major powers and their effects on global peace.

#### **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

Discuss American Foreign Policy and assess its effects on Africa.

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

Fisher, S. et al (2000). *Working with Conflict*. London: Zed Books.

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## **UNIT 4 THE ROLE OF MUNICIPAL AND INTERNATIONAL LAWS AS THEY AFFECT INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION AND PEACE BUILDING**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 Concept of International Law
    - 3.1.1 Relationship between International Law and Municipal Law
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

This unit briefly analyses the impact of the collaboration between municipal law and international law towards a harmonious and stable world order.

First, the origin of modern international law, which is a product of about four hundred years ago, could be ascribed to be premised on the following: – sovereignty, territorial integrity, equality of nations and non-interference in the internal affairs of nations. According to Akinboye and Ottoh (2005), these ideas developed simultaneously with the development and growth of the nation-state system. That historic 1648 peace treaty of Westphalia where Europeans met and dissolved the empire of the church and broke into nation-states brought about the aforementioned principles. In essence, modern international law is said to have sprung up as a result of the need for human survival in the mid-twentieth century, but drawing largely from the rudimentary pioneering efforts of the collapsed Roman Empire.

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

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

- relate the collaborative efforts of Municipal and International Law in areas of peace-building
- explain what global peace would have meant without International Law.

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 Concept of International Law**

International law, according to Yakubu (2005), could also be defined as “that body of law, which is composed for its greater part, the principles and rules of conduct, which States feel themselves bound to observe, and therefore do commonly observe in their relations with each other” and this includes also:

- (a) The rules of law relating to the functioning of international institutions or organisations, their relations with each other, and their relations with states and individuals, and
- (b) Certain rules of law relating to individuals and non-state entities which are the concern of the international community.

The above definitions have been given impetus to when global peace was to be enhanced, realising that the law of nations transcends rules governing the relations between states only.

With the establishment of some major international institutions, like the United Nations and World Health Organisation, which international law confers with the status of an international personality, the enactment of a law on protection of human rights and fundamental freedom of individuals, creation of new rules to deal with persons who commit acts of genocide or destruction of a race, all of which became international crimes against peace and humanity, the previous definition of international law which limits it to rules governing the relations between states only have become obsolete. The need for peace-building was the motivating factor for the evolution of and collaboration between municipal and international law.

Specific factors that added impetus to the growth of International Law include:

- (a) Industrial Revolution
- (b) Development of Trade
- (c) Development of Nation States

Industrial revolution came into being in Europe in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century which encouraged trade in goods and services through the use of capitals. An increase in the volume of intra-European trade and the need to regulate trading activities within that sphere became expedient. This forcible adversarial tendency was assumed and the only way to forestall it was the establishment of an acceptable regulatory agency in terms of international law. As a corollary to the preceding assumption,

international maritime activities were on the ascendancy, and to regulate the maritime activities of each state especially as Britain was a maritime state, sea-faring laws which translated to international laws were formulated. The war of invincible Armada was a maritime case involving England and Spain during the reign of Queen Elizabeth the 1<sup>st</sup>.

### **3.1.1 Relationship between International Law and Municipal Law**

Two theories, advanced by two schools of thought, the “monism” and the “dualism” schools of thought come to mind.

#### **Monism**

This school of thought is of the view that both international law and municipal law are aspects of a body of law because law is seen as a unified field of knowledge. It went further to state that the combination of both laws constitute the unity of legal system binding human beings collectively or simply as irrespective of anything to the contrary, human beings lie at the root of the unity of all laws. This school of thought reiterates the needlessness of creating any dichotomy between the two as the objective of law is the overall advancement of peace and tranquility.

#### **Dualism**

As Yakubu pointed out, the rise of modern states of legislative assemblies with complete internal legal sovereignty and development of philosophic doctrines brought about the emergence of dualism. Before then, the generally held view was that the monistic construction of the two legal systems was in order on their perception that natural law conditioned the law of nations and the very existence of states.

However, the dualists are of the view that international law represents two distinct legal systems, involving many nations, one binding individuals, while the other binds states. They are also of the view that while municipal law emanates from the will of the people, international law is through the will of states. The protagonists of this school are again of the view that while municipal law is a product of a sovereign within a state, international law is only the result of a consensus. It is also argued that while international law consists of treaties and customary international law, municipal law is composed of statutes and judicial decisions.

However, our concern in this unit is to find out how the combination of the application of both municipal and international laws have aided international peace building.

Akinboye and Ottoh (2005) opine that we should not dwell so much on areas of academic dichotomy between monism and dualism as the fact remains that neither could be faultlessly acceptable. International law and municipal law are collaborative bodies of doctrine, directed in their totality to address specific areas of human conduct in harmony and that the rules, in their application, aim at basic human good. With the combination of both, and the application of the principles of universal human rights doctrine, and laws on international crime as earlier mentioned, peace building efforts will not only be sustained but enhanced.

#### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

The combination of municipal and international laws helps to reassure the world community that there is hope for the future and that you do not create problem in a country and run for cover in another.

#### **5.0 SUMMARY**

This unit has focused on peace-building activities through the invocation of municipal as well as international laws. Their efficacy in guaranteeing self esteem and human dignity in realisation of the need for a conflict free interaction in the fields of economic, political and social collaboration was also stressed.

#### **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

Of what benefit to mankind is international law? Discuss.

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

Fisher, S. et al (2000). *Working with Conflict*. London: Zed books.

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## **UNIT 5 CAUSES OF INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 Theories about Causes of International Conflict
    - 3.1.1 Factors Responsible For International Conflicts
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

Conflict has been defined as a process of social interaction in which two or more persons struggle with one another for some commonly priced object or value. Conflict arises because the benefits and rewards of a society are limited.

The interests of individuals pursuing these scarce resources clash as each tries to subdue the others as much as necessary to satisfy their own desires.

International conflict is not only occasioned by armed struggle, but involves several other factors, such as ideological, political, economical or social, resulting in what Waller Stein described as a structural strain, so great that the only possible outcome is the disappearance of the system, either by a process of gradual disintegration or by a process of relatively – controlled transformation.

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you are expected to:

- explain what international conflict is
- identify those issues that serve as catalysts to international conflict.

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 Theories about Causes of International Conflict**

Before venturing into the causes of international conflicts, you need to be reminded, first, of some theories about the causes of conflict

generally which will put you in a good stead to link up with causes traceable to international conflict.

Further, when comprehensively analysed, it will be discovered that there are different methods of approach to address each as their ultimate goal is global peace and security. Some of these theories that generate conflict are, but not limited to:-

**(a) Community Relations Theory**

This theory is of the view that conflict is a cause of an on-going polarisation, mistrust, and hostility between different groups within a community.

What the community relations theory aims at are the following:

- Improvement in communication and understanding between the groups in conflicts.
- Promotion of greater tolerance and acceptability of need for unity in diversity.

**(b) Principled Negotiation Theory**

This pre-supposes that conflict arises as a result of incompatible positions and a zero-sum view of the conflict being entertained by the parties in conflict.

The expectations of principled negotiation theory include:

- Aiding parties in conflict to differentiate personalities from problems and issues,
- Enabling them address, through responsive negotiation, the basis of what their interest is, instead of being in forced positions.

**(c) Human Needs Theory**

This theory is of the view that deep rooted conflict or bone-marrow conflict is as a result of frustrated or elusive basic human needs like physical, psychological, as well as social needs. This theory equally incorporates issues like security, identity, recognition, participation in administration and issues of autonomy.

The goals of human needs theory include, but not limited to the following:

- Rendering assistance to the parties in conflict to pin-point and aggregate within themselves, their unmet needs and collective identity alternatives to satisfy those needs.
- Assisting the parties to come to a mutual consensus that satisfy the basic needs of all the parties.

**(d) Identity Theory**

This relates to a situation where conflict emanates as a result of feeling of threatened identity, predominantly inculcated in unmitigated past loss and suffering.

Its goals include the following:

- Specifically organised workshops for the conflicting parties to dialogue on areas of threat and fear, as well as inculcating the spirit of empathy and reconciliation between them.
- Reaching an agreement jointly, embracing the recognition of core identity needs of the parties.

**(e) Intercultural Miscommunication Theory**

This theory is of the view that dichotomy of cultural communication between different groups of human race causes conflict. The intention of intercultural miscommunication theory is:

- To enable conflicting parties have more knowledge of each other's culture.
- To stamp out negative impression they harbour of each other's culture.
- To achieve a collaborative inter-cultural communication.

**(f) Conflict Transformation Theory**

Is of the view that problems of inequality and injustices expressed through social, cultural and economic spheres are real sources of conflict. The theory of conflict transformation is out to address the following:

- The re-addressing of structures and regulations that are germane to the cause of inequality, injustice, and economic disequilibrium.
- To assist in establishing amiable and enduring relationships and behaviours among the conflicting parties.

- To serve as a peace builder through the development of processes and systems that accentuates empowerment, justice, equity, forgiveness, and recognition.

With the above theories, it is hoped that the raw materials needed for developing issues that provoke international conflict must have been acquired.

### **3.1.1 Factors Responsible For International Conflicts.**

Quoting Akinboye and Ottob (2005), Claude Jr. (1964) states that:

*These conflicts may be the fruit of non-reflective passion, or deliberate planning; they may represent effort to settle disputes, effects of indefinitely broad situations of hostility, or calculated means to realize ambitious designs of conquest. They may be launched by the irresponsible dictates of cynical autocrat or the democratic will of a Chauvinistic people.*

The above quotation vividly confirms that issues that lead to international conflict are multi-dimensional and include, but not limited to the following:

#### **(a) Territorial Expansion**

This could lead to international conflict especially, amongst contending nations. You are advised to revisit the issues that led to the Berlin Conference of 1884/1885 which culminated in the forced partitioning of Africa by the colonialists. In their hunger and thirst for territorial expansion, people of different nationalities as well as distinct cultures were lumped up together in a state. With time, differences started emerging which has remained the scourge of unending internal civil and violent strife within the African continent, and by extension, a problem to global peace.

#### **(b) Annexation**

This is another source of international conflict. Since the end of World War II, no state could annex another sovereign state for any reason, without provoking international conflict. Example; Iraq and Kuwait case.

**(c) Irredentism**

Is a movement formed after independence for the re-unification of forcefully separated people of similar cultural background.

The Hutus and Tutsis in Rwanda have their kith and kin in old Congo Leopoldville, now Democratic Republic of Congo. Any internal strife there is seen as an attack on their kith and kin in the Diaspora. The Eritrea crisis in Ethiopia, the Darfur crisis in Sudan, the Somalia debacle, and a lot of other international conflicts within Africa have elements of irredentism. The Ogden war in East Africa between Ethiopia and Somalia was aptly due to irredentism.

**(d) National Interest**

This is a vague conceptualisation as more often than not, personal interest of a leader is often misconstrued as national interest. Some states want to bloat their ego and even project it externally irrespective of other nation's view of what constitutes national interest. A state that assumes it has a superior power be it military or economic, with attendant political power, will wish to impose its ideology on other states. Instead of waiting to earn respect, they will, willy-nilly, impose their will on others, and this could cause international conflict.

**(e) Religion.**

Religion is a potent source of international conflict. As benign as it should be, some states promote religion on a fanatical level to the detriment of others which did not share their religious view. The protracted international conflict in the Middle East would have subsided for long but each side has introduced elements of religion into it. Jerusalem, a historical city has become a theatre of religious fanaticism, shared between the Jews, Christians and Moslems and some foreign states, which profess any of the faiths usually, take sides.

**(f) Ideology**

The issue of ideology, which became predominant after World War II, had done a lot to generate international conflict.

The world transformed from multi-polarity to bi-polarity ideological camps which culminated in the bitter rivalry between the West and the East. The United States of America championed the West, with capitalism as their ideology while the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, with Russia as the arrow-head championed the East, with Socialism-Communism as its ideology. Both attempted to prevent the

growth of the doctrine of each other, which forced them to seek for satellite states in the developing world. The result of this ideological battle was that the developing nations, usually referred to as third world countries seemed poised to liberate themselves from the entanglement of these ideological camps and formed an international organisation called the Non-Aligned Nations. That aided their decolonisation but the sour aspect of it was the incursion of the two ideologies into the countries of Africa. Ideology from foreign land compounded the internal conflicts in Africa and became internalised. The issue of the Congo war in the early 60s and its unabated effects till date speak volumes.

### **(g) Imperialism**

Is a term used to describe a situation where a foreign country tries to extend its influence to another country willy-nilly. It could be as a means of seeking economic security through economic exploitation of the resources of other states, or acting in a manner as to be in remote control of the political activities in a foreign land.

Imperialism uses silent but pungent methods to dictate the pace of economic, social and political life of another state and a refusal by such country may cause the overthrow of such regime, which could cause international conflict.

### **(h) Suspicion and Insincerity**

There could be instances where genuine attempts may be thwarted due to an assumed suspicion of a party in conflict or a situation where an agreement reached was thrown overboard by a party, to the chagrin of the other.

These could heighten international conflict. There could be instances where leaders, in defiance of their people's wish, embrace anti - people policy to foster the nests of imperialist agents for their personal survival. They would neglect domestic problems and keep on introducing mundane reforms to waste their people's time. When the seed of discord planted start germinating, it will blow up to a level of an international conflict, as one cannot continue to deceive the people, all the time.

## **4.0 CONCLUSION**

We must not allow our anxiety for quick results to prevent us from having any result at all and it may happen if we are so impatient. The reasons adduced as catalysts to international conflict could be mutually discussed and best alternatives proffered for the overall good of mankind. There are sufficient checks and balances within the confines

of international law to promote global peace and harmony, and no matter how tense a situation may assume, meaningful dialogue will resolve the daunting situation.

## **5.0 SUMMARY**

This unit has briefly discussed those issues that provoke international conflict and emphasised the need for embracing dialogue towards solving any problem that could endanger world peace.

## **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

Name and discuss three causes of international conflict.

## **7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS**

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## **MODULE 3      PEACE MAKING, PEACE KEEPING, PEACE ENFORCEMENT, THEIR PROBLEMS AND STRUCTURES IN GLOBAL POLITICS**

Unit 1	Defining Peace-Making, Peace-Keeping and Peace-Enforcement
Unit 2	Problems associated with Peace-Making, Peace-Keeping and Peace-Enforcement
Unit 3	United Nations and Peace-Keeping Force
Unit 4	International Organisations as Structures of Global Politics

### **UNIT 1      DEFINING PEACEMAKING, PEACEKEEPING AND PEACE ENFORCEMENT**

#### **CONTENTS**

1.0	Introduction
2.0	Objective
3.0	Main Content
3.1	Definition of Terms
3.1.1	Peace-Making
3.1.2	Peace-Keeping
3.1.3	Peace-Enforcement
3.2	Case Studies of UN Peace Making and Peace Keeping Operations
4.0	Conclusion
5.0	Summary
6.0	Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0	References/Further Readings

#### **1.0      INTRODUCTION**

You need to ask yourself what the term “Peace” entails. Peace is a process and has so many interpretations. Have it in mind that it is an unending attempt to transform violence. Some societies are today in search of peace as a result of various factors, such as political, economic, social, etc. Many people will easily attest to it that absence of war connotes peace. It may be true that an absence of war connotes an antidote to peace but various intervening factors combine together to set the world on the track of an endless search for peace. One man’s meat is another’s poison. While an absence of war is vital, it only prepares ground for other enabling activities in other spheres of life. Some religious adherents see lack of absolute freedom to propagate their views in their own way, even at the expense of other religions as an absence of

peace. Some, struggling against environmental conflict, perceive it as an absence of peace. Those who cannot maximise their potentials educationally through what they perceive as lack of statutory duty of care on the side of a government are in search of peace despite an absence of war. At the same time, there are still those who fear that peace in any society could endanger their comfort. You need to know why they think so before casting aspersion on them. Those in that category have their reasons - Some realise their wealth through arms deals within war zones; some acquire status as war-lords, which give them international recognition and as soon as peace is restored, they will go into obscurity while some have institutionalised violence as a way and pattern of life through which they assumed local and international power. However, since the world is dynamic, violent conflict or any state of war must pass through a transformation.

By now, your mind is prepared for the simple definition of the terms – peace-making, peace-keeping and peace-enforcement. The concepts are often used variously, interchangeably and collaboratively towards peace-building activities as one overlaps the other.

## **2.0 OBJECTIVE**

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

- define the concepts of peace-making, peace-keeping, and peace-enforcement and discuss some specific case studies either in Africa or elsewhere where the United Nations had had cause to intervene.

## **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

### **3.1 Definition of Terms**

#### **Peace-Making**

This is a term that has so many interpretations. It could be used to deter the emergence of a conflict situation through conflict resolution mechanisms – e.g. negotiation, mediation, etc. and again, it could be employed to dowse tension where conflict had already arisen. Going further, peacemaking could result in employing peace-enforcement strategy which is a term used to compel recalcitrant conflict generators to toe a line of an agreed de-escalation technique.

However, Thomas, D. (2001), quoting A.B. Fatherson, defines peace-making as “a peaceful, diplomatic activity, aimed at producing a settlement of the conflict and is normally carried out at the state to state level” or micro level. The interpretation of this definition involves

methods described in Article 33 of the United Nations Charter i.e. negotiation, enquiry, good offices, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial judgment, resort to regional agencies, or agreements, or other peaceful means but applied after a dispute has crossed the threshold into an armed conflict.

Peace-making could be in form of military and diplomatic action after a conflict has broken out, conducted at the request or with the consent of the warring parties, to quell hostilities and initiate negotiations. It could involve the following basic missions:

- (1) Separating the armed combatants to include demilitarised or buffer zones along the line of control between them.
- (2) Monitoring cease fires in order not to allow an undue advantage to either side which could aggravate an already tense situation.
- (3) Assisting in the development of the military aspects of armistice or cease fire agreements.
- (4) Presentation and suppression of attempts to resume combat actions, including such attempts on the part of unruly field commanders.
- (5) Facilitating contacts between combatant field commanders or between such commanders and government troops, in order to resolve specific problems in halting combat in local zones, and establishing peace there.
- (6) Prevention of any incident that could hinder the cease fire.
- (7) Maintenance of law and order in the zones of separation between the sides.
- (8) Guarding important infrastructures, such as reservoirs, power stations, factories and other strategic areas which could pose a threat to the populace.
- (9) Assisting with the conduct of humanitarian actions, including providing for their security.

Peace-making operations are generally initiated when the combatants agree to halt their fire and usually concluded when armistices are signed (Demurenko and Nikitin, 1997, 116-117). *International Alert*, 1995, also opined that peace-making, citizen based, “is the process of establishing peace constituencies within conflict areas. These constituencies comprise, people from different sectors of civil society, whose prevailing interest is the development of sustainable peace.”

Fisher, S. et al (2000:14) define peace-making as interventions designed to end hostilities and bring about an agreement, using diplomatic, political and military means as necessary.

In concluding the concept of peace-making, but not limited to the above, Albert (2001: 29) admonishes that the role of government in the management of community conflict should not be limited to just peace-making but that government must invest more on the establishment of state institutions as well as putting in place physical structures and democratic processes that can reduce inter-group conflict as the government must be seen as an all-embracing institution that caters for all and sundry.

### **Peace-Keeping**

Peace-keeping refers to an international help which is sometimes sent to an immediate problem area when disputing states wish, for the time being, to live in peace. Its success largely depends on the wishes of the states in conflict, which initially consented to their presence. Peace-keeping, though, part of international politics, is neither authoritative, assertive, or a forceful maintenance of peace.

According to *Congressional Research Service*, 1995, Appendix 1, peace-keeping refers to,

*Maintaining public security in recent war-zones by UN or regional military forces. In a narrow sense, peace-keeping involves the deployment of neutral forces to a zone of tension or conflict under chapter VI of the U.N. Charter, with the consent of the parties concerned. The ultimate intention of this consent is to create a situation amenable to unhindered political settlement with a view to having a total armistice.*

Peace-keeping activities come in various forms. It could come as peace-keeping operations. These are those meant to resolve conflict, prevent conflict from escalating or halt or prevent military actions, as well as upholding law and order in a conflict zone. Further, peace-keeping operations of this category involve conduct of humanitarian actions, restoring social and political institutions which have been disrupted by the conflict and the restoration of basic conditions for daily living. What remains sacrosanct is that peace-keeping operations are always at the instance of the United Nations or regional organisations whose functions include peace support and international security.

The second tagged “Peace Keeping” has to do with the deployment of military or police and quite often, with civilian personnel to assist in implementing agreements arrived at between governments or parties who have been engaged in conflict. Evans (1993:11-12) states that peace-keeping presumes co-operation, and its methods are inherently

peaceful as the use of military force, other than in self defense is incompatible with the concept.

The third concept of peace-keeping concerns issues of humanitarian mandate and actually operates during on-going hostilities. Activities of the International Red Cross and similar organisations in various theatres of war across the globe testify to this.

As a further elucidation on the concept of peace-keeping, Diehl, Druckman and Wall (1998, 39-40) identified 12 categories of peace-keeping, based on recent historical experience, thus:

- (a) **Traditional Peace-keeping:** which involves the deployment of neutral, lightly armed troops, with the permission of host states as an interposition force, allowing a ceasefire to separate combatants and promote an environment conducive to resolving conflict. Examples are the Cyprus 1964 and the Lebanon 1978 experiences.
- (b) **Observation:** this needs the deployment of a small unit of unarmed, neutral personnel, with the consent of the host state to collect information and monitor activities like ceasefire and human rights in the development area.
- (c) **Collective Enforcement:** refers to a situation of a concerted large-scale military operation, designed to defend the victims of international aggression and restore peace and security by the defeat of the aggressor state-forces. Example could be found in Korea, 1950 and Kuwait in 1991.
- (d) **Election Supervision:** refers to observation and monitoring a democratic election following a peace agreement among warring internal groups. E.g. Namibia, in 1980 and Cambodia, early 1990s.
- (e) **Humanitarian Assistance Conflict During:** refers to the transportation and distribution of life-sustaining food, and medical supplies in coordination with local and international non-governmental organisations, to threatened population during a civil or inter-state war. (E.g. Somalia and Bosnia in early 1990s).
- (f) **State-Nation Building:** peace-keeping in a troubled state suggests a state of chaos. Therefore, in the absence of a stable government in place, law and order must be restored. This aspect involves the rebuilding of collapsed infrastructure, security forces, as well as making enduring facility for power transfer

from the interim authority to the indigenous government. The example of the U.N. activities in Congo Leopoldville in the 1960s readily comes to mind.

- (g) **Pacification:** peace must be restored in an inter-state war through quelling of disturbances, whether by civilians or through a local armed group. Acts of belligerency must be nipped in the bud in the face of human rights deprivation, destruction of life and property and other acts inimical to public good.
- (h) **Preventive Deployment:** this is a strategy whereby U.N. troops are positioned between the two states in combat to serve as a deterrent or prevent the spread of conflict. This method was applied in Macedonia in 1990s.
- (i) **Arms Control Verification:** refers to the inspection of military facilities, supervision of troop's withdrawal and activities that will facilitate the realisation of arms control agreement.
- (j) **Protective Services:** refers to activities geared towards creating enabling environment like "buffer zones", "demilitarised zones", "no fly zones" as well as a guarantee for the protection of the civilian population. This could be in areas of movement to, and prevention from areas inimical to their well-being. In Iraq, 1991, operation "Provide Comfort" was introduced.
- (k) **Intervention in Support of Democracy:** could either be an operation carried out to prevent the overthrow of a legitimate government by dissidents or a military action to overthrow a government deemed not towing the line of reason and putting in place other officials chosen by the people.
- (l) **Sanctions Enforcement:** refers to those activities undertaken militarily by air, land and sea, to compel recalcitrant states to adhere to order. This also includes guarding of transit points with a view to intercepting banned items as well as redressing any action considered inimical in the opinion of international law, such as drug trade, Human Rights abuse, money laundering, etc.

### **Peace-Enforcement**

The concept denotes an internationally accepted term to militarily intervene in compelling a recalcitrant state to observe a cease-fire agreement by force in situations of major disturbances. This is usually applied when peace-keeping forces are in danger or when such state's continued recalcitrance will worsen world peace. Chapter VI of the UN

charter set up peace-keeping force while Chapter VII set up peace enforcement to enforce compliance with international law. Peace enforcement is usually applied when considered necessary by the UN Security Council or by the decisions of regional organisations without the consent of any conflict party. Those actions of peace-enforcement, embodied in Chapter VII of the UN charter, as identified by Demurenko and Nikitin, 1996: 115, 117-118 are as follows:

1. Application of multinational armed forces to compel compliance.
2. Separation of belligerents by force
3. Restoration of order
4. Two track mobility either, guaranteed or denied.
5. Provision of military part of ceasefire agreements, armistices or the peaceful conflict resolution methods as well as systems of cease-fire lines, demilitarised and buffer zones, reduced-arms zones, and types of special-status regions.
6. Helping in setting up refugee camps and assembly points for displaced persons.
7. Maintenance of law and order to help to organise the activities of civilian authorities within their zones of responsibility.
8. Investigating complaints and claims regarding armistice violations or violations of conflict settlement agreements.
9. Organise, if called for by the appropriate treaties, the collection and monitoring of certain categories of weapons, primarily heavy weapons.
10. As a rule, peace-keeping operations last as long as there exists the possibility that armed combat might resume or that any other form of conflict might arise.

### **3.2 Case Studies of UN Peace Making and Peace Keeping Operations**

In international politics and in reverence to the sovereignty of a state, most governments have little enthusiasm of involving a multi-national third party in their affairs. The prospect of playing host to foreign soldiers, however high-minded their presence may assume, is usually viewed with particular caution. The fear is further heightened among Africans who had experienced slave trade, colonialism and imperialism in the past, with the attendant exploitative and dehumanising onslaught. Thus, Africans readily suspect foreign peacekeepers as impostors, exploiters, not minding their noble intentions.

Notwithstanding this fear, because Africa is still tied to the apron strings of the West, refusal to allow foreign interventions in their conflicts seems more disastrous. Refusal to allow foreign interventions in their conflicts is more disastrous, more expensive and highly consequential.

