COURSE GUIDE

POL 851
THEORIES AND STRATEGIC ANALYSIS IN INTERNATIONALRELATIONS

Course Team   Dr. Chidiebere J. Onwutuebe (OAU)
                         Dr. Hope Amoge Ikedinma – Course Writer
                         Prof. Aituaje Irene Pogoson (UI) – Course
                         Editor
                         Dr. Matthew Ogwuche (NOUN) -
                         Programme Leader

NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

POL 851: Theories and Strategic Analysis in International Relations, is a 3-credit unit course for post-graduate students of Political Science. The course begins by presenting a short overview and meaning of theories of International Relations. It explains the relationship between theory and practice in International Relations as well as the behavior of states in the international system. It also explores and discusses issues bordering on strategic thinking, strategic practice, defense and security policies in International Relations.

The study provides necessary reading materials to encourage students to engage in further studies and research in order to widen their horizon of the course. Major concepts and theories of International Relations were selected and thoroughly examined in the study. The study units have been organized into five broad modules. In each module, there are four units and for each of the units there are instructional materials meant to provide a clear-cut guide for students' reading convenience. After each of the study units, students are expected to pay attention to some self-assessment exercises. Answers to the self-assessment exercises are provided at the end of each unit. This is to help the students to mark and grade themselves so that they can assess their comprehension of the course.

COURSE DESCRIPTION

POL 851: THEORIES AND STRATEGIC ANALYSIS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

POL 851: Theories and Strategic Analysis in International Relations, provides students the opportunity to learn and understand fundamental concepts in International Relations as well as tools with which to make strategic analyses of activities and events in the international system, relying on their knowledge of the nature and theories of International Relations. The course further provides an extensive description of the nature, feature and structure of the international political system. Contingent upon theories of International Relations, the course also provides a strategic analysis of patterns of power distribution among actors in the international system. At the end of the course, students should be able to describe the nature and character of the international system, understand and discuss major theoretical frameworks often used in the analyses of activities of states and non-state actors in inter-state relations, explain intersections of theories, practice and/or actual behavior of states and non-state actors in the international system, and the nature and theories of strategic thinking, strategic practice, defense and security policies. Although states, that is, organized national political communities with governmental powers, are the oldest powerful international actors,

non-state actors, which comprise international intergovernmental organizations and international (transnational) non-governmental organizations, also make tremendous impact on the global system. A good knowledge of theories of International Relations will equip students with relevant and critical tools of analysis necessary to describe, explain and even predict imminent global events and their possible outcomes.

COURSE AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The primary aim of this course is to provide students of political science with a comprehensive knowledge of theories and strategic analysis of International Relations. However, the specific objectives of the course include enabling you to:

i.   has a working knowledge of theories of International Relations and strategic analysis of international occurrences at the international system;

ii.   be familiar with a number of major concepts and theories of International Relations and analysis of patterns of power distribution among actors in the international system.

iii.   have a good understanding of the nature and character of the international system, understand and discuss major theoretical frameworks used in the analysis of activities of states and non-state actors in inter-state relations, explain intersections of theories, practice and/or actual behavior of states and non-state actors in the international system.

The specific learning outcome of each study unit can be found at the beginning and you can make reference to it while studying. It is necessary and helpful for you to check at the end of the unit, if your progress is consistent with the stated learning outcomes and if you can conveniently answer the self-assessment exercises. The overall objectives of the course will be achieved, if you diligently study and complete all the units in this course.

WORKING THROUGH THE COURSE

To complete the course, you are required to read the study units and other related materials.

You will also need to undertake practical exercises for which you need a pen, a note-book, and other materials that will be listed in this guide. The exercises are to aid you in understanding the concepts being presented. At the end of each unit, you will be required to do some exercises for self-assessment purposes. At the end of the course, you will also be expected to write a final examination.

THE COURSE MATERIAL

In this course, as in all other courses, the major components you will find are as follows:
1.   Course Guide
2.   Study Units
3.   Textbooks
4.   Assignments

STUDY UNITS

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

Module 1   Introduction to Theories of International Relations

Unit 1   Basis of Theories of International Relations
Unit 2   Relevance of and Relationship between Theory and Practice in International Relations.
Unit 3   Nature of the International Political System
Unit 4   Power distribution in the international political system

Module 2   Perspectives and Analysis of Theories of Realism, Idealism, Imperialism and Conflict and Conflict Resolution

Unit 1   Realism
Unit 2   Idealism/Liberalism
Unit 3   Imperialism
Unit 4   Conflict and Conflict Resolution

Module 3   Perspectives and Analysis of Bargaining, Functionalism and Integration, Games, and Systems Theories

Unit 1   Bargaining
Unit 2   Functionalism and Integration
Unit 3   Games Theory
Unit 4   Systems Theory

Module 4   Perspectives and Analysis of Decision-making, Balance of Power, Alliance and Globalization Theories

Unit 1   Decision-making Theory
Unit 2   Balance of power
Unit 3   Alliance
Unit 4   Globalization

Module 5	**Nature and Theories of Strategic Thinking and Strategic Practice in International Relations**

Unit 1	Collective Security
Unit 2	Arms Control, Nuclear Deterrence and Disarmament
Unit 3	War and Peace
Unit 4	Foreign Policy

As you can observe, the course begins with the basics and expands into a more elaborate, complex and detailed form. All you need to do is to follow the instructions as provided in each unit. In addition, some self-assessment exercises have been provided with which you can test your progress with the text and determine if your study is fulfilling the stated learning outcomes. All these will assist you to be able to have in-depth knowledge of theories and strategic analysis of International Relations.

TEXTBOOKS AND REFERENCES

At the end of each unit, you will find a list of relevant reference materials which you may wish to consult as the need arises. However, efforts have been made to provide you with the most important information you need to pass this course. You are encouraged, as a postgraduate student, to cultivate the habit of consulting as many relevant materials as you are able to within the time available to you. In particular, ensure that you consult all the recommended materials you are advised to consult before attempting any exercise.

ASSESSMENT

The Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) are not meant to be submitted, but they are important because they give you an opportunity to assess your own understanding of the course content. Answers to the self-assessment exercises are provided at the end of each unit to help you assess yourself on the comprehension of the course. The answers are provided for you to grade and score yourself on the assessments. The exercises should help you to evaluate your understanding of the course material.

FINAL EXAMINATION AND GRADING

There will be a final examination at the end of the course. The examination carries a total of 100 percent of the total course grade. The examination will reflect the contents of what you have learnt and the self-assessments exercises. You therefore need to revise your course materials beforehand.

COURSE MARKING SCHEME

The following table sets out the actual course marking.

ASSESMENT	MARKS
Final Examination	100%of overall course score
Total	100% of course score

COURSE OVERVIEW PRESENTATION SCHEME

Units	Title of Work	Week Activity	Self-Assessment Exercises (End-of=Units)
Course Guide	**Theories and Strategic Analysis in International Relations**		
Module 1	**Introduction to Theories of International Relations**		
Unit 1	Basis of Theories of International Relations	Week 1	SAE
Unit 2	Relevance of and Relationship between Theory and Practice in International Relations.	Week 2	SAE
Unit 3	Nature of the International Political System	Week3	SAE
Unit 4	Power distribution in the international political system	Week 4	SAE
Module 2	**Perspectives and Analysis of Theories of Realism, Idealism, Imperialism and Conflict and Conflict Resolution**		
Unit 1	Realism	Week 5	SAE
Unit 2	Idealism/Liberalism	Week 6	SAE
Unit 3	Imperialism	Week 7	SAE
Unit 4	Conflict and Conflict Resolution	Week 8	SAE
Module 3	**Perspectives and Analysis of Bargaining, Functionalism and Integration, Games, and Systems Theories**		
Unit 1	Bargaining	Week 9	SAE
Unit 2	Functionalism and Integration	Week 10	SAE
Unit 3	Games Theory	Week 11	SAE

Unit 4	Systems Theory	Week 12	SAE
Module 4	**Perspectives and Analysis of Decision-making, Balance of Power, Alliance and Globalization Theories**		
Unit 1	Decision-making Theory	Week 13	SAE
Unit 2	Balance of power	Week 14	SAE
Unit 3	Alliance	Week15	SAE
Unit 4	Globalization	Week 16	SAE
Module 5	**Nature and Theories of Strategic Thinking and Strategic Practice in International Relations**		
Unit 1	Collective Security	Week 17	SAE
Unit 2	Arms Control, Nuclear Deterrence and Disarmament	Week 18	SAE
Unit 3	War and Peace	Week 19	SAE
Unit 4	Foreign Policy	Week 20	SAE

WHAT YOU WILL NEED FOR THE COURSE

This course prepares you to appreciate and understand theories of International Relations and the intricacies involved in strategic analysis of International Relations and international politics. It will be helpful if you review what you studied earlier. Second, you may need to purchase one or two texts recommended as important for your mastery of the course content. You need quality time in a study friendly environment every week. If you are computer-literate (which ideally you should be), you should be prepared to visit recommended websites. You should also cultivate the habit of visiting reputable physical libraries accessible to you.

TUTORS AND TUTORIALS

There are 20 hours of tutorials provided in support of the course. You will be notified of the dates and location of these tutorials, together with the name and phone number of your tutor as soon as you are allocated a tutorial group. Your tutor will keep a close watch on your progress. Be free to contact your tutor in case of any difficulty with your self-assessment exercise. In any case, you are advised to attend the tutorials regularly and punctually. Always take a list of such prepared questions to the tutorials and participate actively in the discussions.

ASSESSMENT EXERCISES

There are two aspects to the assessment of this course. First is the self-assessment exercise; second is a written examination. In handling these assignments, you are expected to apply the information, knowledge and experience acquired during the course. Ensure that you register all your courses so that you can have easy access to all the course materials and also be able to do the self-assessment exercises. At the end of the course, you will need to sit for a final examination. This examination will account for 100 per cent of your total course mark.

FINAL EXAMINATION AND GRADING

The final examination for POL 851: Theories of International Relations and Strategic Analysis will be of three hours duration and have a value of 100% of the total course grade. The examination will consist of multiple choice and fill-in-the-gaps questions which will reflect the practical exercises you have previously encountered. All areas of the course will be assessed. It is important that you use adequate time to revise the entire course. You may find it useful to review your self-assessment exercises before the examination. The final examination covers information from all aspects of the course.

HOW TO GET THE MOST FROM THIS COURSE

1.   There are 20 units in this course. You are to spend one week in each unit. In distance learning, the study units replace the university lecture. This is one of the great advantages of distance learning; you can read and work through specially designed study materials at your own pace, and at a time and place that suit you best. Think of it as reading the lecture instead of listening to the lecturer, in the same way a lecturer might give you some reading to do. The study units tell you when to read and which are your text materials or recommended books. You are provided self-assessment exercises to do at appropriate points, just as a lecturer might give you in a class exercise.

2.   Each of the study units follows a common format. The first item is an introduction to the subject matter of the unit, and how a particular unit is integrated with other units and the course as a whole. Next to this is a set of learning outcomes. This learning outcome lets you know what you should be able to do by the time you have completed the unit. These learning outcomes are meant to guide your study. The moment a unit is finished, you must go back and check whether you have achieved the learning outcome.

If this is made a habit, then you will significantly improve your chance of passing the course.

3. The main body of the unit guides you through the required reading from other sources. This will usually be either from your reference or from a reading section.

4. The following is a practical strategy for working through the course. If you run into any trouble, telephone your tutor or visit the study center nearest to you. Remember that your tutor's job is to help you. When you need assistance, do not hesitate to call and ask your tutor to provide it.

5. Read this course guide thoroughly. It is your first assignment.

6. Organize a study schedule – Design a 'Course Overview' to guide you through the course. Note the time you are expected to spend on each unit and how the assignments relate to the units.

7. Important information; example, details of your tutorials and the date of the first day of the semester is available at the study center.

8. You need to gather all the information into one place, such as your diary or a wall calendar. Whatever method you choose to use, you should decide on and write in your own dates and schedule of work for each unit.

9. Once you have created your own study schedule, do everything to stay faithful to it.

10. The major reason why students fail is that they get behind in their coursework. If you get into difficulties with your schedule, please let your tutor or course coordinator know before it is too late for assistance.

11. Turn to Unit 1, and read the introduction and the learning outcomes for the unit.

12. Assemble the study materials. You will need your references for the unit you are studying at any point in time.

13. As you work through the unit, you will know what sources to consult for further information.

14. Visit your study center whenever you need up-to-date information.

15.   Visit your study center for relevant information and updates. Keep in mind that you will learn a lot by doing the assessment carefully. They have been designed to help you meet the objectives of the course and, therefore, will help you pass the examination.

16.   Review the learning outcomes for each study unit to confirm that you have achieved them. If you feel unsure about any of the learning outcome review the study materials or consult your tutor. When you are confident that you have achieved a unit's learning outcome, you can start on the next unit. Proceed unit by unit through the course and try to space your study so that you can keep yourself on schedule.

17.   After completing the last unit, review the course and prepare yourself for the final examination. Check that you have achieved the unit outcome (listed at the beginning of each unit) and the course objectives (listed in the course guide).

CONCLUSION

This is a practical course so you will get the best out of it if you cultivate the habit of assessing the actions of international actors in the light of the prediction of the theories of International Relations and the nature and theories of strategic thinking and strategic practice, defense and security policies as studied in this course.

SUMMARY

POL 851: Theories and Strategic Analyses in International Relations, provides students the opportunity to learn and understand fundamental concepts in International Relations as well as tools with which to strategically analyze activities and events in the international system. All the basic course materials that you need to successfully complete the course are provided. At the end, you will be able to:
•   discuss theories of International Relations
•   analyze the features of contemporary international system.
•   write the characters of main actors at the international system and;
•   make strategic analysis of activities and events in the international system.

REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

Abumere, F. A., (2017). Context as the Principal Determinant of the Behavior of States in Global Politics, *Global Journal of Political Science and Administration.*

Afinotan, L. A., (2014). Decision Making in International Relations: A Theoretical Analysis.*Canadian Social Science*, Vol. 10, No. 5, 249-256. DOI: 10.3968/4970.

Alanazi, A., (2016). A Critical Review of Constructivist Theory and the Emergence of Constructivism. *American Research Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences,* Vol 2, 1-8. ISSN (Online):

Aleksovski, S., et. al., (2014). Collective Security – The Role of International Organizations –Implications in International Security Order. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences,* Vol. 5, No. 27, Doi:105901/mjss.2014v5n274, ISSN 2039-2127, ISSN 2039-9340.

Alkali, A. M. and Onwutuebe, C. J., (2016). Constructivism as an Approach in International Relations. *Ife Journal of International Affairs,* Vol. 3, No. 1, 18-27.

Allison, G. T., (1971). *Essence of Decision, Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

Ansell, C. K. and Weber, S., (1999). Organizing International Politics: Sovereign and Open Systems, International Political Science Review, Vol. 20, No. 1.

Antunes, I. and Camisao, S., (2018). Introducing Realism in International Relations Theory. Retrieved from https://www.e-ir.info/pdf/72860, Date Accessed: October 25, 2022.

Ari, T., (2018). Contending Issues and Major Theories in International Relations, in Ari and Toprak, eds., *Theories of International Relations 1*, Eskişehir: Anadolu University Press

Arkhipov, A. and Yeletsky, A. N., (2015). Various Aspects of the Multipolarity within the World Economic System. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences,* Vol. 3, No. 56, ISSN 2039-2117 (online), ISSN 2039-9340 (print), Doi:10.5901/mjss.2015.v6n3s

Bekelcha, K. L., (2019). Conflict Theories. *Global Journal of Politics,* Vol. 1, No. 4, 1-8

Bercovitch J. and Gartner, S. S., (2009). New Approaches, methods and findings in the study of mediation, in Bercovitch J. and Gartner, S. S., (eds.), *International Conflict Mediation, New Approaches and findings*. London and New York: Routledge

Bercovitch, J. and Regan P. M., (1999). The Structure of International Conflict Management: an Analysis of the Effects of Intractability and Mediation, *The International Journal of Peace Studies,* Vol. 4, No.1, Available on https://www3.gmu.edu/programs/icar/ijps/ vol14_1/bercovitch.htm

Bhuiyan, B. A., (2016). An Overview of Game Theory and some Applications. Philosophy and Progress, Vol. LIX-LX, ISSN 1607-2278, http://dx.doi.org/10.3329/pp.v59il-2.36683.

Borrie, J., (2013). Humanitarian Impact of Nuclear Weapons Project, paper no. 2. Borrie, J. and Caughley, T., (eds.), Viewing Nuclear Weapons Through a Humanitarian Lens. Geneva: United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research, ISBN 978-92-9045-202-7, eISBN 978-92-1-056366-6, Retrieved from https://unidir.org/sites/default/files/publication/pdfs//viewing-nuclear-weapons-through-a-humanitarian-lens-en-601.pdf, Date Accessed: October 23rd 2022.

Burchill, S., et. al., (2005). *Theories of International Relations, Third Edition*, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Caporaso, J. A., (1986). The Comparative Study of Foreign Policy: Perspectives on the Future. *Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association*, Report-Research Technical (143), March 25-29, 1986,

Cerny, P. G. and Prichard, A., (2017). The new anarchy: Globalization and fragmentation in world politics. *Journal of International Political Theory.* Vol. 13, No. 3, 378-394, Doi: 10.1177/1755088217713765

Copeland, D. C., (2000). The Constructivist Challenge to Structural Realism: a Review Essay. *International Security,* Vol. 25, No. 2, 187-212. Published by MIT Press, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2626757,

Cox M. and Campanaro R., (2016). *Introduction to International Relations*. Undergraduate Study in Economics, Management, Finance and the Social Sciences. London: University of London.

Cameron, G. T., (2002). Progress, History and Identity in International Relations Theory: The Case of the Idealist-Realist Debate. *European Journal of International Relations,* Sage Publications, Vol. 8., No. 2, 147-185.

Darwich, M., (2021). Alliance politics in the post-2011 Middle East: Advancing theoretical and empirical perspectives, *Mediterranean Politics*, Vo. 26, No. 5, 635-656. https://doi.org/10. 1080/13629395.2021.1889300

Donnelly, J., (2005). Realism, in Burchill, S., et. al., Theories of International Relations, Third Edition, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Dowding, K., (2011). *Encyclopedia of power. Thousand Oaks*, USA: Sage Publications

Duguri, U. S., et. al., (2021). International Relations, Realism and Liberalism: A Theoretical Review, *International Journal of Social and Humanities Extension*, Vol 2, No. 1, 1-6.

Egeland, K., (2022). A theory of nuclear disarmament: Cases, analogies, and the role of the non-proliferation regime, *Contemporary Security Policy,* Vol. 43, No. 1, 106-133, https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2021.1978159

Eze, R. C., (2015). Conflict and Conflict Resolution in International Relations. *International Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities Reviews,* Vol. 5, No. 3, September, pp. 122-129, (ISSN: 2276-8645).

Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, M., (2009). The End of Balance-of-Power Theory? A Comment on Wohlforth et al.'s 'Testing Balance-of-Power Theory in World History'. *European Journal of International Relations,* Vol. 15, No. 2, 347-380, DOI: 10.1177/1354066109103145, http://ejt.sagepub.com/content/15/2/347

Gehring, T., (1996). Integrating Integration Theory: Neofunctionalism and Integration Regimes. *Gloabal Society,* Vol. 10, No. 3, 225-253.

Gordon, R., (1994). United Nations Intervention in Internal Conflicts: Iraq, Somalia, and Beyond. *Michigan Journal of International Law,* Vol. 15, Issue 2., Available at: https://repository.law.umich.edu/mjil/vol15/iss2/5

Fearon, J. D., (1998). Domestic Politics, Foreign Policy, and Theories of International Relations. *Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci.*, 289-313

Fernandes, V. R., (2016). Idealism and Realism in international relations: an ontological debate. *Janus.net ejournal of International Relations,* Vol. 7, No. 2, 14-25, Retrieved from https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/4135/413548516002.pdf, Date Accessed: October 25, 2022.

Fisunoglu, A., (2019). System Dynamics Modeling in International Relations. *All Azimuth*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 231-253

Fitzsimmons, S., (2007). Evaluating the Masters of Strategy: A Comparative Analysis of Clausewitz, Sun Tzu, Mahan, and Corbett. *Innovations: A Journal of Politics,* Vol. 7, 27-40, Retrieved from https://prism.ucalgary.ca/bitstream/handle/1880/112877/innovations_vol7_3_fitzsimmons evaluatingthemastersofstrategy.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed, Date Accessed: October 23, 2022.

Frazier, B., (2019). What is Foreign Policy? Definition and Examples. Retrieved from https://www.thoughtco.com/foreign-policy-definition-examples-4178057, Date Accessed: October 23, 2022.

Frieden, J. A. and Lake, D. A., (2005). International Relations as a Social Science: Rigor and Relevance. The Annals of the American Academy, Retrieved from https://scholar.harvard.edu/files/jfrieden/files/annalsapss_2005.pdf, Date Accessed: June 22, 2022

Galal, A. M., (2020). External Behavior of Small States in Light of Theories of International Relations. *Review of Economics and Political Science*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 38-56, DOI 10.1108REPS11.2018-0028, e-ISSN:2631-3561, p-ISSN:2356-9980

Galtung, J., (1971). A Structural Theory of Imperialism, *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 8, No.2, 81-117.

Gorodnia, (2018). Major Features of the 21st Century International System from Ukraine's Perspective, in Kordonska, O. and Romaniuk R., (eds.), *Modern Geopolitics as a Challenge for International Security,* Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, Lviv-Olsztyn, 192, 13-21. Retrieved from https://elibrary.ivinas.gov.ua/3537/1/Majorfeatures_Gorodnia.pdf . Date Accessed: October 6, 2022.

Griffiths, M. and O'Callaghan, T., (2002). International Relations: The Key Concepts. London and New York: Routledge.

Gudova, I., (2018). The Concept of Imperialism: The History of the Development, *IJASOS – International E-Journal of Advances in Social Sciences,* Vol. IV, Issue 11,489-495

Guzzini, S., (2017). Realist Theories and Practice, Copenhagen*: Danish Institute for International Studies, Working Paper 8.*

Haggard, S., (2014). Liberal Pessimism: International Relations Theory and the Emerging Powers. *Asia and the Pacific Policy Studies*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 1–17, doi: 10.1002/app5.3

Hamad, 2016). ''Neo-Functionalism'': Relevancy for East African Community Political Integration? *Africology: The Journal of Pan African Studies,* Vol. 9, No. 7, 69-81

Healy, B. and Stein, A., (1973). The Balance of Power in International History: Theory and Reality, *Journal of Conflict Resolution,* Vol. 17, No. 1, 33-61. https://www.jstor.org/stable/173362.

Helal, M., (2018). The Myth of U.N. Collective Security, 32 Emory International Rev. Recent Dev. 1063, Available at: https://scholarlycommons.law.emory.edu/eilr-recent-developments/9

Herborth, B., (2015). Do We Need 195 Theories of Foreign Policy? In Hellmann, eds., *Theorizing Foreign Policy in a Globalized World.*, 101-125.

Hilpert, H. G. and Meier, O., (2018). Interests, Interdependencies and a Gordian Knot. Hilpert, H. G. and Meier, O., (eds.), *Facets of the North Korea Conflict. Acotrs, Problems and Europe's Interests*. German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik Research Paper 12. Retrieved from https://www.swp-berlin.org/publications/products/research_papers?2018RP12_hlp_mro_eds.pdf, Date Accessed October 24, 2022.

Holsti, O. R., (1989). Models of International Relations and Foreign Policy, *Diplomatic History,* Vol. 13, No. 1, 15-43

Hudson, V. M., (2005). Foreign Policy Analysis: Actor-Specific Theory and the Ground of International Relations, *Foreign Policy Analysis,* Vol. 1, No. 1, 1-30, Oxford University Press, https://www.jstor.org/stable/24907278.

Huntington, S., (1993). The Clash of Civilizations? *Foreign Affairs,* Vol. 72, No. 3, 22-49, (Summer, 1993) Published by the Council on Foreign Relations. https://www.jstor.org/stable/20045621.

Ilievski, M. L., (2015). The Concept of Political Integration: The Perspectives of Neofunctionalism Theory. *Journal of Liberty and International Affairs,* Vol1., No. 1, UDC 327/ISSN 1857-9760, 1-14.

Jurgensen, K. E., (2021). Introduction: The Liberal International Theory Tradition in Context. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-30-52643-6_1, Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/348223004_introduction_The_Liberal_International_Theory_tradition_in_Context, Date Accessed: October 28, 2022.

Kaplan, M. A., (1996). How to Theorize about International Politics. *International Journal on Wolrd Peace,* Vol. 13, No. 1, 3-20, url: https://www.jstor.org/stable/20752065,

Kalin, I. and Abduljaber, M. (2020). The Determinants of Negotiation Commencement in Civil Conflicts, *Journal of Conflict Transformation and Security*, Vol. 8, No. 1, 86-113

Keersmaeker, G., (2017). *Polarity, Balance of Power and International Relations Theory: Post-Cold War and the 19th Century Compared.* Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan; 4.

Khara, N. K., (2020). Diaspora and Foreign Policy: A Global Perspective. *International Journal of Political Science,* Vol. 6, Issue 4, 12-20, ISSN 2454-9452, https://doi.org/10.20431/2454-9452,0604002.

Kleiboer, M., (1996). Understanding Success and Failure of International Mediation, *The Journal of Conflict Resolution,* Vol. 40, No. 2, 360-389.

Kitching, G., (1981). The Theory of Imperialism and Its Consequences, *Middle East Report*, 100.

Korab-Karpowicz, W. J., (2017). Political Realism in International Relations. *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2018 Edition), in Zalta, E. N., (ed.), Retrieved from https://plato.stanford.edu/emtries/realism-intl-relations/;-;text=Realism, Date Accessed: October 25, 2022.

Krejci, O., (2006). *International Politics*, Vol. 1: Global Political System, Faculty of Political Science and International Relations, Matej Bel University, Banska Bystrica,

Kupchan, C., (2021). Bipolarity is Back: Why it Matters. *The Washington Quarterly,* Vol. 44, No. 4, 123-139, https://doi.org/10.1080/0163660X.2021.2020457

Kusumawardhana, I., (2017). Understanding the Dynamic of International System through the Lens of Complex System Approach. *JurnalHubunganInternasionalTahun X,* No. 1.

Lacina, B., (2004). From Side Show to Centre Stage: Civil Conflict after the Cold War. *Security Dialogue,* Vol. 24, No. 2, 191-205, https://www.jstor.org/stable/26298596,

Lahiry, S., (2019). Conflict, Peace and Security: An International Relations Perspective with Special Reference to India. *Millennial Asia,* Vol. 10, No. 1, 76-90, DOI: 10.1177/0976399619825691. journals.sagepub.com/home/mia.

Lal, N., (1969). Arms Control: An Approach to Disarmament. *The Indian Journal of Political Science,* Vol. 30, No. 3, 277-290, https://www.jstor.org/stable/41854337

Lee, J. J. and Stensaker, B., (2021). Research on internationalization and globalization in higher education – Reflections on historical paths, current perspectives and future possibilities. USA: Center for the Study of Higher Education, DOI:10.1111/ejed.12448, Wiley

Lenin, V. I., (1917). Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, International Relations and Security Network, Primary Resources in International Affairs, Retrieved from https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/125485/6000_Imperialism_Highest _Stage_Capitalism.pdf, Date Accessed: June

Liu, Y., (2013). On the Great Power Intervention in the Middle East Upheaval and Political Trend in the Middle East, *Journal of Middle East and Islamic Studies (in Asia),* Vol. 7, No 2, 1-34, https://doi.org/10.1080/19370679.2013.12023221

Liu, L., (2022). Impact of Economic Globalization on International Relations under the Background of Wireless Communications and Artificial Intelligence. *Wirelss Communications and Mobile Computing,* https://doi.org/10.1155/2022/6849387 , Retrieved from

https://downloads.hindawi.com/journals/wcmc/2022/6849387.pdf
Date Accessed: 6th July, 2022.

Lodhi, I., (2021). Globalization and public policy: Bridging the disciplinary and epistemological boundaries. *Policy and Society,* Vol. 40, No. 4, 522-544, Doi:10.1080/14494035.2021.1987137

Macmillan, C., (2008). The Application of Neo (Neo)Functionalist Theory to Justice and Home Affairs. *Marmara Journal of European Studies,* Vol 16, No. 1-2, 37-58

Manfield, E. D., (1993). Concentration, Polarity, and the Distribution of Power. *International Studies Quarterly,* Vol. 37, No. 1, 105-128. https://www.jstor.org/stable/2600833,

Martin, F. E., (2005). Analysis of the Concept of Peace in International Relations. *Peace Research*, Vol. 37, No. 2, 45-59, https://www.jstor.org/stable/23607773.

Marullo, S., (1985). The Ideological Nature of Nuclear Deterrence: Some Causes and Consequences. *The Sociological Quarterly,* Vol. 26, No. 3, Special Feature: The Sociology of Nuclear Threat (Autumn, 1985). 311-330, https://www.jstor.org/stable/4106218

Mcglinchey, S., et. al., (2017). Getting Started with International Relations Theory, in Mcglinchey, S., et. al., eds., *International Relations Theory*, England: E International Relations Publishing, ISBN 978-1-910814-19-2 (paperback), ISBN 978-1-910814-20-8 (e-book), pp. 1-13

Mele, C., et. al., (2010). A Brief Review of Systems Theories and their Managerial Applications, Service Science, Vol. 2, No. 1 and 2, 126-135

Meiser, J. W., (2017). Liberalism, in Mcglinchey, S., et. al., eds., *International Relations Theory*, England: E– *International Relations* Publishing, ISBN 978-1-910814-19-2 (paperback), ISBN 978-1-910814-20-8 (e-book),

Morrow, J. D., (2000). Alliance: Why Write Them Down? *Annu. Rev. Polit.*, Vol. 63-83.

Murtezaj, V. Z., (2010). How Has Globalization Shaped the Course of International Relations: Are We Moving Closer or Further Apart? *Workshop on Supplemental Ways for Improving International Stability*, Prishtina, Kosovo, October 27-29, 2010

Narayan, J. and Sealay-Huggins, L., (2017). Whatever happened to the idea of imperialism? *Third World Quarterly,* Vol. 38, No. 11, 2387-2395

Nesimi, H., (2018). Historical context of idealism vs. realism. *Journal of Liberty and International Affairs,* Vol. 4, No. 1, 88-100.

Ojo, O. and Olomu, B., (2021). The Realist Approach to Understanding the State and it's Politics in Nigeria: A Theoretical Analysis. *European Journal of Social Sciences,* Vol. 62, No. 2, 32-37, ISSN 1450-2267, http://www.europeanjournalofsocialsciences.co,/,

O'Reilly, K. P. (2007). Perceiving Rogue States: The Use of the ''Rogue State'' Concept by U.S. Foreign Policy Elites. *Foreign Policy Analysis,* Vol. 3, No. 4, 295-315. Oxford University Press. https://www.jstor.org/stable/24907295.

Oreagba, O. T., et. al., (2021). Capitalizing on Game Theory for Optimal Marketing Decision in Service Industry: Evidence from Telecommunication Industry in Nigeria. *Sage Open,* 1-9, Retrieved from https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/21582440211023199, Date Accessed: October 20th, 2022.

Oren, I., (1998). Conflict Management and Peace Science. *Spring,* Vol. 16, No. 1, 1-29,
https://www.jstor.org/stable/26273646

Ozer, U., (2018). Foreign Policy Analysis and Theoretical Approaches. in Erhan C. and Akdemir, E., (eds.). *Foreign Policy Analysis,* Eskisehir: Anadolu University Press, Faculty of Open Education Publication.

Park, K., (2000). North Korea's Defensive Power and U.S.-North Korea Relations., *Pacific Affairs,* Winter, 2000-2001, Vol. 73, No. 4, Special Issue: Korea in Flux, 535-553. https://www.jstor.org/stable/2672443,

Powell, R., (2002). Bargaining Theory and International Conflict. *Annual Reviews*, Political Science, Vol 5, 1-30.

Reddy P. K. M. and Reddy, C. S., (2015). Global Peace and the Role of the United Nations. *World Affairs: The Journal of International Issues,* Vol. 19, No. 1, (Spring 2015 January – March), 10-19, Kapur Surya Foundation, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/48505134.

Reich, S., 1998). What is Globalization? Four Possible Answers. *Working Paper No.261,* December 1998, Kellogg Institute, The Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies

Rengasamy, D., (2016). The Role of Theory in Social Science Research (With special reference to Business and Management Studies), *International Conference on 'Research avenues in Social Science', Issue 3*, Organized by SNGC, Coimbatore, Retrieved from https://ijariie.com/AdminUploadPdf/The-Role-of-Theory-in-Social-Science-Research-with-special-reference-to-business-and-management Date Accessed: May 30, 2022.

Rummel, R. J., (1979). Understanding Conflict and War: Vol 4: War, Power, Peace, Retrieved from https//:www.hawaii.edu/powerkills/WPP.CHAP2.HTM, Date Accessed: May 31, 2022.

Rzepka, A. and Masurashvili, I., (2014). Globalization in Theory and Practice – The Practice of Globalization. *Conference of Information and Management Sciences*, March 24-28, 2014, The 3rd International Virtual Conference, http://www.ictic.sk.

Sandler T. and Arce, D.G.M., (2003). Terrorism and Game Theory. Simulation and Gaming, Vol. 34, No. 3, Retrieved from https://personal.utdallas.edu/-tms063000/website/Terror_Games.pdf Date Accessed: October 20, 2022.

Schelling, T. C., (1960). *The Strategy of Conflict*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. ISBN 0-674-84031-3 (Paper). Vol. 14, No. 1, 77-92, The International System: Theoretical Essay, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2009557.

Shakir, U., (1983). The Concept and Strategy of Collective Security. *Strategic Studies,* Vol. 7, No. 1, 54-76, https://www.jstor.org/stable/45182685

Snidal, D., (1985). The Game Theory of International Politics. *World Politics,* Vol. 38, No. 1, 25-57, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2010350. Cambridge University Press.

Sousa, R. R. P., (2018). The Context of Conflict Resolution – International Relations and the Peace and Conflict. *Working Paper,* CEsA CSG 164/2018, Lisbon School of Economics and Management.

Spindler, M., (2013). <u>*International Relations: A Self-Study Guide to Theory*</u>, Toronto: Barbara 2w32Budrich Publishers.

Smith, S., (2003). International Relations and international relations: The Links Between Theory and Practice in World Politics, Journal of International Relations and Development, Vol. 6, No. 3, 233-239

Steele, J. L., (1976). Conflict Resolution. *Operational Research Quarterly (1970-1977),* Vol. 27, No. 1, 221-230

StudyCorgi, (2022). Bargaining Theory: A Better Explanation of Why Wars Happen. Retrieved from https://studycorgi.com/bargaining-theory-a-better-explanation-of-why-wars-happen/, Date Accessed: June 22, 2022.

Sun, M., (2014). Balance of Power Theory in Today's International System. *E- International Relations,* 1-5, ISSN 2053-8626.

Tetsuya, S., (2004). Idealism and Realism in the Post-War Foreign Policy Debate in Japan, in Chimni, B. S., et. al., eds., *Asian Yearbook of International Law*, Vol. 9, 79-95.

Theiler, T., (2022). International functionalism and democracy. *European Journal of International Relations,* Vol. 28, No. 2, 312-336. Doi: 10.1177/13540661211073081

Thomas-Fogiel, I., (2017). Is there a conflict between realism and idealism? The origins and structure of an error. *Revue de metaphysique et de morale,* Vol. 3, No. 95, 393-426. ISSN 0035-1571, ISBN 9782130788362, https://www.cairn-int.info/journal-revue-de-metaphysique-et-de-morale-2017-3-page-393.htm.

Tooze, R., (1977). The Progression of International Functionalism. *British Journal of International Studies,* Vol. 3, No. 2, 210-217. https://www.jstor.org/satble/20096803

Usiemure, O. C. and Gbigbidje, D. L., (2018). Realist Theory of International Relations. *The International Scholar Journal of Arts*, Vol. 1, Issue 1, 1-11.

Vandenbosch, A., (1964). The Small States in International Politics and Organization, *The Journal of Politics,* Vol. 26, No. 2, 293-312, The University of Chicago Press, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2127598

Ventura, M. R., (2018). Arms Control and Disarmament: Legitimacy, War, and Peace. *International Studies Honors Projects,* 30, http://digitalcommons.macalester.edu/intlstudies_honors/30

Waltz, K., (1979). *Theory of International Politics*. California: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Inc. Exigencies.

Western, S. D., (2020). Bargaining Power at the Negotiation Table and Beyond. International Negotiation, Vol. 25, 169-200. Available on https://brill.com/view/journals/iner/25/2/article-p169_1.xml?language=en

Yalcin, H. B., (2012). The Concept of ''Middle Power'' and the Recent Turkish Foreign Policy Activism, *Afro Eurasian Studies,* Vol. 1, Issue 1, Spring, 195-213

Zhang, H., (2021). How Game Theory Impact International Relations. *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research,* Vol. 569, Proceedings of the 2021 International Conference on Diversified Education and Social Development (DESD 2021), Atlantis Press.

CONTENTS

MODULE 1   INTRODUCTION TO THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL RELATION

Unit 1   Basis of Theories of International Relations
Unit 2   Relevance of and Relationship between Theory and Practice in International Relations.
Unit 3   Nature of the International Political System
Unit 4   Power distribution in the international political system

UNIT 1   BASIS OF THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Unit Structure

1.1   Introduction
1.2   Learning Outcome
1.3   Background to Theories of International Relations
1.4   European State System as a Model
1.5   World War 1 and the Evolution of Theories of International Relations
1.6   Summary
1.7   References/Further Readings/Web Sources
1.8   Possible Answers to Self-assessment Exercise

1.1   Introduction

Drawing largely from the history of European inter-state system, this module provides a backdrop to theories of International Relations. Contributions of notable political thinkers whose works laid the foundation to the development of theories of International Relations are considered. Landmark events that shaped concepts, hypotheses and theories of International Relations are discussed. Importantly, the module factors in the impact of the First World War in the build-up of theories of International Relations.

1.2   Learning Outcome

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

- discuss the background to the development of theories of International Relations,
- examine the emergence of the European state system as a model in International Relations,
- analyze important global events, especially the First World War, that contributed to the development of theories of International Relations.

