INR 122

Concepts in International Relations

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Introduction

INR 122: Concepts in International Relations is a second-semester course in the first year of B.A. (Hons.) Degree in French and International Relations. It is a two credit unit course designed to explore the various concepts most popularly linked to international relations. The course begins, in the first module, with a critical discussion of the nature of international relations, its importance and scope. This module also examines the importance or relevance of concepts to international relations study. The second module will cover concepts from A-J. This module would cover key concepts such as Alliances, Actor, brinkmanship, Debt Trap, Failed State which are all current in international relations practice; failed state for instance has been bandied about for some years now following the virtual collapse of nation-state such as Somalia, Liberia and even the Soviet Union in the 1990s. The final module will focus on key theoretical concepts such as Peace, Multi-polarity, Non-intervention amongst others. Though these concepts are abstract yet great efforts have been made to simplify the discussions in order to aid understanding.

What the Student Will Learn in this Course

Concepts in International Relations intend to provide learners with a deeper understanding of basic concepts used in international relations. Concepts such as containment, brinkmanship, terrorism, insurgency, mutual assured destruction, deterrence, etc. will feature in this course. The course will also highlight new additions to international relations usage such as social media which has totally revolutionalised communication and cable network factor which is also a key factor in the shaping of international relations policies. The course further reviews the global war against terrorism and offered various perspectives on how terrorism could be curtailed in international politics.

The study units are structured into Modules. Each module comprises of 5 units. A Unit Guide comprises of instructional material and also provides a brief description of the instructional material.

Course Aims

The aims of the course are to:

(i)   explain in-depth, basic concepts used in international relations

(ii)   highlight and discuss the inclusion of new concepts in international relations lexicon

(iii)   enable the fresh reader to be able to identify the concepts in international relations practice

Course Objectives

The main objective of INR 122 is to facilitate the enable the new student have a firm grasp of the nature of the basic concepts commonly used in the international system. The objectives of each unit are specified at the beginning of each unit and are to be used as reference points and to evaluate the level of progress in the study. At the end of each unit, the objectives are also useful to check whether the progress is consistent with the stated objectives of the unit. The entire units are sufficient to completely achieve overall objective of the course.

Working through the Course

It is advised that you carefully work through the course studying each unit in a bid to understanding the concepts and principles in international law and how the discipline evolved and has continued to develop. Knowing the theoretical debates to this study will also be very useful in having a good grasp of the course. Your questions should be noted regularly and asked at the tutorial classes. It is recommended that students also engage new ideas generated from unfolding events around the world that International Law principles can be applied to and romance these ideas among one another and the tutorial master.

Course Materials

1.   Course guide

2.   Study Units

3.   Textbooks

4.   Assignment file

5.   Presentation schedule

Study Units

There are 15 study units in this course: They are:

MODULE   1:   The Study of International Relations

Unit 1   Definition of International Relations
Unit 2   Nature of International Relations

Unit 3   Historical Perspectives of International Relations
Unit 4   Approaches in International Relations Diplomacy
Unit 5   The importance of Concepts to International Relations study

MODULE 2:   A - J Concepts

Unit 1   A & B Concepts
Unit 2   C & D Concepts
Unit 3   E & F Concepts
Unit 4   G & H Concepts
Unit 5   I & J Concepts

MODULE 3:   L - Z Concepts

Unit 1   L & M Concepts
Unit 2   N & O Concepts
Unit 3   P & Q Concepts
Unit 4   R & S Concepts
Unit 5   T & Z Concepts

From the above, we can see that the course starts with the basic introduction to the nature of nature of international relations and progresses gradually into the key concepts extant in the international system. To make for easy arrangement and assimilation by the reader the concepts have been arranged alphabetically. The instructions given in each unit contains objectives, course contents and reading materials. In addition, there are also self-assessment exercise and Tutor-Marked Assignments. All these are intended to assist you in achieving the overall objectives of each unit.

Textbooks and References

Each unit contains a list of relevant reference materials and text which can help enhance your reading and understanding of this course. It is important to note that conscious effort has been put to developing this course guide, however, it is in your interest to consult these relevant texts and many others not referenced here so as to widen your horizon and sharpen your own ability to be versatile and creative. This instruction is crucial as it will go a long way in helping you find solution to assignments and other exercises given to you.

Assessment

There are two types of assessment involved in the course: the Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) and the Tutor Marked Assessments (TMAs) questions. The SAEs are intended to prepare you on your own and assess your understanding of the course since you are not going to submit it. On the other hand, the TMAs are to be carefully answered and kept in your assignment file for submission and marking. It is important you take it seriously as it accounts for 30% of your overall score in this course.

Tutor-Marked Assignment

The Tutor Marked Assessments (TMAs) that you will find at the end of every unit should be answered as instructed and put in your file for submission afterwards. This account for a reasonable score and so must be done and taken seriously too. However, this Course Guide does not contain any Tutor Marked Assignment question.

Final Examination and Grading

There will be a final examination at the end of taking this course. The examination duration is three hours carrying 70% of your total score and grade in this course. It is highly recommended that your Self-Assessment Examination and Tutor Marked Assignments are taken seriously as your examination questions will be drawn from the question treated under these assessments.

Course Marking Scheme

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

Assessment	Marks
Four assignments (the best four of all the assignments submitted for marking).	Four assignments, each marked out of 10%, but highest scoring three selected, thus totaling 30%
Final Examination	70% of overall course score.
Total	**100% of course score.**

Units	Title of Work	Week Activity	Assignment (End-of-Unit)
Course Guide	**Concepts in International Relations**		
Module 1	**The Study of International Relations**		
Unit 1	Definition of International Relations	Week 1	Assignment 1
Unit 2	Importance of International Relations	Week 2	Assignment 1
Unit 3	Historical Perspectives of International Relations	Week 3	Assignment 1
Unit 4	Approaches in International Diplomacy	Week 4	Assignment 1
Unit 5	The Importance of Concepts to International Relations Study	Week 5	Assignment 1
Module 2	**A - J CONCEPTS**		
Unit 1	A & B Concepts	Week 6	Assignment 1
Unit 2	C & D Concepts	Week 7	Assignment 1
Unit 3	E & F Concepts	Week 8	Assignment 1
Unit 4	G & H Concepts	Week 9	Assignment 1
Unit 5	I & J Concepts	Week 10	Assignment 1
Module 3	**L - Z CONCEPTS**		
Unit 1	L & M Concepts	Week 11	Assignment 1
Unit 2	N & O – Concepts	Week 12	Assignment 1
Unit 3	P & Q – Concepts	Week 13	Assignment 1
Unit 4	R & S – Concepts	Week 14	Assignment 1
Unit 5	T, U, W & Z - Concepts	Week 15	Assignment 1
	Total	**14Weeks**	

Textbooks and References

Brown, C. (2001) *Understanding International Relations, second edition*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Brown, C. with Ainley, K. (2005) *Understanding International Relations, third edition.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. See Chapter 3.

Jabri, V. (2000) 'The Boundary Problem' in Salmon, C. (eds.) *Issues in International Relations*. London and New York: Routledge.

Kaplan, M. (2006) 'The New Great Debate: Traditionalism vs. Science in International Relations' in Chan, S. and Moore, C. (eds.) *Approaches to International Relations* (Vol. 1) Sage Library of International Relations. London: Sage publications.

Morgenthau, H. (1960), *Politics among Nations, 3ʳᵈ ed*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Nicolson, H. (1939), *Diplomacy*. London: The Macmillan Company.

Jonassen, D. (2006) On the Role of Concepts in Learning and Instructional Design
Educational Technology Research and Development Vol. 54, No. 2 (Apr., 2006), pp. 177-196: Article Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/30221320

Holsti, K. (1992) 'Governance without government: polyarchy in nineteenth- century European international politics', in Rosenau, J. and Czempiel, E. (eds) *Governance without Government: Order and Change in World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wagner, R. (1993) 'What was bipolarity?' *International Organisation* 47: 77–106.

Waltz, K. (1979) *Theory of International Politics*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

What is xenophobia? http://psychology.about.com/od/glossaryfromatoz/

Tutor-Marked Assignments/ Self-Assessment Exercises

There are 20 Tutor-Marked Assignments (TMAs) in this course. You need to submit at least four assignments of which the highest three marks will be recorded. Each recorded assignment counts 10 percent towards your total course grade. Three recorded assignments will thus count for 30 percent. When you complete your assignments, send them including your form to your tutor for formal assessment on or before the deadline.

Self-Assessment Exercises are provided in each unit. The exercises should help you to evaluate your understanding of the materials so far. They are not to be submitted. However, answers are provided or directions given as to where to find answers within the units.

Final Examination and Grading

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

Course Overview

There are 20 units in this course. You are to spend one week on each unit. One of the advantages of Open and Distance Learning (ODL) is that you can read and work through the designed course materials at your own pace, and at your own convenience. The course material replaces the lecturer that stands before you physically in the classroom.

All the units have similar features. Each unit has seven items beginning with the introduction and ending with reference/suggestions for further readings.

Course Marking Scheme

The table below shows the breakdown of how students course assessment is done

Assignment	Marks
Assignment : There are 20 assignment	Four assessments, best three marks out of four count @ 10% each = 30% Course Marks
Final Examination	70% of overall Course Marks
Total	100% of Course Marks

Summary

INR 122 is designed essentially to help the first time student in international relations study to have an understanding of the nature and number of concepts which are basic to the balanced and robust study of international relations. In this regard concepts such as containment, brinkmanship, proliferation, loose nukes, mutual assured destruction, just war, deterrence, etc, will be enunciated upon. Most or all of the concepts in this volume are frequently used both in the local and international print and electronic media, consequently it is expected that the reader should have little or no problem in identifying situating these concepts in their real life practice. For instance insurgency, communal conflict, ethnicity and several others are all concepts that are familiar to the Nigerian student. All the basic course materials needed to successfully complete the course are provided. Upon completion, you will be able to:

- Discuss the nature, scope and importance of international relations. Discuss the theories underlining international relations study
- More importantly you should be able to explain, if not verbatim at least in your own words, the concepts outlined.
- Describe the concepts and also situate these concepts in your immediate environment.
- Describe the conceptual relevance of the concepts to the academic study of international relations.

MODULE 1: THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

INTRODUCTION

This module provides a general overview of the discipline- international relations. The module will examine the various definitions of international relations and its scope. Furthermore it will expose you to the importance of the course in international affairs. Central to the discussion in this module is an in-depth discussion of the expedition of the discipline through the years. This module, which is made up of five units, provides the background for understanding approaches to the international diplomacy.

Unit 1   Definition of International Relations
Unit 2   Importance of International Relations
Unit 3   Historical Perspectives of International Relations
Unit 4   Approaches in International Diplomacy
Unit 5   The Importance of Concepts to International Relations Study

UNIT 1   DEFINITION OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objectives
3.0   Main Content
       3.1.   The Nature of International Relations
       3.2.   The Scope of International Relations
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor Marked Assignment
7.0   References/Further Readings

1.0.   INTRODUCTION

This is the first among the five units that constitute the module. As an introduction, the unit examines the definition of international relations and its place in the world today. Having knowledge of the definition of international relations will be able to give the fresh student the necessary grasp of the pursuits of the discipline. The unit examines the boundaries of international relations; that is the subject matter that should interest the students of the discipline. It also discusses the content of the course and the debate over the nature of the methodology adopted by the discipline.

2.0.   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:
(i) Define the concept of 'international relations' either in your own words or by
    adapting various definitions drawn from various authors.
(ii)   Define the concept of international relations.
(iii) State the differences between international politics and international relations.
(iv) Identify and outline the fields of interest covered by international relations.

3.0.   MAIN CONTENT

3.1. The Nature of International Relations

Strictly defined, the field of international relations (IR) concerns the relationships among the world's governments; but these relationships cannot be understood in isolation. They are closely connected with other actors (such as international organizations, multinational corporations, and individuals); with other social structures (including economics, culture, and domestic politics); and with geographical and historical influences. IR is a large subject that over- laps several other fields. International relations can be often portrayed as a distant and abstract ritual conducted by a small group of people such as presidents, generals, and diplomats. This is not accurate.

Although leaders do play a major role in international affairs, many other people participate as well. University students and other citizens participate in international relations every time they vote in an election or work on a political campaign, every time they buy a product or service traded on world markets, and every time they watch the news. The choices we make in our daily lives ultimately affect the world we live in. In turn, IR profoundly affects the daily lives of college students and other citizens. The prospects for getting jobs after graduation depend on the global economy and international economic competition. Those jobs also are more likely than ever to entail international travel, sales, or communication. And the rules of the world trading system affect the goods that students consume. Although international economics pervades daily life, war dominates daily life only infrequently. Still, war casts a long shadow. In major wars, students and their friends and family go off to war and their lives change irreversibly. But even in peacetime, war is among the most pervasive international influences in daily life. Children play with war toys; young people go into military service; TV and films reproduce and multiply the images of war; and wars disrupt economic and social life. As technology advances, the world is shrinking year by year. Better communication and transportation capabilities are constantly expanding the ordinary person's contact with people, products, and ideas from other countries.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Examine how international relations affect our life today?

3.2. The Scope of international relations

There is often some confusion over the terms international politics and international relations as they are used interchangeably however some scholars have noted the distinction between the two. They point that international politics is interested in the international community, which borders on diplomacy and relations between states. For example Hanessian (1966) have opined that international politics denotes, "official political relations between governments acting on behalf of their states". On the other hand, for them, international relations is a term properly embracing the totality of the relations among peoples and groups in the world society. However in the context of this view those who support the broad application of international relations are of divergent opinions of the role of international politics within it; some have conferred it with a major role while others have consigned it to an inferior position in the world environment to include only cultural, social and psychological. This is largely because international politics is seen as official political relations between governments on behalf of their states in contrast international relations is wider in scope and allows itself more ready application to all spheres of inter-country relations. Following Stanley Hoffman (1960: 6), international relations is basically interested with the factors and activities which bear direct impact on the foreign pronouncements and power of the various countries of the world. These activities and factors include a wide range of transnational relationships, political and non-political, official and unofficial, formal and informal. Another scholar Trygve Mathiesen (1959: 1, 2) went further to claim that the term international relations can in fact be likened to international affairs as it brings under its purview all kinds and manners of relationships across state boundaries, irrespective of the nature of the interaction be it economic, legal, political, or of any colouration either it is private or official and also includes all human behaviour emanating from within one state boundary and having impact no matter how insignificant within another state boundary. Thus we see that international relations is a much more broader term than international politics with its study continuously enriched by more precise and versatile approach and methods.

The content or scope of international relations is also multi-varied because of the fact that the discipline does not process a coherent and integrated body of material of its own. Due to this failing a lot depends on the orientation, training and interests of those who are active in the field. Since international relations emerged from history and political science it has come to depend, naturally, on approaches commonly used by these two older disciplines. In this regard, in Britain and countries influenced by her system of

education, introductory courses in international relations are usually courses in the history of recent international affairs. In the U.S however the analytical approach is followed.

Most of the elementary aspects and foundations of international relations remain unchanged though the environment in which they are applied have greatly altered and in fact are in a state of continuous change. These changes are a by-product of several factors such as modification in the state system, the vast technological improvements and the important roles now being played by emerging economies. Thus in advancing a study of international relations both the new and the old elements of the discipline must be deftly blended in together in order to create a more enterprising field of knowledge. It can never be over-emphasised that the interest of international relations is centred on and around the nation-state system and interstate relations yet the actions and interactions of organisations and groups and of many subterranean forces and factors also have to be considered.

Following a report by the Council on Foreign Relations in 1947, Grayson Kirk, with regard to surveys on the study of international relations in American universities, noted that five ingredients were usually coalesced as suited the likes of the teacher in the basic course in the subjects. The ingredients include: the nature and operation of the state system; factors which affect the power of a state; the international position and foreign policies of the great powers; the history and recent international relations and the building of a more stable world order. The equilibrium changed seven years later as Vincent Baker (Palmer and Perkins, 2007), found out through a survey sponsored by the Carnegie Endowment for international peace. Acting under this auspices, he found that international relation consisted more of the following: the nature and principal forces of international politics; the political, social and economic organisation of international life; the elements of national power; the instruments available for the promotion of the national interest; the limitation and control of national power; the foreign policy of one or more major powers and occasionally of a small state and the historical ingredient as a background for other factors and as a history of recent international events. Baker also pointed to the growth in theory, greater attention on the policy making process reliance on other disciplines and an increase in the use of case studies.

By 1962 as the aforementioned themes grew in importance calls were already going out from formidable quarters for undergraduate courses in international relations to bear such themes as the means of maintenance sovereignty and security by governments and the modes of behaviour engendered by the pursuit of these objectives, the impact of science and technology on international relations, the impact of increasing world population on

interaction among nations, the growth of the production and consumption of material resources, the changing social and technical arrangements in the producing, distributing and consumption process and the resultant realignments of countries between isolation and international co-operation in the face of these economic and social challenges; the achievement of the peoples of Asia and Africa; and the psychological responses to international situations. At about this time there was a growing school that determined to make international relations a more rigorous and systematic discipline. This was the era of behaviouralism in the social sciences. Though this rigorous process pays its own peculiar dividend in making international relations more exact yet we find that such a mode was altogether permeated with difficulties for the new student especially if carried too far as it often was. In this regard Hedley Bull, an advocate of the classical approach aptly noted that:

> whatever virtues one might discern in the scientific approach, it is a wholly retrograde development that it should now form the basis of undergraduate courses of instruction in international politics... the student whose study of international politics/relations consists solely of an introduction to the techniques of systems theory, game theory, simulation, or content analysis is simply shut off from contact with the subject and is unable to develop any feeling either for the play of international politics/relations or for the moral dilemmas to which it gives rise (Palmer and Perkins 2007).

Palmer and Perkins (2007) differing from on some aspects from Hedley Bull's postulation, nonetheless concurred that an elementary course in international relations should place more attention on substance than on method and on the real conduct of international politics than on model building or simulation exercises. For them, and this is their main quarrel with Bull, there is no dichotomy between a thorough grounding in the fundamentals of the subject and rigorous methods of investigation and analysis. International relations have also been assailed by a general and universally standardised framework or a basic theory a failing which has accounted for the proliferation of approaches in the study of international relations. Thus a number of scholars with theoretical leaning have contributed immensely toward the body of theory in international relations. They note that theory challenges the student to probe for the limitations and the possibilities of some of the theories that have been earlier advanced. Theory is also closely associated with philosophy.

In order to stay in touch with current trends in international relations it is prudent to be in regular correspondence with robust publications in the area of the discipline. Such journals include: World Politics' published by the Centre of International Studies, Princeton University, the Journal of Conflict Resolution' published by Centre for Research in Conflict Resolution, University of Michigan; International Studies Quarterly (the Organ of the International Studies Association); International Affairs (the organ of the Royal Institute of International Affairs); International Journal (the organ of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. A student of international relations should also have close relationship, literary wise, with such scholars as E.H. Carr, Hans Morgenthau, Quincy Wright, Robert Strausz-Hupe, Kenneth Thompson, William T.R Fox, Karl Deutsch, Morton Kaplan, Thomas Schelling, although there appears to be an American bias in the list yet the above named have played formidable roles in the evolution of international relations as a course of study.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Explain the differences between international politics and international relations?

4.0. CONCLUSION

The on-going globalisation process has brought the impact of international affairs closer to everyone. Unlike in the past when world affairs were largely the concern of statesmen any occurrence in one part of the world now almost has a counter effect in another part. As noted above all have become active participants, directly or indirectly, in international issues. Even though the field of international relations lacks standardised system yet, despite this, scholars and writers of this discipline are unanimous in their belief in the efficacy of this course in solving a number of global challenges. Thus we have seen international relations theories deployed in the study of such phenomenon such as terrorism and arms race.

5.0. SUMMARY

Discussions in this unit have focused primarily on the place of international relations in the world today. International relations have now become so encompassing that virtually everyone is involved to a greater or lesser degree. Moreover the rise of technology will ensure that this process continues as people are thrown together from across great distances. We have also examined the proper boundaries of international relations. Specifically we have tried to differentiate between international politics and international relations. We have also explored the course content of international relations and the

processes that gave rise to them. The unit further discussed the intellectual conflict methodology wise between the classical approach and the behavioural approach. Finally we saw that the absence of a universal approach in international relations has led to the emergence of contending theories.

6.0. TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Account for the pervasiveness of international relations even on domestic affairs?
Examine the intellectual conflict between the classical approach and the behavioural approach?

7.0. REFERENCES/ FURTHER READINGS

Hanessian, J. (1966), "The Study and Teaching of International Relations: some comments on the current crises". *SAIS Review X* (summer)

Hoffman, S. (1960), *Contemporary Theory in International Relations*. Engle wood Cliffs. N.J: Prentice-Hall.

Jabri, V. (2000) 'The Boundary Problem' in Salmon, C. (eds.) *Issues in International Relations*. London and New York: Routledge.

Kaplan, M. (2006) 'The New Great Debate: Traditionalism vs. Science in International Relations' in Chan, S. and Moore, C. (eds.) *Approaches to International Relations* (Vol. 1) Sage Library of International Relations. London: Sage publications.

Mathiesen, T. (1959), *Methodology in the Study of International Relational*. Oslo.

Palmer, N. and Perkins, H (2007), *International Relations: The World Community in Transition*. New Delhi: A.T.B.S publishers.

UNIT 2   THE NATURE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objectives
3.0   Main Content
      3.1. The Importance of International Relations
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor Marked Assignment
7.0   References/Further Readings

1.0.   INTRODUCTION

This unit examines the nature or character of international relations given the fact that it is processed of various schools. Subsequently and more importantly the benefits of the course - international relations- both to practical and intellectual life will be discussed and analysed.

2.0.   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:
(i) Outline the nature of international relations.
(ii) Identify the importance of the discipline to mankind.

3.0.   MAIN CONTENT

3.1. The nature of international relations

Alan James (Salmon, 2000) has pointed out that akin to many concepts in politics like freedom or constitutional democracy, international relations as a matter of fact does not bear a universal meaning which is widely acceptable to all schools of thought. Thus it becomes imperative for one to define one's terms or manners of usage; secondly international relations is often used to refer to inter-state relations such as between Nigeria and Togo or Nigeria and the United Kingdom but not excluding non-state factors and the elements influencing them. For him such, international relations are an aspect of

the real world and the goal of international relations is to examine these aspects in order to fully appreciate the inter-state dimension of our political environment. Finally, while these realities can be directly apprehended there are aspects of it which may, as it is true of all human relations, not be directly viewed.

The mere fact you see two individuals exchanging warm pleasantries does not denote that they are best of friends. There may be the need for you to make further deductive reasoning from certain expressions you see such as the similes on the faces or the little side talks. Even at that this seeming evidence may be inadequate for an informed judgement or conclusion. One must be aware that a friendly or hostile gesture must be placed against the background or under the context of the relationship; a warm gesture may simply be indicative of tradition or done for the sake of press photographs. Therefore to understand human relations 'one has to use not just, or not even, the physical eye, instead it is the eye of the mind which must be brought to bear' (Salmon, 2000: 2). Thus in the final analysis, the study of international relations includes more than a straight forward description rather it involves, subtle analysis and knowledge about the international aspect of human society.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Why do you think that international relations involve more than a 'straight forward description'?

3.2.   The Importance of International Relations

Even though international relations is not an exact science yet its study portends great benefits to world relations and cohesion. As the world continually grows compact daily into a global village the importance of international relations in ensuring harmony and co-operation is thus brought to greater relief. In this regard, international relations reveals to us how men and nations act in given circumstances and from this we can infer what conditions to encourage and which to discourage due to their debilitating influence if international cohesiveness is to be achieved. The international arena is saturated with a lot of happenings that need to be understood such as national interests, propaganda, cultural pressures, and the ability of race or cultural ties to engender irrational but effective ties all these activities have to be effectively dichotomised and studied in order to proffer long lasting solutions to international instability. A 1954 UNESCO report aptly noted that 'The case for a teaching of international relations is a part of the case for a teaching of the social sciences in general. That case rests at bottom upon an article of

faith: namely that the better the world is understood by the better people, the better for the world will it be'.

This just about sums up the key reason why international relations has maintained its position in many university faculties worldwide; as noted above, the study of international relations is not a science capable of solving all problems associated with international life rather it is an objective and systematic approach to problems of an international kind. The study of international relations allows us to escape the miseries and hardships of the past and to escape into a future posterity devoid of these difficulties by instituting the necessary structural adjustments needed to make this possible. This in itself is the end of international relations. However in noting the glowing attributes of international relations, it is meet to also understand that many of the problems of international relations are simply unsolvable. The intense interaction of a world divided along political and ideological lines on a variety of issues. Furthermore, there has been renewed interest in terms such as sovereignty as a tool for organising statehood. Flowing from these developments it is apt that the curiosity of certain individuals should be aroused and thus proceed to commerce their study. The relations between states are of utmost importance as the survival of a state may to all intents and purposes be dependent on how its leaders are able to navigate their relationship with other states. So we see that a state's survival or even physical safety may be considerably impelled by ill-relations more so nowadays when a supposedly slight weapon is capable of doing great mischief. Thus the study of international relations focuses on the subjects of great international bearing of diverse peoples worldwide.

The field of international relations is the study of the international environment in which, much like a civilised state of nature, the state must co-inhabit with other states, struggle with these states for limited available resources and try within law to survive. Thus in the attempt to negotiate its way in the international system events, in the light of the foregoing, are bound atimes, to degenerate to covert and overt nastiness and acts of brutality. Arising from these students of international relations can study and generalise about this form of human encounter and deploy their findings toward the understanding of individual sets of relations. The focus of study of international relations may concentrate on geographical level of relations (global, regional or bilateral; or in the multilateral fora such as UN or the AU or the factors which allow for the fostering of international relation such as international law and diplomacy). However through the study of international relations they can be understood and kept within reasonable bounds.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Why are states important fields of study in international relations?

4.0. CONCLUSION

The importance of international relations to the stability of the world can never be over-emphasised because of its ability to study the failings of the past and thus provide us with an adequate protection against the occurrence of such an error in the future. The importance of the study of international relations will continue to grow especially as the world continues to encounter global challenges such as terrorism, global warming amongst others.

5.0. SUMMARY

Discussions in this unit have focused primarily on the nature of international relations in relation to usage of terms. The unit has also explored the different reasons which have made the study of the discipline imperative. One major importance of international relations is the ability to understand the different peoples of the world better in order to ensure better inter-state harmony.

6.0. TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Identify the various ways in which the study and practise of international relations beneficial to world affairs?

7.0. REFERENCES/ FURTHER READINGS

Brown, C. (2001) *Understanding International Relations, second edition*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Brown, C. with Ainley, K. (2005) *Understanding International Relations, third edition.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. See Chapter 3.

Carr, E.H. (1939) *The Twenty Years' Crisis 1919–1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations.* London: Macmillan.

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UNIT 3   HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

CONTENTS

1.0.   INTRODUCTION

Discussions in this unit will centre on the progress of the discipline from the time of the Greek city states up to the time the discipline became recognised as a field of study in its own right. The is unit will explore the rise of differing theories of international relations beginning with liberal internationalism (idealism) shortly after the end of the First World War.