Thus, with a high degree of reluctance, African leaders have allowed foreign troops onto their soil to meddle in their internal conflicts, using Western models, which are alien to Africa.

The African situation resembles the classic prisoners' dilemma. Instability is so endemic in Africa that it will be foolhardy for the whole global community to sit and watch helplessly while there is wanton destruction of lives and property. Darfur region in Sudan is a classic humanitarian tragedy which is relevant here and it will be against the spirit and charter of the UN, not to act. Most African conflicts proceed from grievance to greed and this often account for prolonged fighting and breaking of ceasefire agreements.

The dual role of foreign powers in African conflict was summed up by Zartman (1985) when he opined that instability is so endemic in Africa that arms supplies are an invitation to crisis and which serve as a catalyst to great powers' intervention. The irony is that, once one power has provided arms or political support, the only way to balance the conflict, may well be to provide enough counter support through another power to bring about stalemate and then negotiation (balance of terror).

In a nutshell, foreign powers that are responsible for heightening African conflicts are equally responsible for proffering solutions to them. Thus foreign powers intervened in African conflicts mostly when the conflicts are ripe for resolution. The indices of ripeness of timing and timing of ripeness are often foreign formulated. These indices include hurting stalemates, looming catastrophe, and exhaustion at the escalation stage until they have reached crisis stage. They thus become more expensive to resolve. The success of peace settlement is inextricably tied to the interests of neighbouring regional powers and their overall commitment to the peace process. Regional powers can frustrate peace efforts if they think it is not in their national or selfish interest; Liberia under Charles Taylor standing in the way of peace-making in Sierra Leone; South Africa and Rhodesia fueling crisis in Angola. Foreign countries often overlook these regional powers and merely proffer foreign solutions for African problems. It is worthy of mention that not much attention was paid to regional powers until Nigeria championed the ECOMOG in Liberia.

#### **(a) The Democratic Republic of Congo**

The first United Nations' Peace-making operation in Africa code named Operations des Nations Unites au Congo (ONUC) was in the then Belgian Congo or Congo Leopoldville, later Zaire and now Democratic Republic of Congo in 1960 and it extended to 1964. Usually the task of the United Nations was the prevention of inter-state warfare but by force



of circumstances, the U.N. got itself involved in a chaotic internal situation of an extreme complexity which compelled it to assume certain responsibilities, beyond normal peace-keeping duties.

The manner in which Belgian Congo or Congo Leopoldville had her independence from Belgium, without any solid foundation for a smooth transition, coupled with the intensity of Cold War rivalry between the West and the East, helped in no small measure to make the situation in the Congo a cynosure of the eyes of the world.

Various world leaders saw the catastrophe coming and amongst all, a reckoned leader of the third world, whose country would be among the foremost propagators of peace-keeping operations in the UN, Pandit Nehru, sounded sufficient notes of warning but initially, all was derided. He emphasised then that all known laws of war would be cast aside, brothers would rise against sisters, fathers against mothers, kinsmen against kinsmen, and at last, famine would set in, capable of devastating the belligerents.

In pursuance of his belief of being each other's keepers, the contribution of the India Armed forces to the United Nations operations in Congo was immeasurable. An infantry brigade group was deployed to Katanga with Brigadier K.S. Raja as commander who was later replaced by Brigadier R.S. Naronha while Major General Dewan Prem Chand Commanded HQ Katanga Area (U.N.) during the operations.

When the vested interest of external collaborators whose desire was in the mineral resources of the Katanga Province, was making peace-keeping operations innocuous, the Security Council, through Resolution 161 of 21st Feb. 1961, authorized ONUC to use force, as a last resort to prevent civil war. The transformation of chapter 6 to chapter 7 yielded results as 99 infantry brigade group under Brigadier K.S. Raja launched operations in Katanga province on 31st December, 1961 and regained full control of Katanga. General Raja acknowledged stiff resistance offered by the Katanga gendarmerie, led by mercenaries of Belgium origin. Incidentally, the India Army's action in Congo became the first peace-enforcement operation in the continent of Africa.

The hope that Katanga insurgency had been finally suppressed was dashed when by the end of 1962 the gendarmerie again sprang a comeback attack on UN forces. The swift and resolute combat readiness and leadership by Major General Dewan Prem Chand and Brigadier R.S. Naronha ensured the swift advance of Indian Brigade into key town of Kowlezi across destroyed bridges over Lufeira River, which caught the rebels unawares. The gendarmerie suffered major defeat in both men and materials, which completely demoralised them. In the face of this

Indian onslaught, they had no choice than to surrender unconditionally and laid down their arms, resulting at last, in the relative unification of Congo.

Ironically, the seed of discord, the demarcation of territories with disregard to their homogeneity or heterogeneity by the past colonial masters, with unresolved grievances and greed compelled the re-emergence of conflict at a greater propensity in the Democratic Republic of Congo. In July 1999, in Lusaka, Zambia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, along with Angola, Namibia, Rwanda, Uganda and Zimbabwe signed the ceasefire agreement for cessation of hostilities between all belligerent forces in the Democratic Republic of Congo, one of which was with Movement for the Liberation of the Congo, signed on 1st August, 1999. The terms of the agreement included provisions on the normalisation of the situation along Congo's border; the control of arms and illicit trafficking and the infiltration of armed groups; the holding of a national dialogue; as well as the need to address security concerns generally. Equally, in the agreement was the need to establish a mechanism for disarming militants and armed groups. A joint military commission of two representatives from each party under a neutral chairman to be appointed by the OAU (now AU) was also provided for as well as proposition for an "appropriate force" to be constituted, facilitated and deployed by the United Nations in collaboration with OAU(AU). Through resolution 1258 of 6th August, 1999, the Security Council authorised the deployment of up to 90 United Nations military liaison personnel along with sizeable civilian staff. Again, through another resolution 1291 of 24th February, 2000, the UN authorised the expansion of the contingent to consist of up to 5,537 military personnel, including up to 500 observers. The Indian Army graciously contributed 34 military observers. This UN Mission in Congo, code named MONUC which had been in place since November, 1999 is still on ground due to ceaseless border clashes and insurgencies.

#### **(b) Mozambique**

The UN Mission in Mozambique, codenamed ONUMOZ came into being on 3rd December, 1992 to monitor and verify the ceasefire agreement occasioned by the devastating 14 years war which came to an end through the good offices of the UN in October, 1992.

The major tasks of the peacekeepers were separation and concentration of forces of two warring parties, their demobilisation and collection, storage and destruction of weapons, monitoring and verifying the complete withdrawal of foreign forces, provision of security to the transport corridor, disbanding of private armed groups, as well as the security of vital infrastructure and assistance in humanitarian aid.

The gallantry of the Indian Army also manifested in this operation and the then UN Secretary General, Mr. Boutros Boutros Ghali could not hide his admiration for them when he said: “The Indian troops, by virtue of their superior training and high standard of discipline and sense of responsibility, have had a significant contribution in securing the early return of peace in Mozambique”. This UN operation in Mozambique, code named ONUMOZ, which started in December, 1992 came to an end on October, 1994.

### **(c) Angola**

The first United Nations Angola verification Mission was deployed at the beginning of 1989. It was a period of declining cold war rivalries, which had all along been stalling genuine peace-keeping operations there. This mission was code named UN Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM) and it lasted from 1st January, 1989 to May, 1991. It was mandated to oversee the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola in accordance with the timetable agreed between Angola and Cuba. This exercise, which was completed by 25th May 1991, had a total of 70 military observers, with India contributing 8 military observers to the UN endeavour.

It was the withdrawal of foreign troops from Angola that enabled the international community to have genuine opportunity to look into the areas of conflict between the Angola Government and the guerrillas (UNITA), with a view to resolving it and the aim was accomplished. This was the beginning of the second UN Angola verification mission (UNAVEM II) launched in May 1991. It had far more complex responsibilities, usually faced by peace-keeping operations in the Post-Cold War era.

Some of its responsibilities included:

- Assisting both the Angolan Government and UNITA reach agreement on modalities for completing the peace process;
- Brokering and helping to implement ceasefire at the national and local level;
- Observing and verifying the first elections;
- Demobilising troops and forming joint armed forces
- Monitoring the police and ensuring alleviation of suffering for Angolans.

The contribution of India in UNAVEM-II was highly commendable. They operated in a dangerous and complex conflict situation, requiring flexibility and innovation, which resulted in the signing of the Lusaka protocol on 20<sup>th</sup> November, 1994 and the commitment of both the

Angolan government and UNITA to respect and implement the peace accord. With the peace efforts so far, the UN now moved a step further and established UNAVEM-III in February, 1995 with the following mandate:

- Assist in the implementation of the Lusaka protocol.
- Supervise, control and verify the disengagement of forces and monitor the ceasefire.
- It would also help to establish the quartering areas and demobilisation of UNITA forces, and supervise the collection and storage of UNITA armaments and monitor the completion of FAA, the joint national army.
- Verify and monitor the neutrality of the Angolan National Police.
- Coordinate, facilitate and support humanitarian activities directly linked with the peace process.
- Complete all essential requirements for the holding of Presidential election and thereafter verify and monitor the entire election process.

The Indian Army units, which served with UNVEM-III, were tasked to ensure the following:

- Security and patrolling of area of responsibilities
- Preparation of demobilisation camps (quartering areas)
- Supervision of demobilisation & humanitarian assistance
- Reopening of road axis and clearance of mountain and mines.

The above tasks were principally to ensure compliance with peace protocols earlier signed but then were renewed following a break-down of the peace agreement due to the intransigence of Jonas Savimbi. However, after what could be termed a restoration of peace, with the exit of Savimbi, the Mission was finally closed down in July 1999.

#### **(d) Somalia**

The UN Somalia operations, which took off in April 1992 was principally to facilitate humanitarian aid to the people trapped by civil war and famine. With the intransigence of the combatants, the UN had to alter the initial mandate of the Peacekeepers from humanitarian aid to Peace enforcement to help stop the conflict and reconstitute the basic infrastructure for a viable state. This led to the establishment by the UN of “Unified Task Force” (UNITAF) in December, 1992 under the command of the United States.

The UN operations in Somalia (UNOSOM) are considered amongst the most daunting and difficult operations in the UN Peace-keeping history

due to their complexities. The dexterity employed by the Indian naval ships and personnel enabled the Indian brigade, which had operational responsibilities for one third of Somalia to successfully conclude disarmament and humanitarian relief. They ensured minimum civilian casualties as they only fired in self-defense. It dug a large number of wells, constructed schools and mosques and ran mobile dispensaries and relief camps which provided veterinary care as well as medical and humanitarian relief to a large number of Somalis and their livestock. Also handled were the rehabilitation and resettlement of thousands of refugees and their repatriation. It also assisted in reviewing the political process through organisation of reconciliation meetings. This UNOSOM operation lasted till December, 1994.

**(e) Liberia**

The United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia code named UNOMIL came about as a result of a civil war, which claimed thousands of lives, with thousands also internally displaced while refugees' flow was staggering. At the beginning of the conflicts, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) undertook several initiatives aimed at a peaceful settlement with the active support of the United Nations. This mission was to supervise and monitor, in co-operation with a military observer group, ECOMOG of the ECOWAS, the Cotonou Peace Agreement signed by the Liberian parties on 25th July, 1993 and to verify their impartial application by the concerned parties. In a nutshell, their task includes:

- Disarming and demobilisation of the combatants
- Assist in maintenance of Assembly sites
- Humanitarian assistance activities
- Investigate & report human rights violations
- Observe and verify election process.

With the holding of the election in July, 1997 and installation of a new government, the Liberia Peace process came to a successful conclusion. The second Liberian crisis has been diplomatically handled by the ECOWAS and a civilian government is now in place, while a one time Head of State, Charles Taylor is now facing an international war crime in The Hague.

**(f) Rwanda**

Rwanda, a former Belgian colony, which had been engulfed in widespread violence between the Hutu and Tutsi tribes generated wide spread concern, compelled the United Nations to initiate UN Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR) in October 1993.

The Indian contribution to this Assistance Mission in Rwanda consisted of an Infantry battalion, one Signal Company, one Engineer Company, staff officers and military observers. The task of the contingent included safeguarding UN installations, manning security posts, patrolling their areas of responsibility and providing security to the capital, Kigali, from irregulars and armed bandits. The Indian contingent performed its task with rare devotion and distinction, which made the UNAMIR Force Commander, Major Gen. G.C. Taignant of Canada to make these remarks:

*You brought to UNAMIR, to the United Nations, to Rwanda a sense of pride. You came in and you demonstrated what it is to be a good soldier and you brought respectability to the mission. You brought also, a sense of professionalism in everything that we have to do for the Rwandese. I say this without any reservation; you are probably one of the best soldiers in the world at this time.*

This mission came to an end in March, 1996.

**(g) Sierra Leone**

The conflict in Sierra Leone, which dated back to 1991 between the Sierra Leone Government and the Rebel forces, principally, the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) despite series of peace efforts by international organisations, regional bodies and international personalities brought about the establishment of the United Nations Observer Mission in Sierra Leone (UNOMSIL) from July, 1998 to October, 1999 and the United Nations Assistance Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) from November, 1999 to 2001. Various peace agreements signed were derailed by the RUF's intransigence. However, the experience in Somalia made the UN to mandate ECOWAS and its military wing, ECOMOG to play very prominent roles in restoring normalcy to Sierra Leone. Side by side with the UN forces, ECOMOG secured most of Sierra Leone in a military action. The UN then lifted the embargo on oil and arms and established UNOMOSIL in Sierra Leone to bring about peace and stability. It was after the lifting of the embargo that the observer mission was changed to a full fledged peace-keeping mission and renamed UN Assistance Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL). Despite all entreaties to the rebels, the RUF again threw the spanner into the wheels of peace through their abduction of 23 Indian UN peacekeepers at Kailahun as hostage and were only released after a protracted negotiation. The siege on Kailahun continued but when the intransigence of the rebels could no longer be tolerated, the

Indian contingent launched operation OP Khukri and dug trenches round the rebels, which forced the RUF to surrender.

This resounding success of the operation executed by the Indian peacekeepers in the heartland of RUF controlled territory won the Indian contingent praises from several quarters. In September, 2000, the Indian Government decided to withdraw its contingent and by February, 2001, de-briefing of the soldiers had been completed and the UN mission came to an end. The continued task of sustaining the fragile peace was left to ECOMOG.

#### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

If you want peace, prepare for peace. A city set on a hill cannot be hidden and neither do men light candle and put it under the table, but on the table to give light to all. In essence, we implore leaders of both the developed and developing countries to embrace good governance and sincerity of purpose. Only the truth can exalt a nation. We do hope World leaders; from every sphere of human endeavour will rise up to embrace justice and equity to ensure pre-conflict peace-building becomes the order of the day.

#### **5.0 SUMMARY**

This unit has discussed in detail the concept of peace-making, peace-keeping, peace-enforcement along with some relevant case studies. A good understanding of the concepts will enable you to prepare adequately while addressing the multifarious lessons inherent in the case studies.

#### **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

Define the concept of peace-making, peace-keeping and peace-enforcement.

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

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## **UNIT 2 PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH PEACE MAKING, PEACE KEEPING AND PEACE ENFORCEMENT IN AFRICA**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 Problems Associated With Peace Making, Peace Keeping and Peace Enforcement in Africa
- 4.0 Conclusion
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- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

Palmer Report (1992) as reported by Baylis, J. and Smith, S. 2001:260 states that acceptance of common security as the organising principle for efforts to reduce the risk of war, limit arms, and move towards disarmament, means, in principle, that co-operation will replace confrontation in resolving conflicts of interest. Expanding further, he opines that this is not to say that differences amongst states would disappear just like that, but it only leaves room for a review of intent to ensure the conflicts do not come to be expressed in acts of war or in preparation for war. In essence, the report stresses that irrespective of their differences, the maintenance of world peace must take precedence over and above each state's ideological or political interest.

By and large, the problems associated with peace-making, peace-keeping and peace-enforcement in Africa must be seen as not being insurmountable if the will to see ourselves as each other's keeper is invoked.

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

After studying this unit, you should be able to:

- highlight the problems associated with peace-making, peace-keeping and peace-enforcement in Africa
- identify the ways forward.

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 Problems Associated With Peace-Making, Peace-Keeping and Peace-Enforcement in Africa**

You will agree with me that various conceptual clarifications about the above have been given. What you need to know now is what could hinder the smooth operations of the concepts.

The causes of conflict in Africa are related to her historic past. Africa consists of Eurocentric states configured at the historic Berlin Conference of 1884/1885 where Africa was shared among Western colonial powers. Yakubu (2004) observed that forced convergence of various communities into nation-states make the conflicts and wars in Africa a continental phenomenon. These have invariably set in motion a chain of wars premised on the need for redefinition of identities, nationhood and legitimacy of states.

A major problem identified, besides those created by heterogeneity among constituent states is the ideological differences between the great powers who often lead the UN contingents in a conflict state. It is on record that the first peace-keeping operation on the soil of Africa was the Congo mission and the prevalence of ideological differences among the peace-keepers, where one side professed communism and the other capitalism did a lot of havoc there. The cause of the death of the then Secretary General of the UN, Dag Hammarskjöld could not be easily deciphered due to the ideological involvement of the peace-keeping nations.

From the foregoing, we have already established the fact that apart from few regional efforts (ECOWAS in West Africa, and South Africa Development Agency -SADA), most peace-making and peace-keeping initiatives in Africa were carried out under the auspices of the United Nations. By the composition of the United Nations, out of about 180 countries, less than a third of them are from Africa. Besides, the Security Council consists of five permanent members of which none is from Africa. Although the General Assembly may initiate a peace-keeping mission, the assent of the five permanent members is mandatory. It is therefore, apt to argue that most peace-keeping efforts in Africa are foreign based. The planning, implementation and evaluation of peace-keeping operations are naturally to be Euro-centric and Western oriented.

Thus, most of the foreign participants in peace-making and peace-keeping in Africa have western orientation and bias, which may preclude them from appreciating the peculiarity of the African crisis

situation. This may also prevent them from being a neutral umpire because of their wrong perception of Africans as backward, uncivilized and people desirous of taming. There is always too much enthusiasm to suppress the conflict, cutting off the stems while the root causes of the crisis are unattended to.

It has been observed that in spite of spirited efforts made to settle conflicts in Africa by regional groups and even private international agencies, African conflicts remain impervious to these attempts. Zartman (1997) opined that though they involve the activities of seasoned peace-makers, using the best of personal skills and recently developed knowledge about ways of managing and resolving conflicts, international efforts at conflict management have not been particularly effective or efficient in overcoming the disasters that have brought them to the continent.

Conflicts in Africa indicate new types of conflicts that contest state authority along with commonality of values, compounded by globalisation, as well as parochial grievances and greed of self-styled leaders. Thus, the conflicts are not easily analytical. More so, the dynamism of the conflicts defies modern scientific explanation as they are mostly rooted in primordial sentiments and instinctual propensities. Crocker, Hampson and Aau (1996) cited in Zartman concluded that African conflicts elude international as well as domestic efforts to bring them under control. The methods are often faulted for their foreignness and non-African nature and for ignoring the wisdom of traditional African conflict management practices (Zartman 1997).

Moreover, most of these foreign methods are been implemented by foreign peace-keepers who have little or no knowledge of the African terrain and peculiarities. Even if a method is good, its application may be wrong. In concluding on the ripeness of a conflict for solution or in the timing of ripeness of a conflict, more knowledge of the African people, their past as well as their ambition for the future is desirable. This knowledge is grossly undervalued by foreign peace-making and peace-keeping efforts. This lack of appropriate knowledge results in either too much haste or too much delay in bringing the conflict under control.

As earlier stated, the reasons for participation in peace-keeping missions by countries are divergent. Where there is no genuine interest in the peace process, failures are likely to be attendant. Most foreign countries benefit from war situations in Africa. Some of them see it as avenue to sell arms and ammunitions; some of them use the backdoor to exploit abundant natural resources like gold, diamond and petroleum on the continent. The cases of diamond in Botswana, Liberia and Sierra Leone

are vivid examples. The prolongation of conflicts in these countries benefits these foreign powers that are equally responsible for the peace-keeping operation.

Oche (2003) observed that the case of Rwanda provides a clear scenario in which prevarication on the part of the Security Council delayed the establishment of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda. There is always delay and hesitance on the part of the UN Security Council to support deployment of UN troops to intervene in conflicts in Africa. Glaring examples are those of Liberia, Sierra Leone and Sudan where serious steps were not taken until killings reached a very alarming proportion. This delay contrasts with the rapidity and precision of UN interventions in Kuwait, East-Timor and Yugoslavia, which are more geographically contiguous to Europe and the West.

It has also been noted that lack of political commitment on the part of foreign countries jeopardises the success of any peace-making operation. Where the commitment wanes, achievements already recorded may vanish with greater degree of violence bouncing back to rubbish the entire peace process. In Somalia, for example, the decision of the US and some European countries, including France to withdraw their troops following some losses in 1994 marred the entire peace settlement efforts and further threw the country into prolonged civil war.

In any peace-keeping operation where national interest is the predominant factor, the foreign peace-keeper may not have serious commitment and may not be prepared to take some risks, which are required for the project. The US, for example, has openly stated that they will not commit their troops to any international peace-keeping engagement under the aegis of the UN unless it is in their national interest to do so (Duani Bratt, 1997). This national interest accounted for failure of UNOSOM I and UNOSOM II in Somalia whereby US troops were taking orders from American military commanders and of UN officers.

Resulting from the above is lack of internal cohesion among the countries that donate troops to the peace-keeping. Canada's abnormalities in Mogadishu accounted for her over-zealousness in Somalia. Whenever there is power game among the foreign countries that donate troops, Africa gets worse for it. This was the case in the Cold War era when most of the conflicts on African continent were actual or potential extensions of the rivalry that existed between the superpowers. Thus, conflicts became more lethal and resolving them was more problematic in view of their contravening variables. Such were the experiences in Rwanda and Democratic Republic of Congo where African proxies were dragged into the crises. When foreign countries or

their allies are shadow parties to a conflict, the conflict becomes a contest that must be won.

Also, in situations where the conflicts are internal (governments versus dissident groups), peace-keeping becomes problematic because of the defense pact and treaties already entered into by governments. Many African countries (some due to legitimacy question) already entered into defense agreement with foreign powers in order to cover up their failure as weak states. These agreements may preclude those foreign powers from being independent umpires. Such was the agreement France had with most of her former colonies whose heads of governments are stooges of France. France, for example, may not act decisively in Cote d'Voire especially on internal uprising against the government.

Perception of the foreign peace-keepers by the African belligerents is a major problem. Although, the UN peace-keepers are supposed to be neutral, warring parties in Africa are wary of them because of the different roles they have played in the making of Africa's battered history. They are always prone to suspicion and belligerents do not take their neutrality for granted. Thus, foreign peace-keepers face hostile acts of aggression. In the Congo, ONUC suffered a number of casualties, in Rwanda, RPF fighters killed ten Belgian soldiers and in Sierra Leone over 500 peace-keepers were abducted at once by rebels who suspected the peace-keepers were pro-government. Likewise in Somalia, Farah aided dissident group ambushed and killed 22 Pakistani peace-keepers and additional 15 peace-keepers including 12 US soldiers.

In view of the increasing violent and fratricidal nature of current conflicts in Africa, it is becoming difficult to convince foreign countries to contribute peace-keeping troops. Thus, there is usually a lot of foot-dragging and reluctance in intervening in African conflicts. The consequence is that a lot of killings would have taken place before peace-keepers arrive. In such a situation, it is difficult to assuage the aggrieved party that was largely affected by the killing. Genocide in Rwanda left a very devastating experience and memory that would take a very long time to heal.

Another problem facing UN peace-keeping efforts is that of securing funds and equipment, especially from sister African countries whose domestic financial fortunes are dwindling. Thus, both material and human resources needed for prosecuting peace-making and peace-keeping operations do not come in readily for quick intervention. Of course, the paucity of resources in Africa makes African countries susceptible to foreign manipulation.

Criticisms have also been leveled against foreign peace-keepers for their half-hearted commitment towards the complete resolution of violent conflicts in Africa. More so, there is lack of institutional commitment towards the sustained presence of UN peace-keepers until conflicts are completely resolved. Peace-keepers hurriedly leave the scenes of war in Africa without embarking on necessary post-conflict peace-building tasks that will ensure sustainable peace. These kinds of futile efforts have made conflicts a recurring phenomenon in almost all the regions of Africa.

Foreign peace-keepers are often alleged of being involved in looking for scapegoats to punish rather than persuading parties in the conflict to lay down their arms. In Liberia for example, if not for ECOWAS initiative and Nigeria's offer of asylum to Charles Taylor, foreign peace-keepers were already on his trail in order to try him for war crimes in Sierra Leone. This is not good enough for a neutral umpire.

#### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

In your study of this unit, you will realise that Africa has remained largely conflict-infested due to persistent acrimonious governance. With strict adherence to the tenets of democratic norms, the envisaged problems will not only vanish, but the presence of any peace-keeper on African Soil will become an aberration.

#### **5.0 SUMMARY**

This unit has discussed various problems associated with peace-making, peace-keeping and peace-enforcement in Africa.

#### **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

Discuss the problems associated with peace-making, peace-keeping and peace-enforcement in Africa.

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

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## **UNIT 3 UNITED NATIONS AND PEACE-KEEPING FORCE**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objective
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 An Assessment of the United Nations in Her Peace-Keeping Missions
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

You will recall that module one dealt fairly elaborately on that supra-national body or universal organisation called United Nations. It also itemised its agencies.

What this unit is out to address in a nutshell is the UN's obligation in areas of peace-keeping and to further examine the extent to which this mission has been realised. The preamble to the United Nation's Charter reads thus: *"We, the peoples of the United Nations are determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war which twice in our life time has brought untold sorrow to mankind."*

### **2.0 OBJECTIVE**

At the end of this unit, you are expected to:

- have a good understanding of and equally give a good assessment of the United Nations in her peace-keeping missions.