1.3   Background to Theories of International Relations

This history of International Relations theory is linked to the history of the European states system characterized by increasing spate of interdependence and interstate relations occasioned largely by the onset of the industrial revolution. According to Spindler (2013), inter-state theoretical assumptions arose from the need to provide scientific tools of analysis required to describe and explain intersections between the International Relations of states and organized hypothetical works on motivations, dynamics and logics underlying the behaviors of international actors. The rise of states and the emergence of states system (international society) is at the core of the history of political thought and theories of International Relations. Rising prominence of inter-state relations induced the quest for the exploration of theoretical assumptions that could meaningfully incorporate and project the social relevance of interdependency among states.

During the early sixteen century, political thinkers like Niccolo Machiavelli wrote concerning how a state could survive and cope with external threats, pointing attention to states' behavior in International Relations. By the mid-seventeenth century, the principle of state sovereignty which was an aftermath of the end of the 1618-1648 (Thirty Years) war – the Peace of Westphalia – had been established. Around 1651, Thomas Hobbes' work on the *Leviathan* had gained global attention and specifically encouraged discussions on the inter-state relations of sovereign states in the international system as a replica of the type of relations observable among individuals prior to the organization of state systems. Hobbes' perception of a state of war and egoistic politics later became foundational for the formulation of International Relations theories beginning with Realism. Thomas Hobbes was the first modern political philosopher to describe International Relations as anarchical. His

description of the international system as one in a ''state of nature'' impacted heavily on future development of theories of International Relations (Griffiths and O'Callaghan, 2002).

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

What necessitated the study of theories of International Relations? Not more than 4 minutes to answer this question.

1.4   European State System as a Model

From the mid-seventeenth century to the nineteenth century, a survey on the European states system showed increased interstate relations and diplomatic activities including the summoning of the Congress of Vienna (1814–15) where the various European states upheld the idea of balance of power in the aftermaths of the Napoleonic wars. The Congress of Vienna was the first of a series of international meetings that came to be known as the Concert of Europe. The Concert of Europe's attempt to forge a balance of power in Europe helped to maintain international peace and security for about a hundred years (1815-1914) as it collapsed only after the outbreak of World War 1. Beyond political, security and diplomatic contacts during times of war in Europe, increasing interdependence of states in areas of economic exchange grew in importance. Adam Smith's work on *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776) and David Ricardo's study; *On the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation* (1817) also provided useful theoretical insights to learning and understanding the concept and gains of international division of labor in inter-state relations and further integration of national markets.

Signs and threats of war became more noticeable at the period of increased interdependence of inter-state activities. Little wonder that the 19th century which witnessed massive expansion in industrialization activities coincided with the emergence of international peace movements after the Napoleonic Wars in Europe and later in the US. Peace movements comprising a collection of private citizens drawn from different social classes and groups were formed with the major of objectives of downgrading predatory foreign policy tendencies of states in the international system. Discouraging expansionist military behaviors in the interaction of state and promoting equality of opportunity and freedom of International Relations were among the goals of Peace Societies that emerged. 'Foundations such as the US's Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the World Peace Foundation, both founded in 1910, were powerful actors that contributed to the establishment of International Relations as an academic discipline after World War 1' (Spindler, 2013: 20). Following the Paris Peace Conference

of 1919, there was an urgent need to systematically interrogate reasons behind state rivalries and unhealthy competitions among nations in the international system. As the search for scientific inquiry to explain inter-state conflicts gathered momentum especially in the US and Britain, private organizations such as the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the World Peace Foundation helped to mobilize funds and supports for the establishment of chairs of International Relations to boost the study of inter-state conflicts.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

What was the major contribution of the Concert of Europe to International Relations?
Not more than 4 minutes to answer this question.

1.5   World War 1 and the Evolution of Theories of International Relations

One great lesson of WW 1 was that convergence of thoughts and the conclusion that no more should matters of war and peace be left to politicians and diplomats. A conscious and systematic study of the causes of war and conditions necessary for peace became a vital ingredient to helping politics pursue global peace. In all, it is important to view the rise of International Relations theory within the parameters of two crucial developments. One was the historical process of state formation and processes of centralization of power in a Sovereign. Transformation of political organizations from what they were during Middle Ages to becoming modern states was essential in rooting the theoretical basis of International Relations theories. Second was the development of states system in Europe. As soon as centralized sovereign states surfaced, the need to ensure the security and welfare of national citizens in an emerging inter-state network became more pronounced just as it was for increased economic gains from an interdependent states system. Intensifying global trade, transportation, security and other new external contacts rose almost simultaneously with growth in more systematic visions, political thoughts and theoretical reflections in International Relations.

Self-Assessment Exercise 3

What was the greatest impact of World War 1 on the development of theories of International Relations?
Not more than 4 minutes to answer this question.

1.6   Summary

The unit examined trajectories in the development of theories of International Relations. In the study, the European state system served as the bedrock in the evaluation and articulation of political thoughts that gave rise to theoretical postulations on interdependence and inter-state relations across the globe. Writings of prominent political thinkers like Niccolo Machiavelli, Thomas Hobbes, Adams Smith and David Ricardo were seen to have made useful contributions in this field. Lastly, major inter-states events such as the 1618-1648 (Thirty Years) religious war in Europe which led to the Peace of Westphalia, the Congress of Vienna (1815) and the First World War were evaluated as essential historical legacies in the emergence of theories of International Relations.

1.7   References/Further Readings/Web Sources

Griffiths, M. and O'Callaghan, T., (2002). *International Relations: The Key Concepts*. London and New York: Routledge.

Spindler, M., (2013). *International Relations: A Self-Study Guide to Theory*, Toronto: Barbara 2w32Budrich Publishers.

1.8   Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise

Self-Assessment Exercise 1
The study of theories of International Relations was necessitated by the need to provide scientific tools of analysis required to describe and explain motivations, dynamics and logics underlying the behaviors of international actors and events taking place in the international system.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2
The Concert of Europe's balance of power helped to maintain international peace and security for about a hundred years (1815-1914)

Self-Assessment Exercise 3
World War 1 led to the consensus that no more should matters of war and peace be left to politicians and diplomats. Consequently, the scientific study of the causes of war and conditions necessary for peace became a vital ingredient to helping politics pursue global peace.

UNIT 2   RELEVANCE OF AND RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THEORY AND PRACTICE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Unit Structure

2.1   Introduction
2.2   Learning Outcome
2.3   Meaning, Importance and Main Features of Theories of International Relations
2.4   Separating Theories of International Relations from Power Politics
2.5   Linking Theories and Practice in International Relations
       2.5.1   Evolving Nature of Theories of International Relations
2.6   Summary
2.7   References/Further Readings/Web Sources
2.8   Possible Answers to Self-assessment Exercises

2.1   Introduction

Unit Two defines and explains theory as well as its importance in the study of International Relations. It also explains theories of International Relations and the basic assumptions that characterize them. The unit provides insight on how theories of International Relations serve as guiding framework to analyzing empirical scenarios that play out in the international system. Effort was made to highlight some risks that confront students of Political Science in the use of theories of International Relations. The risk of not letting the influence of personal values, history, morality as well as the dominance of worldviews of prominent personalities and policy makers distort or misrepresent the essence of theories on International Relations was stressed. Emphasizing neutrality and detachment from environmental influences and personal sentiments are stressed as a way to guarantee the provisioning of reliable theories of International Relations. Lastly, Unit Two points out the necessity for the review and repositioning of theories of International Relations in the light of growing complexities of the international system and changing behaviors of world actors.

2.2   Learning Outcomes

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

- discuss the meaning of theories of International Relations.
- evaluate the relevance of theories of International Relations in the analyses of interactions of states and non-state actors on the world stage.
- analyze major safeguards against prejudice in the application of theories of international relations.

2.3   Meaning, Importance and Main Features of Theories of International Relations

Theory is applicable in all academic disciplines and fundamental to understanding social and behavioral issues in International Relations. It gives insight into any phenomenon selected for investigation and also enhances efforts towards organizing observable ideas and realities. Theory can be described as a 'body of interrelated proposition, statement and concepts subjected to empirical verification' (Rengasamy, 2016: 121). It can also be understood as a set of ideas based on general principles arranged to harmonize thoughts, explain and justify a situation (Abumere, 2017). The importance of theory in the Social Sciences manifest in its ability to proffer better perspectives to handling social practices and improving social behaviors. Theories provide relatively comprehensive conceptual clarifications to complex circumstances through an organized framework of hypotheses developed to provide verifiable contexts on critical situations.

Broadly speaking, theories of International Relations refer to 'traditions of speculation about relations between states which focus on the struggle for power, the nature of international society and the possibility of a world community' (Burchill, et. al., 2005: 12). According to Donnelly, 'Theory is artful abstraction. … Theories are beacons, lenses or filters that direct us to what, according to the theory, is essential for understanding some part of the world' (2005: 30). In another path, we can think of theories of International Relations as 'the body of general propositions that are advanced in relation to political relations between states in world politics (Jurgensen, 2021). Theories of International Relations embody harmonized assumptions that help to build useable frameworks within which analytical perspectives necessary to facilitate the study, interpretation, understanding, description and prediction of events taking place on the world stage are developed.

Theories of International Relations can be seen as social models, paradigm and schools of thought which reflect a description of how the international system ought to be conceptualized and also expositions on preferable methods to explaining and predicting international activities. Theories create vital bridges and platforms that smoothen academic intersections that facilitate linking up existing hypotheses with emerging empirical phenomena. With theories it is easier to socio-scientifically test and measure the international practices as well as behaviors of states (sovereign nation-states) and non-state actors (transnational corporations, international organizations, international non-governmental organizations, global social movements) and subsequently periscope the likelihood of future occurrences.

How best to manage empirical scenarios that constantly unfold in the comity of nations with a view to addressing multidimensional complexities of the seemingly anarchical global system constitute the major attention of theories of International Relations. Theories of International Relations attempt to sieve and glean abstractions extracted from the interaction of actors and dynamic forces that appear to dominate and drive the direction of international politics, international economy and international law.

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

Define theories of International Relations.
Not more than 3 minutes to answer this question.

2.4   Separating Theories of International Relations from Power Politics

Knowledge production by the academia and research institutions in the field of International Relations are critical in shaping the guiding principles utilized by state actors, government and politicians in their actual engagements in foreign relations. However, the degrees of neutrality, translucence and isolation of theories of International Relations have come under strenuous scrutiny. There are schools of thought questioning the reliability of models and paradigms allegedly promoted by hegemonic and influential groups or interests whose authorities are overbearing. The speculation is that students of Political Science and International Relations may be subjected to the risk of thinking, discussing and accepting the agenda and worldview of leading state actors and politicians as the correct picture of global politics.

It should be the discretion of each student to decide whether or not theories of International Relations are built to reflect and support specific and/or dominant social force (Smith, 2003). However, International

Relations theorists and scholars must have to accept that elements of personal values, private sentiments and issues of ethics and morality are always popping up in academic environments as they are integral components in processes of academic enquiry. The extent to which social scientists are able to detach influences of their personality and private principles and concentrate academic energies on investigating facts in order to generate theories with high percentage of practical implications for the international system remains unknown. Anything short of the above would imply that International Relations theories are unavoidably enmeshed in political games governed by elites of the state and thus demonstrating that there is nothing like separation of theory from power politics of leading state actors and also that power and knowledge production are in practice intertwined.

For those influenced by Marxism, theories of International Relations have to focus on the behavior of social forces, class relations, states and on world order if it must understand trends that arise in the interplay of global hegemony and the accompanying counter-hegemonic movements. Those within this school of thought are largely interested in the global power-play and the outcomes of complex interface between dominant and minor classes at work in the international society. They raise doubts about the neutrality of theories of International Relations because theory 'is always for someone, always for some purpose … all knowledge claims about the world are made in the context of power. (Smith, 2003: 235)'. Smith reinforces this position with reference to the relationship between the discipline of International Relations in the 1930s and the interests of the dominant powers of that era, the U.K. and the U.S. as well as the relationship between the overriding themes of International Relations since 1945 and the foreign policy agenda of the U.S.

Self-Assessment Exercise2

> Why is it important to delink theories of International Relations from power politics?
> Not more than 4 minutes to answer this question.

2.5   Linking Theories and Practice in International Relations

The interplay of theory and practice in International Relations finds expression in the nature of accessibility, exchange and interaction between theoretical models produced by social scientists and their utility value in the agenda of state politicians responsible for foreign policy decisions. The probability that models sold to politicians would be of value and use has no guarantees. As Smith mentioned 'the injunction to speak truth to power implies that those in power are listening. It is not obvious that power wants to hear from academia unless it is saying what

power wants to hear. Nor is it at all clear that politicians are listening for new ideas or novel interpretations … they look through it and pick the mix of insights and ideas that suit them by helping them to achieve their existing policy preferences' (Smith, 2003: 236-237). A major outcome of the failure to constructively bridge the gap between theory and practice in International Relations is that social scientists are unable to focus on priorities or emphasize pressing problems considering the risk they might clash with the agenda setting of state elites and politicians. In such a scenario, it becomes extremely difficult for theorists to isolate personal values and sentiments from their reading and interpretation of events, thereby placing theory and practice on distinct spheres of study.

Theories gain relevance and prominence if they are able to make generalizations, provide operational framework that serves as necessary toolboxes required to explain international practices and predict possible outcomes of global events. There are many theories of International Relations and none can be said to contain all the integral ingredients adequate enough to present a single and globally endorsed standard approach to interpreting world events. Instead, what obtains is that existing theories of International Relations are often interconnected or built into various compartments which are ultimately aimed at providing general answers to questions bordering on actions and inactions of international actors and practices. By extension, there is no one total or perfect theory of International Relations. The emergence and broader acceptance of any social science theory depends largely on the capability of the theory to prevail in debates with other contending and alternative models seeking attention. Theories usually derive strength from widespread or long practiced systems of thought and beliefs (Burchill, et. al., 2005).

A reasonable level of knowledge of theories of International Relations empowers us to understand operations and events that occur in the international system and subsequently helps us to imagine, explain and also predict the world we live in. With adequate awareness of existing theories of International Relations, we are able to unbundle the trajectories and complexities of the world political system and without much difficulty simplify what appears to be a complicated global arena engulfed in crises, conflicts and wars. By implication, theories of International Relations provide road maps that guide our quest to seek and make interpretations of the complex network of events that take place in international politics and relations (Mcglinchey, et. al., 2017).

Some of the major ingredients and tools required to activate and organize theories of International Relations include variables such as states, human population, national governments, organizations, ideas and societal norms, peoples' history, gender issues and relations, economic conditions

of states, national territories and geographies, etc. It is expected that theorists and Social Scientists would utilize these tools to create or design a simplified, understandable and workable generalizations upon which it become easier to read, analyze and interpret global happenings. In other words, theories of International Relations provide us with methodological approaches, tools of analysis and paradigms necessary to explain and even predict occurrences that unfold as nations engage in diverse forms of interaction of both cooperation and conflicts in the world system.

Self-Assessment Exercise3

There are many theories of International Relations and none can be said to contain all integral ingredients adequate enough to present a single and globally endorsed standard approach to interpreting world events.

Is the above statement true or false?
Not more than 2 minutes to answer this question.

2.5.1 Evolving Nature of Theories of International Relations

It is important to mention that International Relations theories evolve. Theories are products of conjectures, and are only viable if or when the conjectures are confirmed (Abumere, 2017). As the complexity of the international system and intricacy of activities of states grow, the greater the need to review, adjust and advance more International Relations theories in order to make available corresponding paradigm, models and approaches necessary to situate and explain the growing density of states' behaviors and major innovations across the globe. From reliance on the use of philosophical traditions and historical illustrations to scientific approaches, International Relations experts have always made efforts to provide methodological frameworks for the analyses of international events as well as answers fundamental to generalizing perceived patterns of activities in the international system. Thus, since the 1960s, there has been a remarkable growth in the number of scientific methodologies introduced to enhance and build new theories of International Relations and develop higher levels of predictive accuracy in the reading and forecasting of global phenomena (Burchill, et. al., 2005).

A new theory could emerge for the sole purpose of replacing an old theory that is no longer relevant or reliable. Prior to the 5th century BC, humanity was meant to accept that planet earth was flat in shape. This theory which held sway for a long time in human history has been proven unreliable and thus substituted as creativity in science and technology has enhanced human understanding of the earth. Similarly, the hitherto popular Malthusian Theory regarding the adverse implications of rising human population and diminishing food supply have largely been countered as

some states (Western countries in particular) have proven their capacity to increase food and resource supply while successfully managing growth in human population.

Furthermore, at the end of the First World War, many commentators, scholars and analysts began to argue intensively against the reigning and dominant assumptions upon which states involved themselves in power relations. The human and material cost of WW. 1 was colossal and thus generated much contention in which old speculations and ideas of power politics were challenged and massively discredited. Thereafter, the search for the replacement of some previously accepted theories gained momentum. For example, the thought that war could be prevented and peace ensured if the realists' emphasis on the concept and importance of balance of power were jettisoned and swapped with more progressive options like the establishment of a system of collective security and strengthening international laws. Upon such arguments and several others which leveraged mainly on the 19th century revolutionary enlightenment that boosted the believe that human beings are creative, reasonable and could therefore make progress by developing common goals capable of satisfying shared interests, liberalism rapidly drew a huge global attention. However, in spite of its rapid emergence, prominence and dominance, liberalism was later confronted with a myriad of criticisms. Foremost in the list of criticism against liberals is reflected in their imaging as idealists and utopians. Some assessments pictured liberalism and its basic assumptions as overtly too simplistic (Burchill, et. al., 2005). Whenever there arises a significant shift from what was previously known, acceptable and practiced in international politics, the need to review existing theories and develop novel models of analyses of international operations become cogent. The 1960s and 70s saw the development and proliferation of newer theories and approaches to the study of International Relations in an era preoccupied with tremendous global security threats, nuclear threats of war, arms race. Rising military tension of the period paved way for the rise of subfields like strategic studies as well as widening in the scope of predictive state behaviors and foreign policy analyses.

Regardless of challenges that accompany the emergence of new and sometimes competing theories of International Relations and which often evokes disinterestedness among students who may prefer direct study of global events (empiricism) without the theories, it is important to emphasize that theories are a prerequisite for a better understanding and interpretation of international events. Armed with sufficient theories of International Relations, a student stands a better chance to make constructive arguments and contextualized them with relevant case studies. Theories are the fundamental toolkits required for effective

analyses of International Relations and reliable forecasting of future global occurrences.

Self-Assessment Exercise 4

Is it appropriate to state that theories of International Relations are static?
Not more than 4 minutes to answer this question.

2.6   Summary

Unit Two used diverse illustrations to define and explain theories of International Relations as well as the underlying features of theories of International Relations. The evolutionary nature of theories of International Relations was extensively demonstrated. The unit also established the interface between theories of International Relations and the actual practices of actors in the international system in relation to their motivations, behaviors, actions and inactions. It also provided ideas on how Political Science students can avoid the adverse impacts of either personal bias or other external variables on their usage of theories of International Relations.

2.7   References/Further Readings/Web Sources

Abumere, F. A., (2017). Context as the Principal Determinant of the Behavior of States in Global Politics, *Global Journal of Political Science and Administration*, Vol.5, No.1, pp.15-27.

Burchill, S., et. al., (2005). *Theories of International Relations, Third Edition*, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Donnelly, J., (2005). Realism, in Burchill, S., et. al., Theories of International Relations, Third Edition, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Jurgensen, K. E., (2021). Introduction: The Liberal International Theory Tradition in Context. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-30-52643-6_1, Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/348223004_introduction_The_Liberal_International_Theory_tradition_in_Context, Date Accessed: October 28, 2022.

Mcglinchey, S., et. al., (2017). Getting Started with International Relations Theory, in Mcglinchey, S., et. al., eds., *International Relations Theory*, England: E International Relations Publishing, ISBN 978-1-910814-19-2 (paperback), ISBN 978-1-910814-20-8 (e-book), pp. 1-13

Rengasamy, D., (2016). The Role of Theory in Social Science Research (With special reference to Business and Management Studies), *International Conference on 'Research avenues in Social Science', Issue 3*, Organized by SNGC, Coimbatore, Retrieved from https://ijariie.com/AdminUploadPdf/The-Role-of-Theory-in-Social-Science-Research-with-special-reference-to-business-and-management Date Accessed: May 30, 2022.

Smith, S., (2003). International Relations and international relations: The Links Between Theory and Practice in World Politics, Journal of International Relations and Development, Vol. 6, No. 3, 233-239

2.8   Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise

Self-Assessment Exercise 1
Theories of International Relations can be defined as bodies and models of speculation about relations between states which focus on the struggle for power, the nature of international society and the possibility of a world community.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2
It is important to separate processes of constructing theories of International Relations from power politics in order to prevent the influence of unnecessary personal sentiments, cultural prejudices and undue political games of state elites from undermining the expected level of neutrality of theories of inter-state activities.

Self-Assessment Exercise 3
True.

Self-Assessment Exercise 4
False

UNIT 3   NATURE   OF   THE   INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SYSTEM

Unit Structure

3.1   Introduction
3.2   Learning Outcome
3.3   Cooperation and Conflict in the International System
3.4   Sovereignty and Anarchy in the International System
3.5   Elements of Cooperation in the International System
3.6   Summary
3.7   References/Further Readings/Web Sources
3.8   Possible Answers to Self-assessment Exercise

3.1   Introduction

The unit identifies and discusses the nature and form of the international system. It describes the character of actors – state and non-state actors that are engaged in operational activities of the international system. The existence of cooperation and conflict in a world system that is generally characterized as anarchical and without a central governing agency and institution is explained. There are sovereign states that control the internal affairs of their various territorial jurisdictions and seek to maximize their national interests from their global setting. Realism, liberalism and other theoretical traditions have been developed to describe and interpret reasons behind the motivations and behaviors of actors in the international system. Regardless of the chaotic nature of the international system, there are essential structures like the United Nations and other international organizations as well as treaties that are established among actors to ensure cooperation and harmony in the international system.

3.2   Learning Outcome

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

- analyze the international system based on its characterizations of cooperation and conflict.
- discuss notions of sovereignty and anarchy in the international system.
- evaluate and discuss the place of existing structures such as international laws, trade treaties, the United Nations and other international organizations in the international system.

3.3   Cooperation and Conflict in the International System

A system refers to a set of components linked together with special relations and functions in which each structural unit functions in collaboration with others to pursue and achieve common goals. Expectedly, various components combine in harmony of function and purpose to enable a system exist as a whole and under the condition that the integral elements are balanced since a loss of balance would result to a collapse or disintegration of the system. The international political system comprises of actors – state and non-state actors whose operations are believed to take place in a world environment that lacks any one central authority superior to the various component units (Krejci, 2006). Some schools of thought hold the anarchical nature of the international political system accountable for conflicts, chaos and wars taking place across the globe.

In spite of relative peace and signs of cooperation in some regions of the world, violence is endemic and remains a constant feature of global politics and International Relations. According to Rummel (1979), the international society has two faces: one is that of conflict, struggles and dialectic of power while the other is best described in terms of equilibrium sustained by societal norms and structures. The international system is riven, disorderly and also bound together by violent conflicts. It is pictured as a complex of overlapping and nested structures replete with issues of conflict, power balancing, change and transformation. The international society is a place of changing configurations of power and balancing.

The international political system is generally considered as anarchical and this connotes disorderliness, chaos and lawlessness in the world system. Thomas Hobbes is said to be the first modern political philosopher to discuss and define the International Relations of states as anarchical (Griffiths and O'Callaghan 2002). Hobbes' description of what he referred to as the 'international state of nature' has had profound impact on the trajectories of cooperation and conflict in International Relations. In his analogy of the state of nature from a domestic prism, Hobbes argued on reasons why rational persons should desire to live or cohabit under a recognized supreme authority rather than exist in a world void of order. Without order, there is chaos, tension, uncertainty and insecurity. The state of nature is one of misery in which human communities live in perpetual fear and constant struggle for survival and yet they are incapable of providing for their own security. Under such precarious security atmosphere, life is nasty, brutish and short because time and energy is enormously expended on unhealthy intergroup rivalry,

violence and unending clashes (Griffiths and O'Callaghan 2002). During the period of the state of nature – time when state systems had not evolved – the war of all against all and the law of the jungle were characteristic. The best way out, in Hobbes calculation, would be for rational individuals to accept to give up their natural freedom and private rights to an absolute ruler – the Leviathan – in anticipation for collective security, protection and order (Griffiths and O'Callaghan 2002).

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

Discuss anarchy as a major feature of the international system
Not more than 5 minutes to answer this question.

3.4 Sovereignty and Anarchy in the International System

The world system anarchical considering the absence of any recognized supreme leader, power or institution saddled with the task of making and enforcing international laws. Thus, describing the international political system as anarchical evokes the idea that the global frame is without a ruler, governing rules and central authority. Of course, the international society is void of any recognizable central authority empowered with constitutional responsibilities or saddled with the task of maintaining peace and order in the interest of all humanity. The global system is full of sovereign states, and heterogeneous national groups which are autonomous and not bound together by any supranational power.

Sovereign states within the international society exercise legitimate control over their territories. They can make, enforce and interpret their own laws depending on the nature of their own constitutions and are not answerable to any extra-territorial person, higher authority or external institution. Because the international system lacks a central government with a monopoly of power, the component states feel a sense of insecurity.

Owing to the individual responsibility of sovereign states to provide for the security and welfare of their national populations, it becomes easier to understand why each state must do everything possible to survive in a porous and self-help global environment (Griffiths and O'Callaghan 2002). States depends on themselves and to some extent on alliances they are able to form to protect their nationalities. States are supposed to choose alliances to enhance their security and do so at a minimum cost to their own autonomy (Ansell and Weber, 1999: 81). Each state will on its own discretion and decision move to correct or right any perceived injustice meted out on it. Incidentally, the realists' reliance on self-help, which resonates the popular security dilemma confronting each individual state, reinforces the choice and disposition towards resorting to violence

and maximum force and sometimes outright war in a bid get what is considered desirable.

Liberalists have been able to challenge the long-held realists' tradition of describing the international political system as anarchical. Though, liberals acknowledge the anarchical nature of the international society, they decry the realists' notion of what they perceive as overt exaggeration of the effects of such anarchy on the behavior, actions and inactions of state actors. As highlighted earlier, the international system is a space of changing configuration of powers and continuous accession into new alliances and pursuit of balance of power. State and non-state actors on the world stage act within existing structures of expectations undergirded by previously established equilibrium and power balancing. Some of the structures exist in diverse forms; some forms are intuitive and even unknowingly practiced by international actors (Rummel, 1979).

Nevertheless, in International Relations, many of the structures are known and formalized with some involving written agreements and signing of treaties. International organizations like the United Nations constitute a notable structure helping to formulate international laws, define the rights and obligations of members and set in motion a description of a preferred global order. With the nestling of existing structures within the global order, the world system acquires the image of an international space where the formalization and balancing of varied interests and capabilities also take place. The quest for a global order is visible in the continuation of International Relations of states and non-state actors. International Relations depict the existence of an exchange society replete with negotiation and bargaining between and among nations, international trade, commercial treaties, tourism, capital flows student-study migrations, lending and borrowing and all manner of exchanges.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

Relying on realism, analyze the place of state sovereignty in the international system.
Not more than 5 minutes to answer this question.

3.5   Elements of Cooperation in the International System

Contrary to arguments illustrating the anarchical nature of the international system, there are indications that the world system is not so disorderly. For example, states are recognized by international law which acknowledges the rights to sovereignty, independence and equality of states – a major factor which itself is also limiting the chances of achieving a world government. The structure of the international political system reflects a model of the states' arrangement made up of uneven

power potential. Thus, although power anarchy is a general and constant feature of the world political system, the structural distribution of power is its concrete variable (Krejci, 2006). In an international society championed by models of libertarians, the U.N. with its executive and legislative organs and the ICJ standing (the judiciary) is looked upon to represent and give direction to a world order. International organizations like the WHO, IMF, and the WTO help to foster global governance. Peace keeping and enforcement operations are authorized by the UNSC to strengthen efforts towards boosting world peace and security. A number of international military interventions have been made in the Middle East and African regions (Rummel, 1979), including the 2011 UN's authorization of military intervention led by the United States and its Western allies in Libya. Having lobbied and won the support of Russia and China, the West garnered legitimacy for its military action in Libya by evoking the UNSC Resolution of 1973 (Liu, 2013).

Our analyses so far do not seek to obliterate the existence and place of impositions and use of coercion in the international system. Many times, we find the use of economic tools such as foreign aid, trade wars and economic sanctions, debt cancellation and forgiveness in compelling unwilling states to conform with certain behaviors. Beyond the example of pressing and far-reaching economic sanctions mounted on Russia by the US and its Western allies owing to Russia's invasion of Ukraine in February, 2022, there are multiple scenarios depicting penchant to utilize coercion or threats in order to extract obedience from other states in the international system. For example, regardless of the reality of the impacts of geopolitical tension, quest for cleaner sources of energy, adoption of new technology and problems of oversupply and decline in demands for oil, the use of state power by the Oil Producing Exporting Countries to establish a monopolistic cartel with enormous powers to control, determine and raise oil prices cannot be ignored.

Overall, it is vital to indicate that the international system is open to participation by states and non-state actors, voluntarily and also on grounds of equal operations. Quest for dominance is visible and political competition is always going on as it were during the era of the Cold War when the western military alliance of the NATO and the military network of forces co-opted by the USSR were strategically pitched against each other. Similarly, economic and political rivalries grew between capitalist and socialist international forces. International democracy movements oppose totalitarian states, authoritarian communist forces and anti-democracy movements.
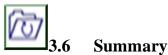
On a more critical assessment, one could opine that, as with incidents of violent conflicts and wars, the unpredictability and anarchical nature of the international system cut across only specific areas of International

Relations and over a given period of time. On the other hand, much of International Relations encompasses observable patterns and is therefore susceptible to predictions and expectations. There are diplomatic rules and regulations which guide the interactions of states and ambassadors make representation based on established diplomatic codes. International treaties are signed and both states and non-state actors operate within agreed limits. Global trade flourishes because trends in world commercial markets are forecast. Inter-state travels are organized except in situations where illegal migrants sidestep state immigration laws. Of course, even when states engage in activities capable of inducing wars, such behaviors are also predictable. In fact, International Relations and activities in the global arena are not really more disorderly, anarchical and unpredictable than situations of normlessness, chaos and insecurity that obtain in many of the sovereign states themselves (Rummel, 1979).

Regardless of the divergences that appear in the above analyses and exposition of the nature and organization of the international political system, it is at the discretion of a student of Political Science and International Relations to examine and determine the actual picture of the global society as well as the character of relations noticeable among international actors. There are opinions stressing that International Relations comprise majorly a world system of interaction of states and non-state actors in which the operation of a limited government serves to guarantee the protection of international law and the security of the comity of states. The international system is made up of independent actors who are, largely for reasons of abundance and scarcity of human and material resource, drawn to each other for purposes of exchange. However, it must be admitted that the 21st century is characterized by rapid changes in International Relations. Considering the features of the existing international system including rising multipolarity, diffusion of power among states and non-state actors (multinational companies, transnational crime organizations, terrorist groups, hackers-networks, etc.), increasing importance of regional organizations, relative weakening of Western nations, new centers of power and other factors, activities of international actors have acquired new outlooks (Gorodnia, 2018).

Self-Assessment Exercise3

Analyze cooperation as a major feature of the international system.
Not more than 5 minutes to answer this question.

3.6   Summary

Unit 3 has examined the existence of actors, both state and non-state actors, in an international system generally viewed as anarchical. It also evaluated the side-by-side manifestations of elements of cooperation and conflicts in the world arena. The importance of structures like the United Nations and economic ties among actors were illuminated.

3.7   Reference/Further Readings/Web Sources

Ansell, C. K. and Weber, S., (1999). Organizing International Politics: Sovereign and Open   Systems, International Political Science Review, Vol. 20, No. 1, pp. 73-93

Gorodnia, (2018). Major Features of the 21st Century International System from Ukraine's Perspective, in Kordonska, O. and Romaniuk R., (eds.), *Modern Geopolitics as a Challenge for International Security,* Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, Lviv-Olsztyn,   192,   13-21.   Retrieved   from https://elibrary.ivinas.gov.ua/3537/1/Majorfeatures_Gorodnia.pdf . Date Accessed: October 6, 2022.

Griffiths, M. and O'Callaghan, T., (2002). International Relations: The Key Concepts. London and New York: Routledge.

Krejci, O., (2006). *International Politics*, Vol. 1: Global Political System, Faculty of PoliticalnScience and International Relations, Matej Bel University, Banska Bystrica.

Liu, Y., (2013). On the Great Power Intervention in the Middle East Upheaval and Political Trend in the Middle East, *Journal of Middle East and Islamic Studies (in Asia),* Vol. 7, No 2, 1-34, https://doi.org/10.1080/19370679.2013.12023221

Rummel, R. J., (1979). Understanding Conflict and War: Vol 4: War, Power, Peace, Retrieved from https//:www.hawaii.edu/powerkills /WPP.CHAP2.HTM, Date Accessed: May 31, 2022.

3.8   Possible Answers to Self-assessment Exercise

Self-Assessment Exercise 1
Anarchy is a major feature of the international system considering that violent conflict, chaos and wars take place across the globe largely on account that the world political environment lacks any one central authority superior to the various component units. Anarchy can also thrive in the international system because of the self-help disposition of actors who do not share the idea of global cooperation but believe in using whatever means possible to pursue their interests.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2
According to realism, sovereign states exercise legitimate control over their national territories and the international system lack any recognized central government with a monopoly of power, to direct the component states. This authority-gap in the international system create feelings of insecurity among sovereign states. Consequently, realists believe that sovereign states should do all within their power to survive or achieve their national interest.

Self-Assessment Exercise 3
Cooperation exists in the international system because states are recognized by international law which acknowledges the rights to sovereignty and independence and equality of states. The operation of the UN is also symbolic owing to the participation of states to its global activities.

The UN is expected to represent and give direction to a world order. Also, international organizations like the WHO, IMF, the WTO provide administrative functions and structures of global governance.

UNIT 4   POWER   DISTRIBUTION   IN   THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SYSTEM

Unit Structure

4.1   Introduction
4.2   Learning Outcome
4.3   Westphalian Treaty and Equality of States
4.4   From Superpowers, Great powers, Middle Powers to Weak Powers
4.5   The Polarity Model of Power Distribution in the International System
4.6   Summary
4.7   References/Further Readings/Web Sources
4.8   Possible Answers to Self-assessment Exercise

4.1   Introduction

Since the Treaty of Westphalia – the peace accord signed in 1648 to end the thirty years war (1618-1648) which killed about eight million Europeans during the Holy Roman empire – sovereign states exist on the premise of equality of states, not minding variations in their resource and power capabilities. But beyond this theoretical abstraction, differences in power capability imply that their probability to achieving their national goals is not the same. Differentials in power capacity have culminated to taxonomies of power stratifications in the international system – superpowers, great powers, middle powers and small (weak) powers. In another dimension, power distribution in the international system could also be analyzed through polarity-lens – multipolarity, bipolarity and unipolarity – three forms of balance of power arrangement.

4.2   Learning Outcomes

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

• analyze and explain reasons for the variations in the principles of the Westphalia Treaty and the actual existence of unequal relations of states in the international system.
• discuss power distribution among states from the angle of power-polarities – multi-polarity, bi-polarity and unipolarity.
• evaluate differences in state-power based on concepts of superpowers, great powers, middle powers and weak powers in the international system.

4.3   Westphalian Treaty and Equality of States

A major outcome of the Westphalian system was the recognition of the legal equality of states with regards to reciprocal respect for each other's sovereignty status. Till date, every country in the UNGA has one vote each regardless of actual differentials in power capability. Each state determines its internal laws, constitutional provisions as well as the framing of the aims and objectives of its foreign policy. By implication, sovereign states are not under any obligation or compulsion to recognize the supremacy of supranational authorities and cannot be compelled to submit their national responsibilities to any external organizations.

But in spite of the freedom and choice of states on how to pursue the realization of each state's national interest and foreign policy goals, differences in power capability implies that their probability to achieving national goals are not the same. As such, the condition of power inequality in the international political system is established. Clearly, power stratification in the structure of the international political system is a derivative of the difference in power potentials. From superpowers, great powers, middle powers to weak powers, the international political system is composed of states operating on varied layers of strength and their possibilities are divergent in terms of what they can obtain (Krejci, 2006).

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

In line with the Westphalia Treaty, discuss equality of states in connection with power capability.
Not more than 5 minutes to answer this question.

4.4   From Superpowers, Great powers, Middle Powers to Small Powers

The world's population could be divided into political entities called states which vary in size and powers. States have been classified as first, second, third and even fourth-class powers and also as small powers, great powers and superpower states. However, there is no easy criteria for the classification of state powers across the globe. Size alone, whether of population or geographical space, is not a conclusive parameter. Prior to the end of the Second World War, Italy was recognized as a great power. On the other hand, Brazil, with its great population and geographical size, was not recognized as a great power. Again, 'India, occupying a sub-continent and with a population more than twice as large as that of the US and double that of Russia, is not accorded the status (Vandenbosch, 1964: 293)' of a great power. Some of the elements which determine state power

such as geographical location and size, manpower and natural resources, can be fairly accurately measured, but other factors like technical proficiency, national psychology, culture and political institutions are qualitative and also variable.

In the 15th century Europe, the Mayor of Milan divided the world into three types of states – the *grandissime* (empires) which may be called great powers or superpowers, *mezano* (middle powers), and *Piccioli* (small powers) (Yalcin, 2012). The superpowers can be referred to as state powers that have global agenda as well as the resource-capacity to pursue their international goals. A superpower is a state with a dominant position characterized by its extensive ability to exert influence or project power on a global scale. This is done through a combined means of economic, military, technological, political, diplomatic, cultural and soft power. Superpower terminology became more prominent after WW 2. In the Cold War era which followed the end of WW 2, two superpowers emerged – the US and the SU. After the Cold War, the US stood as the only superpower as the SU collapsed and Russia was unable to maintain its global recognition as a superpower. On another plane, great powers are states with certain amount of power considered sufficient to guarantee their own security protection without seeking alliance with other states. A great power plays a major role in international politics and possesses considerable economic, diplomatic and military strength and influence. Its interest often extends beyond its national borders.

