About the Author

Dr Chukwu, Ruwhuoma Doris is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Political and Administrative Studies, Faculty of Social Science of the University of Port Harcourt. She is an international Relations Scholar with Research and Publications in International Security and International Law. Dr Chukwu is a member of many Professional Bodies.

About the Book

The Dynamics of International Relations is a concise introductory text, written for students to understand the fundamentals of International Relations (IR). The book outlines key current theories, processes, structures, approaches, and controversies, and stresses the relationship between the theory of IR and the realities of the international system, both historically, and as it faces the challenge of an increasingly globalized world. The textbook aims to introduce students and researchers to the main actors and institutions of IR, and leading issues, in a manner that both excites interest and lucidly explains topics for students with no previous background in IR.

DYNAMICS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS - RUWHUOMA DORIS CHUKWU

Dynamics of International Relations

Ruwhuoma Doris Chukwu

Dynamics of International Relations

Dr. Ruwhuoma Doris Chukwu
Department of Political and Administrative Studies
Faculty of Social Sciences
University of Port Harcourt
Tel: +234 8033424853, +234 8182421859
Email: ruwhuoma.doris@yahoo.com

DEDICATION

This book is dedicated to the Most High God

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

DYNAMICS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Professor Yusufu A. Zoaka
Department of Political Science and International Relations
Faculty of Social Science, University of Abuja

The **Dynamics of International Relations** is a concise introductory text, written for students to understand the fundamentals of International Relations (IR). The book outlines key current theories, processes, structures, approaches, and controversies, and stresses the relationship between the theory of IR and the realities of the international system, both historically, and as it faces the challenge of an increasingly globalized world. The textbook aims to introduce students and researchers to the main actors and institutions of IR, and leading issues, in a manner that both excites interest and lucidly explains topics for students with no previous background in IR.

Relevance/Longevity rating:
The content is up-to-date. The author is commended for extensive coverage of the latest advances in IR scholarship and supported by a wealth of contemporary case examples. The book is a detailed companion for students of politics and international relations in need of an exciting and rigorous introduction to the subject.

Clarity rating/consistency:
The book is written in a way that will be accessible to most undergraduates. Each chapter is introduced with sub-themes to be discussed in the chapter. The presentation makes the reading interesting. The book is consistent in tone. The content is accurate and well-researched.

The text is clear and understandable. This is a good textbook.

Table of Contents
Dedication
Acknowledgments
Preface
Table of contents

MEANING OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

I nteraction is an integral part of man, as no human can live as an Island. Relationship rule the world. The scope and complexity of this dynamic course of man's life, make international relations a fascinating study. In addition, excitement in knowing what is happening, not only in an immediate environment, but far outside, into other parts of the world, make international relations more exhilarating. Reading newspapers, listening to news, travelling, buying and selling items are all activities that connect us outside our environment and link us to the world. The choices we make in our daily lives ultimately connect us to the world we live. In terms of employment, the prospects for getting jobs, depend on the global economy and international economic situation.

In the course of all these activities, as it is in life generally, there is competition. The fall outs from these settings, creates so much issues in the international system that international relations has to contend with. The evolving nature of the world and ensuing contests obviously shows the dynamics of relations in the international arena. With all these, we can confidently situate international relations, (IR) as interactions in the international system. It is contacts outside the boundaries of States, including activities within a State whose impact transcends the State frontiers. Oche, 2000 puts it as all activities, public and private that extend or have the potential of extending beyond the territorial boundaries of a State. It is a field that embraces all intercourse and interactions among states and all movements of peoples, goods and ideas across national frontiers. International relations is a field of study that focuses on diverse issues as international trade, international migrations,

tourism, transportation, including land, sea and air communication and the development of international valves and ethics. This is in agreement with Mathiesen 1959, who defined international relations as all kinds of relations traversing State boundaries, no matter whether they are of an economic, legal, political or any other character, whether they be private or official, including all human behaviour originating on one side of a State boundary and affecting human behaviour on the side of the boundary. Hoksti 1977 also confirms international relations as all forms of interactions between members of separate societies, whether government sponsored or not.

International relations basically is the totality of relations in the world. The mode of interactions in Co-operation, Conflictual and Competitive shapes, entails manoeuvring for the attainment of perceived interests. All the swings of actions come in the forms of Isolation, Sanctions, Neutrality, Aggression, Compellence and Reciprocity. The techniques for these interactions include Political Warfare, Underground Activities, Propaganda, Ideological Tacks, Cultural strategy, in the forms of education, technology and science. Sanctions involve coercive measures to influence. Intervention involves appeasements, compromise, pre-emptive, defensive or preventive wars.

Frederick S. Dunn in Ghosh, 2009 see international relations as the actual relations that take place across national boundaries including the body of knowledge which we have, of those relations at any given time. All differing disposition of scholars on international relations has its foundation on this primary definition. Mingst 2004 attest to this where he contends that international relation is the study of the interactions among the various actors that participate in international politics, including States, International Organization, and Non-Governmental Organisations, Subnational Entities, like Bureaucracies and Governments and Individuals. According to him, international relations is the study of the behaviours of these Actors as they participate individually and together in the international political processes. This position aligns with Goldstein and Pevehouse 2008, who confirms that international relations is concerned with relationships among the World's Government and are closely connected with other Actors as

International Organizations (IOs), Multi-National Corporations (MNCs), Individuals and other Social Structures, including economic structure and domestic politics and also with geographical and historical influences.

Hoffman 2015 attests international relations, as a discipline concerned with the factors and activities which affect the external policies and power of the basic units into which the world is divided. Onuoha 2008 who view international relations, as the systematic and patterned interactions or transactions between States and Non-State Actors in the international system which involves the 3Cs of Cooperation, Competition and Conflicts, is also in agreement with the ideas of the last three Scholars. Rounding up these conceptualisations, is Morgenthau 1967, who affirm power, as the central theme in international relations. The dimensions of these scholars' position on international relations, in addition to the primary understanding of international relations, shows the dynamics of international relations. Understanding of these divergent views on international relations will be pronounced in the course of this book.

History of International Relations
The history of international relations can be said to take its root from the time when people began to settle down and formed themselves in separate units and groups that initiated avenues for interactions. Such contacts must have involved competitions, disputes, threats, intimidations, interventions, invasions, conquests, settlements, dialogues, collaborations, exchange etc. These units and groups grew up to become outstanding forces in international relations. However, analysing contacts among these factors is the bedrock of the field of international relations. The study of international relations therefore can be said to have started from the 20th century. Prior to this period there was no systematic study of international relations. Studies were mainly centered on the ideas of political philosophers. Most of their works centered around the realist conception of the foundation of relations in the international arena. From the classical theorist of the Greek Historian, Thucydides study of the Peloponnesian war to Plato's work on the ideal State, to Aristotle's study on the problem of order in the Greek

City State, from where the modern philosophers took off to analyse relations, all laid foundation for the emergence of the discipline of international relations. St. Thomas Aquinas 1225 – 74 developed the framework of natural law that releases man's good tendencies. Thomas Hobbes, the English Philosopher 1588 – 1679 in his study in the Leviathan, imagined a state of nature, a world without an international authority, a state of anarchy. The French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau 1712 – 1778 whose ideas were tested in the French Revolution described the state of nature in both national and international society. Immanuel Kant, the German Philosopher 1724 – 1804 whose ideas was towards the idealist thought, advocated for a universal peace, a world order.