2.0. OBJECTIVES
At the end of this unit, you should be able to:
(i) Outline the history and evolution of international relations
(ii) State the major theories of international relations

3.0.   MAIN CONTENT

3.1. Historical perspectives

Closely related to the humanities and the social sciences, international relations as an independent field of study is still young in relation to the aforementioned. As a field of study international relations deals with and seeks to develop understandings of international social, political and economic life, where each of these terms in turn, the international, the social, the political and the economic are in themselves subject to contention and contestation. While some scholars are uncomfortable with such a broader view of the discipline others are favourable to it as it enables a multi faceted approach toward the curing of global international relations challenges. These challenges which now occupy international relations are not new and have similarly engaged theorists since

the time of ancient Greek states. This ancient source has endowed the discipline with a classical tradition, which in various forms and interpretations has played a part in providing foundations for the perspectives associated with the field today. They also help to set limits or boundaries to the discipline and have also provided the launching pad upon which the theories have been sited. Much of the issues pertaining to international relations today were already the subject of discourse among historians, philosophers and legal scholars in the old days. In contemporary times, writers have used this classical tradition as a justification for their theories. The assumptions made therefore within the classical tradition can be viewed as being foundational and thus the grounds on which further premises may be built. In looking to the foundations one is not necessarily interested in scrutinising the classical tradition but only to call attention to the fact that thought on matters international existed prior to the establishment of the discipline of international relations and has had a formative influence on the discipline's through the ages.

In international relations, theories, as they should be, have concerned themselves significantly with issues on inter-state relations and order in the international system. Between 1919 and the 1930s liberal internationalism had held sway in international relations and its primary pre-occupation was the events which had precipitated the cataclysmic Great War (First World War) and the means of pre-empting such a crises in future. Thus the motivation behind the discipline in those early years was normative with the assumption that the academic study of international relations had the potential to contribute to peace. Drawing its intellectual roots from the enlightenment, liberal internationalism suggests that the prospects for the elimination of war lay with a preference for democracy over aristocracy, free trade over autarky and collective security over the balance of power system. The philosopher Immanuel Kant in his pamphlet 'perpetual peace' noted that the internal configurations of the state had implications on its foreign relations. Thus for him a democratic state is likely to be more subdued in issue involving the declaration of war in contrast to an un-free state where war is in essence prosecuted for the glorification of the rulers. These two inter-related ideas which emerged from Kant's reflections on a perpetual peace and constituted the basic foundations for the liberal internationalist thought which dominated the discipline of international relations in its early days. It centred on democratic governance and a code of laws to guide relations of co-operations between states.

To make it more effective worldwide, international institutions were set up to promote mainly the two pillars of liberal internationalism, democracy and free trade in place of conflict relations which inspired balance of power politics. The formation of the League of Nations, which embodied collective security, was the result of the writings of liberal

scholars and encapsulated the liberal ideal. In essence the league would guarantee international peace and settle disputes by arbitration. For a while afterwards even up to today, liberal ideals were triumphant worldwide. However the aggressive international politics of the early1930s and the outbreak of the Second World War revealed the limitations and utopian nature of liberal ideals. International law and diplomatic history the traditional fort of liberalism now gave way steadily to power and self interest as key concepts in the study of the international system. Idealism characterised by liberal internationalist ideals now steadily gave way to realism, which in various forms remains dominant in the discipline.

Leading the charge against liberalism in the international system, E.H Carr called for a science of international relations in contrast to the high sounding ideals of liberal internationalism. For Carr it was largely based on an unrealistic negation of power and its impact on the international system; that values are context bound or dependant on who is interpreting; that morality is determined by interest; and that the present is arrived at through historical processes. Furthermore in contrast to idealism which sought a generalised doctrine, Carr called for historical analysis of the contingent frameworks which determine politics. The basic assumption of realism is the view that the international system is anarchic or without a single over aching authority. For instance a state has a typical single authority while the international system has none which makes international agreements difficult to implement causing the inefficiency of regulating relations between states. An outcome of this is that the international system is replete with conflicts and antagonism.

Realism has based its foundation on ancient theorists such as Thucydides, Machiavelli and Hobbes. Thucydides' account of the Peloponnesian war is seen as a classic text in realism because it embraces such realist themes as power, intrigue, conquest, alliance building and the intricacies of bargaining. In modern times Hans Morgenthau through his 'Politics Among Nations' (1948) is at the head of the realist scholars; showing himself an adept pupil of the ancient scholar Thucydides he notes that, 'realism assumes that its key concepts of interest defined as power is an objective category which is universally valid, but it does not endow that concept with a meaning that is fixed once and for all'. He went further to state without equivocation the assumption that there are objective laws with universal applicability. For him:

> Political realism believes that politics, society in general, is governed by objective laws that have their roots in human nature… realism, believing as it does in the objectivity of the laws of politics, must also believe in the possibility of developing a rational theory that reflects, however imperfectly and one-sidedly, these objective laws. It believes also in the possibility of distinguishing in politics between truth and opinion- between what is true objectively and rationally, supported by evidence and illuminated by reason, and what is only a subjective judgement, divorced from the facts as they are and informed by prejudice and wishful thinking (Jabri, 2000: 301)

Underlining the realist thought is the belief by Morgenthau and other realists that international politics is akin to domestic politics is a struggle for power. The philosophy of realism as postulated by Morgenthau purported to be scientific and explanatory; for a theory of international relations to be sound it must be consistent with facts which are in the final analysis the major test of the validity of theoretical statements. For realists thus, there is clear dichotomy between fact and value and also between theory and practice. In the 1950s and even into the 1960s, the realist view of international relations was clearly on the ascendancy. Morgenthau's declaration of the need for a science of international relation led to the emergence of behavoralism; a movement within international and the social sciences which tried to apply the rigorous methods of the natural sciences to social science research.

Before long the methodological claims of the behavioralists began to invite criticisms from those opposed to the viewpoint that the rigorous nature of the natural sciences could be transplanted to international relations. At the head of this reaction was Hedley Bull who noted that the greatest insight into international relations was derivable from classical thought, philosophy and history. For Bull the relations between states could not be converted to measurable attributes of power or models of decision making rather we must turn to history and philosophy to capture the complexity of international politics. The publication of the 'Anarchical Society' in 1977 by Bull brought to life the English school in international relations distinct from realist and scientific school populated by the Americans.

The 1960s was a heady period for international relations as a discipline as other perspectives of viewing international politics came to light. This view was heralded by such themes as decolonisation, a vibrant third world alliance in the UN and the

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happenings in global relations which brought to the fore matters far removed from the constant squabbles between the East and the West during the Cold War. Furthermore the position of the state as the sole unit of analysis was seemingly undermined by issues in economic and financial relations, development, social issues and regional integration. At the head of this new viewpoint was John Burton. For him global relations were multiform in content and consisted of a large body of actors spanning the gamut of individuals, states and non-state organisations. Keohane and Nye postulating on transnational relations reiterated Burton's view that states were not the only actors of the international system and in their work 'Power and interdependence' saw global politics as being based on different relationships rather than force. Pluralists argue that international activity is not just a matter of the behaviour of states but of other actors too. Further, but logically separate, they argue that states are not quite as security and power conscious as the realists make out. For example, economic issues are issues in their own right. Pluralism did not really contend with realist orthodoxy so much as to open up the field of actors for analysis. Burton focused on conflict and resolution and the place of the individual while those in the interdependence school concerned themselves with international organisation.

The third school in international relations which arose to critique realism and pluralism was the structuralist theory. It was built on the sharp economic inequalities which came to characterise the international system beginning with Latin America; the rich north or first world and the poor south or third world. Largely derived from the works of Marx and Lenin the structural paradigm dwelt on dependency, exploitation and international division of labour which consigned a majority of the world population to poverty with the connivance of the elites within those states. The major cause of this imbalance was the capitalist system which in the international system led to gross benefits for some through unequal exchange whilst leaving others bereft of the gains of progress. The class system found internally in capitalist societies also replicated itself internationally in social, political and economic life. Thus in the final analysis unlike pluralism and liberal internationalist which viewed economic interdependence as helping to engender international cooperation, the structuralists were of the opinion that this was the very basis of inequality and instability. Major writers among them were Andre Gunter Frank and Samir Amin who both wrote extensively on the dependency theory. A historical analysis of capitalism's formation and spread from the 16th century to the present was carefully enunciated by Immanuel Wallerstein. In his account, the impact of this economic philosophy on inter-state exchange, class and social relations was made bare.

The pluralist and structuralist perspectives made serious incursions into the field of international relations as an alternative thought system. However they were not able to displace the formidable influence of the realist perspective, what with works like 'Man, the State and War' and 'theory of International Politics' by Kenneth Waltz which both tilted toward a neo-realist leaning. Morgenthau and the other realist theorists had already set the pace in the discipline of international relations and had given rise to strategic studies. Moreover the mortal struggle between the east and the west during the Cold War helped to further to cement the influence of realism as the pre-eminent thought in international relations with its inspiration in the United States. Although they were both firmly in the same intellectual camp both Morgenthau and Waltz differed on certain aspect: for Morgenthau's realism centred on the features and behaviour of states within the international system, Waltz was interested in the international system with special focus on elucidating a structuralist account of its workings and limitations on state behaviour. Thus for him the international system was leaderless and constantly in a state of aggression and warfare.

In the final analysis what really distinguishes Waltz's brand of realism is his inattention to the determinants of state behaviour but high regards for the qualities of the international system and the distribution of capabilities within it. It is this fondness with the international system process which gives his account the structuralist hue. However his account differed from the aforementioned Maxist inspired structuralism; his view in approach and substance had more in common with realism. In later years, realism, pluralism and structuralism were described as being part of the 'Inter-paradigm debate' in international relations. A debate kept aflame by the contending view point on the international system, its constitutive parts and relations between them. Consequently, each paradigm constitutes an independent perspective globally, distinct in research agenda, concepts and language which made it out of sync in relation to the other contending views. Furthermore each perspective postulated a general theory of international relations.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Enumerate and examine in turn the different theories of international relations?

4.0. CONCLUSION

Thus we see that in tracing the evolutionary trend of the discipline we note its movement through a number of debates which began with the idealist-realist debate, to the issue over methodology between the behavioralists and the traditionalist and attained its

apogee in the 1980s with the inter-paradigm debate. It is this gradual development of the discipline which has structured the teaching of theories of international relations and has now formed the basic framework for the vast majority of textbooks on the subject. However some scholars have pungently noted that the use of debate is an anathema as there has not really been any worthy debate between the perspectives as each has doggedly sought its own way independent of the rest. Furthermore despite the abridgment of the discipline to a seeming inter-paradigm debate it is generally acknowledged that the discipline has is led by the realist and neo-realist thoughts with the other perspectives trailing behind.

5.0.   SUMMARY

Discussions in this unit have focused on the rise of theories of international relations beginning with liberal internationalism at the end of the First World War. The unit goes on to explore the rise of realism, after the discrediting of liberal internationalism. Pluralism and structuralist theories also made their presence felt in the field of international relations. By the 1980s there arose a debate, the so-called inter-paradigm debate, among the schools. This debate was essentially over approach methodology.

6.0. TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Which of the theories best describes world reality? Discuss

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UNIT 4   APPROACHES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DIPLOMACY

CONTENTS

1.0.   INTRODUCTION

Discussions in this unit will be on a perennial field of international relations; a concept which pre-dates the arrival of the discipline as a distinct course of study. While not attempting to present the entire history of diplomacy, this unit will yet expose the fledging student to the core of the concept of diplomacy, in other words what it is, what it does and how it does it. More is also said on the concept under the D- Concepts.

2.0.   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:
(i) Define the concept of diplomacy.
(ii) List the problems of international diplomacy.
(iii) Outline the approaches to solving the problems of diplomacy

3.0.   MAIN CONTENT

3.1. What is Diplomacy?

Diplomacy according to Sir Ernest is the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between the governments' of independent states. There is a sublime distinction between foreign policy and diplomacy; the one entails the substance of foreign relations while the other is the process by which policy is carried out. Thus it is the purpose of diplomacy to make available the means and personnel through which

foreign policy is executed. In this regard we see that foreign policy provides the substance while diplomacy the method of attaining that substance.

> Foreign policy is based upon a general conception of national requirements... diplomacy on the other hand is not an end but a means not a purpose but a method. It seeks, by the use of reason, conciliation and the exchange of interests to prevent major conflicts arising between sovereign states (Palmer and Perkins, 2007).

The attainment of constitutional independence does not really open up a state to participation in international relations. Rather the state has acquired the capacity to engage in acts open to sovereign states such as relating with other states through diplomatic representatives, entering into foreign agreements, joining international organisations, campaigning for certain goals, influencing other states e.t.c. Conversely before these processes can take place, as a pre-condition, other states must be willing to relate with the emergent state internationally. This latter process consists of two preliminary steps; recognition and the establishment of diplomatic relations and a third step which involves the establishment of diplomatic mission. This last step will be taken if it is expected that relations between the two states will be cordial.

Recognition is the notice to the other state and the world, that in the view or opinion of the recognising state the other state has met the requirements for normal international activity. Diplomatic relations which follows shortly after, entails direct official contact. The absence of diplomatic relations can lead states to ignore each other. Finally diplomatic relations will facilitate the establishment of diplomatic missions between both countries. The diplomatic system thus enables states to have contacts with other states and so to advance and protect their interests at the international level.

3.1.1 Origin of Diplomacy

Organised diplomatic activity began with the relations among the city-states of ancient Greece. The Romans did not contribute much to diplomacy but they enhanced international law. In the middle ages, diplomacy was denoted by the study and preservation of archives rather than international negotiation. It was in the late Middle Ages, in Italy that modern diplomacy took off. The first known permanent mission was that established at Geneva in 1455 by Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan. The next century saw the establishment by the Italian city-states permanent embassies in London and Paris.

For nearly three centuries afterwards, the concepts of diplomacy was not standardised and diplomacy remained an activity of the court and its major thrust remained the propagation of the interest of the monarch.

The industrial, American, and French revolutions in the late eighteenth century opened the door for a new phase of diplomacy. Kings were eclipsed by democratic institutions and the task of the diplomat was now how to represent a people rather than a person. However remuneration remained poor as diplomacy was still a trade of the wealthy class. However the congress of Vienna made worthwhile contributions toward the standardisation of the field. These rules were embodied in the Reglement of March 19, 1815 and in regulations of the congress of Aix-La-Chapelle in 1818. It established four ranks of representatives: 1) Ambassadors, papal legates and papal nuncios; 2) Envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary; 3) ministers resident, later merged with the second rank and; 4) charges d'affaires.

The advent of the so-called new diplomacy in the nineteenth century saw the advancement of new methods which were defined in many international agreements. Much discussion on diplomacy is factored around the concept of the new as illustrated by Condoleezza Rice's 'transformational diplomacy' and Hillary Clinton's outlining in the 2010 Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review of a new diplomacy based on the creation of a 'global civilian service'. Just as the electric telegraph was seen as moving the parameters of diplomatic practice in the nineteenth century, so the employment of the Worldwide Web and social networking sites by foreign ministries are readily identified as symbolic of a 'new statecraft'. This emphasis on 'newness' stresses the importance of discontinuity developments in patterns of communication and communications technologies are central to the practice of diplomacy. One aspect of this has been the preoccupation with soft power and public diplomacy. In the 21st century, fibre optic and satellite technologies, mobile communications, joins with a more active electronic media and social networking to present a mix of new constraints and opportunities for the conduct of diplomacy.

Furthermore, changing modes of communication have been major conditioning factors in the operation of diplomacy creating both constraints and opportunities. Symbolized by terms such as virtual diplomacy and e-diplomacy, the growth of rapid, real time communication, the electronic media and social networking creates a vastly different communications environment from that of even a decade ago. Here, the two central issues are the need to understand better the implications of these developments and

responding to them in ways that meet the expectations of policy practitioners and publics. Communication is the essence of diplomacy, determining its purpose and operational modes. Each phase in the long evolution of diplomacy has therefore been marked by the need to adjust to and seek to shape the dominant features of the communication and information environment. Harold Nicolson (1939) notes three developments in the nineteenth and twentieth century which have had significant impact on the theory and practice of diplomacy. These are the growing sense of the community of nations; the importance of public opinion and the rapid increase in communication.

3.1.2. Functions of diplomats

The major functions of the diplomat are to execute the foreign polices of his home state and also to keep his government informed of major developments in and around his station. He must understand and assimilate the mentality of his home state and thenceforth, in his country of posting, make known these desires and hopes. However for clarity sake, the tasks of the diplomat can be divided into four: Representation, Negotiation, Reporting and the protection of the interests of the nation and citizens in foreign lands.

- **Representation:**
  A diplomat is first and foremost a country's representative in this capacity to be effective he must cultivate a broad range of social network. That is with his fellow diplomats, influential individuals and articulate groups in the country.

- **Negotiation:**
  Negotiation is the pursuit of agreement by compromise and direct personal contact. By nature diplomats are negotiators. However the developments in communications technology and the growth of multilateralism have somewhat eroded their influence nonetheless their value still remains inestimable.

- **Reporting:**
  Reports are facts gleamed from their country of posting. Such reports maybe on legislative programmes, public opinion, market conditions, finance or any other happening that catches his fancy.

- **Protection of Interests:**

A diplomat must at all times seek the furtherance of the interests of his home state. Despite the seemingly selfish hue of this view it is the foundation of diplomacy. More specifically, the diplomat must ensure the protection of businessmen and other nationals of his own country resident in his country of posting.

3.2. Problems Encountered in International Diplomacy

The first and most potent source of danger is the irresponsibility of the sovereign people. In other words foreign affairs appear too remote and distant to the citizens of a state that their implications are not adequately grasped.

The second problem is ignorance. The willingness of partially informed people to make quick and positive decisions and judgements on even the most complex issues of foreign policy is a constant source of embarrassment to those who must weight all the evidence and accept responsibility for the eventual decisions. As so very often politicians aiming to score a political point or acting on populist impulse make weighty decisions that may have negative impact for the state. Then there is also the problem of delay and imprecision. In democratic states public opinion is wont to cause unwarranted delays on a country's foreign policy operation. Democratic states have often been criticised for following policies 'too little and too late' thus the failure to act in time often seems to have occasioned greater crises in future. A good example was the errant reluctance of the American public to acquiesce to President Roosevelt's admonition for a containment of war-mongering states in 1937. Thus leaders of democratic states constrained by public opinion, rarely launch foreign policies no matter how important until they are reasonably assured of citizen support. However, instances abound when the citizens are seized with war euphoria and then have to be restrained by the political authorities.

Another problem of diplomacy is imprecision. If for any reason a diplomat was charged with the task of making a public statement of policy, it is apt to look in between the lines to decode his true meaning or intention. This tendency of most diplomats toward vagueness leads to confusion often, in meaning which is then exploited by aggressive or unfriendly countries.

3.2.1. Approaches to Solving Problems Encountered in International Diplomacy

There are several approaches toward the solution of problems in international diplomacy. Diplomacy by conference entails a meeting of the foreign ministers or principal heads of government over an intractable international question. The first great conferences of modern times were those which ended the Thirty years war and led to the Peace of Westphalia in 1648; in the 19th century important conferences were held in Vienna (1814 -15), Paris (1856) and Berlin (1878). Today the UN sponsors hundreds of conferences each year. Lord Maurice Hankey had noted in 1946 that this type of diplomacy is the best hope for the prevention of war.

Another mode is Summit and near- Summit Diplomacy which involves the direct participation of foreign ministers, prime-ministers and even heads of states in diplomatic negotiators. Major and fateful decisions relating to the Second World War and the post-war international order were reached during several personal meetings between Churchill and Roosevelt beginning in August 1941 which resulted into the Atlantic Charter; Cairo with Kai-Shek (Nov. 1943); Teheran with Stalin (Dec. 1943); Yalta (Feb. 1945) and Potsdam (Jan.-Aug. 1945) both also with Stalin. As recently as the 1980s, in fact up to the present time, summits have been heavily utilised by American and Russian heads of state in relation to discussions on nuclear arms reduction talks.

Personal Agents and Direct Contact involves the establishment of personal contact or rapport between two heads of government. Personal diplomacy may take many other forms but invariably it has the effect of by-passing the normal channels of diplomacy or of using them only to a limited degree. Heads of states have often relied on personal representatives to handle delicate problems in international relations. Another practice of heads of states is the direct approach to their opposite numbers in other countries. This system was brought to the fore by the famous telephone conversation between US President Richard Nixon and Premier Brezhnev of the Soviet Union in the 1970s.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Identify and discuss the functions of the diplomat?

4.0. CONCLUSION

The evolution of the act of diplomacy from its earliest days until the present has witnessed the expansion and the contraction of the field available for the diplomat. More

so with the vast improvements in communications technology the diplomat suddenly finds himself being shoved aside as world leaders prefer to deliberate without the encumbrances of an intermediary.

5.0. SUMMARY

Discussions in this unit have focused on the role of the diplomat in the international system especially with regard to the protection of the interests of his home state. We have also examined the problems encountered in international diplomacy such ignorance and the various modes of resolving these problems.

6.0. TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

In your view what other challenges can you identify confronts the diplomat today?

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UNIT 5 THE IMPORTANCE OF CONCEPTS TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS STUDY

CONTENTS

1.0.   INTRODUCTION

Concepts are, following Advanced English Dictionary, an abstract or general idea inferred or derived from specific instances. Pursuant to this then our discussions in this unit will be on the 'concept of concepts' so to say or an analysis of what concepts are; in this wise we will examine what a concept is and their impact in the study of international relations. Remember concepts are key or an important gateway to understanding the subject-matter of all academic disciplines.

2.0.   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:
(i) State what a concept is
(ii) Enunciate its importance to international relations study

3.0.   MAIN CONTENT

3.1. Why Concepts?

Ockham holds that concepts play a dual role. On the one hand, concepts are the fundamental units of a certain kind of mental act, namely acts of thinking, as we would say, rather than (say) acts of choosing, hating, or hearing. Concepts are above all paradigmatic instances of intellectual cognition: to think about ϕ is just a matter of having an occurrent concept-of-ϕ. Hence concepts are mental acts that are 'about' whatever they may be about: cabbages, kings, pigs with wings. Some concepts are about individual

substances, such as Socrates; others are about classes or kinds of substances, such as human beings. Concepts are acquired, at least initially, through experience, and in the economy of the mind they are also the primary building-blocks of thought itself. In other words, acts of intellectual cognition — thinking, judging, reasoning — are composed of concepts in various (possibly complex) combinations;

Hence a concept is literally a mental 'word', and, like any word, can be combined with other words to create complex meaningful phrases, sentences, or arguments. Concepts are the vocabulary of Mental Language, which, like any language, has its own syntax and formation-rules. Ockham holds that these two roles played by concepts, one psychological and the other linguistic, are coordinated. The psychological process of compounding acts of thought mirrors the linguistic process of stringing words together. Phrases are sequential acts of thinking, sentences judgments, arguments literally instances of reasoning. Each discipline thereby benefits from the other: psychology can adopt the relatively sophisticated account of semantics to talk about thought in an articulated and detailed manner, semantics can flesh out the common intuition that words get their meanings from the ideas with which they are associated, so that spoken or written language is a matter of encoding our thoughts.

Sortal concepts are concepts that provide criteria for individuation (where one object ends and another one begins) and identity (whether an object is the same one seen on a different occasion) (Gupta, 1980; Hirsch, 1982; Mac-namara, 1986; Mac-namara & Reyes, 1994; Wiggins, 1980). These concepts are lexicalized as count nouns in languages that make the count/mass distinction, e.g. dog, cup, person. The sortal concept dog provides criteria for deciding whether we are in the presence of one dog or two dogs, and it provides criteria for deciding whether we have seen the same dog on two different occasions, or two numerically distinct dogs. Sortal concepts such as dog, cup, or ball are a subset of what cognitive scientists refer to as "kind concepts" (which also include other concepts, such as gold, water, etc.).

Thus concepts are mental representations of categories of objects, events or other entities. People daily recognise and thousands of concepts. Concepts are the basis for meaning making and communication. Imagine trying to communicate without using concepts. In trying to describe a robin, it would be necessary to describe every characteristic of a robin, because to say that a robin is a bird, which therefore conveys all of the characteristics of a bird (has wings; flies; walks; lives in nests; eats bugs, etc), would have to describe each example of a robin that you encountered. However, that would be

impossible, because you would need to use numerous other concepts (e.g. wings, nests, walking, flying, red breast) in order to describe the concept robin. Communication without concepts would be nigh impossible (Jonassen, 2006).

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Enumerate and examine in turn the different theories of international relations?

3.2. Concepts and International Relations Study

In relation to international relations, concepts help to advance the beginner's knowledge of the field of the subject matter. Furthermore, concepts enable a preliminary grasp or awareness of the idea being conveyed. Note that that the course you are about to embark upon does not contain all the whole or comprehensive concepts peculiar to international relations, however it does provide an ideal conceptual underpinning, so to speak, for the study of the course. International relation scholars would be at sea without models and concepts and narratives that lend coherence to the artefacts and, perhaps, intimate the stories they tell. One should not expect too much from concepts alone because with politics working at many different levels and social domains, it is entirely possible, as Aron (1966:7) contended, that "the ambiguity in 'international relations' is not to be imputed to the inadequacy of our concepts: it is an integral part of reality itself."

4.0. CONCLUSION

Thus we see that in tracing the evolutionary trend of the discipline we note its movement through a number of debates which began with the idealist-realist debate, to the issue over methodology between the behavioralists and the traditionalist and attained its apogee in the 1980s with the inter-paradigm debate. It is this gradual development of the discipline which has structured the teaching of theories of international relations and has now formed the basic framework for the vast majority of textbooks on the subject. However some scholars have pungently noted that the use of debate is an anathema as there has not really been any worthy debate between the perspectives as each has doggedly sought its own way independent of the rest. Furthermore despite the abridgment of the discipline to a seeming inter-paradigm debate it is generally acknowledged that the discipline has is led by the realist and neo-realist thoughts with the other perspectives trailing behind.

5.0.   SUMMARY

Discussions in this unit have focused on the rise of theories of international relations beginning with liberal internationalism at the end of the First World War. The unit goes on to explore the rise of realism, after the discrediting of liberal internationalism. Pluralism and structuralist theories also made their presence felt in the field of international relations. By the 1980s there arose a debate, the so-called inter-paradigm debate, among the schools. This debate was essentially over approach methodology.

6.0.   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT
Which of the theories best describes world reality? Discuss

7.0.   REFERENCES/ FURTHER READINGS

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MODULE 2: A - J CONCEPTS

INTRODUCTION

This module provides detailed explanations of international relations concepts beginning with the letter A - J. Thus in this module and in each unit you will be brought into contact with some of the most familiarly used concepts or terms in international relations. However it should be borne in mind that these are only abridgements and as such do not constitute the entire picture.

Unit 1   A & B Concepts
Unit 2   C & D Concepts
Unit 3   E & F Concepts
Unit 4   G & H Concepts
Unit 5   I & J Concepts

UNIT 1   A & B CONCEPTS

CONTENTS

1.0.   INTRODUCTION

In this unit, the first of five, we will highlight common concepts of international relations that begin with the letter A. The explanations have been streamlined in order to enhance understanding at first glance. This is to make you adept in the use of these concepts as they will come up regularly throughout your academic career and even beyond. You will also encounter these concepts in the press as they are freely utilised to describe international situations. Although these are abridgements yet they contain just enough to equip you with the kernel of the concept. Central to the discussion in this module is an in-depth discussion of the concepts. Furthermore we will examine important concepts in international relations beginning with the letter B. It must be noted that some very important concepts are in this category.

2.0. OBJECTIVES

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

(i) Outline the key ideas behind the concepts in your own words.