Furthermore, there are middle-power states in the world political system. Constitutively, middle power states are wealthy, stable, egalitarian, socially democratic, but regionally uninfluential. Middle powers exhibit weak and ambivalent regional orientation, constructing identities distinct from powerful states in their regions and offer appeasing concessions to pressures for global reforms. A common feature typical of middle-power states is that they lack a second-strike capability – the ability, after being struck by a nuclear attack, to strike back with nuclear weapons and cause massive damage to the enemy. To their advantage, middle-power states enjoy some sense of security and have sufficient strength and authority to stand on their own without the need of help from others (Yalcin, 2012). In line with Yalcin, the foreign policies of the middle powers are characterized by behaviors such as 'their tendency to pursue multilateral solutions to international problems, their willingness to seek compromise positions in international disputes, and their preparedness to embrace notions of good international citizenship to guide their diplomacy.

Lastly, the international political system also comprises weak powers or small states that relatively have no recognized power status and rely largely on the support of external powers greater than themselves in order to achieve security protection (Krejci, 2006). Small states are states characterized by limited national capabilities (relative to other countries'

capabilities) and the way it uses such capabilities in the pursuit of its foreign policy objectives. They are challenged by structural weaknesses such as fewer inhabitants, smaller domestic markets (and GDP) and limited military strength as compared to larger countries. Initially, small states were seen as domestically and internationally weak. Such perception is partly related to the inability of small states to contend militarily in wars with the great powers on equal terms (Vandenbosch, 1964). Many of the assumptions have been proven wrong, with small states now being seen as economically and administratively smart, salient and resilient and more suitable to adjust to global competitions and challenges.

In all of this, it should be reiterated that the structure of the international political system is simply the fallout of the nature and pattern of interaction (individual or in alliance) of small states, middle-power states, great powers and superpowers as they make efforts to pursue, promote and actualize their various and diverse national and international agenda (Krejci, 2006). Regardless of the size and power capability of small states, middle-power states, great powers and superpowers, the participation and relevance of each group cannot be underestimated. Importantly, the disparities that characterize the power stratification of state actors demonstrate that the structure of the international political system is hierarchical, though not hierarchical in the same sense of the organogram that exist within states. Unlike state hierarchy of power noticeable in the domestic political setting of sovereign states, the type of hierarchy that exists in the international political system is majorly based on differences visible in the security and power capacity of small states, middle-power states, great powers and superpowers contingent upon global standards of power index. As it were, the relatively more powerful states often influence or dictate trends in power relations in the entire world system as their actions and inactions determine prevailing normative values that shape the direction of International Relations and behaviors of other states.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

> Discuss one major feature of a superpower in relation to power distribution in the international system.
> Not more than 5 minutes to answer this question.

4.5   The Polarity Model of Power Distribution in the International System

In International Relations, the word ''polarity'' is used to measure the structures and distribution of power in the international system. 'Although, polarity has been defined and measured in a variety of ways, one of the most popular methods involves counting the number of states

that are ''particularly powerful'' relative to the remaining states in the system' (Manfield, 1993: 106). Extending the lesson further on power distribution and structures of the international political system, we could also assess three models of power dispersion – multipolarity, bipolarity and unipolarity – three forms of balance of power arrangement. In other words, there are commonly three types of polarity. They are one great power or one polar (unipolarity), two great powers or two poles (bipolarity), and more than two great powers or more than two poles (multipolarity) (Keersmaeker, (2017).

In a multipolar international political system, three or more great powers exist. Each great power constitutes a significant international force, articulates its individual national goals, pursues its own foreign policy while also observing and respecting the sovereignty and relevance of other great powers. A good example of a multipolar system is the Concert of Europe which held and maintained European balance of power between the Napoleonic Wars and the time of WW1. As at the time, Great Britain, with certain qualities of separateness, appreciable amount of power, national interest and normative values, acted as the balancer in the multipolar system that emerged. Great Britain observed and filled in security gaps by forming alliance with weaker centers of power or states in order to either maintain or renew lopsided power-equilibrium.

Aside the political sphere, there are significant transformations in the world's economic system, in the context of multipolarity. In over a decade, there has been a noticeable change in the world's economy characterized not only by the intensification of globalization processes, but also by the transformation of the geo-economic leadership's polarity. 'Just as the collapse of the Soviet Union designated the end of the bipolar economic and political order, the recent global financial and economic crisis became the catalyst of the processes forming geoeconomic multipolarity. … the most important aspect of the economic multipolarity is connected with the rise of new global economic leaders, or entire integration groups which are becoming increasingly important participants of the international division of labor and geopolitical processes' (Arkhipov and Yeletsky, 2015: 59). The BRICS and powerful economic unions like the European Union have contributed hugely in reshaping the world economic system.

In a bipolar world political system, two known state actors exist and influence the direction of behavior of other international actors. The two sides that constitute centers of power are relatively powerful and can compete almost on equal capacities. While the multipolar system is maintained by the balance of power mechanism explained above, the bipolar world political system is maintained through means of balance of fears and terror on both sides. Besides the examples of bipolarity provided

by the events of the Cold War and the Peloponnesian War, there are indications that bipolarity has made a comeback into the contemporary international system. As Kupchan notes:

'Bipolarity is no longer returning – it is here, and it is here to stay for the foreseeable future. News today is dominated by US-China relations, indicating a recognition of today's bipolar system, and China continues to close the gap in the economic realm. The effects of this bipolarity have substantially deepened as elites in both Washington and Beijing have become aware of the new global structure and are acting accordingly. ... Because the world now has a bipolar distribution of capabilities, it will be more peaceful than expected by the consensus view. ... Bipolar structure deductively and empirically tends to be peaceful (stable); regarding great power war – it is unlikely to happen. ... balancing or competition between China and the United States will occur in the economic arena to a far greater extent than in the more dangerous military realm. The term ''Cold Peace'' best captures the current system ...' (2021: 123).
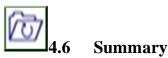
In a unipolar world political system, only one hegemonic center of power is known and stronger than other states or even an alliance of states. 'The hegemonic holder solves its questions of security independently; other great powers and states must first of all respect its interests when providing for their security' (Krejci, 2006: 20). A hegemonic state has the necessary power capability required to drive fundamental conditions of a global order by influencing the will of other international players. Though in principle, there is no world constitution, in practice, the hegemon acts as the pacesetter and modernizer because the foundational rules and norms governing the international political system issue from its preferred choices. The ability of the hegemon to lead in the unipolar world political system rests much on its enormous military and economic wealth.

The status of Great Britain as a hegemony holder prior to the outbreak of World War 1 was principally on account of its economic advantages, advantage on the sea, control of vast colonies and its role as the balancer of power in the Concert of Europe. In today's world, the United States is the global hegemon. US' hegemony, which actually began to gather momentum since 1873, anchors largely on its economic wealth, military dominance and the spread of its liberal values across the world. It is however the belief of realists that other states would come together to oppose the dominance of the hegemon in order to restore a balance of power. Thus, 'even though, based of realists' theory, all states seek hegemony to ensure their security; other states in the system are incentivized to prevent the emergence of a hegemon by balancing' (Usiemure and Gbigbidje, 2018: 5).

Apparently, contemporary international political system does not desire to see the rise of any hegemony holder. The UNGA in December 1979 approved a resolution that makes the policy of hegemonism unacceptable and inapplicable to the international system because of its tendency to promote statism. In the 19th century, traits of quest for hegemonism were identified with France while Germany is known to have manifested similar qualities during the 20th century.

Self-Assessment Exercise 3

Using the polarity system of analysis of power distribution in the international system, what do you understand by unipolarity?
Not more than 5 minutes to answer this question.

4.6   Summary

This unit investigated power differentials among states in the international system. Illustrations depicting possibilities available to states on account of varying capabilities in terms of power possession were shown. Classifications of state power in the international system from parameters of superpowers, great powers, middle powers and small powers as well as power alliances (multipolarity, bipolarity and unipolarity) were discussed.

4.7   Reference/Further Readings/Web Sources

Arkhipov, A. and Yeletsky, A. N., (2015). Various Aspects of the Multipolarity within the World Economic System. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences,* Vol. 3, No. 56, ISSN 2039-2117 (online), ISSN 2039-9340 (print), Doi:10.5901/mjss.2015.v6n3s

Keersmaeker, G., (2017). *Polarity, Balance of Power and International Relations Theory: Post-Cold War and the 19th Century Compared.* Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan; 4.

Krejci, O., (2006). *International Politics*, Vol. 1: Global Political System, Faculty of Political Science and International Relations, Matej Bel University, Banska Bystrica,

Kupchan, C., (2021). Bipolarity is Back: Why it Matters. *The Washington Quarterly,* Vol.44, No.4, 123-139, https://doi.org/10.1080/0163660X.2021.2020457.

Manfield, E. D., (1993). Concentration, Polarity, and the Distribution of Power. *International Studies Quarterly,* Vol. 37, No. 1, 105-128. https://www.jstor.org/stable/2600833,

Usiemure, O. C. and Gbigbidje, D. L., (2018). Realist Theory of International Relations. *The International Scholar Journal of Arts*, Vol. 1, Issue 1, 1-11.

Vandenbosch, A., (1964). The Small States in International Politics and Organization, *The Journal of Politics,* Vol. 26, No. 2, 293-312, The University of Chicago Press, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2127598

Yalcin, H. B., (2012). The Concept of ''Middle Power'' and the Recent Turkish Foreign Policy Activism, *Afro Eurasian Studies,* Vol. 1, Issue 1, Spring, 195-213.

 4.8   Possible Answers to Self-assessment Exercise

Self-Assessment Exercise 1
The Treaty of Westphalia provides for equality of states. Each state determines its internal laws, constitutional provisions and foreign policy. That means that regardless of the power capabilities of a state in terms of resources, population, geographical size, technology, and so on, sovereign states are not under any obligation or compulsion to recognize the supremacy of supranational authorities and cannot be compelled to submit their national responsibilities to any external power.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2
Superpowers usually have global agenda as well as the resource-capacity to pursue their international goals. An example was the ideological campaigns and rivalries between the United States and the Soviet Union in the period of the Cold War.

Self-Assessment Exercise 3
In a unipolar world political system, only one hegemonic center of power is known and stronger than other states or even an alliance of states. In a unipolar world, the hegemon handles its security crisis independently. Again, other great powers and states must always respect the preference and interest of the hegemonic state when providing for their own security mechanisms.

MODULE 2 PERSPECTIVES AND ANALYSES OF THEORIES OF REALISM, IDEALISM AND IMPERIALISM

Unit 1   Realism
Unit 2   Idealism/Liberalism
Unit 3   Imperialism
Unit 4   Conflict and Conflict Resolution

UNIT 1   REALISM

Unit Structure

1.1   Introduction
1.2   Learning Outcome
1.3   Roots, Meaning and the Main Assumptions of Realism
1.4   Classical Realism
1.5   Structural Realism (Neorealism)
1.6   Summary
1.7   References/Further Readings/Web Sources
1.8   Possible Answers to Self-assessment Exercise

1.1   Introduction

Realism is the oldest and most frequently adopted theory of International Relations. Though, realism is condemned for rating states as the sole and/or most important actors in the international system and for not factoring in the relevance of non-state actors in the constitution of world politics, the vitality and visibility of realism cannot be underestimated. In spite of criticisms that exist, realism has maintained a significant position in the theoretical translation of behavior of states in the international system. The anarchical nature of the international system and the absence of any global governing institution is a prominent feature of realism. Realists liken the selfish nature of human beings to the self-centeredness of state-actors and therefore emphasize the instrumentality of power in the struggle to achieve the national interests of states. Realism is also held responsible for unhealthy competitions and other problems associated with security dilemma such as arms race. In the end, the unit looked into and exposited two major classes of realism, that is, classical and structural realism.

1.2   Learning Outcome

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

- Analyze the basic assumptions of realism in relation to the anarchical international system
- discuss classical realism and the contributions of any of prominent classical realist.
- evaluate the position of structural realists in International Relations.

1.3   Roots, Meaning and the Main Assumptions of Realism

As a theory, realism has evolved through the works of a series of great thinkers and analysts. Its intellectual root is often traced to Thucydides, the chronicler of the Peloponnesian wars. In his famous work ''The Peloponnesian War'', Thucydides clearly presents the idea that power trumps justice and morality. Realists' perspectives were hugely implied in the way Thucydides explains the causes of the Peloponnesian War and also in the famous ''Melian Dialogue'' in the statements made by the Athenian envoys (Korab-Karpowicz, 2017). Thucydides believes that 'the cause of the war between the Athenians and the Spartans (around 420 BC) was an increase in Athenian military power and the insecurity that it created among the Spartans' (Griffiths and O'Callaghan 2002: 261). The changing distribution of power between the two blocs of Greek city-states: the Delian League (under the leadership of Athens) and the Peloponnesian League (under the leadership of Spartan) constituted a major source of concern. The growth of Athenian power troubled the Spartans who subsequently decided to go to war.

Other notable realists include Niccolo Machiavelli, Max Weber and Thomas Hobbes. In the late fifteenth century when Machiavelli was born, the widespread notion that politics (internal and external) and relations among states should be virtuous and that the methods of warfare should be subordinated to ethical standards was dominant. Machiavelli challenged this long-established moral tradition of politics. The core of his thesis rests in his thorough critique of classical Western political thought as unrealistic and in his separation of politics from ethics and morality. He attempts to replace ancient virtues of ethics, self-restraint and other individual qualities of moral consideration with existential qualities of virtu and power. Machiavelli believes that in the field of politics, one must act as though everyone else is wicked. He justifies

immoral actions in politics, although he always acknowledged that they were evil (Korab-Karpowicz, 2017).

Some of the exemplary twentieth century figures in the field of realism include George Kennan, Hans Morgenthau, Kenneth Waltz, Reinhold Niebuhr and E. H. Carr. Looking beyond the intellectual roots and constructs of realism, it is believed that the formulation of realism as a theoretical model and guide to understanding International Relations began in the 1930s and 40s primarily with the works of E. H Carr and Hans Morgenthau. In their study and findings, they note that there was no natural harmony of interests among states traversing the international system and that it was a mistake to think that the struggle for power by sovereign states could be tamed by any international laws or liberal values such as democratization (Griffiths and O'Callaghan 2002: 261).

As a theory, realism essentially emphasizes the competitiveness and conflictual side of International Relations. It argues that international politics is a struggle for power and a quest for survival, which results in a condition of permanent conflict between states without any possibility of evolution or progress (Fernandes, 2016; Antunes and Camisao, 2018). From the lens of realism, incompatible goals and conflict are the defining features of world politics. Without enforceable international rules, decision makers have little choice but to compete with other states for security, status and wealth (Ojo and Olomu, 2021).

In International Relations, realism is a seen as 'a tradition of analysis that stresses the imperatives states face to pursue a power politics of the national interest' (Donnelly, 2005: 29). We can also understand realism as an International Relations theory that emphasizes the role of the state, national interest and power in world politics (Usiemure and Gbigbidje, 2018). Power and conflict are central to the study of realism. States are constantly working to increase their power advantage relative to other states. In the context of realism, power is extremely crucial because of the limitation brought to bear on international politics due to the nature of human beings as well as the absence of any world government. To Guzzini, realism is not only a 'theory with which observers explain International Relations, it is also a common sense shared by practitioners when they make sense of world politics. Realism is a theoretical language of observation, and a practical language of action; in which International Relations is thought and spoken' (2017: 5). Though a theory, it plays a significant role in political practice judging from its role as an academic bank, storage or reservoir of practical historical lessons.

One of the basic assumptions of realists is that the state is the most important actor in international politics. This draws largely from the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia where European states converged and concluded

arrangements that ended their thirty years war. It was at the meeting that the European nations accepted the concept of state sovereignty and agreed on the equality of states. No external power or state is recognized to have authority or power another state. With enormous military and economic powers, states wield huge influence and powers in international politics and these levels of power and influence are not available to individuals and non-governmental organizations. Another important assumption of realism is that the state is unitary and rational actor. Considerations of cause and effect as well as cost-benefit equations are critically made in order maximize national objectives of the state. State actors are principally guided by their national interests while interacting with other states. Each state identifies its national goals and set its preferences to align with its national interest. Realists also believe in balance of power as a potent force in the sustenance of security and order. States that are balance would be less likely to encounter wars. This is why realists is always vigilant on trends in the development of power, global distribution of power, alliance formation among states (Usiemure and Gbigbidje, 2018).

In line with realists' postulations, human nature is basically selfish, aggressive, sinful and also power-seeking. These same human sentiments drive the engagement and activities of states in the international system. Drawing from these natural human instincts, realists emphasize the weaknesses and constraints on politics imposed by human egoism and the absence of international government. Relying mainly on the works of E. H. Carr (The Twenty Years' Crisis) and Hans Morgenthau (Politics Among Nations), realists believe that innate human instincts and behaviors are the major influencers of international politics and relations. Human beings are naturally evil and self-seeking in character. Similarly, states have negative attributes inherent in them and which make them evil, aggressive, self-seeking, power-drunk and would do anything possible to dominate other states in order to maximize their own national interests. Owing to this kind of international system in which states are continually egoistic, aggressive and state-centric, war and conflicts have become a normal phenomenon and endemic in the globe.

Realists also hold the view that states are the fundamental units or actors in international politics. The divergent aims and objectives of states and the manner in which they pursue their foreign policies as well as the rivalries they encounter determine and shape international politics. Arising from their consideration of the world system of states as anarchic, realists view security as a central issue. To maintain their security, states must increase their power and engage in power-balancing for the purpose of deterring potential aggressors (Korab-Karpowicz, 2017). Non-state actors including MNCs and international organizations are not considered as actors in International Relations (Ari, 2018).

Another important assumption that characterizes realism is the assessment that states are rational actors as they often act in accordance with rules and frameworks that basically push for the pursuit and realization of their national interests. To the realist, universal moral principles cannot be relied upon or applied to the actions of states in International Relations. On the realists' agenda, the most important issues in International Relations revolve around security interest, especially in areas of political and military concerns. The chances that state goals and national interests will be achieved rests hugely on the treatment of state security as a matter of urgency while every other state concern such as environmental change, health, commerce, trade and investment are secondary and considered as matters of low politics. Because of the high placement of security in the realists' categorization, the acquisition and use of power to maximize as much gains as possible is critical in the realists' proposition and that is why power struggle is a central theme in International Relations (Ari, 2018).

The anarchical nature of the international system is also a prominent feature of realism. There is no organized structure of governance or any recognized central authority from which power flows with a view to regulating the interaction of states. In any given state in the international system, there are ministries, departments and public agencies that help in the running of the state. for example, in the security sector, we could find the police and the military. In the event of any emergency, these public institutions hastily come forward to address situations (Duguri, et. al., 2021). There are no such quick response public outfits on the world stage and there are no established hierarchies for instructions to be given. Consequently, states consider the anarchical and porous nature of the international arena as a challenge to be addressed by states alone. The obligation of providing security and balance in international order is assumed by state, regardless of the conflicting interests which induces self-help approach anchored on specific national interests of states. The desperate struggle to provide for state security also results in what is often described as security dilemma owing to arms race that usually follows. As one state increases itself military budget and expands its armament, other states are alarmed and thus engage in all sorts of military and security projects aimed at offsetting perceived security threats. This also accounts for reasons why balance of power and efforts to counterweight disproportionate rise in the military power of an envisaged hegemon is a recurring incident in the world security environment (Ari, 2018).

Realism is theoretical account of how the empirical international system operates. Realist theorists can be grouped into various political classes judging mainly by the degree or intensity of their commitment to major assumptions of realism. On this, we will specifically examine the classical and the structural Realism.

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

> In the context of anarchical international system, discuss the core argument of realism?
> Not more than 5 minutes to answer this question.

1.4   Classical Realism

Classical realism draws inspiration from old tradition of political thought. In the study of classical realism, authors usually cited include Thucydides, Niccolo Machiavelli, Jean-Jaques Rousseau, Wax Weber and Thomas Hobbes. However, there are contentions about some of these names belonging to the realist school. For example, it is said that Thucydides was not a realist on account that International Relations theory did not exist during his time. No doubt, realism as an International Relations theory emerged in the mid-twentieth century and was mainly inspired by the British historian and political scientist, E. H. Carr. Be that as it may, we also know that massive similarities exist in the academic postulations of these ancient political thinkers and those of the modern world. The writings and works of earlier philosophers and political thinkers are often cited to draw inspiration from them and lend credence to their timeless theories (Usiemure and Gbigbidje, 2018).

Edward Hallet Carr assumes that morality and other qualities such as peace and harmony of interests, which are replete in the works of idealism, are relative and not universal. He uses the concept of relativity of thought which he traced to Marx to show that standards by which policies are judged are the products of circumstances and interests. He believes that the interests of a given party always determine what the party would regard as the universal moral principles. Carr took this position to counter the efforts of idealists who note that war is an aberration in the course of normal life and the way to prevent it is to educate people for peace and to build a system of collective security. For him, the doctrine of harmony of interests is often evoked by privileged groups in order to justify and maintain their dominant position favored by the status quo. In place of *harmony of interests*, Carr emphasizes *conflict of interests*, noting that the world is torn apart by the divergent interests of different individuals and groups (Korab-Karpowicz, 2017).

In his book, Leviathan, Hobbes (see, Donnelly, 2005) reviews the dynamics of politics in the pre-social state of nature. In his summation and submission, Hobbes came up with three major assumptions illustrating that human beings are equal, but are involved in social relations in anarchical societies and their behaviors and actions are fundamentally driven by competition and personal glories. These human, social and natural conditions are responsible for violence and wars in the

society. On the condition that human wants are unlimited compared to resources available, scarcity propels unhealthy rivalry and violent conflicts. Owing to the position that men are equal considering that the strongest does not have a monopoly of coercion and that the weakest possesses some amount of power capable enough to confront and kill the predator either through clandestine plots or in alliance with individuals of like-minds, insecurity, barbarism and bloodbaths are inevitable. The absence of government makes the situation even more horrible, volatile and unpredictable since there is no certainty on the question of who is a friend or an enemy.

A number of assessments and criticisms have been made on Hobbes' classical realism. Hobbes himself clearly acknowledges that the type of savagery and barbarism described in his book did not exist across all regions of the globe. Like many other scholars and thinkers, Hobbes study and research was geography-specific and thus not comprehensive enough to explain his forecast of anarchy in the entire international system. Never the less, Hobbes theoretical contribution is reasonable looking at the insight it brings to understanding certain important activities and phenomena in the international system. Another side of the review of Hobbes thesis is in the area of his skepticism about chances of altering human nature. The emphasis on the fixedness of unhealthy competition and anarchy in human communities may not apply in all conditions of societal existence. The probability for communal agreement and cooperation remains slim in Hobbes strategic reasoning. Many states have been able to form their own governments and conditions of chaos and anarchy have been reversed by hierarchical political rule and structures of governance instituted to forestall violence. Again, social inequality largely linked to poverty and exclusivity automatically reduces the number of actors that could heat up the polity (Donnelly, 2005).

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

Who wrote the book ''The Leviathan''?
(A). Niccolo Machiavelli (B) E. H. Carr (C). Thomas Hobbes
Not more than 2 minutes.

1.5 Structural Realism (Neorealism)

Structural realism or neorealism is an attempt to translate some fundamental tenets of classical realism into words, languages and methods of writings in modern social science. Most realists' postulations since the 1970s have been structural in nature and influenced principally by the works of Kenneth Waltz. Structuralists believe that the decision of states in world politics 'are arrived at by a simple formula rather than

being based on human nature … states are limited by existing in an anarchic international system' (Usiemure and Gbigbidje, 2018: 6).

Whatever actions states take is essentially based on the amount of power available to them when measured against the power of other states. Structural realists think that what forms international structures within which actors operate on the world system emerge simply in the course of interactions of states as they engage in diverse kinds of activities in International Relations. The structures that emerge out of the various modes of interaction of international actors condition the type of liberty as well as constraints brought to bear on their global relations. Donnelly (2005) notes that hierarchy and anarchy are the two most important factors that determine the direction of political ordering in the international system and that component units either stay connected in a relationship of authority and subordination – hierarchy – or in isolation and competition in a relationship of rivalry and violent conflict – anarchy. The element of balancing is a mark of distinction in the study of structural realism. Structuralists strongly believe that in anarchical international society, states associating in International Relations play the role of creating a balance. In their engagements in International Relations, what state actors do to ensure global security is mostly to strive for balancing by opposing the stronger party whose rising power threatens the liberty and security of other states. Krejci notes that the 'balance of the world political system is an actual expression of states power configuration process, a temporary status in the chain of unbalanced statuses' (2006: 8).

Balance in the international political system could be achieved in a continuous process of balancing the power potentials of individual states. The balancing is pursued through the efforts of independent states and their coalitions. In contrast, in the absence of any threat of anarchy, state actors merely bandwagon in consideration of their national interests, thereby building further on the existing hierarchy of international power. Upon strategic calculation of possible gains and losses, actors will bandwagon in support of any superior power (hierarchy) mainly on the perception that whatever losses that may arise would never threaten their own security. A good example is the trajectories of American-Soviet relations. In the early twentieth century, the United States demonstrated its hostility against the Russian revolution and both sides remained belligerent for a long time. When Hitler's Germany emerged a greater enemy to both the US and Russia, both countries dropped their animosity and entered into alliance in order to balance up against the common and bigger threat. Immediately after the WW 2, the US and Russia did not hesitate to withdraw from the alliance against Hitler and reengaged in continuing their hostility. Recently too, both countries have had to agree and to disagree on a number of international security matters. Military intervention in Afghanistan in the Post-Cold War period received a lot

attention and approval from the US and Russia. All this demonstrates forms of strategic use of security alliances and disengagements in International Relations and also pictures oscillations in the utility of elements of balancing (in times of anarchy) and the fundamentals of bandwagoning (in times of hierarchy) (Donnelly, 2005).

Although, the structural variant of realism has made noticeable improvements on classical realism especially in view of its ability to provide grounds to empirically measure the quantum of power available to a state (a possibility not available on the philosophical hypotheses of classical realists who emphasize human nature), there are major criticisms against structural realism. One of such criticisms comes from the constructivists. Against the realists' claim that anarchy and the nature of distribution of power drive most of what goes on in world politics, constructivists declare that structural realism misses the more determinant factor, namely, the intersubjectively shared ideas that shape behavior by way of constituting the identities and interests of actors. Contrary to the core neorealist argument that anarchy propels states into recurrent security competition, constructivists note that the nature and structure of the international system is primarily a function of the shared culture created through discursive social practices, not a derivative of anarchy and power struggles (Copeland, 2000). Each actor's conception of self (interests and identity) is a product of the others' diplomatic gestures and states can reshape structures through new gestures. Implicitly, anarchy is what states make of it. States can act to 'alter the intersubjective culture that constitutes the system, solidifying over time the non-egoistic mindsets needed for long-term peace' (Copeland, 2000: 188).

Self-Assessment Exercise 3

> Evaluate how structural realism differ from classical realism.
> Not more than 5 minutes to answer this question.

1.6   Summary

The unit explored realism and its basic hypotheses. Contributions of great realist political thinkers were considered. The relationship between human behaviors and state actions were deployed in studying the running of the international system. The modifications of classical realism and its modernizations visible in structural realism were expatiated.

1.7   References/Further Readings/Web Sources

Antunes, I. and Camisao, S., (2018). Introducing Realism in International Relations Theory. Retrieved from https://www.e-ir.info/pdf/72860, Date Accessed: October 25, 2022.

Ari, T., (2018). Contending Issues and Major Theories in International Relations, in Ari and Toprak, eds., *Theories of International Relations 1*, Eskişehir: Anadolu University Press

Copeland, D. C., (2000). The Constructivist Challenge to Structural Realism: a Review Essay. *International Security,* Vol. 25, No. 2, 187-212. Published by MIT Press, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2626757,

Donnelly, J., (2005). Realism, in Burchill, S., et. al., Theories of International Relations, Third Edition, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Duguri, U. S., et. al., (2021). International Relations, Realism and Liberalism: A Theoretical Review, *International Journal of Social and Humanities Extension*, Vol 2, No. 1, 1-6.

Fernandes, V. R., (2016). Idealism and Realism in international relations: an ontological debate. *Janus.net ejournal of International Relations,* Vol. 7, No. 2, 14-25, Retrieved from https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/4135/413548516002.pdf, Date Accessed: October 25, 2022.

Griffiths, M. and O'Callaghan, T., (2002). International Relations: The Key Concepts. London and New York: Routledge.

Guzzini, S., (2017). Realist Theories and Practice, Copenhagen*: Danish Institute for International Studies, Working Paper 8.*

Korab-Karpowicz, W. J., (2017). Political Realism in International Relations. *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2018 Edition), in Zalta, E. N., (ed.), Retrieved from https://plato.stanford.edu/emtries/realism-intl-relations/;-;text=Realism, Date Accessed: October 25, 2022.

Krejci, O., (2006). *International Politics*, Vol. 1: Global Political System, Faculty of Political Science and International Relations, Matej Bel University, Banska Bystrica,

UNIT 2   IDEALISM/LIBERALISM

Unit Structure

2.1   Introduction
2.2   Learning Outcome
2.3   Idealism: its Roots and Main Assumptions
2.4   Idealism and Liberalism
    2.4.1   Liberals and Democratic Peace in the International System
2.5   Liberal Institutionalism and Neoliberalism
2.6   Summary
2.7   References/Further Readings/Web Sources
2.8   Possible Answers to Self-assessment Exercise

2.1   Introduction

Idealism is one of the most distinguished theories of International Relations. It rose to prominence in reaction to the calamities of the First World War and the task of abolishing war as an instrument of statecraft. Idealism dominated the study of International Relations from the end of the First World War until the late 1930s (time of the commencement of the Second World War. Sometimes referred to as *utopianism,* idealism is a variant of liberal internationalism. Some of the notable liberal idealists include Immanuel Kant, Richard Cobden, John Hobson, Norman Angell, Alfred Zimmern and Woodrow Wilson (former president of the US). Idealists are said to be out of touch with prevailing realities and trending thoughts as they often put moral principles before empirical issues. They often describe and seek to establish a perfect world that is futuristic (Griffiths and O'Callaghan 2002). In spite of criticisms, the theoretical positions of idealism have contributed immensely in shaping the dynamic forces of the global system. Its promotion of democracy as well as democratic peace and values across the globe is seen as a profound gift to the world. Liberal exposition of democratic peace constitutes a sub-unit in this module.

As a school of thought, idealism was short-lived following the crisis of confidence it suffered with the failure of the League of Nations and the outbreak of the WW 2. However, subsequent theories of international relations like liberalism have significantly drawn elements from idealism when constructing their world views. In other words, liberal international relations theory has its roots in the idealist subculture of the interwar period. Essentially, it holds that state is subject to external authority of other states nor is it subject to other internal authorities such as the

military. As a theory of international relations, liberalism emphasizes that international laws, organizations, non-governmental organizations are equally important factors in the shaping of world politics and rejects the realist theory which postulates that international relations are a zero-sum game. The evolution of communication and transportation technologies during the latter decades of the 20th century came with an increased level of interdependence between sovereign states which increased the importance of understanding the components of liberalism.

A major characterization of idealism is the belief that what unites human beings is more important than what divides them. Idealists are opposed to the realist assumption that the state is a source of moral value for human beings. Conversely, they project a cosmopolitan ethics which seeks to proselytize and educate individuals on the need to reform the international system. Idealism sees beyond the usual realists' perception of the world political system as being anarchical and express optimism in human capacity to create a peaceful international system where states are interdependent. Much of the antithesis of realists' postulations appears to come from the theoretical assumptions of liberalism and vice versa. A core realist like E. H. Carr describes idealists as utopians. For Carr as well as adherents of realism, idealists underestimate the role of state power in world politics and also overvalue attributes of human goodness and prospects of cooperation and mutual benefits in human communities. Conversely, Liberal theorists argue that the total concentration on power struggles by the realists invariably downplays important countervailing forces with the propensity to harmonizing the excesses of perceived hegemons in world political system. The countervailing forces in this case include chances of the emergence of more liberal or democratic governance, rise of more progressive international organizations and the limiting forces of economic interdependence. This study unit also espoused liberal institutionalism; role of international organizations in articulating global norms and the spread of neoliberal ideologies.

2.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- analyze circumstances that led to the rise of idealism and liberalism as theories in International Relations.
- discus the main theoretical assumptions of idealism and liberalism
- evaluate the hypotheses of liberals with regards to democratic peace in the international system
- discuss liberal institutionalism in line with liberals' approach towards actualizing an international society.

2.3 Idealism: its Roots and Main Assumptions

Like realism, in International Relations, idealism has also a long tradition. The word ''idealist'' was introduced by Leibniz in 1702 to describe some of Plato's doctrines on ideas and the ''intelligible world'' (Thomas-Fogiel, 2017). In the context it appeared in, idealist – defined as the disciples of the philosophy of ideas – was one who accorded reality and primacy to the ideas of a suprasensible world. For Leibniz, such ideas were to be contrasted with the materialists who only recognized the existence of the matter or mechanisms of nature. As it were, idealists were seen as philosophers who accorded the world of ideas permanence. However, idealism is not opposed to realism as idealists neither deny ''reality'' nor the existence of a physical world outside of themselves. Rather, their goal is to attribute ''being'' to intelligible things, ideas and idealities. In this regard, ''being'' refers to that which possesses permanence and can subsist or transcend any idiosyncratic representation. Idealists confer the category of being to something other than mere materiality or to something other than the individual. They give a form of existence to ideas and believe that ideas and idealities are autonomous in relation to the material or physical world. These ideas form an organized world (a cosmos, described by Plato as the ''intelligible world'') or realm independent of our individual or psychological representations (Thomas-Fogiel, 2017).

Unsatisfied with the world around them and the dominant theories of their time, idealists attempted to answer the question of ''what ought to be'' in politics. Great philosophers like Plato, Aristotle and Cicero were all political idealists who believed that there were some universal moral values on which political life and inter-state relations could be based. Building upon previous works and ideas of his predecessors, Cicero established the idea of a natural moral law that was applicable to both domestic and international politics. His teachings covering themes in war, ethics of war and righteousness in war were further expanded in the writings of Christian thinkers like St Augustine and St Thomas Aquinas (Korab-Karpowicz, 2017).

E. H. Carr describes idealists as utopians judging that they underestimate the place of power in international politics while on the other hand overestimating the merits of ideas, human reasoning, mutual benefits of human collectivization, sanctity of human laws and sacredness of human morality in engendering global security or order. Idealists are considered as blind to the reality of the power of self-interest of sovereign states as driven by the desperation of national interests since they advocate for global governance and the possibility of cosmopolitan democracy across

the world (Dowding, 2011). Idealism is often used in a rhetorical manner especially by realists who seek to criticize and discredit its assumptions. Since the historical emergence of idealism as a reaction to the First World War and the Treaty of Versailles (Cameron, 2002), there have been crushing criticisms against its assumptions and tenets.

Some believe that the concept of idealism derives from old political thoughts of early thinkers like Aristotle whose philosophical intuition of justice as the perfect virtue strongly impacted subsequent development of related societal views prior to the medieval era (Nesimi, 2018). Others note that liberal thinking has a long intellectual tradition traceable to the era of the European Enlightenment up to the late nineteenth century. The WW 1 had a tremendous impact on liberalism and its peace movements as liberalism generally experienced a great decline in its acceptance and relevance as a social framework for liberal international theorizing system (Jurgensen, 2021). After World War 1, political thoughts about the causes of war and the conditions necessary for peace acquired new images and approaches. At the period, the world political system witnessed noticeable shifts in political reasoning and major themes in International Relations focused around war, peace, imperialism, democracy, international organizations and world commerce. Another contentious dimension of dialectics opened up around the subject of nationalism and internationalism. Concepts such as international mindset, international solidarity and international organization began to gain considerable attention (Jurgensen, 2021).

 Nevertheless, idealism as an analytical tradition or paradigm did not exist prior to the twentieth century. Woodrow Wilson is often mentioned as a core idealist following his tireless efforts and commitment to induce his countrymen to support prevailing world notions bolstering the assumptions of idealism in the aftermaths of WW 1. It is also mentioned that the hallmark of the Wilsonian input into idealism was his tinkering and reflection on the principles of *laissez-faire* and the self-adjusting nature of economic interests (Cameron, 2002; Tetsuya, 2004).

As a doctrine, idealism majorly attempts to see beyond the usual realists' perception of the world political system as being anarchical. By transcending the concept of international anarchy, idealists are optimistic in their effort to create a cosmopolitan and peaceful international system where states are interdependent. Idealists' doctrinal framework dominated the first phase of international theory and essentially emphasized the unity of humanity, the creative powers of human reasoning, the societal benefits of education, the existence of natural harmony of interests, the spread of democracy across the globe and prospects for internationalism which reflected in the establishment of the League of Nations (Dowding, 2011).

Unlike realism, idealism considers human nature as good, kind, and generous and that states themselves which ordinarily are composed of human populations are also good, peaceful and cooperative. Idealists claim that 'human beings strive towards perfection by drawing upon their inborn sociability and through enlightenment' (Tetsuya, 2004: 80). They believe that harmonious existence and progress between and among states in involved in International Relations is achievable and in the interest of the comity of nations. During the 18th century, Immanuel Kant, one of the main advocates of liberalism, averred 'that states that shared liberal values should have no reason for going to war against one another' (see Mcglinchey,et. al., 2017: 4). At the heart of the liberal project is the believe that the struggle for power which characterize the security, national and foreign policies of states in International Relations could be tamed by international law and that the optimism that the pursuit of self-interest could be managed through the shared objective of promoting collective security.

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

> Discuss the intellectual roots of idealism in International Relations.
> Not more than 4 minutes to answer this question.

2.4   Idealism and Liberalism

Generally, the intellectual precursors of liberal theory have a normative perspective anchored on the believe that a civilization of international politics was desirable and necessary for social progress. This partly accounts for their labeling as idealists or the description of their approaches as utopian. However, regardless of criticisms against them as idealists or utopians, their assumptions and dispositions form the basis and development of liberal theory in the 20th and 21st century. While liberals acknowledge the reality of variations in human behaviors, cultural believes and societal values, they strongly contend that all human being and societies desire same things in life in terms of human security, human welfare and recognition. In spite of heterogeneity of global populations, the human race is bound by certain common moral affinity rooted mainly in fundamental human rights. There is the believe that ensuring the right of individuals to life, liberty and property is the highest goal of government. This is why liberals focus on the wellbeing of the individual as the most important pillar of any political system. 'It has championed limited government and scientific rationality, believing individuals should be free from arbitrary state power, persecution and superstition. It has advocated political freedom, democracy and constitutionally guaranteed rights, and privileged the liberty of the individual and equality before the law (Burchill, et. al., 2005: 55).