The tradition laid by these philosophers contributed to the development of international relations in drawing attention to fundamental relationships between the individual and society, between individuals in society and between societies. According to Mingst 2004, these philosophers had varied, often competing visions of what these relationships are and what they ought to be. Their writings no doubt, have led contemporary international relations scholars to understand the characteristics of leaders, recognise the importance of the interests, nature and analogy of the state and most importantly, the descriptions of an international community. (Mingst pp.3-8). Thus, international relations as an academic discipline was established by David Davis and Alfred Zimmern in 1919, at the University of Wales, Aberystwyth, United Kingdom. Alfred Zimmern, a renowned historian was the first Professor of international relations and occupied the Wilson Professorial chair, established in the University from 1919 – 1921. The second Scholar to occupy the chair was Charles Kingsley Webster, another eminent Historian, from 1922 – 1932. Two other non-profit Research Institutions were also established after WWI for the study, analysis and promotion of major and topical global issues. They are the British Think Tank, known as the Royal Institute of International Affairs, the famous Chatham House in London 1920, and the United States of American Council on Foreign Relations in New York (1921). A Professorial Chair named after Sir Ernest Cassel was also established at the London School of Economies and Political Science in 1924, for the

study of international relations. (Gilbert pp. 11-12). The founding fathers of international relations study; Davies and Zimmern were influenced by the 14 Points of President Woodrow Wilson whose ideas came from Immanuel Kant's 1795 Essay; Perpetual Peace. He gave three important prescriptions on how to curtail conflict and maintain peace, stability and development in the international system. The horrible and traumatic experience of the Frist World War, WWI, was a major force for the establishment of the discipline of international relations. WWI was the first total war in modern time and one of the deadliest conflicts in the history of mankind. IR studies from the WWI were centered on the major causes of the war, lessons to be learnt and the direction of a New World order. (Nte pp. 6-11). International relations are thus inclined towards war and peace embodied in the 3Cs of Co-operation, Competition and Conflict.

Actors in International Relations
Actors in international relations are units of interactions in international relations. They are entities that make international relations work. These entities consistently participate in the course of relations in the international system. These Actors are State Actors and Non-State or Transnational Actors, including Intergovernmental Organisations (IGOs), Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and Multinational Corporations (MNCs) or Transnational Corporations Companies (TNCs).

Non-State Actors
Non-State Actors implies that States are dominant and other Actors are subordinates. To properly integrate all other Actors in the international scene, the term transnational is more encompassing to include Non-State Organizations and all Private Actors in international politics. They may include Legitimate and Non-Legitimate transnational actors like Individuals, Research Institutes, Powerful Communities, Terrorist Groups, Criminal Networks, Religious Groups, Multinational or Transnational Corporations, Transnational Networks Coalitions, Social Movements, Political Parties etc. The TNCs or MNCs come in form of the following:
  - Industrial Corporations like the Automobile, Oil, and Electronic

Industries.
- Financial Corporations, mainly the Banks, for the sharp and rapid movement of money across borders.
- Services Corporations, including Food, like the McDonald's, the Telecommunication, International Airlines etc.

The roles of the TNCs in international relations is complex and, in some cases, dispute, as most scholar see them as virtually agents of their home national governments. With the evolving trends in the international system, TNCs are increasingly becoming powerful Actors in terms of their sales and economic activities. TNCs really contribute to global interdependence. According to Goldstein & Pavehouse 2008, they are so deeply entwined in so many States that they have a profound interest in the stable operation of the international system, especially in security issues, as well as in trade and monetary relations. The operations of the MNCs, support a global business infrastructure connecting a transnational community of business people. MNCs contribute to international interdependence as States depend on them to create new wealth and they depend on States to maintain international stability conducive to doing business globally. MNCs are increasingly powerful, not only in international economic affairs, but also in the international political policies of the headquarters State and the States they operate, as well as in the international alliance system. It should be noted at this point that the ability of Transnational Companies TNCs to change prices means they can evade taxes and government controls on their international financial transactions. The structure of authorities over TNCs generates potentials for intense conflicts between governments, when the legal authority of one government has extra territorial impact on the sovereignty of another government. Criminals as Non-Legitimate Actors, include variety of Groups engaged in violent, and, or criminal behaviour on a transnational basis. International criminal activities include theft, fraud, haphazard violence, drugs and arms trafficking, piracy, criminal financial flows, money laundering, etc. Guerrillas as Non-Legitimate Actor, is a neutral term to cover all groups fighting for political goals, whether or not, they adopt terrorist's methods. National Liberation Movement can be seen as Guerrilla Group, based in one or more nations seeking liberation from domination by the government of

a foreign State. These liberation fighters played active role in international relations in the era of Colonialism. However, with the attainment of independence by all colonial territories, they became no longer a force to reckon within international relations. This is also confirmed with the dissolution of the Trusteeship Council (Organ) of the United Nations, entrusted with the responsibility to assist nations struggle to get independence.

At their points of operations, political violence was adopted by a variety of groups to protest on specific issues. Those Groups were often called Terrorists to express disapproval, and Guerrillas, in neutral view, or National Liberation Movements by their supporters. The Nationalists or the Groups, usually received external supports from members of the same national groups in other countries or governments hostile to their own governments or other actors who see their cause as legitimate. Clarification on these non-legitimate actors at this point is to reiterate the dynamic nature of international relations. Their roles were reckoned with because of the prevailing circumstances in the international system at that time. With the end of colonialism, most of these forces transformed into other squads to be relevant in the current trends in international relations.

States (Actor)
From the Peace Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 at the end of the thirty years religious war in Europe, States have been the most important actor in international relations. A State is a political and geographical entity inhabited by a population. According to Rourke 1999, States are territorially defined political units that exercise ultimate internal authority and recognise no legitimate external authority. The State is ultimately seen as a politically organised body or group of people occupying a definite territory with a government entirely free from external control. Article I of the Montevideo Convention on Rights and Duties of States 1933, laid the most widely accepted formulation of the criteria of statehood in international law. According to the Convention, the State, as an international person should possess a permanent population, a defined territory, a government and a capacity to enter into relations with other States (Shaw 1997). By territory, it means the

landmarks, airspace, coast line which are recognised in international law as physically defining the territorial boundary of the State. By population, it means people who are citizens of that political community by birth or naturalization. Sometimes it may include aliens residing and working within that community. Government presupposes among other things, a body of persons legitimately empowered to carry out the duties of the State on its behalf. Capacity to enter into relations entails sovereignty, by which the State is able to compel obedience from the subjects, to make its laws and enforce their compliance and simply act independently of other States. The State provides the framework of rules, creates the regulatory environment, investment codes, currency regulations, tax regimes, labour laws, property guarantee etc. that facilitates international relations. A State government answers to no higher authority. It exercises sovereignty over its territory that is recognised by other States through diplomatic relations. The state is the most important Actor in international relations.