(ii) State their relevance to international relations academically and in practice.

3.0. MAIN CONTENT

3.1. Actor

Any entity which plays an identifiable role in international relations may be termed an actor. The Pope, the Secretary-General of the UN, British Petroleum, Botswana and the IMF are thus all actors. The term is now widely used by both scholars and practitioners in international relations as it is a way of avoiding the obvious limitations of the word state. Although it lacks precision it does possess scope and flexibility. Its use also conveys the variety of personalities, organizations and institutions that play a role at present.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Explain the concept of actor and why is it preferably used in international discourse?

3.2. African Union (AU)

The African Union was carved out of a previously existing organisation called the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). The OAU was established on 25 May 1963 in Addis Ababa, on signature of the OAU charter by representatives of 32 governments. A further 21 states have joined gradually over the years, with South Africa becoming the 53rd member in 1994. The charter later had to be changed to meet up with the challenges of a constantly changing world and a growing realisation that the need for greater efficiency and effectivity of the Organisation required urgent action. A summit was held in Sirte, Algiers on the 9th of September,1999 to address the issue. The theme of the summit was "Strengthening OAU capacity to enable it to meet the challenges of the new millennium." This Summit concluded on 9 September 1999 with the Sirte Declaration aimed at among other goals at Effectively addressing the new social, political and economic realities in Africa and the world. It is of critical importance that member States are active in the design and implementation of the African Union. In this way it will foster a sense of ownership and Member States will be able to address those aspects of the day-to-day functioning of the organisation which will streamline the implementation of decisions.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Highlight the major reason why the charter of the OAU was revised?

3.3. Alliances

An alliance is an explicit or implicit agreement between two or more states to lend military assistance to one or more of the contracting parties under a specified set of circumstances. The primary function of an alliance is to aggregate the relative capabilities (military power, economic power, and potential power) of its members. However, alliances can and do serve other functions as well. Alliances appear in a variety of forms, ranging from highly institutionalized and permanent bodies such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to ad-hoc war-fighting coalitions such as the grand alliance of World War II and the 1990-91 Persian Gulf coalition. Alliances may consist of two states (such as the U.S.-Japan alliance) or several states (such as the 1940 Tripartite Pact and the various coalitions among Prussia, Russia, Great Britain, and Austria during the Napoleonic Wars) (www.csspoint.yolasite.com).

It has also been noted that alliances could also be a major source of conflict. This view was made popular by the Liberal internationalists beginning from Immanuel Kant onwards. Thus in the aftermath of the First World War, US President Woodrow Wilson aptly observed that alliances drew states into webs of intrigue and rivalry. In contrast the realists have supported the act of forming alliances as they note that it is naturally brought about for the defence of their national interests. Alliances, however, can also be negatively manipulated to endanger other states. The alliance between Germany, Italy, and Japan during the Second World War which is a good example promoted aggression throughout the world by recklessly seizing territories. Moreover, alliances may indirectly promote tension in the international system as an alliance between two states is regarded as a hostile act by a third state which begins to seek means of countering the alliance either through an arms build-up or the formulation of its own alliance. It is for this reason that some states (such as Sweden and Switzerland) have traditionally pursued a policy of neutrality and non-alignment in Europe.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Define an alliance and identify the shortcomings of alliances?

3.4. Anarchy

In everyday usage, this term evokes images of chaos, violence, and lawlessness. Derived from the Greek word anarkhos, meaning 'without a ruler', a state of anarchy exists in the absence of government to maintain order. It is often common to find this state of existence during revolutionary upheaval and extreme social and political turbulence (csspoint.yolasite.com). For theorists in the field of international relations International politics is said to be anarchical because no single state or coalition of states has absolute control over the entire system; each state is solely responsible for whatever actions it embarks upon without necessary recourse to a higher power. Thomas Hobbes was the first modern political philosopher to describe international relations as anarchical as his description of the international 'state of nature' has had a major influence on the development of international relations theory (www.csspoint.yolasite.com).

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Explain the reason why the international system is widely denoted as anarchical?

3.5. Appeasement

Appeasement is the viewpoint that making concessions to an aggressive power(s) will pre-empt the outbreak of war. However it has been proven that the aggressive power in question is most likely to ask for more and capitulating to their demands simply feeds their thirst for power, making them even stronger. In the long run, such a policy is likely to increase the risk of war rather than reducing it. Britain and France pursued a policy of appeasement with Adolf Hitler throughout most of the 1930s. In the late 1930s he demanded a part of part of Czechoslovak containing ethnic Germans and pushed through an amalgamation with Austrian known as Anschluss. The Western powers anxious to avoid war allowed him to have his way but Hitler would not be pacified. On 30 September 1938 the Munich Agreement was signed and control of the Sudeten-land passed to Germany, with France and Britain guaranteeing the newly drawn borders of Czechoslovakia. Hitler also pledged not to go to war with Britain. Within six months of the signing of the Munich agreement, Hitler's armies rolled into Czechoslovakia and controlled the whole country. The appeasement policy clearly gave Hitler time to consolidate and even enhance his power. Had it been the western powers had ventured into war against Germany, the history of the world may have been very different. Nonetheless the world learnt its lessons; and the lesson is not to succumb to the blackmail or unreasonable requests of aggressive states.

3.6. Arms Control

Arms control involves a dialogue between states to reduce or control the proliferation of arms. In the early nineteenth century, the Rush-Bagot Treaty (1817) demilitarised the border between the United States and Canada. The rise of devastating arms such as nuclear arms in the twentieth century has led to a rise in the importance of arms control. Arms control is different from disarmament. Disarmament infers that arms should be banned altogether if the international system is to be made secure. While the major end of arms control policy is to regulate and ensure the effective management of existing arms. In essence to prevent the proliferation of arms to actors likely to cause harm to others. Arms control can be carried out in a number of ways. These include: limiting the number and kinds of weapons that can legally be used in war; limiting the potential for destruction after war has broken out by reducing the size of arsenals; reducing the overall number of weapons; banning technologies which may have a destabilising effect on the balance of power; developing confidence-building measures. Although arms control has gone some way towards ensuring global safety its prosecution is inundated with challenges; there is the problem of verification as states often do not tell the whole truth about their weapons programme. Recall that it was the evasive nature of the Iraqi government concerning its weapons programme which led to the armed invasion of Iraq in 2003.

3.7. Arms Race

Arms race a raging competition between two or more states anxious to extend their advantage militarily with regard to other states or a contending bloc. Arms races are usually fuelled by the logic of action–reaction phenomenon; which simply means that if state A embarks on an aggressive military acquisitions programme, a neighbouring state B may assume the worst, i.e. that state A is preparing for war and increase its own defence spending. But this would only inflame state A in turn and it would escalate its arms acquisitions. For example in 1906, Great Britain launched the HMS Dreadnought, a

new class of battleship. The ship was faster than existing naval vessels; armour- plated, and possessed batteries of powerful guns capable of firing shells great distances. The launch of this ship worried Germany and so it developed ships of similar power. This, in turn, led Great Britain to build more of these powerful battleships to compensate. Finally, ships called Super dreadnoughts were developed and put into service. Thus the launching of a single new ship set off an arms race that changed the face of naval warfare. Similarly, the United States was the first country to develop and use nuclear weapons. In September 1949 the Soviets exploded their own atomic device and the US advantage began to evaporate. The US escalated its nuclear programme which the Soviet Union responded to in kind and the world tethered on the edge of a nuclear holocaust (csspoint.yolasite.com). Arms races preclude cooperation and increase tension and are usually coloured by ideological assumptions. This factor usually makes it difficult to resolve if not impossible. Consequently, a state that aggressively seeks arms improvement in relation to its neighbour finds itself more and more unsecured which is really the paradox of the arms race.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Give an illustration of an arms race? Identify the reasons why the arms race is dangerous to the stability of the international system?

3.8. Arms Trade

The arms trade refers to the sale, from one country to another, of arms, ammunition, and combat support equipment either on a commercial basis or on the basis of military assistance programmes. Though the arms are usually destined for countries yet, increasingly, the world is seeing non-state actors such as insurgents, separatist groups, and other paramilitary organisations taking stock of these arms from the exporters. The major exporters of arms in the world today are the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council: the U.S, China, Russian, Britain and France. The major destination of arms generated from these countries end up in the Third World countries as they account for two-thirds of all arms imports, however the main recipients of the arms trade are located in the Middle East such as Israel, Saudi Arabia. In many parts of the world arms trade, drug, and human trafficking are reportedly linked to terrorism. Potentially, terrorists could use trafficking routes to transport operatives and trafficking profits to finance their activities. Since the end of the Cold War, the proliferation of light arms and radiological materials in the former Soviet Union has made far more possible these links between terrorism and arms trafficking in which terrorists and arms traffickers

have formed a "symbiotic relationship." Because of the "nexus" and "symbiotic relationship" between terrorism and arms trade (respectively), terrorism may be countered by penetrating drug and arms trafficking networks.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Outline the dangers of the Arms Trade?

3.9. ASEAN Association of South East Asian Nations

ASEAN was formed in 1967 following the Bangkok Declaration of 8 August by the foreign ministers of Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. Brunei joined in 1984 and Vietnam in 1995. Papua New Guinea has observer status. The original agreements were strengthened and extended at the Bali summit of February 1976 and a secretariat established together with an agreement on the outline of a trade bloc. Amidst the spectacular economic growth in the Pacific Basin area over the last two decades, the South East Asia has been in the fore front of regional cooperation on a broad spectrum of issues especially with regard to military and economic issues. This cooperation has become imperative given the amorphous nature of China and Japan, the organisation has sought to counter their influence by including states of the Pacific basin and outside parties such as the).European Union and the United States in regional diplomacy. In this regard in 1993 the ASEAN Regional Forum linking the ASEAN states with eleven Pacific Basin countries plus the EU was formed, and the institutionalization of Asia—Pacific Economic Cooperation (often referred to as APEC) with the establishment of a Secretariat in Singapore. It was only in 1975 that ASEAN began to seek a regional role with the end of the Second World War Politically and diplomatically ASEAN began to develop a distinctive regional role with the ending of the Vietnam War in 1975 even to the present day.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
What does ASEAN stand for? The organisation has sought to expand its regional affinity through what means?

3.10. Authority

Authority refers to the ability of an individual or organisation to mobilise support for its acts. It can also be seen as minimal dissension to a Person or institution invested with responsibility. It is different from the exercise of power in that while its acts are accepted

as legitimate power must rely on naked or brutish force to enforce its will. The international system is characterised by the absence of a uniform authority in contrast to intra-state politics and law. In this wise it has been pointed out, that strictly speaking international law is not law because it lacks a unifying authority. Following this trend of reasoning idealists has posited that the solution to international conflict is for the setting up of a supra-national organisation to regulate the international system. It was in response to these thinking that the League of Nations and the United Nations were set up; in order to foster inter-state harmony. Though for some thinkers the lack of a universal authority helps to further or reinforces sovereignty, liberty and independence of the state.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Critically juxtapose authority and naked display of power?

3.11. Autonomy

Autonomy means a state or being of independence or self-government. State autonomy is generally acknowledged to have begun with the Treaties of Westphalia, 1648. Nowadays scholars are disputing the ancient association of autonomy and the state, consequently writers of pluralist coloration have argued that autonomy of the state depends on one's definition rather than on a set definition. Actors in world politics are now held to exercise relative autonomy and state and non-state actors can be compared on this basis. Autonomy has also been lately inserted into the writings on ethnic nationalism and communal conflict; such as the viewpoint that few if not most states are strictly speaking autonomous, as they exhibit traces of centrifugal tendencies, majority/minority dichotomies (sometimes indeed minority/minority/minority tendencies). These groups within states are held to be pursuing autonomy as a goal and in the process they are eroding the unity of the state. For the supporters of this view as the groups within the states seek autonomy, the unity of the state is gradually eclipsed; thus leading as in the case of South Sudan, the appearance of a new state.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Highlight the major contention as regards the definition of the concept of autonomy?

3.12. Balance of power

The balance-of-power is a major concept in classical realism and in contemporary realism. In general, balance-of-power theory holds that an extreme concentration of

material power in the hands of single state or attempts by a state to conquer a region will provoke countervailing actions. These countervailing actions, called balancing, can take the form of alliance formation (external balancing) or efforts by individual states to increase their own relative power, generally through arms racing and military innovation (internal balancing). While balancing does not always operate efficiency to prevent the outbreak of war, it does help to maintain the stability of relations among states in the long-term.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Define balance of power? What is the major goal behind balancing?

3.13. Band-wagoning

According to classical and neorealist balance-of-power theories, bandwagoning refers to the practice of forging an alliance with a more powerful adversary or joining the stronger of two coalitions; and (2) according to balance-of-threat theory, bandwagoning is the practice of aligning with a threatening state or coalition. Balance-of-threat theory and both variants of balance-of-power theory suggest that, all other things being equal, states prefer not to bandwagon.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Explain bandwagoning? What are the conditions that bring it about?

3.14. Buck-passing

Buck-passing refers to one states' efforts to pass the cost of opposing a potential adversary onto other states. By buck-passing, states hope to get others to bear the cost of providing a common good (namely, security) while at the same time minimizing the expenditure of their own economic and military power. Different realist theories disagree over the prevalence of buck-passing and the circumstances under which this type of behaviour becomes more likely. Most variants of defensive realism, especially balance-of-power theory and offense-defence theory, see buck-passing as ultimately counter-productive strategy that states pursue when they misperceive the actual balance-of-power or the offense-defence balance. In particular, buck- passing among the great powers is more likely in multipolar international systems than in bipolar international systems. John Mearsheimer's version of offensive realism, however, suggests that states actually prefer to buck-pass, not balance, in response to rising threats. The classic examples of buck-

passing are the attempts by Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union to pass the cost of opposing Nazi Germany off to one another between 1936 and 1941.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
What is buck-passing? Why and how do states buck-pass?

3.15. Brinkmanship

This term was popularised during the Cuban missile crises in 1962 by US diplomats. Brinkmanship is clearly a high-risk strategy which depends for its successful outcome on the mutual recognition by all parties involved that should a war be allowed to take place all the parties would suffer horrendous consequences.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Define brinkmanship?

3.16. Buffer state

This concept is usually used concomitantly with the balance of power and almost always means weak or inconsequential states on the borders of powerful states and are militarily positioned as intermediate 'cushions' or 'crush zones'. They were a key ingredient of defence strategy of great powers against unprovoked attacks before rapid advancements in military aviation made them obsolete. The very survival of states on the buffer zone thus hinged on the current state of play regarding both the local and general balance of power. Although they have freedom of action in most areas, it is often in their own best interests to ensure that whatever they did or said was not in direct conflict with the military needs of their powerful neighbours. A good example was the states of central Europe, and especially Poland, which were widely regarded during the inter-war years as buffers between Germany and the Soviet Union. Afghanistan and Thailand also performed a similar function for the British in the late nineteenth century by acting as crush zones that would delay Russian and French penetration into British India.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the rationale behind having neighbouring states as buffers?

3.17. Beggar-Thy-Neighbour Policies

These are actions pursued implemented by governments toward the betterment of their own national interest. However, it is not rare to see other countries begin to pursue such 'beggar-thy-neighbour' policies. When this becomes the case and is widespread, the results are dismal for all involved. A good analogy is crowd behaviour in sports. If your view of the action is blocked by the person sitting in front of you, it is in your interest to stand up and get a better view, even if by so doing you prevent those behind you from seeing what is going on. However, if everyone stands up then the situation is no better than it would have been if they had remained seated, only now it is more uncomfortable. The concept of beggar thy neighbour is most aptly applied to the series of retaliatory polices that provoked the Great Depression in the 1930s.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Identify the factors that make beggar-thy-neighbour policies damaging to the international system?

4.0 CONCLUSION

The concepts reviewed in this unit have become sine qua non in the study of international relations. Concepts such as actor, alliances and authority are used almost on a daily basis in relation to situations on the international scene. The fresh student of international will increasingly come into contact, as he proceeds with his study, with most of the B concepts. In matters conservation, biodiversity has become almost like a generic word as it is bandied about at international fora. Although buffer states are no longer in vogue as they were during the cold war yet they are nonetheless still applicable in security matters.

5.0 SUMMARY

Discussions in this unit have been on international relations concepts beginning with the letter A and ending with B. The unit began with the concept actor and Administered Territory then on to Alliances, Anarchy, Appeasement, Arms Control, Arms Race, Arms Trade, ASEAN, Authority and concluded with Autonomy. Discussion on the B concepts has centred on the brief review of the concepts of balancing, buffer state, brinkmanship e.t.c. which are all concepts utilised by international scholars.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Given the intermittent outbreaks of civil conflict in Africa, critically examine the authority base of African heads of state?

Civil wars are a scourge of the African continent, what factors account for its prevalence on the continent?

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UNIT 2   C & D CONCEPTS

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objectives
3.0   Main Content

4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor Marked Assignment
7.0   References/Further Readings

1.0. INTRODUCTION

In this unit, we will highlight common concepts of international relations that begin with the letter C. The explanations have been streamlined in order to enhance understanding at first glance. This is to make you adept in the use of these concepts as they will come up regularly throughout your academic career and even beyond. You will also encounter these concepts in the media as they are freely utilised to describe international situations. Although these are abridgements yet they contain just enough to equip you with the kernel of the concept. Central to the discussion in this module is an in-depth discussion of the concepts. In this unit you will be also exposed to extant D-concepts familiar in international relations literature. The concepts have been elucidated in simple and succinct fashion to enable understanding.

2.0. OBJECTIVES
At the end of this unit, you should be able to:
(i) Enunciate on the concepts in your own words.
(ii) Outline their relevance to international relations.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1. Cable Network Factor

By the Cable Network factor it was meant that networks like CNN, BBC, Aljazeera etc. was inadvertently shaping news events by virtue of its aggressive live television coverage. This so-called factor revolves around two issues. The first concerns its impact on international relations. In the late 1980s, visions of capitalist prosperity invaded Eastern Europe by way of TV, underscoring the economic decay in communist states and as one regime fell news pictures inspired the next one much the same as in the recent so-called Arab spring. The second issue of debate has to do with whether the Cable Network factor is positive or negative. Sometimes television cameras can bring attention to problem spots that policymakers would rather stay away from. It is doubtful if the US would have intervened in the Somali crises in the early 1990s if not for pictures of starving children beamed around the world. However policymakers could deploy the camera to their own use, especially during war, by selectively presently favourable pictures to the world. This was the antic used by the US during the Gulf War where they showed the use of the so-called smart bombs which was supposed to limit casualty

although in reality they used more of the conventional bombs which inflicted huge human losses (see www.cssyolasite.com).

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Explain what is meant by the 'Network factor'? What are the two major issues underpinning this concept?

3.2. Capitalism

Capitalism is the economic system in which a majority of the factors of production are under private ownership. Capitalism began to replace feudalism in about 1400 and 1800 and by the nineteenth century had become dominant because of the rapid spread of the Industrial Revolution, which started in Britain in the mid-1700s. It was also in the same nineteenth century that the 'term' capitalism came to be associated with this particular economic phenomenon. The term 'capitalism' only came to be widely used in the later nineteenth century. Capitalism has three distinctive characteristics; the presence of capital which is used to create more wealth or profit; second, the presence of markets which provide information, predictability, and order. Third, under capitalism the two forms of power market and states are separated such that each is distinct from the other, in contrast to communism for example in which the state participates actively in economic matters. Although Capitalism is the principal economic system today with the fall of the Soviet Union, yet rapid globalisation and frequent economic crises often call its philosophy into question.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Why do you think the philosophy of capitalism is sometimes called into question?

3.3. Chain Ganging

Chain-ganging refers to unconditional and unlimited support to an ally, especially in a crisis setting. Providing such support can increase the risk of war through inadvertent escalation. Like buck-passing, many defensive realists see chain-ganging behaviour as more likely under multi-polarity than under bipolarity. Furthermore, like buck-passing, defensive realists see chain-ganging behaviour as an ultimately self-defeating strategy. Thomas J. Christensen and Jack Snyder write, "Given the anarchic setting and this relative equality, each state feels its own security integrally intertwined with the security

of its alliance partners. As a result, any nation that marches to war inexorably drags its alliance partners with it." The classic example of chain-ganging behaviour was unconditional support that Germany gave to its ally Austria-Hungary in the July 1914 crisis.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Explain chain-ganging? What conditions give rise to chain-ganging?

3.4. Coercion

Coercion refers to a range of strategies designed to get an adversary to act in a certain way, but without having to use brute force to secure compliance. The adversary must have the capacity for organized violence, but choose not to exercise it. Coercion generally relies on the threat of future military force to influence an adversary's decision making, but may also entail the limited use of force. Coercive strategies stand in opposition to what Thomas Schelling termed 'brute force." Brute force often succeeds when used, whereas the power to hurt will most likely succeed when held in reserve. Schelling writes, "It is threat of damage, or more damage to come, that can make someone yield of comply". Daniel Byman and Matthew Waxman write, "The limited use of actual force may form a key component of a coercion strategy if its purpose is to enhance credibility or demonstrate the type of price that continued defiance will bring". Deterrence and compellence are both forms of coercion.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Define coercion and explain how it is often utilised?

3.5. Cold War

The phrase "the Cold War" refers to a geopolitical reality over the period of time running approximately from 1945 to 1991. It began shortly after the Second World War; a war that was started by Germany and Japan as aggressor nations that sought to conquer other nations. They did fairly well at first, but then resistance to them grew stronger. In 1941, both the Soviet Union and the United States entered the war against Germany, and the coalition took on the name of the United Nations. The three countries in this alliance that were most significant militarily were the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union. They were called the "Big Three," and together they won the Second World War. The three countries made, in effect, a kind of deal that involved a division of the post war

world into two spheres of influence. In Europe, the line of division was specific and was drawn across the middle of Germany. At the end of the war, the Soviet Union's sphere covered approximately one-third of the world, running from the Oder-Neisse line in Germany to the northern half of Korea. The American sphere covered the other two-thirds of the world. This situation continued for some time with ups and downs. At some point in time it became less intense, during a period that was called détente, but then tension became more serious again. In the 1980s, Reagan became the President of the US, calling the Soviet Union an "evil empire." In 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev became the leader of the Soviet Union. He tried to reform the Soviet structure with perestroika and glasnost. One outcome of all of this was a series of largely bloodless revolts in 1989 in the erstwhile Soviet satellites in east-central Europe, and finally in 1991 came the collapse of the Soviet Union. It was the end of a bipolar situation; we had entered into a unipolar world.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the factors which led to the end of the cold war?

3.6.   Collective Security

In formal terms, collective security refers to a set of legally established mechanisms designed to prevent or suppress aggression by any state against any other state. Measures to dissuade aggression can range from diplomatic boycotts to the imposition of sanctions and even military action. For example, NATO is not a collective security system. It is an alliance, or perhaps it could be called a collective defence system. Ideally, in a global collective security system alliances are unnecessary. Collective security is attractive for a number of reasons such as ensuring security to all states, not just some of the most powerful; more certainty in the international system such as providing greater collective response to war and collective security is focused on an apparently clear problem – that of aggression, which is typically defined as the military violation of the territorial integrity and political independence of member states. The first major attempt to implement a system of collective security took place at the end of the First World War, with the signing of the League of Nations Covenant. However, the sorry history of the League of Nations in failing to maintain international peace and security (its successor, the United Nations, does not even mention the term 'collective security' in its Charter) reflects some fundamental problems with this concept as a means to maintain peace.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the reasons why collective security is attractive to states?

3.7. Commonwealth of Nations

The Commonwealth has been described as an organism which could evolve, but could not have been constructed from a blueprint. This distinguishes it from the United Nations, built around its charter in the conscious endeavour to establish universally-recognised standards for international conduct. Unlike other international official organisations, the character of the Commonwealth is less markedly that of an alliance or contractual arrangement then it is a family. Many Commonwealth presidents and prime ministers, and its Head, Queen Elizabeth II, have drawn attention to this feeling of family. Like a family, the Commonwealth exists because its members feel they have a natural connection of long standing.

Beginning from the early nineteenth century, British imperial policy began to soften under pressure for greater self-determination, initially mainly from the British-descended populations of the most advanced colonies. In the same way India and Pakistan achieved independence – as dominions and members of the Commonwealth – in 1947, and Sri Lanka followed in 1948. This laid the groundwork for the evolution of a multiracial Commonwealth. At the start of 2006, 37 of the 53 members did not have Queen Elizabeth II as titular head of state, but all accepted her as Head of the Commonwealth.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the major difference between the commonwealth and most organisations?

3.8.   Communism

Existing in various forms and guises since the eighteenth century communism as it is presently known was the work of Karl Marx. Communism originates from the Latin word 'communis' which means 'belonging to everyone'. This translates, in theory, to a society in which all share equally in the fruits of production and private property is abolished. In theory, a communist society is organised in such a way that individuals share in the fruits of their labours equally and hold property in common. Individuals contribute what they can and consume only what they need. Under this system there is no need for government since it is an agent of capitalist oppression so it necessarily withers away. They treat each other equally and fairly, regardless of gender, age, or nationality. Needless to say, this vision has never been fully realised in practice.

3.9.   Communal conflict

Conflicts within communities- states, nations, ethnic groups- are commonplace in international relations. However, if a communal conflict becomes chronic and persistent its dynamic can lead to civil war and even external intervention. Empirical evidence seems to suggest that certain changes take place within the conflict process which leads to these developments. The conflict changes from being about interests to being about values. That is to say, rather than disagreeing about what they want, the parties disagree about what they stand for. As a result new, more ideologically defined issues come to the forefront. These issues will be presented in a biased, one-sided context and, as a result, the conflict will become more violent and antagonistic. Once a cycle of violence and counter-violence has begun a communal conflict is close to becoming chronic and persistent. Individual acts of heroism or terrorism become mythologized into the folk history of the conflict. The process of polarization has now set in and clear physical lines of demarcation become evident between the communities. Often the physical movement of peoples will spontaneously occur as separate communities attempt to draw boundaries between each other. A new style of leadership will emerge to symbolize the polarization that is now evident to all. The new leadership will, moreover, have an investment in the continuation of the conflict.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the factors that lead to communal conflict?

3.10.   Containment

Kennan's ideas, which became the basis of the Truman administration's foreign policy, first came to public attention in 1947 in the form of an anonymous contribution to the journal *Foreign Affairs*, the so-called "X-Article." "The main element of any United States policy toward the Soviet Union," Kennan wrote, "must be that of a long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies." To that end, he called for countering "Soviet pressure against the free institutions of the Western world" through the "adroit and vigilant application of counter-force at a series of constantly shifting geographical and political points, corresponding to the shifts and manoeuvres of Soviet policy." Such a policy, Kennan predicted, would "promote

tendencies which must eventually find their outlet in either the break-up or the gradual mellowing of Soviet power." Despite all the criticisms and the various policy defeats that Kennan suffered in the early 1950's, containment in the more general sense of blocking the expansion of Soviet influence remained the basic strategy of the United States throughout the cold war. On the one hand, the United States did not withdraw into isolationism; on the other, it did not move to "roll back" Soviet power, as John Foster Dulles briefly advocated. It is possible to say that each succeeding administration after Truman's until the collapse of communism in 1989, adopted a variation of Kennan's containment policy and made it their own.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the basic principles underlying the concept of containment?