Liberals seek to ensure the emergence of progressive democratic institutions to enhance citizens' welfare and prevent the rise of dictatorship and monarchical polities. Beyond the domestic realm, liberals are also concerned with the international political system and particularly worried by militaristic foreign policies which often drive states into unnecessary arms race. Militaristic foreign policies and wars induce inordinate arms acquisition. Arms acquired might be used not only to fight against enemy states but sometimes to oppress the citizens of the same state. Meiser writes that 'political systems rooted in liberalism often limit military power by such means as ensuring civilian control over the military' (2017: 22). States' activities leading to wars of territorial expansion, colonization and imperialism raise serious concerns for liberals since such aggressive and predatory acts of state-bullies threaten the international society and deprive weaker states their rights to sovereignty. To manage the situation, liberals strive to build an international political system that guarantees states to be able to protect themselves from belligerent state actors and thus defend their citizens. Also important in the strategic calculus of liberals is the vitality of democratic institutionalization of political power. The most critical in this case is the instrumentalization of elections to install governments acceptable to the people, power to remove dictatorial and selfish rulers and separation of power which would ensure effective checks on the activities of those in government (Meiser, 2017).

2.4.1 Liberals and Democratic Peace in the International System

Liberals hold the view that democracies do not go to war with one another. During the 1990s, the idea of a democratic peace trended widely as it stressed that a direct causal relationship exists between democracy and peace (Griffiths and O'Callaghan 2002). The term 'liberal' itself specifically draws attention to the root of the liberal theory of the European Enlightenment era as well as to the liberal theory of politics – political liberalism. Immanuel Kant (*The Perpetual Peace, 1795),* who is known as the intellectual precursor of institutionalist thinking in International Relations, believed that a republican constitution of states is the foremost ingredient for stable and harmonious inter-state relations. The key focus here is that of a causal relationship between a liberal political order within a state and that state's foreign policy and international politics. Stable and peaceful International Relations as fallouts of international politics are more likely to be found among states with a liberal domestic political order. Like Immanuel Kant, other contributors like Adams Smith, John Stuart Mill and Woodrow Wilson also emphasized on the link between internal (domestic) factors and foreign policy behavior (Spindler, 2013).

Democratic peace theory is rated as the strongest contribution of liberalism to the study of International Relations theory. Indeed, it offers a strong empirical criticism in the liberal school of thought against the traditional intellectual hegemonism of realism. It begins on the premise that states that practice democracy are unlikely to go to war against each other. Democratic states recognize and uphold the legitimacy entrusted on their authorities. They also share a number of democratic values and thus would willing cooperate in matters of international concern. For liberals like Schumpeter, wars occur due to the belligerent nature of unrepresentative elites and undemocratic governments who seek to enrich merchants of arms industries and the military aristocrats. Democratic peace is rooted theoretically in the writings of Immanuel Kant and in particular his work 'Perpetual Peace'. Immanuel Kant considers that the establishment of republican governments in which the rulers are accountable and human rights are accorded due recognition would be the way forward as that would prevent the emergence of minority and elitist rule which is the cause of wars (Burchill, et. al., 2005).

The lack of war between democracies has been tested in different ways and proven significant. If we regard international war as a military engagement in which 1,000 people or more are killed, then about 353 pairs of states were involved in such wars between 1816 and 1991 and none was between two democracies. 155 pairs involved a democracy and a non-democratic country while 198 involved two non-democratic states fighting each other (Griffiths and O'Callaghan 2002). Nevertheless, there are questions as to whether democratic states do not fight one another solely on account that they are democratic. There are suggestions that the relative peace between and among democracies can be explained by other means. For example, there are opinions indicating that the lack of war between democracies during the Cold War was essentially due to the overwhelming threat posed by the Soviet Union.

On the other hand, some believe that democratic leaders themselves are restrained by the resistance of their own people who are concerned with the cost, deaths and calamities of war. However, this view was true, democracies would be peaceful with every other state since wars against non-democratic states are as unpleasant as wars against democracies. Again, it must be remarked that democracies are not monolithic. The diversity of institutions within and between democracies indeed created platforms for checks and balances as well as pressures which inhibits belligerent democratic leaders. Among democracies of the world, there are some which operate secret, oppressive and authoritarian systems. Examples are the military regimes in times of war (Griffiths and O'Callaghan 2002).

Another major criticism against democratic peace is that it is not accommodating enough as it does not treat non-democratic states with dignity. The cultural values of democratic peace and its basis for cooperation and peace do not blend with the perspectives of non-democratic states on international political order and stability. 'Disagreements among the citizens of a democracy are resolved through compromise and negotiation rather than conflict and coercion. When confronted with international disputes, democracies seek to resolve them in the same ways. … Because undemocratic states do not follow norms of compromise, however, democracies distrust them and treat them with hostility' (Griffiths and O'Callaghan 2002: 68).

Overall, skeptics think that it is too early to determine the claims that democracies do not threaten themselves or go to war against one another. Their position stems largely from the observation that democracy is a relatively young political movement as far as human history is concerned. There are a handful of democratic states across the globe and it is too early to situate the actual logic behind the peace and progress of the few existing democratic states. Again, the fact that democracies would not fight each other invariable suggests their disposition to be hostile or even preparedness to engage in wars against non-democratic states. A recent example is the hostility of the United States and its democratic allies against Russia on account of the latter's military aggression and invasion of Ukraine in February 2022. Millions of dollars have been spent in the supply of sophisticated arms and ammunitions to ensure Ukraine's democratic preferences are protected (Meiser, 2017).

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

Leaning on liberal theory, evaluate the basis of the concept of democratic peace in the international system Not more than 4 minutes to answer this question.

2.5   Liberal Internationalism

There are strong signs that since the end of the Second World War, humanity has existed in an international society structured by liberals – liberal internationalism. Liberal internationalists like Immanuel Kant and Jeremy Bentham emphasize on individual liberty, free trade, prosperity and interdependence as the main determinants of peace and security (Lahiry, 2019). As Burchill (2005) explained 'To the extent that its ideas have been realized in recent democratic transitions in both hemispheres and manifested in the globalization of the world economy, liberalism remains a powerful and influential doctrine' (Burchill, et. al., 2005: 55).

The end of the Cold War much more enhanced the relevance and prospects of the liberal internationalism.

It was considered that with the collapse of the SU there was no more any ideological competitor to stand against liberal democracy in the world. Democratic transitions in Africa, East Asia and Latin America in the aftermaths of the Cold War seemed to have lent credence to the matchlessness of liberal internationalism as a leading model in the international political system. At the time, Francis Fukuyama upheld the belief that the Western system, 'forms of government and political economy are the ultimate destination which the entire human race will eventually reach' (Burchill, et. al., 2005: 56). The rise and vehemence of Islamic fundamentalism has, however, brought some distortions on the path and reasoning of Fukuyama's hegemonic liberal internationalism. The September 11 attack against the US was eloquent and a powerful challenge against the acclaimed exclusivity and superiority of the liberal theory as the standing and unrivalled model and paradigm in International Relations.

Liberals argue that there is no significant opposition between nationalism and internationalism. With knowledge of merits of the natural international division of labor, liberals note that each state has a special function and contribution to make in order to promote the well-being of humanity, globally (Dowding, 2011). The international norms and organizations that hold sway in determining dominant trend in global governance issue largely from the ideals, assumptions and institutions created by liberals. Post-World War 2 international organizations like the World Trade Organization, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank are major global institutions that influence the direction of world economy.

With increased economic relations and trade cooperation, it is believed that prospects for conflicts among states will decrease and the likelihood of national and international wars will also decline tremendously (Meiser, 2017). Indeed, enormous benefits anticipated from the participation of states in promoting international organizations and agreements is the basic motivation of neoliberal institutionalism – neoliberalism. Within the scope of International Relations, the main essence of neoliberalism is that states make more gains from cooperation especially if they trust one another and are able to uphold their agreements. Without a broad international agreement, dubious states can always cheat other states with impunity. If an international organization (serving as a third party) monitors the interactions of signatories to an agreement, the probability of any signatory to defect and violate the existing agreement is reduced and the spirit of cooperation is increased. In return, all the signatories can make absolute gains – maximum mutual benefit. Neoliberals emphasize

that states are really concerned about absolute gains rather than relative gains. This contrasts with the position of realists who always seek relative gains measured either by calculations of 'the winner takes it all' or by comparatively acquiring more gains than the perceived competitor (Meiser, 2017).

However, there could be doubts and controversies on the claim of Liberal theorists on the issue of absolute gains. America's double face and image of liberalism and imperialism in the early twentieth century appears to bring in some contradictions. As at that time, the US was liberal and also imperialistic though not as pronounced as the other great imperial nations like Britain and France that colonized numerous parts of the world. 'By 1913, the United States claimed 310,000 square kilometers of colonial territory, compared to 2,360,000 for Belgium, 2,940,000 for Germany and 32,860,000 for the United Kingdom … the bulk of American colonial holdings was due to the annexation of the Philistines and Puerto Rico, which it inherited after defeating Spain in the Spanish-American War of 1898' (Meiser, 2017: 25). It is believed that the dynamisms of liberalism and its normative currents had some restraining effects on America's possible considerations for imperialism. Normative values lashed in liberalism fueled anti-imperialism and made the country retreat from expansionist voracity. Other important liberal values that acted as a powerful check against America's expansionist tendencies include global trade opportunity and preference for self-determination and non-interference into the internal affairs of other states.

Although there is no known global monarch, central authority or hegemonic state recognized to give orders to states and non-state actors, there is an underlying sense of appreciation of major guiding principles of international behavior. In the absence of any internationally recognized police force, a potential state aggressor understands clearly there would be unpleasant consequences for immoral conducts and acts that violate the peace of other nations. Liberal norms generally promote global cooperation and adherence to rule of law. Some of the global responses useable in this regard include economic sanctions, military coalition against the oppressor and other international strategies that have the capacity to isolate and punish a predator or state-bully (Meiser, 2017).

These underlying belief systems occasioned the drive for greater investment of power and political authority in international organizations during the inter-war years with the ultimate aim of regulating the power and liberty of sovereign states in the international political system. Boosting the powers and place of international organizations was a remarkable development in world political thought and was hoped to facilitate harmonious management of international anarchy hitherto sustained by the conflicting goals, competitive national interests and

aggressive foreign policy strategies of state actors. Institutions and norms are believed to be the major tools required to restrain power, whether within or outside the state. At the international level, transnational organizations will restrain the powers of sovereign states. Therefore, it was expected that the global society would support the growth of those international 'organizations whose goal is the protection and promotion of peace and security in the world' (Nesimi, 2018: 89). During the interwar years, it was found that courses on international organization became prominent because of the believe that investing into such academic areas was required to project the relevance of laws in harmonizing interstate relations as well as reduce factors predisposing nations to wars. At the same time, the US isolationist policy and non-participation as a member of the League of Nations at a critical time when the importance of reinforcing the strength and image of international organizations was echoed was eloquently condemned (Cameron, 2002; Haggard, 2014).

In the field of International Relations theory, liberalism is seen as standing in opposite direction to realism. Liberalism believes that regardless of 'international system being anarchic, there is a communitarian consciousness, the possibility of progress in the international system, achieved through cooperation and progress towards a lasting peace, prosperity and social well-being, based on values and aspirations shared by humans' (Fernandes, 2016: 15). Beyond acknowledging the existence of anarchy in the international political system, liberal theorists that the creation of international organizations as well as global regimes encompassed with general norms, rules and regulations acceptable by states would be the way to promote peace and security in the international society.

Some of the major arguments against the liberal theory include controversies surrounding the probability for the global spread of liberal democracy. There are indications that the third wave of democratization that started in the 1970s has already climaxed and yet the international society is far from being uniformly democratic. The United States itself which pushes and promotes the liberal democracy is now profoundly confronted with a myriad of alternative form of governments, especially from authoritarian and semi-authoritarian regimes. As it is, there are new democracies that are nationalist in orientation and strongly opposed to American hegemony (Haggard, 2014).

Granted, the liberal world triumphed and won the Cold War. Francis Fukuyama and a number of others celebrated the victory of liberalism. For the first time, liberal democracy stood as the model of civilization in Europe. But this ecstasy and jubilation did not appear in the scholarly hall of liberal international theory (Jurgensen, 2021).

Self-Assessment Exercise 3

Evaluate the major criticism(s) against liberal institutionalism and
neoliberalism.
Not more than 4 minutes to answer this question.

2.6   Summary

The unit began by providing a background to the roots of idealism. It
expatiated the major assumptions of the theories of idealism and
liberalism. Democratic peace is considered as one of the most important
gifts handed down to the international system by liberals. Liberalism
provides alternative models (particularly relative to realists' postulations)
towards framing peaceful International Relations. The unit also builds
extensively on its hypotheses of liberal institutionalism and
neoliberalism.

2.7   References/Further Readings/Web Sources

Burchill, S., et. al., (2005). *Theories of International Relations, Third
Edition*, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Cameron, G. T., (2002). Progress, History and Identity in International
Relations Theory: The Case of the Idealist-Realist Debate.
European Journal of International Relations, Sage Publications,
Vol. 8., No. 2, 147-185.

Dowding, K., (2011). *Encyclopedia of power. Thousand Oaks*, USA:
Sage PublicationsFernandes, V. R., (2016). Idealism and Realism
in international relations: an ontological debate. *Janus.net ejournal
of International Relations,* Vol. 7, No. 2, 14-25, Retrieved from
https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/4135/413548516002.pdf,   Date
Accessed: October 25, 2022

Haggard, S., (2014). Liberal Pessimism: International Relations Theory
and the Emerging Powers. *Asia and the Pacific Policy Studies*, vol.
1, no. 1, pp. 1–17, doi: 10.1002/app5.3

Jurgensen, K. E., (2021). Introduction: The Liberal International Theory
Tradition in Context. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-30-52643-
6_1,   Retrieved   from
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/348223004_introductio

n_The_Liberal_International_Theory_tradition_in_Context, Date Accessed: October 28, 2022.

Korab-Karpowicz, W. J., (2017). Political Realism in International Relations. *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2018 Edition), in Zalta, E. N., (ed.), Retrieved from https://plato.stanford.edu/emtries/realism-intl-relations/;-;text=Realism, Date Accessed: October 25, 2022.

Lahiry, S., (2019). Conflict, Peace and Security: An International Relations Perspective with Special Reference to India. *Millennial Asia,* Vol. 10, No. 1, 76-90, DOI: 10.1177/0976399619825691. journals.sagepub.com/home/mia.

Meiser, J. W., (2017). Liberalism, in Mcglinchey, S., et. al., eds., *International Relations Theory*, England: E– *International Relations* Publishing, ISBN 978-1-910814-19-2 (paperback), ISBN 978-1-910814-20-8 (e-book), pp. 1-13

Mcglinchey, S., et. al., (2017). Getting Started with International Relations Theory, in Mcglinchey, S., et. al., eds., *International Relations Theory*, England: E International Relations Publishing, ISBN 978-1-910814-19-2 (paperback), ISBN 978-1-910814-20-8 (e-book), pp. 1-13

Nesimi, H., (2018). Historical context of idealism vs. realism. *Journal of Liberty and International Affairs,* Vol. 4, No. 1, 88-100.

Spindler, M., (2013). <u>*International Relations: A Self-Study Guide to Theory*</u>, Toronto: Barbara 2w32Budrich Publishers.

Tetsuya, S., (2004). Idealism and Realism in the Post-War Foreign Policy Debate in Japan, in Chimni, B. S., et. al., eds., *Asian Yearbook of International Law*, Vol. 9, 79-95.

Thomas-Fogiel, I., (2017). Is there a conflict between realism and idealism? The origins and structure of an error. *Revue de metaphysique et de morale,* Vol. 3, No. 95, 393-426. ISSN 0035-1571, ISBN 9782130788362, https://www.cairn-int.info/journal-revue-de-metaphysique-et-de-morale-2017-3-page-393.htm,

2.8   Possible Answers to Self-assessment Exercise

Self-Assessment Exercise 1
The root of idealism is traced largely to Plato's doctrines on ideas and the ''intelligible world''. Idealists are known to accord much priority to the ideas of a suprasensible world. Though, idealists do not ignore the existence and reality of a physical world, they attribute ''being'' to intelligible things and ideas. Idealists simply conceive and attach a form of existence to ideas and believe that ideas and idealities are autonomous in relation to the material or physical world.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2
The premise of liberals' democratic peace in the international system is their belief that all human being and societies share similar aspirations with regards to harmonious relations, human security and human welfare. Human race is bound by common moral affinity rooted mainly in fundamental human rights. Consequently, liberals advocate that ensuring the right of individuals to life, liberty and property is the highest goal of government. They also believe and recommend limited government, technocracy, scientific rationality, freedom from arbitrary state power and constitutional government.

Self-Assessment Exercise 3
Liberal institutionalism and neoliberalism maintain that the Western system, democratic styles, forms of government and political economy have become a pacesetter for all human society. However, this dream is far from reality when measured within time-predictions estimated by liberals. The third wave of democratization that started in the 1970s has already climaxed and yet the international society is far from being uniformly democratic. Leading democratic states like the United States are challenged with alternative forms of governments and there are new democracies that are nationalist in orientation and strongly opposed to American democratic hegemony.

UNIT 3   IMPERIALISM

Unit Structure

3.1   Introduction
3.2   Learning Outcome
3.3   The Concept of Imperialism
3.4   V.I. Lenin on the Features of Imperialism
3.5   Imperialism: between the Center and the Periphery Nations
3.6   Summary
3.7   References/Further Readings/Web Sources
3.8   Possible Answers Self-Assessment Exercises

 3.1   Introduction

The theory of imperialism is crucial in seeking to understand more about the expansion of capitalism across the globe and how the dominance of wealthy nations over poor nations is underscored by mechanisms of economic exploitations. Since the early twentieth century, imperialism has developed widely among Marxist scholars and followers who emphasize dimensions of contemporary expansion of former colonial empires, capitalist nations, industrial powers as well as imperial nations in the international economic system. As the era of colonial imperialism collapsed, the manifestation of imperialism by other means has become a source of concern, especially in countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the Third World in general. As an International Relations theory, imperialism has drawn much inspiration from V. I. Lenin's study on ''The Highest Stage of Capitalism''. The unit interrogated Lenin's approach to the study of imperialism in which he outlined and elaborated on five major features of imperialism. It examined the complex system of dominance-relations between and among nations and how economic exploitation breeds distrust and disharmony in International Relations, particularly between Core nations (major world powers that have and control much of the world's wealth) and periphery nations (countries that are disadvantaged in terms of distribution of global wealth).

 3.2   Learning Outcome

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

- discuss the meaning of imperialism in International Relations.
- analyze forms of manifestation of imperialism in the contemporary international system.
- demonstrate ways in which imperialism triggers inequality and conflicts between the Center and the periphery nations.

3.3 The Concept of Imperialism

Imperialism can be referred to as the territorial ambition of a state aimed at acquiring more lands and areas of control. It was 'used to refer to the policy of colonial empires' (Gudova, 2018). Between early and mid-twentieth century, the concept of imperialism developed among Marxists to capture the extensive expansion of colonial powers and the various conflicts generated among capitalist industrialized countries. In the decades that followed, the theory of imperialism became colored in Marxism arising largely from its suitability in the illustration of trends in economic, political and social developments in countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America as well as in the description of the nature of relationship of the Third World nations and the advanced capitalist countries.

It will be recalled that during the era of colonialism, great powers like Britain, France, Germany and Portugal dominated and controlled both the political and the economic affairs of weaker societies in Africa, Asia and South America. Economic exploitation was the hallmark of the relationship that followed the predatory exchange between the power imperial states and their colonies as capitalist exploitation of raw materials and markets were carried out without restraints. Following the collapse of former colonial empires, imperialism has come to be seen more as an informal system of economic and political domination in which post-colonial states are always on the receiving end. In a post-colonial context, we can speak of the imperialism of territories, that is neocolonialism, and also of internal imperialism in the territory of one's own country. Thus, classical interpretations of imperialism have now become strong reference points of analyses of neo-colonial and dependency thinkers (Kitching, 1981).

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

Demonstrate colonialism as a form of imperialism.
Not more than 4 minutes to answer this question.

3.4 V.I. Lenin on the Features of Imperialism

The major text from the formative development of the theory of imperialism are V. I. Lenin's Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism (1917). Lenin identified five main features of imperialism. One is the creation of monopolies which results from the concentration of production and capital. Two is the creation of financial oligarchies which

results from the merging of bank capital with industrial capital. Three is the stage of exportation of capital rather than commodities as it used to be. Four is the formation of international monopolist networks in which the world political economy is shared among partners. Five is the territorial balkanization and sharing of the world among the biggest capitalist powers (Kitching, 1981). Extending these features globally, we find imperialism expressed in the highest stage of monopoly capitalism and the dominance of large monopolies in every facet of socio-economic life. Powerful states seek to dominate and control the economy, political conditions and social life of weaker states.

Analyzing case studies of massive growth of concentration of production in a number of selected leading capitalist countries, Lenin demonstrated how few monopolies expand their business operations while denying small industries opportunities to grow their own enterprises or rise to compete with them. Lenin describes the rationale behind the extensive expansion of big companies in capitalist nations. Examining the growth of monopolies in Germany, Lenin notes that:

'The enormous growth of industry and the remarkably rapid concentration of production in ever-larger enterprises are one of the most characteristic features of capitalism. … Concentration of production, however, is much more intense than the concentration of workers, since labour in the large enterprises is more productive. … Less than one-hundredth of the total number of enterprises utilize more than three-fourths of the total amount of steam and electric power. Two million nine hundred and seventy thousand small enterprises (employing up to five workers) constituting 91 per cent of the total, utilize only 7 per cent of the total amount of steam and electric power. Tens of thousands of huge enterprises are everything; millions of small ones are nothing. … money capital and the banks make this superiority of a handful of the largest enterprises still more overwhelming …' (Lenin, 1917: 8-9).

Compared to other capitalist nations, Lenin describes the growth of the concentration of production in the United States as far greater. In America, few giant companies influence business trends as they easily join forces as monopolists and also make competition difficult for potential business rivals since their coalition as monopolists already closed the door for new competitors to emerge. In the world capitalist system, what we find is a growing struggle for scarce raw materials and factors of production among capitalist countries as they compete for sources of raw materials and markets.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

Discuss the major features of imperialism.
Not more than 5 minutes to answer this question.

3.5 Imperialism: between the Center and the Periphery Nations

Imperialism is a form of international hierarchy in which one political community effectively governs or controls another preponderant power or influence over others, especially in political and economic matters. It can be seen as a sophisticated type of dominance relationship between and among nations in which the Center nation has power over the Periphery nation to the extent that it could bring a condition of disharmony of interest between them. In some forms of imperialism, there is harmony of interest between the center and the Center nation and the center in the Periphery nation while there is more disharmony of interest within the Periphery nation than within the Center nations. The gap in these poles of power relation is constant. Essentially, there is more inequality and disharmony in the Periphery nation than in the Center nation. Though, in the Center, the two entities are not equal in terms of possessions and may be opposed to each other, the periphery (within the Center) still see themselves as better off and more comfortable aligning with the center in the Center than forming any form of partnership with the periphery in the Periphery. With such an outlook, alliance formation between the two peripheries is eliminated. In the Periphery nation, the center acquires more resources and grows more than the periphery mainly because of how interaction between the center and the periphery is organized. The center in the Periphery acts as the channel or transmission belt, particularly in the image of commercial enterprises, through which resources and values are carried to the Center nation for use by the center in the Center, with the crumbs falling and drizzling down to the periphery in the Center (Galtung, 1971).

Imperialism as a theory in International Relations stands on two major angles of belief. The first is the belief in the existence of inequality in all dimensions of human existence among states in the international political system. Narayan and Sealay-Huggins (2017) observed that 'imperialism revolves around a geo-political division of the international system between the Center and the Periphery and where the world's big monopolies at the metropolitan center (together with their international elites and multi-national corporations systematically underdeveloped the periphery who are in the global south. The periphery nations in the global south are made to become too weak to compete with or challenge the international monopoly capitalists. This situation consequently creates a neo-imperial order in which 'newly independent Third World countries

were perpetually placed on the outer-limits of the global economy, providing raw materials, natural resources and inflows of capital to industrialized countries in the West and unable to develop their own industries and infrastructure free of Western interferences' (Narayan and Sealay-Huggins, 2017: 2388). Narayan and Sealay-Huggins believe the best way forward is to delink from every form of attachment with the Western controlled international capitalist system (2017) since there appears to be a strong resistance of the inequality between the Center and the Periphery nations of the world to change. The world political system is seen as comprising the Center and the Periphery.

Self-Assessment Exercise 3

> On account of imperialism, analyze the major reasons why there seems to be more disharmony of interest within the Periphery nation than within the Center nations.
> Not more than 5 minutes to answer this question.

3.6   Summary

This unit has explored the theory of imperialism, its meaning and diverse forms of manifestation in contemporary international system; the dominance and exploitative systems of relations between and among the Center and the Periphery nations and various ways in which they spue conflicts in the international system were elucidated. The work of Lenin in which he illustrated imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism were extensively used in this unit.

3.7   References/Further Readings/Web Sources

Galtung, J., (1971). A Structural Theory of Imperialism, *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 81-117.

Gudova, I., (2018). The Concept of Imperialism: The History of the Development, *IJASOS –International E-Journal of Advances in Social Sciences,* Vol. IV, Issue 11,489-495

Kitching, G., (1981). The Theory of Imperialism and Its Consequences, *Middle East Report*, 100.

Lenin, V. I., (1917). Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, International Relations and Security Network, Primary Resources

in   International   Affairs,   Retrieved   from
https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/125485/6000_Imperialism_Highest
_Stage_Capitalism.pdf, Date Accessed: June 13, 2022

Narayan, J. and Sealay-Huggins, L., (2017). Whatever happened to the
        idea of imperialism? *Third World Quarterly,* Vol. 38, No. 11,
        2387-2395

3.8   Possible Answers to Self-assessment Exercise

Self-Assessment Exercise 1
Colonialism represents imperialism owing to its manner of economic
exploitation. In the years of colonial rule, the powerful and imperial
nations overwhelmingly established unequal relations with their weak
colonies and thus dominated and exploited their raw materials as well
as human resources in ways that promoted their own welfare and
national interests at the expense of their colonies.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2
The main features of imperialism include creation of monopolies which
results from the concentration of production and capital, creation of
financial oligarchies which results from the merging of bank capital
with industrial capital, exportation of capital rather than commodities,
formation of international monopolist networks in which the world
political economy is shared among partners and territorial balkanization
and sharing of the world among the biggest capitalist powers.

Self-Assessment Exercise 3
There is more disharmony of interest within the Periphery nation than
within the Center nations because the socio-economic gap induced by
imperialism is not too wide in the Center nations as to trigger intense
and unhealthy class struggle between ''the haves'' and ''the have-
nots''. The socio-economic situation is noticeably wide in the Periphery
nations. Though, in the Center, the two entities are not equal in terms
of possessions and may be opposed to each other, the periphery (within
the Center) still see themselves as better off and more comfortable
aligning with the center in the Center.

UNIT 4   CONFLICT AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Unit Structure

4.1   Introduction
4.2   Learning Outcome
4 3   Marx and the Concept of Conflict
4.4   Peace and Conflict
4 5   Conflict Resolution
4.6   Summary
4.7   References/Further Readings/Web Sources
4.8   Possible Answers Self-Assessment Exercises

4.1   Introduction

Conflict theory was first developed by Karl Marx. Marx believes that human societies are in a state of perpetual conflict because of the lopsided nature of economic ownership, production and distribution of wealth. Generally, conflict theories underscore the location of materialism in the understanding and reading of human history and societal dialectics. Power differentials specifically in the form of economic inequality are seen as the basis of class struggles and subsequent conflicts. At the international level, conflict has remained endemic as a result of raging competitions for resource accumulation. Since the end of the WW 2, conflict resolution has been intensified in different ways especially at the realm of conflict management through rational decision-making processes aimed at ensuring global peace.

4.2   Learning Outcome

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

- discuss concepts of conflict and conflict resolution.
- evaluate reasons for growth of interests in peace studies after the mid-twentieth century.
- analyze specific factors that impact on processes of conflict resolution at the international level.

4.3   Marx and the Concept of Conflict

Conflict occurs when two or more persons or groups struggle to access or control the same object, occupy the same position, play incompatible roles or pursue incompatible goals. It is a situation of competition in which the actors involved understand the incompatibility of goals pursued or positions under contention and each of the competitor is impelled to pursue same positions that are incompatible with the perceived interest of the other competitor. Conflict theorists opine that human society consists of different classes competing over finite power and resources (Eze, 2015). In the international political system, states interact in a variety of ways, including through peaceful transactions and disputes. The relevance of these different dimensions of interaction between and among states will affect the likelihood of the outbreak of conflict as well as conflict resolution. While some states have pursued their interests through peaceful means, other have relied on violence. It is believed that as long as people live together and interact with each other, disputes remain inevitable among nations. Conflict theory assumes that human behavior in social contexts results from conflict between competing groups.

Conflict theory gained global relevance with the works of Karl Marx around the mid-1800s. Marx examined the history of human societies in terms of conflicts between social classes, notably the conflict between 'the-haves' (owners of means of economic production) and 'the-have-nots' (mainly the poor working masses) in a typical capitalist society. For Marx, society is divided into unequal classes. There is the rich, strong and noble on the one end (the bourgeoise) who control the apparatuses of the state. The other group is deprived, financially infantile and socially deflated (the proletariat). There is therefore a constant struggle between the two groups in the state, though the have-nots are often marginalized. The common theme is that different social groups of people have unequal power possession and that that is a recipe for conflict (Bekelcha, 2019). Since the state is the product of the irreconcilability of class antagonisms, the state is inevitably structured to be in a perpetual state of conflict. Beyond the state, the theory also captures the historical place of colonialism, imperialism and a wide range of social phenomena, including wars, revolution, poverty, discrimination and social violence. It ascribes most of the fundamental developments in human history, such as democracy and civil rights, to capitalistic attempts to control the masses (as opposed to a desire for social order).

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

> Evaluate Marx's view on the rationale behind conflicts.
> Not more than 4 minutes to answer this question.

4.4   Peace and Conflict

Peace and conflict have become recurring themes and well-integrated in the discipline of International Relations. Interest in peace research grew tremendously in the 1960s in both the United States and Europe and had the primary objective of evaluating the causes of conflict (Sousa, 2018). Peace is no longer restricted to the concept of absence of conflict or absence of war as there are now other concepts like 'negative peace' as well as 'positive peace'. Cessation of direct violence which usually involves physical attacks and aggression could lead to the attainment of negative peace. But when other forms of violence which are not direct (structural and cultural violence) are addressed and forestalled, positive peace arises. An example of direct violence is killing of people. Structural violence depicts, for example, callous government failures or policies which adversely oppresses people. Cultural violence occurs when there are efforts made to hide, justify or normalize offensive behaviors detrimental to the people. On the flip side, positive peace entails more important socio-economic determinants like justice and fairness, economic development for all, environmental stability and social equality.

Conflict is a condition of disharmony in an interaction process and usually occurs as a result of clash on interest between the parties involved in some form of relationship. The clash of interest is often the function of incompatibility of goals pursued by parties involved in a deal (Bekelcha, 2019). Conflicts are a part of human interaction and are rarely completely resolved or eliminated. But conflicts can be managed through negotiation, mediation, conciliation and arbitration.

We may look at conflict 'as a condition involving at least two parties, who have a mutual problem of position or resource scarcity, in which there is a behavior (or threat) designed through the exercise of power to control or gain at the other's expense. … Resolution involves the breaking into constituent parts and developing a consonant solution to the problem at hand' (Steele, 1976: 222). Following a description by Johan Galtung (See Lahiry, 2019), conflict could be seen in the image of a triangle with three components. The components are contradiction, attitude and behavior. Contradiction embodies the situation in which there is no compatibility in goals pursued by parties involved in conflict. Attitude refers to how the parties involved in the conflict perceive or misperceive themselves while behavior has to do with tendencies and actions towards cooperation or

coercion. The key element or target of conflict resolution is the development of an operational conflict theory that straddles essential uniformities and principles that characterize all conflict systems.

Peace, 'though generally understood as an absence of war or violence, an occurrence of harmony characterized by a lack of conflict behavior and freedom from fear of violence, has many connotations and interpretations. … To Christians, peace prevails when there is no sin being committed in the world, while Islam says peace reigns when the infidel is dead or has embraced the faith. … Mahatma Gandhi contemplated peace not merely as the absence of war and violence but also as a condition of society in which individuals, groups and states reside in joint understanding and assistance abjuring or refraining from ruling or dominating each other' (Reddy and Reddy, 2015: 11). Peace is thus viewed as an adhesive force necessary for societal development. It is a state of balance and understanding in oneself and between others, where respect is appreciated and gained through the acceptance of differences, persistence of tolerance, a resolution of conflict through dialogue and respect of people's rights. Peace is a complex concept and cuts across from a person to a family, community, nation, region, continent to the whole world. It is most reasonable and practical to view peace as the appreciation of differences and as something positive that creates interdependence.

For long, International Relations experts and theorists focused on 'negative peace' – absence of violence or conflict prevention. Their attention was occupied with how to ensure the efficacy of international law, nuclear disarmament and the functioning of international organizations. These were thought to be useful in the prevention of wars. However, the vicissitudes of the international political system have dissected the illusions of such political thoughts, hence, the consideration of other important concepts in the areas of economic justice, social equality, cultural diversity and environmental stability. By extension, beyond the popular military approach to security, we now have economic security, social security cultural security and environmental security. Denial of social justice and economic welfare are basic determinants of conflicts as peace is not limited to the absence of war. There are non-traditional security threats (including ethnic rivalries, gender violence, racism, environmental degradation, adverse climate change, global terrorism, religious fundamentalism) which pose a greater challenge before mankind.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

> Explain Johan Galtung's description of the components of conflict.
> Not more than 4 minutes to answer this question.

4.5   Conflict Resolution

Conflict resolution relates more to what is done to ensure control or resolve conflict and these will include conflict management, containment, negotiation, settlement and conciliation. As a field of study in International Relations, conflict resolution began around the same time as international security studies in the Post-World War 11 era and focused mainly on conflict as a specific phenomenon. Conflict resolution has a normative concern desiring to 'transform a society in a state of war (violent conflict) into a state of negative peace (the absence of violent conflict) and transform a state of negative peace into a state of positive peace (the absence of violent conflict and existence of social justice) (Sousa, 2018: 5).

Conflict management has to do with the attempt by actors involved in conflict to reduce the level of hostility and generate some order in their relations. It is a conscious and rational decision-making process in which the conflicting parties take concrete steps to deescalate tension or terminate the crisis in a mutually acceptable manner, with or without external intervention (Bercovitch and Regan, 1999). When conflict is successfully managed, it leads to complete resolution of issues previously stoking conflict. This usually manifests in change of behavior and attitudes. On the other hand, successful management of conflict can also lead to an acceptable settlement, ceasefire or partial agreement. In Article 33(1) of the United Nations Charter, policy tools available for conflict management are grouped into four categories. They include the use of force, judicial and legal processes, formal and informal bilateral methods and other forms of non-coercive methods. Each of these approaches has different features, aims and objectives and also entails different costs and resources (Bercovitch and Gartner, 2009).

In the international political system, there are specific factors that impact on processes of conflict resolution. The factors include (i) the character of the international system, (ii) the nature of a conflict and (iii) the type and disposition of states involved in the conflict. The character of the international system at any given time affects the expectations of states and the type of strategies they may choose to deploy in tackling conflict. The character of the international system may range from features such as polarity of the global arena, existing patterns of alignment and alliances, nature of the distribution of power capabilities. The international political system may be unipolar, bipolar or multipolar. States' preference in terms of defense and security is often conditioned upon whatever form of polarity that prevails on the world stage.

Second, the nature of a conflict and the type of issues at stake will determine the ways and how the conflict is managed. Issues in the conflict

may range from matters of sovereignty, security of a nation, issues of self-determination and ideological preferences bordering on the political system to be adopted by the state to other areas of core interest. Bercovitch and Gartner (2009) note that issues of conflict involving peoples' beliefs (religious, cultural, ideological), security or territorial integrity, are extremely difficult to manage and would linger a longer time. Sometimes, such sensitive matters entail the use of coercive methods to resolve. The protracted conflict in the Middle East region provides a close case study here. The Middle East conflict is shrouded in much deep-rooted disputes over values and ideologies. Knowing that ideological disputes are mostly zero-sum conflicts, they leave little or no room for negotiation Again, the number of issues tangled in a conflict and the rigidity with which the actors/states involved grabble to protect their interests may determine the duration and method to resolve the conflict.

On the third (type and disposition of states involved in the conflict), it is believed that the structural properties and core interests of states impact their predisposition and choice of methods to use in resolving conflicts. For example, liberals opine that democratic states are more inclined to resort to peaceful methods of conflict resolution because the internal normative roots of their governmental systems. Three major foundations that underpin the non-preference for war among democracies include political culture (shared norms that promote peaceful patterns of conflict resolution), structures (institutional constraints in governance which limits powers available for use by the decision-makers) and democratic leaders' perceptions (Kleiboer, 1996: 362). But undemocratic states are more prone to deploy coercive medium in the pursuit of their national goals. The duration of conflict in terms of days, months or years is linked to the persistence of change of attitudes of the adversaries toward the conflict (Kleiboer, 1996: 362).

Self-Assessment Exercise 3

According to Article 33(1) of the United Nations Charter, what are the four categories of policy tools available for conflict management?

4.6 Summary

This unit assessed the concept of conflict and conflict resolution. Inputs of Karl Marx who is rated as the proponent of conflict theory facilitated the development of the segment. Human behaviors in social contexts as a function of conflicts between and among competing groups were considered. Division of societies into two unequal classes and the predatory exploitations by the rich against the poor are components of the

conflict studies. At the international level, the unit investigated the various approaches for effective management and resolution of conflicts.

4.7   References/Further Readings/Web Sources

Bekelcha, K. L., (2019). Conflict Theories. *Global Journal of Politics,* Vol. 1, No. 4, 1-8

Bercovitch J. and Gartner, S. S., (2009). New Approaches, methods and findings in the study of mediation, in Bercovitch J. and Gartner, S. S., (eds.), *International Conflict Mediation, New Approaches and findings*. London and New York: Routledge

Bercovitch, J. and Regan P. M., (1999). The Structure of International Conflict Management: an Analysis of the Effects of Intractability and Mediation, *The International Journal of Peace Studies,* Vol. 4, No. 1, Available on https://www3.gmu.edu/programs/icar/ijps/vol14_1/bercovitch.htm

Eze, R. C., (2015). Conflict and Conflict Resolution in International Relations. *International Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities Reviews,* Vol. 5, No. 3, September, pp. 122-129, (ISSN: 2276-8645).