International Organisations
According to Shaw 1997, the evolution of the modern nation States and the consequent development of an international order founded upon a growing number of independent and sovereign territorial units inevitably gave rise to questions of international co-operation. As relations increased, it became necessary to regulate and set common standards through bilateral and later multilateral diplomatic conferences. Diplomatic representations became more wide spread as the system expanded and political and economic relationships multiplied. It soon became apparent however, that diplomatic contacts in themselves were unable to cope completely with complexities of the international system. International conferences that dealt with problems of two or three States emerged and initiated treaty relationships in international relations.

According to Umozuruike 1999, the movement towards organised society probably dates back to the Congress of Vienna in 1815 that marked the end of the Napoleonic wars. It was the first attempt to create a standing conference of European powers to deal with problems and streamlined their policies. Many diplomatic conferences were held

between 1820 and 1885 in Europe. Achievement during this period include co-operation in communication, transport, public health and economic growth, and served as the first definite steps towards a semi-organised international community. The League of Nations which was established in 1920 was the first attempt at a general political organisation on a general basis. The deficiencies in the league of Nations that led to the Second World War (WWW2), led to the creation of the United Nations in 1945. In the face of these developments in these inter-government organisations, there was also considerable growth in Non-Governmental Organisation such as the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) founded in 1863, the International Telegraph Union 1865 and others. These Private International Unions, as they are also called, demonstrated a wide-ranging community of interests on specific areas and an awareness that co-operation had to be international to be effective. Such Unions also created the machinery for regular meetings, and many established permanent secretariats. The works of these Organisations was, and remains of considerable value in influencing governmental activities as well as stimulating world actions (Inis 1971).

Inter-Governmental Organisations (IGOs)
As notable Actors in international relations, IGOs are institutions with formal procedures and formal membership from three or more States. According to Cheever and Haviland 1954 as cited in Palmer & Perking 2002, IGO is any co-operative arrangement instituted among States, usually by a basic agreement, to perform some mutually advantageous functions, implemented through periodic meetings and staff activities. IGOs are made up individual States as members, and have a central administrative structure usually headed by a Secretary General, based at the headquarters. Member States meet regularly to discuss issues of common interest and agree on resolutions as policy measures. Membership is voluntary and decisions are binding and respected by members. Examples are the United Nations (UN), the World Bank, the International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO) the World Trade Organisation WTO, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), Regional Organisation, World Health Organisation (WHO) etc. States often take actions through, within, or in the context of IGOs. They fulfil a variety of functions and very in size according to their classification. They may be

universal or global, regional or sub-regional. IGOs may be general in character or specialised. They may have comprehensive or limited competence. The UN for instance, has wide scope of coverage. The ICAO, WHO, WTO, deal with specific or specialised matters. IGOs may be advisory, regulatory or supranational. The International Court of Justice (ICJ) for instance, sometimes renders advisory opinion that in most cases, carry moral implications. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the ICAO are regulatory, while the European Economic Community (EEC), the Organisation of African Unity have super national characteristics. IGOs may be executive when they carry out specific functions for the member states. They may be judicial like the ICJ and the European Court of Human Rights. They may be political, like the UN that has general political competence. It has also been suggested that IGOs may further be classified as Ad-hoc, provisional or permanent in relation to their duration and as single purpose or multipurpose according to the nature of their purpose, Bowett (pp. 9-11).

Every IGOs has a plenary organ in which all members are represented with equal or weighted voting and also an executive organ or secretariat. Generally, the functions of IGOs is regulation of international relations through peaceful means in settling disputes and enhancement of relations among states. They are structures for political communication, and are systems that constrain the behaviours of their members. IGOs was formed by States often spearhead the creation and maintenance of international rules and principles based on their common concerns. Charters of IGOs incorporable the norms, rules and decision-making processes of regimes.

IGOs build up international co-operation because they facilitate regular interactions among States. Some IGOs also play key roles in international bargaining, as they provide arena for negotiating and developing coalitions. IGOs may serve as the venue where major changes in the international distribution of power are negotiated. States use IGOs as instrument of foreign policy. The League of Nations and later the UN can be used as mirror to understanding these functions and role of IGOs.

Non-Government Organisational (NGOs)

NGOs are private international actors whose members are volunteers from two or more States united to promote shared interests and ideals to influence State policies and international organisations. NGOs are also seen as "transnational advocacy network because they choose to work together on an international issue and seek changes in the world for many causes like disarmament, humanitarian, women's right, environmental protection, human rights etc. Most pursue objectives that are highly respected and constructive, like Amnesty International, the International Chamber of Commerce, the International Red Cross, Save the Children, the World Wildlife Federation, Global Youth Connect (support young people who are victims of human right abuses), Union of Concerned Scientists, Doctors without Border etc. Many NGOs represent powerful vested interests that work secretly to lobby for global policies that protect powerful interest through private commercial interests as well as the great powers, at the expense of connective interests. Powerful NGOs help shape decisions in international politics. NGOs are eligible for Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) consultative status. UN draft Charter Art 71 empowers the ECOSOC to consult with NGOs. The Groups recognised by ECOSOC come in 3 categories

- Groups concerned with the Council's work
- Specialised Groups with few field activity
- Groups that can make occasional contributions to the Council

NGOs most times combine efforts through transnational advocacy works.

Levels of Analysis

The many Actors in international relations, no doubt contributes to the competing explanations of happenings in the international system. Understanding the multiplicity of the influences of these actors have led scholars to categorise them into levels of analysis. According to Goldstein and Pevehouse 2008, a level of analysis is a perspective on international relations based on a set of similar actors or processes that suggests possible explanation to "why" questions. Many influences affect the course of international relations. Level of analysis provide a framework to categorize these influences for explanations of international events.

Kegley, 2007 confirms level of analysis, as the different aspects of and agents in international affairs that may be stressed in interpreting and explaining global phenomena. Levels of analysis help suggest multiple explanations and approaches to consider in explaining events in the international arena. A good understanding of issues in the international relations can be gotten from the levels of analysis. These levels include the individual, State and global analysis of world events. Each of these levels attempts to present a different viewpoint on the decisions, actions, reactions and the peculiarities of the various actors in the international system.

The Individual Level of Analysis

This level of analysis is concerned with the perceptions, choices and actions of individual actors. Great leaders, individuals, citizens, thinkers, soldiers and voters all influence the course of history. Personal characteristics of humans have important political consequences. The personality traits, attitudes, religious and ideological beliefs of statesmen are analysed to understand the rational for certain decision with significant political consequences in international relations. The individual level of analysis generally centres on the personality, perceptions, activities, choices of individual in understanding international events.