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 An Assessment of the United Nations in Her Peace Keeping Missions**

Therefore, in furtherance of the initial mission statement stated above, the principles of the UN organisation are as follows:

1. To maintain international peace and security by joint efforts, and that is by settling international peace through peaceful method. In



- pursuance of this objective, use of force, except in common interest, must be avoided.
2. To develop friendly relations among nations based upon the principle that human beings have definite rights and are capable of determining their affairs themselves.
  3. To cooperate in solving international economic, social and cultural problems and the eradication of the root cause of war.
  4. To unite in the fulfillment of these objectives in good faith.

You will recall that some criticisms have been leveled against the UN for not living up to the objectives it set for itself in some areas, but it is necessary to have a holistic view of the scenario to be able to proffer some salient ways forward. When assessing the performance of the United Nations on peace-keeping, a brief re-visit to what had transpired in the past would assist in this regard.

Note that some organisations were earlier set up to douse tension in the international system such as the Concert of Europe and the League of Nations. By and large, their failures led to the establishment of the UN since 1945. As no human institution is infallible, the United Nations has not performed badly.

The United Nations, since its establishment, has engaged in peace-searching activities in several parts of the world. Its first peace-keeping mission in Africa was in Congo, then known as Congo Leopoldville or Belgian Congo when mutiny and violence were rife. The presence of the United Nations peace-keeping force there was at the instance of the Congolese Government. Although, incursion of ideological inclination between the East and the West played a disturbing role there, the country still remains on the map today through the UN intervention. The United Nations equally made its impact felt in the Indo-Pakistani war over Kashmir which was successfully prosecuted. Today, Kashmir is reaping the fruits of self determination. The Korean war of 1950s is another pat on the back of the UN. The UN waded into the protracted Middle East Crisis since 1956 by calling on member-states to contribute troops to the Middle East Peace-keeping force to separate British, French and Israeli forces on one hand, and on the other hand, the Egyptian armed forces in the Suez Canal. Although peace has not finally returned but there is steady progress through peace-building mechanisms put in place. The UN has equally operated in states like Ethiopia and Eritrea over Ogadan region, Mozambique, Angola and Rwanda, amongst others.

Towards building sustainable peace, the UN has eradicated racial discrimination in Southern Africa and Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe. Namibia is now an independent sovereign African state. The United

Nations is aware that efforts must be geared towards pre-conflict peace building and towards this; self reliance through economic, social and political independence is being pursued. In line with this objective, the international economic order, a body of United Nations resolutions i.e. the General Assembly resolution 3201 (S-VI) of 16<sup>th</sup> May, 1974 and Resolution 256 (x11) adopted in Nairobi on 28<sup>th</sup> February, 1975, was developed. The objectives of the new International Economic Order were the eradication of mass poverty, mass unemployment and growing food deficit prevalent in the world, especially the third world.

The United Nations, conscious of the need to build pre-conflict peace structures, has been involved in areas of offering aids to countries in distress, through its agencies. Although, teaching a state how to fish is better than giving fish to a state, nevertheless, it is still a peace-building process which could douse tension and reduce to the barest minimum aggravation of a tensed situation.

#### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

The United Nations has been actively involved in the promotion of international peace and order between states, by resisting aggression between them and within states, and attempting to resolve disputes within them. Where conflicts arise that are capable of disrupting world peace, peace-keepers, at the instance of the warring states, are sent. The maintenance of world peace and security remains sacrosanct while pre-conflict peace-building activities, through the U.N. agencies are being vigorously pursued.

#### **5.0 SUMMARY**

This unit has looked into the activities of the United Nations with respect to the successes or failures in its peace-keeping missions. On the whole the UN has achieved great feats in its mandate to date.

#### **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

Discuss the UN peace-keeping mission in the Congo in the 1960s.

## 7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

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## **UNIT 4      INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS AS STRUCTURES OF GLOBAL POLITICS**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objective
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 International Organisations as Structures of Global Politics
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

When discussing global politics, it must be realised that a great vacuum will be created by ignoring the role of international organisations. It is an established fact in modern day global politics that international organisations of all types transcend country boundaries and exercise great impact on state actors as well as transnational actors. Furthermore, global politics has a view of systemic approach which encourages series of interactions at regular propensity between various governments and international organisations.

Often times, governments issue out policies on what or how they wish to govern their states, while international organisations compliment government's policies by establishing businesses and providing services in other areas of economic, social or political life. The totality of this is that in order to uphold the systemic approach of global politics, going by the fact that international organisations form part of the global system, they must be acknowledged as such. Global politics now transcends relationships between states only.

### **2.0 OBJECTIVE**

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

- explain in clear terms why international organisations are seen as structures of global politics.

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 International Organisations as Structures of Global Politics**

As opined by Baylis J. and Smith, S. (2001), international organisations provide the focus for global politics. In their view, the new physical infrastructure of global communications makes it easier for international organisations to link up with each other and that when occasion demands physical sessions, they often become distinct structures for political communication. In essence, they are saying that it will be an illusion to see “states” as coherent entities, on an assumption that they are independent sovereign entities. They argued further that it is only by being realistic that systems do exist at all levels of world politics, both at state and non-state levels, because governments and groups making up civil society, from within countries, along with international organisations from the global level, all have systemic properties that complement each other.

Without any gainsaying, international organisations are politically significant as they produce their own operational policies and moderate the relations to add impetus to government policies. The mutual recognition of IGOs by the UN and the existence of consultative status for INGOs are not simply obscure bureaucratic processes but are processes that legitimise political activity by international secretariats on behalf of their organisations. The collaborative sum total outputs of the organisations are then expressed as inputs to complement states’ systems. When the totality of these mutual interactions is put together, particularly by the United Nations, it could well be confirmed that it will be out of place not to see the systemic understanding between the intergovernmental world and the transnational world. Furthermore, as earlier mentioned in module 1, if the total number of world governments are pooled together against the number of various international organisations, it will be realised that international organisations very well out number world governments and are actually serving as structures of global politics.

#### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

This unit has brought out the need to be each other’s keeper in order to create an atmosphere of peace and harmony. An attitude of seeing one group as primary and the other as secondary should be discouraged, because in global politics all the actors have equal opportunities of improving the human situation.

#### **5.0 SUMMARY**

The unit has refocused your view on the systemic relationship that must exist between states and international politics. The clear understanding of the complimentary role of all parties in world politics allows for the peaceful co-existence in the world and the political, economic and social

gains derivable therein. As Governments form intergovernmental organisations and transnational actors form international non-governmental organisations, governments and transnational actors should accord each other equal status by jointly creating hybrid international NGOs.

## **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

Can Governments ignore International Organisations? Discuss.

## **7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS**

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## **MODULE 4      ROLES OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

- Unit 1      The Primary Roles of International, Continental, and Regional Organisations in International Affairs and Peace Building
- Unit 2      A Critical Review of the Performance of International, Continental and Regional Organisations in Their Efforts at Maintaining International Peace and Security
- Unit 3      The Role of International Court of Justice and Some Relevant Case Studies in Pursuance of Global Peace and Security
- Unit 4      Issues and Challenges in the Field of Global Peace

### **UNIT 1      THE PRIMARY ROLES OF INTERNATIONAL, CONTINENTAL, AND REGIONAL ORGANISATIONS IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND PEACE BUILDING**

#### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0      Introduction
- 2.0      Objectives
- 3.0      Main Content
  - 3.1      Definition of terms
    - 3.1.1      European Union
    - 3.1.2      African Union
    - 3.1.3      Economic Community of West Africa
    - 3.1.4      Commonwealth of Nations
    - 3.1.5      Organisation of American States
    - 3.1.6      The Arab League
- 4.0      Conclusion
- 5.0      Summary
- 6.0      Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0      References/Further Readings

#### **1.0      INTRODUCTION**

Although, module one has given a detailed description and evolution of international organisations, this module intends to go deeper into the expectations of the world community from various organisations towards global peace.

The slippery global politics and the attendant disrespect for international norms have combined together to create an ambiguous peaceful co-existence, in spite of the avowed obligations of the organisations. It was Hobbes who opined that people trade their liberty in return for a guarantee of security and it is not until their security is secured that civil society can begin. However, should that security elude them, it will be as good as saying that there is nothing to call or refer to as society, art, or culture. If we remind ourselves of the views of philosophers like Machiavelli, Rousseau and even Hobbes that the international system should be viewed as a rather brutal arena in which states would seek to achieve their own security at the expense of their neighbours, it could be concluded that since permanent peace is unlikely to be achieved, the need for supranational structures like the international organisations and their organs were the necessary tools for peace-building processes.

With a structure like the United Nations and its agencies, complimented by continental and regional organisations, a solid foundation for international pre and post conflict peace-building mechanism has been laid.

## **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

Your objectives in this unit will include:

- defining the concepts of International, Regional and Continental organisations
- ability to demonstrate sound knowledge of various international organisations and their primary roles
- creating awareness for students to assess the adequacy or otherwise of peoples' role-expectations from the international organisations.

## **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

### **3.1 Definition of Terms**

Ordinarily, organisations dubbed international, continental or regional have the characteristic of a universal organisation that accommodates the world community. Members are drawn from various sovereign states with a view to solely serving the interest of member states. Again, in the view of Palmer and Perkins (1969), "an international organisation is any co-operative arrangement instituted among states, usually by a basic agreement, to perform some mutually advantageous functions implemented through periodic meetings and staff activities."



The above definition indicates that such organisation could put in place structures to facilitate collaborative machineries in areas of economic, social, security, cultural, scientific or other fields in pursuance of mutual good.

The trend in modern day politics in prosecuting world peace dictates the need for a harmonious continental forum through which such organisation could speak with one-voice in the scheme of global politics. The experience of slavery, oppression, imperialism and colonial past, more than anything else compelled the developing nations, which, hitherto had belonged to either the East or the West to drop their foreign toga and belong to nobody else, but themselves. In a similar vein, those, who have feathered their nests as masters and oppressors realised that to rest on their oars will not help their future as the liberated states might seek redress. To maintain equilibrium, continental fora were established.

Examples of such continental organisations are the Organisation of African Unity, now African Union, the Organisation of American states, and the European Economic Community, now called European Union.

The concept of regionalism in modern day politics relates to where three or more states collaborate in areas such as economic, social, cultural and security issues and many other spheres of common interest to such region. Usually, the states are linked by geography, history, and common interests.

Furthermore, a region could be an association, voluntarily entered into by sovereign states within a given area for a common purpose for the good of such area. However, the ultimate goal of such region must not be inimical to global peace.

Formations of regional organisations have the blessing of the United Nations organisation through chapter VIII which outlines the conditions a regional organisation must comply with to have its blessings. These include:

- (i) Dealing with issues that border on international peace and security in as much as any decisions to be taken are consistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations (UN).
- (ii) Settling local disputes through regional agencies before they are referred to the Security Council of the UN.
- (iii) The Security Council may, in turn utilise such regional organ for the settlement of local disputes.
- (iv) With the exception of any action against an enemy resulting from World War II, no enforcement action shall be taken by regional agencies without the permission of the Security Council.

- (v) The Security Council shall be kept fully informed of activities undertaken or contemplated by regional agencies for the maintenance of peace and security.

The interpretation of the UN Charter on the establishment of regional organisations is that these organisations, are rather weak to take decisive action as they can not move into any conflict area without the concurrent approval of the Security Council.

Basically, what becomes predominant in the formation of regional organisations is the issue of economic collaboration for the economic development of member nations. Examples of such regional groupings are ECOWAS – Economic Community of West African States, EU – European Union, Commonwealth of Nations, etc. In a nutshell, we shall endeavour to state briefly the roles of some regional organisations in shaping peace-building activities.

### **3.1.1 The European Economic Community/EU**

The evolution of European Economic Community, later known as EU has its roots in the post World War II politics of Western Europe. The fall-out of the war brought unimaginable economic depression to Western Europe and as a way of ameliorating the economic depression, a process of regional integration was seen as the alternative. Thus, the European Economic Community was formed initially for the regulation of specific sectors of the economy in areas such as coal, steel, and agriculture. With its acceding to the economic needs of the community, it was entrusted with further responsibilities in areas such as monetary policy, military defense, as well as the protection of human rights which is an aspect of international and universal law and tacitly cuts across sovereignty of states.

The European Union was again empowered to negotiate external trade agreements on behalf of member states which necessitated the establishment a customs union. In addition, as the ultimate intention of the regional integration is the economic and social survival of the community, the union was again mandated to operate a common foreign and security policy, courtesy of the Maastrich treaty of 1992. It is instructive to add that the emergence of the Euro as a world currency in 1999 was equally a fall-out of that treaty. As a way of marshalling the wherewithal necessary for a complete regional integration in the economic, social and political survival of Western Europe, institutions were set up, with specific roles. These institutions are:

## **The European Commission**

It has its operating bases at both Brussels and Luxemburg and it is saddled with the task of initiating, administering and overseeing the implementation of European Union policies and legislation. The commission is not just the secretariat of the European Union; its involvement in the politics of Europe is such that makes it an enforcer of European laws. Its most daunting role is in proposing new legislations for the union and often has the monopoly of initiating legislative process. The importance of the roles expected of the commission is underscored by its staffing which includes former top government functionaries and headed mostly by senior politicians – twenty commissioners – who are usually former ministers or prime ministers and appointed by national governments. The administrative staff strength of its headquarters is about 17,000, together with the employees of other European institutions form a European Civil Service and is expected to be free from interference from member states.

It is a civil service force recruited from member states and naturally, from different orientations. The service is multinational, multilingual and multicultural together with the expectations of attendant opportunities and problems that such recruitment entails. The spirit of homogeneity, in a heterogeneous region which formed the basis of a regional integration, is being pursued.

## **European Parliament**

It was formerly launched in 1979 when the first direct elections to the parliament took place. By implication, this parliament is the only body in the European Union that can speak for Europe generally since the integration of European States. Membership is about 700 and its tenure is 5 years. It adopts 11 official languages in the business of parliament and operations. It is the European Parliament that scrutinizes other institutions' operations and in some cases, shares with the council of ministers the power to determine the legislation of the E.U.

European Parliament has various locations which include Strasbourg where it holds plenary sessions, Brussels, where members of Parliament have their offices, hold committee meetings and some plenary sessions too as well as Luxemburg, which is the seat of administration.

## **Council of Ministers**

Before analysing the specific roles of this council, it is pertinent to mention that lobbying, as part of international diplomacy, can not be ruled out by national governments in appointments into the various organs of the EU like the European Commission, European Central

Bank, European Parliament, European Court of Justice etc, but the level of trust reposed in these supranational organisations has lifted them above parochial national interests.

Member states that have any vested interest to protect normally channel such grievance to the council of ministers as it is the council that shapes the policies of the EU. By procedure, it acts in concert with the European Parliament in areas of policy making because the votes of the council takes precedence over that of the parliament.

### **European Central Bank**

You will recall that a giant leap was achieved in the regional integration of Europe on January 1, 1999 when eleven European Union countries adopted a single currency, the Euro. That unanimity of purpose brought into being another giant European financial institution, known as European Central Bank (ECB). Its roles involve dictating the monetary policy for the “Euroland” countries, setting the interest rates for the Euro and controlling the money supply through various adaptations. The European Central Bank has a governing council comprising of the governors of the central banks of member-nations, but the daily activities of the ECB are under the control of its president. However, any major policy decisions, such as changes to the interest rate of the Euro are referred to the governing council.

### **European Council**

This is an assembly of regular summits of Heads of State and Government where European Union’s agenda are set, as well as a forum where any issue that could disrupt the smooth operation of Europe is amicably resolved.

### **European Court of Justice**

Is an institution representing the European Union’s highest court of law where legal issues between member states as well as between European States and private citizens are judiciously handled. It is sometimes referred to as European Court of Human Rights.

### **Committee of the Regions**

This is a committee that represents the interests of local and regional authorities in the European Union, comprising 222 of members. It is located in Brussels.

### **Economic and Social Committee**

Represents the interest of labour, employers and consumer organisations in the European Union and comprises of 222 members. Its operative location is Brussels.

### **Court of Auditors**

Is the seat of European Union Audit which takes charge of auditing the revenues and the expenditure under the European Union Budget. It is located in Luxemburg.

### **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1**

Discuss any two institutions put in place by the EU for the economic and political integration of Europe.

#### **3.1.2 African Union (Formerly Organisation of African Unity)**

The need for an umbrella under which African nations could stand to discuss their problems and proffer solutions to them had been at the forefront before nationhood was achieved. Basically, reference, though, in a passing form, should be made to Du Bouis and James Kwaggie Aggrey of the blessed memories.

Do you recollect that memorable verse “I am proud of my colour; whoever is not proud of his colour is not fit to live.”?

The activities of these people and others were rekindled long after their exit from this mortal world with the formation of three blocks in the early sixties : Casablanca group whose charter was signed on January 7th, 1961, consisted of Ghana, Mali, Guinea, Libya, Morocco, Algeria and Egypt; the Monrovia group, with charter signed in Lagos on December 20th, 1962 consisted of Tunisia, Nigeria, Liberia, Togo, Sierra-Leone, Somalia, and Ethiopia, while the third group called the Union of Africa and Malagasy States consisted of the French speaking African States. That was the confused state of African affairs but the patriotic zeal of some African Heads of State then, championed by the late Emperor Haile Selassie initiated the move towards the unification of these three groups. Thus, at a well attended meeting of African Heads of State and Governments in Addis Ababa, on 25<sup>th</sup> May, 1963, the Organisation of African Unity was born.

### **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2**

Discuss events leading to the formation of organisation of African Unity.

The initial disunity amongst African nations was due to their colonial past as the partitioning of Africa by foreign interests only made Africans to be inclined to the colonisers and not to themselves any longer. When it became glaring that they would be in perpetual slavery unless they came under a single umbrella, the colonial masters employed all tactics to prevent the efforts from becoming a reality but to no avail.

Having come together as Organisation of African Unity, the first obstacle was cleared. The next step was the mapping out of the aims and objectives of the organization. These included:

- Promotion of unity and solidarity amongst African States.
- Coordinating and intensifying efforts to achieve a better life for the people of Africa.
- Defending their sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence.
- Eradication of all forms of colonialism from Africa.
- Promoting international co-operation, having due regard to the charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

These aims and objectives were always resorted to as pre-conflict peace-building mechanisms because African States were just evolving and struggling to shake off the dust of colonialism. The implementation of these aims rested square on the shoulders of some institutions including the following:

- The Assembly of Heads of State and Governments
- The Council of Ministers
- The General Secretariat and
- The Commission of Mediation, Arbitration and Conciliation.

The above preamble gives an insight into the basis for the formation of the OAU – the challenges of colonialism, imperialism, exploitation and other vices.

With the decolonisation of Namibia in 1990, it appeared that the OAU, set out originally to deal with basically African issues, could not be indifferent to international politics. The metamorphosis of European Economic Community into European Union compelled African Heads of State to rethink and cast their minds back to the old injunctions of the late Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Sekou-Toure of Guinea and others.

On the 3<sup>rd</sup> day of June 1991, a treaty signed in Abuja, Nigeria, recommended the creation of an African Union and a Pan-African Parliament. After series of efforts by well-meaning African leaders, it

was finally resolved that OAU should metamorphose into African Union. Thus, in July, 2002, at the summit of the African Heads of State and Government in South Africa, the Organisation of Africa Union ceased to exist and in its place came the African Union.

You need to know whether the change from OAU to AU was just in its nomenclature or it has any element of pragmatic dynamism. Before going into this, it is instructive to know the organs of the AU. The organs of the African Union are:

- The Assembly of Heads of State which is the Supreme Organ;
- The Executive Council;
- Specialised Special Committees;
- Pan-African Parliament;
- Court of Justices;
- Economic and Social Council, Financial Institutions, and other organs which the Assembly may deem fit to establish.

The objectives of the AU according to Article 3 of its charter are as follows:

1. To achieve greater unity and solidarity between African countries and the peoples of Africa;
2. To defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of its member-states;
3. To accelerate rapid political and socio-economic integration of the continent;
4. To promote and defend common positions on issues of interest to the continent and its peoples;
5. To encourage international co-operation, taking due account of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human rights;
6. To promote peace, security and stability on the continent.
7. To promote democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and good governance;
8. To promote and protect human and peoples' rights in accordance with the African charter on human and peoples' rights and other relevant human rights instruments;
9. To establish the conditions, which will enable the continent to play its rightful role in the global economy and in international negotiations;
10. To promote sustainable development at the economic, social and cultural levels as well as the integration of African economies;
11. To promote co-operation in all fields of human activity to raise the living standards of African peoples;

12. To coordinate and harmonise the policies between the existing and future regions' economic communities for the gradual attainment of the objectives of the Union;
13. To advance the development of the continent by promoting research in all fields, particularly in science and technology;
14. To work with relevant international partners in the eradication of preventable diseases and the promotion of good health on the continent.

The above objectives define the role expectations of the African Union. Analysing the impact of that continental body will be carried out after concluding the role expectations of at least two other regional organisations, the Economic Community of West African States and the Arab League.

### **3.1.3 Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)**

Going by the definition of a modern day regional organisation, it will be realised that the Economic Community of West African States, though sub-regional in global politics, has satisfied the requirements of a regional organisation.

What is its origin? You need to ask. The West African sub-region had variously been colonised by several foreign powers in the past and each country of the sub-region consolidated on her inherited colonial past which prevented the much needed unity in the sub-region. There was political instability and economic deprivation. Despite the richness of the sub region in raw materials, lack of unity made the sub-region a mere supplier of raw materials and cheap labour to their imperial lords. Each time the foreign masters realised that their cronies were dialoguing on ways to untie their bondage; seeds of discord would be ignited. The West African sub-region thus, became a theatre of civil strife and economic woes.

In spite of the vicissitude of the sub-region, a bold attempt was made in October, 1966 in Niamey, Niger Republic where representatives of 14 West African countries met to consider draft articles of association for the proposed organisation. The Niamey meeting was followed in quick succession by the Dakar and Accra meetings.

It was not until 14<sup>th</sup> May, 1967, at Accra-Ghana that the articles of association for the formal establishment of an Economic Community of West Africa were signed by representatives of 12 states. Among the provisions contained in the Article of Association is the establishment of an interim council of ministers, charged with the responsibility of



drafting a comprehensive treaty to provide a framework for collaboration of all West African States for the economic wellbeing for the region. Entitled “Treaty of the Economic Community of West African States” it was not to come into force until signed by the Heads of State and Government of the sub-region. Thus, the treaty establishing the Economic Community of West African States was signed in Lagos on May 28th, 1975 by fifteen states and the number swelled by one in 1976. Both Togo and Nigeria, the major brains behind the organisation’s formation, did a lot of peace-building activities in order to provide a more conducive ground for the unimpeded practical take off of the organisation. Towards this end, the drafted protocols, with the input of the states in the sub-region, though, spearheaded by Nigeria and Togo, were approved in 1976 and the much awaited take off of the body came into being early in 1977.

Before assessing the success or failure of any organisation, the purpose for which it is set up, together with its accompanying machinery, must be looked into. Consequently, and in line with an established academic norm, the aims, to be followed by organs to accomplish them, are as follows:

According to Article 2 of the Lagos Treaty, the general aim of the community shall be to promote co-operation and development in all the fields of economic activities, which include:

- (a) Harmonising the economic and industrial policies of member states and removal of hiccups in the developmental efforts of member states.
- (b) Removal of custom duties and any other restrictive duty within the sub-region in respect of import or export of goods.
- (c) Invocation of identical custom tariffs and trade policy towards third world countries.
- (d) Removal of any restrictions to the free movement of persons, services and capital within the member states.
- (e) Collaboration between member states towards the promotion of common projects in the interest of the sub-region as well as working towards identical agricultural policies.
- (f) The enactment of a common policy as well as the invocation of schemes in such fields as transport, communication, energy and other infrastructural facilities for the purpose of enhancing the living standard of the sub-region.
- (g) Coordination and harmonisation of needed logistics for the proper functioning of the community in respect of monetary policies of the member states.
- (h) Adoption of a fund for cooperation, compensation and development.

- (i) Fostering closer relationship among member-states and contributing positively towards the progress and development of the African continent.
- (j) All other activities geared towards the enhancement of the aims of the ECOWAS as the member-states may deem fit.

In order to achieve these aims, necessary organs were set up in line with Article 4 of ECOWAS Treaty.

The organs are:

- (a) The Authority of the Heads of State and Government.
  - (b) The Council of Ministers
  - (c) The Secretariat
  - (d) The Tribunal (later called Court of Justice)
- The Authority of the Heads of States and Government represents the supreme organ of the ECOWAS. Simply referred to as “The Authority”, it meets once a year and at a rotational venue. It is solely responsible for the executive functions of the organisation.
  - The Council of Ministers is directly responsible to The Authority and meets twice a year. It is composed of two representatives from each member state.
  - The Executive Secretariat is headed by an Executive Secretary and has a four-year term, which is renewable for a similar term.
  - A Court of Justice is basically to ensure that law and justice is observed. It also interprets ECOWAS Treaty and settles any dispute referred to it by any member state.

ECOWAS also established some institutions in the pursuit of its aims such as the trade, customs, immigration, monetary and payment commission; the industry, agriculture and national resources commission; the transport, telecommunications and energy commission, and the social and cultural affairs commission.

### **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 3**

How do you rate the economic integration of ECOWAS?

#### **3.1.4 Commonwealth of Nations**

The Commonwealth of Nations which falls under a regional organisation is a voluntary association of former British colonies. Its origin dates back to the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Its antecedence could be traced back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century when most of the British Colonies had obtained a status of semi-independence. This means, a colony, having a popularly

elected legislative assembly but a British Governor, representing the king or queen in the colony. Also, this British Governor took directives from the British Secretary of State, for the colonies. The above indicates a practice where, the colonial legislative houses met only to discuss issues for presentation to the colonial secretary who could veto any bill as he deemed fit. Those colonies could not discuss issues of foreign affairs which was the exclusive preserve of the British Government. Interestingly, the colonies gained a new promotional nomenclature of Dominion in the 1920s because the British had delegated power in the area of managing foreign affairs as well as making laws, to the Dominions. By 1931, the self styled dominions were granted independence.