Kleiboer, M., (1996). Understanding Success and Failure of International Mediation, *The Journal of Conflict Resolution,* Vol. 40, No. 2, 360-389.

Lahiry, S., (2019). Conflict, Peace and Security: An International Relations Perspective with Special Reference to India. *Millennial Asia,* Vol. 10, No. 1, 76-90, DOI: 10.1177/0976399619825691. journals.sagepub.com/home/mia.

Reddy P. K. M. and Reddy, C. S., (2015). Global Peace and the Role of the United Nations. *World Affairs: The Journal of International Issues,* Vol. 19, No. 1, (Spring 2015 January – March), 10-19, Kapur Surya Foundation, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/48505134 ,

Steele, J. L., (1976). Conflict Resolution. *Operational Research Quarterly (1970-1977),* Vol. 27, No. 1, 221-230

Sousa, R. R. P., (2018). The Context of Conflict Resolution – International Relations and the Peace and Conflict. *Working Paper,* CEsA CSG 164/2018, Lisbon School of Economics and Management.

4.8   Possible Answers to Self-assessment Exercise

Self-Assessment Exercise 1
Marx is of the view that human society is divided into two unequal classes comprising the rich (the haves) and the poor (the have-nots). The rich controls the means of production and distribution of the state. He believes that the rich exploit the poor through its capitalist machineries designed to unduly appropriate resources and profits generated during economic production processes.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2
Contradiction, attitude and behavior.

Self-Assessment Exercise 3
The use of force, legal processes, formal and informal bilateral methods and other forms of non-coercive method
Not more than 5 minutes to answer this question.

MODULE 3   PERSPECTIVES AND ANALYSES OF BARGAINING, FUNCTIONALISM AND INTEGRATION, GAMES, AND SYSTEMS THEORIES.

Unit 2   Theories of Functionalism and Integration
Unit 1   Bargaining Theory
Unit 3   Games Theory
Unit 4   Systems Theory

UNIT 1   BARGAINING THEORY

Unit Structure

1.1   Introduction
1.2   Learning Outcome
1.3   Meaning and Relevance of Bargaining Theory
1.4   Bargaining Theory from the Lens of Non-cooperative Game Theory
1.5   Bargaining Theory in the Cold and Post-Cold War Eras
1.6   Summary
1.7   References/Further Readings/Web Sources
1.8   Possible Answers Self-Assessment Exercises

1.1   Introduction

The importance of bargaining theory lies much in its contribution to peaceful resolution of conflicts through negotiation mechanism. Bargaining theory becomes even more critical in an international system generally seen as anarchical and where powerful nations are prepared to make absolute gains, not minding the status of weaker nations. In the international system, cooperation and conflicts are seen as critical components of bargaining theory because of its focus on fetching for and reaching decisions on best ways to divide the gains emanating from joint actions. The possibility of greater gains emerging from joint operations and decisions provides incentives for more cooperation. This unit analyzes the dynamic interplay of state interests and the probabilities of flexibility in view of peaceful settlement of conflicts in the international system. It also espoused the place of willingness and unwillingness of actors to provide vital information during a bargaining period. The utility of bargaining theory in the Cold and Post-Cold War periods was considered.

1.2 Learning Outcome

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

- analyze the meaning and relevance of bargaining theory in International Relations.
- discuss factors that determine whether or not actors will resort to bargaining.
- evaluate the role of (mis)information in the bargaining process and reasons for the failure of bargaining among actors.

1.3 Meaning and Relevance of Bargaining Theory

In a simple expression, bargaining is all 'about deciding how to divide the gains from joint action' (Powell, 2002). It is about the coordination of actions in the process of exchanging goods and values in a peaceful manner rather than through the costly use of force which could further destroy instead of divide and share resource between and among parties involved. In the international political system, there are notions that in a situation of conflicting interests between or among states, countries involved would evaluate mechanisms available to negotiate settlements with preferable results for the conflicting parties. By extension, bargaining is the foremost tendency judging that it provides multiple positive options that are preferable to risking the uncertainties that accompany wars. This also means that conflict is the farthest option in the bargaining process as it only appears following the failure of parties involved to come up with proposals that are mutually beneficial (StudyCorgi, 2022).

The incentive to participate in a bargaining process arises mainly from the existence of expected gains. To a large extent, the amount of material power available to a state or an actor influences the bargaining power of the state or the actor as well as expected gains. However, more physical strength and financial resource are not the only advantages in bargaining situations. Schelling (1960), in his book ''The Strategy of Conflict'' argues that bargaining power also depends reasonably on the credibility of threats and promises. In some situations, according to Schelling, restricting one's options may be beneficial. Weakness may be strength since it can force others to make concessions. Also, bargaining in International Relations often happens at more than one level. At the international level, statesmen may bargain over an agreement with fellow statesmen, while at the same time bargaining with domestic constituents over the ratification of such an agreement. Thus, the statesman must take

into account the interests of international actors, while at the same time taking into account pressures from different domestic actors, each pressuring the statesman to adopt policies favorable to their interests (Schelling, 1960).

By bargaining power, we mean the capacity of the state to successfully push for their position or interest in a negotiation. There are two main sources of bargaining power – argumentation and institutional power. Under argumentation, the states involved are expected to debate about their positions and claims made in a negotiation. That means also that interests are not fixed but flexible as actors are liberty to attempt to persuade other parties. It is believed that argumentation as a source of bargaining power is a critical strategy often deployed by weaker parties in a negotiation because they see it as a veritable tool to leverage on while pushing their powers to convince the more powerful states to change their perception in a debate. It is an easier way for the weaker actor to achieve an agreement that is closer to their own preferences.

Institutional power is also another major source of power in international negotiations. Small states often have a significant amount of institutional power due to their sheer numbers which allows them push their agenda in a negotiation more effectively. Some of the institutional structures of power include chairing meeting and agenda setting which places states at advantageous positions to influence the outcome of negotiations. Again, small states can band themselves together in a coalition in order to vote as a block. Thus, while they may lack bargaining power individually, small states are able to mobilize significant amount of power collectively (Western, 2020).

Self-assessment Exercise 1

Discuss the defining feature of ''argumentation'' as a source of bargaining.
Not more than 4 minutes to answer this question.

1.4   Bargaining Theory from the Lens of Non-cooperative Game Theory

Potential gains to be made also means that each of the actors on the bargaining table is prepared to maximize benefits and may even take certain steps in order to reduce the chances of agreement if their own advantage is threatened. This thought pattern largely influenced Rubistein (see, Powell, 2002) who analyzes the bargaining theory from the lens of non-cooperative game theory in which rather than focus on the properties of a bargaining outcome, emphasizes the bargaining process. Rubistein's study elaborates his non-cooperative approach by reiterating the

relevance of a setting in which negotiation is carried out and also on how that settings shape bargaining strategies and the outcomes.

Another angle to the non-cooperative method is the place of bargaining protocol in which three categories are identifiable. In the first category, only one actor makes a specific offer. The actor makes a one-off offer to the other party and the offer made leaves no room for haggling. It is a take-it-or-leave-it offer. If the other party accepts the offer presented, the two parties will receive and share the outcome of the offer. On the second category, although one actor unilaterally makes the offer, there are multiple offers (not one item) presented on the negotiation table. In the third category, offers are alternated by both parties as the stakeholders freely negotiate and counter offers presented by the other in a bid to maximize one-sided gains (Powell, 2002).

The perception of parties involved in a conflict with regards to different outcomes such as monetary cost, casualties, territorial loss or gains and so on, will determine whether a party will initiate a bargain. But upon certain conditions, parties to a conflict will certainly prefer negotiations over war, especially at that point in the conflict (ripeness theory) when they find themselves in a rough, thorny and hurting stalemate. At that point when both parties in the conflict realize that they are mutually hurting each other and neither of them could further escalate the conflict to their own gains at any desirable or acceptable cost, they will seek a way out of the conflict. Resorting to bargaining in this instance could also be the function of 'war weariness' whereby parties in a long-lasting conflict come to realize that there is a low probability of victory and thus choose negotiation even without achieving their goals in full' (Kalin and Abduljaber, 2020: 90). There are, however, options available to parties on the negotiation table should the bargaining process be terminated. Like the marketing world, one actor might pull out of the bargaining process so as to engage with another actor or even resort to litigation in order to actualize its goals. Again, one party might decide to close the bargaining window and use the force of arms to achieve its goals. There is also the possibility that if a state 'prefers the status quo over a negotiated agreement then the state cannot credibly commit to ratify during the bargaining process' (Western, 2020: 175).

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

In connection with Rubistein's analysis of bargaining theory, what is the main focus of the non-cooperative game theory.
Not more than 4 minutes to answer this question.

1.5   Bargaining Theory in the Cold and Post-Cold War Eras

The utility and importance of bargaining theory reflected during the Cold War era. The major issues addressed by the activation of nuclear deterrence were simply to prevent attacks either on the US or the SU. The tension became more worrisome when both superpowers acquired mutual assured destructive capabilities through their second-strike abilities. At that level, each side in the conflict was capable of destroying the other even after absorbing a first strike. Thus, coercive bargaining through mutual assured capability became competitive in risk-taking. With the end of the Cold War and the superpower rivalry, bargaining through the use of nuclear deterrence has waned. In the Post-Cold War period, the world has witnessed the rascality of rogue states – countries that are willing to take greater than normal risks while pursuing their national goals. Such states are believed to be able to deter the United States (Frieden and Lake, 2005). Since the end of the Cold War, US foreign policy has practically shifted from its half century focus dominated by the superpower struggle with the Soviet Union to the challenges presented by rogue states. No sooner had the fear of superpower aggression subsided, when regional aggression took the stage with the 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. The potentials of regional aggression having adverse effects on the international system served to transform the attention of U.S. foreign policy makers (Reilly, 2007).

The bargaining theory of war has marked a turning point in the evolution of International Relations as it provides a new theoretical foundation for the study of the causes of large-scale conflicts. Previous efforts in conflict studies largely attempted to identify the attributes of individuals, states and the wider system that engender conflicts. But the bargaining theory of war has brought to the fore explanations depicting 'violence as the product of private information with incentives to misrepresent and problems of credible commitment' (Frieden and Lake, 2005: 146). This demonstrates war as a bargaining failure that leaves both sides worse off than if they had resorted to negotiation. Bargaining failure and war occur when an actor involved in a conflict has some incentives not to reveal its private information in order to prevent a mutually beneficial negotiation to take place. Unevenness of information available in relation to the various areas of the negotiation process and discussion may determine whether peace or war will be experienced.

The 1991 and 2003 US wars in Iraq had the attributes of bargaining failure considering the role and use of private information with the aim to misrepresent. In the 2003 Iraqi War and knowing fully well that they were not capable of facing the US forces in a direct confrontation, the Iraqis made plans not to engage in any direct wars with the American forces. They chose guerrilla warfare whereby they strategized and formed

smaller cells in order to embark on a war of attrition. Both the Iraqi forces and the American forces refused to unveil their battle strategy. On the other hand, apart from bargaining failure, wars can also break out if the parties in the conflict are unable to adhere to terms and conditions of the bargain. When a bargain is not in the interest of the stakeholders involved in the conflict, the chances of its survival is slim. So, even in situations where there is no private information reserved by parties in a conflict, lack of credible commitment is possible to undermine expected outcomes (Frieden and Lake, 2005).

Self-Assessment Exercise 3

Examine any important development that promoted the relevance of bargaining theory during the Cold War period.

Not more than 5 minutes to answer this question.

1.6   Summary

In this unit, we have looked at various perspectives of bargaining theory and its importance in the international system. Cooperation and conflict are pictured as major integral parts of bargaining theory in an international arena generally seen as chaotic and anarchical. The unit also examined and discussed the two main sources of bargaining power – argumentation and institutional power. The dynamism of bargaining theory during the Cold and Post-Cold War eras were expatiated.

1.7   References/Further Reading/Web Sources

Frieden, J. A. and Lake, D. A., (2005). International Relations as a Social Science: Rigor and Relevance. The Annals of the American Academy,   Retrieved   from https://scholar.harvard.edu/files/jfrieden/files/annalsapss_2005.pdf, Date Accessed: June 22, 2022

Kalin, I. and Abduljaber, M. (2020). The Determinants of Negotiation Commencement in Civil Conflicts, *Journal of Conflict Transformation and Security*, Vol. 8, No. 1, 86-113

O'Reilly, K. P. (2007). Perceiving Rogue States: The Use of the ''Rogue State'' Concept by U.S. Foreign Policy Elites. *Foreign Policy*

Analysis, Vol. 3, No. 4, 295-315. Oxford University Press. https://www.jstor.org/stable/24907295.

Powell, R., (2002). Bargaining Theory and International Conflict. *Annual Reviews*, Political Science, Vol 5, 1-30.

Schelling, T. C., (1960). *The Strategy of Conflict*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. ISBN 0-674-84031-3 (Paper).

StudyCorgi, (2022). Bargaining Theory: A Better Explanation of Why Wars Happen. Retrieved from https://studycorgi.com/bargaining-theory-a-better-explanation-of-why-wars-happen/, Date Accessed: June 22, 2022.

Western, S. D., (2020). Bargaining Power at the Negotiation Table and Beyond. International Negotiation, Vol. 25, 169-200. Available on https://brill.com/view/journals/iner/25/2/article-p169_1.xml?language=en

 1.8   Possible Answers to Self-assessment Exercises

Self-Assessment Exercise 1
In the context of argumentation, states involved in the bargaining process allow room for debates to be made over whatever entitlement that is at stake. Negotiations are made. Implicitly, interests are not fixed but flexible as actors are liberty to attempt to persuade other parties.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2
Rubistein emphasizes that rather than focus on the properties of a bargaining outcome effort should be made to concentrate on the bargaining process. He believes that the settings (in which negotiation takes place) shape bargaining strategies and the outcomes.

Self-Assessment Exercise 3
Global panic triggered by tensions and hostility associated with nuclear arsenal necessitated urgent negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union as well as other powerful nations. It had become clear that both superpowers had acquired mutual assured destructive capabilities through their second-strike abilities. Each side in the conflict was capable of destroying the other even after absorbing a first strike. Under this condition, bargaining became a necessary option.

UNIT 2   THEORIES OF FUNCTIONALISM AND INTEGRATION

Unit Structure

2.1   Introduction
2.2   Learning Outcome
2.3   Main Focus of Functionalism
2 4   Spill-over Effects and Progressive Incrementalism
2.5   Integration and Neo-functionalism
2.6   Summary
2.7   References/Further Readings/Web Sources
2.8   Possible Answers Self-Assessment Exercises

2.1   Introduction

Within the context of functionalism, David Mitrany's major proposition envisions non-territorial functional agencies that will supplant states systems. He combines strands of utilitarianism, early interdependence liberalism and pluralism in his quest for the reorganization of the international system. Another defining feature 'in Mitrany's functionalism is that people are best to cooperate in areas which directly affect them and in which they share expertise and that such cooperation can evolve organically and without central organization' (Theiler, 2022: 315).

The core tenets of theories of functionalism and integration is collective governance and interdependence of states and non-state actors. Integration in the international system is expected to happen when actors are able to incrementally improve their own internal structures in areas of economic cooperation, technical cooperation, humanitarian assistance and other major fields of relations. It advocates the importance of identifying specific problems whose impacts affect the common interests of states and which necessitates the need to establish and promote international organizations that will facilitate the cooperation of states in a bid achieve common goals. The pursuit of common goals by global actors would engender the desire for cooperation rather than war. The rise and reign of theories of functionalism and integration have indeed impacted realism and its concentration on sovereign states as the sole or most important actor in the international system due its priority of international organizations as prominent in driving world politics. Neo-functionalism further broadens hitherto hypotheses made by functionalists.

2.2   Learning Outcomes

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

- discuss the key arguments of theories of functionalism and integration.
- evaluate the centrality of ''spill-over effects'' in the theory of functionalism.
- analyze how neo-functionalism adds to theories of functionalism and integration

2.3   Main Focus of Functionalism

Functionalism can be said to be a derivative of the major feature of the liberal democratic ideology which envisions a society of states where individuals are at liberty to enter into various forms of relationships including diverse forms of interactions at the international level. As a theory in International Relations, functionalism promotes the obsolescence of the state as a dominant form of social and political relations. It focuses much on global integration, excluding the possibility of regional integration and emphasizing common interests and common needs shared by states.

In the field of International Relations, a remarkable feature of functionalism is that global integration is inspired by the whittling away of state sovereignty in a bid to encouraging the involvement of scientists, experts and technocrats in the process of public decision-making. The aim is to establish a network of interdependent states in a fashion of building a supranational institution that would ensure peace, law and order for individuals (Ilievski, 2015). As we know it, the welfare of individuals is key in the postulations of the liberal-democratic thinkers. This position is similarly shared by the functionalist who however is more concerned specific needs of each individual (Tooze, 1977).

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

Evaluate the main focus of functionalism in the field of International Relations. Not more than 4 minutes to answer this question.

2.4   Spill-over Effects and Progressive Incrementalism

Functionalist theorists focus on the progressive development of integration and therefore emphasize the place and role of 'spill-over' effects. Spill-over could be seen as a condition in which an established action that is tied to a goal creates a situation where the original goal can only be guaranteed if further actions are taken. In their reading, they perceive the importance of previous institutionalization which achieved limited cooperation and hopefully expect a buildup in the way of expansionism and growth. Spill-over indicates some level of positive feedbacks and development and promotes self-supporting social processes which incrementally grows (Gehring, 1996). Integration has to do with the idea of organizing in a group of two or more units with a view to enhancing the possibility of unification. Unification and centralization are key concepts in the pursuit of integration. As a task, integration seeks to establish a unified legal framework, create common institutions, develop a decision-making center, project a unique identity and build a political community. 'The main point in this integrating activity is the process of delegating the autonomy of the political units to the newly formed political community' (Ilievski, 2015: 3).

In historizing integration in a political sense, the theory of social contract (as shaped by Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau) readily comes to mind. The subject of the integrationist project are individuals who limit their private freedom in order to establish a new political community that would be tasked with the responsibility of harmonizing the society to achieve order and avert anarchy. Later on, we find the works of Immanuel Kant (who was zealous of actualizing a perpetual peace and greater good) advocating for a global federation where various republics delegate their sovereignty to upper state hierarchy in order to achieve a global integration in a political sense.

In some sense, functionalism and its later modification in neofunctionalism (a sub-structure of functionalism) reject the assumptions of power-orientation of the realists. Functionalism and neofunctionalism prefer and advocate a strategy towards building institutionally supported progressive incrementalism. They draw attention to the distinction between issues bordering on power (high politics) and those other issues bordering on welfare (low politics) and subsequently emphasize that issues bordering on the welfare of people would yield greater dividends in the direction of the collective pursuit of common interest. For the functionalist perception of the international political system, proper management of life and human society will naturally produce better results rather than the focus on political governance. Therefore, efforts should be invested into setting up organizations where people who are competent strive to pursue the

collective interest of the people. 'Institutions should be shaped according to the functions which they were actually intended to perform for, bearing in mind to actualize the interest of actors concerned. In International Relations, functionalism envisages non-territorial functional agencies that will supplant state systems and take on them the task of providing for the general needs of populations beyond national borders.

International functionalism is frequently cited in the history of international integration as a path towards the reorganization of the international system. Alleged failure of the European integration project as well as that of the UN specialized agencies to evolve and become what international functionalists envisioned it to be seems to be the main argument. International functionalists are accused of being economically reductionists and apolitical. Some think that the functionalist idea of attempting to move power and responsibilities away from state sovereigns would be impossible since national governments would always resist such global integrationist project (Theiler, 2022). In this way, political integration is linked to the emergence of another political community which would superimpose itself over the pre-existing ones and depending on the scope of agreement transfer expected loyalty of elites from the national to the supranational political entity (Gehring, 1996).

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

> Analyze spill-over effects and progressive incrementalism as espoused by the theory of functionalism.
> Not more than 4 minutes to answer this question.

2.5   Integration and Neo-functionalism

Neofunctionalism stands out among the early theories of European integration in its sophistication and in the amount of criticism it has attracted. It was first formulated in the late 1950s and early 1960s by Ernst Haas in response to the establishment of the ECSC and later the EEC. Shortly before the publication of Haas' seminal book, *The Uniting of Europe,* in 1958, cooperation on coal and steel under the ECSC had ''spilled over'' into the EEC and the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom). Later on, the formation of the customs union ahead of schedule and the progress made on the Common Agricultural Policy supported and elevated the neo-functionalist propositions and claims. In many ways, these integrationist developments buttressed the position of early proponents of neofunctionalism such as Haas and Lindberg who had assumed that there was no going back on integration once the process of spillover had been initiated and that the process was bound to gain momentum (Macmillan, 2008). Regardless of the challenges and stagnation that seemed to bear out the neo-functionalist

hypothesis from the 1960s to the 1980s and which threatened the integration project in Europe during the ''Empty Chair Crisis'', neofunctionalism made a comeback with its resurgence in the mid-1980s. However, a major lesson that came out of the neofunctionalism-crisis that ensued was that national governments could, and in some cases would, try to stop further attempts at integration – the role of nationalism in defining regional integration.

Neo-functionalism is largely interested in the process of increasing integration rather than in the interaction of actors in a fairly stable environment. Neo-functionalists place emphasis on the role of non-state actors and social forces in promoting the dynamics of integration. They consider the essence of having a secretariat as the major feature and power of a full-fledged political integration. It is the presence and functioning of a secretariat that enables intergovernmental organizations to experience governance that is distinct from its member-states. Member-states do not determine the running of the secretariat but play certain given roles to ensure the actualization of goals set by the organization. Once a member state has accessed the intergovernmental organization by signing into its membership, it is squarely the responsibility of the organization to enforce the managerial operations of the day-to-day affairs of the organization (Hamad, 2016).

As an extension of functionalism, neo-functionalism makes effort to address some of the weaknesses inherent in the functionalist postulations especially as it concerns the concept of regional integration. In the views of Mithrany, a founding father of functionalism, a supranational authority would be established based on functions and needs. Functionalism believes member-states have the capacity to engender global unity through the promotion of specialized institutions. But neo-functionalism considers the necessity of a secretariat and social groups as the engine room for the advancement of political integration. A bottom-top methodology is stressed by neo-functionalists as the approach in enhancing regional integration. For neo-functionalists, economic cooperation is the foundation upon which, with advantage of time and trust, member-states would be able to proceed towards political cooperation. The bottom-top approach will be achieved through a spill-over effect as cooperation in a particular area will necessitate the quest for another area of cooperation.

Neo-functionalists encourage a rapid process of integration among states (regional integration). At the initial stages, states would integrate in few areas of common economic (functional) interests. Later on, states that were able to cooperate in their own chosen areas of cooperation will begin to experience growth and thus become inspired to find more areas of cooperation. It will begin with non-formal type of cooperation and grows.

When the non-formal type of cooperation begins, state sovereignty remains since institutional frameworks are still intergovernmental and based on unanimity. As growth is experienced in more units of cooperation among the states in agreement, the desire for closer partnership opens space for political integration -supranational political entity. Progressively, the next stage (political integration), begins to set in – institutionalization of the cooperation processes. As soon as institutions with autonomy are established, supranationalism and transformation in the structure of states begin and cooperation gradually transcending towards integration and ultimately into a political community in which supranational institutions absorb national sovereignty.

However, Neo-functionalists like Ernst Haas have been criticized for being over ambitious. They were not able to explain ways in which the spill-over proceeds would accumulate and enable the expansion from economic cooperation to political integration. Ordinarily, the supranational organization being described by Neo-functionalists has the outlook of intergovernmental organization that would be run under a president. Implicitly, member-states would give up their statehoods in terms of sovereignty, relinquish their domestic power hierarchy and then look up to the bigger political structure laid beyond their national space. Ever since the failure of the European Union (a leading regional integration model) to instrumentalize the spill-over effects of its economic cooperation and other forms regional agreements over the years, Neo-functionalists have been widely criticized. Brexit is a case to remember. The EU appeared not to agree with British lamentation and warnings regarding imminent social crisis that loomed over the right of free movement provided by the union. Besides its inability to provide or predict time frame when the spill-over accruals would result to political integration, Neo-functionalists also underestimated grossly the place and force of sovereignty of states and how states would do all in their powers to retain their statehoods (Hamad, 2016).

It also appears as though Neo-functionalists' concentration on the role of supranational, transnational and sub-national actors in the process of integration hampers their vision and ability to accommodate the role of member states within processes of integration (Gehring, 1996).

Self-Assessment Exercise 3

What are the main features of neo-functionalism. Not more than 5 minutes to answer this question.

2.6 Summary

Unit 2 has deliberated on theories of functionalism and integration. Theories of functionalism and integration endeavors to portray the vitality of international organizations in addressing common goals of people across national borders and in ensuring sustainable global peace. The unique approach of neo-functionalism in the promotion of supranational institutions and international cooperation took a center stage in the study.

2.7 References/Further Reading/Web Sources

Gehring, T., (1996). Integrating Integration Theory: Neofunctionalism and Integration Regimes. *Gloabal Society,* Vol. 10, No. 3, 225-253.

Hamad, 2016). ''Neo-Functionalism'': Relevancy for East African Community Political Integration? *Africology: The Journal of Pan African Studies,* Vol. 9, No. 7, 69-81

Ilievski, M. L., (2015). The Concept of Political Integration: The Perspectives of Neofunctionalist Theory. *Journal of Liberty and International Affairs,* Vol1., No. 1, UDC 327/ISSN 1857-9760, 1-14.

Macmillan, C., (2008). The Application of Neo (Neo)Functionalist Theory to Justice and Home Affairs. *Marmara Journal of European Studies,* Vol 16, No. 1-2, 37-58

Theiler, T., (2022). International functionalism and democracy. *European Journal of International Relations,* Vol. 28, No. 2, 312-336. Doi: 10.1177/13540661211073081

Tooze, R., (1977). The Progression of International Functionalism. *British Journal of International Studies,* Vol. 3, No. 2, 210-217. https://www.jstor.org/satble/20096803

2.8　　Possible Answers to Self-assessment Exercise

Self-Assessment Exercise 1
Within the jurisdiction of International Relations, functionalism stresses the obsolescence of the state as a dominant form of social and political relations. Unlike realists, rather than accord priority to power and sovereignty of states, functionalism focuses mainly on global integration.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2
The common denominator in concepts of spill-over effects and progressive incrementalism rests in the expectation of a progressive development and integration. Spill-over refers to a condition in which an established action that is tied to a goal creates a situation where the original goal can only be guaranteed if further actions are taken. The target is towards achieving a build-up through continuous additions carefully meant to actualize broader goals. Functionalists advocate a strategy towards building institutionally-supported progressive incrementalism for purposes of expansion and growth.

Self-Assessment Exercise 3
Neo-functionalism promotes:
i)　　　rapid process of integration among states.
ii)　　　the role of non-state actors and social forces in promoting the dynamics of integration.
iii).　　having a secretariat as the major feature
iv).　　That member-states should not determine the running of the secretariat but facilitate the actualization of goals set by the organization.
v).　　that at the initial stages, states should integrate in few areas of common economic (functional) interests.

UNIT 3   GAMES THEORY

Unit Structure

3.1   Introduction
3.2   Learning Outcome
3.3   Understanding Games Theory
3.4   The Prisoner's Dilemma in Games Theory
3.5   Criticism of the Games Theory
3.6   Summary
3.7   References/Further Readings/Web Sources
3.8   Possible Answers Self-Assessment Exercises

3.1   Introduction

John von Neumann (a mathematician cum physicist) is known as the father of Games Theory. Games theory is a relatively young and developing framework of analysis and which has a broad scope of application and relevance in many disciplines across science and arts faculties including political science and International Relations. In a collaborative work with Oskar Morgenstern, Neumann demonstrated that economic situations can be expressed as the outcome of a game between two or more players. Beyond economics, psychology and other basic social science faculties, games theory has since been applied in the conduct of wars, politics and other strategic fields in International Relations. Games theory serves as a model representing an interactive situation between or among rational players in which one player's payoff relies on the decisions and strategic choices of other participating players. Essential ingredients that typify a games theory include the availability of players, strategy to be applied by players, payoffs (rewards or prize to be received) and information.

3.2   Learning Outcome

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

* analyze the essential features of games theory
* evaluate the relevance of games theory in International Relations.
* discuss the weaknesses of games theory.

3.3   Understanding Games Theory

Games theory is an autonomous discipline that finds expression and relevance in various fields of study including mathematics, economics, biology, political science, computer science, philosophy, International Relations and so on. In social sciences and behavioral studies, games theory can utilize mathematical calculations in the study of actions, strategy and conflict situations in which choices made by other actors determines the level of success that could be available to for other actors in terms of their own choice-making in the same game. Games theory has also been used in attempt to develop theories and models in ethical and normative behaviors. It has been experimented in economics and philosophy to study rational behaviors and ability of actors to choose action plans based on their set preferences (Bhuiyan, 2016).

In a normal physical game designed to create fun and enjoy entertainment, there are essential elements – strategies, players and payoffs. Games involve players of which the numbers could be infinite. In another instance, players in a game could be extended to be nations operating in the international political system. It could also be companies or international organizations. A game could also be described based on the rationality of players involved. A recurring assumption in almost every type of game is that the players are rational – each player has the discretion to choose a line of action he/she believes would yield expected outcomes contingent upon what they think their competitor would do. 'Each actor tries to maximize gains or minimize losses under conditions of uncertainty and incomplete information, which requires each actor to rank order preferences, estimate probabilities, and try to determine and predict what the other actor is going to do' (Tema, 2014: 2). It is also important to note that games could be cooperative or non-cooperative. An example of a cooperative game is one that allows rooms for bargaining. Importantly too is the fact that a game could be zero-sum or non-zero-sum. In a zero-sum game, the sum of the payoffs and gains made to the players equals zero.

Similar to physical games like chess and poker, the international system engages actors and player in games that are rarely zero-sum in nature. In a zero-sum game, the gains of one player/actor equals the losses suffered by losers. That means that if Mr. Y wins $500, Mr. Z who was the contender losses the sum of $500, hence, the nomenclature 'zero-sum'. In a non-zero-sum game, all players/actors could win or lose together and each participant has common and conflicting interests. 'Most of the games in our real life and the business world are non-zero-sum games' (Bhuiyan, 2016: 114). In International Relations, games theory is much about the analysis of situations of cooperation and conflicts and involves rational

decision-making by actors/players involved. Each actor/player struggles to win or make great gains at all costs. The consequences of the actions of the players do not solely depend on their own decision per say but also on the decisions and choices of other players – independent and interdependent decisions influence the outcome. No one actor/player has full monopoly on possible outcomes of any games. Games theory is a scientific discipline that investigates situations of cooperation as well as those of conflicts. It studies the various modes and levels of interaction between and among actors and players, their choices and how their decisions determine the results.

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

In Games Theory, a recurring assumption is that the players are
(A). rational
(B). irrational
(C). funny
Not more than 4-2 minutes to answer this question.

3.4   The Prisoner's Dilemma in Games Theory

One of the widely used example of games theory is The Prisoner's Dilemma which fits into the non-zero-sum game. Two prisoners had been accused of committing the same crime. They were remanded in separate prison cells and questioned differently. These prisoners had unknown options and choices to make, however, only a confession by one of the two or both of them was required to produce the needed conviction. First option was that if none of the two confessed, both of them could be convicted of a much smaller offense and then imprisoned just for a month. Second option was that if both pleaded guilty, the penalty would be reduced to about five years of imprisonment. Third option was that if only one of the two prisoners confessed, s/he would be discharged and acquitted. The other prisoner who failed to confess would face the full wrath of the law and would be imprisoned for ten years. The big question is whether or not it is rational to remain silent, admit guilt or deny the charges (Rapport, 1974, see Bhuiyan, 2016).

The gimmicks of games theory are hugely applicable and visible in the international system where there are several rational players including state and non-state actors who are largely driven by predetermined interests and are eager to make gains at all costs. It is applied in war strategies, war bargaining, conflict resolution, political economy decisions, elections and voting, foreign policy analysis and many other strategic activities in International Relations. Games theory is a strategy weapon frequently used by diplomats in their negotiations meant to achieve greater gains in the national interest of their states especially in situations of conflict. In the investigation of terror attacks, games theory

is also of immense importance as it provides essential tools needed to analyze various levels of interactions between victims of attacks and the sponsors of terrorism. Using the rational-actor models, Sandler et. al. (1983) illustrate scenario depicting negotiation processes between terrorists and government policymakers where victims are held, hostages or property are seized and demands are made. 'In their model, terrorists' valuation of the likely concession to be granted by a government is based on a probability distribution, conditioned on past governmental concessions. Their analysis illustrates that the terrorists' choices and actions are influenced by those of the government and vice versa. Moreover, each adversary acts on its beliefs of the opponent's anticipated actions' (Sandler and Arce, 2003: 2).

What is essential of the games theory and its instrumentality in strategic analyses is that it is not limited to military and economic issues as it is fundamental in the study and explanation of how we understand politics among nations in the international system. 'The conception of nation-states as interdependent, goal-seeking actors lies at the heart of strategic games analysis' (Snidal, 1985: 25). Games theory helps to expand the realm of rational-actors' model and predictions beyond what was previously provided by the realists' perspectives by its give attention not only to situations of conflict but also to diverse situations of cooperation that exist in our complex international system. This dimension of the game theory provides much motivations to explore possibilities in the realm of integrating military, political, social and economic issues in International Relations.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

The Prisoner's Dilemma is an example of
(A). zero-sum game.
(B). non-zero-sum game
(C). prisoner's game
Not more than 2-4 minutes to answer this question.

3.5   Criticism of the Games Theory

Some criticisms have been placed on games theory as a tool of analysis in International Relations which itself is a form of substantive and empirical field of action. In the field of International Relations, game theory is seen as too simple and rigid in the complex international environment and lack flexibility for adaptation, that is, the forms of activity of the international system cannot be understood simply by using the framework of game theory analysis (Zhang, 2021). Furthermore, although, each player has a belief about the other player's action, in most cases players are not perfectly informed about their opponent's strategic preferences in terms of cost, levels of capabilities and background

knowledge (Oreagba, et. al., 2021). The activities of players take place in a social structure that allows them to be completely autonomous. Game theory is designed in a manner that each agent is assumed to be acting strategically and targets to maximize their payoffs. Again, games theory often demands more information than can be supplied. On the other hand, it also does not incorporate other crucial information required for analysis. For example, games theory does not always factor in the historical dimensions and details that ought to provide relevant context within which interactions of actors take place. It also does not give adequate information concerning the idiosyncrasy and personality of actors in order to allow room into elements that inform the behaviors of (ir)rational actors and decision-makers involved in their game. Again, games theory fails to give useful insights into the processes that generate foreign policies which actors work upon in the course of their engagements.

Regardless of these accusations, there is a caveat in the direction that critics must realize that the main value of relevance of games theory does not exist in assessing it as some form of descriptive tool of analysis to understand some historical pasts. Any attempt in the regard of thinking games theory in the descriptive mode will automatically flush out or diminish its deductive instrumentality and significance which ought to enable us infer new propositions about the international system. The beauty of games theory appears brighter both for the theoretical and empirical thinkers 'when it is used to generate new findings and understandings rather than to reconstruct individual situations. … If the underlying assumption of self-interested action by strategically rational states is correct, however, and preferences, strategies, and payoffs can be modeled accurately, then the theory will generate important testable predictions' (Snidal, 1985: 27).

Self-Assessment Exercise 3

| Analyze the criticism(s) against games theory. |
| Not more than 5 minutes to answer this question. |

3.6   Summary

Unit 3.4 analyzed games theory and its essential characterizations. The various categories of games theory (zero-sum and non-zero-sum game) were explained. The unit also presented the Prisoner's Dilemma as a fundamental case study in the description of game theory. The exhibitions of states and non-state actors as rational players seeking to optimize payoffs from the international system were noted. Criticisms of games theory were also provided.

3.7   References/Further Reading/Web Sources

Bhuiyan, B. A., (2016). An Overview of Game Theory and some Applications. Philosophy and Progress, Vol. LIX-LX, ISSN 1607-2278, http://dx.doi.org/10.3329/pp.v59il-2.36683.

Oreagba, O. T., et. al., (2021). Capitalizing on Game Theory for Optimal Marketing Decision in Service Industry: Evidence from Telecommunication Industry in Nigeria. *Sage Open,* 1-9, Retrieved from https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/21582440211023199, Date Accessed: October 20th, 2022.

Sandler T. and Arce, D.G.M., (2003). Terrorism and Game Theory. Simulation and Gaming, Vol. 34, No. 3, Retrieved from https://personal.utdallas.edu/tms063000/website/Terror_Games.pdf Date Accessed: October 20, 2022.

Snidal, D., (1985). The Game Theory of International Politics. *World Politics,* Vol. 38, No. 1, 25- 57, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2010350. Cambridge University Press.

Tema, M., (2014). Basic Assumptions in Games Theory and International Relations. *International Relations Quarterly*, Vol. 5., No. 1, 1-4

Zhang, H., (2021). How Game Theory Impact International Relations. *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research,* Vol. 569, Proceedings of the 2021 International Conference on Diversified Education and Social Development (DESD 2021), Atlantis Press.

3.8 Possible Answers to Self-assessment Exercise

Self-Assessment Exercise 1
(A). rational

Self-Assessment Exercise 2
(B). non-zero-sum game

Self-Assessment Exercise 3
Critics believe that games theory demands more information than is necessary. It also does not create rooms required to incorporate different sides to important information needed to make holistic analyses. Vital information such as historical background, ideograph and the personality variables of actors are not provided. In the field of International Relations, critics argue that games theory does not explain processes that generate foreign policies which actors work upon in the course of their engagements.

UNIT 4　　SYSTEMS THEORY

Unit Structure

4.1　　Introduction

Systems theory is considered as one of the most influential theories of International Relations because of its effort to take into consideration the behavior of all major actors in the entire international system. The primary essence and nature of the agent-structure relationship and forms impact bequeathed by external (the wider system) and internal units (domestic agents). Systems theory brings an additional approach to the study of behavior and operations of states in the international system. Its focus is on structures of the world system and attempts to provide explanation to the role of unit-level factors and the place of identities.