The State Level of Analysis

This level of analysis revolves around the authoritative decision-making units in charge of States foreign policy processes and the internal environments, including the type of government, level of economic and military power and the ethnic dispositions etc. of States. According to Kegley 2007, the State level of analysis is an analytical approach that emphasizes how the internal attributes of States influence their foreign policy behaviours. Gilbert 2011, affirms that this level is basically concerned with the international environment that affects foreign policy formulation and implementation by States. The State level focuses on the characteristics of the State, the type of government (democracy or authoritarian), and the type of economic system (capitalist or socialist), interest groups within the State and the national interest of the State. The processes by which States make decisions on war and peace and their

capabilities for carrying out those decisions, fall within the State level of analysis.

The Global System Level of Analysis

This level of analysis considers the interactions of Actors whose behaviours and activities ultimately shape the international political system. It also contends with the levels of conflict and co-operations that characterise the international system. This level is concerned with the patterns and trends of events that shape the international system. Generally, this level revolves around international norms and rules, the actors, especially the non-State actors, and alliances, in the evolving international system.

Review Questions

1. What is the Meaning of International Relations
2. Write on the History of International Relations
3. What are the Actors in International Relations
4. Write briefly on Levels of Analysis of International Relations

References

Bowett, D. (1975). The Law of International Institutions. Third Edition. London, Oxford University Press.

Goldstein J and Pevehouse, J. (2008). International Relations. Eighth Edition. New York. Pearson, Longman.

Ghosh, P. (2009). International Relations. New Delhi. PHL Learning Private Limited.

Gilbert, L. (2013). International Relations: A handbook for Beginners. Port Harcourt Gleribooks.

Hoffman, S. (2015) Contemporary Theory of International Relations. New Jersey. Prentice Hall Englewood Cliff.

Holsti (1977). International Politics: A Framework of Analysis. Englewood Cliffs. N.J. Prentice Hall.

Inis, C. (1971). Swords into Plowshares. The progress and problems of international organisations. New York. Randon House.

Kegley, C. (2007) World Politics: Trend and Transformation United States of America. Thomson and Wadsworth.

Mathiesen (1959). Methodology in the study of International Relations. Oslo. Oslo University Press

Mingst, K. (2004). Essentials of International Relations. New York. W.W. Norton & company Inc.

Morganthau, H. (1978). Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace. New York: Alfred A. Knoff.

Nte, T. (2019) International Relations: Fundamental Theories and Law of Nations. Port Harcourt. Ken Nami Publishers.

Oche O. 2000. Principles of International Relations. In Selected Readings on Nigeria's Foreign Policy and International Relations. Lagos. NIIA Press.

Onuoha, J. (2008). Beyond Diplomacy: Contemporary Issues in International Relations Nsukka. Great AP Express Publishers Limited.

Palmer, M. and Perking, H. (2002). International Relations. Delhi. A.I.T.B.S. Publishers.

Rourke, J. (1999). International Politics on the World Stage. Connecticut. Dushikin/McGraw-Hill.

Shaw, M. (1997). International Law. Fourth Edition. United Kingdom. Cambridge University Press.

Umozuruike, (1999). Introduction to International Law. Ibadan Spectrum

THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Theory is a mental construct, activity, process etc. used as a clue to understanding a phenomenon. Theory is a scheme or system of ideas or statements held as an explanation of a group of facts or phenomenon. It is sets of images or perspectives that are used as mechanical tools to describe, explain, analyse and predict events. According to Igwe 2003, theory is a cause – effect logical explanation of a phenomenon and prediction of its subsequent development. Theory he further attest, is the highest level of generalization in a scientific discipline, containing all the essential elements of the explanation at the particular stage of knowledge.

Hoffman 1969 confirms theory, "as a systematic study of observable phenomena that tries to discover the principal variables to explain the behaviour, and to reveal the characteristic types of relations among national units. Theories in political science deal with diverse aspects of political reality and differ in their levels of elaboration of the knowledge. International relations scholars formulate different theories to analyse international events for clear understanding that will influence decisions and actions. Theories that guide policy makers and scholars in the different historical epochs talks much about world politics. Over time, paradigms of analysis have been revised or abandoned when their assertions have failed to mirror the prevailing patterns of international behaviour. All assertions and analysis of all the historical eras have provided lessons critical to developing policies to preserve world order. Kenneth Waltz attests that theories describe the laws of international

politics from the frequent shapes of national behaviour. Wright 1955 defined a general theory of international relations as a "comprehensive, coherent and self-correcting body of knowledge contributing to the understanding, the predicting, the evaluation and the control of relations among states and of the conditions of the world". (Wright, p.22). According to Kegley 2007, major wars have been potent in bringing about significant changes in the theoretical interpretations of world affairs. Three such system-transforming wars dominated the twentieth century. World War 1 (WWI), World War II (WW II) and the Cold War. Each shaped policy makers perceptions of world politics, and each provided lessons critical to developing policies to best preserve world order in the twenty-first century.

When the formal study of international relations began in the late twentieth century, many people had believed that peace and prosperity have come to stay, especially coming at the end of the series of wars in Europe, between 1848 and 1870. The large-scale death and destructions from WW 1, destroyed the sense of security and peace. It stimulated the search for knowledge to address contemporary policy problems in a theoretical context that could reliably predict war and instruct leaders on the best policies to prevent it, Kegley pp.24 – 25. The two core perspectives that have influenced thoughts and understanding of international relations are realism and idealism or liberalism with their neo-variants. The two theories differ in their conception of the nature of man, society and politics.

The Idealists or Liberalists believe that a rational and moral political order, derived from universally valid abstract principle is obtainable in world politics. They assume the essential goodness of human nature and advocates proper education and reform. The realists on their part, believes that the imperfect world is as a result of the forces inherent in human selfish and evil nature. The idealists see State actions as motivated by ideals and values, while the realists see State as motivated by what they perceive to be their interests and behaviours, that outcomes are determined by the distribution of power among States, because power is the ultimate in international politics.

The Realist Theory

Realism trace its intellectual roots to the following trends:

i. The ancient Greek Historian Thucydides from his account of the Peloponnessian wars between Athens and Sparta 431-424 B.C.
ii. The Writings of Kautilya (Minister of the Maurya Emperor of India, more than 2000 years ago.
iii. The 16th century political thoughts of the Italian theorists Niccolo Machiavelli
iv. The 17th century English Philosopher, Thomas Hobbes.
v. The 18th century French philosopher J. J. Rousseau.
vi. Other 20th century Scholars and Writers (Aja Akpuru – Aja 2010).