The earliest members of the Commonwealth were: Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Ireland and South Africa. In 1949, Ireland, due to racial problem ceased to be a member as well as South Africa in 1961 as a result of her apartheid policy.

The twentieth century witnessed the granting of independence to several British African Colonies and these countries, for reasons of mutual advantage, later joined the association. Membership of the body grows from the source of a common historical and political background. The aims of the Commonwealth of Nations, as the name suggests, are in being each other's keeper in every sphere of life, taking cognisance of their historical antecedence and these include, but not limited to the following, as identified by Adde (1995):

*Trade Advantage; Commonwealth countries carry on trading activities amongst themselves under a preferential agreement. This means that lower tariffs are levied on goods or items of trade from one commonwealth country to the other, resulting in cheaper deals than those from non-commonwealth country. However, the entry of Britain into the club of E.E.C. has hampered this mutual agreement as Britain must take permission from other E.E.C. countries before giving any preferential treatment to other commonwealth countries.*

Military Assistance – Member Countries could ask for military help from another commonwealth country and this could be in form of military training for her officers or seek for supply of needed military hardware.

Commonwealth countries could request for technical and monetary assistance from one another and this could be in form of experts in various fields of human endeavour such as education, sports,

communication, engineering, etc. Member countries could, as well, give loans to another commonwealth country for development purposes.

Through active participation in commonwealth games, member countries could marshal their ingenuity to become world class sportsmen and women.

Gainful employment could be facilitated by citizens of the commonwealth through the adoption of a common language which is English Language.

Through educational and scientific cooperation, students of one commonwealth country could secure opportunity to study in another commonwealth country. As the world is nose-diving towards a global village, commonwealth countries encourage scientific co-operation and any scientific discovery in any commonwealth country is instantly beamed to other commonwealth countries.

In other not to be lost in proffering the aims of the commonwealth which are almost endless, I hasten to add that Britain had imbibed the culture of fundamental liberty of every citizen of her colonies into the day to day administration of the colonies. Therefore, it was no surprise that the constitutions of the countries of the commonwealth contain elements of the principles of fundamental human rights and accompanied by emphasis on the 'rule of law.'

### **3.1.5 Organisation of American States**

This regional body historically evolved in 1890 as a result of inter-American occasional conferences but its charter was adopted in 1948 at Bogotá. All the States in America are free to be members and the objectives of the regional organisation are basically for pre and post peace building purposes. In a nutshell, these include but not limited to the followings:

- (a) Maintaining peace and security on the continent of America.
- (b) Peaceful settlement of any dispute that may arise among its members in such areas as social, political, economic, judicial and cultural matters.

It should not be surprising to know that the United States of America was the umbrella under which the Organisation of American States hid for the required guidance before and after World War II. The fear of Nazi Germany after World War I and that of Russia and her policy of Communism after World War II, necessitated the development of other American States to seek refuge within the US which had the necessary

military, economic and political clout to defend the America States in the organisation. Be that as it may, the US, conscious of her position to influence affairs in pre-conflict peace building within the sub-region emphasised, through her foreign policy, the need for the affairs of South America to be tackled by the American states without any interference from Europe and Asia.

According to Bennett (1991), United States in 1930 once made a bold attempt to coerce her neighbours within the region to accept her strategic dominant position but finding the neighbours recalcitrant and equally asserting their positions, recoiled and in 1933, declared her intention to follow a policy of good neighbourliness. In 1936, a principle of consultation between the states constituting the Organisation of America states was adopted. The United States realised that with the principle of consultation, any issue, whether economic, political or military could be ironed out as long as it is for the overall interest of the region.

### **3.1.6 The Arab League**

It was not until after the World War II that the Arab League actually took off but it was the realisation of the pact signed amongst Arab states in 1944. As the name suggests, membership is open to the Arab States generally.

At its inception, seven independent Arab States were the pioneering members and these were Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Yemen. The number has swelled to include Algeria, Sudan, Tunisia, Libya, Morocco, Oman, The United Arab Emirate, Qatar and Iran.

The League came into being for the main objective of building peace and progress in the entire Arab land. Basically, the objectives could be further itemised as including, preservation of the independence and sovereignty of Arab States; strengthening existing ties between Arab States for the effective co-ordination of their political, economic and social programmes; enhancement of the existing relations in areas such as cultural affairs, financial issues, health, as well as commerce; and dealing decisively with issues concerning Arab Nationality. Scholars have postulated several reasons why the Arab States decided to come together.

In the words of Adeniran (1983), the main reason for the coming together of these Arab States at the period they did was the need for the marshalling together of their opposition against British & French colonialism which openly supported the Jews in their bid to create a Jewish state, Israel, within the area known as Palestine. An Arab land

culture played a prominent role in galvanising the Arab states together, as the area is predominantly Arabic in culture. Furthermore, the reality of abundant mineral resources, especially oil, makes the region very unique and relevant in global politics.

They have always carried their cultural homogeneity into issues that concern any Arab nation in their interaction with non-Arab states. Within the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) as well as in the United Nations, the spirit of being members of the same Islamic family manifests very prominently. Their article of faith is the protection of Arab interest. There are still many other regional organisations but for now, the next unit will concentrate on how far the objectives for which these organisation were established have been achieved.

#### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

In the words of Hobbes, “man, benefit of Government, is living in a state of war; that is, in a state of perpetual insecurity.” By implication, since the world is fast turning into a global village, international organisations at all levels should live up to their expected roles while state and non-state actors together with international personalities must endeavour to nurture and internalise the tenets of peace building without which man will be in perpetual insecurity.

#### **5.0 SUMMARY**

This module has itemized the primary roles of some major international, continental and regional organisations.

#### **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

State the merits of the following international organisations: ECOWAS, AU, OAS, EU, Common Wealth of Nations, the Arab League.

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

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## **UNIT 2      A CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE PERFORMANCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL, CONTINENTAL, AND REGIONAL ORGANISATIONS IN THEIR EFFORT AT MAINTAINING INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objective
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 European Economic Community/European Union
  - 3.2 African Union
  - 3.3 ECOWAS
  - 3.4 Commonwealth of Nations
  - 3.5 Organisation of American States
  - 3.6 Arab League
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

Akinboye and Ottoh (2005), opine that an international organisation is founded on the functional approach based on the assumption that social welfare is the basis of a good society, which is conducive to international peace and also used to strengthen the bonds among the members of international system. By implication, international organisations are equally used as springboards by states to diplomatically attain certain objectives. It is equally through international organisations that issues of mutual benefit for the global community are equitably shared through a forum conducive to peace building, devoid of acrimonious tendencies.

You will now realise that since states and international organisations are both vital elements of international politics, the establishment of other organisations at continental, regional or sub-regional levels are necessary ingredients of super-structure for peace building activities in a world full of conflicts.

If you recall what brought about the original strategy for the integration of European Nations, which was to use economic means to achieve political integration, the stage it has reached since then, despite hiccups, is highly commendable. By and large, it will be expedient to assess its



success and limitations after which the way forward will be proffered under the conclusion.

## **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

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

- explain how far these organisations have justified their existence
- identify, as a leader, with one of the organisations and chat a way forward.

## **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

### **3.1 European Economic Community/European Union**

The attempt of the organisation to create a European Political Community and a European Defense Community failed in mid-1950s and sent signals to the members to hasten slowly because they could not allow their anxiety for quick results to prevent them from getting any result at all; hence they adopted the gradualist integration strategy. The economic integration was right on course as it brought about the creation of a joint customs union, which by implication means common external tariff together with a collective trade policy for their affected products within the region. As a further collaborative economic integration of the European Union, European institutions are empowered to act as buffer between the EU states and non-member states in trade regulation so as to ensure maximum advantage for the EU states. With the economic integration of Europe, the organisation has enormous weight in international trade and within that region are states with the largest export economies of the world. Further, the single European Market as well as the adoption of the Euro by twelve of its member-states is an indication that it constitutes the largest unified market in the global economy. These and many moves in the direction of sound economic integration have made the EU a vital and unarguably, a major player in international trade negotiations. As should be expected, this enviable economic status could attract envy and particularly occurred with the US on issues of international trade, despite their being members of the same defense pact, NATO. The EU is an example of a cohesive regional organisation in that in spite of their internal differences, they often approach external trade diplomacy from a common front.

You need to understand that the unity of purpose within the EU was borne out of good and purposeful governance within the states that make up the regional organisation. If the leaders had invoked the policy of greed amongst themselves, unity of purpose that is needed in global economic negotiation would have eluded them.

What is yet to be achieved by the European Union is political integration. The EU, in the 1970s, had attempted to develop a common foreign policy as well as security policy with the initiation of a co-operation between national foreign ministries. This has not yet metamorphosed into a solid political integration, due to other contending forces. The foreign policy cooperation which was being used as a platform to political integration is said to be outside the rules for supranational governance that applies to economic integration. In addition, member states prefer emphasis on co-operation between, and co-ordination of national foreign policies as opposed to supplanting these with a complete European Foreign Policy. If you link this with the problems of sovereignty, you will understand the more that it is a serious constraint, if rigidly enforced, but the EU is forging on because of its avowed wish to build a conflict free and peaceful region.

However, we need not lose sleep over the EU's inability to have a common foreign policy. Foreign policy is an area jealously guarded by states as both their interests and traditions are involved, coupled with the dichotomy within acknowledged traditional foreign policies of EU member states. However, hope is brightened towards the eventual common EU foreign policy in the foreseeable future as the economic integration is on the ascendancy. European Union policies have given impetus to globalisation of world politics. This has come in areas of improved access to markets by multinational corporations and again, there is general trend towards greater concentration of economic power in certain regions and large firms.

Quoting Nugent (1994), European Union displays federal characteristics as important policy responsibilities are exercised at both the Central (EU) and the regional (member-state) levels; well developed institutional structures exist at both levels; a central judicial body (the Court of Justice) has the authority to rule on who does what and other disputes between the two levels in the European Community pillar, and there is a common citizenship. As earlier mentioned, the concept of sovereignty still allows member-states to retain much power which they use to influence actions of the community. By the invocation of the EU treaty, member states control their financial resources. The European Parliament, though established, but not quite active as what it stands for is like a model for future political regional integration. What again militates against its relevance for now is that each member-state has its own parliament through which their national laws are enacted, which renders European Parliament ineffective. In summary, the EU member states have agreed on a common trade policy, represented by the European commission in international trade negotiations. Efforts to agree on a common foreign and security policy have been hampered by the reluctance of member states to give up their independence in this

regard. Consequent upon this, as a way of building peace in the efforts at political integration, the European Commission has a part in projecting agreed positions of a common foreign policy toward the non-EU States. There are also plans for co-operation in military matters, particularly in humanitarian co-operations. By and large, the EU has set a solid example for what a regional organisation should entail for both pre and post conflict peace building activities which others can emulate.

### **3.2 African Union**

The Organisation of African Unity, now known as African Union, unarguably, was influenced by global political setting, set in motion by the European Union. The previous chapter outlined its role and we are now highlighting its effectiveness in the performance of these roles.

The AU is so young in nomenclature that any reference to it without OAU is like an exercise in futility. Besides, the wordings of Article 24 of the preliminary draft-treaty creating the African Union States that: "The seat of the Union shall be the seat of the OAU". Article 22 states that the budget and resources of the African Union shall be those of the OAU as provided for in the OAU charter and the African Economic Community. Basking on these provisions, AU, otherwise called African Union necessarily inherited the assets and liabilities of the Organization of African Unity.

The achievement of the OAU/AU towards creating an enabling environment for peace-building activities on the continent of Africa, and other efforts at uniting the continent, cannot be over-emphasised.

In brief, these could be summed up thus:

Pre and post conflict control measures in pursuance of peace building efforts, among member states were undertaken. While it kept lending helping hands to the then Congo Leopoldville, it also assisted in the conflict management of the Chadian Civil War. The dispute between Uganda and Tanzania during the era of Idi Amin Dada of Uganda and Julius Nwalimu Nyerere of Tanzania were resolved through the invocation of conflict resolution mechanism of the Organisation while the joint claim of ownership of Western Sahara by both Mauritania and Morocco was equally resolved. Also worthy of mention was the boundary disputes between Morocco and Algeria, Ethiopia and Somalia. Although with limited success, but it is on record that OAU/AU had mediated in disputes in Rwanda between the Tutsis and Hutus while several attempts were made and are still being made to resolve the Darfur crisis in Sudan. The conflicts in other parts of Africa are daily being monitored and addressed.

A standing committee for liberation was set up in the heydays of colonialism to ensure the total decolonisation of Africa and after the last vestige of colonialism was uprooted from the continent, it was wound up. The OAU had, at various times contributed to world peace by contributing troops to various UN peace keeping operations. The OAU had equally formed a committee to mediate in the Middle East crises and the committee went ahead to visit Egypt and Israel simultaneously.

Refugee problems had been top on the agenda of several OAU/AU meetings. In the spirit of African tradition of being each other's keeper, refugees on the continent are being taken care of, and the continent now speaks with one voice on issues affecting its peoples. This is a major victory as previously, Africa was divided into various blocks – Monrovia, Casablanca and Brazzaville blocks, all within a continent which made it easy for neo-colonialists to influence African opinions. The formation of OAU/AU put paid to this unwarranted diffusion on the continent of Africa.

One significant global instrument of development is economic integration. The Organisation of African Unity observed that since economic progress is the usual concomitant of political progress, its attainment must be a thing of priority. Towards this objective the organisation mandated the Economic Commission for Africa and the Lagos Plan of Action to work out a modality for establishing an economic integration. This came into being in 1991 during the 27<sup>th</sup> OAU summit in Abuja when the treaty establishing the African Economic Commission was signed. This was a landmark achievement in the organisation's relentlessness to secure a worthwhile economic integration for the African continent.

The achievements of the AU regardless, certain obstacles still confront it which must be addressed for it to achieve meaningful political and economic independence. Despite efforts at sustaining democratic tenets, political instability within the continent has created a lot of problems. The continent has witnessed series of frequent military coups which does not allow for an enduring democratic practice. Of course each military coup brings with it looting of national treasuries, bad governance and greater misery for the populations leading invariably to more conflicts on the continent.

Furthermore, due to the poor state of many African States, financial obligations of many countries to the union were not honoured. Without financial solvency of the continental organisation, its services would be grounded. Again, the effects of partitioning of Africa by the foreign collaborators during the Berlin Conference of 1884/1885, without consideration for nationality or ethnicity have accentuated border

clashes on the African continent. These have been noticed in all the regions of the vast continent – West, East, North and Southern Africa.

During the formative stages of the OAU in 1963, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana had prophesied that the formation of OAU without a military high command would not augur well, and despite a successful decolonisation process, master minded in some areas by freedom fighters, the issue of a standing army is still begging for attention.

Africa is yet to get out of the woods economically owing to uncoordinated and faulty economic policies. Most African countries operate dependent economies despite availability of abundant mineral resources. Instead of factories being established in African States to convert the available raw materials into finished products, our factories are being closed down while our raw materials are shipped abroad to service the factories of former colonial lords who, in turn, return such finished goods to Africa as exports at exorbitant prices.

By and large, the AU, which is the successor of OAU will sustain and enhance the aspirations of its predecessor in order to meet the challenges of globalisation. The OAU, as earlier stated, tried its best to put in place necessary tools for pre-conflict and post-conflict peace-building techniques on the continent. Even though some conflict-states in Africa such as Rwanda, Congo, Somalia and even the Niger-Delta Area of Nigeria are posing more challenges, the AU, no doubt will expectedly rise up to the challenges and place Africa on equal footing with the developed regions of the globe.

### **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1**

Identify and describe African leaders who collude with imperialists to siphon their country's resources?

### **3.3 Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)**

The creation of ECOWAS in 1975 has witnessed a lot of economic integration and political re-alignment in the West African sub-region.

Briefly speaking, the achievements include the following:

Economic integration of the West African States is being pursued through the elimination of intra community trade restrictions as well as equalisation of tariffs in trade within ECOWAS States. Restrictions were removed on movement of persons to enhance free trade, and the removal of tariffs on industrial goods would be implemented equally.

In order to eliminate problems that could crop up due to different currencies, a single community currency is being considered for adoption. The monetary system to be adopted has as its objective the regional convertibility of nine national currencies, and in the longer term, the creation of a single monetary zone.

The protocol on non-aggression was adopted in 1978 where members pledged not to attack each other. The Committee on Mediation of Conflicts was created and it is responsible for mediation in conflicts among member states. To date, it has mediated successfully in the conflicts which arose in some states like Ghana, Togo, Senegal, Mauritania, Liberia, Sierra-Leone, Mali, Burkina Faso, and Niger Republic.

The transport, telecommunication and energy commission was created at the 1978 Lome meeting of the AU to see to telecommunication development within the community and also the idea of an inter-state highway to link all the states of the community. This issue is currently receiving serious attention of the body.

Above all, the general aims for the establishment of ECOWAS as contained in Article 2 of the treaty have largely been accomplished. This was further driven home by Akinboye and Ottoh (2005: 201) when they argued that it was indeed a novel development when member-states deemed it necessary to coordinate and harmonise the economic policies of the members in line with the overall economic reform programme. They referred to the establishment of a monetary union, ECOWAS parliament, common security, as well as the monetary programme adopted by the community. Specifically, attention was drawn to the launching of ECOWAS travelers' cheque in 1998 which was geared towards full monetary and economic integration, as well as the establishment of the West African Monetary Institute which bears semblance to the West African Central Bank. As a further step towards economic integration, no doubt, going by the economic global trend, the West African currency, the ECO was adopted in 2001.

However, it dawned on ECOWAS leaders that the protocol on non aggression would be unworkable in the light of any institutional provision to back up the spirit behind the protocol in view of the prevalent instability in the sub-region. This view culminated in the adoption of a protocol of mutual assistance on defense in 1981. This removes any ambiguity in addressing pre-conflict situations as well as post conflict peace building activities as members now show absolute commitment to be each other's keeper without any undue diplomatic hindrance. By extension, internal pre-conflict warning has been posted to member-states to allow peace to reign in order to enhance the

economic upliftment of the region while external conflict generators towards any member-state should steer clear. Enforcement machinery which was lacking in the 1978 protocol now came into being with the 1981 protocol on defense. It created the Allied Armed Forces of the Community (AAFC), which is a standing force comprising of troops donated by member-states and headed by a commander to be appointed by the "Authority." As the international system is dynamic, ECOWAS ventured into the sphere of peace-keeping as dictated by the demands of global politics. It was earlier observed that however benevolent a foreign peace-keeper might appear, third world countries detest their presence on their soil; and if the experiences of slavery, colonialism and imperialism are to be revisited, these fears are justified. This could be why ECOWAS leaders in 1993 revised the Treaty which provides for the maintenance of regional peace and security. By 1998, though long, member states endorsed the draft framework of the West African Ministers of Defense for an ECOWAS mechanism for conflict prevention, management, and resolution with the aim of equipping ECOWAS in the management of conflicts in the region.

As earlier discussed, ECOWAS was primarily created to create an enabling economic integration as well as political cooperation in the region of West Africa. However, if you want peace, prepare for peace. This was what the ECOWAS had in mind in 1990 by creating the Economic Community of West African States Observer Monitoring Group (ECOMOG). ECOMOG is a humanitarian intervention outfit aimed at preventing further escalation of conflicts in the region. One issue that must come to mind on this is that foreign interests often wait till conflicts get out of control before rushing into the conflict area to pretend to be dousing tension when indeed; they are selling their arms to the highest bidder.

ECOWAS has come, has seen and is still moving, employing indigenous African conflict resolution mechanisms. As it is usual with organisations, there is no positive side without a negative side, however infinitesimal. Some of the identified lapses of ECOWAS could be traced to finance, insincerity of some leaders, fear of domination by perceived regional powers and a few others.

Some member nations do not pay their dues as at when due while some betray their colleagues due to their foreign attachment. In the same vein, the perceived fear that a particular West African State is likely to be the leader which could subjugate others had hampered the much expected homogeneity of the region. Absence of a single lingua franca is also there.

However, according to Nguigi Wa Thiongo, the author of *Weep Not Child*, the ECOWAS will live up to the challenges of globalisation. The recent comments of the greatest supranational organisation in the global system, the UN, commending ECOWAS, as being the greatest example of a responsible and responsive regional organisation, calls for celebrations.

### **3.4 The Commonwealth of Nations**

In the previous treatise on the Commonwealth of Nations, its roles were itemised while the present exercise is to assess the extent those roles were performed, from the perspective of their impact on member-nations.

First, the organisation helps to foster meaningful co-operation among member-nations in areas such as trade, finance, defense, education, scientific research, law, medicine, agriculture, sports and a host of others. Members trade with one another, and duties and tariffs are usually removed within the member states. For example, Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra-Leone, Gambia, in West Africa enjoys preferential treatment in their trade relations within the organisation. Although, Britain has some constraints, being a member of the European Common Market, yet, preferential trade relationship within the common wealth countries are honoured. Military training is an area that assists member states. The Sandhurst Military Academy is a prestigious institution for the members of the Armed Forces in the common wealth till date. Exchange of scientific discoveries has been a continuous exercise.

Member states generally support any member that is in trouble. It is against the charter of the organisation to support a section of a member-state against its government. When during the Nigerian Civil War, Tanzania supported the rebels against the legitimate government of Nigeria; she was roundly condemned by the organisation. Similarly, Zambia, under Kenneth Kaunda was equally rebuked for supporting the rebels against a member of the organisation.

It is also noteworthy that educational support flows within member states. Specifically, experts in such fields as education, engineering, science and technology, and agriculture are usually seconded from Britain to assist needy commonwealth states.

Before the advent of globalisation, commonwealth countries often assist any member-nation in financial dilemma. Some have argued that the Commonwealth of Nations is a toothless bulldog but if peace-building activities of the organisation are collated, the axiom that “if we want peace, prepare for peace” clearly justifies the existence of the



organisation. With the globalisation of world politics, its future, rooted in the respect for the dignity of man and inviolability of the principles of fundamental human rights, is quite bright.

### **3.5 Organisation of American States**

Organisation of American States, which evolved in its embryonic stage in 1890 has largely fulfilled its mission as the status the American continent attains currently is largely as a result of pioneering efforts of the organisation. The sequence was a deep rooted pre-conflict peace-building motive which graduated to post-conflict peace-building activities. When you study the Monroe Doctrine of 1823 which asked the old world to keep away from the new world and link it with the succeeding formation of the organisation in 1890, and how America marshaled her resources together to weather the storm during world war I, went ahead to determine the fate of the German-led enemy forces against the Allied Forces in Hiroshima and Nagasaki on 6<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> August, 1945, credit must be given to the wisdom of the founding fathers of the organisation.

However, it is my considered view that the organisation could better influence the activities of the U.S. Government to respect collective will, which may not go down well with their own “national interest.” Meanwhile, having started from cradle to the pinnacle, the Organisation of American States is meeting the needs for which it was established.

### **3.6 The Arab League**

The Arab League has largely lived up to the expectations of its founding fathers as the Arab world are more united than ever, using the Islamic Culture as a bounding tie. The members of the league often regard themselves as members of an Islamic family which makes them speak with one voice at OPEC meetings. This united voice is also the order in the meetings of the United Nations because they are convinced that irrespective of any foreign ideological division, Arab interest takes precedence.

If the Arab world has not come together under the umbrella of the Arab League, the West and the East would have infiltrated their camp and their culture. It has been the strongest tie holding them till date; otherwise their seeming invincibility would have been broken.

### **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2**

Cast your mind back to the protracted Arab/Israeli conflicts. Can you suggest some ways out of the impasse?

## 4.0 CONCLUSION

In the words of Hettne, Inotai, and Sunkel (1999),

*The interaction between processes of globalisation and efforts to integrate regional economies is not limited to Europe alone. In fact, there has been a substantial increase in the regionally based institutionalised co-operation among states during the 1990s – to the extent that observers have termed this feature the new regionalism.*

This new regionalism is all about the dynamic relationship between developments in different parts of the world because as countries in one continent embrace economic integration, creating free trade zones, customs unions and so on, the effects are felt elsewhere.

One predominant feature that served as a catalyst of the new regionalism could be attributed to the end of the Cold War as the removal of the adversarial conflict between the super powers provided opportunities for regions to co-operate in matters of trade and security. The European Union too added impetus to the idea of regionalism as a potent force for peace-building because when hunger is satisfied, then anger is removed. When wants and needs are positively addressed, though relatively, the rest issue that could cause conflict will be sincerely managed. As postulated by Edwards and Regelberger (1990), the EU has a history of establishing and institutionalising links with other regional groupings, though unintentionally, through the competitive pressures exerted by the European Market. This wind of change manifests in North America, Latin America, Asia, and Africa under various names.

## 5.0 SUMMARY

In a nutshell, this unit has illustrated the dynamics as well as the dilemmas involved in the processes of regional integration globally. Regional integration raises questions about transnational democracy and the need to develop political institutions to consolidate them. While regional integration will continue to face tension and dilemmas, it is hoped that solutions to them will be taken care of by the states involved.

## 6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

What do you identify as obstacles to the operational framework of any two of the organisations discussed?

## 7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

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## **UNIT 3 THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE AND SOME CASE STUDIES IN PURSUIT OF PEACE AND SECURITY**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 How the Court Works
  - 3.2 Contentious Cases
  - 3.3 Advisory Proceedings
  - 3.4 Case Studies and Other Comments
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

The International Court of Justice (ICJ) is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations (UN). It was established in June, 1945 by the charter of the United Nations and began work in April, 1946. The seat of the court is at the PEACE PALACE in The Hague (Netherlands). Of the six principal organs of the United Nations, it is the only one not located in New York (United States of America). The Court's role is to settle disputes, in accordance with international law, on legal disputes submitted to it by states and to give advisory opinion on legal questions referred to it by authorised United Nations organs and specialised agencies.