3.11.   Civil war

Civil war is protracted internal violence aimed at securing control of the political and legal apparatus of a state; because it is protracted, it is possible to distinguish a civil war from a coup d' 'tat. Because it is internal it is possible to distinguish a civil war from external intervention. Because it involves protracted violence it is possible to distinguish civil war from a communal conflict. In the analysis of civil wars it is generally possible to distinguish two sides: incumbents and insurgents.

  The role of third parties, external to the territory of the state, can be crucial in determining the outcome of civil wars. Most obviously third parties can provide assistance to incumbents or insurgents in a variety of ways. Diplomatic assistance — for example, by allowing insurgents to establish a government in exile — is both practical and symbolic. Economic assistance can help parties to finance the war. Finally, military assistance can provide the capability required to prosecute the violence. Such assistance is clearly a form of intervention, but this behaviour pattern can be taken much further if the third party actively engages its own forces in the war. Such interventions can be decisive, as the case of the Indian intervention in the Pakistan-Bangladesh civil war in 1971 shows.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the three instances from which civil wars can arise?

3.12.   Crisis

In international relations usage, a crisis is conceived as short time within which groups in conflict dictate an arising threat to its very survival and must respond to this danger with a very limited time with the possibility of an outbreak of war. The Cuban Missile crises is a very good example; as soon as the US spy plane detected the Soviet missiles in Cuban the American government responded almost at once by placing the entire island under naval blockade. This was one of the few moments during the cold war when the world came close to a nuclear war. In fact since that episode academic interest has grown in the study of crises in order to learn how to deal with future occurrences.

Whilst much of the theory on crisis management is developed at a high level of abstraction, four aspects of crisis decision-making are particularly pertinent. First, much has been learnt about the psychological effects of crises on decision-making. Second, it is common during a crisis for decision-makers to interpret the crisis according to pre-established fears and hopes. Third, there are some patterns of behaviour that can arise through the dynamics of small policy-making groups such as 'group- think' which means that individuals in the group begin to express similar views. This is brought about due to the cohesive and insulated nature of the group. Finally, much has been learnt about the difficulty of controlling crises. Foreign policy is often the result of predetermined 'standard operating procedures' operated by individuals and more often than not crises may develop in ways that are not within the control of those formally responsible for foreign policy.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Examine the four aspects of decision making?

3.13.   Debt Trap

Refers to an economic situation in which a state has to spend much of its earnings from trade on servicing its external debts rather than on economic and social development. It is a problem found majorly in the undeveloped countries. The beginning of the debt trap can be traced to the rise of oil prices in 1973 when the Organisation of Petroleum-Exporting Countries (OPEC) deposited their new oil wealth in Western banks. The banks in turn lent the money to third world countries suffering economic difficulty due to the oil increases. Unfortunately two occurrences in the international financial system led to difficulties in paying back the debts: First, the fixed exchange rate system that had been

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established after the Second World War collapsed, and states began to use interest rates to stabilise their exchange rates. Second, interest rates rose in the 1980s in response to trade and budget deficits in the United States. This triggered a recession in many industrialised states, thereby reducing export markets for poor states. As their export earnings fell, debt repayment obligations rose, leaving much of Africa and Latin America in a state of financial bankruptcy. In October 1996 the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) won agreement from their Boards of Governors for the establishment of the Highly Indebted Poor Country (HIPC) Initiative- this initiative is the first debt reduction mechanism advanced to confront the debt trap crisis.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the factors that led third world countries into the debt trap?

3.14. Decolonisation

The process whereby European control of overseas territories and peoples was ended. This culminated in the movement towards independence within these areas. A substantial increase in the number of states within the international system resulted and terms such as the Third World became increasingly used as collective expressions for these new actors. It should be noted that the correlation between being a former colony and being a Third World state is not perfect. The principal states involved in the process of decolonization were located in Europe. Two merit special identification: the United Kingdom and France. In the case of the former, decolonization led to the creation of the Commonwealth, which in its early years was significantly underpinned by economic ties, in particular the preferential tariff system of Imperial Preference and the Sterling Area. The French decolonization experience was more traumatic than that of the United Kingdom, particularly in Algeria and Vietnam. Unlike their near neighbours, the French were briefly attracted to the idea of assimilation rather than independence, and it was only when the Fourth Republic collapsed in 1958 that the issue was finally settled in favour of decolonization.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Evaluate the decolonisation experiences of France and the United Kingdom?

3.15.   De facto/de jure

Terms used in international law and diplomacy usually in association with recognition. De facto normally refers to provisional recognition that a particular government exercises factual sovereignty, whereas de jure implies recognition of both factual and legal sovereignty. The de facto variety thus implies doubt either about the long term viability of a regime or else of its legitimacy; de jure implies complete diplomatic acceptance of the new state or government. The guiding principle is usually whether or not a government exercises effective control over the territory of the state in question, but ideological issues can, and do, intrude. During the Cold War, for example, selective use or non-use of these recognition categories became important discretionary instruments for registering approval or disapproval. Thus, from 1949 to 1979 the United States refused de jure recognition of communist China. De facto recognition is not necessarily a pre-condition of de jure recognition although in practice this has tended to be the case as it was in the Sino-American example above. The differences between them are not just a matter of degree or of political preference since de jure recognition entails the establishment of normal diplomatic relations whereas de facto does not of itself include the exchange of diplomatic relations.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Explain the de facto and the de jure principle?

3.16.   Democratisation

This concept refers to the growth or spread of democracy from its traditional bastion in Europe and probably North America to the rest of the world especially in the aftermath of the cold war. The optimism that greeted the initial surge of democratisation has now cooled considerably as a large number of third world countries remain stuck in the initial phases of the process. There are important differences between electoral democracy, which most third world countries practise, and liberal democracy. Liberal democracy is a system of government that meets the following conditions: meaningful and extensive competition among individuals and organised groups (especially political parties) for all effective positions of government power, at regular intervals and excluding the use of force; a highly inclusive level of political participation in the selection of leaders and policies, at least through regular and fair elections, such that no major (adult) social group is excluded; a level of civil and political liberties – freedom of expression, freedom of the press, freedom to form and join organisations – sufficient to ensure the integrity of

political competition and participation. Electoral democracies may hold periodic elections and thus demonstrate some measure of political competition and popular participation, but large parts of the population are often kept out of the political process. Moreover, the military and other important parts of the state are frequently isolated from democratic control, the media may be censored, and the courts may be corrupt and ineffective. In short, elections take place but democracy has not developed in most other respects. Examples of electoral democracies are Brazil, Burkina Faso, Congo, El Salvador, Indonesia, Kenya, Malaysia, Russia, Tanzania, Turkey, Ukraine, and Zambia.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the major difference between electoral democracy and liberal democracy?

3.17. Dependency

Dependency refers to exogenously imposed conditions whereby the exposure of Third World states to foreign direct investment (FDI), unequal trade agreements, interest payments on debt, and the exchange of raw materials for higher-priced manufactured goods create structurally unequal relations between the core and the periphery. The core countries include countries from Europe and North America while the periphery is made up of countries from the third world countries of Africa, Asia and South America. Furthermore these core societies are economically diversified (in the 20th Century that means industrialized), rich and powerful societies that are relatively independent of outside control. On the other hand the Peripheral Societies are economically overspecialized, relatively poor and weak societies that are subject to manipulation or direct control by core powers. The concept of dependency came abroad in the 1960s and 1970s to account for these structural inequalities in global wealth and power. Dependency theory draws on the work of the structural school of international political economy developed in the 1930s by the Latin American economist Raul Prebisch.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the distinguishing factors between peripheral and core countries?

3.18. Deterrence

Deterrence is another form of coercion. The term refers to the use of threats and promises in effort to persuade a target state not to undertake a particular action that the deter finds objectionable. In the abstract, deterrence involves attempts to prevent an as yet un-

materialized action for occurring in the first place, such as dissuading an adversary from attacking its neighbours or convincing a state not to begin a nuclear weapons program. The defender (the state that attempts to deter) seeks to alter the cost-benefit calculations of a target state by convincing that the pain of punishment will exceed any potential benefit that may result from undertaking an action. Deterrence theorists make distinctions among various types of deterrence relationships:

3.18.1   General deterrence: involves the use of contingent threats and promises to prevent an action, regardless of whether a potential adversary actually plans to undertake it or not; general deterrence threats are always present to some degree. An example of general deterrence would be the United States' nuclear posture since the late 1940s. The implicit threat of nuclear retaliation dissuades other states from attacking the U.S. homeland.

 3.18.2   Immediate deterrence: involves efforts to persuade an adversary not to undertake a specific, planned event. The main distinction between immediate deterrence and general deterrence stems the likelihood of an adversary undertaking an undesirable action. An example of immediate deterrence is the 1970 Israeli warning to Syria not to escalate after the initial failure of its invasion of Jordan: the warning prevented a particular, imminent Syrian invasion from materializing.

3.18.3   Extended deterrence: involves efforts by one state to defend an ally against attack by a third state. An example of extended deterrence would be the 1961 U.S.-Japan Security Treaty. This treaty obligates the United States to come to the defence of Japan if that a third state attacks the Japanese home islands. The threat of American military intervention in defence of Japan, however remote, deters that country's potential adversaries—the former Soviet Union, and now the Peoples' Republic of China and North Korea.

3.18.4   Extended immediate deterrence: involves efforts by one state to defend an ally against an attack by a third state viewed as highly likely in the near future. Arguably, the current crisis on the Korean peninsula (October 2002-present) is a case of extended immediate deterrence.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the factors why countries undertake general deterrence, immediate deterrence, extended deterrence and extended immediate deterrence.

3.19.   Development

The word 'development' is difficult to define because of the varying perspectives from which it is viewed. One way that development is often measured is in terms of changes in gross national product (GNP) per capita and comparative GNPs between countries. A country is said to be developing if its GNP is increasing. If the gap between its GNP and those of the so-called 'developed' countries is decreasing, the country is said to be moving from being a less developed country to being a highly developed country. On these terms, the newly industrialising countries (NICs) such as Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan, and Hong Kong are sometimes said to be rapidly reaching the developed countries. However, there are many problems with measuring development purely in terms of GNP per capita or economic growth such as wealth disparity which leads the richest in the society to grow richer at the expense of the majority; depletion of non-renewable resources and massive pollution and the neglect of civil and political liberties. Thus to use the GNP per capita is not a useful yardstick of gauging development. Economic growth is simply a factor but not the whole story of development and to see it as such is to negate the concept of development.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the reasons why GNP per capital is not a true criterion for the measurement of growth?

3.20.   Diaspora

The term 'Diaspora' was originally coined to describe the circumstance of Jews who lived outside of Palestine after the Babylonian exile but has now evolved to other cultural groups living outside their traditional homeland. Due to this diversity an exclusive definition of the term is impossible rather it is pertinent to note that there are three types of diaspora; victim diasporas, such as Jews, Armenians, and Africans. These are groups whose history is one of systematic oppression in which they have either fled or been forcibly removed from their homeland; Second, there are labour and imperial diasporas, such as the Indians and British, respectively. The British Diaspora in this regard refers to descendants of British colonial administrators who have remained in former colonies rather than returning home. Finally, there are trade Diasporas such as the overseas Chinese or Lebanese, whose entrepreneurial and trade skills have allowed them to prosper outside their country of origin.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the three types of diaspora?

3.21. Diplomacy

Diplomacy is the entire process through which states conduct their foreign relations. It is the means for allies to cooperate and for adversaries to resolve conflicts without force. It is interesting to note that serious confrontations between the great powers since 1815 have ended in force only about 10 per cent of the time. The routine business of international affairs is conducted through the peaceful instrument of diplomacy. In a more narrow sense, diplomacy is the implementation of foreign policy, as distinct from the process of policy formation. Diplomats may influence policy, but their main task is to negotiate with the representatives of other countries. Ambassadors, ministers, and envoys are official spokespersons for their country abroad and the instruments through which states maintain regular direct contact. The importance of diplomacy arises from the fact that most foreign policies are stated very generally, without spelling out measures for implementation. A good diplomat must adapt such policy mandates to the circumstances of the moment. Moreover, there are numerous occasions when the demands of a particular situation might justify an exception to policy, and for this a state often relies on the wisdom of its diplomatic officers in the field. Diplomacy is the vehicle through which a state asserts itself and represents its concerns to the world and also it is also one of the principal means for conciliating competing national interests. There are three main functions of diplomacy – intelligence gathering, image management, and policy implementation. The United Nations is also an important forum for diplomatic exchange as many issues of modern diplomacy are addressed in this multilateral forum.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Explain diplomacy and outline its three major functions in international relations setting?

3.22. Disarmament

Refers to the attempt to drastically reduce arms, it is different from arms controls in that arms control concerns restraint but not reduction in the stock of arms. Historically, disarmament has taken place via two methods. First, after a war, disarmament has often been imposed on the defeated state by the victor. For example, in 1919 the Treaty of Versailles limited the German army to 100,000 troops, thereby effectively eliminating an offensive army. A similar restriction was placed on Germany and Japan after the Second

World War. Secondly there is voluntary disarmament, in which states seek to negotiate a mutually acceptable framework within which all parties will reduce the size of their military establishments. A third form of disarmament is regional disarmament which aims to eliminate weapons from a particular geographic area. Four main regional agreements remain in effect; the 1967 Treaty of Tlatelolco, which prohibits nuclear weapons in the South America; the 1959 Antarctic Treaty bans the use of Antarctica for any military purposes; a 1971 treaty bans nuclear weapons on the seabed, and in 1967 treaty prohibits the placing of nuclear weapons in outer space.

4.0   CONCLUSION

C – Concepts are the most voluminous in this review and they also contain a number of important concepts some of which have been in use since the cold war. In fact the 'cold war' is a major concept in the collection of the C-Concepts. Communal conflict for instance is a concept that has lately become popular in Nigeria following the rash of intra-ethnic conflicts. The most popular concept among the D concepts would be democratisation which is a process being witnessed all over the world particularly in Africa. Debt trap until a few years ago was a big issue too in the third world; development also remains a major talking point.

5.0   SUMMARY

Discussion in this unit has been on some of the most extant concepts in international relations such as the Cable Network factor which looks at the influence of communications technology on global issues, common security such as exemplified by NATO, communal crises which is a form of local warfare as seen often in Nigeria and civil wars which characterise the African continent. Discussion in this unit has also focused on the examination of the basic concepts in international relations beginning with the letter D. We reviewed debt Trap, disarmament, decolonisation, De facto/ De jure, democratisation, dependency, deterrence, development, Diaspora, diplomacy.

6.0   TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Civil wars are a scourge of the African continent, what factors account for its prevalence on the continent?

Discuss the relevance and applicability of deterrence in the contemporary era?

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UNIT 3: E & F CONCEPTS

CONTENTS

1.0.   INTRODUCTION

The previous unit examined the basic C & D concepts, their development and the contexts in which they could be utilized. This unit further examines the E & F concepts and their place in international relations. We will be discussing important concepts such as failed state. In general, a failed state is a sovereign political community that has little or no ability to provide basic public goods to its populace. Chief among those public goods are: basic security from external and internal threats (e.g., military defence, control of borders, and the suppression of insurgencies), law and order, physical infrastructure, education and human services, and economic stability. State failure and state stability are not dichotomous. Instead, one might conceive of the state failure phenomenon as a continuum—failed states, failing states, weak states, and recovering states—depending

on their relative ability to provide public goods. Angola, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan, and Somalia are examples of states currently experiencing state failure. Conversely, post-Taliban Afghanistan, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Cambodia, and Sierra Leone are examples of states recovering from failure.

2.0. OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:
(i) Enunciate and discuss basic E & F concepts in international relations.
 (ii) Outline the major arguments underlying the concepts.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1. Ecowas

Although the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was not officially established until 1975, there were several events which preceded the signing and led to what is now known as ECOWAS. Former Liberian President William Tubman is credited with developing the idea of creating a West African economic community. His idea spurred the signing of an agreement between Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea, Liberia, and Sierra Leone in February 1965; however, the agreement was more of a formality than an actual call to action. General Gowon of Nigeria and General Eyadema of Togo reintroduced the idea in April 1972. These generals drafted proposals for a new community and then spent July and August of 1973 travelling to 12 countries in West Africa to assess interest and to elicit support. The treaty draft was further examined at a meeting of potential member states in Lomé, Togo, during December 1973; at a meeting of experts and jurists in Accra, Ghana, during January 1974; and at a meeting of ministers in Monrovia, Liberia, during January 1975.

On May 28, 1975, 15 West African countries met in Lagos, Nigeria, to sign the ECOWAS Treaty, also known as the Treaty of Lagos. These fifteen countries were Benin, Burkina Faso (then known as Upper Volta), Cote d'Ivoire, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo. The ECOWAS Treaty, which created the Economic Community of West African States, was intended to promote cooperation and integration within West Africa and to eventually establish an economic and monetary union. Two years later, in 1977, Cape Verde became the sixteenth member of ECOWAS. On July 24, 1993, the 16 members of ECOWAS signed a revised treaty. In accordance with the text of the revised

treaty, all community conventions, protocols, decisions, and resolutions made in the 1975 treaty were to remain valid and enforced, except for those that were inconsistent with the revised treaty. The revisions that were presented in the 1993 version of the treaty were made with the two basic goals of accelerating the integration of economic policy and improving political cooperation. To accelerate economic integration, the revised treaty outlined the necessary steps for the establishment of a common market and a shared currency. To achieve the goal of improving political cooperation, the revised treaty established a West African Parliament, an Economic and Social Council, and an ECOWAS Court of Justice, to replace the existing Tribunal and to enforce community decisions. The revised treaty designated the responsibility of preventing and settling regional conflicts to the member states.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the goals behind the revisions in 1993 of the ECOWAS treaty?

3.2.   Empire

A relationship of control imposed on the sovereignty of other states, societies, or territories. Empires differ greatly in geographic scope, internal governance, and in the degree of effective control that centre or imperial state exercises over the periphery. They also differ greatly in duration. Formal empires include the Roman Empire, the Byzantine Empire, the British Empire (1700-1960), the Ottoman Empire, and Austria-Hungary. More informal empires would include the Athenian empire during the Peloponnesian War (the former Delian League), the Japanese sphere of influence in Manchuria and northern China in the late 1920s and early 1930s, the Soviet empire in Eastern and Central Europe during the cold war (1945-90), and the American forward military presence in Western Europe and East Asia since 1945.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Explain the concept of empire?

3.3.   Elite

This refers to a general term for a leading portion of a total population in a community and is often used to describe superiority in everyday usage. It can be further narrowed down by adding the prefixes 'political', 'economic', 'cultural' which means the leading individuals of each group. Elite theories and the ideology of elitism originated with political sociology and the early work in this field was Almond's The American People

and Foreign Policy (1966). Though not a full apostle of elitism he was able to show vividly social stratification based upon a division of labour and a division of influence. This social hierarchy depended upon a fourfold division which had at the base the masses; followed by the attentive public. Sitting at the top of these two were policy elites and, at the peak, the formal office holders. The growth in the number of state actors in world politics since 1945 has stimulated new interest in elite theories of policy-making. In many respects the structural analysis of Third World states seems to reflect classical elitist characteristics and structures. Furthermore Western education is a requirement for admission into the elite ranks.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the components of Almond's social hierarchy?

3.4.   Enclave

This refers to the territory of one state surrounded by the territory of another. Thus, Walvis Bay in South West Africa was, until 1993, part of the domestic sovereign jurisdiction of the Republic of South Africa despite being surrounded by Namibia. Similarly, West Berlin was an enclave hemmed in by East Germany, as is the thirty-two square mile Republic of San Marino, in this case surrounded by Italy.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify outside the examples above an enclave in Africa?

3.5.   Ethnicity

The word ethnicity is derived from the Greek ethnos (which in turn derived from the word ethnikos), meaning nation. It was used in this sense in English from the mid-fourteenth century until the mid- nineteenth century, when it gradually began to refer to racial characteristics. In international relations, it refers to aspects of relationships between groups that consider themselves, and are regarded by others, as being culturally distinctive. Contrary to a widespread commonsense view, cultural difference between two groups is not the decisive feature of ethnicity. For ethnicity to come about, the groups must entertain ideas of each other as being culturally different from each other. Conversely, some groups may seem culturally similar, yet there can be a socially highly relevant (and even volatile) interethnic relationship between them. This would be the case of the relationship between Serbs and Croats following the break-up of Yugoslavia.

There may also be considerable cultural variation within a group without ethnicity. Only in so far as cultural differences are perceived as being important, and are made politically relevant, do social relationships have an ethnic element.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the major factor that leads to ethnicity?

3.6. Ethnic cleansing

A modern euphemism for the systematic, deliberate and often brutal forced removal of members of one or more ethnic groups from territory claimed by another ethnic group. In theory, it can be distinguished from genocide, but in practice the two are often indistinguishable. Other concepts associated with the term are communal conflict', 'cultural conflict' and 'ethno- national conflict', all of which are said to be variants of a new and virulent form of racism based on the ideology of nationalism. From 1992 to 1996 in the former Yugoslavia, ethnic cleansing was practised by Serbs and Croats against each other, and more especially against Bosnian Muslims. The common tools were the organized use of intimidation, terror, rape, starvation and murder to effect forced removals. The objective was to alter the map of Bosnia-Herzegovina in favour of the perpetrators. The international community, because of its predilections for the Westphalia presumptions of state sovereignty and its corollary non-intervention, has thus far not been able to develop a coherent response to this phenomenon.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the major factor why the international community has not being able to tackle ethnic cleansing?

3.7. Ethnic nationalism (sometimes rendered as Ethno-nationalism)

This refers to the sentiment of belonging to a group identified by ties of ethnicity as well as, or in preference to, those of the nation-state. Most states are in fact multi-national or multi-ethnic and in this way ethnic nationalism may simply be seen as recognizing a fact of political life. On the other hand, it may lead to expressions of irredentism or secession as political goals, in which case it becomes a movement or political tendency. Like any group sentiment, ethnicity is both subjective and objective in its causes and effects. If a people define themselves as different then they will perceive themselves as different, but

at the same time this perception will require tangible points of reference such as linguistic, cultural, tribal or religious similarity.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Explain ethnic nationalism in your own words?

3.8. European Union (EU)

The European Union as an umbrella organisation came into existence only in November 1993, after the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty. The EU now consists of 15 member states. Its original membership of six was gradually enlarged over time. Belgium, Germany, France, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands were the original member states. European cooperation leading to the creation of the EU has evolved throughout the post-1945 era, marked by the signing of key treaties to promote further integration:

• Treaty of Rome (1958). This initial agreement established the basic principle of freedom of movement of goods, persons, services, and capital.
• Single European Act (1987). This is an effort to complete the integrated market by striving for harmonisation of regulations
• Maastricht Treaty (1992). This treaty represents a deepening of integration, including monetary union and social policies such as working conditions. The key institutions of the EU are the Council of Ministers, the European Commission, the European Parliament, and the European Court of Justice.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify and summarise the ideals behind the key treaties of the European Union (EU)?

3.9. Exploitation

Within the Marxist tradition of thought, the concept of exploitation has a very specific meaning, and is linked to a particular theory of how capitalism works. Marx argued that all past civilised societies had a social class structure, founded economically on class control of the surplus product. Marx argued that this social surplus has always been appropriated by a small minority of the population, thereby dividing the society into a class of producers and a class of appropriators of the social product. In Marx's language, the appropriation of the surplus product by a narrow class is exploitation of the producing class. According to the traditional Marxist concept of exploitation, people are exploited if they work more hours than the labour time embodied in the goods that they can buy for

their income. It should be said that even when labour values are well defined, it would be very difficult to calculate them and hence very difficult to draw the exact dividing line between the exploited and the exploiters. The Marxist definition of exploitation has few supporters today for the simple reason that hardly anyone takes his theory of labour value very seriously.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the drawbacks of the concept of exploitation according to Marx?

3.10.   Failed state

In general, a failed state is a sovereign political community that has little or no ability to provide basic public goods to its populace. Chief among those public goods are: basic security from external and internal threats (e.g., military defence, control of borders, and the suppression of insurgencies), law and order, physical infrastructure, education and human services, and economic stability. State failure and state stability are not dichotomous. Instead, one might conceive of the state failure phenomenon as a continuum—failed states, failing states, weak states, and recovering states—depending on their relative ability to provide public goods. Angola, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan, and Somalia are examples of states currently experiencing state failure. Conversely, post-Taliban Afghanistan, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Cambodia, and Sierra Leone are examples of states recovering from failure.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Distinguish a failed state from a stable state? Identify the features of state failure?

3.11.   Federalism

This term is used in two contexts. The first, to describe and explain how legitimate power is shared in constituent political units — the federation. Second, as an explanation and perhaps prescription of how integration might be achieved between previously separate state actors. As a means of describing and explaining the division of legitimate power or authority in federations, federalism postulates as an initial position a tension or conflict between centripetal and centrifugal forces. This conflict will be settled by the several parties signing a constitutional bargain which will stipulate where the jurisdictions of the centre and the periphery lie. Thus certain issue areas will be reserved for the centre, others retained by the periphery. Normally defence, foreign affairs and macroeconomic

policy are handled exclusively at the centre. Conversely, the periphery will retain some revenue raising power, control over social and welfare services and some small discretion regarding penal codes and provisions. Federalism is a favoured system of government in large, culturally diverse states.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Distinguish clearly the two perspectives on federalism?

3.12. Feudalism

Refers to a system of authority based on the negotiation of obligation; or (2) a highly de-centralized form of political organization based upon personal ties, wherein leaders secure armed forces through private contracts. Feudalism was the predominate type of political order in Western Europe from the collapse of the Carolingian empire in the A.D. 800s until the emergence of dynastic state in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Feudalism was type of political order in Japan from the end of the Heian period in the mid-twelfth century until the overthrow of the Tokugawa shogunate and the Meiji Restoration in the mid-nineteenth century.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Explain feudalism?

3.13. Foreign Aid

Refers simply to the transfer of resources from a richer country to a less developed one in order to aid development; there is a longstanding debate over the desirability and effectiveness of foreign aid from rich to poor states. Supporters of foreign aid programmes argue that aid is necessary to help capital-poor countries acquire new skills and technology, finance ventures that do not fit commercial criteria and a moral obligation to assist the poor wherever the coloniser's industrial wealth was created with Third World resources. Critics of foreign aid have argued that; the amounts are pitiful in light of the magnitude of the problem and that much of its foreign aid is in the form of military goods that contribute nothing to economic prosperity. In many less developed countries, there is a negative correlation between aid flows and growth performance. Africa, for example, receives ten times more aid per capita than Latin America or East Asia and yet performs far worse by most or all economic measures. There are several explanations, but one point is clear. By removing a hard budget constraint, aid in flows to

a country can impede the formation of a domestic consensus on the need for difficult economic reforms.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the criticisms against foreign aid?

3.14. Foreign policy

Foreign policy dictates how a country will act with respect to other countries politically, socially, economically, and militarily, and to a somewhat lesser extent, how it behaves towards non-state actors. Foreign policy can also be known as international relations policy or simply diplomacy. It seems likely that foreign policy, in some form, has been around since the early days of humanity on the plains of Africa, when large tribes would presumably interact from time to time without engaging in all-out war. Today, foreign policy is handled by foreign ministers, ambassadors, and/or the Secretary of State (in the US). Although foreign policy has always been important, it is especially true today, when air travel makes the world smaller and more interconnected, and powerful weapons make the risk of diplomatic breakdown all the more dire. Many thinkers in the field put the genesis of modern foreign policy and statesmanship with Cardinal Richelieu, a statesman in early 17th century France. Richelieu became famous for consolidating French power, making France among the first of the Great Powers, and feuding with the Hapsburg dynasty, which ruled in both Austria and Spain. He ordered all the castles of the lesser nobility and feudal lords to be razed, causing the royalty of France to become more powerful than ever before.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Outline the distinguishing characteristics of foreign policy?