The Realists Theory can best be seen in the following assumptions:

i. Human nature is selfish and evil.
ii. Human lust for power and desire to dominate others.
iii. Power cannot be ruled out in human relations.
iv. International politics is struggle for power.
v. The primary duty of State is the promotion of national interests.
vi. States are significant actors in international politics.
vii. The international system is anarchic and therefore freely competitive.
viii. Material factors such as military resources and the balance of power matter far more than non-material factors as norm, institutions and international law.
ix. Economics is less relevant to national security except where it services as a means of acquiring and expanding State power and prestige.
x. Allies might be sought to increase a state's ability to defend itself.
xi. States should rely less on international organisations and security for self-protection.
xii. If all states seek to maximise power, stability will result by maintaining a balance of power (Kegley pp.29-31).

The Realists believe the world is evil, so States must prepare for an eventual show of strength and force, hence emphasis on military factor. Power, then is the key variable that shape international behaviour.

International politics is dominated by the quest for power. For the Realists, in international relations, where power is the ultimate, it is the power of States that make impact in relations. International relation thus, is a show of power. It is a competition. A realist vision of international relations is a state of nature defined by continual insecurity, competition and potential or actual conflict. Realism predates the modern State System from its intellectual roots, here outlined:

i. Thucydides account of the Peloponnesian war where he contends that the political behaviour of individuals and subsequent outcomes of relations between States are built on fear and self-interest seen in Sparta's fear of the increasing power of Athens.

ii. Hobbes portray life as brutish and short, which Machiavelli recommends the use of all forces at the disposal of the prince in furtherance of State interests.

iii. E. H. Carr's accounts of the twenty years war, attacked idealism as being responsible for the collapse of the world economy in 1929 and the rise of Fascism in Europe. According to him, the world was rather a place without harmony of interest but much of power play between States:

iv. H. A. Morgenthau, in his, Politics Amongst Nations, see international politics as a struggle for power and only through balance of power would peace prevail. He focused mainly on the concept of interest, defined in terms of power.

v. Kenneth Waltz, in his Theory of International Politics, written during the Cold War, focused on the structure of the international system which was driven by the number of great powers.

Generally, Realism has the Historical Realist in Thucydides, Classical Realists in Machiavelli and Hobbes, and Structural Realist in Waltz. To the historical and classical realists, nations have no harmony of interests, and are diabolical in nature as they always try to undo and outsmart each other. The Structural Realist in contrast to the Classical, contends that it is not that man and the States are diabolical in nature, but that the structure of the international system where there is no police man, no order, and no authority, creates anarchy. In such a situation, attempts to acquire power leads to a construction of a world of the strong. For them international relations revolve around the following:

i. The pursuit of power
ii. Acquiring power
iii. Increasing power
iv. Projecting power
v. Using it to bend others, to one's will

The Neo-realists theories opted for a global system level of analysis against the individual and State levels. They emphasize anarchy in the absence of central institutions above, and that States differ in capabilities. It is the distribution of capabilities that define the structure of the global/international system. While Classical realists see power and its acquisition as an end to itself, Neo-realists see power as a means to survival, to increase capability in military and economic terms.

Realism and Power
The Realist theory is basically centred on the State and the State system, human nature, history and ethics and has its intellectual foundations in the ancient world with manifestations extending into and beyond the contemporary world. Realism is a theory whose general orientation is rooted in a central focus on power and emphasizes anarchy and the balance of power. Realism emphasizes the constraints on politics imposed by human selfishness and the absence of international government (anarchy), which require the primacy of power and security. Rationality and State centrism are the core premises on which realism anchors. Realists recognise that human desires range widely and vary. They emphasize the limitations which the sordid and selfish aspects of human nature place on the conduct of diplomacy and warns on the need to avoid making greater demands on human nature than its frailty can satisfy". As Machiavelli put it, in politics, we must act as if all men are wicked and that they will always give vent to the malignity that is in their minds when opportunity offers. For the Realists, the absence of a central authority (anarchy) allows and even encourages the worst aspects of human nature to be expressed. There are different types of realism, the simplest distinction we will adopt is a form of periodization and a summary of the variants to be outlined in a table as a Taxonomy of Realism.

Taxonomy of Realism

Types of Realism	Key thinkers (classical and modern)	Key texts	"Big idea"
Structural Realism I (Human Nature)	Thucydides (c4730 - 400BC) Morgenthau (1948)	The Peloponnesian War Politics Among Nations	International politics is driven by an andless struggle for power which has its roots in human nature. Justice, law, and society have either no place or are circumscribed
Historical or Practical Realism	Machiavelli (1532) Carr (1939)	The Prince The twenty Years Crisis 1919-1939	Political Realism recognises that principles are subordinated to policies; the ultimate skill of the state leader is accept and adapt to the changing power political configurations in world polities.
Structural Realism II (International system)	Rosseau (c. 1750) Waltz (1979)	The State of War Theory of International Relations	It is not human nature, but the anarchical system which fosters fear, jealousy, suspicion and insecurity, conflict can emerge even if the actors have benign intent towards each other.
Liberal Realism	Hobbes (1651) Bull (1977)	The Anarchical Society	The international anarchy can be cushioned by states who have the capability to deter other states from aggression, and who are able to construct elementary rules for their coexistence.

Baylis and Smith, 1997:13

Thucydides (1954) presents power politics as a law of human behaviour. His analysis of the Peloponnesian War presents self-interest, alliance, balance of power, capabilities and insecurity, as key principles of the Realists view. Building on Thucydides, Hans Morgenthau (1978) introduced the politics of power. According to Pfaltzgraff and Dougherty, 2001:

> *Realists stress the importance of power and interest rather than ideals in international relations. Realism is basically conservative, empirical, prudent, suspicious of idealistic principles and respectful of the lessons of history… Realists*

regard power as the fundamental concept in the social sciences (such as energy is in physics), although they admit that power relationships are often cloaked in moral and legal terms.

For Morgenthau (1978), nations must control other Nations by force, acquire territories by force and must not have any moral justifications for justice, fairness and common sense. According to Herz, J. (1976) "anarchy assures the centrality of the struggle for power even in the absence of aggressive or similar factors". The Classical Realists, without denying the centrality of anarchy, also emphasized human nature. Morgenthau for instance argued that "the social world, is but a projection of human nature into the collective plan". To Classical Realists, conflict and war are rooted in human nature but also emphasize the role of statesmanship and the analysis of the attributes of State power. Machiavelli, the leading classical exponent of Historical Realism advocates State control of the external environment. E.H. Carr is the modern Machiavelli advocating State power and morality with force and appeasement. Thucydides as Structural Realists see power politics as a law of human behaviour. Realist view human nature as a determining structure in international relations. It is in this line that the Structural Realists attribute the cause of conflict to the anarchic structure of the international system that has created a driving force for States to go to war even when its leaders desired peace.