The court is composed of 15 judges, who are elected for terms of office of nine years by the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council. It is assisted by a Registry, which is its administrative organ. Its official languages are English and French. (Retrieved July 16, 2007 from <mhtml:file://c:\Teewhy\The Court International Court of Justice001-mht>).

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

After reading this unit, you should be able to:

- understand the workings of the International Court of Justice
- explain its efficacy as a peace-building institution
- cite some case studies to buttress your argument.

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 How the Court Works**

The court may entertain two types of cases: legal disputes between states submitted to it by them (contentious cases) and requests for advisory opinions on legal questions referred to it by United Nations and specialised agencies (advisory proceedings).

#### **3.2 Contentious Cases**

Only states (state members of the United Nations and other states which have become parties to the statute of the court or which have accepted its jurisdiction under certain conditions) may be parties to contentious cases.

The court is competent to entertain a dispute only if the states concerned have accepted its jurisdiction in one or more of the following ways:

- By entering into a special agreement to submit the dispute to the court.
- By virtue of a jurisdictional clause, i.e. typically, when they are parties to a treaty containing a provision whereby, in the event of a dispute of a given type or disagreement over the interpretation or application of the treaty, one of them may refer the dispute to the court.
- Through the reciprocal effect of declarations made by them under the statute whereby each has accepted the jurisdiction of the court as compulsory in the event of a dispute with another state having made a similar declaration. A number of these declarations, which must be deposited with the United Nations Secretary-General, contain reservations excluding certain categories of dispute.

States have no permanent representatives accredited to the court. They normally communicate with the Registrar through the medium of their Minister for Foreign Affairs or their Ambassador accredited to the Netherlands. Where they are parties to a case before the court, they are represented by an agent. An agent plays the same role, and has the same rights and obligations, as a solicitor or avoué with respect to a national court. But we are dealing here with international relations, and the agent is also as it were, the head of a special diplomatic mission with powers to commit a sovereign state. He/she receives communications from the Registrar concerning the case and forwards to the Registrar all correspondence and pleadings duly signed or certified. In public hearings, the agent opens the argument on behalf of the government

he/she represents and lodges the submissions. In general, whenever a formal act is to be done by the government represented, it is done by the agent. Agents are sometimes assisted by co-agents, deputy agents or assistant agents and always have counsel or advocates, whose work they coordinate to assist them in the preparation of the pleadings and the delivery of oral argument. Since there is no special International Court of Justice bar, there are no conditions to be fulfilled for counsel or advocates to enjoy the right of arguing before it, except only that they must have been appointed by a government to do so.

Proceedings may be instituted in one of two ways: through the notification of a special agreement, this document, which is of a bilateral nature, can be lodged with the court by either of the states parties to the proceedings or by both of them. A special agreement must indicate the subject of the dispute and the parties thereto. Since there is neither an “applicant” state nor a “respondent” state, in the court’s publications, their names are separated by an oblique stroke at the end of the official title of the case, e.g. Benin/Niger.

### **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1**

State the type of cases normally placed before the ICJ and the manner they are instituted.

By means of an application: the application, which is of a unilateral nature, is submitted by an applicant state against a respondent state. It is intended for communication to the latter state and the rules of court containing stricter requirements with respect to its content. In addition to the name of the party against which the claim is brought, and the subject of the dispute, the applicant state must, as far as possible, indicate briefly on what basis – a treaty or a declaration of acceptance of compulsory jurisdiction – it claims the court has jurisdiction, and must succinctly state the facts and grounds on which it bases its claim. At the end of the official title of the case, the names of the two parties are separated by the abbreviation “V” (for the Latin Versus) e.g. Nicaragua V. Columbia.

The date of the institution of proceedings, which is that of the receipt by the Registrar of the special agreement or application, marks the opening of proceedings, before the court. Contentious proceedings include a written phase, in which the parties file and exchange pleadings containing a detailed statement of the points of fact and of law on which each party relies, and an oral phase consisting of public hearings at which agents and counsel address the court. As the court has two official languages, (English and French), everything written or said in one language is translated into the other. The written pleadings are not made

available to the press and public until the opening of the oral proceedings, and then only if the parties have no objection.

After the oral proceedings, the court deliberates in camera and then delivers its judgment at a public sitting. The judgment is final, binding on the parties to a case and without appeal (at most it may be subject to interpretation or revision). Any judge wishing to do so may append an opinion to the judgment.

By signing the Charter, a state member of the United Nations undertakes to comply with any decision of the court in a case to which it is a party. Since, a case can only be submitted to the court and decided by it if the parties have in one way or another consented to its jurisdiction over the case, it is rare for a decision not to be implemented. A state which contends that the other side has failed to perform the obligations incumbent upon it under a judgment rendered by the court may lay the matter before the Security Council, which is empowered to recommend or decide upon the measures to be taken to give effect to the judgment.

The procedure described above is the normal procedure. Certain matters can however affect the proceedings. The commonest case is that of preliminary objections raised in order to prevent the court from delivering judgment on the merits of a case (the respondent state may contend, for example, that the court lacks jurisdiction or that the application is inadmissible). The matter is one for the court itself to decide. Then, there are provisional measures, which can be requested as interim measures by the applicant state if the latter considers that the rights which form the subject of its application are in immediate danger. It may further occur that a state seeks to intervene in a dispute involving other states because it considers that it has an interest of a legal nature which may be affected by the decision to be taken in the dispute between those states. The statute also makes provision for cases where the respondent states does not appear before the court, either because it totally rejects the court's jurisdiction or for any other reason. Hence, failure by one party to appear does not prevent proceedings in a case from taking their course. But in such a case, the court must first satisfy itself that it has jurisdiction. Finally, should the court find that parties to separate proceedings are submitting the same arguments and submissions against a common opponent in relation to the same issue; it may order joinder of the proceedings.

The court discharges its duties as a full court but at the request of the parties. It may also establish ad-hoc chambers to examine specific cases. A chamber of summary procedure is elected every year by the court in accordance with its statute. The sources of law that the court must apply are: international treaties and conventions in force; international custom;

the general principles of law; and judicial decisions and the teachings of the most highly qualified publicists. Moreover, if the parties agree, the court can decide a case *ex aqua et bono*, i.e. without limiting itself to existing rules of international law.

A case may be brought to a conclusion at any stage of the proceedings by a settlement between the parties or by discontinuance. In the latter case, an applicant state may, at any time, inform the court that it is not going on with the proceedings or the two parties may declare that they have agreed to withdraw the case. The court then removes the case from its list.

### **3.3 Advisory Proceedings**

Advisory proceedings before the court are open solely to five organs of the United Nations and to 16 specialised agencies of the United Nations family. The United Nations General Assembly and Security Council may request advisory opinions on “any legal question.” Other United Nations organs and specialised agencies which have been authorised to seek advisory opinions can only do so with respect to “legal questions arising within the scope of their activities.”

When it receives a request for an advisory opinion, the court, in order that it may give its opinion with full knowledge of the facts, is empowered to hold written and oral proceedings, certain aspects of which recall the proceedings in contentious cases. In theory, the court may do without such proceedings, but it has never dispensed with them entirely.

A few days after the request is filed, the court draws up a list of those states and international organisations that will be able to furnish information on the question before the court. Those states are not in the same position as parties to contentious proceedings; their representatives before the court are not known as agents and their participation, if any, in the advisory proceedings does not render the court’s opinion binding upon them. In general, the states listed are the member states of the organisation requesting the opinion. Any state not consulted by the court may ask to be.

It is rare, however, for the ICJ to allow international organisations, other than the one having requested the opinion, to participate in advisory proceedings. With respect to non-governmental international organisations, the only one ever authorised by the ICJ to furnish information did not in the end do so (International Status of South West Africa). The court has rejected all such requests by private parties.



The written proceedings are shorter than but as flexible as in contentious proceedings between states. Participants may file written statements, which sometimes form the object of written comments by the participants. The written statements and comments are regarded as confidential, but are generally made available to the public at the beginning of the oral proceedings. States are then usually invited to present oral statements at public sittings.

Advisory proceedings are concluded by the delivery of the advisory opinion at a public sitting. It is of the essence that such opinions are advisory, i.e. that, unlike the court's judgments, they have no binding effect. The requesting organ, agency or organisation remains free to give effect to the opinion by any means open to it, or not to do so. Certain instruments or regulations can, however, provide beforehand that an advisory opinion, by the court shall have binding force (e.g. conventions on the privileges and immunities of the United Nations). It remains nevertheless that the authority and prestige of the court attach to its advisory opinions and that where the organ or agency concerned endorsed that opinion, that decision is as it were sanctioned by international law.

(Retrieved July 16, 2007, from mhtml:file://c:\Teewhy\ICJ=-002-How the court works international court of justice.mht)

Going through the roles of the International Court of Justice, you will notice that the court is positioned to ensure there is global peace. Series of states have resorted to referring their cases, both contentious and advisory to the court since the end of the World War II. Issues that would have led to another world war like border, environmental, and sovereignty conflicts, and many more were resolved. The beauty of the whole scenario is the acceptability of the ICJ judgments by the states concerned. Examples of some such cases as well as various comments by international personalities could be found on the ICJ website.

### **3.4 Case Studies**

#### **(a) The Border Dispute between Nigeria and Cameroon (The Bakassi Peninsula)**

##### **Background**

The Bakassi Peninsula has been a disputed piece of territory between Nigeria and Cameroon for decades and the source of several conflicts in 1981 and the early 1990s. The discovery of potential oil reserves in the waters surrounding the Peninsula has only heightened tensions between the two countries. The International Court of Justice decided on October

10, 2002 that the Peninsula and territory in the Lake Chad region should be under sovereignty of Cameroon. Nigeria agreed to pull out of those areas by September, 2004. It has given up 32 villages along the 1,700 km border from Lake Chad to the Gulf of Guinea, but still has a military presence in Bakassi. This border dispute gives rise to various issues such as citizenship of the thousands of Nigerians now living within Cameroon territory, the resolve of Nigeria to keep a presence in the disputed territory, and the potential development of offshore oil reserves near the Bakassi Peninsula.

### **Description**

The border between Nigeria and Cameroon over the Bakassi Peninsula and Lake Chad areas has been disputed for decades. The potentially oil-rich peninsula is highly valuable to each country. On October 10, 2002, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) decided that Cameroon would be awarded the disputed land. Even so, the maritime frontier between the two countries has yet to be demarcated, leaving a large area of disputed ownership that is yet to be fully explored for oil. Nigeria agreed to turn over the peninsula to Cameroon between July and September 2004, but Nigerian troops remain in the disputed area. However, Nigeria has handed over to Cameroon 32 villages along the newly marked 1,700 km border from Lake Chad to the Gulf of Guinea. The current delay seems to be masking the political issues hindering the successful handover of the peninsula. Nigeria's parliament believes the handover would be unconstitutional and demands a referendum on the issue. Even the UN body overseeing the negotiations-the Cameroon – Nigeria Mixed Commission- between the countries has indicated that technical problems have delayed the transfer of land to Cameroon. This Commission set up by President Paul Biya of Cameroon and President Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria through the Secretary General of the UN, Kofi Annan is to determine ways to implement the ICJ ruling and move the two countries forward.

The territorial change of English-speaking Nigerians to French-speaking Cameroonians has been difficult for both sides. It is estimated that over 60,000 people lived in the 32 villages around Lake Chad which Cameroon acquired in the handover. Thousands of Nigerians now living on the Peninsula are not sure where they stand in terms of citizenship and many want to remain Nigerians as they remain associated with Nigeria. Some Nigerians are worried about the human rights record of the Cameroonian government.

Cameroon and Nigeria have come to the brink of war several times over the ownership of the peninsula in 1981 and 1996. On May 15, 1981, a Cameroon national radio news report stated that a Nigerian military

patrol violated Cameroon's territory by infiltrating the Peninsula (as far as the Rio del Ray) and opened fire on Cameroon forces. Cameroon returned fire, killing five Nigerian soldiers. In 1992-1993, the government openly killed some Nigerian civilians in Cameroon, stemming from multiparty democratic government and growing militarism for Anglophone autonomy. Other Nigerians were forced out of Cameroon during harassing tax-drives. The Bakassi dispute intensified with two or more serious incidents that provoked more shooting, casualties and deaths of soldiers in both countries. In 1994 and from January-May, 1996, there were border clashes between military personnel of Cameroon and Nigerian. As at May 6, 1996, diplomats reported that over fifty Nigerian soldiers had been killed and a number taken as prisoners. There was no information available for Cameroonian casualties. The conflict escalated again on February 3, 1996. From the Ambazonian (South Cameroon) side, the Anglophone movement in Cameroon has no trust in the Cameroon government due to the failed implementation of the Plebiscite Treaty, which was to unite all Cameroonians under a federal form of government. Ambazonians demand total independence as it views Bakassi as its own. From 1919-1958, Southern Cameroon was jointly administered with Nigeria. Nigerian maps recognised the Peninsula as part of the Ambazonian territory. There was violence recently in the region on June 21, 2005 when Nigerian troops fired rocket-propelled grenades at Cameroon security posts, killing one Cameroonian soldier.

After eight years of negotiations, the ICJ decided Cameroon had sovereignty of Bakassi. The decision was based on old colonial documents. The boundaries in the Lake Chad region were determined by the Thomson –Marchand Declaration of 1929-1930 and the boundary in Bakassi determined by the Anglo German Agreement of March 11, 1913. The Court requested Nigeria to quickly and unconditionally withdraw administration, police and military from the area of Lake Chad under Cameroonian sovereignty and from the Bakassi Peninsula. The ICJ requested Cameroon to remove its citizens from anywhere on the new border between the two countries.

The Court fixed the land boundaries from Lake Chad in the north to Bakassi in the south. The Court agreed with Nigeria that the equidistant line between Nigerian and Cameroon provided an equitable result. However, the Court did not specify a definite location off the coast of Equatorial Guinea of where the maritime boundary between the two countries would terminate, or the tripoint.

Nigeria agreed to give Cameroon full control of Bakassi on September 15, 2004, but failed to do so believing their withdrawal would lead to the collapse of law and order. In addition, Nigeria claimed that the most

democratic manner to decide Bakassi sovereignty would be to hold a referendum since the 300,000 people on the Peninsula do not want to become Cameroonians. Nigeria believes that sovereignty of Bakassi is not a matter of oil or natural resources on land or in coastal waters; it is a matter of the welfare and well-being of Nigerians on their land.

### **Environmental Issues**

The conflict over the Bakassi Peninsula and other border areas between Nigeria and Cameroon revolves around the environment and the possible resources that could be acquired by each country from the environment such as oil and rich fisheries. There is both a direct and indirect impact the environment has had on the conflict: each country would directly benefit from the undeveloped oil reserves in the Bakassi region, but the land disputes in the Lake Chad region had displaced fishermen as a result of drought and desertification.

### **Habitat Loss**

Lake Chad has decreased in size from about an average of 4,000 square miles in the dry season in the 1960s to only 839 square miles presently. Researchers do not believe this is due to global warming, but rather a “domino effect” of human actions relating in climate variations and increasing demands of an expanding population that has led to one of Africa’s largest freshwater lakes shrinking dramatically in the last forty years. The problem is that the overgrazing of animals reduces vegetation in the region, which reduces the ecosystem’s ability to recycle moisture back into the atmosphere. This contributes to fewer monsoons (where the lake historically receives most of its water) and consequent droughts which had generated an increase in the need of lake water for irrigation of crops. Additionally, the Sahara desert has gradually edged southward, further exacerbating the desertification problem.

### **Fatality Level of Disputes (Military and Civilian Fatalities)**

The conflict over sovereignty to the Bakassi Peninsula between Nigeria and Cameroon is much more than just a dispute over a boundary, but also includes issues of national identity and environmental changes affecting local fishermen and farmers that create a need for a porous border. Added to the dispute is the concern of the Anglophone Cameroon secessionist movement and the Nigerian migrant community in disputed territorial areas which further complicates the situation.

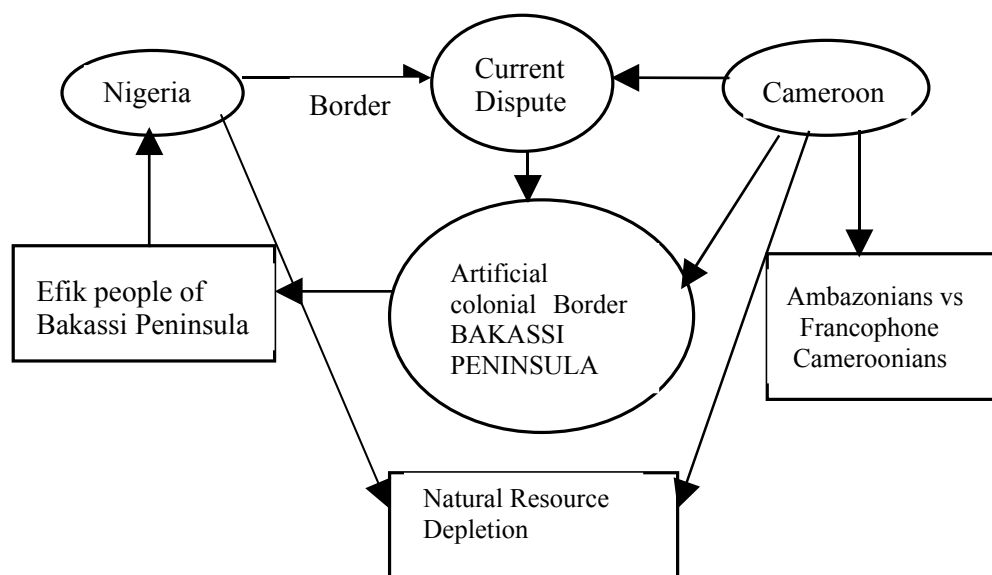
The border dispute is over the Bakassi Peninsula in the Gulf of Guinea, the 1,500 km border between Cameroon and Nigeria, and several areas along Lake Chad. The dispute can be narrowed into two main issues: the

fight for the Bakassi Peninsula associated with the potential oil development and fisheries off the Peninsula's shores; and the partially resolved dispute over certain areas of the Lake Chad region associated with nationalist ties of several groups to the land as a result of colonialism. In essence, there are two concurrent issues at hand, the potential for environmental damage resulting from oil development and excessive fishing in the Bakassi region and the potential for further violence as Ambazonians, Francophone Cameroonians, Nigerians and the inhabitants of the Bakassi Peninsula (Efik) contest the region's demarcated areas of the border decision by the International Court of Justice.

In terms of environmental issues, in recent years, Lake Chad has flooded numerous times, forcing local fishermen to either become farmers or move with the changing shoreline, causing them to cross international borders in the process. This has further exacerbated nationalistic tensions in the region.

### **Environment-Conflict Link and Dynamics**

This case is an indirect conflict over an environmental issue that has been ongoing for decades, especially since the end of colonialism in Nigeria and Cameroon. The diagram below shows the relationships among various actors in the dispute over Bakassi. Nigeria and Cameroon are the states that are in conflict, even though the International Court of Justice awarded the Peninsula to Cameroon in 2002. The Efik consider themselves Nigerians and do not want to become Cameroon citizens because they have historical and linguistic ties to Nigeria, shown by the arrow from the Peninsula to the Efik box. The Ambazonians feel more linguistically linked to Nigeria, but also feel they are the rightful owners of Bakassi because they were removed from that land under the numerous transfer of power between Germany, Britain and France during colonialism. Both Nigeria and Cameroon are depleting their natural resources through over fishing and the desertification of the Sahara. The Ambazonians and Francophone Cameroonians have differing ties to Cameroon and the Bakassi Peninsula as the region was arbitrarily divided under colonial powers.



Although the official outcome of the dispute is a victory for Cameroon who legally acquired Bakassi, the two states are in a stalemate over the physical handover of land. Since breaking its promise to hand over the territory by September 15th, 2004, Nigeria still controls two-thirds of the peninsula.

*Retrieved July 16, 2007 from ICE case studies No. 163, Nov., 2005. (2005 (IRIN). <http://www.irinnews.org/report.asp? Report ID=47797 & select region = West Africa & select country = Cameroon>)*

### **Press Release ICJ/603**

### **International Court of Justice Gives Judgment**

#### **In Cameroon-Nigeria Boundary Dispute**

The Hague, 10 October—The International Court of Justice (ICJ), principal organ of the United Nations, has today given judgment in the case concerning the Land and Maritime Boundary between Cameroon and Nigeria (Cameroon v. Nigeria: Equatorial Guinea intervening). In its judgment, which is final, without appeal and binding for the Parties, the Court determines as follows the course of the boundary, from north to south, between Cameroon and Nigeria.

In the Lake Chad area, the Court decides that the boundary is delimited by the Thomson-Marchand Declaration of 1929-1930, as incorporated in the Henderson-Fleuriau Exchange of Notes of 1931 (between Great Britain and France); it finds that the boundary starts in the lake from the Cameroon – Nigeria-Chad tripoint (whose co-ordinates it defines) and

follows a straight line to the mouth of the River Ebeji as it was in 1931 (whose co-ordinates it also defines) and thence runs in a straight line to the point where the river today divides into two branches.

Between Lake Chad and the Bakassi Peninsula, the Court confirms that the boundary is delimited by the following instruments:

- i) from the point where the River Ebeji bifurcates, as far as Tamnyar Peak, by the Thomson Marchand Declaration of 1929-1930 (paras-2-60), as incorporated in the Henderson-Fleuriau Exchange of Notes of 1931;
- ii) from Tamnyar Peak to pillar 64 referred to in Article XII of the Anglo-German Agreements of 11 March and 12 April 1913. The Court examines point by point 17 sectors of the land boundary and specifies for each one how the above-mentioned instruments are to be interpreted (paras. 91, 102, 114, 119, 124, 129, 139, 146, 152, 155, 160, 168, 179, 189 of the judgment).

In Bakassi, the Court decides that the boundary is delimited by the Anglo-German Agreement of 11 March 1913 (Arts. XVIII-XX) and that sovereignty over the Bakassi Peninsula lies with Cameroon. It decides that in this area the boundary follows the thalweg of the River Akpakorum (Akwayafe), dividing the mangrove islands near Ikang in the way shown on map TSGS 2240, as far as a straight line joining Bakassi point and King Point.

As regards the maritime boundary, the Court having established that it has jurisdiction to address this aspect of the case <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> which Nigeria had disputed <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>, fixes the course of the boundary between the two States' maritime areas.

In its judgment, the Court requests Nigeria expeditiously and without condition withdraw its administration and military or police forces from the area of Lake Chad falling within Cameroonian sovereignty and from the Bakassi Peninsula. It also requests Cameroon expeditiously and without condition withdraw any administration or military or police forces which may be present along the land boundary from Lake Chad to the Bakassi Peninsula on territories which pursuant to the judgment fall within the sovereignty of Nigeria. The latter has the same obligation in regard to territories in that area which fall within the sovereignty of Cameroon. The Court takes note of Cameroon's undertaking, given at the hearings, to "continue to afford protection to Nigerians living in the (Bakassi) peninsula and in the Lake Chad area".

Finally, the Court rejects Cameroon's submissions regarding the State responsibility of Nigeria. It likewise rejects Nigeria's counter-claims.

### **Composition of the Court**

The court was composed as follows: President Guallalume; Vice-President Shi; Judges Oda, Ranjeva, Herczegh, Fleischhauer, Karoma, Higgins, Para-Aranguren, Kooijimans, Rezek, Al-Khasawneh, Buergenthal, Elaraby; Judges ad hoc Mbaye, Ajibola; Registrar; Couvreur.

Judge Oda appends a declaration to the Court, judge Ranjeva appends a separate opinion to the judgment of the Court; judge Herczegh appends a declaration to the judgment of the Court; judge Koroma appends a dissenting opinion to the judgment of the Court; judge Parra-Aranguren appends a separate opinion to the judgment of the Court; judge Rezek appends a declaration to the judgment of the Court; judge Al-Khasawneh and judge ad hoc Mbaye appends separate opinions to the judgment of the Court; judge ad hoc Ajibola appends a dissenting opinion to the judgment of the Court.

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### **(b) Nicaragua-Honduras Territorial Dispute**

#### **Background**

The Central American countries of Nicaragua and Honduras have a long history of territorial disputes, dating back to the year 1906, when they were in dispute over a coastal area. The disputes of these two countries continue today. They are now arguing over a tiny island in the Caribbean called Cay Sur (South Cay), an island rich in natural resources, such as fish and oil. Recently, the case has been handled by the Organization of American States (OAS) and taken to the International Court of Justice (ICJ), and a decision is pending.

#### **Description**

In 1986, the countries of Honduras and Colombia signed the Caribbean Sea Maritime Limits Treaty, which divided up 12,000 square miles of the Caribbean. In November 1999, Honduras ratified the treaty, which sparked off a dispute between that country and Nicaragua. Nicaragua claimed that part of this territory belonged to it, and Honduras did not have the right to sign this treaty with Colombia. Nicaragua did not want



to lose its rights to a territory rich in resources, including petroleum and fish.

### **Map of Disputed Area**

Nicaragua blamed Honduras for putting troops on the island of Cay Sur, although a U.S. military attaché claimed that there was no military presence on the island. For Nicaragua, the presence of soldiers on the island would be a security threat, and also a violation of a previous agreement between the two countries not to involve the military.

Legally, several actions have been taken. The OAS named Ambassador Luigi Einaudi a Special Representative to handle the dispute between the two countries. The Ambassador met with representatives from both countries and on Friday 16th March, 2001, Vice Foreign Ministers from Nicaragua and Honduras signed an agreement before the Ambassador to ease the dispute between their two countries. The document “is aimed at promoting confidence and security between the two sides and establishing mechanisms of observation and international vigilance”.