3.15.   Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)

The transfer of capital, personnel, know-how, and technology from one country to another for the purpose of establishing or acquiring income-generating assets. There are two main types of FDI. The first is fixed asset investment, in which the investing company maintains a significant level of physical control over the asset (such as a manufacturing plant) during the life of the investment. The second is portfolio investment – the acquisition of shares and stocks located in foreign countries. FDI is not a new phenomenon. Indeed, it was an important component in European colonialism. Yet over the last 20 years, levels of FDI have increased dramatically. When foreign firms invest

abroad, they do so for a variety of reasons: to gain access to resources or raw materials; to reduce costs; to expand markets; to follow their customers; or to compete with other firms. There is a debate in the literature whether FDI is, in fact, a conduit for wealth extraction rather than for domestic development. Some observers argue that FDI creates jobs, increases the revenue and tax bases of the host government, facilitates the transfer of technology and human capital, and ultimately promotes development, economic growth, and prosperity. Opponents, on the other hand, argue that FDI serves to extract more national wealth than it contributes to the host country; create a skewed or uneven pattern of economic development; cause countries, in order to attract FDI, to offer incentives that lead to loose of revenue.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the criticisms against Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)?

3.16.   Free Trade

This concept refers to what is more accurately called open trade, or trade between countries based on the laws of comparative advantage. Comparative advantage is the low relative cost of a good compared with its relative cost in other countries. 'Relative cost' means the cost of a good relative to other goods. It is this price ratio that is to be compared across countries. In practice, every country has a comparative advantage in some goods. The importance of the concept of comparative advantage is the economic theory that generates the laws of comparative advantage, first discovered by the political economist David Ricardo in the eighteenth century. Free trade is not an unambiguously good thing. Some people and firms lose from trade, and the case for free trade is only that other people and firms gain more. Consequently, if we are interested in increasing global economic growth, we are better off not restricting trade. In addition to promoting global growth and net wealth, supporters of free trade point to other benefits such as that; open trade fosters competition; trade promotes consumer choice; open trade relieves short-ages of certain goods and that free trade has a tendency to reduce wage differences between countries, which in turn can reduce the incentive to emigrate. In practice, however, the world is far from achieving the gains from free trade as the world remains divided among national and regional markets, and the tendency is towards greater regionalism rather than a single global market for trade.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the components and benefits of free trade?

3.17. Frontier

A zone of contact between two entities or social systems; it should be distinguished from boundary which implies more or less strict territorial limits. Frontier is a much vaguer concept and is projected outwards ('in front') rather than inwards ('within bounds'). A frontier zone therefore refers to an area of delineation between different domains. It is often used in a metaphorical sense (`the frontiers of knowledge') but in international relations it has tended to signify contact zones between one civilization or culture and another. Thus, the history of European imperialism is often presented as a record of pushing forward 'the frontiers of the known world'. Implicit in this notion was the implication that frontiers were not immediately or obviously subject to the post-Westphalia rules of international contact (non-intervention, sovereignty and recognition) that had been established by the boundary- conscious Europeans in their dealings with one another. This double standard has always been a feature of frontier politics especially as practised by, but not in relation to, the European state-system.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Distinguish between frontier and boundary in international relations?

3.18. Functionalism

Functionalism is the idea that international cooperation should begin by dealing with specific transnational problems (such as disease control) where there is some prospect of applying specialised technical knowledge and where the success of temporary functional arrangements will hopefully lead to further efforts to replicate the experience in an ever-widening process. In the early years after the Second World War, this expectation was raised by the recognition that governments faced a growing responsibility to provide welfare to their citizens, a responsibility that they could not fulfil in isolation. It also postulated that the transfer of functional responsibilities to international agencies with specific mandates to deal with issues over which there is a wide international consensus will over time erode the principle of territorial and legal sovereignty.
What became known as neo-functionalism was a more moderate conceptual tool for elaborating the process of integration in Western Europe and its largely associated with the work of Ernst Haas.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Outline the benefits to the international community of the functionalist thought?

4.0. CONCLUSION

Some of the concepts highlighted above such as Empire have to all intents and purposes gone into obsolesce. However we have also seen the inclusion of a new concept 'ethnic-cleansing' into international relations vocabulary. F-concepts are interesting for the singular reason that it contains the concept of 'failed state' which has gained currency in international relations usage. Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) is also an important concept practically because every country, but more the emerging economies, desires an influx of it.

5.0 SUMMARY

The unit has elucidated on the nature of E-concepts such as; Empire, European Union (EU) Elite, Exploitation, Enclave, Ethnicity, Ethnic Cleansing, Ethnic Nationalism, Ethno-centrism, Extra-Territoriality, Euro. We also examined F concepts such as the Failed State, Federalism, Feudalism, Foreign Aid, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), Free Trade, Frontier, and Functionalism.

6.0. TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Critically exam the peaceful ways that military power could be utilized to confront the challenges of the 21st Century?

Is the prevalence of free trade likely to engender global peace? Discuss

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UNIT 4:   G & H CONCEPTS

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1.0.   INTRODUCTION

The unit will discuss green issues such as global warming which has grown in importance due to environmental concerns globally. In order to provide the fresh students with a lasting foundation, the discussions will be succinct but detailed. This unit will open you up also to current themes in international relations under the G & H- concepts. As usual the explanation will be detailed and concise.

2.0.   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:
(i) List the concepts as discussed
(ii) Outline and discuss the concepts in your own words and draw inferences from happenings in the international system

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Genocide

The term derives from the Greek word 'genos', which means race or tribe, and the Latin word 'cide', which means to kill. It is the process of engineering the eradication of a people because of their nationality, race, ethnicity, or religion. Article 2 of the United Nations Convention of the Punishment and Prevention of the Crime of Genocide lists five genocidal acts to include: killing members of the group; causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; forcibly transferring children from the group to another group. What distinguishes genocide from other forms of killing is the scale and intentionality of the act. Factors which contribute to genocide include ethnic nationalism, religious intolerance, and ideological confrontation to longstanding struggles for political power. It is usually exacerbated by hard economic times, civil wars, and periods of political instability. However, the success of the international community in dealing with the problem has been extremely poor.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Define genocide and list the factors that may bring it about?

3.2.   Globalisation

A term that refers to the acceleration and intensification of mechanisms, processes, and activities that are allegedly promoting global interdependence and perhaps, eventually, global political and economic integration. Globalisation has certain identifiable characteristics, although lacking in universal agreement, such as; a prevalent and universal belief of the world as a single place made manifest by phrases such as 'the global village'; second, new information and communications technology have improved access to overseas markets; greater cooperation at a supranational level on general problems such as global warming, the international drugs trade, and terrorism. Fourth, some observers argue that globalisation is erasing cultural differences. Sociologists, for example, like to talk about the Coca-Colaisation or McDonaldisation of global culture. Finally, some observers claim that the sovereign state's capacity for independent political action is weakened by globalisation as domestic economic policy is subject to global market forces and any state that tries to impose its will risks international economic

ostracism. The causes of globalisation are many. Among the most important are liberal capitalism and the revolution in information and communications technologies. There is no agreement among scholars as to the origins of globalisation. It has been dated as far back as the dawn of Western civilisation; for some it lies in the appearance of the modern state system while for others it began with the laying of the first transatlantic telegraph cable in the mid-nineteenth century. Critics of globalisation say it is a code word for American hegemony and the liberation of multinational corporations from effective control and regulation, a complaint which has accompanied the rise of 'anti-globalisation' movements in recent years. While some cultural specialists view it as a pernicious force threatening the survival of local cultures and ways of life.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the features, causes and drawbacks of globalisation?

3.3. Global Warming

Refers to global climatic change due to increasing atmospheric concentrations of so-called 'greenhouse gases' (notably carbon dioxide and chlorofluorocarbons or CFCs) has dominated the environmental agenda since the mid-1980s and has engendered considerable international political debate. Global warming is closely connected with the impact of rises in greenhouse gases on the thin layer of ozone present in the stratosphere above the earth. Ozone absorbs incoming ultraviolet radiation from the sun, thus preventing the earth from overheating. In 1985 scientists discovered what soon became identified as a hole in the ozone layer over the Antarctic although today, such holes is no longer confined to the Southern Hemisphere. Despite prompt international action to reduce chlorofluoro-carbons, past emissions will continue to cause ozone depletion for several decades and full recovery is not expected until about 2050 at the earliest. Available evidence shows that the twentieth century is the warmest of the second millennium as the planet has warmed at the surface by about 0.6°C over the past century. In 1992, more than 150 states participated in the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (the Earth Summit) in which they agreed to the reduction of carbon dioxide emissions to 1990 levels.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Outline the major cause of ozone depletion?

3.4. Great Powers

Great powers, as the words suggest, are the most influential states in the international system at any one time. For five centuries, the world's most powerful states – the Portuguese, Spanish, and Italians in the sixteenth century; the Swedes and the Danes in the seventeenth century; the British, French, and Germans in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; and, finally, the Americans and the Russians in the twentieth century – have assumed the mantle of great powers. During the cold war, the United States and the Soviet Union called themselves superpowers due to their enormous nuclear arsenal. In the post- cold war world, Germany and Japan wield significant economic might, but they lack both the political will and the military potential for great power status. With an economy smaller than that of Spain at present, it is difficult to see Russia, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, emerging as a great power for many years, despite its continuing regional dominance in Central Asia. At the same time, China, with its vast economic potential and its rising military capability, will probably emerge in the coming decades as an influential force in global affairs. At present, the United States is the only state with superpower capability in all spheres.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the major reason why superpower status cannot be ascribed to Japan and Germany despite their enormous economic wealth?

3.5. Group of Seven (G7)

An intergovernmental organisation (IGO) comprising the world's leading industrial powers. Its members include the United States, Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Japan, and Canada. However the G7 title is now archaic as Russia is now a full member and the European Union participates in the annual summits. However, the inclusion of Russia is more a feature of its old cold war status than its economic strength. Certainly, the inclusion of Russia as a formal member means that G8 is now a more accurate name for this organisation. The three main aims of the G7/G8 have remained relatively constant since the first summit in Rambouillet, France, in 1975 and they are to; provide global leadership on economic issues; coordinate global economic policy among member countries and to assist in the spread of liberal democracy and capitalism. Thus the G7/8 also has a strong political and social agenda. A familiar criticism of the G7/G8 is that it has never lived up to its expectations, which is, in the main, the development of a coordinated set of economic policies to manage the global economy.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the three fundamental basis of the G8?

3.6. Hegemony

Hegemony is a concept meaning primacy or leadership. In an international system this leadership would be exercised by a 'hegemon', a state possessing sufficient capability to fulfil this role. Other states in the system would thereafter have to define their relationship with the hegemon. This they might do by acquiescing, by opposing or by remaining indifferent to its leadership. It is clear that sufficient numbers of states, out of the total system membership, must take the first option in order to establish hegemonial control. This acquiescence can be called 'hegemonic consent'. Since the role of hegemonial actor depends upon capability, the concept of hegemony bears a strong family resemblance to the concept of power. Capability analysis of hegemonial actors needs to be constantly vigilant against crude realism which tends to operationalize the concept in strictly economic and military terms. Although these are important, it should be stressed that a hegemon's ability to lead is derived as much from what it stands for as from how it seeks to achieve its goals. Writers are agreed that the United Kingdom in the nineteenth century and the United States in the twentieth constitute examples of hegemons.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
When does a country become a hegemon? Outline and discuss

3.7. Hierarchy

A hierarchy is a system of stratification. All social systems show evidence of stratification although the basis of this will differ. In the international system, stratification is based upon power and status. Taking these two dimensions as independent variables, it is possible to stipulate hierarchies based upon models which take power and status to be factors which are distributed unevenly between member states. As a result the relationships which develop within these hierarchies produce unequal outcomes between member states in the system. Recently neorealist writers like Waltz (1979) have sought to contrast the idea of hierarchy with the idea of anarchy. According to this view, because the system is an anarchy it cannot be a hierarchy. It might be thought that by defining hierarchy in this way the school of neo-realism has

denied itself a potentially powerful instrument of analysis widely used within social theory.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
State the two foundations on which hierarchy is based on in international relations?

3.8. Human Rights

The term 'human rights' is strongly associated with the founding of the United Nations (UN) in 1945, and the adoption by the UN General Assembly of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. It replaced the phrase 'natural rights', as well as the phrase 'the rights of Man', which was not universally understood to include the rights of women. There are four basic characteristics of human rights. First, regardless of their ultimate origin or justification, human rights represent individual or group demands (usually the former) for the shaping and sharing of power, wealth, and other human goods. Second, human rights commonly refer to fundamental as distinct from nonessential claims or goods. Third, most assertions of human rights are qualified by the limitation that the rights of any particular individual or group are properly restricted as much as is necessary to secure the comparable rights of others. Finally, if a right is determined to be a human right, it is understood to be universal in character, equally possessed by all human beings. It is common to distinguish between three generations of human rights that succeeded each other historically. A first generation of civil and political rights derives from the seventeenth and eighteenth century revolutions in Britain, France, and the United States and imbued with the political philosophy of liberal individualism. They are laid down in Articles 2–21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and include:

• freedom from gender, racial, and equivalent forms of discrimination; • the right to life, liberty, and the security of the person; • freedom from slavery or involuntary servitude; • freedom from torture and from cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment; • freedom from arbitrary arrest, detention, or exile; • the right to a fair and public trial; • freedom from interference in privacy and correspondence; • freedom of movement and residence; • the right to asylum from persecution; • freedom of thought, conscience, and religion; • freedom of opinion and expression; • freedom of peaceful assembly and association; • the right to participate in government, directly or through free elections; • the right to own property and the right not to be deprived of it arbitrarily. What is

constant in this first-generation conception, however, is the notion of liberty against the abuse and misuse of political authority.

A second generation of economic, social, and cultural rights finds its origins primarily in the socialist tradition. The rights in this category respond in large part to the abuses and misuses of capitalist development arising in part from the first generation of civil and political rights. These positive rights are listed in Articles 22–27 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and include: • the right to social security; • the right to work and to protection against unemployment; • the right to rest and leisure, including periodic holidays with pay; • the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well- being of self and family; • the right to education; • the right to the protection of one's scientific, literary, and artistic production.

Finally, a third generation of solidarity rights is a product of both the rise and the decline of the nation-state in the last half of the twentieth century. Three of these rights reflect the emergence of Third World nationalism and its revolution of rising expectations, i.e. its demand for a global redistribution of power, wealth, and other important values: the right to political, economic, social, and cultural self-determination; the right to economic and social development; and the right to participate in and benefit from 'the common heritage of mankind'. The other three third-generation rights – the right to peace, the right to a healthy and sustainable environment, and the right to humanitarian disaster relief – suggest the impotence or inefficiency of the nation-state in certain critical respects. Primary responsibility for the promotion and protection of human rights under the UN Charter rests with the General Assembly and, under its authority, the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), the Commission on Human Rights, and the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNHCHR).

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Outline and enunciate on the three generation of human rights?

3.9. Humanitarian Intervention

Humanitarian intervention refers to (forcible) action by one state or a group of states in the territory of another state without the consent of the latter, undertaken on humanitarian grounds. It usually involves military force, but it need not be. Humanitarian intervention must be distinguished from humanitarian aid, whose delivery requires the consent of the receiving government. Humanitarian aid is consistent with state sovereignty.

Humanitarian intervention is not and is also expressly forbidden in the United Nations Charter (Article 2 (4) (7)) precisely because it undermines state sovereignty.

Since traditional peacekeeping missions were ineffective, it was argued that the use of force to include humanitarian intervention should be legitimised. There are, however, three key problems with this argument whose solution continues to elude the international community. First, although it is true that humanitarian intervention under- mines state sovereignty, the relationship is a complex one. The word 'intervention' implies that the act is designed to influence the conduct of the internal affairs of a state, and not to annex or to take it over. Second, who are the appropriate agents to properly engage in humanitarian intervention? There is not one single instance of humanitarian intervention where the motive to intervene was not one of a number of goals. Finally, humanitarian intervention is intended to address what is regarded as a violation of human rights. Since the views on the latter are culturally conditioned, no definition of humanitarian intervention can be culturally neutral.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
State the problems associated with humanitarian intervention?

4.0. CONCLUSION

Thus we have noted that concepts like globalisation will continue to grow in intellectual importance as writers and scholars continue to make inferences based on this expanding phenomenon. No less important however are concepts such as global warming and genocide which has also gained great salience. The recent trend toward democracy has increased also the obsession with themes such as human rights and humanitarian intervention. Thus in the world today almost any happening is viewed in the light of its contravention of one right or the other. Armed interventions have also led to the disposition of legitimate governments.

5.0 SUMMARY

Discussions in this unit have focused on the review of concepts such as; Genocide, Globalisation, Global warming, Great Powers and Group of Seven (G7).   Discussion of the H concepts has been on Hegemony, Hierarchy, Human Rights and Humanitarian Intervention.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Examine critically how the forces of globalisation and revolution in military technology have changed the context of armed conflicts in the 21st Century.

The recent humanitarian interventions so-called have been termed grievous by certain scholars while for others it would help guarantee universal adherence to the respect of human rights. **Discuss**

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UNIT 5: I & J CONCEPTS

CONTENTS

1.0 Introduction
2.0 Objectives
3.0 Main Content
4.0 Conclusion
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1.0. INTRODUCTION

This unit continues with the discussion of concepts; in this unit we shall explore I-concepts in the process throwing light on such familiar terms as insurgency, international system and inter-paradigm debate. This Unit will further examine the legal provisions regulating the conduct of warfare. Discussions in this unit is structured around three themes – legal provision for the establishment of National Armed Forces; International Conventions regulating the conduct of warfare; and the principles of the Just War Theory. It is important to state that though warfare indicates violence and ruthlessness to subdue an opponent, there are limits to excesses either on the battlefield or aftermath the war and these provisions are recognised internationally with provisions of sanctions to defaulters. The outbreak of war does not in any way grants permission to trample on the basic

human rights of opponents neither does it confer approval to use inappropriate weapons for the conduct of war. These issues are fully examined in this Unit.

2.0. OBJECTIVES

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

(i) Identify the concepts as they obtain in international relations practice in world politics

(ii) State, discuss and define the concepts intelligently

3.0. MAIN CONTENT

3.1. Idealism

Idealism allegedly dominated the study of international relations from the end of the First World War until the late 1930s. Sometimes referred to as utopianism, idealism is in fact a variant of liberal internationalism. Notable liberal idealists are Immanuel Kant, Richard Cobden, John Hobson, Norman Angell, Alfred Zimmern, and Woodrow Wilson.

Idealism came to prominence in reaction to the carnage of the First World War. Most intellectuals and policymakers of the day pointed the finger at the Real politick of the European great powers and set themselves the task of abolishing war as an instrument of statecraft. Generally speaking, the idealists shared a belief in progress and were of the view that the procedures of parliamentary democracy and deliberation under the rule of law could be firmly established in inter- national diplomacy. This is why they placed so much importance on the League of Nations and on strengthening international law. Idealism fell into disrepute with the collapse of the League of Nations and the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939. From an intellectual perspective, however, it was the critique of E. H. Carr, a British Marxist, which completely undermined its credibility.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Examine the beliefs or foundations of idealism?

3.2. International Law

There are two kinds of international law: private and public. The former is concerned with the resolution of international disputes between individuals and companies, while the latter governs relations between states. It includes such things as claims to territory, use of the sea, arms control, and human rights. All states have a supreme law-making body. The international community, however, has no equivalent authority. Instead, treaties are the principal means by which states establish legal obligations binding on

each other. Since there are more and more activities that require international cooperation, treaties have proliferated and now deal with an enormous variety of subjects. There are two main types of treaties. A bilateral treaty is concluded between two states whereas a multi- lateral treaty is concluded by more than two states. The most significant treaties are multilateral treaties concluded between all the states of the world. Each state has its own constitutional practices regulating the treaty- making power of its government. Customary international law is the second most important source of international law. It is formed by the common practices of states, which over a period of time become accepted as legally binding. Until fairly recently, customary international law was the principal means by which international law was developed, but it has proved too slow to accommodate the rapidly changing nature of international law. Today the multilateral treaty has overtaken it. The third main source of international law is United Nations Resolutions. Passed by the General Assembly as recommendations in the first instance, they may create international legal obligations by influencing the formation of customary international law and lead to the creation of multilateral treaties dealing with the issues raised by the Resolution.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Distinguish the sources of international law?

3.3. International Monetary Fund (IMF)

The Great Depression of the 1930s had an enormous impact on the advanced industrialised states. The 1944 Conference had two main goals: to stabilise the value of money and to promote international trade. Along with the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) was created to facilitate both these goals. Article 1 of the IMF's Charter states that its purpose is to: • promote international monetary cooperation; • facilitate the expansion and balanced growth of international trade; • promote and maintain high levels of employment; • promote exchange stability and avoid competitive exchange rate depreciation; • eliminate foreign exchange restrictions; • offer resources to countries to correct maladjustments in their balance of payments without resorting to measures destructive of national or international prosperity; • shorten the duration and lessen the degree of disequilibrium in the international balance of payments of its members. Today, the IMF has more critics than friends. Some economists suggest that the world economy would function better without it and that many of its SAPs exacerbate crises rather than alleviate them.

3.4. International institution

International institutions are persistent and connected sets of rules (formal or informal) that prescribe behavioural roles, constrain activity, and shape expectations. Institutions can range from formal international organizations, such as the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund, and NATO, to more informal agreements such as the Law of the Seas Convention and the Kyoto Protocol.

3.5. International system

Kenneth Waltz defines an international system as "the spontaneous product of the co-action of similar units in an anarchic environment. Just as the competition between different producers in a domestic setting spontaneously generates a market, so the interaction of states spontaneously generates an international system." An international system differs from a domestic political system because of (a) the ordering principle of the system (anarchy versus hierarchy), (b) the nature of the units that comprise the system, and (c) the distribution of capabilities among those units; (2) Robert Gilpin defines an international system as system as the aggregation of diverse entities united by regular interaction according to a form of control.

3.6. Imperialism

Derived from the Latin word imperium it refers to the relationship of a hegemonic state to subordinate states, nations or peoples under its control. An imperial policy therefore usually means a deliberate projection of a state's power beyond the area of its original jurisdiction with the object of forming one coherent political and administrative unit under the control of the hegemon. An empire can result in full economic and political

integration of its subjects in the form of a supranational entity whereas colonies are separate and subordinate by definition. In practice though, the two concepts often overlap.

Territorial expansion is an age-old phenomenon but in the modern world it is usual to identify two distinct phases: (a) mercantilist or dynastic imperialism which dates roughly from 1492 to 1763 and which saw the Western hemisphere and much of Asia come under European control and (b) 'new' imperialism 1870-1914, which witnessed the subjugation by Europe of most of Africa and part of the Far East. In the development of theories of imperialism it is the second phase that has attracted the most attention. The first major effort in this direction was J.A. Hobson's Imperialism (1902), which linked the phenomenon with the demands of maturing capitalism for markets, investment opportunities, raw materials and cheap labour. Hobson's thesis was revived by Lenin in Imperialism: The Highest State of Capitalism (1916), which subsequently formed the basis of the communist view of international relations and the causes of the wars which would eventually destroy capitalism itself.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the theories which underpin imperialism?

3.7. Insurgency

Insurgency is an armed insurrection or rebellion against an established system of government in a state. If the violent challenge by the insurgents is forcefully resisted by the incumbents, and it normally is, a civil or internal war situation will result. Such outcomes lead to protracted violence between the parties. Insurgencies are normally aimed at one of two goals. Centripetal insurgencies seek to replace the incumbent regime with a system of government more conducive to the interests and inclinations of the insurgents. Typical within this category are movements for the independence of colonial peoples and territories which seek via the insurgency to end formal colonial control. Centrifugal insurgencies, on the other hand, are aimed at secession from the incumbent state and the formation of a new entity. In the present system centrifugal insurgencies are likely to be associated with the expression of ethnic nationalism. Since insurgencies are protracted conflicts, external or third party intervention is the norm rather than the exception, certainly in the macro-political system post-1945. Third party intervention tends towards one of three typologies. First, a third party may attempt to mediate between the insurgents and the incumbents. Second, intervention may occur because the external

actor has been drawn into the violence as an ally or protector of one of the parties. Third, an outside party can use an insurgency to penetrate the state concerned militarily and/or economically for its own interests.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
List the ways through which a third party may be drawn into an insurgency?

3.8. Integration

Integration is both a process and an end state. The aim of the end state sought when actors integrate is a political community. The process or processes include the means or instruments whereby that political community is achieved. There is an important proviso which must be entered immediately. The process of integration should be voluntary and consensual. Integration which proceeds by force and coercion is imperialism. An integrated political community must possess certain structural characteristics. Thus typically among states integration will produce a collective configuration of decision-making that will be closer to supranational ideal type rather than the international. For instance, collective decisions might be taken by a majority of the membership and the strict unanimity principle would be abandoned. The need for policy integration will be particularly important if the nascent community is responsible for the allocation of goods and services between the constituent units. This will certainly be the case in those instances where political community building is predicated upon economic integration via customs unions and common markets. This aspect of community building has particularly exercised the interest and attention of students of integration in the post-1945 period. At a minimum, integration presupposes the existence of a security community, that is to say a system of relationships which has renounced force and coercion as means of settling differences.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
State the characteristics associated with an integrated society?

3.9. Internal colonialism

This term is used in two senses in IR. The first sense is largely economic, the second political. Economically, internal colonialism refers to underdevelopment within a state or region as a result of unequal exchange between the periphery and the core. First employed by Gramsci and Lenin it highlighted the discriminatory economic policies of

the central state (Italy and Russia) and the consequence of this for regions within them. Basically this involved a marked contrast between the wealth of urban core areas and the poverty of peripheral rural ones. It is particularly associated with theories of development and was frequently employed by Marxist and neo-Marxist analysts of apartheid in South Africa to explain the wide disparities of wealth and privilege between whites and blacks. In the second sense of the term, it is used to describe cultural and political divisions, rather than purely economic ones (though these are all related). Thus, in the UK for example, internal colonialism refers to the relationship between England (the core) and the Celtic fringes, Scotland, Ireland and Wales. These three countries tended to develop specialized export economies which were directly related to the needs of the core and instead of political assimilation all these maintained separate cultural and political traditions. Politically therefore, the term is closely allied to theories of imperialism, nationalism and secessionism.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Discuss the two perspectives of internal colonialism?

3.10. Irredentism

A term derived from the nineteenth-century Italian movement for national unification. In this context it referred to territories such as Trente, Dalmatia, Trieste and Fiume which had cultural and ethnic ties with Italy but which lay outside the physical control of the new Italian state. They were thus waiting to be 'recovered' or 'redeemed' for the nascent national community. Irredentism can be defined as a territorial claim made by one state to areas under the sovereign authority of another state. The term has passed into general political discourse in the twentieth century.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Under what conditions may irredentism arise?