The Liberal Realists analogy between the individuals in a state of nature, and sovereigns in a state of war, suggests a kind of permanent cold war where States are constantly living in fear of being attacked. The Neo-classical Realists combine analysis of structures and the internal attributes of state. Their focus is on the ways characteristics patterns of domestic political systems, interact with international structure forces, to produce State behaviour. It is in this sense that the Neo-Realists see the aggressive nature of the State as generated by the competitive nature of the anarchical nature of the international system that is devoid of enforceable regulatory mechanism. Thomas Hobbes, see the international system as a place of permanent cold war. To the Realists, the highest moral duty of the State is its own preservation, which must be realized by welding power, (Smith, Steve, Brown et al. 1996:14-19).

According to Mac-Ogonor (2000):

> *The interest of the State defined in terms of power, is the primary moral guide by which policies are developed, but prudence in pursuing that interest is the primary ethical guide by policy-makers and is what is called the supreme virtues in politics.*

The political assertions of the Realists can be seen in this light. "In a World of Power Politics, States must arrange their interests to provide for survival". Balance of power arrangements, according to the Realists, are the most effective technique for managing power. States' major preoccupations for the realists is the search for ways to acquire and keep power, increase power and demonstrate power and do anything prudent or otherwise to achieve this goal. Realists are distinguished by the intensity of their commitment to their core principles. Radical Realists, for instance, excludes almost everything, except power and self-interest from international politics. Hobbes as a Classical Realists, in his book "Leviathan, present 3 Realist assumptions, including;

  i.   Men are equal
  ii. They interact in anarchy
  iii. They are motivated by competition, difference, and glory.

Though men are equal, the equality of ability, give rise to the equality of hope to attain ends, but scarcity prevent each from having as much as he desires. This situation of course breeds competition that will eventually create enemies. The absence of government lead to war, as dispute would easily degenerate into violence. Thus the state of war is a necessary logical consequence of the model. Even in this context, Hobbes maintains that the pursuit of gain and glory would reduce the frequency of intensity of conflict, because it will breed passion for peace upon which men may be drawn into agreement.

Waltz Structural Realism tend to set aside those features of international relations that depend on the character of the actors or the nature of their interactions, but highlights the constraining impact of the structure of the international system in which they are embedded. Waltz 1979 argues that political structures are defined by their ordering principles that have

necessitated the following questions.
  i. How are units related to one another?
  ii. How are political functions allocated?
  iii. How is power distributed?

In response to these questions, Waltz identifies hierarchy and anarchy as the two principal political ordering principles in domestic and international politics. According to him, Units either stand in relationship of anarchy and subordination (hierarchy) or they do not (anarchy). Waltz contends that anarchy largely eliminates functional differentiation between the Units. In anarchic international orders, every Unit must put itself in a position to be able to take care of itself since no one else can be counted on, to do so. Differences between States matters are, of capabilities, not function. National politics consists of differentiated Units performing specified functions. International politics consists of like Units, duplicating one another's activities. According to him, international orders are anarchic, because it has minimal functional differentiation in their distributions of capabilities which are defined by the changing fates of great powers. Thus, international orders vary according to the number of great powers involved. Realists rightly emphasize that a powerful State bent on violating a moral or legal norm, usually can get away with it, and when it can't, it is usually because of the power of other States. Nonetheless, States sometimes comply with moral norms despite international anarchy. However, when national survival is at stake, moral values are relegated. According to Machiavelli; "when the safety of one's country wholly depends on the decision to be taken, no attention should be paid either to justice or injustice". Morgenthau measures these national interests by the power of such State. It is the projection of this power that dominates international politics.

Idealist/Liberalist Theory
The idealist theory of international relations is centered on peace. It is a principle that is ancient and deep in human experience. Many of its antecedent can be found in the religious teachings of Christ and Mohammed, predicated on order, based on just law. Major Proponents of this theory are, Hugo Crotius, Emeric Cruse, Dante Aligheri and

Pafendoff, who were influenced by the Thirty Years Religious Wars of the 16ᵗʰ century Europe. Other Classic Proponents include, Jean-Jacque Rousseau, John Locke, David Hume, Immanuel Kant, Richard Cobden, James Madison, John Stuart Mill, Thomas Jefferson and Adam Smith.

Post World War I Liberalists include Alfred Zimmerman, Norman Angell, James Shotwell, Woodrow Wilson and others. They believed "the Pen is mightier than the Sword", and embraced a world view that emphasized the power of ideas and ideals in steering global destiny. They advocated that "those who live by the sword, die by the sword, and as such, "States should beat their swords into ploughshares". It is with this thinking they sought for disarmament as means to ending war from the 1920s efforts at Washington and London Conferences on arms control and disarmaments. They advocated for legal processes such as mediation and arbitration to settle disputes and avoid armed conflict through the 1921 Permanent Court of International Arbitration (PCIA), the 1928 Brand Kellogg Pact etc. They generally share a moralistic, optimistic and universalistic image of international affairs that can be achieved through collective security as actualised in the League of Nations and later the United Nations (UN) (the institutional embodiment of collective security) (Inis 1971). Several Bodies, like the International Court of Justice (ICJ), International Labour Organisation (ILO), World Meteorological Organisation (WMO), International Red Cross (IRC), International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Health Organisation (IHO), World Bank (WB) etc. were all created as functional and co-operative organisations in promotion of the Ideaslist goals.

Liberalism emphasizes on the impact ideas have on behaviour, the equality, dignity and liberty of the individual and the need to protect people from excessive State regulations. They try to explain how peace and co-operation are possible. They emphasize ethical principles over the pursuit of power, and institutions over capabilities, as the Realists contend.

Their levels of analysis include
  i.   Individual and human nature
  ii. The character of State and their governing institutions
  iii. Attributes of the global system

Their Fundamental Beliefs
  i.   Human nature is good and compassionate and can live well through reason and ethically inspired education.
  ii. The fundamental human concern for others welfare make progress possible
  iii. War and international anarchy are not inevitable, but wars can be reduced by strengthening arrangements geared towards peace.
  iv. War is a global problem that require collective or multilateral efforts rather than independent, national and unilateral efforts to control.
  v.   Welfare and security of all people, and should be pursued.
  vi. Democratic governance and promotion of human rights (Kegley pp.26-27)

They consider values, ideas and moral principles as key to understanding and describing the behaviours of States. They emphasize the normative imperatives and multitude of actors in international politics. They provide room for a progressive vision of law-enabled global governance. According to Liberalist like David Mitrany, for humanity to advance, peace must co-exist together and not independently. John Locke, a contemporary of Thomas Hobbes, in his Two Treaties of Government 1690, argued that all men are born free and equal with the capacity to reason, and hence to co-operate. In this situation, a harmony of interests in self-preservation and material co-operation must exist. Man is not naturally inclined to war, since war threatens lives and livelihood. The goal of the liberalist is to address problems of common concern to all humanity irrespective of the different governments of States. They believe that where there is such co-operation there will not be any need for war. According to the idealists, conflict arise as a result of the necessary condition for peace to prevail, hence their common concern, for co-operation and world peace. The idealist theory is centered on peace. They promoted the following ideas;

i.   Self-determination and independence of States.
ii. Democratic domestic institutions
iii. Free trade to create wealth and
iv. A global harmony of State interests.