Also, Nicaragua took the case to the International Court of Justice, which has handled previous territorial disputes between the two countries. On 8th December, 1999, the Republic of Nicaragua submitted an application to the ICJ in:

*Accordance with Article 36, paragraph 1, and Article 40 of the Statute, and Article 38 of the Rules of the Court... to dispute legal issues subsisting between the Republic of Nicaragua and the Republic of Honduras concerning maritime delimitation. Nicaragua requested that the ICJ determine the course of the single maritime boundary between areas of territorial sea, continental shelf and exclusive economic zone appertaining respectively to Nicaragua and Honduras, in accordance with equitable principles and relevant circumstances recognised by general international law as applicable to such a delimitation of a single maritime boundary.*

On 23rd March, 2000, the ICJ announced a fixed time limit for submitting any more pleadings to the case. The court decided that by 21st March, 2002, Nicaragua would file a Memorial and that Honduras would also file a Counter-Memorial on the same date. So far, the Court has not released its judgment.

## Duration

Current Conflict: 1986 to date.

Previous conflicts between the two countries: since 1906.

History of Disputes between Nicaragua and Honduras  
Source: Cascon Case NIH: Nicaragua-Honduras 1957-60

Date	Conflict
1906	Dispute over the Mosquito Coast
1912	Nicaragua challenged an arbitral award of land given to Honduras in the above territory
1957	Nicaragua claimed some of its land had been included in Honduras' new state, Gracias a Dios
19/04/1957	50 Nicaraguan national guardsman occupied Mocoron in a disputed area claimed by both countries.
25/04/1957	Honduras recalled its Ambassador to Nicaragua
3/05/1957	5 Honduran planes bomb Mocoron
8/05/1957	Honduras, charged a Nicaraguan attack in the Cifuentes region, 150 miles southwest of the disputed area
5/07/1957	OAS accepted Honduran plea for removal of Nicaraguan troops. Both sides encouraged to seek ICJ judgment.
1960	ICJ upheld original arbitral award. Boundary demarcated by OAS sponsored officers
1986	Caribbean Sea Maritime Limits Treaty granted Honduras and Colombia a swath of waters claimed by Nicaragua.
12/08/1999	Nicaragua submits application to ICJ
2000	OAS assigns Ambassador to ease border dispute
16/03/2001	Nicaragua and Honduras sign agreement before OAS Ambassador

<http://www.american.edu/TED/ice/nicaragua-honduras.htm>

## Football War

*From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia*

The “Football” War (La Guerra del futbol, in Spanish), also known in English as the Soccer War or 100-hours War, was a six-day war fought by El Salvador and Honduras in 1969.

The tensions between the two nations were reflected by rioting at a football (soccer) match between them, but the war was not caused by football, as has been popularly imagined internationally. The war was caused by political differences between Honduras and Salvadorans. Some believe the name is derived from the rioting at the football match immediately preceding the war, others say it refers to the sensationalist way in which international journalists overlapped war reporting with rioting from a series of football matches.

### **Context**

The Football War is the catchy nickname that has been given to the 1969 war that broke out between the Central American countries of Honduras and El Salvador. Although this was considered a Futbol War, the war goes much more in depth than a Latin American soccer game. The roots of this alarming disagreement turned war were issues over land reform and immigration problems. Honduras is more than five times the size of neighbouring El Salvador, even though in 1969, El Salvador has a population that was more than double that of Honduras. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Salvadorans had begun migrating to Honduras in large numbers. These immigrants made the journey to a new land in the hope of decent jobs and escaping their oppressive government. By 1969, more than 350,000 Salvadorans were living in Honduras. These Salvadorans now made up twenty percent of the Honduran peasant population (Acker, 93). Meanwhile, by the 1960s Hondurans began to cry out for land reform as well.

In Honduras, a large majority of the land was granted to large landowners or big corporations. This was a very popular trend in Latin America and still is to this day. The United Fruit Company, in fact, had ownership of ten percent of the country; it is hard for the average landowners to compete. In 1966, the United Fruit Company banded together with many other large companies to create la Federacion Nacional de Agricultores y Ganaderos de Honduras (FENAGH; the National Federation of Farmers and Livestock- Farmers of Honduras). FENAGH was very anti-compassion as well as anti-Salvadoran. This group put pressure on the Honduran President, General Lopez Arellano, to protect the property rights of wealthy landowners via a propaganda campaign. This led to violent nationalism spreading throughout the Honduras state. Hondurans then began targeting Salvadoran immigrants,

specifically by means of beatings, tortures, and killings (Anderson 64-75).

In 1969, Honduras successfully enacted a new land reform law. This law took land away from Salvadoran immigrants and redistributed this land to native-born Honduran peoples. The land was taken from both immigrant farmers and squatters regardless of their right to ownership and the status of their immigration. Thousands of Salvadorans were displaced by this law and were forced to immigrate once again. Salvadoran newspapers then heightened the already stressed relationship between the two countries by showing the many atrocities being committed against Salvadorans in Honduras. Hate and dislike towards Honduras began to be displayed all across El Salvador.

The social situation in both countries in the run-up to the war was explosive, and their military governments were looking for a convenient cause towards which to direct their nationals' political concerns. National media in both countries encouraged hatred towards citizens of the other, eventually provoking the expulsion from Honduras of thousands of Salvadoran laborers, including both temporary harvest workers and longer-term settlers. This general rise in tensions ultimately led to a military conflict that served to direct the attention of the citizenry of both countries outward rather than in on their own internal affairs, leaving both armies rearmed, and destroying the Central American economic integration that had been expressed in the Central American Common Market (*Mercado Comun Centroamericano* or MCE), under whose trade rules the richer Salvadoran economy gained much ground relative to Honduras.

## **War**

These existing tensions between the two countries were inflamed by rioting during the second North American qualifying round for the 1970 FIFA World Cup. On July 14th, 1969, the Salvadoran army launched an attack against Honduras. The Organisation of American States negotiated a cease-fire which took effect on July 20th, with the Salvadoran troops withdrawing in early August. Eleven years later the two nations signed a peace treaty on October 30th, 1980, to put the border dispute before the International Court of Justice.

In 1992, the Court awarded most of the disputed territory to Honduras, and in 1998, Honduras and El Salvador signed a border demarcation treaty to implement the terms of the ICJ decree. As at the beginning of 2006 demarcation had not yet been completed, but Honduras and El Salvador maintain normal diplomatic and trade relations. (<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/1922.html>).

## **In-Depth**

This war was fought at a time when tensions between the two countries were building due to competition in the infamous qualifying games for the FIFA World Cup tournament. The first game took place in the Honduran capital of Tegucigalpa, with Honduras winning the game. The second game took place in the Salvadoran capital of San Salvador, with a home team win. The game was in a deadlock with each country gaining a revised sense of pride and legitimacy. The Honduran press exploited existing tensions by creating allegedly false and certainly misleading reports of rapes, beatings, murders, the burning of cars, and riots by Honduran citizens in El Salvador. In the meantime Honduran citizens and security forces also perpetuated attacks on Salvadoran immigrants.

El Salvador dissolved all ties with Honduras on June 26th, 1969, stating that “the government of Honduras has not taken any effective measures to punish these crimes which constitute genocide, nor has it given assurances of indemnification or reparations for the damages caused to Salvadorans” (Anderson, 105). This led to regular border clashes occurring between the two nations.

Early on the morning of July 14th, 1969, concerted military action began in what came to be known as the Football War. The Salvadoran Air Force (El Salvador lacked sufficient military air equipment, resorting to the use of passenger airplanes with attached vessels strapped to their sides as bombers) attacked targets inside Honduras and the Salvadoran army launched major offensives along the main road connecting the two nations and against the Honduran islands in the Gulf de Fonseca. At first, the Salvadorans made fairly rapid progress. By the evening of July 15th, the Salvadoran army, which was considerably larger and better equipped than its Honduran opponent, pushed the Honduran army back over eight kilometres and captured the departmental capital of Nueva Ocotepeque. Thereafter, the attack bogged down, and the Salvadorans began to experience fuel and ammunition shortages. A major reason for the fuel shortage was the action of the Honduran Air Force, which in addition to largely destroying the smaller Salvadoran Air Force had severely, damaged El Salvador’s oil storage facilities.

The day after the fighting had begun, the OAS met in an urgent session and called for an immediate cease-fire and a withdrawal of El Salvador’s forces from Honduras. El Salvador resisted the pressure from the OAS for several days, demanding that Honduras first agree to pay reparations for the attacks on Salvadoran citizens and guarantee the safety of those

Salvadorans remaining in Honduras. A cease-fire was arranged on the night of July 18th; it took full effect only on July 20th. El Salvador continued until July 29th to resist pressures to withdraw until early August. Those persuasive pressures included the possibility of OAS economic sanctions against El Salvador and the dispatch of OAS observers to Honduras to oversee the security of Salvadorans remaining in that country. The actual war had lasted just over four days, but it would take more than a decade to arrive at a final peace settlement.

El Salvador, which had refused to withdraw its troops from the occupied territory in Honduras, withdrew its troops on August 2nd, 1969. On this date, Honduras also guaranteed Salvadoran President Fidel Sanchez Hernandez that the Honduran government would provide adequate safety for the Salvadorans still living in Honduras.

The war is often cited as the last occasion on which piston-engine fighters fought each other-both sides deploying former World War II American types. P-51 Mustangs, F4U Corsairs, T-28 Trojans and even C-47 Sky trains converted into bombers saw action. The Salvadoran Air Force was so out of shape that they reverted to dropping bombs by hand from the windows of their planes (2) (<http://www.laTrinbuna.hn/103882.0> html).

### **1970 World Cup Results**

- June 6, 1969, Tegucigalpa: Honduras 1-0 El Salvador (0-0 at halftime)
- June 15, 1969, San Salvador: El Salvador 3-0 Honduras (HT: 3-0)
- A play off match on June 27th, 1969, Mexico: El Salvador 3-2 Honduras after extra time (HT: 1-2, FT: 2-2). El Salvador then ended up going to the 1970 FIFA World Cup, where they failed to advance from the Group Stage.

### **Consequences**

In the end, the Futbol War led to a stalemate, with both sides suffering extensive casualties. Some 20,000 Hondurans and another 80,000 Salvadorans were displaced due to the battle. Many Salvadorans had been forcibly exiled or had fled from the war-torn Honduras, only to enter a Salvadoran country in which the government was not welcoming. Most of these fleeing people were forced to provide for themselves with very little assistance at all. Over the next few years, approximately 130,000 Salvadorans tried to return to their native land where they were surrounded by overpopulation and extreme poverty (Anderson, 145-155). In Honduras, about 250 combat troops and around 2,000 civilians had been killed over a four day period because the war

basically took place on Honduran soil. Thousands more had also been ultimately made homeless as well. Trade between Honduras and El Salvador had also been greatly disrupted and the national border had been officially closed. This damaged the economies of these nations tremendously and threatened the Central American Common Market (CACM).

Essentially, both sides 'lost' the war; neither gained a decisive military victory and the death toll of approximately 4,000 was shared approximately equally between the two.

The war led to a 22-years suspension of the Central American Common Market, a regional integration project that had been set up by the United States largely as a means of countering the effects of the Cuban Revolution.

The political power of the military in both countries was reinforced. In the Salvadoran legislative elections that followed, candidates from the governing National Conciliation Party (*Partido de Conciliacion Nacional*, (PCN), were largely drawn from the ranks of the military. Having apologised for their role in the conflict, they proved very successful in elections both at the national and local levels. However, these elections were considered fraudulent and part of the military dictatorship that in effect ruled El Salvador.

The social situation worsened in El Salvador as the government proved unable to satisfy the economic needs of citizens deported from Honduras. The resulting social unrest was one of the causes of the civil war in El Salvador that followed.

### **Trivia**

- Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza Debayle helped Honduran President Oswaldo Lopez Arellano by providing weapons and ammunition.
- During this war, several ostensible battalions of Honduran soldiers were discovered only to exist on paper. The money for these fake battalions had been collected by allegedly corrupt Honduran army officers.
- After, the war, there was a very popular motto in Honduras: *No pasaran y no pasaron* (They will not pass and they did not pass). *No pasaran!* Had been a prominent slogan of the Republican side in the Spanish Civil War.

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Football\\_War](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Football_War)

### **(C) Memorandum**

### **Territorial Problem between Ecuador and Peru, the Zamora-Santiago Question: Principal Aspects**

The Protocol of Rio de Janeiro, dated January 29th, 1942, signed between Ecuador and Peru under circumstances in which Ecuadorian territory and sovereignty were subject to armed coercion, suffers from a basic geographic error because of the inexistence of one of the features which should serve as a boundary line.

Article VIII of the protocol sets forth the line between the two countries. In paragraph 1, clause B of this article, it is established that the boundary shall follow along ‘San Francisco creek, the divortium aquatum between the Zamora River and the Santiago River, to the confluence of the Santiago River with the Yaupi’. As soon as demarcation of the border starting at San Francisco creek was undertaken, problem arose in the identification of that border, for which reason both countries requested the cooperation of the United States Air force. The latter prepared an aero -photogrammetric map of the area; which was delivered to the parties in February, 1947.

That map showed that, between the Zamora and Santiago rivers, there extended for a distance of more than 190 kilometres (118milles), a new, independent water system, that for the Cenepa river, a direct affluent of the Marason, which with its sources reaches the northern ridges of the El Condor mountain range.

Until then that river had been considered a creek of little importance, whose northernmost headwaters did not extend beyond the latitude of the mouth of the Santiago River.

If the Cenepa river was interposed for a long distance between the system of the Santiago and that of the Zamora, it was evident that for the entire length of such interposition there was no watershed between those two river and that, for the same reason, it had been supposed that a single “divortium aquarum” existed, there were to be found at least two main watersheds: the one interposed between the Cenepa and the Zamora, and the one which ran between the Cenepa and the Santiago, neither of which had been considered as a boundary line in the text of the Protocol.

The inexistence of the geographic feature expressly referred to in the Protocol of 1942, in Article VIII, paragraph 1, clause b, thus determined the inexistence of the boundary line in that sector and, as a logical consequence, that situation prevented reference to implementation of the treaty in one sector where due to a basic and unavoidable error it was set



up that the line should follow through a non-existent geographical feature.

The impossibility of implementing the Protocol in the southern sector of the Zamora-Santiago area likewise made it impossible to continue demarcation work in that stretch, since there was no line along which to set boundary markers. For this reason the Government of Ecuador, through direct dealings with that of Peru, sought a means to solve the problem that had arisen. In effect, on September 15th, 1949, the Ambassador of Ecuador in Lima, on instructions from his Government, delivered to the Peruvian Foreign Office a note requesting the setting up of a special mixed commission which would be entrusted with the task of a broad and sufficient reconnaissance study of the Zamora-Santiago area, especially the course of the Cenepa river, in order to ascertain the true geography of the area. Peru replied to this communication by a note on October 13, refusing to accept the proposal of the Government of Ecuador and requesting that demarcation of the area continue, with the assistance of a Brazilian technician. Ecuador, in replying to this document on March 25th, 1950, insisted on its initial requirements. No reply to this insistence was received.

In view of Peru's reluctance to consider the problem and accept the fair and adequate suggestions of Ecuador, the Ecuadorian Foreign Office placed the controversy in the hands of the mediating countries, guarantors of the Protocol of 1942, which on May 16th, 1956, contacted the two Parties to advise them that they wished to have available the data necessary to seek a solution to the "matter of boundaries" existing between the two countries. In this connection, the guarantors suggested the advisability of a survey that might be entrusted to the Inter-American Geodetic Survey, USA, and they requested that the two countries facilitate the work that the said institution would carry out. Ecuador hastened to accept the suggestion of the guarantors. Peru, on the contrary, declined to give the acquiescence and cooperation requested, obstinately standing by its thesis that there was no problem to discuss between the two States.

Peruvian disavowal of the problem can not affect the actual existence of the Ecuadorian-Peruvian territorial controversy, nor the specific situation of the existence of the watershed considered in the Protocol. For the former, suffice it to refer to the definition of "controversy" given in international law and jurisprudence: "controversy" is a disagreement on a point of law or of fact, a contradiction of juridical theses or of interests between two persons" (Judgment of the International Court of Justice, August 30th, 1942, in the case of the Mavrommatis concessions in Palestine). "The existence of controversy must be established objectively. The mere fact that the existence of a controversy be

disputed does not prove that the controversy does not exist” (Consultative opinion of the International Court of Justice, March 30th, 1950, regarding the Treaties of Peace between the Allies and Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania, I.C.J. Reports 1950).

Peru has stated that the Zamora-Santiago matter has already been settled by the award of the Brazilian arbiter Braz Dias de Aguiar, made on July 15th, 1945, in connection with several differences that arose in the process of demarcation of the eastern sector of the line of the Protocol of Rio de Janeiro.

The award of Dias de Aguiar was made on July 15th, 1945. The problem of the southern sector of the Zamora-Santiago area did not arise until 1947, after delivery to the Parties of the aero-photogrammetric map that revealed the true geography of the area, poorly known until then. How could Dias de Aguiar have solved a problem that had not yet arisen?

The award of the Brazilian arbiter referred only to the northern sector of the area, where at the time a difference had shown up, a difference whose contents and solution are totally dissimilar and independent of the problem in the southern sector.

The arbiter recognised that the “divortium aquarum” Zamora-Santiago does not terminate in the confluence of the Santiago River and Yaupi. In his award established a line accepting the Ecuadorian position, Peru officially acknowledged that the southern sector of the Zamora-Santiago area was not the subject of arbitral decision. As an example of the acknowledgement we can mention the note that the Chairman of the Peruvian Demarcation Commission addressed to his Ecuadorian counterpart on April 2nd, 1945.

It is true that the arbiter in his award referred to the “divortium aquarum” between the Zamora and Santiago rivers, which he supposed existed from the San Francisco creek. But this has no meaning other than being a repetition or quoting of the provision of the Protocol. Yet even in the case that this reference were in reality a definition of the arbiter’s will that the boundary line follow along this geographic feature, the award would not have defined the boundary in that sector, since upon confirming with its provisions those already set forth in the Protocol, it would suffer from the latter’s own errors and defects. It would be inapplicable.

Before the true geography of the Zamora-Santiago area became known by means of the aero-photogrammetric map of the region, the demarcation commissions improperly placed 10 boundary markers

along the line of the El Condor mountain range, under the mistaken supposition that they were demarcating the line of the Protocol of Rio de Janeiro. On that supposition, these 10 markers were approved by the Chairmen of the Demarcation Commissions. Demarcation work in the area was suspended for some time, and when it began again in 1947 two additional boundary markers were emplaced. At this time, Ecuador had the aero photogrammetric map prepared by the United States, and it was able to ascertain that the work performed by the demarcation commissions was not in the geographic feature mentioned in the Protocol. Thus the last two markers were not approved. North of these markers there is nothing, neither approved or unapproved markers.

Peru sought to find proof of the existence of the line in the southern sector of the Zamora-Santiago area, in the fact that the aforementioned 12 boundary markers had been placed there erroneously. This thesis had been refuted by Ecuador no more than one occasion. Thus, in 1954 Peru was advised that, since it was not possible to doubt the inexistence of the geographic feature mentioned in the Protocol, “the sovereignty of the two countries in the aforementioned sector was consequently undefined” because of the inexistence of a boundary line therein.

This lack of line is what international law calls a lack of delimitation, a very different idea, of course, from the mere lack of demarcation or inexistence of boundary markers, which, in order to have legal standing, requires not only the prior existence of a boundary line, but further, that the said line be real, feasible of implementation and, consequently, valid.

Since the area in dispute has not been delimited, in order to delimit it an agreement to that effect between Ecuador and Peru would be necessary in this case. So long as such an agreement does not exist, one of the two countries between which the difference has arisen can not compel the other to accept a line of delimitation. For the same reasons, even less can it arrogate to itself absolute sovereignty in the territories not delimited.

Consequently the Protocol of Rio de Janeiro, whatever may have been its legal standing, did not establish a boundary line between San Francisco creek and the headwaters of the Coangos river, due to the inexistence of the geographic feature it provided for as a line in that sector. There is no instrument whatsoever that will remedy the lack of a line in the sector.

The area without delimitation located north of the Marason and west of the Santiago, has been always Ecuadorian. In this connection, one must, of necessity, be guided by the rights that each of the two countries has in

the region. It must be remembered that Peru, in relation to this area, has acknowledged that “nowhere else is” Peruvian law “less worthy of being upheld”; that it cannot allege “even a shadow of right” in connection with it; that it could not demand it “with any right worthy of being heeded”; that one cannot discern the title “nor even the pretext with which Peru” might claim it; that it could not be claimed by that country “under guise of justice” (Report sent to the Government of Peru by Dr. Arturo Garcia, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Quito, Lima, August 9, 1980).

Consequently, only Ecuador can rightly occupy the area. Peru has no title, right, reason or pretext (since the Protocol of Rio de Janeiro is not applicable to it) to demand it or occupy it, if Ecuador has military posts in that area, they have in no way been located in Peruvian territory, nor have they, therefore, been within Peruvian sovereignty, as country’s Government has been stating baselessly.

In spite of the irrefutable geographic fact of the inexistence of the Zamora – Santiago watershed and the consequent impossibility of implementing the Protocol in that sector, Peru pretends that the only thing remaining to be done is the demarcation of 78 kilometers (48.4 miles), i.e., the stretch of the El Condor range between the last of the improperly placed boundary markers in the area’s southern sector. It has been stated that in the entire southern part of the Zamora-Santiago area there is no delimitation and that, therefore, no demarcation is warranted, however, even should this impossibility not exist, there is nothing in the Protocol that allows the interpretation that, for the negotiators, the line should have followed along the El Condor mountain range. On the contrary, sufficient and very clear documents exist, among them an unequivocal one of Peru’s that the El Condor range could not be taken into account in demarcation because the Protocol does not mention it. This is an official communication from the Chairman of the Peruvian Demarcation Commission to this Ecuadorian counterpart, on October 18, 1943.

The Brazilian arbiter Braz Dias Aguiar likewise discarded the El Condor mountain range as an element in the demarcation. In the conclusions in his judgment relating to the difference that arose in the northernmost sector of the Zamora-Santiago area, which is different from that of the controvert to which we have been referring, he states specifically that, in accordance with the Protocol, demarcation “should be made along the “Zamora-Santiago ‘divortium aquarum’, without regard to its being or not begin the line of the El Condor mountain range.

Thus, even if one accepts the Peruvian thesis of the feasibility of implementation of the Protocol of Rio de Janeiro, nothing would oblige

Ecuador to accept the El Condor range as the border between the two countries.

The sector that was the subject of serious incidents in January and February, 1995, in which Peru repeatedly attacked various Ecuadorian military garrisons, is not only within the Zamora-Santiago area, in which Peru lacks all rights, but further, is in an area where there were not even acts of invalid demarcation, as occurred in other sectors. But Peru has attacked not only those garrisons, but also others located in a totally different sector of the conflict area.

Therefore Ecuador can never accept the assertion that it has maintained military garrisons in Peruvian territory, and even less, that this could have served as a pretext for Peru to attack these garrisons and to adopt a war stance against a country that has invariably stated, and continues to state, that the only legitimate manner of solving any type of controversy is by peaceful means within the terms of law and justice, in keeping with the standards of United Nations of regional bodies such as the Organisation of the American States.

### **In Conclusions**

- a) The Protocol of Rio de Janeiro between Ecuador and Peru, in addition to being the result of the armed coercion, suffers from an essential geographical error;
- b) The “divortium aquarum” between the Zamora and Santiago rivers stated in the Rio Protocol does not exist, instead, there are two watersheds, one between the Zamora and Cenepa rivers, and another, between the Cenepa and Santiago rivers;
- c) El Condor mountains range is not the watershed between the Zamora and Santiago rivers but rather between the Zamora and Cenepa rivers.
- d) The permanent diplomatic action of Ecuador from 1949 to 1959, did not bring any result in order to set up a Special Mixed Commission entrusted with the task of reconnaissance and study of the Zamora-Santiago zone, particularly the course of the Cenepa river, with the purpose of verifying the geographic reality;
- e) The Peruvian attitude of refusing the Ecuadorian reasons under the arbitrary argument that there is no problem whatsoever is absolutely unacceptable. However, President Fujimori has accepted the existence of the problem in 1991, and the Peruvian Foreign Minister has also recognised the problem in the OAS General Assembly, Nassau, May 1992;

- f) Peru may deny validity to the Ecuadorian position, but it should technically prove the basis of its negation by means of geographical data;
- g) From the juridical viewpoint, neither the Protocol of Rio de Janeiro sets forth El Condor mountains range as boundary, nor have award of arbiter Dias de Aguiar, 1945, could have established it, because the real extension and importance of the Cenepa river was only established in 1947, with the aero-photogrammetric map of the Zamora-Santiago area. In this region, consequently, does not exist delimitation nor demarcation boundaries.
- g) This zone without delimitation has been always Ecuadorian, as proved by juridical titles and several Peruvian declarations recognising it;
- h) The area where the military attacks of Peru have taken place lies within the Zamora-Santiago zone, area over which Peru lacks rights.

<http://ecuador.nativeweb.org/border/border2.html>.

### **Press Release**

#### **Ga/10089**

Fifty-seventh General Assembly

Plenary

37<sup>th</sup> Meeting (AM)

### **General Assembly Speakers Note Growing Global Confidence in Quality of Work of International Court Justice**

*Efforts to Increase Efficiency Lauded; President of Court Says Higher Budget Allowed Staff Increase, Better Spread of Information.*

The international community's increase in confidence in the International Court of Justice (ICJ) and the high quality of its work, as exemplified by its most recent decision concerning the Land and Maritime Boundary between Cameroon and Nigeria, was highlighted by General Assembly members this morning, as the Assembly met to consider the annual report of the Court.

Introducing the report, the President of the ICJ, Judge Gilbert Guillaume, detailed the Court's work on the case, explaining that Cameroon had brought to the Court its legal dispute with Nigeria regarding sovereignty over the Bakassi Peninsula in 1994. The Court

had held, by 13 votes to three that the boundary between Cameroon and Nigeria had been fixed by treaties concluded during the colonial period, whose validity it confirmed. Consequently, the Court decided that sovereignty over Bakassi lay with Cameroon.