3.11. Isolationism

A political strategy committed to minimal diplomatic participation in the international system. The fundamental idea behind isolationism is that a state will be more secure and less prone to external interference if it limits its contact with other states. Four factors make it possible for a state to pursue such a course of action. First, either it must already be relatively free from the threat of invasion or so powerful that it does not need to form

alliances in order to defend itself. Second, an isolationist state needs to be economically self-sufficient. Third, isolationism requires either political consensus or strong authoritarian rule to with- stand domestic challenges to its foreign policy. Finally, geopolitical considerations are important. A state that is geographically remote or surrounded by a mountain range, ocean, or desert is in a significantly better position to pursue isolationism than one that is land-locked. Although a number of states have pursued a deliberate policy of isolationism at various times over the past 200 years (including Japan and Ethiopia), the most famous example is the United States. American isolationism was first spelled out by President George Washington in his 'Farewell Address' in 1797 which he argued that America should 'steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world'.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the four factors that promotes isolationism in foreign affairs?

3.12. Just War

The principles of just war are usually divided into two sections. The first, jus ad bellum, refers to the justice of deciding to participate in a war. The second, jus in bello, refers to the rules of morality which govern the way any war may be conducted.

3.12.1. PRINCIPLES OF JUST WAR

Jus ad Bellum (Just Recourse to War): Just Cause Legitimate Authority Just Intentions Public Declaration (of Causes and Intents)
Proportionality (More Good than Evil Results) Last Resort Reasonable Hope of Success
Jus in Bello (Just Conduct in War): Discrimination (Non-combatant Immunity) Proportionality (Amount and Type of Force Used)
Each of these main principles merits elaboration.
Just cause: Just cause means having right on your side. In general, just cause focuses on the principle of self-defence against un-justified aggressive actions.
 Legitimate authority: Legitimate authority refers to the lawfully constituted government of a sovereign state. Only the primary authority of the state has the power to commit its citizens to war.

 Just intentions: St Thomas Aquinas, who based just-war theory upon natural law, first articulated this element of jus ad bellum in Western thought at length. Revenge is not a

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morally acceptable basis for conducting war. The war must be prosecuted with reluctance, restraint, and a willingness to accept peace when the objectives that justified the war in the first place have been achieved.

Public declaration: The purpose of this requirement is to state clearly the casus belli and the terms under which peace might be restored.

Proportionality: In terms of jus ad bellum, or justification for going to war, proportionality means having a reasonable relationship between the goals and objectives to be achieved and the means which are used to achieve them.

Last resort: It means that negotiations, compromise, economic sanctions, appeals to higher authority (the United Nations, for example), and the like must be pursued to redress grievances, if possible, before resort to war is justified.

Reasonable hope of success: The state must not squander the lives and property of its citizens in a hopeless effort.

Discrimination: The basic principle here is that non-combatants should be immune from attack.

Proportionality: With respect to jus in bello, proportionality means that the amount and type of force used must be such that the unjust consequences do not exceed the legitimate objectives.

Over time, the just-war tradition has evolved from a set of principles designed to cover relations between Christian princes to more secular versions that rest ultimately on a consensus among states that their continued independence should not be overturned by force of arms.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
How should a 'just war' be conducted according to the principles of *Jus ad Bellum* and *Jut in Bello'*

4.0. CONCLUSION

As noted in the introduction there are concepts under the 'I' canopy that are deep seated in the international system and indeed local politics. Chief among these concepts is the concept of insurgency with which Nigeria, given the Boko Haram insurgency, is very familiar with. Then there is the problem of ethnic integration in most African states. The laws of war make provisions to guide decision-makers on the appropriateness of their conduct during the resort to war, conduct during the war and the termination phase of the conflict. Its over-all aim is to try and ensure that wars are begun only for a very narrow set of truly defensible reasons, that when wars break out, they are fought in a responsibly

controlled and targeted manner, and that the parties to the dispute bring their war to an end in a speedy and responsible fashion that respects the requirements of justice.

5.0. SUMMARY

In this unit we explored the concepts of International institution, International System, Imperialism, Insurgency, Integration, Internal Colonialism, and Irredentism. We have examined the legal provisions guiding the conduct of armed conflicts in the contemporary international system. The provisions for the establishment and regulation of the armed forces are established by the Act of the National Assembly while there are many international laws that regulate the conduct of war. We have examined the various provisions of the Geneva Convention and Geneva Protocols.

6.0 TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Is a Just War still a feasible in the 21st century?

Despite the so-called principle of just war can war ever be justified under any circumstances? **Discuss**

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MODULE 3: L - Z CONCEPTS

INTRODUCTION

Module 3 provides a general overview of the nature of concepts spanning L – Z. Within these concepts, you will come into contact with familiar terms in international relations. This module, which is made up of five units, focuses on the concepts at the heart of international relations.

Unit 1   L & M - Concepts
Unit 2   N & O - Concepts
Unit 3   P & Q - Concepts
Unit 4   R & S - Concepts
Unit 5   T, U, W & Z - Concepts

UNIT 1: L & M CONCEPTS

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
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1.0.   INTRODUCTION

In this Unit we shall look at discussions concerning L & M Concepts which contain some important concepts in international relations. For instance there is a wide debate over whether liberal internationalism is the sole ideology in global affairs given the demise of communism? We will also look at other important concepts such as land reform and loose nukes, which are daily on the fore in diplomatic discourse. As regards the M - Concepts in international relations we shall examine concepts such as multilateralism which is assuming growing importance in world affairs. Furthermore, there will be an exploration of Multi-National Corporation (MNC) which no country in the world has been able to escape.

2.0. OBJECTIVES

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

(i) List relevant examples to suit each concept from the international system

(ii) Identify and discuss the basic issues surrounding each concept

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1. League of Nations

The League of Nations (LON) as the predecessor to the United Nations represented a major attempt by the great powers after the First World War (1914–18) to institutionalise a system of collective security, and its founding Covenant was formulated as part of the Treaty of Versailles (1919). The first meeting was held in Geneva in 1920, with 42 states represented rising to 63 states over the next 26 years. The last meeting was held in 1946, at the end of which the League was formally replaced by the United Nations which promptly moved its headquarters to New York, reflecting not only the status of the United States but also disillusionment with the performance of the League. Like the United Nations, the League consisted of an Assembly, a Council, and a Secretariat. Several other organisations were also associated with the League such as the World Court and the International Labour Organisation. To some extent, the League was an extension of liberal, parliamentary practice to international relations an idea deeply held by one of the main architects of the League, US President Woodrow Wilson.

The failure of the League to deter or punish aggression by Italy, Japan, and ultimately Germany in the 1930s reflected some fundamental flaws in the design of the League. It should be noted that the League was never fully representative of the international community. The United States was not a member of the League. South Africa and Liberia were the only African states. The Soviet Union was not invited to Versailles, and did not join the League until 1934. Few South American states were represented, and only China, Japan, and Thailand represented Asia. Germany was missing from the start in light of its alleged responsibility for the First World War. The ultimate failure of the League to maintain international peace and security was a product of its limited membership, its preservation of a territorial settlement that humiliated Germany and its faith in the willingness of great powers to subordinate their short-term national interests to the preservation of international peace. Confronted with the rise of fascism in Italy, Germany, and Japan in the 1930s – a powerful bloc of states that glorified war and

embarked on a sustained rearmament programme to achieve their aim to re-configure the global balance of power in their favour – the League was impotent.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the reasons for the failure of the League of Nations?

3.2.   Low-intensity conflict (LIC)

A relative term used predominantly by American strategic analysts to identify a class of conflicts in which commitment by the United States is limited. The term has always been used with the Third World in mind historically but recently its remit has been expanded to cover a wider range of contingencies including drug control and anti-terrorist measures. Typically the kinds of forces required for intervention in low- intensity conflicts are held to be highly mobile, functionally specific units with perhaps a commitment to self- reliance beyond the conventional norm. The support capabilities required for this kind of force structure again emphasizes flexibility and mobility.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Enunciate on the nature of forces needed for intervention in Low-intensity conflict?

3.3. Long cycle theory

One recent focus of research in international relations theory is that of "long cycle theory," associated primarily with George Modelski and William Thompson, which posits serial cycles of hegemonic dominance — Venice, Portugal, the Netherlands, Great Britain, the United States — lasting approximately for one century. These hegemonic cycles are highly correlated with, or underpinned by, maritime and commercial dominance. Some aspects of long cycle theory have been contested by the rival "world systems" theory, that has fewer cycles and a disinclination to separate the military and economic dimensions of hegemony. Heretofore, naval power, as reflected in capital ship construction and orders of battle, has been used to measure maritime dominance. There are additionally, interesting conceptual questions about the basis for basing access, as it has evolved historically; specifically, from a basis in conquest to one dependent upon diplomacy and various quid pro quo.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Examine the postulations of Long-Cycle theory vis-à-vis current happenings in the international system?

3.4. Loose Nukes

They refer to nuclear material that has been stolen from installations and military bases in the former Soviet Union and offered for sale on the black market; this material includes warheads, weapons components, and fissile material such as highly enriched uranium (HEU) and weapons- grade plutonium. The theft of nuclear material is not a new problem, but it has become acute since the end of the cold war and the collapse of the former Soviet Union. It is difficult to determine the extent of the problem. Most of the information is anecdotal and hard to verify. Officials within Russia's nuclear industry have consistently argued that a black market in nuclear materials does not exist. On the other hand, Western experts have suggested that such a market has been thriving since the early 1990s. They have been justified with the arrest of a number of smugglers and intermediaries in Germany, the Czech Republic, Turkey, and elsewhere in Europe. In 1994, half a kilogram of nuclear weapons-grade material was discovered at Munich Airport. In the same year, German police arrested a known criminal for possession of 5.6 grams of plutonium.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Why do you think loose nukes became a challenge at the end of the cold war?

3.5. Major War (hegemonic war or world war)

A major or hegemonic war has three defining attributes: (1) the conflict involves all the great powers in the international system; (2) the combatants fight at the highest level of intensity; and (3) there is strong possibility that one or more of the great powers could face extinction as a sovereign unit. Major wars are vastly destructive conflicts in which the very leadership of the international system (that is, the distribution of territory, rights, and privileges) is at stake. Classical realism, neorealist balance-of- power theory, and hegemonic theory disagree over which international system is more prone to the outbreak of major war. Major wars that occurred in multipolar systems include: the Thirty Years' War (1618-48); the wars of Louis XIV (1688-1714); the Seven Years' War (1756-63); the Napoleonic Wars (1803-15); the First World War (1914-18); and the Second World War (1939- 45). Major wars that occurred in bipolar systems include: the Peloponnesian War (431-404 B.C.); the second Pubic War between Rome and Carthage (218-202 B.C.); and the French-Habsburg War (1521-56).

3.6. Multi-polarity

A type of system structure with at least three 'poles' or actors being identified as predominant. This domination is dependent upon the idea of capability or power potential as the essential defining possession of the 'poles'. The actors that dominate a multipolar system need not be states; blocs or coalitions may qualify. Historically, the classic example of a multipolar system was the balance of power. As Walt (1987) has shown the act of balancing against a perceived threat in this type of system leads to the formation of alliances. Conversely if states do not balance against a threat, then they may bandwagon behind it. Waltz (1979) has argued that multipolarity increases uncertainties between the polar actors and therefore enhances instability. Polar actors may resolve this uncertainty by committing themselves to another party come what may — as Germany did to Austria—Hungary before 1914. Alternatively they may 'pass the buck' onto another party — as Britain and France attempted to embroil the Soviet Union against Germany before 1939. Since both these multipolar systems collapsed into systemic war, the empirical implication is clear-multipolarity is less stable.

3.7. Mercantilism

Mercantilism is an economic philosophy that believes that economic management should be part of the state's pursuit of its national interests, defined in terms of wealth, power, and prestige. Francis Bacon, an early defender of this philosophy, wrote that there was a direct line 'from shipping to Indies, from Indies to treasure, and from treasure to greatness'. Consequently, mercantilists are not interested in improving the quality of life of humanity or of fostering mutual cooperation among states in the international system. Their primary goal is the maximisation of power and they see economic activity as a vehicle for achieving this end. In order to achieve 'greatness' through 'treasure', mercantilist states typically do two things. First, their goal is to produce goods for export while at the same time keeping imports low. Second, they will gear their industries to producing value-added products from cheap imported raw material. In theory if not in practice, mercantilism fell into disrepute towards the end of the eighteenth century. One

reason for this was the publication of Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations (1776). Among other criticisms of mercantilism, Smith suggested that it was inefficient for a state to produce a product that could be produced more cheaply elsewhere. Later this would become the basis for David Ricardo's theory of comparative advantage and the doctrine of free trade. However, Protectionist and neo-mercantilist policies still continue to be a part of the economic thinking of some states.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
List and analyse the criticisms of mercantilist economic philosophy?

3.8. Mercenary

Traditionally, mercenaries have been defined as non-nationals hired to take direct part in armed conflicts. The primary motivation is monetary gain rather than loyalty to a nation-state. Although most notoriously associated with the colonial days of Africa, mercenaries have been used in virtually every corner of the globe and have existed since war began. There are four different types of mercenary; the traditional mercenaries whose primary motivations are profit or adventure; the second type comprises small military groups that work for a host government and provide security for a specific region; the third type are those compelled by ideology or religion to train and fight in foreign areas. Finally, the most recent development is the organisation of mercenaries into firms with internal structures similar to those of multi- national corporations. Whereas paid soldiers of the previous three groups fall under the jurisdiction, at least in principle, of domestic or international customary law, employees of international business corporations answer only to the firm. Perhaps the most successful and highly publicised mercenary firms are Executive Outcomes (based in South Africa) and Sandline International (London).

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the four kinds of mercenaries and the methods suggested of curtailing their activities?

3.9. Middle Power

Middle powers are neither great nor small powers, which is true by definition. The problem with the term is that there are far too many states that fall into the category and unlike great powers, which had never been more than five or six great powers at one time in the international system, middle powers do not behave in similar ways to each other.

There have been some attempts to generate a list of middle powers. For example, using 1975 gross national product (GNP) data, Carsten Holbraad identified 18 states by focusing on their prominence in particular regions; Nigeria and South Africa for Africa; China, Japan, Iran, and India for Asia; the United Kingdom, Spain, Italy, Poland, France, and the Federal Republic of Germany for Europe; Mexico and Canada for Central and North America; Argentina and Brazil for South America; and Indonesia and Australia for 'Oceania'. Similar attempts have generated different lists over time, but this list is sufficient to repudiate the idea that behaviour is a function of status.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Examine the problems encountered in trying to define a middle power?

3.10. Multilateralism

Multilateralism is a particular way of bringing together international actors to support cooperation, incorporating principles of non-discrimination, diffuse reciprocity, and generalised institutional structures. This term refers to three characteristics or principles underlying relations among states or groups of states and other actors in specific issue areas (particularly trade). The principles are non-discrimination, indivisibility, and diffuse reciprocity. Non-discrimination means that states should carry out their treaty obligations without any contingencies or exceptions based on alliances. The most often cited example of such non-discrimination is the obligation of states to extend Most Favoured Nation (MFN) status to all other states in the trading regime governed by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and its successor, the World Trade Organisation (WTO). Next is the principle of indivisibility. In the context of military cooperation, for example, states are required to meet their commitments to all other states in a collective security agreement. Finally, the principle of diffuse reciprocity means that continuity in the application of the principles of non-discrimination and indivisibility is an essential ingredient of multilateral arrangements.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the essential features of multilateralism?

3.11. Multinational Corporation (MNC)

Sometimes called multinational enterprises (MNEs) or transnational corporations (TNCs), these are powerful actors that carry out commercial activities for profit in more

than one country. The largest 100 corporations are estimated to account for about one-third of global foreign direct investment (FDI). Although there are more than 53,000 MNCs worldwide (and approximately 450,000 affiliate and subsidiary firms), most of the top 500 corporations have their headquarters in OECD member states. In the eyes of many critics they are predators, accused of toppling elected governments, exploiting under-developed countries, engaging in illegal activities, ignoring human rights, and wilfully damaging the environment. During the 1970s, for example, ITT and Anaconda Copper (with the help of the CIA) were accused of overthrowing the democratically elected socialist government of Salvador Allende in order to retrieve their nationalised assets. At the same time, defenders of multinational corporations portray them as engines of progress, innovative in research and development, a modernising force in international relations, and the best hope for overcoming the chronic under-development and poverty in the Third World.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the negative impacts of MNCs on global affairs? Why are MNCs much sought after and yet so despised?

3.12. Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD)

 MAD can be defined as a condition where it is not rational to attack another state without being devastated in return; it is a relationship between two states in which each can destroy the other's society even after absorbing an all-out attack (or first strike) by the other state. In short, each state has an invulnerable second-strike capability. MAD is closely associated with the concept of deterrence. But deterrence cannot succeed unless two conditions are present. First, the threat of retaliation has to be credible. Second, a state must have the capability to retaliate once it is attacked. The central question for policymakers during the cold war was how to ensure that these conditions were achieved. Broadly speaking, there were two competing approaches. Nuclear utilisation theory (NUT) sought not only to use nuclear weapons to deter the former Soviet Union, but also to develop such weapons into a war-fighting instrument. MAD is usually associated with Robert McNamara, John F. Kennedy's Secretary of Defence in the early 1960s. McNamara tried to determine what level of damage the United States would have to inflict on the Soviet Union to be sure that the latter would not contemplate a first, or pre-emptive, strike against the United States and its allies in Western Europe. There is no doubt that the end of the cold war has altered nuclear thinking dramatically. In this

context, traditional theories of deterrence are no longer applicable in quite the same way as they were at the height of the cold war.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Examine the philosophy of MAD and why is it no longer relevant in today's world?

4.0. CONCLUSION

The collapse of communism in 1989 has led to fears of proliferation of nuclear materials popularly referred to as loose nukes. International relation concepts such as Multi-National Corporations (MNC) have become one of the major actors in the international system and have been chastised or praised by writers. Though mercenaries are no longer as rampant as they used to be yet they continue to be used especially in conflict areas in Africa.

5.0. SUMMARY

The unit has examined and succinctly explored concepts such as League of Nation, Liberalism (idealism), Low-Intensity-Conflict, and Loose Nukes. Our discussions on M concepts have focused on like major war, muti-polarity, mercantilism, mercenary, middle power, multilateralism, Multi-National Corporation (MNC), Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD).

6.0   TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT

With the seeming conclusive demise of communism, is it fair to argue that liberal internationalism is the future destiny of the world? Discuss

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UNIT 2: N & O CONCEPTS

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1.0. INTRODUCTION

The previous Unit examined the M-Concepts. This unit will explore N-Concepts which contains some of the most commonly used terms in international relations. In fact after the C-Concepts the N-Concepts has the largest entry in this volume. In this unit we shall review a limited number of concepts under the O-Concepts. This however does not make them any less important. The concepts are majorly theoretical so care has been taken to ensure that the explanation is simplified in order to ease understanding.

2. OBJECTIVES
At the end of this unit, you should be able to:
(i)   Discuss the concepts as they pertain to the international system
(ii) Outline and analyze the impact of the concepts as pertaining current world affairs

3.0. MAIN CONTENT

3.1. Nation

A society in which people identify with one another on the basis of ethnic, linguistic, religious, cultural, or other commonalties. Contrary to the conventional usage, in the IR sub field of political science the terms "nation" and "state" are not synonymous. There are many stateless nations throughout the world, most notably the Kurds, the Palestinians, and Chechens. There are several states that actually contain several nations, including the former Soviet Union (and now Russia), the Peoples' Republic of China, the former Yugoslavia (and its successor states), the United States, and Iraq. Properly speaking, the United States is a state, not a nation. A Nation-state is a sovereign state whose borders roughly correspond to the demographic patterns of the nation.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the grounds that make a people a nation?

3.2. National Interest

This concept is usually used in two related ways. On the one hand, the word interest implies a need that has, by some standard of justification, attained the status of an acceptable claim on behalf of the state. On the other hand, the national interest is also used to describe and support particular policies. The problem is how to determine the criteria that can establish a correspondence between the national interest expressed as a principle and the sorts of policies by which it is advanced. In formal terms, one can identify two attributes of such policies. The first is one of inclusiveness, according to which the policies should concern the country as a whole, or at least a sufficiently substantial subset of its membership to transcend the specific interests of particular groups. In contrast, the second attribute is one of exclusiveness. The national interest does not necessarily include the interests of groups outside the state, although it may do so. In the absence of democratically aggregated and expressed judgements on the matter, the link between foreign policy and the national interest cannot be known. This does not mean that nondemocratic countries lack a national interest – merely that we cannot know what it is if it is not defined by democratic procedures.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Examine the reason why national interest is difficult to define?

3.3. Nation-state

The nation-state is the dominant political entity of the modern world and as such can be considered to be the primary unit of international relations. However, it is a comparatively recent phenomenon. It developed in Europe between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries after the collapse of the Holy Roman Empire and the emergence of the centralized state claiming exclusive and monopolistic authority within a defined territorial area. Absolute political power within the community and independence outside it are characteristic features. With the emergence of a number of such political formations the modern framework of international relations began to take shape, that is, separate political units interacting within a context where no final arbiter or authority is recognized or indeed present. Historically, the fusion of 'nation' and 'state' post-dated the process of political centralization and it was the nineteenth century that witnessed the dovetailing of political organizations with a political social grouping which constituted the 'nation'. The people comprising the nation became the ultimate source of the state's legitimacy and the national ideas itself became the natural repository of, and focus for, political loyalty. Thus, it was during this period that the coincidence of the boundaries of state jurisdiction and the characteristic elements that made up 'nationhood' took place.
The twentieth century has witnessed what appears to be a growing trend towards supranational forms of political organization, especially on a regional basis, yet the nation-state is still a potent force in international relations.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Trace the historical evolution of the nation-state?

3.4. Nationalism

This term is used in two related senses, first, to identify an ideology and secondly, to describe a sentiment. In the first usage, nationalism seeks to identify a behavioural entity — the 'nation' — and thereafter to pursue certain political and cultural goals on behalf of it. Pre-eminent among these will be national self-determination. This may be empirically defined in a number of ways, irredentism, independence, secession are all goals that may be sought under its rubric. In its second usage, nationalism is a sentiment of loyalty towards the nation which is shared by people. Elements of cohesion are provided by such factors as language, religion, shared historical experience, physical contiguity and so on. In the last resort such bonds must be integrated into a perceptual framework which subjectively defines a group of people as different from their neighbours and similar to each other. Empirical instances continually show that it is perfectly possible to create

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such a sense of national identity in the absence of some of the above factors. The ideological origins of nationalism are to be found in the political history of Western Europe after the collapse of feudalism. It first became manifest during the French Revolution and thereafter the nineteenth century saw it reach its zenith in Europe. The Italian Risorgimento was perhaps the precursor of the twentieth century phenomenon of nationalism as a resistance movement against foreign domination. In general, intellectual opinion in the nineteenth century was inclined towards the view that the nation represented a 'natural' bond amongst humans and that, accordingly, nations should form the basis for states. Nationalism as an ideology was exported during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries from Europe to the rest of the world.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Define nationalism? Identify the media through which nationalist ideas are diffused into a population?

3.5. Non-intervention

A pivotal notion in the Westphalia state-system where rights associated with independence and sovereignty logically implied corresponding duties of non-intervention. Thus, the claim to exclusive domestic jurisdiction represented by the principle of cuius rego eius religio extended to its corollary — freedom from external interference. Primarily an eighteenth century European idea, the rule of non-intervention in international law and public diplomatic practice is especially associated with the writings of Wolff (1740) and Vattel (1758). Most early writers on the subject tended to regard it in absolute terms, seeing it as an indispensable prop to state sovereignty and therefore an argument for liberty against earlier hegemonic and imperial claims. However, just as the rights of sovereignty are not absolute, so the duty of non-intervention is circumscribed by reservations and qualifications (even Wolff, for example, claimed that it could be compromised by collective action — the civitas maxima). Generally, unilateral intervention is regarded as suspect although intervention by 'invitation' (e.g. the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in 1979), or counter-interventions (e.g. Cuban assistance to Angola up to 1989 to counter South African aid to UNITA forces), or even pre-emptive intervention on the ground of self-defence (e.g. the Israeli bombing of a nuclear installation in Baghdad in 1981) are often regarded as more or less justifiable exceptions to the rule.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the major failing of the idea of non-intervention?

3.6. Non-state actor

The concept of Non State Actors (NSAs) has gained currency worldwide in the past couple of decades, as researchers, sociologists, activists and mediators have sought to comprehend and recognise the nature of interventions that fall without the purview of the State and yet have to be reckoned with if a certain beneficial action has to be enhanced or if a given knotty situation calls for sustainable denouement. NSAs cover, but are not limited to, NGOs, and may generally be subsumed under civil society organisations (CSOs), although it is important to note that an important attribute distinguishes some NSAs from the concept of civil society. In much of the literature on the subject, these three concepts are often used interchangeably, with the concomitant confusion that such interchange-ability may sometimes engender.

3.7. Newly Industrialising Countries (NICS)

A group of countries in East Asia that have achieved remarkably high rates of growth over the past 40 years. Often referred to as the 'Asian tigers' or the 'four dragons', Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan have demonstrated that it is possible for some former Third World economies to develop into economic and industrial giants. The reason for the success of the Asian NICs is hotly debated. Some writers have pointed to the long-term impact of the Korean and the Vietnam Wars. It has also been suggested, for example, that the US$8 billion in American aid to the region between 1953 and 1969 played a crucial role in the development of these four economies. They also enjoyed a privileged access to markets in Japan and the United States where there existed a high demand for low-cost consumer goods. Others have looked at the economic strategies employed by national governments. Generally speaking, two strategies have been promoted. The first, known as import-substitution industrialisation (ISI), tries to persuade local industries and subsidiaries of multinational corporations to set up and manufacture for domestic consumption. High tariffs are put in place to protect these industries during their infancy. The other approach involves export-oriented development. This strategy targets a range of industries that governments believe can successfully compete in the world marketplace. These industries are given subsidies and preferential treatment by

governments. Other factors have also played their part, including high rates of saving, close corporate relationships between government and business, a commitment to education, strong authoritarian governments, and the strict control of labour unions. Perhaps the most common explanation during the 1980s was that the tigers were carried along in the slipstream of the Japanese economic miracle. It is also not insignificant that both South Korea and Taiwan were once colonies of Japan. This suggests that no single explanation is likely to suffice.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Examine the pathways of the Asian tigers to economic success?

3.8. Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO)

One of the most prominent features of contemporary international relations is the growth in the number of non-governmental organisations (NGOs). Increased interconnectedness, partly associated with improvements in communications technology and transport, has given rise to literally thousands of specialised organisations, agencies, and groups. They are made up of private individuals, both paid and unpaid, and are committed to a vast range of issues, including protection of the environment, improving the level of basic needs in the Third World, stopping human rights abuses, delivering food and medicine to war- zones, advancing religious beliefs, and promoting the cause of women. What stands out about these organisations is that they establish intricate networks and links between individuals across the globe. A great deal has been written about the impact of NGOs on international relations. Three points are worth noting in this regard. First, while NGOs are autonomous actors, many work closely with inter- governmental organisations (IGOs) that have been formed by states to advance their interests. The United Nations is the most notable IGO. Indeed, IGOs are increasingly taking advantage of the unique position of NGOs.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the major impact of NGOs in international relations?