Idealist theory has components as functionalism propagated by David Mitrany. Communication theory of Karl Deutsch and federalism. Neo-functionalists like John Gultung insists on integration, coming together for peace to be achieved. According to Functionalists, if States come together, peace will prevail because there is a convergence of needs that will provide the ground for unification.

Other theories of International Relations
It is important to state that all other theories of international relations have their roots in the Realists and Idealist theories. Understanding of these two theories focuses international relations in a proper perspective. From the definition of international relations, to the Actors and levels of analysis, principles underlying these two theories, addressed them well. They focused on the individuals, the State and the international system. The complexities of developments in the international system have led scholars to come up with varying theories that cannot be fully grasp without recourse to the Realists and Idealists theories. Issues of development, war, conflict, security etc. can be properly analysed from an understanding of these two theories. We can look at some other theories in brief.

Constructivism
International relations scholars have invoked this theory to interpret the courses of international relations. According to Kegley 2007, strictly speaking, Constructivism is not a theory of international relations, it rather helps to clarify the differences and relative virtues of alternative theories. Constructivism maintains that ideas are the main elements in the building of international relations theories. Constructivists emphasise the impact of ideas, language, social discourse and culture as factors that determine how States or key individuals and elites define their interests and identities of States, as a highly malleable product of specific historical processes. According to Constructivists, ideas and

norms not only constrains, but actually construct how States define their interests, because people's understanding of their interests, depends on the ideas they hold. To Constructivists, power comes from the influence of ideas and not just from military forces as stressed by the Realists. For the Constructivist, shared understanding of interests, identities and images of the world from how people think of themselves, who they are, and what others in the world think of them, can alter the world.

According to the Constructivists, socially accepted ideas, norms and values held by powerful States and Non-State Actors are seen as making difference in constructing an international consensus about the rules that should govern the international society. Individual's popular ideas shape people's self-image, sense of identity and expectations about their purpose and roles in life. For the world at large, leading ideas condition prevailing beliefs in each age about the global condition and the prospects for humanity to escape the problems posed by competing States in an anarchic arena. When a new consensus materialises about norms, the modified shared global culture prepares the way for a transformation in world politics. Constructivist theory reminds us that shared images influence the ways actors in the international system see themselves and behave. The collective norms and cultures of people and State actors define their perceptions, and influence their relations in the world stage. Thus, States behaviours is shaped by beliefs, identities and social norms (Mingst).

It is in the light of the Constructivist theory that we have other theories including;
    i.   Conflict theory
    ii. Frustration aggression theory
    iii. Systemic frustration theory
    iv. Perception and Misperception theory
    v. Mad Man's theory of Sygmond Freud
    vi. Just war theory
    vii. Feminist theory (from the 1980s)
    viii. Game theory
    ix. Critical theory (from the 1920s)

Critical Theory

Critical theory developed from the 1920s through the work of the Frankfurt school but became influential from the 1980s from the works of Andrew Link 1990, Robert Cox 1976 and Max Horkhermer's article of 1937. This theory is more of historical. For the critical theorists, facts are the product of specific social and political phenomenon as a whole through the processes of change. This is the connection to history, because for critical theorists, understanding international relations entails understanding history as a process of continuous change and transformation to determine what elements are universal and convenient to world order. Critical theorists recognise the constraints placed on possible alternative world order by virtue of historical processes. According to them, the potential for transformation exists within the prevailing order but it is also constrained by the historical forces that created the order. Critical theory utmostly is a guide for strategic action to bring an alternative world order.

Critical theory was inspired by the ideas of Karl Marx, Hegel, Nietsche, Freud, Weber, Gramsci etc. The theory emphasis is on historical and social dimensions of societal change. The theory shows how political power and ideological controls can foster the perception of the permanence of political and economic structures. The theory assumes that an individual's ethical responsibilities are always being shaped by charging social circumstances. The theory give an understanding of the complex interaction of identities, practices and institutions at both the domestic and international level. Critical theory analyses the changing system how the emergence of global governance in which NGOs, social movements, environmental and peace movements and private actors have come together to influence decision making at the global levels. (Ferreira, 2018).

According to Yalvac, 2015, critical theory is not only an academic approach, but also an emancipatory effort, committed to the formation of a more equal and just world. Critical theory seeks to explain not only the social factors, but also politically motivated actions for the achievement of social relations based on justice and equity for the international community. Critical theory has spurred the development

of alternative forms of analysis and approaches for understanding of international relations.

Systems Theory

This theory as depicts, describes the relationships between Units in the international system that have common features. This theory contents that the international system has a structure and is made up of processes through which it is either sustained or changed. The theory analyses the increasing interdependence in the contemporary international system, where the different national and supranational sub-systems continuously monitor and react to events and situations in other parts of the world. The system theorists advocate that the world at any time could be polarised. The theory contends that international politics can best be seen in Poles as, Unipolar, Bipolar, Multipolar and Bi-multipolar.

The distances between the different poles matter in international politics. The distances represent values points of disagreements, manifested in ideological or polar variants. The more disagreement, the more the distances and elongating the poles is increasing the problems in the world system, because within these distances/camps, are so many irreconcilable elements in the forms of ideological, historical and geographical dimensions. For the system to function, a common regulatory power has to be, to regulate relations. Ludwig Von Bertanatfly, a Biologist developed the general system theory in the 1920s, but David Eastern (1953) was the first to think of analysing politics from the systemic point. Other scholars include, Morton Kaplan, Karl Deutsch, David Singer etc. From the Systems theoretical conception, the international system has a structure and is made up of processes through which it is either sustained or changed. Kaplan tried to specify the circumstances under which each System was likely to be transformed, that brings the Polar variants in the evolving international system. The System theory conception, can be used in analysing areas of international integration, foreign policy, decision making and conflicts, to confirm the increasing interdependence, where different national and supranational sub-systems continuously monitor and react to events and situations in the international system.

Systems theory specifically focuses on the structure of the international system to explain the behaviour and interactions of Units in the international system. For the Systems theory, international relations is best understood in an open system, in a holistic simplism for the attainment of desired goals. The Whole, work together with the various Parts or Units that creates poles of interactions (Flood, R and Carson, E 1997).