4.2　　Learning Outcomes

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

- discuss Kenneth Waltz approach of systems theory in the analysis of world politics.
- demonstrate the impact of the Cold War in the development of systems theory in International Relations.
- evaluate, based on systems theory, Morton Kaplan's unique contribution in describing historical and future international systems.

4.3　　Conceptualizing Systems Theory

In trying to answer the question of what systems theory is (in the study of international politics), Kenneth Waltz recommends comparing analytic

with systems approach. For him, the analytic method 'requires reducing the entity to its discrete parts and examining their properties and connections. The whole is understood by studying its elements in their relative simplicity and by observing the relations between them. … the relation between each pair of variables is separately examined. After similarly examining other pairs, the factors are combined in an equation in which they appear as variables in the statement of the causal law. The elements, disjoined and understood in their simplicity, are combined or aggregated to remake the whole, …' (Waltz, 1979: 39). Indeed, relative to the systemic approach, the analytic method is simpler and works excellently in situations where relations among several factors can simply be resolved into relations between pairs of variables while other things are held equal. But analytic method is only sufficient where the systems-level effects are non-existent or weak enough to be ignored.

In seeking to understand International Relations and world politics, Waltz believes that the systems approach works better. He describes a system as a set of interacting units and notes that a system consists of a structure (the systems-level component that makes it possible to consider units as forming a set as distinct from a mere collection. Similar to Waltz, Aristotle opines that knowledge is derived by studying and understanding a phenomenon from the whole and not that of the single constituent parts. Correspondingly, there is a strong belief that in order to build more applicable explanations in social sciences, there is need to approach a phenomenon under investigation through the lenses of complex systems theory so as to increase better study and understanding of the phenomenon. This seems to be foundation of the 'interdisciplinarity concept'. Systems theory 'is an interdisciplinary theory … as well as framework with which we can investigate phenomena from a holistic approach. … The systemic perspective argues that we are not able to fully comprehend a phenomenon simply by breaking it up into elementary parts and then reforming it; we instead need to apply a global vision to underline its functioning' (Mele, 2010: 127). Obviously, systems theory marks a significant shift in attention from focusing on the part to examining the whole.

By way of definition, a system is a set of elements working together as integral parts of a mechanism, interconnected network or a complex whole (Fisunoglu, 2019). It is a system is a unity of parts which are interconnected, located in a region, and had some driving forces; such as the State, political parties, agencies, etc. State, for example, is a collection of some elements, for instance some provinces are interconnected to form a country in which the driving force is the people.' (Kusumawardhana, 2017: 92). A system is a unit formed out of several components or parts. Each component is cohesive, interdependent and interconnected with other constituent parts composed of the system. A system is holistic in

organizing its function as one component part is not adequate enough to predict the next expected behavior or outcome of the entire system. In any given system, a set of units are closely interlinked to a degree that whatever changes affect any element or unit within the system impacts changes in the other integral parts of the whole system.

The systems approach became significant in fields of political science and International Relations during the Cold War era. It arose from the complexities of the ideological confrontations between the capitalists and communist forces which saw the rise of weapons of mass destruction, inventions in the fields of cybernetics, computer science and so on. Subsequently, the need to emphasize an integrated and comprehensive approach to addressing complex problems that accompanied the Cold War became necessary. This resulted to the emergence of the Systems Theory and the choice of the systems approach to various areas of both natural and social sciences. The idea was simply that each and every system in the international system is interconnected and therefore exert some level of influence and force over one another. As against the reductionist model in pure sciences which treats the natural and social world as a fragmented whole by way of examining the combined elements, the systems approach gives attention to the dynamics of the system itself. Systems theory goes beyond the traditional approach of which gives attention to domestic factors such as state ideology, idiosyncrasy of the national leader or president and other internal factors that impact the behavior of the state. It sees the international system as an integrated whole and therefore attempts to understand its major function and coordinating powers.

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

What were the circumstance(s) that brought to the fore the significance of systems theory in International Relations?
Not more than 4 minutes to answer this question.

4.4   Operationalizing Systems Theory in International Relations

In the study of International Relations, systems approach is applied to study a phenomenon by merely examining the function of the international system rather than examining each event and activity of the units and elements composed of it. In International Relations, the concept of system often depicts the international or world system(s). A group of states forms an international or world system if the behavior of one state has the capacity to attract attention or produce actions that impact the outlook and behavior of other states. That is to say that the action or inaction of one state becomes a factor in the calculus of other states. Using

the IMF as example, we know that whenever there is an interest rate fluctuation by the United States, other countries are affected by it. The balance of payments profile and even production systems of other countries are impacted whenever the US raises its interest rates. Also, following the US invasion of Iraq, the world system has witnessed increase in the number of studies focusing on problems of insurgency and terrorism (Fisunoglu, 2019).

However, it is also important to mention that in the contemporary world system, international relation is no longer limited to an aggregation of relations between and among states. The Cold War activated and opened up a particular reconfiguration to the framework of the international system beyond a state-based system. The collapse of the Cold War and the disintegration of the SU was a historic opportunity to reassess the composition of both the factors and actors influencing activities in the global scene. There are now actors at various levels acting horizontally and vertically and they all combine to making relations become more complex. In the old order of International Relations, activities were precipitated and responded to by sovereign states that made up the interstate-system formation and the pursuit of national interest preoccupied most agenda of the foreign policies of states (Kusumawardhana, 2017).

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

> What is the importance of systems theory in the study of events in the international system?
> Not more than 4 minutes to answer this question.

4.5   Morton Kaplan's Six Constructs of International System

In the study of International Relations, systems theory is recognized as one of the important theories. While David Easton developed this theory in the field of national politics, Morton A. Kaplan examined systems theory in the field of international politics and relations. Kaplan believes that there is a degree of regularity and uniformity in the behavior of states in the international system and that such regularity produces some level of coherence necessary for International Relations students and scholars to develop applicable models needed to interpret global occurrences. He conceived an idea of six different international systems out of which two have already manifested at various periods in history – balance of power and the loose bipolar systems.

Kaplan's first construct of international systems is the balance of power system which dated between the eighteenth century and the time of commencement of the WW 1. That system of the international system was

multipolar and comprised five great European powers of comparable power – Britain, France, Austria, Prussia and Russia. Though, these great powers experienced times of war, they showed higher tendency for diplomatic settlements rather than military aggression. The desire to maintain a form of balance where none of the powers became hegemonic and threatening was visible among them such that they ensured that none of the powers was defeated completely or whittled out of significance. Again, the others could form an alliance against any of them whose rising power jeopardizes the balance or against any supranational organizing principles. The existence of each of the five great powers was crucial to achieving the needed balance of power. They also 'permit defeated or constrained essential national actors to re-enter the system as acceptable role partner or act to bring some previously inessential actor within the essential actor classification' (Waltz, 1979: 51).

The second construct of Kaplan's international system – the Loose Bipolar System developed during the Cold War period and recognized two major rival blocs led by the US and the SU, capitalists and communist forces, respectively. But in addition, there were also in forces which included the Non-Aligned states and international organizations like the WB, the UN and the IMF. At the time of the Cold War, the two rival powers were cautious not to engage any direct military confrontation fearing the threat of nuclear attack stemming from their possession of second-strike capabilities. Tight Bipolar System which in many respects is similar to the Loose Bipolar System especially on account of the recognition of two major actors was Kaplan's third category of international system. However, unlike the Loose Bipolar System, the Tight Bipolar System is hierarchically organized. In it, Kaplan warns of possible marginalization of international organizations and fading away of the Non-Aligned states.

The Universal System is the fourth in Kaplan's construct of the international system. The height in the categorization of international system comes only when the bipolar systems collapse and international organizations like the United Nations rise dominance. The universal system will have all amount of power to perform activities in the realms of global administration, judiciary, economy and politics. Cross-border cooperation and high-level humanitarian interventions characterize the stage of the international system conceived by Kaplan. The fifth in Kaplan's construct of international system is the Hierarchical System which emerges following the collapse of the bipolar system. Here, one of the rival blocs has given way for the dominance of the sole actor and the international order is consequently organized hierarchically. The standing hegemony (which could be democratic or authoritarian) spreads its own political ideology to members of the defunct rival bloc. The last construct is the Unit Veto System where every state has the capability to destroy

each other but would not do so because of the retaliatory powers of other contending states. The principle of reciprocity in the second-strike ability of states engenders some form of deterrence.

Essentially, Morton considered well-known propositions in the International Relations literature. His work tested such descriptive generalizations and hypotheses as ''Wars break out when coalitions of states approach parity; Bipolar systems are more stable than multipolar systems; Bandwagon effects apply to multipolar system'' and more. Importantly, Morton remarked that 'Whether a change in numbers of actors is a sign of possible instability would depend upon the relationship between numbers and other system characteristics … Similarly, for the severity of and duration of war. Whether stability was present would depend on the interrelationships among a number of them individually' (Kaplan, 1996: 16). He also observed that if the above propositions were treated as descriptive generalizations, then the need to properly carry out further empirical studies to show whether they applied in particular times and places is crucial.

Self-Assessment Exercise 3

Evaluate the basis on which Morton Kaplan developed his six constructs of international systems.
Not more than 5 minutes to answer this question.

4.6 Summary

The unit has provided clear explanation to the meaning of systems theory and underscored its major idea that in seeking to understand any phenomenon under survey, beyond splitting the element into parts, effort must be made to holistically examine the phenomenon from a broader horizon. Kenneth Waltz's exposition on the need for a systems approach in the study of International Relations and world politics was explored. The impact of the Cold War in constituting and propelling the need for overall assessment and comprehensive approach to understudying problems was highlighted. There arose a stronger realization that actions and inactions of states have tremendous effects on other states. Morton Kaplan's inputs were also factored into the study because of its clarity in the description of six different international systems.

4.7   References

Fisunoglu, A., (2019). System Dynamics Modeling in International Relations. *All Azimuth*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 231-253.

Kaplan, M. A., (1996). How to Theorize about International Politics. *International Journal on Wolrd Peace,* Vol. 13, No. 1, 3-20, url: https://www.jstor.org/stable/20752065,

Kusumawardhana, I., (2017). Understanding the Dynamic of International System through the Lens of Complex System Approach. *JurnalHubunganInternasionalTahun X,* No. 1.

Mele, C., et. al., (2010). A Brief Review of Systems Theories and their Managerial Applications, Service Science, Vol. 2, No. 1 and 2, 126-135

Waltz, K., (1979). *Theory of International Politics*. California: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Inc. Exigencies

4.8   Possible Answers to Self-assessment Exercise

Self-Assessment Exercise 1
Exigencies of the Cold War era brought to the fore the relevance of the systems approach in the field of International Relations. It arose from the complexities of the ideological confrontations between the capitalists and communist forces which saw the rise of weapons of mass destruction, inventions in the fields of cybernetics, computer science and so on. Subsequently, the need to emphasize an integrated and comprehensive approach to addressing complex problems that emerge in the international system.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2
Systems theory stresses the importance of studying global events from the dimension of examining the entire international system rather than examining each event and activity of the units and elements composed of it. Since a collection of states makes the international system, it is seen that the behavior of one state has the capacity to impact or produce actions in the entire system of states.

Self-Assessment Exercise 3
Morton Kaplan developed his six constructs of international systems on the basis that there is a degree of regularity and uniformity in the behavior of states in the international system. He believes that, to the extent of the uniformity and regularity observable in the behavior of international actors, it is possible to develop applicable models that could enhance qualitative study and interpretation of global occurrences.

MODULE 4   PERSPECTIVES AND ANALYSES OF DECISION-MAKING, BALANCE OF POWER, ALLIANCE AND GLOBALIZATION THEORIES.

Unit 1   Decision-making Theory
Unit 2   Balance of power
Unit 3   Alliance
Unit 4   Globalization

UNIT 1   DECISION-MAKING THEORY

Unit Structure

1.1   Introduction
1.2   Learning Outcome
1.3   What is Decision-making Theory?
1.4   Levels of Analysis in Foreign Policy
1.5   The Place of ''Small Groups'' in Decision-making Theory
1.6   Summary
1.7   References/Further Readings/Web Sources
1.8   Possible Answers Self-Assessment Exercises

1.1   Introduction

Decision-making theory is an important theoretical framework that equips rational actors with essential tools necessary to guide their behaviors especially under situations of risks and unpredictability. It probes into the underlying philosophical motivations behind actions and inactions of states and tries to understand why politicians would make certain choices in the international system. Importantly, the foreign policy arena which invariably comprise internal and external political settings of actors is a major concern in the process of decision-making theory.

1.2   Learning Outcome

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

- discuss the meaning of decision-making theory, its central argument, its place in foreign policy formulation and its application in the international system.
- evaluate levels of analysis in foreign policy decision-making.
- analyze ways the nature or type of government (democracy or authoritarianism) impact on state decision-making processes

1.3   What is Decision-making Theory?

Decision making refers to a thought process that culminates to the task of choosing from a list of options an action plan meant to pursue and achieve a desirable goal. In the effort to administer contemporary public institutions, decision-makers experience myriads of complex situations that require decisive actions in line with rules and regulations that guide codes of conducts. The capacity of a state to make seamless decisions without external incursions in the processes of decision-making reflects in many ways the degree of sovereignty enjoyed by the state. Decision makers are often faced with lists of options and competing choices.

In providing answers to questions of What happened? Why did it happen? and What will happen? Graham T. Allison (1971: 4) notes that 'most analysts explain (and predict) the behavior of national governments in terms of one basic conceptual model … Rational Actor or Classical Model'. The state acts as a unitary rational actor in decision-making. Within this context, while theorists of International Relations concentrate on problems between nations in accounting for the choices of unitary rational actors, strategic analysts emphasize on the logic of action in the absence of an actor. In all this, the main issue is to understand how nations or governments make their decisions in the face of surrounding strategic challenges. Allison states that although the Rational Actor Model has proven useful in many regards, there are evidence indicating that it must be supplemented, if not supplanted, by other governmental machineries – public organizations and political actors involved in the policy processes. Aside unitary rational actors, the sub-units of the state which represent Model 2 act according to predetermined procedures in producing potential decision-outputs. Organizational contexts and proceedings upon which government choices are made constitute essential ingredients in the decision-making procedures. The third model that emerges focuses on the politics of a government and incorporates issues and events in foreign affairs. What happens at this level is considered as the outcome of various bargaining options taking place among major players in national governments (Allison, 1971). Those in charge of various state responsibilities including the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defense make relevant and predictable arguments on the heels of their current public position. Policy outputs are the outcomes of negotiations, compromise, bargaining and coalition among major government functionaries and political actors.

In the international system, the task of decision-making is one of the exertions of political leadership which has the responsibility of administering the state by making decisions bordering on the allocation of state resources and public values. Equitable distribution of state

resources and inclusive government administration is a delicate matter and requires a lot of caution in decision-making. Scarce resources and growing human needs make expedient the need to have a scale of preference in order to give priority attention to the most pressing needs of the state as well as make room for opportunity costs. Invariably, as the 'government directs its resources towards the attainment of particular ends, the less it has the ability to deploy the same resources to meet other pressing needs' (Afinotan, 2014).

The study of decision-making in foreign policy analysis and as an approach in explaining international politics and relations was largely inspired by the works of Snyder (see Hudson, 2005) and his colleagues whose work gave in-depth attention on the need for scholars to look below the previously emphasized nation-state level of analysis. Snyder and his colleagues drew attention to the compulsive devotion of research on nation-states as the main level of foreign policy analysis regardless of the fact that state is a metaphysical abstraction. 'Decision making was best viewed as ''organizational behavior'' in which variables such as spheres of competence of the actors involved, communications and information flow, and motivations of the various players would figure prominently. … one needs to look at what they termed the ''psycho-milieu'' of the individuals and groups making the foreign policy decision. The psycho-milieu is the internationals and operational environment or context as it is perceived and interpreted by these decision makers' (Hudson, 2005: 6). No doubt, the nation-state and the international system of states are crucial 'fields of activity for the decision maker, and therefore a natural framework for the analysis and understanding of the theory of decision' (Afinotan, 2014: 250). Decision-making scholars have increasingly shown concern for domestic political processes and have adopted interdisciplinary approach by borrowing from social psychology in their bid to gain deeper insights into the boundaries of information processing and rational choice-making. Thus, an actor-specific model was considered necessary as an important level in foreign policy analysis.

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

> Discuss Snyder's major focus within the framework of decision-making theory.
> Not more than 4 minutes to answer this question.

1.4   Levels of Analysis in Foreign Policy

Foreign policy making and analysis involve interactions between actors, structures and their environment. There are boundaries and jurisdictions between state's internal and external environment. The three main levels of analysis of foreign policy include the international (system) level, the national (state) level and the individual level.

The international level of analysis is, perhaps, the strongest force determining the dynamics of foreign policy making. David J. Singer (1961: 80) describes it 'as the most comprehensive of all the level available, encompassing the totality of interactions which take place within the system and its environment. By focusing on the system, we are enabled to study the patterns of interaction which the system reveals, and to generalize about such phenomena as the creation and dissolution of coalitions, the frequency and duration of specific power configurations, modifications in its stability, its responsiveness to changes in formal political institutions …'. The system level takes into account the nature and prevailing rules of the international space, distribution of power among states and non-state actors, number of poles operating in the international system, etc. the international level of analysis enables us to examine international relations in its entirety with the type of comprehensiveness that is absent or lost at the lower and more partial levels of foreign policy analysis. However, the international level of analysis is criticized for its penchant for overexaggerating the actual impact of the system on the lower levels of foreign policy analysis. It is also fraught for its high tendency to overlook the diversities in the internal operation of states, that is, it assumes a high degree of uniformity in the foreign policy codes of national actors.

At the state-level of foreign policy analysis, material conditions such as the geographical size of the country, population dynamics, material resources, market size, economic growth and type of government as issues of major consideration. Most times, these material conditions determine the categorization of states as small, medium or great powers. States with greater level of these material resources are often looked upon or expected to have the capability to pursue their foreign policy goals more effectively. At the state-level of foreign policy analysis, it is much simpler to address more clearly questions about the goals and motivations driving national policies. Invariably, the state-level of foreign policy analysis is central to the decision-making approach. On the other hand, the state-level of analysis has the problem of overexaggerating existing diversities among the sub-national entities. Again, rising waves of globalization has continued to erode previous roles of states in the international system. Nevertheless, the traditional assumption on foreign policy is that states and the actors representing them think and act

rationally. Under this traditionalist notion, these actors are believed to decide and act through a process that is focused on utility-maximization in the best interest of their country.

The individual-level of analysis is another dimension in the decision-making theory. At this level of analysis, attention is increasingly going towards assessing the information-processing behavior of the individual decision maker in foreign policy formulation. The cognitive capacity and cerebral environment of the individual actor involved in foreign policy decision-making is of extreme importance. There are concerns over how existing cognitive abilities or constraints can limit or strengthen the individual's capacity to receive, understand, process and interpret information. In addition, the ability of the individual actor who is the foreign policy decision-maker to identify and select the right policy option and appropriately apply the received information on the prevailing situation as and at when due is of vital consideration. Responsibilities stemming from feedbacks that accompany the individual foreign policy decision-maker's position can also be a factor to watch since there would consequences arising from actions and inaction precipitated by them.

The above concerns and more have actually increased worries about the capability of the individual foreign policy decision maker to handle very complex foreign policy information and situation. Some think that at best, the individual foreign policy decision-maker would only strive for satisfactory and not optimal solution. Commonly, human beings are always seeking for ways to simply reduce complex problems, cut costs by resorting to shortcuts. Worse still, the possibility that the individual foreign policy decision-maker would, out of error of commission or that of omission, make certain mistakes that may be too expensive for the state to bear or even underutilize data and resources available cannot be excused.

Another major consideration of critical elements of concern associated with the capacity of the individual foreign policy decision-maker to constitute reliable external policy ideas for the state include compulsive factors that can overwhelm the decision-maker. These factors will include the idiosyncrasy of the foreign policy decision-maker, their belief systems and personal values. Not surprising, foreign policy decision-makers are prone to understanding and interpreting information in ways that easily conform to their biases and stereotypes and not in ways that challenge their hitherto historicized ontology.

It is, however, pertinent to mention that the type of state and manner of governance is extremely important in the analysis of the capacity of the decision-maker as well as prospects of having well-thought-out foreign policy decisions. Democratic regimes have better chances of receiving the

dividends of fairly productive foreign policy decisions viz-a-viz dictatorial regimes where the national or state leaders would be autocratically driven in the framing of external policies (Afinotan, 2014). Examples of national leaders whose strongholds on foreign policy decision-making impacted massively on their states include Adolf Hitler (Germany), Benito Mussolini (Italy), Sani Abacha (Nigeria), Bedel Bokassa (Central African Republic), Idi Amin Dada (Uganda), and Muammar Gaddafi, etc. New approaches precipitated on alterations and/or difficult situations engendered by complex interactions of actors in the international systems are hardly given desirable policy attention due to preexisting notions and atavistic behaviors typical of some individual foreign policy decision-makers. But intricate and new challenges in International Relations ought to induce fresh and radical approaches from a foreign policy decision-maker.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

Regardless of its weaknesses, the role of small groups in foreign policy decision-making processes has its own merits. Discuss the merits of small groups in foreign policy decision-making processes.
Not more than 5 minutes to answer this question.

1.5   The Place of ''Small Groups'' in Decision-making Theory

It is important to mention that the individual level of foreign policy analysis does not necessarily imply that there is a single individual decision maker. In most cases, there are small groups of individuals involved in making foreign policy decisions, that is, it is the outcome of groupthink at different levels. As such, the attention is on the ways foreign policy issues are perceived by group members and the motives that drive their choices (Hudson, 2005).

The decision-making theory lends itself hugely to facilitating investigations of foreign policy formulation mechanisms and its decisions since the ideas that shape states' external policies are believed to be influenced and decided in a small-group context. The impact of decisions made by small groups on states' foreign policy is critical to studying and understanding the undercurrents and dynamic forces driving the international system. Thorough assessment of most foreign policy decisions indicates the non-representativeness of small groups in the total aggregation of state preferences in foreign policy matters. The decisions of small groups are not always a true reflection of the combined choices, priorities and preferences of individuals which the state foreign policy ought to represent. Furthermore, groups can mobilize resources adequate enough to exert pressure on the ruling class to conform to their own group

interest thereby constraining the chances of incorporating other (perhaps legitimate) policy options. Inhibitions arising from pressures mounted by influential groups also have the tendency to suppress necessary evaluation protocols and sideline constructive intra group conflicts that could have helped to scrutinize and clarify foreign policy options and objectives (Holsti, 1989).

In spite of this reality, the relevance and place of group dynamics deserves attention because of the level of influence of small groups in the formulation of and foreign policy decision-making. Groups, for example, 'often perform better than individuals in coping with complex tasks owing to diverse perspectives and talents, an effective division of labor, and high-quality debates centering on evaluations of the situation and policy recommendations for dealing with it. Groups may also provide decision makers with emotional and other types of support that may facilitate coping with complex problems' (Holsti, 1989: 34).

Self-Assessment Exercise 3

> Demonstrate how the type of state and manner of governance are important in the analysis of the capacity of foreign policy decision-makers.
> Not more than 5 minutes to answer this question.

1.6   Summary

This unit has made effort to elaborate on the meaning of decision-making theory, its obligation on state political leadership and its application in International Relations. Decision-making theory draws attention more to domestic political processes at the level of nation-states as an important space for interrogating the rationality of choices of state-actors. The approach would avert the oversight of improper articulation and representation of inputs from small groups within states. The group-level and the individual-level of analyses are the important realms in decision-making theory espoused in this unit. Overall, the impact of the type of government (democratic or authoritarian) operational in any state on the nature of foreign policy output was captured.

1.7 References/Further Reading/Web Sources

Afinotan, L. A., (2014). Decision Making in International Relations: A Theoretical Analysis. *Canadian Social Science*, Vol. 10, No. 5, 249-256. DOI: 10.3968/4970.

Allison, G. T., (1971). *Essence of Decision, Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

Holsti, O. R., (1989). Models of International Relations and Foreign Policy, *Diplomatic History,* Vol. 13, No. 1, 15-43

Hudson, V. M., (2005). Foreign Policy Analysis: Actor-Specific Theory and the Ground of International Relations, *Foreign Policy Analysis,* Vol. 1, No. 1, 1-30, Oxford University Press, https://www.jstor.org/stable/24907278.

Ozer, U., (2018). Foreign Policy Analysis and Theoretical Approaches. in Erhan C. and Akdemir, E., (eds.). *Foreign Policy Analysis,* Eskisehir: Anadolu University Press*,* Faculty of Open Education Publication.

Singer, J. D., (1961). The Level-of-Analysis Problem in International Relations. *World Politics,* Vol. 14, No. 1, 77-92, The International System: Theoretical Essay, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2009557,

1.8 Possible Answers to Self-assessment Exercises

Self-Assessment Exercise 1
Within the framework of decision-making theory, Snyder's main interest is that the attention of scholars should focus more below the nation-state level of analysis. He notes that ''nation-states'' is merely a metaphysical abstraction and therefore decision-making mechanism should best be viewed as ''organizational behavior'' in which variables such as spheres of competence of the actors involved, communications and information flow, and motivations of the various players figure prominently. The ''psycho-milieu'' of individuals and groups involved in making foreign policy decisions matter.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2
Small groups perform better than individuals in coping with complex tasks associated with foreign policy decision-making. Small groups

possess broader and more diverse perspectives and talents, advantage of effective division of labor and opportunity for high-quality debates centering on evaluations of the situation and policy recommendations.

Self-Assessment Exercise 3
Type of state and manner of governance are important in the analysis of the capacity of foreign policy decision-makers since the nature of political leadership determines the degree of liberty or restraints within which the decision-maker is enabled or disabled to operate. Democratic regimes are believed to provide better guarantees of fairly productive foreign policy output viz-a-viz dictatorial regimes. Unlike dictatorial regimes, democracies encourage the diverse components of the state to make inputs towards developing vibrant foreign policies.

UNIT 2   BALANCE OF POWER

Unit Structure

2.1   Introduction
2.2   Learning Outcome
2.3   Background to Balance of Power Theory
2.4   Role of Intention and Relative Gains in Balance of Power Theory
2.5   Criticisms against Balance of Power Theory
2.6   Summary
2.7   References/Further Readings/Web Sources
2.8   Possible Answers Self-Assessment Exercises

2.1   Introduction

Balance of power is one of the oldest and most crucial theoretical models in International Relations. The core of balance of power theory is that as one state amasses power, other states feel challenged and may decide to create a coalition against an emerging hegemon. This type of situation therefore implies that the global arena would be caught in perennial system of attempting to reposition and rebalance power equation in order to ensure their survival and security. In particular, the military and economic acquisitions and capabilities of great powers are constantly investigated directly or indirectly to prevent asymmetrical weighting on hitherto known power-scale in the international system. There are several mechanisms used by great powers to checkmate and restore relative balance of power. This study unit focuses on balance of power.

2.2   Learning Outcome

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

- discuss the background to and main assumptions of balance of power theory
- evaluate the importance of ''intention and relative gains'' in the whole idea of balance of power theorization.
- analyze the major criticisms against balance of power theory.

2.3   Background to Balance of Power Theory

In seeking to historicize the logic that birthed the balance of power theory, two lines of political thought usually arise. The first assumption relates to the idea that the international system is anarchic. In the absence of any central authority to govern the international system, nation-states resort to self-help, relative gains and constantly attempt to increase their power capabilities in comparison to other states. While trying to indulge in self-help mechanisms and secure themselves in the anarchic world system, nation-states either strengthen their internal power capacity or they seek for external sources of help by way of alignment and realignment with other willing states. The second assumption holds that states act as unitary actors in the international political system as they have the monopoly of use of legitimate force in their territorial domains and also set the terms and condition for International Relations (Sun, 2014).

Interests in the study of balance of power is not new in the field of International Relations as it was often advocated and activated wherever a multistate system exists (Healy and Stein, 1973). The fading away of the bipolar world which emerged after the WW 2 added a boost to an evolving international system where the concept of balance of power and multipolarity will receive increasing attention. New powers like Japan and China have become very visible in global relations and politics and prospects that Europe will be a major force for a long period of time is high. Again, there are emerging powers in other spheres and regions of the world including the BRICS.

To understand the theory of balance of power, we may have to consider some of its major hypotheses. Kautilya theorized it while Thucydides advocated as a policy. Whenever there was a system of multiple interacting states, some concern for balance among those states has always existed. Some of the major assumptions that characterize the theory of balance of power are that states always act to oppose any single actor which attempts to arrogate to itself a position of dominance as against other existing actors; states act to oppose any form of coalition with prospects of asymmetrical dominance against other existing states in the international system; states endeavor to reinstate a defeated or constrained national actor into prominence or bring into prominence hitherto unrecognized actors whose role will help achieve expected balance in the world system and; that the formation of any alliance system by two or more actors in a multipolar international system will culminate to decrease in cooperation thereby aggravating conflict in the system (Healy and Stein, 1973). In the final act, the core proposition is that hegemonies would not emerge in a multistate system because the

perceived threat of the image of a hegemon would naturally engender balancing tendencies and behaviors by other major states (Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, 2009).

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

What are the main assumptions of balance of power theory?
Not more than 4 minutes to answer this question.

2.4 Role of Intention and Relative Gains in Balance of Power Theory

Stepping aside the concept of international system polarity which is believed to overtly recognize the unitary notion of states as the sole actors in world politics as well as the fundamental basis of balance of power, Sun (2014) stresses the place and relevance of intention, preference and contingency in balance of power. The perceived intention of the major power will determine whether or not balance of power proposal would be welcomed by secondary or weaker states that are faced with the option of cooption. Sometimes, weaker states choose to join forces with the more powerful states. At other times weak states would prefer to bandwagon or even choose partnership with the second biggest power. If a powerful state or major power is perceived as having a non-aggressive intention that is also benign in outlook and in the interest of public good for all, weaker states may be motivated to join hands together with the major power. Thus, upon the intention to achieving hegemonic stability, this form of balance of power cooperation could then be placed in proper perspective (Sun, 2014).

Furthermore, balance of power is said to be closely related to states' preference for relative, as against absolute, gains. This is to be considered particularly to the degree of military advantage over other states or belligerent powers, not forgetting the self-help international system into which states are drawn and operate. Thus, the greater the military advantage one state has, the greater the sense of security it has. Preference for relative gains also entails that states would always prefer to have balance of power achieved rather than trust in collective security bargains. This preference for relative gains automatically denigrates the neoliberal institutionalist notion of international cooperation. Regardless of the anarchic nature of the international system, the option of balance of power is still contingent upon certain considerable factors of interest to potential partnering states. The availability and handling of information is often a major contingency factor in this case (Sun, 2014).

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

> Relying on Sun's conceptualization, evaluate the role of intention in balance of power theory
> Not more than 4 minutes to answer this question.

2.5   Criticisms of the Balance of Power Theory

Although the theory of balance of power is significant in the field of International Relations, there are strong criticisms against some of its assumptions. First, the term itself 'balance of power' is problematic. Balance of power cannot be an automatic equilibrating mechanism in diplomatic mission and international politics. 'If the balancing mechanism is not automatic but depends on diplomatic choice and skill, then not only does it follow that individual states may violate its rules, it also follows that the system as a whole may fail to create or preserve an equilibrium of power' (Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, 2009: 353). There are no existing equilibrium rules to condition the behavior of state actors which are sovereign in their own rights. The stability of balance of power depends on moral consensus over what the concerned states feel is the basis of legitimacy of the international system. The assumption that hegemonies do not form in multistate systems because of the notion that perceived threats of hegemony generates balancing behaviors among other states is considered faulty owing to the belief that there are no proofs among balance of power theorists that hegemonies do not form at the system level (Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, 2009). … There are also countervailing propositions indicating that efforts to form effective balancing alliances frequently fail because of the inability to provide collective action strategy and again it is difficult to identify which of the powers poses the greatest threat of hegemony.

Self-Assessment Exercise 3

> Discuss the major criticism against balance of power theory.
> Not more than 5 minutes to answer this question.

2.6   Summary

This unit provided a backdrop to facilitate the study of balance of power as a theory of International Relations. Furthermore, it elucidated the main assumptions of balance of power theory. It also captured elements of ''intention and relative gains'' in balance of power theory. Criticisms mounted against balance of power theory were also evaluated.

2.7   References/Further Reading/Web Sources

Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, M., (2009). The End of Balance-of-Power Theory? A Comment on Wohlforth et al.'s 'Testing Balance-of-Power Theory in World History'. *European Journal of International Relations,* Vol. 15, No. 2, 347-380, DOI: 10.1177/1354066109103145, http://ejt.sagepub.com/content/15/2/347

Healy, B. and Stein, A., (1973). The Balance of Power in International History: Theory and Reality, *Journal of Conflict Resolution,* Vol. 17, No. 1, 33-61. https://www.jstor.org/stable/173362.

Sun, M., (2014). Balance of Power Theory in Today's International System. *E- International Relations,* 1-5, ISSN 2053-8626.

2.8   Possible Answers to Self-assessment Exercise

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

Balance of power theory assumes that:

i). states always act to oppose any single actor which attempts to arrogate to itself a position of dominance as against other existing actors;

ii). states act to oppose any form of coalition with prospects of asymmetrical dominance against other existing states in the international system;

iii). states endeavor to reinstate a defeated or constrained national actor into prominence or bring into prominence hitherto unrecognized actors whose role will help achieve expected balance in the world system and;

iv). the formation of any alliance system by two or more actors in a multipolar international system will culminate to decrease in cooperation thereby aggravating conflict in the system.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

According to Sun, the perceived intention of a major power will determine whether or not balance of power proposal would be welcomed by secondary or weaker states that are faced with the option of cooption. If a powerful state or major power is perceived as having a non-aggressive intention that is also benign in outlook and in the interest of public good for all, weaker states may be motivated to join hands together with the major power.

Self-Assessment Exercise 3

Some argue that the use of the term ''balance of power' in the field of International Relations is a misnomer. They assert that balance of power cannot be an automatic equilibrating mechanism in diplomatic mission and international politics. After all, there are no existing equilibrium rules to condition the behavior of state actors which are sovereign in their own rights. The stability of balance of power depends on moral consensus over what the concerned states feel is the basis of legitimacy of the international system.

UNIT 3   ALLIANCE

Unit Structure

3.1   Introduction
3.2   Learning Outcome
3.3   Motivations behind Alliance Formation
3.4   The Collective Action Problem in Alliance Theory
3.5   The Question of Alliance Cohesion
3.6   Summary
3.7   References/Further Readings/Web Sources
3.8   Possible Answers Self-Assessment Exercises

3.1   Introduction

Alliance theory can be said to be a major sub-field of balance of power theory owing to its intersection with attempts by states to join forces in a bid to guard against undue rise of any state power to a hegemonic status. It is closely associated with the Westphalian European state system and balance of power among the great powers of Britain, France, Prussia, Austria and Russia in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As an integral element in statecraft, alliances play significant role in International Relations as it provides a veritable option among alternative strategies such as band-wagoning.

3.2   Learning Outcome

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

- evaluate the nature and character of alliance formation in International Relations
- discuss reasons why nations form alliance and also why they disengage an existing alliance
- analyze the contentious issues bordering ''collective action problem'' and the issues of ''alliance cohesion'' in International Relations.

3.3   Motivations behind Alliance Formation

States form alliances if they are able to initiate and conclude treaties that place on them the task of

taking certain actions together in the event of war. Alliances manifests the image of a defense pact in which there a mutual commitment by partnering-states to come to one another's aid if one of them is attacked. It imposes certain costs on member-states as some areas of their freedom may be managed collectively. When states engage in alliance, they have expectations and there are certain conditionalities within which they operate. However, to a large extent, their obligations are not absolutely binding as sovereign states cannot be made to live up to the agreements made. In fact, obligations must be conditioned to be self-enforcing for them to be effective and achieve set goals. Partnering states should be able give themselves the benefit of doubt that each of them would contribute their expected quota in order to make the alliance work.

It is important to note that alliance is different from alignment. One outstanding difference is that 'alliance entails a formal commitment between the parties wherein certain specific obligations are written out. Alliances require specification because the allies need to clarify their degree of shared interests, both to each other and to others outside the alliance' (Morrow, 2000: 64). Conversely, alignments are not written down since the common interest linking states concerned is glaring. In addition, alignment does not generate reasons for states to contemplate sustaining the relationship. Obviously, alignments can transition to alliance through the formalization of commitments by states involved.

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

> Evaluate the major difference between alliance and alignment in International Relations.
> Not more than 4 minutes to answer this question.

3.4 The Collective Action Problem in Alliance Theory

Within the tides of alliance formation in the international politics of balance of power, a number of debatable assumptions have emerged. Singer and Small (1968, see Healy and Stein, 1973), for example, tested the hypothesis that the greater the number of alliance formation and commitments in world politics, the more conflicts and wars the international system will experience and also that the closer to bipolarity the system gets, the more conflicts and war it will experience. Singer and Small (1968) believe that whatever factor or arrangement limits freedom of states to pursue their own national interest, will also inhibit the capacity of the system to become stable. This is even more so in situations where the alliance reduces the level of interaction opportunities available to the entire system itself. The reduction or restraints of interaction opportunity which slows down cooperation tempo is believed to have the potentials to break down the existing balance of power and elevate factors of conflict

and war. Drawing from a list of examples from the nineteenth century Europe, Healy and Stein (1973) illustrated how alliance formation among countries like Prussia, Austria and Russia were not able to guarantee expected cooperation but, in several cases, created more avenues for conflicts.

The collective action problem is always resonated in the concept of alliance formation. It is said that efforts made to establish an effective balancing among states will fail because of collective action problems. This is also one of the big crises or criticisms associated with the balance of power thesis. Stressing on the 'buck-passing' behaviors of state actors, Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, (2009) highlighted ways in which the collective action problem undermine efforts to create a balancing in the international system. Buck-passing occurs among great powers that are dispersed geographically and insulated from the aggressor-state. Because of territorial distances, states that could engage in some alliance with a view to counterbalancing threats posed by an aggressor do not feel any sense of vulnerability or susceptibility.

There is also the idea of strategic relations among the potential balancers as a source of collective action problem. In this case, potential balancers assume (rightly or wrongly) that one of them (the states) would certainly rise to the challenges and confront the aggressor on behalf of others. Another way in which strategic relations contributes to the collective action problem is when there is palpable fear that if one state acts, other states might become apathetic and thus abandon the 'acting-state' to its fate especially when the one that has acted is entangled in the conflict. Implicitly, the 'acting-state' would bear the consequences and costs of engagement with the aggressor. Conversely, if the relations among the would-be-balancers are hostile, that gives ample opportunity to the aggressor who might leverage on 'divide and rule' strategy to maximize its own predetermined goals.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

> Explain how collective action problem undermines potentials towards achieving a balance among states in the international system.
> Not more than 4 minutes to answer this question.