3.9. North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)

NATO is sometimes referred to as the Atlantic Alliance. Established in 1949, with headquarters in Brussels, NATO is charged with protecting the security of Western Europe. Essentially, it is a collective defence organisation that regards a military attack

on any one of its member countries as an attack on all of them. The original treaty to set up NATO was signed in Washington on 4 April 1949 and came into force in August of the same year. Twelve states signed the treaty, including the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, France, the Benelux countries, Italy, Norway, Iceland, Denmark, and Portugal. Since then, NATO's membership has expanded to include Turkey (1952), Greece (1952), Germany (1955), Spain (1982), the Czech Republic (1997), Poland (1997), and Hungary (1997). The 1949 treaty committed the United States to a permanent role in European security affairs. By the end of 1949, the alliance partners had established a permanent command structure for the organisation. More recently, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the demise of the Warsaw Pact have raised questions about the relevance of the organisation in a vastly changed European security environment. Chief among these have concerned the future role of the United States, the role of NATO in so-called 'out-of-area' operations (such as its involvement in Yugoslavia). However, despite the end of the cold war, Russia remains the major concern for NATO planners. In the future, the greatest threat to NATO arises from the growing defence cooperation among European states (particularly France and Germany) and ongoing doubts about the commitment of the United States to the defence of Europe.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Examine the problems confronting NATO?

3.10. Nuclear Proliferation

Nuclear proliferation refers to the spread of nuclear weapons to states that did not possess them prior to 1968, when the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) was signed. Until the Indian and Pakistani nuclear detonations, international efforts to arrest the spread of nuclear arms in the 1990s seemed to be enjoying some success. Before the end of the cold war and the collapse of the Soviet Union, a total of eight states possessed nuclear weapons. Five of these were formally declared nuclear weapons states according to the NPT: the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, France, and China. In addition to India and Pakistan, it was also known that Israel had a covert nuclear weapons development programme. There are three main reasons why there was not more proliferation than actually took place during the cold war. First, each of the two superpowers provided security guarantees to its allies. Second, despite the arms race (sometimes known as vertical proliferation) between the Soviet Union and the United States, they had a common interest in maintaining, as far as possible, their control over horizontal proliferation. Finally, many states signed the most important piece of international

legislation on this issue, the NPT, in 1968. Iran and North Korea remain states of significant proliferation concern. However, there have been continued efforts to improve verification procedures by the Inter- national Atomic Energy Authority (IAEA).

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
State the major reasons why proliferation was minimal during the cold war?

3.11. ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT (OECD)

The OECD is an inter-governmental organisation that serves the interests of the world's most developed economies. The OECD currently has 29 member states. They are Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, South Korea, Luxembourg, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, and the United States. The organisation came into being in 1961 to replace the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC). Located in Paris, the OECD has an annual budget of about US$200 million. Its organisational structure is quite straightforward. The Council is the main decision-making body of the organisation that oversees various policy committees that are made up of representatives from the member states. A Secretariat supports the activities of the committees. The official languages are English and French. The goals of the OECD are spelled out in Article 1 of the Convention signed in Paris on 14 December 1960. They are: 1 To achieve the highest sustainable economic growth and employment and a rising standard of living in member countries, while maintaining financial stability, and thus to contribute to the world economy. 2 To contribute to sound economic expansion in member as well as non-member countries in the process of economic development. 3 To contribute to the expansion of world trade on a multilateral, non-discriminatory basis in accordance with international obligations. Over the last 40 years, only nine states have been admitted to the organisation: Japan (1964), Finland (1969), Australia (1971), New Zealand (1973), Mexico (1994), the Czech Republic (1995), Hungary, Poland (1996), and South Korea (1996).

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Highlight and discuss the goals of the OECD?

3.12. ORGANISATION OF PETROLEUM EXPORTING COUNTRIES (OPEC)

The Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) is probably the best-known example of an international cartel, even though the diamond trade is more successfully controlled. A cartel is a national or international organisation of producers who act in concert to fix prices, limit supply, divide markets, or set quotas. OPEC was formed at a conference held in Baghdad in September 1960. There were five original members: Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela. Between 1960 and 1975 the organisation expanded to 13 members with the addition of Qatar, Indonesia, Libya, United Arab Emirates, Algeria, Nigeria, Ecuador, and Gabon. Currently, OPEC consists of 11 member states (Ecuador dropped out in 1992 and Gabon withdrew in 1995), of which Saudi Arabia is the most powerful. OPEC was set up to help unify and coordinate Members' petroleum policies and to safeguard their interests.

During the 1960s, OPEC was unable to sustain the high oil prices of the 1950s. In the early 1970s, however, the situation changed. In 1969 the American-backed Libyan government was overthrown by a military regime led by Colonel Gadaffi. He stopped the high production of Libyan oil. Moreover, Libya stopped trading with the major oil companies. Other countries followed the Libyan example. More importantly, the 1973 Arab–Israeli War finally led to an agreement among OPEC member states to reduce oil exports to countries that supported Israel. OPEC began to lose control of the price of oil in the late 1970s. For instance, responding to the oil shocks of the era, states began to conserve energy and use it more efficiently and also rely upon alternative energy sources. None the less, the future is not entirely bleak for OPEC given the growth of China and the United States.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the factors that led to the rise of OPEC's profile?

4.0 CONCLUSION

Almost every country in the world today calls itself a nation even if it is not so in reality; and within such nations such as Nigeria one sees ethnic groups calling themselves nations thus practicing nationalism. Newly Industrialising Countries (NIC) is another popular term in international relations as the ranks of countries within this group grows.
Since the beginning of the modern state, the world has undergone different orders usually with the major powers dictating the nature of the order. Although in the 1960s and 70s

the newly independent states of Africa and Asia successfully pushed for the institution of a new world order.

5.0   SUMMARY

In this unit our discussions have focused on N-Concepts like; nationalism, non-intervention, Newly Industrialising Countries (NICs), Non-Governmental-Organisation (NGOs), North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). On O concepts our discussions have centred on OPEC and OECD.

6.0   TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Critically assess the threat of nuclear proliferation to global security?

Critically evaluate the relevance of OPEC to its member countries?

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UNIT 3: P & Q CONCEPTS

CONTENTS

1.0. INTRODUCTION

In this unit we shall explore P-Concepts which has the distinction of consisting of a major international relations concepts-power, preventive diplomacy and perception. The aforementioned concepts are indeed ones that any student of international relations will continually encounter in his academic career. Given that most of the concepts are theoretical/philosophical in outlook attempt have been made to simplify the discussions.

In this unit we have one important entry- the quasi-state. We will examine its causes and prevalence especially in the African continent. The failed state or quasi-state concept has become a widely used synonym for describing a state quite unable to disperse the responsibilities of statehood of which a majority are in Africa. The recent upsurge of failed states has guaranteed the concept wide currency in international usage.

2. OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:
(i) Enunciate on the nature of the concepts
(ii) Outline the challenges and obstacles to a successful nuclear disarmament in the contemporary world.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1. Pax Britannica

Literally means peace imposed by British dominance. Used correctly therefore it can only refer to that period in the recent past when Britain was the dominant state in the state system. Most scholars are agreed that this domination began in the wake of the defeat of France in 1815; was at its peak in the middle decades of the nineteenth century and declined thereafter. The decline was disguised for the reason that no other state immediately emerged to replace Britain as the dominant actor. Eventually, the United States did, but this occurred in the 1940s after a long period when the system lacked a dominant state. The bases of Pax-Britannica were military, economic, diplomatic and intellectual. Militarily, Britain was a naval power. The possession of huge naval forces and the concomitant insistence upon the 'two-power standard' — whereby the British navy was able to cope with the combined strength of the next two ranking powers — were the outcome. Economically, Pax Britannica was possible because Britain was the first state to adopt modern techniques of industrial production. The wealth created by this revolution enabled Britain to establish a commercial system of banking and foreign portfolio investment based upon the capital, London. Diplomatically, the Pax Britannica was dependent upon the European balance of power working to prevent the rise of hegemonial challenges from the continent. To assist this Britain sought to advance and protect its interests either by seeking direct control over territories or through spheres of influence policy.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Critically examine the factors that enabled the rise of Pax Britannica?

3.2. Peace

Peace has always been among humanity's highest values--for some, supreme. Consider: "Peace at any price."(Alphonse de Lamartine, *Meditations Poetiques* (1820));"The most

disadvantageous peace is better than the most just war" (Desiderius Erasmus, *Adagio;*"Peace is more important than all justice"(Martin Luther, *On Marriage* (1530)); "I prefer the most unjust peace to the justest war that was ever waged"(Cicero, *Letters to Atticus*); "There never was a good war or a bad peace"(Benjamin Franklin, Letter to Josiah Quincy (September 11, 1773)) (R.J. Rummel:1981). Yet, we agree little on what is peace. Perhaps the most popular (Western) view is as an absence of dissension, violence, or war, a meaning found in the *New Testament* and possibly an original meaning of the Greek word for peace, *Irene*. Pacifists have adopted this interpretation, for to them all violence is bad. This meaning is widely accepted among irenologists (the scientific study of peace) and students of international relations. It is the primary dictionary definition. Peace, however, is also seen as concord, or harmony and tranquillity. It is viewed as peace of mind or serenity, especially in the East. It is defined as a state of law or civil government, a state of justice or goodness, a balance or equilibrium of Powers.

Meanings of peace function at different levels. Peace may be opposed to or an opposite of antagonistic conflict, violence, or war. It may refer to an internal state (of mind or of nations) or to external relations. Or it may be narrow in conception, referring to specific relations in a particular situation (like a peace treaty), or overarching, covering a whole society (as in a world peace). Peace may be a dichotomy (it exists or it does not) or continuous, passive or active, empirical or abstract, descriptive or normative, or positive or negative. However the problem is, of course, that peace derives its meaning and qualities within a theory or framework. Christian, Hindu, or Buddhist will see peace differently, as will pacifist or internationalist. Socialist, fascist, and libertarian have different perspectives, as do power or idealistic theorists of international relations. In this diversity of meanings, peace is no different from such concepts as justice, freedom, equality, power, conflict, class, and, indeed, any other concept.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the different levels of peace?

3.3. Peace-Building

Peace-building means action to identify and support structures that will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict. As preventive diplomacy aims to prevent the outbreak of a conflict, so peace-building starts during the course of a conflict to prevent its recurrence. Only sustained, cooperative work on the under- lying economic, social, cultural, and humanitarian problems can place an achieved peace on a durable foundation. Unless there is reconstruction and development in the aftermath of

conflict, there can be little expectation that peace will endure. Peace-building is a matter for countries at all stages of development. For countries emerging from conflict, peace-building offers the chance to establish new institutions, social, political and judicial, which can give impetus to development. Land reform and other measures of social justice can be undertaken. Countries in transition can use peace- building measures as a chance to put their national systems on the path of sustainable development.

Peace-building strategies are all those processes that seek to address the underlying causes of violent conflicts and crises to ensure that they will not recur. There are six basic elements in a reconstructive, post-conflict, peace-building strategy: • jump-starting the national economy; • decentralised, community-based investments; • repairing key transport and communications networks; • demining (where relevant and linked to other priority investments); • demobilisation and retraining of ex-combatants; • reintegration of displaced populations. Peace-building is a complementary process to peacekeeping. Most United Nations peacekeeping operations now entail peace-building in some measure.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Examine the reasons behind peace-building?

3.4. Peacekeeping

While peacekeeping itself was not originally spelled out in the UN Charter, it has become a prominent vocation for the international organisation. Much of the effort in traditional peacekeeping has focused on the use of lightly armed troops providing a buffer zone between belligerent parties. Initially, the authors of the UN Charter believed that peace enforcement was the best means to ensure the maintenance of international order. However, this hope was dashed with the marginalisation of the UN during the cold war. The development of peace- keeping evolved due to a series of compromises and an ability to adapt each mission to the particular circumstances facing it in the field. None the less, during the cold war the progress of peacekeeping was characterised by a number of principles that have defined the rules that each UN peacekeeping deployment must follow. Three of these are particularly crucial; the rule of consent, the necessity of impartiality, and the adherence to the principle of the use of force only in self-defence. Consent is required not only from the host government of the state where peacekeepers are to be deployed, but consent of all local warring parties must be secured if there is to be any hope of establishing a working relationship with the parties to a conflict. Peacekeeping operations are normally set up by the Security Council, which decides the

operation's size, its timeframe, and its mandate. Since the UN has no military or civilian police force of its own, member states decide whether to participate in a mission, and if so, what personnel and equipment they are willing to offer. They usually wear blue berets or helmets and the UN insignia to identify themselves as UN peacekeepers.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the three rules underlining UN peacekeeping deployment?

3.5. Pluralism

This term is used in two senses in international relations; first, as a perspective on the structure of the system. Here pluralism may be taken as a portmanteau term covering all those who reject the assumptions of state-centrism in preference for some kind of mixed actor model. Second, pluralism is derived from political sociology where it is used to identify political systems where power is shared among a plurality of competing parties and interest groups. Pluralism is thus a theory both of inter-state and intra-state politics. Pluralism in the first sense argues that the assumptions of the traditional state-centred view of world politics were derived from a period when the level of interconnectedness between states was significantly lower than at present. Pluralists argue that there has been a massive erosion in the impermeability of the state during the twentieth century in a number of directions. This erosion is explained in the pluralist literature by reference to the idea of interdependence, particularly in the issue area of economic relations.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

3.6. Polarity

A concept used in systems analysis, polarity implies that within a definable system certain actors are so important that they constitute 'poles' against which other actors have to respond (by joining coalitions or remaining non-aligned). Thus a polar actor is one which is so significant that its removal would alter the contours of the system. Conversely a new polar actor would be one which, by entering the system, also altered the contours. In the past entry and exit from polar positions has usually been effected as a result of war. Polarity is a relatively new term in the analysis of IR_ and is often used in conjunction with the term power. Thus a bipolar system would consist of two powers, a tripolar of three, and so on. Traditionally, military power was regarded as a necessary precondition for stipulation as a 'pole'. Although military potential is not easily or cheaply

converted into effective instruments of influence, its possession does give the actor considerable negative or veto power. Economic potential as a determinant is important, both for its own sake and as a contributory factor in the 'war potential' of actors. Thus in the contemporary system, the Third World states have sought to change the ground rules of the international political economy through such demands as those contained in the call for a New International Economic Order (N I EO). Some writers have seen bipolarity as more stable, others argue for multipolarity. In these discussions stability is often defined by the limiting condition of an absence of war between the polar actors. In any event, given that in all systems change is endemic, stability is at best a relative not absolute term.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Discuss the term polarity and its relation to world peace?

3.7. Power

Power refers to the material resources that are available to a state. There are several ways to measure power and different IR scholars break the broad concept of power into different components. For ease of exposition, Dale Copeland's tripartite classification of material power is preferable: (1) military power, (2) economic power, and (3) potential power. Realists, of all stripes, posit a vital role for the relative distribution of power among states. In other words, the absolute level of material capabilities that each state possesses is less important that the states' level of material of capabilities vis-à-vis other states.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Outline and explain Copeland's classification of material power?

3.8. Prestige

A state's reputation for having power, particularly military power; a state enhances its prestige through the successful application of power, especially through victory in war. Over time, however, an inconsistency may arise between the established hierarchy of prestige in the international system and the actual distribution of power among states. That is, perceptions of prestige can lag behind actual capabilities. The relative distribution of prestige among states (particularly between the first-ranked and second-

ranked great powers), play a vital role in classical realism, as well as hegemonic theory and some neoclassical realist theories.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Define prestige?

3.9. Proliferation

Proliferation describes growth by the rapid multiplication of parts. In science this is the process by which an organism reproduces others of its own kind. In the latter half of the 20th century, however, this term has been co-opted to mean the rapid spread of deadly weapons. In its politico-military context, proliferation most commonly refers to nuclear weapons, and sometimes covers all weapons of mass destruction—biological, chemical, and radiological as well as nuclear. Non-proliferation, the obverse, is a key security concern today—how to reduce existing arsenals.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the concept in this volume most closely linked to proliferation?

3.10.   Prisoners' Dilemma

The prisoners' dilemma is an analytical abstraction that IR scholars use to understand several dynamics in international politics, such as arms races and international economic cooperation. In these situations states have a strong incentive to cooperate with each other, but are unable to do so since there is no mechanism to enforce an agreement and/or to protect states. Ideally, if the two sides could agree, both would be better off. However, the two states do not trust each other and each has a strong incentive not to cooperate, in the hope that the other side will. Developed in the 1950s, PD is one of earliest (and simplest) "games" developed in game theory. The technical aspects of PD may seem daunting. However, the essence of PD is as follows:

3.10.1 Classic PD

Single Play Imagine that the police arrest two suspects, Homer and Crusty, in a robbery. The district attorney (DA) is certain that she has enough evidence to convict both Homer and Crusty of robbery, but she suspects both of conspiracy to commit murder as well. Due to lack of evidence, however, the DA cannot obtain a conspiracy to murder

conviction for either suspect without the implicating confession of the other. The DA asks the police to put Homer and Crusty in separate jail cells so that they cannot communicate with each other. The DA then tells each suspect the following: "Both of you face a certain robbery conviction and a prison sentence of 5 years (cooperate), UNLESS, you confess your part in the murder conspiracy and implicate the other (defect). If you confess to conspiracy to murder (defect), but your friend does not (cooperate), you will get immunity from prosecution and your friend will receive a life sentence in prison. If, on the other hand, you and your friend both confess to conspiracy to murder (defect), you will both be convicted but receive a reduced sentence of 10 years." Note that the terms "cooperate" and "defect" refer to the choices of Homer and Crusty vis-à-vis each other. Game theory is a way of understanding "strategic interactions"—situations in which actors make choices based upon their expectation of what other actors will likely do.

In this single play prisoner's dilemma, the best possible outcome for both Homer and Crusty would if each refused to turn states' evidence against the other and receive the minimum sentence of 5 years. This would be mutual cooperation. However, neither Homer nor Crusty can be sure that the other will not strike a plea bargain with the DA. The worst possible outcome would be if both Homer and Crusty turned states' evidence on the other; each would go to prison for 10 years. Yet, in this scenario, both Homer and Crusty have an incentive to turn states' evidence on the other (defect), regardless of what the other does. What is remarkable is that both prisoners rationally chose defection, an option that makes each worse off in an absolute sense since both will surely spend 10 years in prison!

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the main idea behind the prisoner's dilemma?

3.11. Quasi-states

It refers to ex-colonial states of Asia, Africa and Oceania, which through the process of decolonization have achieved 'juridical' statehood but lack many of the attributes of 'empirical' statehood. They possess all the trappings and formal qualities of sovereign independent statehood — in particular the rights and responsibilities stemming from full membership of the international community — but are deficient in important respects such as the political will and institutional authority. They are protected from the traditional fate of weak, fragmented states — foreign intervention — by new

international norms put in place after 1945, such as anti-colonialism, the right to ex-colonial self-determination and racial sovereignty; ideas which have their origins in Western social and political movements. Whereas in the past, such entities if they survived the power struggle at all were subordinated in the international system, today they enjoy equal status with all others. For Kaplan, these quasi-states all too often become failed states. In the post-cold war period the pivotal rule which upholds quasi-states, the rule of non-intervention is now under threat. Increased global concern with human rights, the movement towards good governance, the increased popularity of the idea of humanitarian intervention as well as simple donor fatigue may serve to restrict the political space enjoyed by quasi-states. But for so long as the values of ex-colonial self-determination and sovereign equality are regarded as 'ground-norms' of post-Westphalian international relations, these entities will continue to be a settled feature of the international landscape.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the factors that have preserved the existence of quasi-states?

4.0 CONCLUSION

Power remains one of the central, if not the fore concept in international relation as nearly every other concept revolves around it. So also is diplomacy which is the management of international politics. Thus these concepts will have impact in international relations far into the future. The continued political instability in Africa points to a disturbing fact that these contraptions called states will long remain a part of the international system. The phenomenal growth in Asia and perhaps Latin America has seen their near eclipse from those parts.

5.0   SUMMARY

   Our explorations in this unit have centred on such concepts as Prisoner's Dilemma, Pax Britannica, Pluralism, Polarity, Power, and Prestige. Our discussions have been on failed state which is an acronym for quasi-state. This symbolises a state which is unable to deliver on the basic responsibilities of a state.

6.0   TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Critically examine the importance of prisoner's dilemma in relation to decision making in international relations?

Examine the prevalence of quasi-states in Africa?

7.0   REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT 4: R & S CONCEPTS

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objectives
3.0   Main Content
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor Marked Assignment
7.0   References/Further Readings

1.0. INTRODUCTION

In this unit we will look at concepts such as realism and region. These are important concepts in the field of international relations and their influence in the discipline cannot be over-emphasised. The Nigerian student should be familiar with the daily use of 'geo-political regions' to denote the six divisions of the country. This Unit will also discuss S-Concepts which has the largest entry in this volume. Our discussions will also touch important concept like secession which has been witnessed once in Nigeria and threatened many times over; sovereignty and safe determination.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

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

 (i) State a conceptual definition of the concepts discussed

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1. Realism

Sometimes called the 'power-politics' school of thought, political realism in one form or another has dominated both academic thinking on international relations and the conceptions of policy-makers and diplomats, certainly since Machiavelli contemplated the subject. Machiavelli in The Prince (1513) and Hobbes in Leviathan (1651) also provided crucial components of this tradition, especially in their conceptions of interest, prudence, and expediency as prime motivators in the essentially anarchic context of international relations. As a theory, or a set of propositions about the individual, the state, and the state-system, it reached the height of its appeal, especially in the Anglo-American world, in the years after 1940 when it appeared to explain the 'lessons' of appeasement and the inception of the Cold War era.

It is incorrect to say that all classical realists identified human nature as the root cause of conflict in history. Some, such as Niccolò Machiavelli, Hans J. Morgenthau, and Reinhold Niebuhr, saw human nature, specifically human being's inherent lust for power or sin, as the root cause of warfare (the so-called "evil" tradition). Others, such as Thomas Hobbes, Arnold Wolfers, John Herz, and Raymond Aron, saw anarchy, the absence of a universal sovereign or worldwide government, as the permissive cause war (the so-called "tragic" tradition). Yet others, such as Thucydides, Winston Churchill, Henry Kissinger, George Kennan, and E. H. Carr, stressed the combination of human nature, anarchy, and the ambitions of individual statesmen as the root causes of warfare. All classical realists created their theories through induction, not deduction. The notion of a balance-of-power is one the major themes in classical realism. Please note, that modern IR theorists coined the term "classical realism" to distinguish the writings of Thucydides, Machiavelli, Morgenthau, and others, from the structural or neo-realism of Kenneth Waltz and his followers.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Critically examine the varying viewpoints of realist writers?

3.2. Region

This term is used in a number of contexts with a number of meanings in international relations. Sometimes these meanings overlap: sometimes they contradict one another. The primary, common sense usage connotes physical contiguity. Indeed proximity seems to be a necessary, although not sufficient, condition for confident stipulation of a region. Within state actors physical contiguity or proximity seems to be an important prerequisite for creating and maintaining a sense of unity. The example of the failure of the two halves of Pakistan to maintain a united state when separated by the territory of the state of India and its dismemberment into Pakistan and Bangladesh in 1971 is surely instructive here. What is called elsewhere centrifugal insurgency is clearly assisted by geographical isolation and remoteness. Between state actors, contiguity as a variable in delineating regions produces mixed results. Similarly, with the region of the 'Middle East'; core area can be identified but is Libya part of it, or North Africa? Is Turkey part of Europe or part of the Middle East? Between state actors, indeed, it is possible to arrive at groupings based upon homogeneity. Social homogeneity may be defined as involving socio-cultural factors such as race, religion, language and history. Factors which, within the state, can contribute to a sense of nationalism, between states can contribute to a sense of regionalism. Economic homogeneity may be defined as involving factors such as level of economic development, evidence of trade blocs and common markets and possibilities of economic integration. Political homogeneity relies upon one predominant variable: type of political system and its degree of stability.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Factors which, within the state, can contribute to a sense of nationalism, between states can contribute to a sense of regionalism. **Discuss**

3.3. Regional Trade Blocs

The surge in regional trading arrangements over the last 20 years constitutes a break with preceding post-war history. Previous regional agreements had been neither so numerous, nor so successful, as those of recent years. Formal regional trading agreements can cover a spectrum of arrangements, from small margins of preference in tariffs to full-scale economic integration.

Five levels can be distinguished: preferential trade arrangements, free trade areas, customs unions, common markets, and economic unions. The loosest type of arrangement

is the granting of reciprocal partial preferences to a set of trading partners. If the members of a preferential trade arrangement go so far as to eliminate all tariffs and quantitative import restrictions among themselves (100 per cent preferences), then they form a free trade area (FTA). Typically, they retain varying levels of tariffs and other barriers against the products of non- members. The next level of integration occurs when the members of an FTA go beyond removing trade barriers among themselves and set a common level of trade barriers vis-à-vis outsiders. This at a minimum entails a common external tariff. A full customs union would also harmonise quantitative restrictions, export subsidies, and other trade distortions. Beyond the free exchange of goods and services among members, a common market entails the free movement of factors of production, namely labour and capital. Going beyond the free movement of goods, services, and factors, economic union involves harmonising national economic policies, including typically taxes and a common currency. The decision of the European Community to change its name to the European Union in 1994 represented a determination to proceed to this higher stage of integration. The full unification of economic policies typically would in turn require political federation.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Identify and explain the levels of integration?

3.4. Rogue State

A state that regularly violates international standards of acceptable behaviour. Over the last decade Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Libya, and North Korea have all been given this highly pejorative label. It evokes images of a state that is outwardly aggressive, a threat to international peace, highly repressive, xenophobic, and arrogant, and which has no regard for the norms of international society. It is no accident, then, that the term has found a home among some American policymakers. To refer to a state as a rogue is a way of justifying certain policy options, as well as mobilising public support for political action against such a state. What should not be lost sight of, however, is that in most cases it is the leadership that is rogue, and not the general populace. The term does not differentiate in this regard and, in most cases, it is the people who ultimately pay the price when the international community takes collective action against the rogue state. This is particularly evident in the case of Iraq. One of the problems in treating particular states as rogues, pariahs or 'backlash' states is that the international community must bear some of the responsibility for their recalcitrant behaviour. This is why there is something

disingenuous about policymakers who use this language to describe certain states. For example, the United States has been only too willing to prop up and court unsavoury dictators, sell them advanced military hardware, and ignore their uncivilised and repressive behaviour if it served its interests to do so. It should be noted that rogue states are partly a product of an inequitable distribution of power and wealth in the international system.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
List the essential characteristics of a rogue state?

3.5. Safe Haven

Refers to an area within a country of origin where would-be refugees are safe from war or persecution, thus creating an alternative to asylum outside the country. The idea was inaugurated with Operation Provide Comfort, the creation of a safe haven in northern Iraq in 1991. At the time, about 400,000 Iraqi Kurds were at or near the Turkish border, fleeing Saddam Hussein's armed forces. Until then, the traditional response under such circumstances had been for the country of first asylum, usually a contiguous country, to open its borders and provide at least temporary protection, and for the international community to lend support both with the costs of maintaining asylum and with seeking durable solutions. Operation Provide Comfort changed all that. Led by the United States, Britain, and France, and backed by United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 688, which spoke of Iraqi refugees themselves as posing a threat to international peace and security, the international community decided to introduce an international military force into northern Iraq to protect the Kurds where they were. This enabled Turkey, which had a major security concern with its own Kurds, to push the Iraqi Kurds away from its territory without risk of committing refoulement, the forcible return of refugees to persecution. It should be noted that Operation Provide Comfort never challenged Saddam Hussein's underlying sovereign claims to northern Iraq.