The representative of Cameroon noted that with its decision, the Court had put an end to more than eight years of expensive proceedings. Welcoming Nigeria's commitment to respect the verdict of the Court, he said that the voluntary and rapid implementation of its ruling was an important sign of the Court's acceptance. This view was reaffirmed by the representative of Mexico, who complimented the Court on its grasp of the necessary historical data for understanding the situation. He said the refinement of the Court's immense jurisprudence in relation to maritime borders could be fundamental to future pronouncements on maritime borders in the Caribbean.

Among other points made by the President of the ICJ and delegates addressing the Assembly, was that the Court had undertaken reform in streamlining its procedures and increasing public awareness of its work and purpose. Judge Guillaume said he was pleased see the Court's budget for the biennium 2002- 2003 increased to \$11,436,000 per year. That had enabled the Court to increase its staff, upgrade its information technology network and continue to develop its web site.

The Court's efforts to disseminate information to increase understanding of its work were commendable, said the representative of Malaysia. He noted the **37<sup>th</sup> Meeting (AM)** Court's Web site, used by lawyers, students and diplomats, among others, as a source of information on international case law. The representative of Singapore also acknowledged the excellent efforts of the Court in maintaining a comprehensive Web site, which was constantly updated and was an essential tool for any country wishing to keep updated on the work of the Court Automated e-mail newsletters from the Court further, complemented the Web site.

Also addressing the Assembly this morning were the representatives of Costa Rica, Peru, Russian Federation, Japan, Mongolia, Guatemala and the Republic of Korea.

The General Assembly will meet again at 10 a.m. on Wednesday, 30th October 2002, to begin its consideration of the Strengthening of the United Nations system.

## **Background**

The General Assembly met this morning to consider the report of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) (document A/57/4) covering the period 1st August, 2001 to 31st July, 2002, as well as a report on the Secretary-General's Trust Fund to Assist States in the Settlement of Disputes through the International Court of Justice (document A/57/373).

The ICJ report indicates that there were 189 States party to the Statute of the Court and that 63 of them had deposited declarations to accept the Court's compulsory jurisdiction, as of 31st July, 2002. Additionally, some 260 bilateral or multilateral treaties provide for the Court to have jurisdiction in the resolution of disputes.

The report said the number of cases before the Court was 24, of which five are between African States, one between Asian States, twelve between European States and two between Latin America States. The other four are of an intercontinental character.

Located at The Hague in the Netherlands, the Court is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. It settles legal disputes between States and gives advisory opinions to the United Nations System. Its Statute is an integral part of the Charter and it comprises 15 judges elected by the General Assembly and the Security Council, voting independently. It derives its decisions by applying international conventions recognised by the disputing States, international custom as evidenced by accepted law, general principles of law recognised by nations and judicial decisions or teaching of legal scholars.

The subject matter of the cases before the Court is extremely varied, including territorial disputes, cases involving the treatment of one State's nationals in another State, and cases of armed aggression. It also had cases stemming from the explosion of an aircraft over Lockerbie, Scotland, the destruction of oil platforms and the alleged violation of the 1948 Genocide Convention. While this represents an increase in the number and diversity of cases submitted to the Court, the report states, that increase needs to be qualified to take account of the element of linkage. Thus, two cases relate to the Lockerbie incident and eight to the action by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) member States in Kosovo. Furthermore, many cases have been rendered more complex as a result of preliminary objections by respondents to jurisdiction, or admissibility of counter-claims and applications for permissions to intervene and of requests for the indication of provisional measures.



The Court has been able to proceed to the consideration of those cases ready for judgment without excessive delay. However, in a number of cases the written pleadings have now been completed and the judicial year 2002-2003 will be very busy. Conscious of the heavy workload, the Court has continued efforts, begun in 1997, to rationalise the Registry's work, to make greater use of information technology, to improve its own working methods and to take steps to shorten and simplify its proceedings. It also welcomes the cooperation it has received from certain parties who have taken steps to reduce the number and volume of written pleadings and oral arguments, and to provide their pleadings in both official languages.

It is noted that the Court has indicated, in its previous report, that it would be unable to handle its increased workload without a significant budget increase. Subsequently, in December 2001, the General Assembly approved the Court's budget for the biennium 2002-2003 and adopted all the recommendations of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (ACABQ) with regard to personnel requirements. Thus, the staffing chart for the Registry will show a total of 96 staff members: 40 filling posts in the professional category or higher; 51 in the General Service category; and five law clerks financed under general temporary assistance. The General Assembly did not, however, approve all the other recommendations, particularly with regard to recommendations concerning programme support. This has created difficulties with respect to the payment of the Court's rent.

The Assembly also had before it a report on the Secretary-General's Trust Fund to Assist States in the Settlement of Disputes through the International Court of Justice (document A/57/373), which states that, during the period under review, the Fund did not receive any application. It also notes that three States – Finland, Japan and Mexico – had made voluntary contributions to the Fund during this period. The total balance of the Fund as of 30th June, 2002 was \$1,742,901. 52.

The Fund was created with a view to facilitating a decision by parties to a dispute to seek judicial settlement of their dispute through the ICJ, the report continues. However, despite numerous appeals by the Secretary-General, the Fund has had decreased resources since its inception. Also, with a view to encouraging States to apply for grants from the Fund, a review of its existing procedures is currently being undertaken by the offices concerned.

## **President on International Court**

GILBERT GUILLAUME, President of the ICJ, said that since August, 2001 the Court had again witnessed an increase in the number of cases on its list, despite its intense and sustained judicial activity throughout the past year. While receiving three new cases during this period, the Court had given final decisions on the merits in two difficult cases, as well as ruling on an application for permission to intervene and on the admissibility of various counter-claims. It had also dealt with a request for the indication of provisional measures.

Concerning the Trust Fund, he said its Statute allowed it to be used only in cases submitted by special agreement. It would be desirable that the Fund could be applied in any type of case. Also, the range of costs eligible for financing out of the Fund should be broadened so as to bring the provisions applicable to the Court into line with those for other institutions. Further, it was surprising that, since the Fund's creation, only four States had approached it, one of which in fact decided not to draw on the sums promised because of the complexity of the procedures involved. In addition, if the Fund were to act, it must dispose of sufficient resources. Noting that contributions had diminished, he appealed to those States able to do so to increase the resources available to the Fund.

## **Statements**

BRUNO STAGNO (Costa Rica) stated that legitimate mechanisms to solve legal controversies contributed to the development of harmonious international relations. Especially dangerous were territorial disputes between States that could lead to military escalation and for which the Court provided a civilised alternative.

Beyond that, in a world of uncertainty regarding rights and obligations, the court's activities guaranteed legal certitude, clarified basic norms of international law and ensured the rule of law at the international level. On the other hand, the Court's construction work was hindered by the unwillingness on the part of a growing number of States to accept unconditionally its compulsory jurisdiction. Only 12 States could be classified as accepting its jurisdiction fully. That obligation should be respected most of all by the Permanent Members of the Security Council.

Costa Rica was heartened by the increase in the number of cases in the Court's docket. That meant growing confidence in its work. The introduction of new cases and frequent resort to the Court was to be encouraged. The Court now needed to streamline its practices and methods of work to prevent delays in its consideration of cases, and also

it should seek the necessary staff and resources to meet adequately the new obligations imposed on it. On that basis, he urged the Court to present another request for additional resources in the next budgetary exercise.

AUGUSTO CABRERA (Peru) said it was good to see the increased case log of the ICJ. The Court had modified its procedures and work; the practical directives adopted by the Court would help bolster its authority as the principal legal body in the world. Moreover, in 2001, the budget of the Court and the number of its personnel had been increased. This would, in turn, increase the international community's expectations of the Court.

In relation to the availability of funds to enable access to the Court, he said assistance from the Trust Fund should be kept in mind. It was crucially important that donor countries redoubled their efforts to support the Fund

On the decision in regard to the dispute between the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Belgium, over an arrest warrant for the Foreign Minister of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, he noted that the immunity and privileges of foreign ministers had been held to have no exceptions, even when the party in question had been accused of war crimes. However, there was a thin line between immunity and privileges, and impunity. The Court had been correct to add that immunity did not equal impunity.

He said it was to be hoped that in future instances, in which Heads of State fled their countries, extradition could be arranged so that they answered to the charges of crimes in their home countries. It was of concern that those situations, which jeopardised international peace and security, were not submitted to the Court, since domestic matters did not come within its jurisdiction.

MARTIN BELINGA EBOUTOU (Cameroon) said that since its creation in 1946, the work of the Court had made a major contribution to the attainment of the goals of the Charter in the area of international peace and security and friendly relations among States. The fact that more and more States over the years had gone to the Court with disputes made it a place of exceptional importance in the peaceful settlement of disputes. Today, 191 States had become parties to the Court and 63 had signed the optional clause on the jurisdiction of the Court.

Furthermore, he continued, 260 bilateral and multilateral conventions had given the Court competence to deal with disputes arising from their application. He welcomed all measures by the Court to improve its work

and make it more effective. It was still necessary to give the Court adequate resources so it could continue to improve its work as soon as possible.

With its decision on the case concerning the land and maritime border between Nigeria and Cameroon, the Court put an end to more than eight years of expensive proceedings, he said. The voluntary and rapid implementation of the Court's rulings was an important sign of its acceptance, which made recourse to the Court something that was important. He welcomed the commitment of Nigeria to respect the verdict of the Court. Cameroon and Nigeria had an opportunity to confirm before the international community their devotion to peace and the rule of law. For its part, Cameroon reaffirmed its commitment to comply with the verdict of the Court and to proceed to its speedy implementation.

CHEAH SAM KIP (Malaysia) said the comprehensive report on the ICJ had been useful for understanding the complexity of the work of the Court. The Court should be complimented for its peaceful settlement of international disputes, thus playing an important role in creating peace and harmony between peoples by upholding the rule of law. More and more, States were submitting cases to the Court for final decision. This reflected the quality of the Court's work.

Malaysia's confidence in the Court had strengthened its belief that the Court should be the final locus of dispute settlement. In mutual agreement with Indonesia, Malaysia had submitted the issue of sovereignty over the two islands, Pulau Litigann and Pulau Sipadan, for the Court's review and now awaited its final decision.

Manifestations of the belief in the rule of law were particularly important at this time, he added. Thus, it was necessary to increase the Court's ability to handle all the cases before it. The Court's efforts to increase understanding of its work were commendable. The distribution of press releases and handbooks kept the public informed. Additionally, the Web site seemed to be used by lawyers, students and diplomats, among others, as a source of information on international case law.

DMITRY A. LOBACH (Russian Federation) said the Court was a unique international organ for the peaceful settlement of disputes among States. There had been increased interest by States in the work of Court during the last decade, which was marked by a greater number of cases brought before it, as well as the widening geographical scope of those cases.

He said he particularly commended the Court's advisory rulings on interpretations of international law. In the coming years, the role of advisory judgments would grow, in light of the increase of international courts and tribunals. He also commended the efforts of the Court to simplify its work procedures, which should lead to a decrease in the time needed to deal with the heavy caseload. He looked forward to further plans to step up the Court's productivity.

The disposal of the Court of its work also depended on the provision of adequate financing and an increase in the Court's annual budget, he said. Over recent years, the alarming situation regarding the Court's financing was being remedied. He hoped the budget would continue to be increased. The Assembly should confirm that it was ready to assist the Court in solving its current problems. The trend, over recent years, of States going to the Court for solution of disputes testified to the strengthening of confidence in the Court and its authority to ensure the implementation of its verdicts.

KENJI SHINODA (Japan) said that the ICJ had firmly established its status as the world's most senior international court. It was important to maintain the primacy of integrated international law. In view of current armed conflicts and acts of terrorism, the role of the Court as "a credible mechanism" to promote international peace and security was more important than ever before. More frequent resort to the Court was also important.

He noted that the draft resolution from the working group of the Special Committee on the United Nations Charter on the prevention and peaceful settlement of disputes reminded States to declare their recognition of the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court. He said Japan hoped that more States would join the 63 States which had already done so.

He said that Japan was pleased that despite an increase in the number and diversity of cases, the Court had been able to process them without excessive delays. This was because of an increased budget, approved by the General Assembly, and various measures taken by the Court to rationalise its work.

Japan appreciated the increased confidence of States in the Court's ability to resolve their disputes and believed the Court was making a genuine contribution to strengthening the rule of law and preventing and resolving international crises.

He said that Japan was also acting according to its principles by providing "competent personnel" to the Court. In last week's elections,

Ambassador Hisashi Owada was elected as Judge of the Court. Japan was confident that he would provide “invaluable” insights into the area of international justice.

JUAN MANUEL GOMEZ ROBLEDO (Mexico) said the ICJ had not ignored the need to reform its work to meet the needs and demands of its increased caseload. Rather, it had streamlined its proceedings. Mexico agreed with the opinion of the Court’s President on the need to develop means for facilitating access to the Trust Fund.

He said Mexico attached special importance to the decisions handed down in the cases of the Democratic Republic of the Congo v. Belgium and of Cameroon v. Nigeria. In the first case, both the principles of immunity for foreign ministers and of criminal responsibility for crimes of an international magnitude had been upheld.

Commending the Court for its recent decision in the case of Cameroon v. Nigeria, he said it had shown its grasp of the necessary historical data for understanding the situation. It was satisfactory to see the Court continue to refine its jurisprudence in relation to maritime borders. This could be fundamental to future pronouncements on maritime borders in the Caribbean. Moreover, the decision to allow Equatorial Guinea to intervene in that case had facilitated the work of the Court in establishing the third party’s viewpoint on that maritime border.

He said that, in view of its role in recent years, the Court deserved the continued support of the international community. Mexico would continue to provide support to all of the machinery, which provided for the peaceful resolution of disputes.

TAN KEN HWEE (Singapore) said that while there was no formal hierarchy of courts in international law, it was clear that the ICJ was first among equals. Many treaties might establish separate judicial or decision-making bodies. However, the ICJ remained the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. The Court had discharged its growing responsibilities in that regard with ever-increasing professionalism and expertise.

He said he had always been concerned about the level of funding available to the ICJ. It seemed as if the Court was left with the unenviable task of doing increasingly more, with a very modest number of staff, and even more modest budget about one-tenth that of the International Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda . He worried that the Court continued to be underfunded, despite the recent budget increase.

JARGALSAIKHANY ENKHSAIKHAN (Mongolia) agreed with previous speakers that, in order for the ICJ to effectively discharge its basic functions, it needed adequate financial resources. Compared to the two ad hoc tribunals—the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), whose reports the Assembly considered the previous day—the ICJ was “really underfunded”. The lack of adequate resources would hamper the work of the Court, he said, thereby adding to its already large backlog. In that regard, Mongolia supported a “reasonable increase” in the Court’s budget.

He said the high number of cases on the Court’s docket represented increased confidence of Member States in its judgments and impartiality. Further, he supported the statement of the ICJ President that “Access to international justice should not be impeded by financial inequality.” He, therefore, supported calls for making access of the poorest states to the Court easier, through assistance provided to them by way of the special fund established in 1989. That special fund enables poor countries to meet the expenses incurred in submitting disputes to the Court.

ROBERTO LAVALLE-VALDES (Guatemala) said the international community was made up, in the final analysis, of human beings; the man on the street might think that international law did not exist or was just a façade. In today’s circumstances, that man might be skeptical about the true efficiency of international law, and know next to nothing about the rules governing the relations among States.

The existence of international law for overcoming disputes was a product of international relations. Of all the international legal bodies that existed today in the world, the one at the disposal of all States and governing inter-State relations was the ICJ—the “dean” of international legal institutions.

He said he was aware of the increase in the work of the Court over the past few years. Its action to ensure peace and harmony between States had helped to bolster international cooperation. No effort should be spared in ensuring the Court had all the necessary means to carry out its work and achieve its full potential.

SHIN KAK-SOO (Republic of Korea) noted the efforts of the ICJ to further improve its working methods and speed up its procedures, as part of its programme to rationalise its work that was begun in 1997. Faced with budgetary difficulties and a heavy workload, the Court increasingly found it difficult to fulfill its mandate within available resources, a

situation that would not be remedied by the administrative efforts of the Court alone.

He said that because the ICJ was now called upon to play a more active role than ever before in ensuring respect of international law and the peaceful settlement of disputes between States, it deserves the full support of the international community and should be given the resources necessary to carry out its functions and obligations fully.

*Retrieved July 16th, 2007 From Mhtml://C:\Teewhy\ICJ-004-GENERAL ASSEMBLY SPEAKERS NOTE GROWN*

#### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

Global politics is now witnessing a change from the era of political jingoism to that of co-operative joint problem solving technique through reference of issues that could disturb Global peace to the International Court of Justice. Further, provision is made for those poor states to tap from the resources of a special fund to prosecute their cases, which could encourage egalitarian standing of any case by any state, big or small, rich or poor, before it. The idea of non-availability of fund to prosecute a case is no longer tenable. It is also important to note that the court, through its, pronouncement, is preaching good governance as some political leaders behave without recourse to what could be at stake because of immunity they have. The limit of immunity and the beginning of impunity was stressed which tells any political leader in the globe to act according to civilised norms, if not, the boomerang could be devastating. Be that as it may, African leaders, especially, must seek alternative dispute resolution mechanism as it is cheaper and takes shorter time to resolve as opposed to the legal tussle that takes several years with economically impoverished citizens, to resolve.

#### **5.0 SUMMARY**

This unit has discussed the role of the international court of justice and some relevance case studies. It also noted several comments from international jurists and personalities. It is gratifying that issues that could create unwarranted wars and refugee problems are now being referred to it for adjudication. Since we want peace, we are now walking and working on the path of peace.

#### **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

Assess the roles of the international court of Justice towards peace-building activities.



## 7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

- Archer C. (1992). *International Organisation (2<sup>ND</sup> Ed.)*. London: Routledge.
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## **UNIT 4 ISSUES AND CHALLENGES IN THE FIELD OF GLOBAL PEACE**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objective
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 Issues and Challenges of Global Peace
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

This topic is specifically analysing the importance of evocation of the systemic approach in addressing global politics to give us the desired global peace. The persistent hegemonial tussle between state and non-state actors must give way to mutual respect for each other's point of view. This must be coordinated and reviewed if not, irrespective of the pre-conflict peace-building mechanism put in place, the much needed peace may elude us.

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

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

- have a broad view of what global peace entails
- explain the concept of systemic approach to resolving conflict.

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 Issues and Challenges of Global Peace**

Scholars have written about state-centric writers who believe in high politics of peace and war, which bring about military alliances, and the United Nations diplomatic maneuvers as being what the global community needs for peace building. However, the roles of the specialised agencies of the UN, international government organisations as well as international non-government organisations were relegated to secondary issues involving mere policy debates. This approach will not assist our search for the much needed global peace. In a systemic approach, once a government is in place, it should have agencies which must carry out its delegated authorities. For example, if a government has e.g. ministries of finance, defense, education, works and health and

it is about to declare a war, it must first look inward to find out from the Finance Ministry how much it has in the kitty. This is with a view to knowing whether if war is declared, it will not hamper the needs of the other ministries. It will equally ask the health ministry if sufficient provisions have been made for the anticipated victims of war while the educational needs of the populace must be protected.

The above analysis is only to tell you that in a global community, the collaboration of all state and non-state actors is what brings out a working agenda and produces sustainable peace building mechanism.

For further clarification, if a serious crisis breaks out, it could be as a result of the breakdown of social, political or economic system. However, it should not be left to the state alone. Scientists, religious bodies, NGOs and others outside the purview of government must rise up to it. If the aforementioned groups get involved in arms control negotiations, seeing economic issues as crises, social policies as matters of life and death, government may then take the events unfolding, as issues of top priority so as to avert a full scale war.

In the pursuit of global peace, we are faced with a serious challenge where as a matter of deliberate policy, state-centric approach much give room to a pluralistic model which allows a mutual interaction between governments and transnational actors, both bilaterally and multilaterally. Governments, characteristically, have legal authority, control over military capabilities, economic resources, and access to privileged information, communications and other wherewithal as instruments of cohesion but cannot claim monopoly of them as most of the aforesaid are also available to both national actors and international organisations.

One of the very many attributes of peace-building mechanisms is communication. The way this is done must reverberate on the ensuing scenario. Communication, if done in such a manner that connotes respect for the other parties, could drastically de-escalate any tension and breed respect while a speech to an audience in a public gathering devoid of respect and honour could destroy the solid pillar of conflict resolution already laid. The implication of this is that some major political actors who do not cultivate the art of positive communication often create conflict and lose dignity, while the other non-state actors, NGOs and other activists could be experts in public speech making which could earn them the respect of the people, making them the cynosure of peace-building mechanism.

In the interest of global peace, an amalgamation of capabilities could be an instrument of peace-building. The type of authority, status, resources, information, and skills that are relevant to political success are usually

issue-specific, and they vary. In essence, it is established that the government, the transnational companies, the non-governmental organisations, and others should inculcate the spirit of preventive diplomacy as espoused by Ex-UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold and Boutros-Boutros Ghali in the 50s and 90s respectively because , twenty-first century international relations are all occurring within complex and pluralistic dynamism of economic and political integration.

#### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

In conclusion, in an era of global politics, dichotomies of high or low politics are only being whipped up to undermine transnational actors as political issues go beyond these two areas. The status of the government decision makers and the degree of involvement of transnational actors as well as international organisations determine the weight of the policy so formulated. Concept of power is multifarious. Possession of military and economic resources only do not determine power as issues like status, authority, information and others are part of what determine power. It is not and cannot be absolute. Furthermore, different policy domains harbour different actors, depending upon the issues being discussed; while not denying the governments of having state authority and power, the transnational companies, also gain influence through the control of economic resources. By extension, the non-governmental organisations equally are experts in areas of information possession, effective communication skills and having high status as empirical research confirms that they have been the brain behind economic and political change in global politics.

#### **5.0 SUMMARY**

This unit has discussed issues and challenges of global peace. It reiterated the need to shun ambivalence and promote patriotic means of dealing with conflict situations. The needless rancour about hegemonic tussles among nations as well as false assumption of a master/servant relationship were also addressed. Power is a nebulous term which is difficult to decipher. Earthly power is temporal and whoever wields it should do so with sagacity and the fear of God Almighty. If not, the resultant effect could be devastating.

#### **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

What will you consider as the greatest challenge to global peace in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century?

## 7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

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## **MODULE 5      EMPHASIS ON PRE-CONFLICT PEACE-BUILDING IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY**

Unit 1	Conflict Management and the Roles of the Super-Powers in International Affairs
Unit 2	A Review of the World's Economic Order as a Peace building Phenomenon
Unit 3	The World as a Global Village in the Context of International Peace and Security
Unit 4	The Future of International Organisations in the Pursuance of Peace building Activities

### **UNIT 1      CONFLICT MANAGEMENT AND THE ROLES OF THE SUPER-POWERS IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

#### **CONTENTS**

1.0	Introduction
2.0	Objective
3.0	Main Content
	3.1 Super-Powers and Roles in Conflict Management
4.0	Conclusion
5.0	Summary
6.0	Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0	References/Further Readings

#### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

This unit is not about repeating the concept of conflict management in its entirety, but it is about how emphasis must be placed more pragmatically on pre-conflict peace building mechanisms in the international community.

The Versailles Treaty of June 28th, 1919 was seen as a step forward towards peace building as it found solution to racial problems by applying the principle of self determination in settling the territories of Europe as opposed to the Vienna Treaty of 1814-1815 which ignored the principle of nationality and which was what brought about the rise of nationalism and conflicts in Europe throughout the nineteenth century. In order to give a seal to the Versailles Treaty, the League of Nations was established which was basically to increase international cooperation and prevent another war. In order to accomplish this onerous pre-conflict peace building tasks, it also set up international

organisations to deal with world problems. Examples of such are the International Labour Organisation, the World Health Organisation and the International Court of Justice at The Hague.

However, as postulated by an Arabic histographer, Ibn Khaldun, the birth of a nation always has in it the source of its death. Those who met to establish the League had different meanings to its operations. The super-powers were exhibiting personal aggrandisement and acting with impunity. Open diplomacy and respect for international law were jettisoned, while smaller nations were forced to keep silent. At last World War II set in, at the end of which the three big world leaders, Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill met at Yalta in April, 1945 to lay the foundation of yet, another international organisation which was designed to be a supranational establishment against any further war.

With the collapse of the League of Nations and the establishment of the United Nations Organisation, another peace-building world superstructure was laid. However, mutual distrust among the super-powers that emerged after World War II kept the world on its toes.

## **2.0 OBJECTIVE**

After reading this unit, you are expected to be able to:

- articulate the genuineness of the pre-conflict handling styles of the super powers in the international system.

## **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

### **3.1 Conflict Management and Techniques of the Super-Powers in International Affairs**

Conflict management, in the words of Lund, (1997:3-2), can be referred to as interference in an on-going conflict process in such a way as to contain, and if possible: reduce the level of violence and destruction; prevent the vertical escalation towards the use of weapons of mass destruction; and prevent the horizontal expansion into other theatres.

Or as further postulated by Lund, courtesy, Thesaurus and Glossary of Early Warning System (1998, pg 23-24), conflict management involves:

- Transforming the (potential or actual) violent clash into a less damaging form of interaction or
- Searching for (temporary) solutions that can prevent (i.e.) escalation and move the conflicting parties towards either a settlement of the conflict, or at least a termination of the killing, e.g. through a cease fire.

The above preamble is found pertinent when perusing into its dynamics in consonance with the state of global peace as handed down by the super-powers in their own judgment. John F. Kennedy, the 36<sup>th</sup> American President once told his Soviet Union counterpart, Nikita Khrushchev at the pick of the cold war that they should both endeavour to seek the wonders of the star, instead of its terror. Kennedy, turning to the global community equally admonished that if the billionaires within the system do not take cognisance of the trillions of world citizens living below poverty level, the established billionaires will find it difficult to protect their wealth.