3.5   The Question of Alliance Cohesion

Aside from the collective action problematic and the dilemma of alliance formation, the phenomenon of alliance cohesion is another interesting subject in the alliance literature. Alliance cohesion focuses on the performance subject and tries to give insight on why some alliances persist regardless of pressures from both states and the international

system, while others dissolve without accomplishing their objectives. Alliance cohesion refers to the ability to plan and coordinate strategies initiated by alliance-partnering states in hope of actualizing their collective goals. One of the principal factors that either strengthen or undermine alliance cohesion is factor of alteration in terms and conditions upon which it was formed.

There are proofs that alliances formed during peacetimes have the probability to dissolve or wax stronger in the event of outbreak of war. In the event of war, allies are usually split between two extremes – they either choose to abandon the alliance if the intensity of the war is too high for them or they become more deeply roped into the war. Another reason why alliance cohesion can be sustained is the threatening presence of a bully-state which automatically discourages any thought of dissolution of the alliance. On the other hand, alliance cohesion may wane or dissolve depending on the changing perception or weight of the existing threat, declining credibility or increasing doubts about the efficacy of the alliance, domestic circumstances of the politics of the alliance-partnering states (Darwich, 2021). Military defeat can also induce allies to disband and even bandwagon with the winning side.

Self-assessment Exercise 3

What are the major factors that determine the success or failure of alliance cohesion? Not more than 5 minutes to answer this question.

3.6   Summary

Unit 3 focused on the alliance theory. It evaluated and discussed the undercurrents of alliance theoretical position and why states agree to form alliances. Formal commitments of partnering states to the covenants of alliance are stressed as the main area of divergence between the concept of alliance and that of alignment. Contentious issues bordering ''collective action problem'' and the issues of ''alliance cohesion'' were specially treated in this unit as fundamental phenomena in the whole theory of alliance. In addition, the unit examined reasons why alliances may or may not survive.

3.7   References/Further Reading/Web Sources

Darwich, M., (2021). Alliance politics in the post-2011 Middle East: Advancing theoretical and empirical perspectives, *Mediterranean Politics*, Vo. 26, No. 5, 635-656. https://doi.org/10.1080/13629395.2021.1889300

Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, M., (2009). The End of Balance-of-Power Theory? A Comment on Wohlforth et al.'s 'Testing Balance-of-Power Theory in World History'. *European Journal of International Relations,* Vol. 15, No. 2, 347-380, DOI: 10.1177/1354066109103145, http://ejt.sagepub.com/content/15/2/347

Healy, B. and Stein, A., (1973). The Balance of Power in International History: Theory and Reality, *Journal of Conflict Resolution,* Vol. 17, No. 1, 33-61. https://www.jstor.org/stable/173362.

Morrow, J. D., (2000). Alliance: Why Write Them Down? *Annu. Rev. Polit.*, Vol. 63-83.

3.8   Possible Answers to Self-assessment Exercise

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

In International Relations, unlike the concept of alignment, alliance evokes a sense of formal commitment between or among parties involved wherein certain specific obligations are written out. Details and specification of agreements made by parties to an alliance are required. Such rigorous procedures are not necessary for parties involved in alignment.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

Among others, there are two important ways in which collective action could impede on the goal of establishing a balance among states in the international system. First is through their buck-passing behavior. Buck-passing usually occurs among great powers that are dispersed geographically and insulated from the aggressor-state. States that feel they have nothing to fear on account of their geographical distance away from the aggressor may decide to stay away from any alliance formation. Second is through the ''strategic relations'' calculations. In this case, potential balancers assume (rightly or wrongly) that one of

them (the states) would certainly rise to the challenges and confront the aggressor on behalf of others.

Self-Assessment Exercise 3
The principal condition that determines the success or failure of alliance cohesion is factor of alteration in terms and conditions upon which it was formed.

UNIT 4   GLOBALIZATION

Unit Structure

4.1   Introduction
4.2   Learning Outcome
4.3   What is Globalization?
4.4   Multidimensional Approaches on Globalization
4.5   5G Technological Innovation and Rising Waves of Globalization
4.6   Summary
4.7   References/Further Readings/Web Sources
4.8   Possible Answers Self-Assessment Exercises

4.1   Introduction

There is no doubt that globalization has become a household name and a major topic in the study of International Relations in recent decades. Globalization, mean different things to people, and it has taken on additional nuances in different parts of the world, reflecting the concerns of these different areas. Every dimension of human life in modern society is, one way or the other, impacted by the forces of globalization. In fact, to the extent that globalization implies intensification of cross-border activities, increased interaction of world populations across national boundaries and stronger interdependence among countries, globalization is reckoned as a force behind remarkable changes taking place in today's world. Prior to the age of globalization, notions of state-centrism prevailed in the international system since state actors were extremely mindful of promoting their national interests at all cost. State security and economic gains were the dominant pursuits of nations. Currently, attention has speedily drifted towards the international setting because many of the present-day challenges facing countries of the world are becoming more global than statist. The need for collective action has gained preeminence.

4.2   Learning Outcome

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

- discuss the meaning of globalization in the context of International Relations.
- analyze globalization from its economic and cultural dimensions
- demonstrate how globalization has impacted traditional ideas of state sovereignty in the international system.

- evaluate how recent technological innovations are affecting former notions about what constitutes the core national interests of states in International Relations.

4.3   What is Globalization?

We can describe globalization as increasing relationships, interconnectedness and interdependence between national, local and supranational organizational actors which take place mainly on account of huge improvements in information and communication technologies. Approaches to the study of globalization are multidimensional. However, the understanding of globalization as a process rather than as an end is key to any approach deployed to exploring its diverse forms and modes of manifestation. Processes of globalization culminates into multiple outcomes visible in economic, social, cultural, political and many other fields of life and human activity (Rzepka and Masurashvili, 2014).

Through the multiplicity of interconnections and linkages occasioned by globalization, events and activities taking place in one part of the world makes impact in other parts of the world and national responsibilities are increasingly shifting from the state-centric limits to supranational entities. Some analysts are of the view that globalization only characterizes an intensification of linkages on old processes rather than the development of new ones, thus raising pointers to certain features of its precursors in various fields of international interdependence. Globalization is then thought to be more about growth of competition in an international free trade system intensified mainly by increasing use of new technologies. The intensity of processes of globalization brings a lot of quantitative growth in the internationalization of production and economic transactions as well as qualitative changes in the nature, constraints and opportunities facing actors, especially state actors (Reich, 1998).

In spite of the divergences that exist in approaches to studying globalization, globalization itself is said to be structurally homogenizing. Since the emergence of neo-institutional theory in the late 1990s, ideas of an emerging world society have grown. The impression is that globalization is about cultural uniformity and the universalization of everything (Lee and Stensaker, 2021). Areas where global homogenization seems to materialize include economic globalization, ideological harmony at the instance of neoliberal hegemony, socio-cultural convergence, technological innovations, liberal internationalism and global governance. Homogenization, in consonance with normative theorizations on world peace, evokes political thoughts for a world state

and global governance as a panacea to wars, conflicts and anarchy in the international system (Cerny and Prichard, 2017).

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

> Discuss globalization as a homogenization force in International Relations.
> Not more than 4 minutes to answer this question.

4.4 Multidimensional Approaches on Globalization

From the economic dimension, globalization may be considered as consisting of integration of national economies in the direction of an international trade-based economy, direct foreign investment, short-term capital flows, the international flow of workers and people in general as well as the flow of technology. In this sense, globalization entails processes of liberalization and integration of goods, capital and labor markets into one global market and also increased level of international economic interdependence and the expansion of the activities of transnational corporations. Rising levels of economic interdependence among states is conceived to be fallouts of three major preconditions which include massive breakthroughs in science and technology particularly in areas of information and communication, massive liberalization of economic conditions necessary for growth in international trade and lastly the tremendous promotion of investments made by foreign financial markets. Technology seems to grow ubiquitously as its presence and impacts are felt in almost all facet of human existence.

From the cultural perspective, technology enables the collection, analysis and dissemination of information which contributes to shaping cultural images, global transportation of ideas and the rise of the network society. Technology is also transformative if we look at the modes of production in relation to teaching and learning. Now, we have accessible e-learning platforms and thus prompting a rethink in traditional forms of knowledge production and distribution in terms of physical mobility, time and stress in higher education processes (Lee and Stensaker, 2021). Computer-based information systems are also highly essential to the operation of modern-day businesses. Developments in information technology and rapid improvements in transportation systems have made economic productions across the world become more closely integrated and the cost of cross-border trade much lowers (Liu, 2022). On the flip side, recent global financial crises point to the fact that gains and losses streaming from processes of economic globalization are sources of concern too.

Globalization is creating both profits and losses as well as threats and opportunities in various ways and to individuals, households,

communities, nations and across regions of the world. Some believe that globalization has split the world into two separate spheres: a world of wealth and a world of poverty. Though, there are those who view globalization as beneficially helping achieve world interdependence and also reduce poverty, the role of globalization in the increase of inequality within and among nations is profound (Murtezaj, 2010). There is evidence that the proceeds of globalization are pushing wider the gaps between the rich and the poor countries. The North-South gap is increasing. Third world countries are on the receiving end of the globalization process, living on less than a dollar a day. Developed countries leverage on high economic benefits that accrue from technological hegemony especially in an age when artificial intelligence decision-making technology has greatly improved the status of information technology in human life.

Self-assessment Exercise 2

What is economic globalization? Not more than 4 minutes to answer this question.

4.5   5G Technological Innovation and Rising Waves of Globalization

As Lijia Liu noted:
In the 5G era, … the work model of artificial intelligence has shown a full range of breakthroughs with the development of various APPs. The construction of various algorithms and models enables the information terminal to even achieve a full description of individual customers, from the needs of life. … At this stage, the concept of artificial intelligence has made remarkable achievements in the construction of the Internet of Things and intelligent interaction and has produced huge economic benefits. It has become an area where all powerful countries in the world are striving to be the first. … Historical development proves that major changes in science and technology can bring about a huge boost to people's production and life and even the progress of society as a whole (Liu, 2022: 2).

The above information illustrates a major boost in the innovation chain of globalization. As countries of the world strive to enhance possibilities provided by information technology, the place and impact of artificial intelligence in promoting national economies have gained more traction. Today, the struggle in International Relations is about how nation-states can maintain and enhance their technological advantages. Primarily on the heels of technological advancements boosted by developments in artificial intelligence and wireless communication sciences, there is now a major shift and difference between the model of contemporary

International Relations and the nature of traditional International Relations.

In the era of 5G technology, there are signs of new characterizations in the vital or core national interests among states as the major pillars influencing International Relations are no longer determined solely by or limited to traditional factors of military and economic powers of states. Fields of education, health and unmanned technologies have risen in prominence. Again, international relation is progressively making a detour from the old category of state-centric national politicking to a more liberal, open and cooperative model in which globalization has, more than ever before, incorporated global economies as well as people into a system of internetworking – a major shift in the manifestation of state relations. The traditional era of struggling for state relevance through power politics aimed at procuring national interest and political hegemony is being replaced by the quest for state relevance through important technological advancement which has a higher probability for equal cooperation and mutual benefits.

In the world of globalization, there is a whole lot of transformation in national consciousness. In the context of major changes in science, technologies and importantly present innovations offered by artificial intelligence, the traditional national consciousness of statism in which a sense of centralization of power in a 'sovereign' state is considered the most ideal and best way to organize humanity has grown in obsolescence. Globalization has reshaped the world of International Relations in many ways. MNCs and international organizations such as the EU, WB, IMF, UN and the WTO are often eroding the value, prestige and strength of state sovereignty. These international organizations and non-state actors have grown to become agenda setters and drivers of trends in the international system (Lee and Stensaker, 2021). 'We can postulate with little hesitation that we no longer live and work in uniquely sovereign countries. That is, economies and society have and continue to evolve rapidly and globalization is the trend that continues to reshape the boundaries of our individual and collective interactions' (Murtezaj, 2010: 1). Nevertheless, we should not lose sight of the fact that no matter the weight of the constraining effects of globalization through structural pressures especially from the neoliberal West, not all states respond or bow to the pressures. Again, for states that comply, there is need to say that national response to globalization pressures and forces vary at degrees that are dissimilar (Lodhi, 2021).

Upon the heavyweight of globalization pressure, the grip and notion of territoriality of the state which prevailed for many centuries has been massively altered. Although, national territories have not and might not change; the force of globalization has shrunk national borders and boundaries have been permeated to a degree where lifestyles and cultural

values are silently converging (Liu, 2022). Prospects for global citizenship have increased and countries are evolving from the old strict sense of nationalism-based territorialism into some form of integrating global cultures on the wings of high-flying technologies that make cross-border contacts, supranational political alliances, multinational socializations, worldwide scholarship, universalizing lifestyles and transnational economic transactions almost immediate.

Self-Assessment Exercise 3

> Analyze ways in which globalization has impacted old notions of state sovereignty in the international system?
> Not more than 5 minutes to answer this question.

4.6   Summary

Great changes that have been brought to bear on trends and activities in the international system as a result of growing dynamisms of globalization were the focal point of Unit 4. It first illuminated the concept of globalization and the multidimensional approaches to studying its varied ramifications. The basic characterization of globalization within the premise of intensification of cross-border activities, increased interaction of world populations across national boundaries and stronger interdependence among various countries were reiterated. It also highlighted the dark sides of globalization as it is creating both profits and losses, threats and opportunities as well as a world of wealth and a world of poverty across nations and regions of the world. Outstanding technological innovations occasioned by the evolution of artificial intelligence in the era of 5G and the implications of these scientific developments for domestic state activities as well as interaction of states in an international system that is not only competitive but also conflictual was extensively discussed. The linkages between innovations of 5G technology and the shifting characterization of what constitutes the core national interests of states were analyzed.

4.7   References/Further Reading/Web Sources

Cerny, P. G. and Prichard, A., (2017). The new anarchy: Globalization and fragmentation in world politics. *Journal of International Political Theory.* Vol. 13, No. 3, 378-394, Doi: 10.1177/1755088217713765

Lee, J. J. and Stensaker, B., (2021). Research on internationalization and globalization in higher education – Reflections on historical paths, current perspectives and future possibilities. USA: Center for the Study of Higher Education, DOI:10.1111/ejed.12448, Wiley

Liu, L., (2022). Impact of Economic Globalization on International Relations under the Background of Wireless Communications and Artificial Intelligence. *Wirelss Communications and Mobile Computing,* https://doi.org/10.1155/2022/6849387 , Retrieved from https://downloads.hindawi.com/journals/wcmc/2022/6849387.pdf Date Accessed: 6th July, 2022.

Lodhi, I., (2021). Globalization and public policy: Bridging the disciplinary and epistemological boundaries. *Policy and Society,* Vol. 40, No. 4, 522-544, Doi:10.1080/14494035.2021.1987137

Murtezaj, V. Z., (2010). How Has Globalization Shaped the Course of International Relations: Are We Moving Closer or Further Apart? *Workshop on Supplemental Ways for Improving International Stability*, Prishtina, Kosovo, October 27-29, 2010

Reich, S., 1998). What is Globalization? Four Possible Answers. *Working Paper No.261,* December 1998, Kellogg Institute, The Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies

Rzepka, A. and Masurashvili, I., (2014). Globalization in Theory and Practice – The Practice of Globalization. *Conference of Information and Management Sciences*, March 24-28, 2014, The 3rd International Virtual Conference, http://www.ictic.sk.

 4.8   Possible Answers to Self-assessment Exercises

Self-Assessment Exercise 1
In diverse ways, globalization has come to manifest its homogenization effects in International Relations. In the area of culture, it is known that since the late 1990s, the cross-cultural impact of globalization has become more visible. Discourse revolving around issues of universalization of culture, emergence of liberal internationalism, spread of neo-institutional theories, and so on, have gained attention. Ideas of an emerging world society have grown on the heels of prospects of cultural uniformity. Besides culture, global homogenization is also materializing in the area of commerce and industry. Economic globalization is no more a strange phenomenon.

Away from culture and economics, others include ideological harmony at the instance of neoliberal hegemony, socio-cultural convergence, technological innovations, liberal internationalism and global governance.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

Economic globalization could be seen as consisting of the integration of national economies in the direction of an international trade-based economy, direct foreign investment, short-term capital flows, the international flow of workers and people in general as well as the flow of technology. It entails processes of liberalization and integration of goods, capital and labor markets into one global market. Economic globalization promotes increased level of international economic interdependence and the expansion of the activities of transnational corporations.

Self-Assessment Exercise 3

Globalization pressure has massively loosened the grip and notion of territoriality of the state which prevailed for many past centuries. The force of globalization has shrunk national borders and boundaries have been permeated to a degree where lifestyles and cultural values are silently converging. Prospects for global citizenship have increased and countries are evolving from the old strict sense of nationalism-based territorialism into some form of integrating global cultures on the wings of high-flying technologies that make cross-border contacts, supranational political alliances, multinational socializations, worldwide scholarship, universalizing lifestyles and transnational economic transactions almost immediate.

MODULE 5   NATURE AND THEORIES OF STRATEGIC THINKING AND STRATEGIC PRACTICE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Unit 1   Collective Security
Unit 2   Arms Control, Nuclear Deterrence and Disarmament
Unit 3   War and Peace
Unit 4   Foreign Policy

UNIT 1   COLLECTIVE SECURITY

Unit Structure

1.1   Introduction
1.2   Learning Outcome
1.3   Understanding the Concept of Collective Security and its Requirements
        1.3.1. Historical Insight on Collective Security Formation
1.4   The United Nations' Collective Security System
        1.4.1 Some Achievements of the United Nations' Collective Security Arrangements
1.5.   Challenges Confronting the United Nations' Collective Security Arrangements
1.6   Summary
1.7   References/ Further/ Readings
1.8   Possible Answers Self-Assessment Exercises

1.1   Introduction

A major defining feature of collective security is its global scale which distinguishes it from mere regional security frameworks like the NATO. Examples of collective security networks include the League of Nations which was established after WW 1 and the UN which was formed after WW 2. Collective security is global and wider in scope than mere alliances of some states which decide to set up collective defense systems, its responsibilities are also broader as it comprises virtually all states in the international system and attempts to address a wide range of security issues both within and outside national boundaries. Collective security system comes with a promise that guarantees to promote and preserve the security of each state against aggression and wars in any part or region of the world. Like a universal insurance system, collective security is pledged to preserving international peace and security. With the acceptance of collective security as an instrument of universal peace,

balance of power as a tool to maintaining power equilibrium, order and deterrence in the international system is believed to have become redundant and superfluous. Attention has shifted from what state-power could achieve from an individual state-level to a common and interdependent security network beyond the control of any one state.

1.2   Learning Outcome

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

- evaluate the concept of collective security.
- discuss the historical backgrounds to the concept of collective security.
- analyze the contemporary global collective security system under the management of the United Nations
- discuss the merits and demerits of the contemporary United Nations' collective security arrangements.

1.3   Understanding the Concept of Collective Security and its Requirements

Collective security brings to the mind a notion of safety arrangement made by states which agree to cooperate in providing mutual assistance and protection against external threats of aggression posed by states outside the group. It is largely a mutual defense policy developed by concerned states and which is targeted against aggressor-state(s). Collective security is based on the maxim of ''one for all and all for one'' which implies that an attack against one member-state is taken to mean attack against all members of the same collective security organization. It is a commitment with a burden of pledge of a united response against an aggressor (Helal, 2018).

Collective security requires a formal commitment among groups of countries that have pledged to protect the security interests of member-states within their joint spheres on interest. Long ago, Immanuel Kant, in his popular book ''Perpetual Peace'', stated that laws of nations would be based on one federation of free states. By accessing a collective security arrangement, member-states are discouraged from behaviors and actions that have the capacity to threaten peace, law and order, hence, addressing or preventing problems associated with violent conflicts and wars (Shakir, 1983; Aleksovski, et. al., 2014).

Three major elements necessary for collective security to function include consensus, commitment and organization. For the aims and objectives of setting up the collective security network to be achieved, the three components are interlinked such that lack of commitment would undermine consensus made while commitment without organization would dampen efforts to mobilize tools required for effective decision-making. The impact of collective security agreement on the sovereignty of member-states is worthy of mention. The sovereignty clause is affected as the concerned member-states would, as it were in Hobbes' social contract, surrender part of their vital national interest in order to coalesce divergent interests and expectations of member-states – a form of international interest (Shakir, 1983). Member-states automatically expand the scope and focus of their national security to incorporate the task of survival and security of their allies.

The instinct for self-preservation is innate in every living being and security is an aspiration desired by all. Ironically, the choice of war and acts of violence in the pursuit of security is also longstanding in human history. In fact, it appears as though humans learn of acts of war more easily than they learn of arts of peace. However, the quest for peaceful living in humans seems undying. The social contract theory is said to be the closest conceptual framework and equivalence of the of the latter-day innovation of collective security which entails a transposition of the individual's will to the level of the community decision-making. That was an expression of human tendency for collaboration and geared towards ensuring an environment conducive for the sustainable exercise of political, social, economic and human rights (Shakir, 1983). It also indicates approval of the notion that no man is an island, natural acceptance of human organization and political community existence. Important also is the reality that political community organization demonstrate human transcendence above jungle lifestyle replete with predatory proclivity now characteristic of lower animals.

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

The three major elements necessary for collective security to take place include ……, commitment and organization.
(A). conference
(B). lectures
(C). consensus
Not more than 4 minutes to answer this question.

1.3.1 Historical Insight on Collective Security Formation

Historically, the concept of collective security through alliance formation is one of the oldest forms of man's political activity. The Collective

security option was manifest in the political organization and military planning of the Greek city-states. They formed leagues and made agreements to reduce undesirable advances and power-influence of the then big-powers – Athens and Sparta. Their understanding of population as a source of strength and that collaboration was imperative to their safety and survival was a common denominator. However, the concept of collective security became more visible in the Covenant of the League of Nations which followed the end of WW 1 and altered former notions of balance of power among the European great power family. Although the League of Nations failed since there was an outbreak of another global war – an event which it was set up to forestall – the desire for collective security in the international system was not abandoned. The UN is a living witness that humanity still upholds and cherishes the principles of collective security (Shakir, 1983). Several regional security organizations (including regional economic cooperation groupings) have been established in pursuit of collective security across the globe. They include the AU, EU, GCC, OAS, Arab League, Association of South East Asian Nations, South Asia and Collective Security and so on.

1.4   The United Nations' Collective Security System

The United Nations is a collective security system which was established following the demise of its predecessor – the League of Nations. The League of Nations encountered a number of challenges especially its inability to set up an army, although it was in theory empowered to use military force. France had earlier recommended for the creation of an international army under the control of the League of Nations. The response of many other nations was not impressive. Americans never approved of that military option fearing to, again, send its army to fight in foreign lands under the control of an unfamiliar international organization. There was also the problem of rising waves of authoritarian regimes including fascists governments in Europe. For example, as soon as Germany under the leadership of Adolf Hitler became totalitarian, Germany was pulled out of the League of Nations. That singular move devastated the League of Nations and soon afterwards contributed immensely to the outbreak of World War One in 1939. Surprisingly, the failure of the League of Nations did not mark the end of the quest for the sustenance of the collective security arrangement in the international system. The United Nations was expected to correct the anomalies of the League of Nations. For example, rather than push for limited membership which the League of Nations did, the United Nations has provision for universal membership. The United Nations also prohibits the choice of war as an instrument of foreign policy by states and instead promotes the rule of peaceful resolution of disputes and the deployment of collective actions (Aleksovski, et. al., 2014).

1.4.1   Some Achievements of the United Nations' Collective Security Arrangements

The weaknesses highlighted above should not, however, be mistaken to signal that the UN has not made notable achievements. The UN has been able to settlement a number of interstate as well as intrastate disputes that had potentials of escalating into global conflicts. It has been successful in several peace missions and has responded to numerous humanitarian emergencies across the world. According to Mohamed Helal:

2017 was a busy year for the United Nations Security Council. It held 296 formal meetings during which it adopted sixty-one resolutions, passed twenty-seven presidential statements. These meetings, resolutions and statements addressed a variety of issues, ranging from the politically profound, such as the North Korean nuclear weapons program, … renewing mandates of longstanding U.N. peacekeeping operations and electing judges to the International Court of Justice. … the Security Council's role in diffusing the crisis that ensued following the presidential elections in The Gambia in the early days of 2017 was hailed by France's Permanent Representative to the United Nations as an excellent example of preventive diplomacy (Helal, 2018: 1063).

The above instances serve to illustrate the numerous roles played by the United Nations in recent times to facilitate collective security actions globally. In the fight against the Coronavirus, the UN has also demonstrated its capacity to mobilize both the big and the small nations to collaborate. The recent invasion of Ukraine by Russia has also witnessed different modes of intervention, though at the advisory level, by the UN (Aleksovski, et. al., 2014).

Self-Assessment Exercise 3

> In the context of collective security, discuss some of the major achievements of the United Nations.
> Not more than 5 minutes to answer this question.

1.5   Challenges Confronting the United Nations' Collective Security Arrangements

Like the defunct League of Nations, the UN's collective security arrangement has its own peculiar challenges. There is the problem of diversities in belief systems, values and interests of member-states. It is hard for the organization to achieve consensus on a range of issues. Vital national interests of member-states can be so hard to coalesce in order to provide a common front for certain international crises. This is more so when there are overarching and topical matters before the UNSC. At the

time of the Kosovo crisis in 1999, gimmicks over national interests played out so visibly. Even at the height of the problem in Kosovo, there was no action taken by the UN against Serbia because Russia and China, as usual, opposed any strategic action to be taken by the UN. The strategic calculation was that any reason that approves the involvement of the UN into the internal affairs of Serbia would automatically provide a pretext for intervention into the domestic matters of Chechnya (under Russia's sphere of influence) and Tibet (under China's sphere of influence) (Aleksovski, et. al., 2014).

In 2017, Russia exercised its veto powers five different time to prevent the Security Council from taking actions against Syria. Under former President Donald Trump, the United States exercised its veto power to prevent the Security Council from reaffirming the status of East Jerusalem as occupied territory because Trump had chosen to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. In places like Myanmar, Somalia, Afghanistan and elsewhere, the UN was not able to broker peace and security threats in those regions jeopardized global peace. In Somalia, for example, the state took measures that contradicted approaches adopted by the United Nations. The UNSC had authorized the use of force in Somalia, although there were no indications of any planned military actions against the state. the decision of the UN was simply vetoed. In fact, the impartiality of some United Nations' resolutions has severally been questioned and challenged. The UNSC resolution on Libya's refusal to extradite its nationals for prosecution in the US, the UK and France have been criticized for using the Council to carry out the foreign policy objectives of certain powerful members (Gordon, 1994).

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

> Discuss some problems plaguing contemporary United Nations' collective security arrangements since the end of the Cold War.
> Not more than 4 minutes to answer this question.

1.6   Summary

In this study unit, we were able to examine the concept of collective security and the preconditions for setting up such a universal security system. In addition to providing a useful historical insight to the concept of collective security, we concentrated attention on the United Nations as a good example of a collective security framework in the contemporary international system. Some of the recent challenges and achievements of the United Nations' collective security arrangement were thoroughly analyzed.

1.7   References/Further Reading/Web Sources

Aleksovski, S., et. al., (2014). Collective Security – The Role of International Organizations – Implications in International Security Order. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences,* Vol. 5, No. 27, Doi:105901/mjss.2014v5n274, ISSN 2039-2127, ISSN 2039-9340.

Gordon, R., (1994). United Nations Intervention in Internal Conflicts: Iraq, Somalia, and Beyond. *Michigan Journal of International Law,* Vol. 15, Issue 2., Available at: https://repository.law.umich.edu/mjil/vol15/iss2/5

Helal, M., (2018). The Myth of U.N. Collective Security, 32 Emory International Rev. Recent Dev. 1063, Available at: https://scholarlycommons.law.emory.edu/eilr-recent-developments/9

Shakir, U., (1983). The Concept and Strategy of Collective Security. *Strategic Studies,* Vol. 7, No. 1, 54-76, https://www.jstor.org/stable/45182685

1.8   Possible Answers to Self-assessment Exercise

Self-Assessment Exercise 1
C. consensus.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2
Some of the problems plaguing the contemporary United Nations' collective security arrangements since the end of the Cold War include the problem of diversities in belief systems, values and interests of member-states. It is hard for the organization to achieve consensus on a range of issues. Furthermore, it is difficult to coalesce the vital national interests of member-states. This makes it extremely tough for the UN to provide a common front on some international issues of concern. There is also the problem of conditional use of veto power by the five members of the Security Council – Russia, United States, Britain, France and China.

Self-Assessment Exercise 3

In the context of collective security, the UN has been able to:

(i). settle a number of interstate as well as intrastate disputes that had potentials of escalating into global conflicts.

(ii). engage in several peace missions across the globe

(iii). responded to numerous humanitarian emergencies across the world including the 2022 Ukrainian crisis.

UNIT 2   ARMS CONTROL, NUCLEAR DETERRENCE AND DISARMAMENT.

Unit Structure

2.1   Introduction

The desire for arms control grew from historical behaviors of states in their quest to disarm or cut down on their weapons of war. An array of international conferences on arms control and disarmament as well as workshops on nuclear deterrence has taken place around the world. Though such global meetings held with the intention of proffering peace and security through arms control and disarmament initiatives have often failed, some outstanding achievements have also been recorded. Some arms control programs and efforts between the US and the SU during the period of the Cold War were known to be successful in dealing with imminent threats posed by unhealthy nuclear arms race of that era. However, it is believed that the first international conference that attempted to deal with and address issues of arms control was the Hague Convention of 1899 which looked into and made certain agreements in areas of war and security among participating states.

2.2   Learning Outcome

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

- evaluate and explain concepts of arms control, disarmament and nuclear deterrence.
- analyze major arms control, nuclear deterrence and disarmament treaties that have taken place in the international comity of nations.
- discuss why arms control, nuclear deterrence and disarmament treaties often fail.

2.3   Perspectives on Arms Control, Nuclear Deterrence and Disarmament.

Arms are said to be a means for the attainment of foreign policy objectives (Oren, 1998). The world is filled with assorted armament and weapons of mass destruction. A recent study estimated that that there are about 875 million guns. Although, the number of nuclear weapons is said to have decreased since the end of the Cold War from about 60,000 to 15,000, this remainder of nuclear stockpile is also more than enough to destroy the world (Ventura, 2018). The General Assembly of the UN has repeatedly expressed concern over problems of arms race – unguarded struggle between two or more states seeking to improve their security by way of developing more and more military weapons in opposition to each other. In 1959, the General Assembly adopted a unanimous resolution in which it declared that the question of General and Complete Disarmament was the greatest and most important task to be carried out. The UN campaigned for states in the international system to find an agreement and consider disarmament a necessity in the interest of global peace and security (Lal, 1969).

Arms control is not the same as disarmament. While disarmament seeks to ensure peace and security in the international system through the elimination of weapons from the peace and strategic policies of states, arms control is primarily intended to achieve regulatory control over issues of arms production (in terms of increase in numbers and types of weapons), distribution and use. Nuclear disarmament would, for example, entail 'the complete relinquishment of nuclear arms by a state with a longstanding, public commitment to nuclear deterrence and sizable nuclear weapons complex' (Egeland, 2022: 121). It also entails a physical dismantlement of all nuclear warheads and their dedicated means of delivery as well as the kind of actions a former nuclear armed state would have to undertake to win recognition or status as a nonnuclear-weapon state under the non-nuclear proliferation treaty. Although, there is rarely any collection of well-researched case studies on nuclear disarmament or relinquishment, the few that exist have focused mainly on the feasibility and desirability of particular elimination prospects. Egeland (2022) blames this scholarly inattention partly on the fact that there have been few cases of relinquishments, thereby giving potential analysts of nuclear elimination processes limited empirical materials to work with. Again, he believes that many scholars consider the elimination of nuclear weapons as an impossibility.

Disarmament is described as a 'proposal that is based on the assumption that weapons are an important source of conflict' (Griffiths and O'Callaghan, 2002: 81). Arms control does intend to envisage a new

world order constructed upon arms acquisition and race but interested in managing the status quo ante. Regulatory control of arms production, distribution and use can be achieved by banning technologies that have the capacity to countervail existing balance of power, developing confidence-building mechanisms in the comity of nations, reducing the number of weapons already in existence or limiting the type of weapons that can be used during wars.

Disarmament can be achieved either voluntarily or by imposition. If a disarmament program is voluntary, it means that states saw the need to do away with some types of arms and ammunitions or, perhaps under certain absolute conditions, agree to eliminate all existing weapons. After the First World War, the victor-nations (through the Treaty of Versailles) imposed some limitations on the German military. The German army was limited to 100,000 troops to cut off Germany's ability to undertake offensive actions against other countries.

Self-assessment Exercise 1

> What is the difference between arms control and disarmament?
> Not more than 4 minutes to answer this question.

2.4 Major Arms Control, Nuclear Deterrence and Disarmament Treaties

Since after the WW 2, the international system has witnessed several arms control and disarmament treaties which focused mainly on regulating the proliferation of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, tackling problems associated with ballistic and anti-ballistic missile systems and controlling the acquisition of nuclear materials and the frequency of testing nuclear weapons. We should recall that long before modern day state systems, efforts had been underway to promote peace and security through various arms control negotiations and agreements. Over 2,500 years ago, the two Greek military powers of Athens and Sparta engaged in diverse arms control agreements. However, the inception of the nuclear age during the twentieth century marked a turning point in the annals of arms control treaties largely on account of the magnitude of the arms race that accompanied the superpower rivalry of the Cold War period and the rapid horizontal spread of weapons among states (Griffiths and O'Callaghan, 2002).

Some of the major arms control agreements of the Post-World War ll era include the 1959 Antarctic Treaty which banned states from using the Antarctica for military purposes, the 1968 Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty which limited the transfer of nuclear weapons to non-nuclear states, the 1972 Biological Weapons Convention which banned the

manufacture and possession of biological weapons, the 1972 Strategic
Arms Limitation Talks which controlled the development and use of anti-
ballistic missile systems, the 1991-92 Strategic Arms Reduction Talks
(START 1) which reduced the size of the superpowers' nuclear arsenal,
the 1993 Chemical Weapons Convention which directed signatories to
destroy their chemical weapons stocks within a decade; and the 1998
Anti-Personnel Landmines Treaty (Griffiths and O'Callaghan, 2002).
Interestingly, the 2010 NPT Review Conference expressed renewed
concern at the continued risk for humanity posed by the possibility that
these weapons could be used and the catastrophic humanitarian
consequences that would result from the use of nuclear weapons. Global
institutions like the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement
have also continued to emphasize the potential disasters and immense
sufferings that would result from any detonation of nuclear weapons as
well as the lack of any adequate international response capacity to assist
the victims. The Movement calls on the international community to
ensure that nuclear weapons are never again used and to pursue treaty
negotiations aimed at eliminating them (Borrie, 2013).

In the context of arms control in the Post World War 2 era, it is important
to highlight the crucial role of nuclear deterrence between the then
superpowers – the US and the SU. Nuclear deterrence was majorly based
on the weapons capability of the superpowers' arsenals for mutual assured
destruction – MAD. MAD-based deterrence or philosophy depended not
only on the capability to destroy the enemy, but also on projecting nuclear
weapons in a way to convince the enemy of their survivability and
importantly to signal a determination to carry out a retaliation. To a large
extent, nuclear deterrence was an ideology of arms control. The US
nuclear weapons policy during the period of the Cold War was essentially
one of deterrence against Soviet aggression. US nuclear weapons did not
exist mainly for the sake of fighting a nuclear war but primarily to protect
the US strategic interests from Soviet threats. Nevertheless, should
deterrence fail, the US must be prepared to respond while at the same time
minimizing the number of damages sustained. As long as the US has the
capacity to retaliate with assured destruction, rational Soviet leaders know
that the potential gains of launching any attack against the US are not
worth the risks. As such, the essence of having the nuclear deterrence was
to create a state of mind in the potential aggressor which would
subsequently restrain the enemy from picking up a fight due to the fear of
the horrendous consequences (Marullo, 1985).

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

> Identify and discuss any two major arms control, nuclear deterrence and
> disarmament treaties that have taken place in the international system.
> Not more than 4 minutes to answer this question.

2.5   Failure of Arms Control, Nuclear Deterrence and Disarmament Treaties

Lack of trust has been the greatest source of failure of arms control and disarmament agreements among nations. South Africa is the only country known to have built and also dismantled its nuclear arsenal, though domestic political reforms appear to have influenced the country's decision to do so. Generally, states cheat themselves because many times in their selfish desperation to dubiously secure themselves, they object to arms control invitations or meetings, fail to disclose their full military stockpile, build secret military installations, deceive arms inspectors or refuse to destroy certain categories of weapons. Records have it that although the United States signed the 1993 Chemical Weapons Convention, it has developed new chemical weapons. By implication, therefore, there is also the problem of enforceability of arms control treaties in an international system where sovereign states are at liberty to make final decisions on what and what not to do.

There is no central authority decision-making body or standing army with powers to compel independent states to comply with international laws (Griffiths and O'Callaghan, 2002). We should mention also that assessing the military power and arsenal of sovereign states is difficult. No doubt, states make effort to quantify each other's military stockpile. Such indirect investigation could be through espionage, aerial reconnaissance and satellite technology (Oren, 1998). At another level of conversation, the question of whether the elimination of nuclear weapons is possible or not arises. Buzan (1987, see Egeland, 2022), remarks that nuclear weapons cannot be ''dis-invented'' since the systemic conditions of anarchy that breed their existence tarry. Armaments are seen as a consequence rather than a cause of political tension and anarchy. So, any logic of disarmament is expected to investigate roots of anarchy that underlie the decision of politicians to expanding military budgets in order to procure armaments.

The few options available including sanctions, economic aid and diplomatic persuasion are have not proven sufficiently reliable in handling problems of non-compliance by erring states. It is inconceivable how these various instruments of soft power could always induce powerful states like the United States to embark or disembark on any military program of either producing or using any weapon of choice. In its quest to pursue its national interests, Russia has repeatedly proven its capacity to ignore economic enticements and sanctions including military threats from powerful Western nations. Discountenancing all manner of severe economic sanctions, persuasive diplomatic engagements as well as heavy supply of defensive and offensive weapons to Ukraine, Russia has reiterated that there is lack of order in the international system. It remains

also to be seen how any of these tools can deter military decisions of other powerful states like Russia, France Britain or China. North Korea has severally defied military threats, diplomatic measures, sanctions and even economic inducements in its production and testing of assorted destructive weapons. Invariably, while weak states may be persuaded or compelled to abandon their arms production and other military programs, it is unlikely to see how powerful states could be dissuaded from theirs (Griffiths and O'Callaghan, 2002).