In practice, however, the safe havens have not lived up to their name. They have compromised the right of people fleeing persecution to seek asylum outside their countries and ultimately endangered the very lives of the people whose safety they were pledged to protect. For example, in 1994 France created Operation Turquoise in southwest Rwanda. While ostensibly a safe humanitarian zone, it clearly served political purposes: to protect members of the deposed government, the pro-French architects of the genocide. The ultimate contradiction and danger of safe havens is that they lure

frightened people into places where the international community continues to recognise the sovereignty of their persecutors. Such places often become death traps.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
To what extent has safe havens achieved the purpose for which they were set up?

3.6. Secession

The term refers to the political expression of separation by the inhabitants of a region from some pre-existing state structure. Secessionist sentiments may therefore be seen as indicative of the rejection of some of the most basic ground rules of the state-system in favour of nationalism that owes more to ideas about kinship and ethnicity. Modern examples of secessionist movements that challenged existing state structures are Biafra and Bangladesh, while secessionism has produced the complete demise of the state of Yugoslavia. As all three instances quoted above show, secession is rarely attempted or achieved through peaceful change. A more typical outcome is civil war. The association of secessionist politics with violence and communal conflict can be anticipated from the previous discussion. Since secession represents such a powerful centrifugal challenge to state-centrism, secessionist tendencies and factions will be resisted by political authorities at the centre.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Examine the concept of secession in relation to Nigeria?

3.7. Security

A term which denotes the absence of threats to scarce values; in principle security can be absolute, that is to say freedom from all threat is the equivalent of complete security. Conversely in a totally threatening system of relations, a system of implacable hostility verges into systemic paranoia. Historically security has been seen as a core value and ultimate goal of state behaviour. This position was often latent and assumed rather than manifest and stated. Recently neo-realism has raised the profile of the idea of security to that of a central — if contested — concept. Waltz states that, 'in anarchy security is the highest goal. Baldwin in his recently stipulative analysis of the concept (redolent of American social science literature on relational power) rejects this 'prime value approach' to security analysis. Using instead 'marginal value approaches' Baldwin restates the relativist approach referred to above in terms of marginal utility. `How much security is

enough?' becomes a relevant question. Since absolute security is not available outcome within any rational cost calculation, there is no point in going for it as a goal. Traditionally analyses of security in a foreign policy context concentrated on the military dimension. Here threats implicit in war and near violent conflict situations raised acute national security questions for political leader- ships. Strategies of 'balancing' or 'band-waggoning', of ally-seeking and coalition-building, of arms racing and defence spending were the common currency of classical security policy making. The end of the Cold War has allowed for a burgeoning of the security agenda to include ideas about economic and ecological/environmental security to set alongside the more familiar military. Economic security concerns are implicit in mercantilism. If the control of the supply of goods and services falls into hostile hands or if the price for the supply of the same is set by a hostile actor with monopoly control then the economic security of the recipient is potentially under threat.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Critically examine Waltz's view that in 'anarchy security is the highest goal'?

3.8. Self-determination

The right or aspiration of a group, which considers itself to have a separate and distinct identity, to govern itself and to determine the political and legal status of the territory it occupies. In a general sense, then, political self- determination refers to the right of peoples to determine their own destiny in their own way. The concept was implicit in the US Declaration of Independence of 1776 (`the consent of the governed') and in the French revolutionary Declaration of the Rights of Man in 1789 (`the divine right of the people'). Its influence was especially felt in the nineteenth-century European states-system and apart from France, it played an important part in the unification of Germany and of Italy and the independence of Belgium and Greece. Outside Europe it was the prime mover in the process of the liberation of South America from colonial rule. But it was not until the First World War that, under the impact of President Wilson's fourteen points, the idea of national independence came to be known as national self-determination. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence of Colonial Countries and Peoples in 1960, for example, stated that 'all people have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development'. The right of self-determination was again reaffirmed in the 1970 Declaration of Principles of international law which further emphasized that all states were under a positive duty to promote it.

Questions of definition remain. Who are the 'peoples' to whom it applies: Does it justify rebellion, revolution or secession? Must it result in full independence or can it be partial or fulfilled by means of association? Answers to these questions are by no means clear-cut and the international community, both inside and outside the General Assembly, has tended to react to them in an ad hoc, interest-based fashion rather than in accordance with the guidelines of the 1970 Declaration, which in any case are much too vague for the practical application.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify and examine the contentious issues associated with self determination?

3.9. Social Media

Social media is the social interaction among people in which they create, share or exchange information and ideas in virtual communities and networks. Social media depend on mobile and web-based technologies to create highly interactive platforms through which individuals and communities share, co-create, discuss, and modify user-generated content. They introduce substantial and pervasive changes to communication between organizations, communities, and individuals. Social media differ from traditional or industrial media in many ways, including quality, reach, frequency, usability, immediacy, and permanence. There are many effects that stem from internet usage. According to Nielsen, internet users continue to spend more time with social media sites than any other type of site. At the same time, the total time spent on social media in the U.S. across PC and mobile devices increased by 37 percent to 121 billion minutes in July 2012 compared to 66 billion minutes in July 2011. For content contributors, the benefits of participating in social media have gone beyond simply social sharing to building reputation and bringing in career opportunities and monetary income, as discussed in Tang, Gu, and Whinston (2012).

Geocities, created in 1994, was one of the first social media sites. The concept was for users to create their own websites, characterized by one of six "cities" that were known for certain characteristics. Social media technologies take on many different forms including magazines, Internet forums, weblogs, social blogs, micro blogging, wikis, social networks, podcasts, photographs or pictures, video, rating and social bookmarking. Technologies include blogging, picture-sharing, vlogs, wall-posting, music-sharing, crowd sourcing and voice over IP, to name a few. Social network aggregation can integrate many of the platforms in use.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
In what ways do social media differ from traditional mass-media?

3.10. Sovereignty

The legal principle, established through recognition by other states, that a state is the legitimate highest authority within its boundaries. The Treaty of Westphalia, one of the treaties that ended the Thirty Years' War (1618-48), enshrined the principle of sovereignty in international law. In practice however, sovereignty, has never been absolute. Great powers have routinely violated and/or limited the sovereignty of weaker states.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Critically examine the concept of sovereignty in relation to the 2003 US led invasion of Iraq?

3.11. State

Refers to a generic term for the main units in any international system over history, regardless of those units' internal composition or territorial scope. Thus, speaking in the broadest possible terms, political communities as diverse as the Greek polis, the warring kingdoms of ancient China, tribes in Meso-America, feudal entities in medieval Europe, multinational empires of the Persians, the Ottoman Turks, and the Mongols, and modern territorial nation-states, all fall under the general category of states. It can also be rightly seen as a specific form of political community that originated in Western Europe during fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which later became the predominate form of political community throughout the globe during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In this definition, the "state" differs from other forms of political organization in that there is clear hierarchy within the political community, defined territorial borders, some extractive capacity vis-à-vis civil society, and where the government claims a monopoly on the legitimate use of force within its own territory. Finally a state is a synonym for the government or administrative apparatus of a state, as distinguished from civil society.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the ways in which a state is different from other political organisations?

3.12. Sustainable Development

According to advocates of sustainable development, three priorities should be incorporated into all development programmes: Maintenance of ecological processes; sustainable use of resources and the maintenance of biodiversity. Sustainable development gained credence thanks to the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED; also known as the Brundtland Commission after its chair, Gro Harlem Brundtland of Norway), which was formed by the United Nations (UN) in 1983 and reported four years later. The Commission defined sustainable development as that which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. One strength of the sustainability idea is that it draws together environmental, economic, and social concerns. In practice, most would agree on a number of common guiding principles for sustainable development: • continued support of human life; • continued maintenance of environmental quality and the long- term stock of biological resources; • the right of future generations to resources that are of equal worth to those used today.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the major principles of sustainable development?

4.0. CONCLUSION

The fore-going all have significant bearing in international relations, regional blocs for example have grown in importance recently as most countries are banding together to reap the benefits of trade. There will also continue to be disagreement over recognition and what constitutes recognition. Coming to the S- concept, Sovereignty is a concept to which the entire world is familiar with; it is not rare to see a country bitterly contesting actions which question its independence; security too is another concept to which a majority, indeed all countries are concerned with because it ensures national survival. Secession is also another concept which was brought to fore by the secession of South Sudan.

5.0 SUMMARY

Our discussions in this unit have dwelled on concepts such as Realism, Recognition, Region, Regionalism and Regional Blocs. In this Unit we have reviewed such concepts as Safe Haven, State, Session, State-Centrism, Security, State System, Security Dilemma,

Structuralism, Security Studies, Sub-System, Self Determination   ,Sustainable Development, Self-Help, State-To-Nation Balance, Social Science Approach, Sovereignty and Spratly Islands.

6.0   TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Examine the effects of regionalism in world politics today?

Given the global hunger for raw materials which is exemplified by China is the so called sustainable development theory feasible in the light of this rapaciousness? Discuss

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UNIT 5: T - Z CONCEPTS

CONTENTS

1.0. INTRODUCTION

In this Unit we will explore, amongst others basically two concepts- terrorism and third world. In a sense the one is the most important international concern at the moment while the other is fast losing salience. The Unit examines the concept of unipolarity and the ubiquitous United Nations. This concept is important because the present state of the world is said to be unipolar. The Unit will thus look at the issues surrounding it. In this unit we shall also examine perhaps some of the most interesting concepts in international relations history. Firstly, the treaty of Westphalia is the foundation upon which the modern state is set. War crime has also captured imagination especially in the last

century. Thus this final unit will attempt albeit succinctly to provide penetrating details on them.

2. OBJECTIVES
At the end of this unit, you should be able to:
(i) List some major Terrorist Network Organisations
(ii) Outline the attributes obtainable in some of the concepts

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1. Terrorism

Refers to the premeditated use of violence or the threat of violence to achieve sometimes nebulous ends; it includes attacks against tourists, embassy staff, military personnel, aid workers, and employees of multinational corporations (MNCs). There are four relatively distinct kinds of terrorism. The first is transnational organised crime. Drug cartels may use terrorism to protect their private interests by attacking governments and individuals who attempt to reduce their activity and influence. The second type is state-sponsored terrorism. Afghanistan, Libya and Iraq are three of the major state sponsors of international terrorism to further their particular aims. The third major type of terrorism is nationalistic. Terrorism has often been used in the initial stages of anti- colonial movements, or by groups wishing to secede from a particular state an example is the Basque movement in Spain. The fourth major type is ideological, in which terrorists use terror either to change a given domestic policy (for example, on abortion laws) or to overthrow a particular government. The methods used by terrorists vary considerably. Aircraft hijacking has been common since the late 1960s, but kidnapping, destruction of property, hostage-taking, bombings, and assassinations have also been used. There is an important correlation between the methods used by terrorists and their ultimate goal. The more spectacular the method, the more attention the act itself will receive. In this sense, the mass media can become an unwitting ally of the terrorist.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the four systems of terrorism and the reasons for the continued growth of terrorism?

3.2. Theory

A hypothesized causal statement (A causes B), together with an explanation of the causal law or hypothesis that explicates how A causes B. More generally, a theory is a hypothesized pattern of behaviour for individuals, groups, states, and/or the international system. At minimum, a theory consists of a set of un-testable core assumptions (about how the world works, the nature of actors, etc.), a set of scope conditions that tell us the circumstances under which one such expect the theory to operate, and a core (or general) hypothesis. Every theory (or at least every good theory) generates many specific testable hypotheses. The testable hypotheses actually do the work of explaining real world phenomena.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
What is theory?

3.3. Third World

This term is used (loosely) to refer to the economically under- developed countries of Asia, Africa, Oceania, and Latin America, considered as an entity with common characteristics, such as poverty, high birth rates, and economic dependence on the advanced countries. The First World is the developed world – US, Canada, Western Europe, Japan – and the newly industrialising countries (Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan), Australia and New Zealand. The Second World is the ex-communist world led by the former Soviet Union (USSR). With the demise of the USSR and the communist bloc, there is of course no longer a Second World. The Third World is the underdeveloped world – agrarian, rural, and poor. Many Third World countries have one or two developed cities, but the rest of the country is poor. In general, Latin America, Africa, and most of Asia are still considered parts of the Third World.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the key features of third world countries?

3.4. Tragedy of the Commons

On a global scale, there are clear imbalances between richer states and poorer states. In general terms, the wealthiest few are disproportionately responsible for environmental pollution, but at the other end of the spectrum the poorest are also accused of a responsibility that is greater than their numbers warrant. The imbalance between human

activities and the environment stems from differential ownership of certain resources and the values placed on them. Individuals own some environmental resources while others are under common ownership. One theory argues that resources under common ownership are prone to overuse and abuse for this very reason – the tragedy of the commons. The example often given to illustrate this principle is that of grazing lands that are commonly owned in pastoral societies. It is in the interest of an individual to graze as many livestock as possible, but if too many individuals all have the same attitude, the grazing lands may be overused and degraded; the rational use of a resource by an individual may not be rational from the viewpoint of a wider society. The principle can also be applied to explain the misuse of other commonly owned resources, such as the pollution of air and water or catching too many fish in the sea. It is important to note, however, that common ownership does not necessarily lead to the exploitation of resources.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Highlight the principle behind the Tragedy of the Commons theory?

3.5. Unipolarity

A type of system structure with one 'pole' or a polar actor being identified as predominant. In a unipolar system the dominant actor need not be a state and indeed historically where unipolar systems have existed they have usually been multinational empires. Unipolar systems are more likely to show stability if the dominant actor can establish ground rules which are widely accepted throughout the system. Even imperial systems cannot live by coercion alone in this respect. In setting and maintaining the ground rules, the dominant actor may have to bear considerable direct and opportunity costs. The dynamics of unipolar leadership in this context have been well analysed by hegemonial stability theorists. The ending of the Cold War era in world politics has produced some speculation that the United States is now the only superpower and that this primacy implies a 'unipolar moment' for America. If the system is unipolar, it is in the realm of ideas that this exists economic liberalism and to a lesser extent, participatory democracy now holds centre stage. However these ideas can equally underpin multilateralism as they might unipolarity.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Critically assess the view that the world is unipolar in the face of a rising China?

3.6. United Nations (UN)

In 1944, representatives of the great powers (the Soviet Union, the United States, China, and Britain) met at Dumbarton Oaks in the United States to draw up firm proposals for the new international organisation, the successor to the League of Nations. In 1945, 51 states met at the United Nations Conference in San Francisco to debate the terms of the UN Charter. The UN has its headquarters in New York. Here it sets about achieving its three main purposes: to maintain international peace, to develop friendly relations among states, and to cooperate internationally in solving international economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems and in promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. The UN has six major organs. They are:

1 the General Assembly; 2 the Security Council; 3 the UN Secretariat; 4 the Economic and Social Council; 5 the International Court of Justice; 6 the Trusteeship Council.
The only time that all member states meet together is in the General Assembly. Here representatives from each of the 187 states that make up the UN gather every year to discuss the world's problems in a global parliamentary setting. Whenever there is a threat to international peace and security the UN resorts to the Security Council. There are 15 members of the Security Council. Five are permanent (the P5), and ten non-permanent members are elected for a period of two years from regional groups within the UN: Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe, Latin America, Western Europe, and Oceania. The P5 are the United States, Russia, China, France, and Britain. Decisions of the Council have to be accepted by a majority of members, and must include the P5, each of which is able to veto a decision. Without doubt, the General Assembly and the Security Council are the most important bodies in the UN.

There are three main reasons for the decline of the United Nations in the 1990s. First, patterns of war have changed. The Charter of the UN is based on the principles of sovereignty and non-intervention in the internal affairs of states. Second, despite the end of the cold war, the UN is only as effective as its member states, particularly the P5, allow it to be. Third, the UN is wholly funded by its member states, particularly the P5. Unless the United Nations is reformed, the gap between expectation and performance is unlikely to be closed.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the three main reasons for the decline of the UN in the 1990s?

3.7. War

The use of armed forces in a conflict, especially between countries. The conventional view is that for a conflict to be classified as a war, it should culminate in at least 1,000 battle deaths. This definition allows for the inclusion of other wars such as a civil war within a state and wars of the third kind. Although every war is unique, it is useful to distinguish between three categories of war as an organised set of hostilities conducted by states and initiated by the sending of large armed forces across an international boundary. The first of these three categories comprises wars that may be called 'rational'. These are wars that are deliberately initiated by one or more governments in the expectation that this war will be instrumental in achieving some national purpose. The second type of war is that of drift or collision. In these instances governments become involved in wars because of gross misjudgements or a failure to perceive some particular course of events. There is a third category of war that cuts across the first two categories. These are wars that are initiated because the government concerned is afraid of peace; it feels that if it does not go to war now, the result of several more years of peace would be more intolerable. For example, there is plenty of evidence to suggest that such fears lay behind Japan's decision to bomb Pearl Harbour in 1941.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Identify the three categories of war?

3.8. War Crime

The 1945 Charter of the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg defined war crimes as 'violations of the laws or customs of war', including murder, ill-treatment, or deportation of civilians in occupied territory; murder or ill-treatment of prisoners of war; killing of hostages; plunder of public or private property; wanton destruction of municipalities and any devastation that was not militarily necessary. The 1949 Geneva Conventions marked the first attempt to codify war crimes in a humanitarian law treaty. War crimes were defined as 'grave breaches' of each of the four Conventions (on wounded and sick on land, wounded and sick at sea, prisoners of war, and civilians). They include: wilful killing; torture or inhuman treatment; wilfully causing great suffering; wanton destruction of property unjustified by military necessity; compelling civilians or prisoners of war to serve the hostile power; wilfully depriving civilians or prisoners of war of a fair trial; unlawful deportation or confinement of civilians; the taking of hostages.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Identify and examine those acts which constitute war crimes?

3.9. Westphalia, peace of (1648)

A series of treaties (principally Munster and Osnabruck) which collectively ended hositilities in the Thirty Years War (1618-48). It is commonly said to mark the beginning of the modern system of international relations. In relation to seventeenth-century Europe, it marked the culmination of the anti-hegemonic struggle against the Habsburg aspirations for a supranational empire. It signalled the collapse of Spanish power, the fragmentation of Germany (thus delaying German unity for over two hundred years) and the rise of France as the major European power. A number of important principles, which were subsequently to form the legal and political framework of modern inter-state relations, were established at Westphalia. It explicitly recognized a society of states based on the principle of territorial sovereignty, it established the independence of states and emphasized that each had jural rights which all others were bound to respect. It recognized the legitimacy of all forms of government and established the notion of religious freedom and toleration (cuius regio, eius religio). In sum, it established a secular concept of international relations replacing forever the medieval idea of a universal religious authority acting as final arbiter of Christendom.

By destroying the notion of universalism, the 'Westphalia system' gave impetus to the notions of reason of state and balance of power as key concepts in foreign policy conduct and formulation. From 1648 onwards, the particularist interests of states became paramount both politically and legally. It should be noted, though, that the state-system established at Westphalia was primarily Christian and European. This double standard persisted in European diplomacy into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries when the Westphalia system gradually and often reluctantly became a global one. It is conventional wisdom in IR that the misnamed 'treaty' of Westphalia was an epoch-making single historic event that 'created' the modern system of sovereign states, each claiming exclusive control over a given territory. Recent scholarship has cast doubt on this cosy view. Sovereignty existed in practice long before the mid-seventeenth century and medieval practices continued long after. The term 'the Westphalia system' is thus convenient shorthand for systemic changes which took place over a lengthy period of time.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Discuss the treaty of Westphalia with highlights on its contributions to international relations?

3.10. World Bank

Originally called the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), it commenced operations in 1946 with a membership of 38 states, including the United States, Britain, and France. The initial task for the Bank was to provide loans to the shattered economies of Europe. During the 1950s and 1960s, as Europe began to recover from the Second World War, the Bank turned its attention to Africa, Asia, and Latin America, offering loans, guarantees, technical assistance, investment advice, and political risk management to middle-income countries seeking to modernise and develop. Over the past decade this commitment has extended to East European countries as well. The Bank now has a membership of more than 180 states and is headquartered in Washington, DC. It is one of the key agencies of the United Nations. Since the 1950s, four specialised organisations have been created to assist the Bank in its work. In 1956, the World Bank created the International Finance Corporation (IFC). This agency offers loans to private developers (mainly multinational corporations) as a way of attracting other private investment capital. The International Development Association (IDA) was the second of the specialised institutions created by the Bank.

The United States is the largest donor, contributing more than US$50 billion to the Bank since 1945. The day-to-day running of the bank is handled by an Executive Board consisting of 22 directors. Five of these are appointed by the largest donor countries (the United States, Japan, Germany, Britain, and France) and the rest are elected by the member countries. Above the executive directors are the President and the Board of Governors. The Board includes a representative from each of the member countries. Voting power is proportional to contributions made. This gives the United States the largest number of votes. The President of the Bank is appointed by the executive directors, generally for a five-year period. The World Bank has many critics. At one extreme are those who see it as a 'wolf in sheep's clothing'. From this vantage-point, the Bank is primarily an institution for opening up Third World markets for the First World rather than being devoted to reducing world poverty.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Why has the World Bank remained deeply distrusted in the Third World?

3.11. World Trade Organisation (WTO)

The WTO came into existence on 1 January 1995, as one result of the agreement reached in the seven-year-long Uruguay round of multi- lateral trade negotiations that was completed the previous year. Its history, however, extends much further back, at least to the proposed International Trade Organisation (ITO) that was designed in the mid- 1940s alongside the other Bretton Woods Institutions, the Inter- national Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. The ITO was never approved, and part of its intended purpose was served instead by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which had been agreed upon originally as only a temporary measure pending approval of the ITO. The GATT sponsored a series of rounds of trade negotiations, the Uruguay round being the most recent. Early rounds were primarily intended to reduce tariffs, the most successful of these being the Kennedy Round that was completed in 1967. It was followed by the Tokyo Round, begun in 1974 and completed in 1979. Unlike GATT, the WTO is a formal organisation that is not restricted to promoting trade liberalisation solely in manufactured goods. The institutional structure of the WTO contains three components: a revised GATT, the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), and the Agreement on Trade-Related Intellectual Property Issues (TRIPS).

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Discuss the three institutional structure of the WTO?

3.12. World-System Theory

The term world-system is synonymous with the term 'capitalist world-economy'. Based on the German word Weltwirtschaft, it refers to an entity within whose boundaries there is a single overarching division of labour but which in fact includes a number of separate state structures. This entity, according to world-system theorists, is a historical system whose structures operate at a different level from any existing political unit. Although inspired by radical dependency theories of underdevelopment in the 1950s as well as the French Annales school of historiography, the foremost pioneer of contemporary world-system theory is Immanuel Wallerstein. It was he who located the origins of the modern world-system in what he called 'the long sixteenth century', from around 1450 to 1670. Before this period, Western Europe was feudal, and economic production was based almost entirely on agriculture. It was not until the 1500s that Europe moved towards the establishment of a capitalist world economy, in which production was oriented towards exchange in the market rather than seasonal consumption, those who produced goods earned less than their value, and the driving force of capitalism became the endless

accumulation of material goods. The new world economy that emerged differed from previous empires in that it co-existed with a multiplicity of political jurisdictions and was characterised by a new single international division of labour between core and periphery. The core of the world-system refers to those regions that benefited most from change. In the period of initial expansion, this included most of north-western Europe (France, England, and Holland). The periphery, in contrast, refers to regions lacking strong central governments, dependent on coercive rather than wage labour, and whose economies depend on the export of raw materials to the core. Latin America and Eastern Europe were key peripheral zones in the sixteenth century. The semi-periphery is a crucial buffer between core and periphery. However, it was not until the early years of the twentieth century that the world-system became truly global.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Outline the evolutionary trend of the world system theory according to Wallerstein?

3.13. Xenophobia

Xenophobia is an excessive and irrational fear of anything foreign. This fear is most often of foreign people, places or objects. People who are xenophobic may display fear or even anger toward others who are foreign. While xenophobia is often used interchangeably with terms such as prejudice and racism, these terms have different meanings. Originally the word xenophobia comes from the Greek words xénos, meaning 'the stranger' and 'the guest' and phóbos, meaning 'fear'. Thus, xenophobia stands for 'fear of the stranger', but usually the term is taken to mean 'hatred of strangers'. In contrast to socio-biologists who consider xenophobia to be a universal phenomenon, social scientists describe it as one among several possible forms of reactions generated by anomic situations in the societies of modern states. Whereas racism usually entails distinction based on physical characteristic differences, such as skin colour, hair type, facial features, etc, xenophobia implies behaviour based on the idea that the other is foreign to or originates from outside the community or nation.

In the 90s, xenophobic outbursts were followed by an increase in acts of racist violence in several societies in the world. Two causes are put forward to explain the resurgence of xenophobic and racist movements towards the end of the twentieth century. The first cause is new migration patterns that have developed as an effect of the gradual internationalisation of the labour market during the postcolonial era. The second cause believed to reinforce xenophobia and racism is globalisation. Increased competition between states has led states to reduce their services in areas of social welfare, education

and healthcare. This reduction influenced in particular the segments of the population living on the margins of society. These groups are often in direct competition with migrants for welfare service and are the main breeding ground for xenophobic and racist ideologies.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Discuss the two factors that led to the resurgence of xenophobia in the late 20th century?

3.14. Zero-sum

A term derived from game theory. It refers to the fact that the numerical value of the 'pay-offs' add up to zero. It is therefore held to represent in mathematical terms a situation of pure conflict where a gain to one party is a loss to the other. The term is also used outside the strict confines of game theory. Students of conflict analysis will often use it to characterize a particular perception held by participants of the nature of their conflict. Conflict resolution may be made more difficult if this type of perception appears to be influential and deeply held.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
Using practical illustrations explain the zero-sum concept of international relations?

4.0. CONCLUSION

An abiding characteristic of terrorism is the indiscriminate use of violence against non-combatants for the purpose of gaining publicity for a group, cause, or individual. The symbolism of terrorism can leverage human fear to help achieve these goals. Debate will continue to reverberate from intellectual circles in international relations as to the current status of the world whether it is unipolar or bipolar in the face of a rising China. Debate will also continue no doubt, as to the suitability of a unipolar world. Any time the state as a concept is brought up for discussion, inevitably one must examine the doings of Westphalia where the state system began. This goes to show the perennial importance of this concept to international relations. One of the greatest achievements of the international community, arguably, is the consensus that individuals who have committed cruel acts against fellow individuals should be brought to account. This process began with the Nuremberg trials in the wake of the Second World War and is still ongoing.

5.0 SUMMARY

The Unit has provided some categories and examples of contemporary terror organizations and the mode of their operations, like kidnapping, arson, bombing, armed attacks. Discussions have also centred on third world and its depreciating ranks as countries such as the Asian tigers are moving into the First World. Our discussions in this unit have focused on unipolarism and its place in the present world order. In this unit we have discussed War Crime which effectively began with the 1945 Charter of the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg and defined war crimes as 'violations of the laws or customs of war', including murder, ill-treatment, or deportation of civilians. The Westphalia, Peace of (1648) which began the state system; and the Zero-Sum which refers to a state making gains at another state's loss, it is an aspect of games theory.

6.0 TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Examine the security state of the world since the collapse of communism and the emergence of America as the sole super power?

Critically examine the concept 'third world', is it still tenable given that some countries have crossed over to first world status and others are on the verge of doing so?

Write short notes on zero sum, peace of Westphalia, and war crimes concepts?

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