It is within this context that the super-powers who wish to retain their hegemony through foul means must have a rethink. Boutros-Boutros Ghali (1995), in his address titled “Agenda for peace” admonished that pre-conflict peace-building must take precedence over post conflict peace-building as it is cheaper and saves a lot of gnashing of teeth which follows post-conflict initiatives. He opines that pre-conflict peace-building measures fall under issues such as demilitarisation, the control of small arms, institutional reform, improved police, and judicial systems, the monitoring of human rights, electoral reforms, social and economic reforms.

The era of the cold war witnessed the proliferation of arms by the powers which various treaties banning their use prevented their being used. What should normally follow should be the dumping of such arms into the sea but wanting to maintain their stronghold on their liberated colonies, they stock-piled their armouries. When the powers need any raw material, either for strategic defense purpose or economic survival, they introduce divisive policy in a country which hitherto had been homogeneous. The manner some African states obtained their independence was reminiscent of a seed of discord being deliberately sown after which the colonial master would set in to appear to be making peace. Democratic Republic of Congo, since 1960, when it was unceremoniously granted independence after seventy five years of Belgian adaptation policy of “Paternalism” because of the method of the acquisition of the Belgian Colonies and their style of administration, is a relevant case study. All the rules which were in force in the Congo were as pronounced by King Leopold as if Congo was acquired as his private estate. The Congolese were completely disenfranchised and banned from participating in Government activities. They were so gagged that any talk or idea of constitutional advancement was absent. The overall management of their internal and external affairs, civil service administration, army and any matter whatsoever were the exclusive preserve of the Belgian King. Yet the super-powers turned deaf ears. The brutality was unprecedented in areas such as Cannibalism, taking women as hostages and rape. By then, as it is now, Congo was a state



endowed with viable resources such as Diamond, Uranium, Ivory and Rubber and the Belgian authorities exploited them to the fullest, in the full glare of the super-powers, so long as their interest was protected. As far as education was concerned, the Belgian authorities denied the Congolese the opportunity of education, as there were no primary or secondary educational institutions. The only education opened to them was theological training. The military service which had a staff strength of 23,000 was composed of 22,000 privates, all Congolese while the officer cadre of 1,000 were all Belgians.

If you follow this Congolese episode clearly, you will observe that a seed of discord was well laid by the Belgian Colonisers while those Powers, who had the wherewithal to call them to order, did not do so.

However, when some informed writers, diplomats, humanitarians and politicians from Europe saw the magnitude of man's inhumanity to man going on in the Congo, a worried King Leopold hurriedly organised independence for his "Village" without any pre-conflict peace-building structure in place.

The consequence of the Belgian attitude was that in 1960, at independence, Congo, a vast African Country had only 16 Graduates and about 9 in the University of Leopoldville while its highest officer in the military was a sergeant. Coincidentally, his name was Sergeant Mobutu who was destined to be an imperialist agent in later life. To compound Congo's woes, as they were largely uninformed, their Independence constitution contained offensive provisions such as that King Leopold should appoint its first government while a treaty of friendship and defense pact was signed between the Belgian government and the Congo. The defense pact even allowed Belgian Government, unwilling to quit its "village and her children", to have garrisons with military bases in the Congo for the maintenance of law and order which they have programmed to collapse.

These were allowed to go on unchallenged by the Super Powers despite the existence of the principles of universal declaration of human rights in vogue since 1947. No sooner Congo had her independence, and Patrice Lumumba emerged her first Prime Minister, than serious conflict already programmed by the colonial masters, within the purview of World Powers, started.

The conflict, which signaled the presence of the United Nations Peace-keeping Mission was the first of such on African soil and consumed several personalities, including Congolese Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba, who dared the imperialists and their stooges and paid with his life. The then Secretary General of the U.N.O., Dag Hammersjold

equally lost his life in the ensuing conflict, amongst others. The roles of the Super-Powers in the Congo Conflict which could be re-christianed Congo debacle were highly condemned. It was the super-powers that encouraged Congolese like Mobutu and Moïse Shombe to plan to destabilise their country. Katanga was and remains rich in mineral resources especially Uranium which both the East and West require. Personal interests compelled them to divide Congo within ideological divides. At the end of it all, Shombe lost his life in miserable circumstances and Mobutu was used as a guinea pig in the pursuit of Western powers agenda. With the collapse of communism, he was no longer needed and fell from grace to grass.

This is a good lesson for African leaders and up to date, the conflict management style of the super-powers in the Congo was responsible for the restiveness that has refused to abate in the Congo.

Other case studies that are readily remembered with sighs and bitterness are those of Rwanda and Somalia. The case of Rwanda was similar to Congo as both countries were administered by Belgium, a country with sour colonial memories, which have refused to abate. When a problem is swept under the carpet, like a smoldering fire, it will manifest. The Rwanda humanitarian tragedy is a curse to the international community. The destruction of political, economic and social life of Somalia is pathetic. The top indicators of internal conflict and state collapse are prevalent in Somalia. These include mounting demographic pressures, massive movement of refugees or internally displaced persons, creating complex humanitarian emergencies, chronic and sustained human flight, as well as intervention of other states or external political actors. The economy has collapsed while there is widespread loss of popular confidence in state institutions and processes. You need to ask – what is the business of the Super Powers in the Somalia scenario? Then, wait for an answer. Siyad Barre was the Somali President during the peak period of the Cold War. It was customary for both powers – the Western Powers and the Eastern Powers – to seek for allies as tools of their ideological war. Indecision and lack of self dignity has worked against many African leaders who refused to accept that life is transient. Siyad Barre wanted to be clever and agreed to serve the interest of both powers. The game blew open but before then, his country had been partitioned effectively with one wing coming to the West, while the other belonged to the East with none belonging to his “beloved” country. Before he knew it, serious internal conflict emerged and catapulted him from grace to grass. He fled his country in disgrace, took refuge in Nigeria where cold hands of death caught up with him. His body was allowed back home in great sympathy.

## **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

How will you describe African leaders who hide under immunity to behave with impunity?

Super-power game consumed him. The super-powers' mismanagement of conflicts in the developing countries of the world have created a lot of refugee problems as well as demand for aids. Similarly, in a war ravaged situation, series of endemic health matters will be cropping up while terrorism as a way of showing reprisal cannot be ruled out.

## **4.0 CONCLUSION**

There is need to be just; there is need for sincerity and honesty of purpose. Over-propagation of "self interest" of the Super-Powers could lead to self-destruction unless checked. The Super-Powers rely on the naked use of power – "military power" while the weak often resort to unorthodox methods to vent anger. The amount that could be expended on pre-conflict peace-building structure will be infinitesimal compared to what the Super-Powers are now using on post-conflict structures.

## **5.0 SUMMARY**

This unit revisits the management techniques of the Super-Powers and highlighted their ambivalent attitude to conflicts, hinging such on "national interest." Equally discussed is the need for African leaders to learn how to decipher fraudulent overtures from advanced countries and to embrace good governance.

## **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

Evaluate the role of the Super- Powers in conflict management since 1947.

## **7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS**

Albert, I.O. (2001). *Building Peace, Advancing Demonstration*. Ibadan: John Archers.

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## **UNIT 2     A REVIEW OF THE WORLD’S ECONOMIC ORDER AS A PEACE BUILDING PHENOMENON**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 A Review of World’s Economic Order as a Peace-Building Phenomenon
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

Economic collapse, hunger and poverty ravaged the world, after World War II. The Super-Powers initiated economic programmes to alleviate these but due to “self interest”, they tore the world apart silently. Institutions created to salvage a depressed economy world wide, became ready tools to milk dry the developing world. Arms banned by international conventions are being exported to the third world and developing nations. Availability of raw materials are usually precursors for the establishment of industries in such areas but those who pretend to protect weaker nations are the oppressors using various forms of intrigues to lure the developing nations to deal with them. The level of poverty created by the developed nations against the third world nations is worrisome. The legacies of colonialism and imperialism are being manifested through various neo-colonial instincts. One sour reminder of these scenarios is the increased rate of terrorism which must be condemned in the first place, but must also be tackled from the perception of either a reaction to grievance or greed.

In conclusion, the future of today’s international organisation will anchor on the pre-conflict peace-building activities of the Super-Powers and the degree of influence they exerts in employing their veto powers, taking into account the globalisation of world economy and politics.

## 2.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- discuss the activities of the financial global institutions and the involvement of the Super-Powers in their operations
- explain Keynesian Theory and Structural Adjustment Programme.

## 3.0 MAIN CONTENT

### 3.1 A Review of the World's Economic Order as a Peace Building Phenomenon

According to Ngaire Woods (2001), International Political Economy (IPE) is about the interplay of economics and politics in world affairs. World War II ended in 1945 but the far-sighted policy makers had seen signals of a gloomy economic sphere. This testifies to the fact that the institutions and frameworks of a new economic order took off within the closing phase of World War II. Basically, Breton Woods, in the United States of America, played host to these policy makers to brainstorm on how to prevent a relapse into the Great Depression of 1930s through a fiscal policy that ensures a stable global monetary system as well as how an open world trading system would be guaranteed.

Another reason for the Breton Woods Palaver was to brainstorm on how to rebuild the battered economies of Europe.

In order to promote the new world economic order, three institutions were programmed for establishment. They were the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) which later metamorphosed into the World Bank, and the third was the General Agreement on Trade and Tariff (GATT).

The purpose of the International Monetary Fund (I.M.F) was to stabilise the exchange rate and provide emergency assistance to countries having difficulties meeting their financial obligations. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, as the name implies, was to ensure private investment and reconstruction in Europe as well as aiding developmental projects in other countries. The General Agreement on Trade and Tariff was an institution to negotiate trade liberalisation.

You will observe that the primary reasons for which these institutions were established were basically to serve as pre-conflict peace-building structures in a post-conflict sphere. Although, the war was ending but to avert any relapse into another state of war, it was felt desirable to

address the immediate needs, not only of Europe, but of other countries in the global community.

As laudable as these efforts were, and as commendable as the initiators of the projects deserve, a cog appeared on the scene which had been identified as a stigma on the Super-Powers. The beginning of the cold war forced the United States to shift emphasis from addressing world economy full-blast to that of giving the policy of containment of communism a pride of place. The Economic institutions which were established to focus on world economy became ready tools of the West.

The US's relentless efforts at combating the spread of communism affected its economy as inflation occurred within the US, while the need for US goods and services by other parts of the world dropped drastically. About this time, other countries in the world economy were enhancing their positions. Equally worrisome for the US was that the economic integration of European countries was bearing useful fruits. Other countries in Asia; Japan, South Korea and Taiwan created new ways out of US monopoly and set a new agenda for trade negotiations.

In 1973, the purpose for which the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs was established; to assist on smooth trading and liberalisation of tariffs as a way of creating general economic progress on a global scale particularly the developing countries, was violated by the Super-Powers, which placed restrictions on all textiles and apparel imports from developing countries.

The attitude of the Super-Powers infuriated the developing countries which carried their protest to the UN General Assembly and clamoured for a new International Economic Order. The multiplier effect of the import ban from developing countries was the reaction of OPEC oil producing developing countries in raising the price of their commodity to compensate for their loss, brought about by the narrow mindedness of the Super-Powers.

#### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

You will, through this type of reaction, realise that several factors determine the concept of "power". It is the combination of various activities in a polity that makes a positive whole. The relationship between the developed and developing countries has been that of master/servant. If the United Nations offered a forum for artificial egalitarianism for all the countries of the world, the protectionist sanctity offered the Super-Powers by the Security Council, through the use of veto power, has not really helped the cause of the developed countries. The best the developing countries have done is to protest to

the General Assembly as has been the case in their demand for a New International Economic Order. By the 1980s, what came as response was a new fiscal policy in the US which raised interest rates; and the lending institutions to the global community are mainly US based creditors, while the third world countries were worst hit. Sensing danger, the I.M.F. through the prompting of the Super-Powers, immediately moved in to cajole the developing countries on their loans as any act of recalcitrance by any could send wrong signals to others and through it, global financial crisis could trigger off. The Super-Power tonic through the I.M.F., an institution created to stabilise exchange rate and provide emergency assistance to countries in financial difficult, was the dose of Structural Adjustment Programme. In the opinion of I.M.F., Structural Adjustment was seen as the instant panacea for reducing inflation, government expenditure, as well as checking government involvement in the economic activities which include trade liberalisation, deregulation, and privatisation of existing government enterprises.

Before the 1980s IMF Structural Adjustment Programme, the fiscal policy in vogue, called Keynesian Theory, explicitly stated that government should play an active and interventionist role in the economy in order to ensure both growth and equity while the new policy being canvassed by the IMF has advocated that governments must abdicate their roles and leave necessary directives and guidance about economic production, allocation, and distribution to market forces.

Won't you ask who controls the markets? The Super Powers and the developed countries of the world now hold the global economy at their beck and call. The economic institutions created at the end of World War II to relieve the global community of economic strangulation, though still in existence, are now agencies of the Super-Powers, doling loans to strangulated developing countries at cut-throat rates and serving as rent and debt collectors of their masters. The developing countries are choking and smoking under heavy burden of loan repayments. Unless the Super-Powers review the global state of the economy, any talk about global peace will be a farce. African countries had paid their dues through the era of slavery and slave trade. They have helped set up the farms in both North and South Americas. They have done their best in the drive towards self sufficiency on the English farms and their efforts equally served as a catalyst to Industrial Revolution in Britain.

Africa is rich in both human and mineral resources of all sorts, which became the cynosure of the eyes of the Super-Powers. Having exploited these resources to the fullest for the enhancement of the living standard of the developed nations, the global economic policy of the Super-Powers now put the developing nations at their mercy. Almost every developing nation is a debtor state to the Super-Powers. Life is unsafe as



hunger and poverty are starving citizens of developing nations in the face. The resultant effect is the rate of restiveness which terrorism has clamped on the developed nations. There is a need to address the lopsidedness of the global economic policy. Self interest should give way to general interest. A policy that makes one group super-masters and the other super-servants, in the same community, does not help.

## 5.0 SUMMARY

This unit has discussed issues relating to the Super-Powers style of addressing global economic issues. It has been highlighted that hunger has no colour. It is simply due to economic strangulation and it could manifest in various anti-social forms. In order to arrest the spate of tension and restiveness in various developing nations, the lopsidedness of the global economic order must be reversed.

## 6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Name the institutions established to salvage global economic problems and describe their roles in the concept of pre-and post-conflict peace-building.

## 7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

- Albert, I.O. (2001). *Building Peace, Advancing Demonstration*. Ibadan: John Archers.
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## **UNIT 3 THE WORLD AS A GLOBAL VILLAGE IN THE CONTEXT OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 Conceptual Clarification
  - 3.2 The World as a Global Village in the Context of International Peace.
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

The world is composed of six habitable continents and one uninhabitable continent. Within the six habitable continents are several countries, each having her government as a sovereign state. Any reference to a global village or global community is an attempt to draw these several countries and their governments into a monolithic group as modern day politics informs that neighbourhood effect is inescapable due to the dynamic nature of world politics.

Then, you need to ask – what is globalisation and what does it stand for? In a nutshell, globalisation is the process of interaction between communities in such a manner that what is happening or taking place in a part of the globe often have effects repeatedly on the people very distant from where the action is taking place. As a further illustration, issues bordering on political, economic, social and cultural happenings in a part of the globe could have resultant effects on another distant country. If we take the General Elections taking place in Nigeria into context, seeing that the world is fast becoming a global village, nations outside Nigeria's sub-region, and other parts of the globe could show interest in its peaceful conduct to avert a multiplier effect of unpleasant consequences. Any conflict in any part of the globe attracts the attention of others thousands of miles away due to the notion of globalisation. Refugees from country A could spill over to country B to compound issues there.

## 2.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading the unit, you should be able to:

- give an in-depth analysis of the concept of globalisation
- relate the concept to the concerted efforts against the scourge of Aids in your own country.

## 3.0 MAIN CONTENT

### 3.1 Conceptual Clarification

Several authors have defined the concept of globalisation and it is pertinent to quote some of them before analysing the need for the concept to be nurtured for the purpose of international peace and security.

According to Martin Albrow (1990) globalisation refers to all those processes by which the peoples of the world are incorporated into a single world society, global society.

In the words of Anthony Giddens (1990), globalisation can be defined as the intensification of world-wide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa. Richter, in his own view, says that “globalisation could be likened to global networking that has welded together previously disparate and isolated communities on this planet into mutual dependence and unity of “one world.”

In the words of Robert Cox (1994) “the characteristic of the globalisation trend include the internationalising of production, the new international division of labour, new migratory movements from South and North, the new competitive environment that accelerates these processes, and the internationalising of the state ...making states agencies of the globalising world.”

In order not to be lost in the polemics of definition, I wish to briefly make a passing statement on the view expressed by Kanter (1995) who simply stressed that the world is becoming a Global shopping mall in which ideas and products are available everywhere at the same time.

Kanter (1995) was expressing the view of other quoted scholars who believe that there is an urgent need to enhance the homogeneity that the global community has become in issues such as political, economical, social and cultural, and with honesty of purpose ensure that the world becomes a better place for us all.

### **3.2 The World as a Global Village in the Context of International Peace**

It is a common fact that must be re-emphasised that although, people are aware that the world is getting closer and closer on all fronts of human endeavour; through electronic gadgets, international newspapers and magazines, telecommunication equipment, universal products, exchange programmes on issues of global dimensions and so on, yet the tendency to act with complete ambivalence for clandestine motives, are always there. Before addressing the issues of agents of heterogeneity, and as there are always two sides to a coin, I wish to briefly state the views of those rooting for globalisation. They opine that:

- (a) Through a rapid growth of economic transformation, a new world politics has been created and states no longer confine themselves to their narrow economic transactions. Rather, they are operating within the global economy which is interdependent in an era of trade and finance expansion.
- (b) We are now witnessing an unprecedented revolution brought about by communication of all sorts which allows the instant visualisation of events in any part of the globe simultaneously, thus assisting in removing any bias we may nurture about those within and afar.
- (c) We can now replicate what we see elsewhere or moderate our own environment in areas reminiscent of cultural adaptation.
- (d) The imaginary distance between one part of the globe and the other has collapsed through prompt communication facilities while more and more people of different races are coming together and understanding each other much better.
- (e) People are inculcating cosmopolitan culture in their respective states as it is no longer hidden to see a European in African attire and sampling African dishes and vice versa.
- (f) A major and unique awakening is the realisation on a global scale that certain health issues pose global dilemma. Initially, malaria was seen as an African problem. However, the determined fight against AIDS and HIV by the global community, with some degrees of success, is a complete acceptance that it is a scourge that has no barrier.

Be that as it may, the other side of the coin has its reservations about what globalisation represents.

Hirst and Thompson (1996) view globalisation thus:

- (a) It is an agent of capitalism under the concept of economic integration. It is putting a wrong view forward that governments of various countries are politically innocuous in the face of global trends and are actually weakening various governments from having control of their internal economies.
- (b) Globalisation effect is very uneven as it is like a theory of Western orientation which is applicable to an insignificant number of people. By implication, it is a theory applicable to the Western world which dictates economic trends to the rest of the world. Further, it would be erroneous to see it as a new look-imperialism and the victory of the Western World view over the views of the rest of the global community.
- (c) Globalisation was again seen as having aided the operations of terrorists, barons, and cartels to operate globally, by escaping from country A and resettling in country B.
- (d) On the political scene, which credit was ascribed to issues of collective defense, the operations of transnational organisations and other international non-governmental organisations was challenged as they dovetail into the recognised political indices of a country's government while they account to no authority.

#### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

Having seeing the view of those in favour and those against, we now need to strike a balance. If our concern is for international peace and security, the best of alternatives from the concept of globalisation must be invoked. Whether at international, national, INGO, NGO or at local community levels, we are human beings and not spirits. Invoking sentiments or emotions, in the light of imminent danger to international peace and security, will not help. Ideas of collaborative security through exchange of information are beginning to make worthwhile impact on peace and security globally. Terrorists or drug cartels escaping arrest in one area of the globe are being monitored and nabbed where they least expect.

In conclusion, as Bretherton has argued, “the intensification of global connectedness, associated with economic globalisation, ecological interdependence, and the threats posed by weapons of mass destruction means that co-operation between states is more than ever necessary.”

## 5.0 SUMMARY

This unit has reminded us of the effects of globalisation in the scheme of things. We need not over-emphasise those issues that serve as impediments to global peace. Rather, we must continue to propagate the philosophies of issues that serve as catalyst to global peace-building in every sphere of human endeavour.

## 6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Discuss globalisation in relation to the fight against the scourge of AIDS in your country.

## 7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

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## **UNIT 4 THE FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS IN THE PURSUANCE OF PEACE BUILDING ACTIVITIES**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 The Way Forward for International Organisations
  - 3.2 Hope for the Future
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

We have tried to explain the roles as well as the level of performance of operational efficiency and deficiency of international organisations in the area of peace-building activities.

You will agree with me that from the assessment so far carried out, the basic concern of all of them is peace-building. There cannot be any meaningful progress in an atmosphere of conflict and turmoil. Respect, begets respect. The foremost International Organisation, the United Nations, which has acquired many functions of governance, is experiencing some operational deficiencies which must be addressed. The problem of coping with issues of sovereignty as well as the need to observe neutrality must be tackled. Much as the United Nations has tried to fulfill its peace-building roles, many nations do not pay their dues which hinder its operations. As earlier stated, the constitution of the Security Council restricted its permanent membership to the five Super-Powers while the membership of the rest ten is just supportive. This arrangement does not augur well for the much needed homogeneity. Furthermore, the Security Council is absolute and at times, could delay action by withholding, through power of veto, needed immediate intervention in any conflict state as a result of vested interests of its permanent members.

## 2.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit, you should be able to:

- have a good understanding and appreciation of the cogs in the wheel of International Organisations towards global peace-building
- recommend measures for greater efficiency by international organisations in their peace-building activities.

## 3.0 MAIN CONTENT

### 3.1 The Way Forward For International Organisations

As smoke is the usual concomitant of fire, so will information collection and interpretation enhance the capabilities of the United Nations Organisation. Although, the UN has been making use of intelligence reports earlier, it should be improved upon because intelligence reports available from states must also be available to the UN. Furthermore, in order to confirm the authenticity of such reports, the UN should have its own channel of intelligence gathering. Above all, peace-building is the in-thing. Mimicking the “Biafran” effusion during the Nigeria/Biafran war in the late sixties, “the price of liberty is eternal vigilance”, by extension the UN should intensify methods of monitoring likely conflict situations and put in place pre-conflict peace-building structures. This, if adhered to, will obviate the usual method of only responding to conflicts after they have occurred. The regional organisations equally have some deficiencies, many of which are similar to what is happening in the UN. However, the fact that those like the African Union, ECOWAS, Common Wealth of Nations, Organisation of American States, and the Arab League, are struggling to nip in the bud some latent misunderstanding before they become full-blown conflict and also dousing tension where conflicts rear their head, is a demonstration that with a little more care, world peace will be guaranteed. It is also a sign of better things to come in areas of peace-building as the cold war, which actually hampered the role of international organisations has finally ended with the outmaneuvering of the Soviet Union by the USA.

By extension, a new comradeship between the erstwhile Super-Powers, the United States and Russia, has aided the operation of the UN, especially on issues of disarmament and international relations between states as the ideological twist has been rendered innocuous.

Besides ECOWAS, no other regional international organisation has any framework for either peace-keeping or enforcement, which does not



help as issues of conflicts wherever they manifest would have dealt a severe blow before help comes.

The end of the cold war signified the end of bi-polarity and the beginning of mono-polarity. The management of victory at times generates adversarial repercussions. The US should be magnanimous in victory and must drop the toga of being linked with those egocentric states otherwise called “rogue states.”

It has been pointed out earlier that with economic development, political and social climate will not accommodate adversarial instincts. The United Nations should demonstrate commitment to areas of economic growth, democracy, environmental issues, and respect for the principles of fundamental Human Rights, especially in the developing nations. While good governance must be emphasised by every international organisation, the UN particularly must ensure the coordination and integration of the development plans of the developing countries along with that of the development plans of the developed nations for the sake of homogeneous development. Absence of this strategy and intensification of loans-granting instead has further impoverished the third world nations.

### **3.2 What Hope for the Future?**

While one is not a soothsayer to predict mathematically what tomorrow has in stock, several collaborative efforts by various international organisations in areas of economy, education, health, politics, social and cultural spheres indicate that the future will be much better for international organisations. The acceptability of an issue as a common global concern, like AIDS, attests to this. The fact that in every country of the world is situated an awareness post to combat it, is a glowing indication that with further collaboration between various regional and international organisations, as well as state and non state actors, there is a bright future for the inhabitants of the globe.

### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

The issues that have been discussed in this unit require deep internalisation as we require to put more emphasis on pre-conflict peace-building as against a situation where conflicts are allowed to degenerate into full scale war before seeking for a solution. Indeed, outbreak of war leads to serious famine and gnashing of teeth. The spill-over of any conflict in this era of globalisation affects both rich and poor nations alike. The Super-Powers must be honest enough not to construe globalisation of issues with Westernisation or Europeanisation of issues. Being ambivalent, in the face of an urgent pre-conflict action, must be

avoided. International organisations, must be focused more on pre-conflict peace-building activities while being strengthened to respond adequately to post-conflict peace-building activities as well. In the words of Albert (2001),

*often, the outcome (in conflict situation) is a mere pile of peace building stones, rather than a sustainable peace... building sustainable peace is not just a matter of direct intervention... it also requires indirect intervention through development and relief aid, media coverage; or any other activity relating to existing or potential violent conflict.*

Various international organisations must take note of this academic fecundity from the cup of Albert if they wish to sustain their relevance.

## **5.0 SUMMARY**

The unit has identified the areas capable of hindering the operations of international organisations in their genuine search for international peace. Most of the international conflicts witnessed so far, as well as internal conflicts in third world countries were and are due to less emphasis on pre-conflict peace-building mechanisms, which the international organisations are positioned to tackle. There could not be any level playing ground between the developed and the developing nations as the independence granted to developing nations lacked economic leverage.

## **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

Have international organisations justified their existence? Discuss.

## **7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS**

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