Self-Assessment Exercise 3

Account for the failure of arms control, nuclear deterrence and disarmament treaties in the international system.
Not more than 5 minutes to answer this question.

2.6   Summary

Unit 2 explored and clarified between concepts of arms control and disarmament. The meaning of nuclear deterrence was explained. It also discussed risks involved in arms race among states. The study unit discussed several arms control, nuclear deterrence and disarmament treaties that have taken place in the international system. The underlying causes of failure of arms control, nuclear deterrence and disarmament treaties were outlined and examined. Besides lack of trust among states, the failure of arms control, nuclear deterrence and disarmament treaties on the heels of unwillingness and/or nonchalance of powerful nations like the United States and Russia to commit themselves to the outcome of such agreements were also buttressed.

2.7   References/Further Reading/Web Sources

Borrie, J., (2013). Humanitarian Impact of Nuclear Weapons Project, paper no. 2. Borrie, J. and Caughley, T., (eds.), Viewing Nuclear Weapons Through a Humanitarian Lens. Geneva: United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research, ISBN 978-92-9045-202-7, eISBN 978-92-1-056366-6, Retrieved from https://unidir.org/sites/default/files/publication/pdfs//viewing-nuclear-weapons-through-a-humanitarian-lens-en-601.pdf, Date Accessed: October 23rd 2022.

Egeland, K., (2022). A theory of nuclear disarmament: Cases, analogies, and the role of the non-proliferation regime, *Contemporary*

Security   Policy,   Vol.   43,   No.   1,   106-133,
https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2021.1978159

Griffiths, M. and O'Callaghan, T., (2002). International Relations: The
Key Concepts. London and New York: Routledge.

Lal, N., (1969). Arms Control: An Approach to Disarmament. *The Indian
Journal of Political Science,* Vol. 30, No. 3, 277-290,
https://www.jstor.org/stable/41854337

Marullo, S., (1985). The Ideological Nature of Nuclear Deterrence: Some
Causes and Consequences. *The Sociological Quarterly,* Vol. 26,
No. 3, Special Feature: The Sociology of Nuclear Threat (Autumn,
1985). 311-330, https://www.jstor.org/stable/4106218

Oren, I., (1998). Conflict Management and Peace Science. *Spring,* Vol.
16, No. 1, 1-29, https://www.jstor.org/stable/26273646.

Ventura, M. R., (2018). Arms Control and Disarmament: Legitimacy,
War, and Peace. *International Studies Honors Projects,* 30,
http://digitalcommons.macalester.edu/intlstudies_honors/30

2.8   Possible Answers to Self-assessment Exercise

Self-Assessment Exercise 1
Disarmament seeks to ensure peace and security in the international
system through the elimination of weapons from the peace and strategic
policies of states. On the other hand, arms control is primarily intended
to achieve regulatory control over issues of arms production (in terms
of increase in numbers and types of weapons), distribution and use.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2
Two major arms control, nuclear deterrence and disarmament treaties
that have taken place in the international system include the 1991-92
Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START 1) which reduced the size of
the superpowers' nuclear arsenal and the 1993 Chemical Weapons
Convention which directed signatories to destroy their chemical
weapons stocks within a decade

Self-Assessment Exercise 3
There is the problem of deception and falsehood by some states.
Regardless of promises and treaties signed, states cheat themselves in
their attempt to desperately and dubiously secure themselves. It could
also be on account of their objection to arms control invitations or

meetings, failure to disclose their full military stockpile, intention to build secret military installations, deceive arms inspectors or refuse to destroy certain categories of weapons. Again, we have the problem of enforceability of arms control treaties in an international system since sovereign states are at liberty to make final decisions on what and what not to do with their arms and ammunitions. Generally, there is lack of trust especially among the powerful nations and great powers.

UNIT 3   WAR AND PEACE

Unit Structure

3.1   Introduction
3.2   Learning Outcome
3.3   Emergence of Peace Studies and the Causes of War
3.4   Post-Cold War ''New Wars''
         3.4.1   (A)morality of War: *Jus ad bellum* and *Jus in bello*
3.5   Envisioning Technology-based Warfare in the Contemporary Age
3.6   Summary
3.7   References/ Further/ Readings
3.8   Possible Answers Self-Assessment Exercises

 3.1   Introduction

Researches and works on the causes of war, ways to prevent wars and sustainable peace have always been a major source of concern to scholars and policymakers across board, particularly those in political science and International Relations fields. However, nations of the world often advocate prevention of war while simultaneously preparing for war. In fact, peace itself is said to a breathing time of relief that allows for the preparation of subsequent military plans and adventures. A period of long-sustained peace is also filled with uncertainty due to high levels of distrust among nations. Long periods of peace are feared as moments that might alter states' capacity to be on alert or prepare to defend itself should there arise any eventuality. These repeated cycles of peace and new preparations to strengthen national militaries are part of the reasons why Carl Von Clausewitz (see, Fitzsimmons, 2007) warned against postulations that stamp out war plans and remarked that war is a constant and to secure peace is to prepare for war.

 3.2   Learning Outcome

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

•   evaluate circumstances that necessitated interests of states in peace
         studies as an academic field during the mid-twentieth century.
•   discuss the meaning and causes of war.
•   evaluate the nature and types of war that evolved among small
         states in the Post-Cold War era.
•   analyze the implication of concepts of *Jus ad bellum* and *Jus in
         bello* in the study of peace and war.
•   evaluate the interface of smart-technologies in the execution of
         contemporary warfare.

3.3   Emergence of Peace Studies and the Causes of War

The study of peace and war is traceable to ancient history, though attempts to institutionalize peace studies as an area of learning in scholarship began from the mid-twentieth century. The impact of the WW 2 contributed immensely to the desire for peace studies. There was a great need to find better alternatives to dominant theories and postulations of realists regarding questions of the origins, nature and dynamics of cooperation, conflicts and wars in the international system. Scholars had begun to consider peace beyond the over simplistic definition of it as the absence of war. Disaggregating the concept of peace, Galtung (see Martin, 2005) discusses two dimensions of peace, the positive and the negative aspects. Negative peace implies the absence of violence and war while positive peace connotes the integration of human society and application of social justice. Positive peace signifies a condition of good governance, social harmony and amicable resolution of intergroup conflicts. There could also be ''unstable peace'' – a situation where two states are involved in some rivalrous interactions such as spying on each other, imposing all sorts of restrictions, arms race and other forms of opposition and deterrence. Generally, behavioralists and experts in the social sciences have attempted to approach the phenomenon of war as a problem whose solution could be developed through scientific methods. Gradually, quantitative research methodologies are being applied in the search for solutions to the nature and dynamics of war, causes of peace and also why peace conditions break down.

Since the 1960s, the world has seen the rise of many peace movements declaring their objections to the inclusion of war as state policy, warning nations against problems associated with arms race, nuclear war and importantly calling for arms disarmament. Many peace projects have been proposed including the Perpetual Peace initiative – which proselytizes the possibility that human beings can generate conditions necessary to live in a just world where wars are unnecessary for the actualization of state interests. Immanuel Kant is rated as the greatest of the enlightenment thinkers to invest thoughts and ideas in the search for lasting peace in the international system. However, regardless of the amount of time, resources and intellectual capital invested in peace studies, wars have remained a big concern to the world. 'War and peace are two intermittent outcomes of the continuous and dynamic nature of social interactions in the international system' (Martin, 2005: 51).

We may view war as an instrument of violence deployed by rational political actors against contending political opponent/actors towards the pursuit and actualization of aims and objectives considered unachievable

without the use of militarism and force. On another plane, war could be seen as a fallout of strategic miscalculations by political actors whose decisions in conflictual situations were framed on specious interpretation of other actors' intentions or by some misleading perceptions shaped by either or a combination of fears, interests or prestige. War, particularly from the perspective of realists, is a rational response by political actors to the anarchical international system where conflicting national interests of states reinforce power struggle geared towards state survival, economic gains, territorial acquisition or expansion, access to resources or market and others. It is pertinent to also think of the conventional view that for a conflict to be categorized as war, it must have involved at least 1,000 battle deaths (Cox and Campanaro, 2016). One of the main strengths of this conventional outlook on war is that it gives room for the inclusion of other taxonomies of war such as intrastate war, tribal war, communal war and others.

Beyond power structures in the international system, alliance system among states, economic gains, authoritarianism, territorial expansion, resource accumulation and access to market, wars can also be fought for other reasons such as religion and ideology. Two of the world's most influential religions – Christianity and Islam – have witnessed many wars, including the famous European wars of religion that happened in the 16th and 17th centuries and the Crusades. The European war of religion (The Thirty Years War – 1618-1648) which ended with the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia is remembered as one of the bloodiest wars in European history. In Germany, the Lutherans, Calvinists and Zwinglians (Protestant groups) had challenged the powers and rights of the Holy Roman Empire to decide their religious fate. Rather than assuage the disaffection expressed by Protestants, the Holy Roman emperor became more oppressive. The war broke out when the Archbishop of Prague destroyed some protestant churches. The religious crisis 'left Europe in ruins and reduced the population of Germany by almost one half. … It took almost 200 years for Germany to recover from the effect of the Thirty Years War' (Griffiths and O'Callaghan, 2002: 238). Ironically, Islamic and Christian religions preach peace while proclaiming their belief in the same monotheistic God.

There are opinions indicating 'that the European identity and the notion of 'the West' were forged by Christendom's extended conflict with Islam, just as many segments of Islam have come to define themselves against the largely Christian West' (Cox and Campanaro, 2016: 130). The rising influence of religion as a global political factor as well as the increasing interest of global political actors in matters of culture and politics has continued to prompt contentious debates. Samuel Huntington (1993) in 'The Clash of Civilizations' showcased a widening cultural gap between Islam which he characterized as premodern and Christianity which he

characterized as modern, secular or Western. Some antagonists say that Huntington's assertions about Muslim communities were oversimplistic and demeaning. In the aftermaths of the 9/11/2001 attacks on the United States, many analysts made more criticisms against Huntington's book claiming that his work only aggravated hostility between the two religions. It is also important to note than most of the religious wars in history have been fought between members of the same religious faith.

Revolution is another major source of conflict and war in the international system. The French revolution of 1789 is a good example of revolution as a source of security crisis in the international system. Fearing the possibility that the revolution that broke out in France against French rulers, the nobility and the church leaders might spiral into other countries in Europe, Austria invade France in 1792. This development made France position itself and its army to spread its revolution across all Europe in order to end monarchical rule and also ensure the survival of the new France. In the Russian revolution of early twentieth century, the Soviet Bolsheviks who were influenced by Leon Trotsky and V. I. Lenin insisted that the only path to sustainable peace, prosperity and security was to establish a new political and economic order through a revolution. The primary essence of the Russian revolutionary war was to eliminate capitalism and imperialism. The ills of imperialism were also responsible for the many violent wars of national liberation that eventually forced Europeans to withdraw from their colonies in Africa and Asia.

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

(i). What unique circumstances necessitated interests in peace studies as an academic field in the mid-twentieth century?
(ii). What are the causes of war in the international system?
Not more than 10 minutes to answer this question.

3.4   Post-Cold War ''New Wars''

Since the end of the Cold War, the world has seen many ''new wars'' in the form of intrastate and civil wars. The end of the Cold War significantly altered the place of civil wars in the international system. After Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1991, there was no other major conflict of a clearly interstate magnitude till the Ethiopia-Eritrea war broke out in 1998. Instead, throughout the 1990s. civil wars, separatism and various forms of ethnic hostilities troubled the international community. According to Lacina, 'Before 1989, only 15 UN peacekeeping missions had ever been deployed, and all but five of these missions dealt primarily with interstate conflicts. From 1989 to 2000, there were 38 UN peacekeeping missions, all but five of which were deployed in regards to an intrastate conflict. … Yet, initial optimism regarding the potential for international institutions

to keep and perhaps even create peace was profoundly shaken by the tortured missions deployed to Somalia and the disintegrating Yugoslavia, and the robust mission that never was deployed to Rwanda' (2004: 192). There have been many wars caused by the break-up of failed states, attempts by dissatisfied sub-national entities and groups to secede or even take over control of a state. In West Africa, examples of such wars include Sierra Leone, Mali and Liberia (Lacina, 2004). It is believed that most of the conflicts of the 1990s were by-products of longstanding domestic crises that were swept under the carpet during the Cold War era. It will be recalled that during the Cold War, most of Third World countries operated the Non-Aligned Movement which made the East and the West to treat them cautiously with some amount of care and concern. After the Cold War ended, the two superpowers quickly withdrew their instruments of love, care and attachment which previously served to maintain status quo ante in Third World's political and security affairs. The sudden withdrawal of the two superpowers' economic and political support put Third World countries in disarray and massive implosions were triggered. The implosions took diverse forms including intrastate wars fought along the lines of clannish wars, tribal wars and civil wars. Many of the wars took place in countries where governments, security and economic conditions had been grounded and people were compelled to resort to various forms of self-help mechanism – fair and foul.

Another notable phenomenon that became visible in the Post-Cold War era was the ecstasy that gripped the West which emerged dominant and preeminent in global politics. The contentment of political hegemony of the Post-Cold War West rested more on their belief that the last enemy had surrendered. Consequently, the guard of militarism was lowered as the West embarked more on the mission of commercialization of its political, ideological and economic values around the world. Cox and Campanaro posed the important question of 'If any government ''out there'' refused to accept the Western definition of order, what could be done to force these rogue states to play by the rules?' (2016: 184). Though, these rogue states which included Libya, North Korea, Iraq and Iran did not constitute any military or ideological threats to the West, they had been criticized as abusing the human rights of their own citizens and also sponsoring terrorism in other countries. These labeling and designations of rogue states became the pretext to carry out series of ''humanitarian'' interventions into targeted states through wars organized by the West. Example was the 2003 Iraq War led by the US. The question and meaning of Just Wars (*jus ad bellum and jus in bello*) arise here – justice in and legitimacy of war.

Regardless of international public outcry calling on the US to disembark its decision to attack Iraq (a relatively less powerful nation), the US and its coalition launched out Iraq. The behavior of the US falls in line with

realists' perception of absence of morality and ethics in issues of war. It stands to reason that wars are indeed barbaric and cannot be justified by moral cover stories and ethical rhetoric.

3.4.1 (A) morality of War: *Jus ad bellum* and *Jus in bello*

The idea of *jus ad bellum* provides the opportunity to assess reasons behind the choice of going to war in the pursuit of state interests. It attempts to answer questions of ''why'' political actors decide to go to war? *Jus in bello*, on the other hand, focuses on whether or not a war was fought in a just manner or in line with the rules of morality. Were the rules and conventions of war such as the protection of civilian installations and populations adhered to? Generally, the Just War theory assumes that it is wrong to take away life, the primary responsibility of the state to protect human lives and the protection of human lives sometimes require militarism. As it were, a Just War is permissible in the international system, although that does not mean that it is good war. Rules of war are codified in international law and expressed in the United Nations Charter and the Nuremberg war crimes records (Griffiths and O'Callaghan, 2002).

Self-Assessment Exercise2

What are the main characteristics of a just war?
Not more than 5 minutes to answer this question.

3.5 Envisioning Technology-based Warfare in the Contemporary Age

It has been speculated that the prospect of war between the great powers in the twenty-first century is remote and remote owing largely to the military dominance and political heavy weight of the US in the international system. Others see the obsolescence of war among the industrialized countries on account of the existence of nuclear weapons and sophisticated advances in technologies of weapons of war, all of which makes war too destructive. Can the WW 2 be taken as the last of World Wars in our modern age? But this optimistic assessment is made in view of military conditions between and among industrialized nations, not between the powerful and weak states or even across small and weak states themselves.

For a powerful state like the United States, it is presumed that its involvement in wars would be automated as unmanned bombers and missiles would be triggered from faraway semi-submerged submarines and naval vehicles. Military actions and attacks would be watched on videos as soldiers press buttons to destroy targets appearing on their screens. Trends along the lines of information warfare continuous to take

shape as nations improve and innovate military technology. In the US, Pentagon is already planning advanced warfare which employs more technology-based military exercises through satellite reconnaissance, cyber-attacks, computer-based espionage and sabotage of vital information and hacking into enemies' computer-database. These preliminary military measures precede the actual engagement of physical violence. 'Smart bombs' are also gaining currency because of the capacity to select and hit specific targets and thus restoring some hope in the area of rules of war, avoiding the destruction of civilian installations and non-combatant populations.

Self-Assessment Exercise 3

Discuss technology-based wars as the new face of warfare in the contemporary international system.
Not more than 5 minutes to answer this question.

3.6 Summary

This unit probed into events and circumstances that necessitated interests in peace studies as an academic field during the mid-twentieth century. The quest for a new paradigm in searching for answers to questions of causes of war, ways to maintain peace and similar questions were examined. New types of war (intra-state wars) that arose in the Post-Cold War era following the recoiling of interests by the US and the SU from their previous spheres of influence were discussed. The question of (un)just wars was analyzed – *Jus ad bellum* and *Jus in bello.* The study also envisioned emerging trends in the use of smart-technologies in the execution of contemporary warfare.

3.7 References/Further Reading/Web Sources

Cox M. and Campanaro R., (2016). *Introduction to International Relations*. Undergraduate Study in Economics, Management, Finance and the Social Sciences. London: University of London.

Fitzsimmons, S., (2007). Evaluating the Masters of Strategy: A Comparative Analysis of Clausewitz, Sun Tzu, Mahan, and Corbett. *Innovations: A Journal of Politics,* Vol. 7, 27-40, Retrieved from https://prism.ucalgary.ca/bitstream/handle/1880/112877/innovations_vol7_3_fitzsimmons-

evaluatingthemastersofstrategy.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed, Date
Accessed: October 23, 2022.

Griffiths, M. and O'Callaghan, T., (2002). International Relations: The
    Key Concepts. London and   New York: Routledge.

Huntington, S., (1993). The Clash of Civilizations? *Foreign Affairs,* Vol.
    72, No. 3, 22-49, (Summer, 1993) Published by the Council on
    Foreign Relations. https://www.jstor.org/stable/20045621.

Lacina, B., (2004). From Side Show to Centre Stage: Civil Conflict after
    the Cold War. *Security Dialogue,* Vol. 24, No. 2, 191-205,
    https://www.jstor.org/stable/26298596,

Martin, F. E., (2005). Analysis of the Concept of Peace in International
    Relations. *Peace Research*, Vol. 37, No. 2, 45-59,
    https://www.jstor.org/stable/23607773.

3.8   Possible Answers to Self-assessment Exercises

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

(i). Interests in peace studies as an academic field arose mainly from the negative impact of the Second World War. The catastrophes of the WW 2, in terms of destruction of human and material resources contributed immensely to the desire for peace studies in the mid-twentieth century. At this time, the need to find better alternatives to dominant theories and postulations of realists regarding questions of the origins, nature and dynamics of cooperation, conflicts and wars in the international system became pressing.

(i).   Factors responsible for wars in the international system include:
(ii). strategic miscalculations by political actors whose decisions in conflictual situations were framed on specious interpretation of other actors' intentions or by some misleading perceptions shaped by either or a combination of fears, interests or prestige.
(ii). conflicting national interests of states in an anarchical international system. Divergencies in the interests of states induce unhealthy power struggle.
(iii). desperate struggle for state survival, economic gains, territorial acquisition or expansion, access to resources or market and others.
(iv). differences and contradictions in religious ideologies. Examples include the famous European wars of religion that happened in the 16th and 17th centuries and the Crusades.

(v). revolution. Here, examples will include the French revolution and Russian Bolshevik revolution.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

Rules of war are codified in international law and expressed in the United Nations Charter and the Nuremberg war crimes records. Generally, A just war observes the rules of engagement in warfare. It also attempts to adheres to rules of morality. Example, a just war will consider whether the conventions of warfare such as the protection of civilian installations and populations were adhered to.

Self-Assessment Exercise 3

Emerging trends in the conduct of wars indicate that wars would be automated. Uunmanned bombers and missiles would be triggered from faraway semi-submerged submarines and naval vehicles. Military actions and attacks would be watched on videos as soldiers press buttons to destroy targets appearing on their screens. In the US, the Pentagon is already planning advanced warfare which employs more technology-based military exercises through satellite reconnaissance, cyber-attacks, computer-based espionage and sabotage of vital information and hacking into enemies' computer-database.

UNIT 4   FOREIGN POLICY

Unit Structure

4.1   Introduction
4.2   Learning Outcome
4.3   Understanding Foreign Policy
        4.3.1. Foreign Policy in a Complex International System
4.4   Non-material-based Foreign Policies of Small States in the Post-Cold War Era
4.5   Perspectives of Realism, Neorealism and Constructivism on Foreign Policy
4.6   Summary
4.7   References/ Further/ Readings
4.8   Possible Answers Self-Assessment Exercises

4.1   Introduction

Foreign policy touches on external actions of states which may be conditioned by internal capabilities and preferences or by the characteristics of the international system. For long, the question of why states behave they do in the global arena has been focal in the study of foreign policy. In responding to this question, levels of analyses exist in the context of foreign policy analyses and International Relations. At the System Level (neo-realism), the international system compels and drives the behaviors and responses of states. At the State Level of foreign policy analyses (classical realism), external decisions and behaviors of states are driven by state capabilities and features such as cultural and historical legacies, religious and social identities, geography, resources and economic strength. At the Organizational Level, organizations of a state are mainly responsible for the foreign policy formulation and promotion. At the Individual Level (cognitive), the totality of foreign behavior of a state rest largely on the role and impacts of people. In all, there is a lot of concern centered on both processes and outcome of foreign policy decisions and external behaviors of states. The management of states' foreign relations, actions, inactions, choices and preferences in consonance with predispositions of the international system is crucial in foreign policy studies.

4.2   Learning Outcome

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

- discuss the meaning of foreign policy
- evaluate the impact of growing complexities of the international system on the dynamics of foreign policy formulation
- analyze issues related to the non-material-based nature of foreign policies of small states in the aftermaths of the Cold War.
- discuss the perspectives of realism, neorealism and constructivism on the theory of foreign policy.

4.3   Understanding Foreign Policy

Foreign policy can be understood as a method adopted by a state in its engagement with other countries politically, socially, militarily or economically through discussions and negotiations (Khara, 2020). According to Khara, foreign policy focuses on the need of a state to respond to the dynamics of the ever-changing international political system. Frazier (2019) writes that a state's foreign policy consists of the strategies it uses to protect its international and domestic interests and determines the way it interacts with other states and non-state actors and that each state basically seeks to protect, promote and maximize its national interest. The main preoccupation of foreign policy is on policy decisions and actions of national governments which are oriented towards the external world outside their own domestic and political jurisdictions. Foreign policy can be considered as 'the social site where the relations between the inside and the outside of the state are negotiated' (Herborth, 2015: 110). In opposite direction to realism whose analysis of states' external behavior begin from the external environment, liberalism see foreign policy as a set of external goals determined by the interests and preferences of internal social actors within the state.

Foreign policy analysis could be actor-specific when every activity and event taking place between and among nations is grounded on the shoulders of human decision-making capability, performed either singly or in groups. This is why in International Relations there is an imperative to focusing on how humans perceive, act and react to the world around them and how humans are also affected by actions and reactions of other actors in the world system. This perspective of grounding foreign policy analysis on humans essentially makes the agent-oriented theory of International Relations more manifest on account that states are mere abstractions which have no agency. However, it is worthy to indicate that

whether we speak of the state or its slightly alternative terminologies as human beings or groups, the attention is on a unit of analysis characterized as a unitary rational actor and which generally is perceived as the state – an approach described as ''black-boxing the state'' or ''billiard ball model'' (Hudson, 2005).

There are notions that domestic politics is majorly an important part of the explanation for states' foreign policies. Structuralist realism is said to hold the belief that an understanding of the of the main features of states' foreign policies without looking at domestic politics is possible. A clear survey of the neoclassical economic theory shows a preoccupation on the theory of foreign policies of firms as it intensively concentrates on 'why firms choose to produce certain quantities and to sell at certain prices under different market structures. The neoclassical theory of markets explains the ''international'' actions of firms, just as systemic IR theory explains the other – regarding actions – that is, the foreign policies – of states' (Fearon, 1998: 293). The fundamentals of market competition largely drive the behavior of firms in their bid to survive as independent entities. In the spirit of capitalism, neoclassical firms would always seek profit maximization by doing whatever is feasible including finding options for business expansion and acceptance of merger especially when its leads to monopoly.

4.3.1 Foreign Policy in a Complex International System

As our world get more complex and the pace of world interdependence increase, the need to reevaluate foreign policy research questions, agenda and paradigms becomes more profound. One of the main challenges to examining the complexities of foreign policy decision making is the continuing erosion of the distinction between domestic and foreign issues. The extent to which domestic economies and the politics they shape are conditioned by the international political economy is a growing concern. Rates of inflation, interest rates, employment and unemployment rates and currency exchange rates are no longer exclusively determined by internal domestic factors. This is also true for labor, immigration, price of commodities, capital investments, industrialization policies and environmental issues. The various impacts of these fields of endeavors have noticeable internal consequences, yet they manifest transnational effects (Caporaso, 1986).

In like manner, the growing importance of issues in the field of political economy is having significant spillover effects on the entire role of the states as major actors in the international system as well as on foreign policy matters. Caporaso James (1986) states that the 'jurisdiction of national governments is increasingly out of phase with the problems for which they are held responsible and this discrepancy has rendered

domestic and foreign policies so inextricably intertwined as to make them virtually indistinguishable'. Perceptions and treatments of states as the sole and/or most important actor in global politics is no longer the case. By passing the declining state-centric approach are other units of analysis of foreign policy. These other units of analysis involve non-state actors (both foreign and domestic actors) whose actions and inputs impact profusely on foreign policy decisions. Apparently, there is a growing overlap in the activities of sub-national groups, groups, national and transnational actors in the international behaviors. This is why there are advocacies for the recognition of monadic, dyadic and triadic components of foreign policy decision-making. This also impact the sources and consequences of foreign policy which becomes more and more laced into the patterns of global interdependence. Foreign policy students and scholars are expected to expand their horizons, update their tools of analysis and investigate unexplored areas of social, economic and political life (Caporaso, 1986).

Self-assessment Exercise 1

> One of the main challenges to examining the complexities of foreign policy decision making is the continuing erosion of the distinction between domestic and foreign issues. Explain.
> Not more than 4 minutes to answer this question.

4.4   Non-material-based Foreign Policies of Small States in the Post-Cold War Era

One significant development in the trajectory of global foreign policy analysis stemmed from the dilemma which engulfed small and less powerful states as it concerns their choices and agenda in external affairs as well as tools of engagement in International Relations. Though the end of the Cold War brought some relief from the dominance of superpower rivals, the accession of small states into international system driven largely by power politics and national interest was a challenge especially in the area of foreign policy choices and preferences. With the end of the Cold War rivalry, there was a major shift from material to non-material dimensions of power usage in the international system. Abdelraouf Mostafa Galal notes that 'the number of small states has increased after the dissolution of Soviet Union in 1991. The countries have adopted an effective foreign policy by using non-material dimensions in a way that contradicts the theory of realism in International Relations. … small states cannot formulate a policy outside their borders because they do not possess the material power, especially the military one. … realism sees that the best behavior of small states is to be satellite states to the great powers. This resulted in insufficient studies in the field of International

Relations on the foreign policies of small developing countries' (Galal, 2020: 38-39).

Alterations brought to bear on the international system on the occasion of non-material-based nature of foreign policies of small states are part of the unforeseen theorizations of both classical realists and neorealists scholars. Foreign policy lexicon has since the end of the Cold War welcomed new terminologies like soft power, smart power and virtual power. The magnitude of these alternative power-sources in foreign policy formulation and relations cannot be underestimated. Soft power entails that states can also maximize gains in the international system using intangible resources such as attraction and persuasion rather than coercion or threats of physical force. On the other hand, smart power implies the ability of global actors to utilize both hard and soft power in the pursuit of foreign policy goals. These new terminologies appeared following the rise in International Relations of new phenomena that were hitherto not fathomed by the theoretical postulations of realism and liberalism. Important to mention also is that these Post-Cold War foreign policy developments were interfaced by revolutions in the cultural dimension of International Relations which consequently triggered tremendous sparks in fields of information and electronic technology.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

Explain ways in which the Post-Cold War environment affect foreign policy formulation among small states.
Not more than 4 minutes to answer this question.

4.5   Perspectives of Realism, Neorealism and Constructivism on Foreign Policy

The potential impacts of internal conditions or determinants of external relations and their relevance in understanding possible foreign policy decisions of states are not properly factored in the sketching of external behaviors of states by realism. Neorealism had argued that the capabilities of the material states are the core determinants and that the pressures of the international system affect indirectly states' foreign policies through complex processes that are in return addressed through internal mechanisms. In many ways we could see that realist, whether as classical realists or neorealists, examined and explained foreign policies of great powers while giving no concern to the status and place of small states in the international system, perhaps because small states do not possess material powers required to develop effective foreign policies. The intentions and activities of small states do not matter and have no importance theoretically, despite the fact that small states have most of the world's population. Realists presume that history is more concerned

about the strong and the powerful only. But if we understand that all rich countries are not necessarily strong and all poor countries are not necessarily weak, then we would rethink the statuses and factoring of small states in world politics (Galal, 2020).

The evolution of constructivism in the construction of foreign policies of nations became another major concern of the Post-Cold War era. The imperative of its development anchors also largely on failures of preexisting theoretical traditions to reliably translate certain international variable that accompanied the end of the ideological war between the US and the Soviet Union. The new developments of the Post-Cold War period include the outbreak of civil wars in the former Soviet enclave, the rise of the European Union as a model of regional integration at the time when other regional organizations across the world were in ruins and defunct. Constructivists' hypotheses on the impact of identity, ideas, language, values and perception on international politics and how all this affect processes of foreign policy decision-making of states became crucial in providing necessary interpretations to unfolding events in International Relations. These concepts are believed to shape the motivations and choices of action of actors in the international system.

Constructivism is closely associated with the Swiss psychologist Jean Piaget whose epistemological theory is seen as the most influential constructivist theories in education (Alanazi, 2016). Constructivism holds the view that identity and interest are closely linked and that International Relations should be examined from a social perspective. It is based on two factors of construction and actor. Construction is about common identities, values, perceptions and choices of the political leaders while actor has to do with units that interact with other units and the existing social structures. Prominent in the contributions of constructivists is their opinion that facts are constructed on a social basis by interacting identities, values and practices. 'Constructivists are the view that peoples' inquiry of events around them in a time of anarchy alters the structures and institutions within which people operate. Social construction of cultural behaviors is perceived to be the basis on which structural constraints and opportunities are developed. Implicitly, a desirable transformation expected in any anarchical system will begin from changes that occur in the social relations of states concerned' (Alkali and Onwutuebe, 2016: 24). This singular perspective is a major ground of deviation from the longstanding realists' assumption that it is the anarchy of the international system that influences the foreign behavior of states. Constructivists stress the social content of both material power and interests in International Relations and believe that the international system is a social system rather than a realist fact. As a result of this belief, they declare that the anarchy and chaotic nature of the international

system is the outcome of nation-states and not the outcome of the international system as postulated by realists and liberals.

The conflict between North Korea and the United States is longstanding and must be understood in the context of differences in identity. Over the years, the United States has severally attempted to exert powerful controlling influence over North Korea to contain the latter's potential threat to the security of East Asia in general and South Korea in particular. At the height of the nuclear crisis in 1994, the US threatened the use of force by approving the dispatch of substantial military reinforcement to South Korea (Park, 2000). Regardless of the Trump administration's effort to broker peace between Pyongyang and Washington, conflict between North Korea and the US remains problematic. Conflicts between the two countries are also 'characterized by clashes of interest between China, Japan, North Korea, Russia, South Korea and the USA. Neighbouring states are following the conflict between Pyongyang and Washington with concern, not only because of the immediate effects of any war, but also with regard to their own foreign and security policy interests' (Hilpert and Meier, 2018: 4-5).

Thus, contrary to the widespread emphasis on material power by realists and common interest by liberal, constructivists are of the view that the social content of International Relations which composes of common ideas, perception and identity are much more important in the study and explanation world politics. Ideas, perception and identity of the political leadership are the internal determinants of foreign policy (Galal, 2020). For the constructivist, the unit of analysis is neither the state nor the individual but the results of social interaction over time. They focus on how social interactions create perceptions and how the perceptions continually change based upon further social interaction.

Self-Assessment Exercise 3

> Distinguish between the perspectives of realism and constructivism on the theory of foreign policy.
> Not more than 5 minutes to answer this question.

4.6   Summary

Unit 4 explained the meaning of foreign policy and highlighted its four main levels of analyses – system level, state level, organizational level and the individual level of analyses. It also looked into the implications of the growing complexities of the international system on the dynamics of foreign policy formulation. The study examined the non-material-

based nature of foreign policies of small states in the aftermaths of the Cold War which followed the decline of the display of material power by the superpowers – the US and the SU. We also discussed the perspectives of realism, neorealism and constructivism on the theory of foreign policy and highlighted on their unique distinctions.

4.7   References/Further Reading/Web Sources

Alanazi, A., (2016). A Critical Review of Constructivist Theory and the Emergence of Constructivism. *American Research Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences,* Vol 2, 1-8. ISSN (Online): 2378-7031.

Alkali, A. M. and Onwutuebe, C. J., (2016). Constructivism as an Approach in International Relations. *Ife Journal of International Affairs,* Vol. 3, No. 1, 18-27. Herborth, B., (2015). Do We Need 195 Theories of Foreign Policy? In Hellmann, eds., *Theorizing Foreign Policy in a Globalized World.*, 101-125.

Caporaso, J. A., (1986). The Comparative Study of Foreign Policy: Perspectives on the Future. *Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association*, Report-Research Technical (143), March 25-29, 1986,

Fearon, J. D., (1998). Domestic Politics, Foreign Policy, and Theories of International Relations. *Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci.*, 289-313

Frazier, B., (2019). What is Foreign Policy? Definition and Examples. Retrieved from https://www.thoughtco.com/foreign-policy-definition-examples-4178057, Date Accessed: October 23, 2022.

Galal, A. M., (2020). External Behavior of Small States in Light of Theories of International Relations. *Review of Economics and Political Science*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 38-56, DOI 10.1108REPS11.2018-0028, e-ISSN:2631-3561, p-ISSN:2356-9980

Hilpert, H. G. and Meier, O., (2018). Interests, Interdependencies and a Gordian Knot. Hilpert, H. G. and Meier, O., (eds.), *Facets of the North Korea Conflict. Acotrs, Problems and Europe's Interests*. German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik Research Paper 12. Retrieved from https://www.swp-

berlin.org/publications/products/research_papers?2018RP12_hlp _mro_eds.pdf, Date Accessed October 24, 2022.

Hudson, V. M., (2005). Foreign Policy Analysis: Actor-Specific Theory and the Ground of International Relations, *Foreign Policy Analysis,* Vol. 1, No. 1, 1-30, Oxford University Press, https://www.jstor.org/stable/24907278.

Park, K., (2000). North Korea's Defensive Power and U.S.-North Korea Relations., *Pacific Affairs,* Winter, 2000-2001, Vol. 73, No. 4, Special Issue: Korea in Flux, 535-553. https://www.jstor.org/stable/2672443,

Khara, N. K., (2020). Diaspora and Foreign Policy: A Global Perspective. *International Journal of Political Science,* Vol. 6, Issue 4, 12-20, ISSN 2454-9452, https://doi.org/10.20431/2454-9452,0604002,

1.8   Possible Answers to Self-assessment Exercise

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

Indeed, the continuing erosion of the distinction between domestic and foreign issues makes more problematic efforts to properly articulate and present coherent foreign policy ideas. The density of increasing interdependence among nations of the world has great implications for exclusive delineation between domestic jurisdictions and activities that can be qualified as external to states. The extent to which domestic economies and politics are conditioned by the international political economy is a growing concern. For example, in the face of rising waves of economic globalization, rates of inflation, interest rates, employment and unemployment rates and currency exchange rates are no longer exclusively determined by internal domestic factors.

These complexities make imperative the need for states to always reevaluate their foreign policy research questions and agenda in order to cope with globalization trends.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

The Post-Cold War environment tremendously affected foreign policy formulation of small and less powerful states. With the end of the Cold War rivalry, there was a major shift from material to non-material dimensions of power usage in an international system known to be anarchical. That sense of anarchical international system implies that actors must be prepared to utilize all amount of power within their disposal to pursue their national interests. In such an international arena, small states do not stand a good chance to make gains. As it were, the

number of small states increased after the dissolution of Soviet Union in 1991. Consequently, small states adopted alternative foreign policy mechanism by resorting to non-material dimensions – in contrast to realists 'postulations of power politics in International Relations. Considering their lack of material power, especially military capacity, realists project that the best option left for small states is for them to be satellite states to the great powers.

Self-Assessment Exercise 3

Realists emphasize on the impacts of internal conditions in determining external relations and foreign policy decisions of states. Reinterpreting this position from another plane, neorealists argue that although pressures of the international system affect states' foreign policies through complex processes, those external pressures are ultimately addressed through internal mechanisms of state power. There appears to be an extreme attention on material capability and power of states to articulate, shape and push forward their agenda in the international system. Of course, small states do not matter or feature prominently as important actors in this realists' power calculus. By extension, realists presume that history cares about the strong and the powerful only.

The arrival of constructivists and their introduction of new paradigms that are a far cry from notions of power politics, sovereignty and statism of realists carved a niche worthy of attention. Constructivists leveraged on failures of preexisting theoretical traditions to reliably translate certain international variables that accompanied the end of the ideological war between the US and the Soviet Union. The new developments of the Post-Cold War period include the outbreak of civil wars in the former Soviet enclave, the rise of the European Union as a model of regional integration at the time when other regional organizations across the world were in ruins and defunct. Constructivists' hypotheses on the impact of identity, ideas, language, values and perception on international politics and how all this affect processes of foreign policy decision-making of states became crucial in providing necessary interpretations to unfolding events in International Relations. How concepts such as identities, values, perceptions and choices of political leaders, shape and drive the motivations, choices, and actions of actors in the international system is the priority of constructivism.