World Systems Theory
Major proponent of the world systems theory are Chase Dunn and Emmanuel Wallerstein. The theory view world politics in an interdependent nature. The world according to these theorists has long been dominated by a single integrated economic, and political entity that has gradually incorporated all into its grip in an interrelated and interdependent nature. They contend that all elements in the world system are interlinked and they exist in a dynamic relationship with each other, such that nothing in the system can be understood in isolation of the other. Ecological processes like environmental issues, operations of transnational Corporations, other anti-systemic movements, communication revolution etc. are all manifestations of the inter-related and inter-dependent structure of world politics. In this trend, they insists, that the only way to discover how significant contemporary developments really are, is to view them in the context of the deeper structural processes at work in the world system. They give a broader understanding of the relationship between the political and economic structures of the world system. This is the basis of the Marxist political thought as the foundation of the World System theory. Lenin's analysis of imperialism argued that the world's economy was divided into the Core and Periphery. The Capitalists in the Core, used profits from the exploitations of the Periphery to pacify their own workers and enrich themselves. Lenin's theory of imperialism was influential in the 1917 – 39 period, during the Great Depression that appeared to confirm that Capitalism was in crisis. Other theories of international relations from Marxist critique of imperialism lost much relevance from the end of WWII.

The World Systems theory contends that the development of the Capitalist World Economy in the 16th century imposed a rigid division of labour and class forces in the international system, that created great economic and social disparity which favoured the Core at the expense of the Periphery and Semi-Periphery. The Core are the most developed States of Europe, North America, Japan etc. The Periphery are the underdeveloped Third World States. The Semi-Periphery are the developing countries of Asia, (Brazil, India, China and South Africa). These countries have good economic, military, technical, demographic etc. potentials. The World Systems theory see the global economy, in long-term perspective and see the world system in a constraint state of flut, no fixed rankings and locations, but cyclical rhythms of expansion and stagnation. Countries are capable of upward and downward mobility over long period, but no uni-directional development (Nte).

Review Questions

Write on the following

1. Understanding Theory
2. Realism
3. Idealism/Liberalism
4. Other Theories
5. Constructivism
6. Critical Theory
7. Systems Theory
8. World Systems Theory

References

Aja Akpuru-Aja. (20210). Lecture Note.

Ferreira, M. (2008). Introducing Critical Theory in International Relations. E-IR Foundation beginners' textbook.

Flood, R. and Carson E. (1993). Systems Theory in International Relations. In Dealing with Complexity. Booston. Springer. https://doi.org

Hoffman, S. (1969). Contemporary Theory of International Relations. New Jersey. Prentice-Hall Inc.

Igwe, O. (2003). Politics and Globe Dictionary. New Edition. Aba. Eagle Publishers.

Inis, C. (1971). Swords into Plowshares: The Progress and Problems of International Organisations. New York. Randon House.

Kegley, C. (2007) World Politics: Trends and Transformations. United States. Thomson and Wadsworth.

Morgenthau, H. (1978) Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace. New York, Alfred A. Knopf.

Mingst, K. (2004). Essentials of International Relations. Third Edition. New York. W.W. Norton and Company.

Nte, T. (2019). International Relations: Fundamental Theories and Law of Nations Port Harcourt: Ken Nami.

Waltz, K. (1976). Theory of International Relations. Addision. Wesley Publishing Company.

Wright, Q. (1955). The Study of International Relations. New York. Appleton-Century Crofts

Yalvae, F. (2015). Critical Theory: International Relations. Engagement with the Frankfurt School and Marxism. https://doi.org.

THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM: PROCESSES AND STRUCTURES

All analysis in the preceding chapters, emphasised on the international system as the focal point of operation of international relations. To understand the international system, we must clarify what a system is. To grasp, a system is simply an interdependence of Parts. Broadly defined by Mingst 2007, a System is an assemblage of Units, Objects or Parts, united by some form of regular interactions. Systems are composed of different interacting Units, such that a change in one Unit causes changes in all the other Units. A System is a mutually interrelated, interconnected, Parts, co-operating to maintain the cohesion and achieve the objectives of the whole.

International System

From the understanding of system, we can see International System as all the inter-lined variables, ideas, actors and institutions of the international society. The International System can be seen as the integrated whole, made up of interdependent Parts that work together for the maintenance of the System (Igwe 2005 pp. 210-211). Frankel 1979, affirms that an International System consists of a number of Units which interact and conduct their relations in their own structures, norms and rules of behaviour. Hoffman 1960 defined an International System as a pattern of relations among the basic Units of world politics, as determined by the structure of the world. The idea of an international system is based on the belief that there are actors in the international system, who relates, and are in constant interact. All the Actors in international relations are in a complex pattern of constant interactions.

Historical Development of the Modern International Society

Events and trends in the courses of international relations were developed and shaped by historical haps. Understanding the various patterns and precedents in historical context is a guide to full catch on of the contemporary international society. These antecedents are found in the European civilization cum experience and will be so categorised in the various periodization or epochs.

500 – 1000 B.C: The era of the independent City States and Ancient Greece, to the Roman Empire.
1000 – 1500: The State system of Renaissance Italy or the rise of Civilisations
1500 – 1650: The Rise of Feudalism, the influence of Religion to the Peace of Westphalia.
1650 – 1700: The ascent of Sovereignty, the emergence of Capitalism and the Expansion of European interest
1700 – 19th century: The Revolutions in Europe, the Concert of Europe, the Balance of Power to the Alliance system.
1900 – 1945: The Two World Wars
1945 – 1990: The Cold War era. The globalization of European State system
1990 – Present: The Post-Cold War of the United States dominance in world politics, Ethnic conflicts, Civil Wars and Increasing Threats to International Security.

The evolution of the International Society can be traced to the ancient Greek City States from about the 6th century B.C. Many of the Greek City-States were later incorporated into the Roman Empire that served as the precursor of larger political systems. The Roman Empire adopted the Hellenic culture that penetrated Western consciousness, encompassed and covered philosophy, scientific and political spheres of life. The fall of the Roman Empire facilitated the awakening of Europe, as power and authority became decentralised in Europe. Religious superiority cum supremacy was in place with the emergence of the Renaissance era. All Europe was of one religion and the ecclesiastical law applied to all, notwithstanding tribal or regional affiliations. Much of the period witnessed struggles between religious authorities and the rulers

of the "Holy Roman Empire". In the face of these rivalries, social changes were taking place, that ushered in the modern era of scientific, humanistic and individualistic thoughts States became more powerful and attempted to control religion within their boundaries and also engaged in manipulation of national economies. There was also advancement in Western technology in such areas as, metallurgy and printing. Also, in place were changes in European family pattern that encouraged individual property.

Reformers like John Coy Cliffe, John Huss, Martin Luther etc. exposed the weakness, corruption, immorality and false teachings of the church. They laid emphasis on the values and dignity of human beings and the importance of the individual conscience and liberty. The Protestant reformation of Martin Luther queried the authority of the Pope, Monasticism, clerical celibacy, and the restriction of the Bible to the clergy. Luther's message led to the breakaways from Christendom and the emergence of other reformers like the Anglican Church, established by Henry VIII in England. Jean Calvin established a church in Geneva and other Reformers. In this situation, the Catholic Church could no longer enforce unity, though continued to hold force in France, Spain, Austria, Poland, Italy and much of Germany. This is obviously the end of Christian unity in Europe.

It was this scene that led to series of religious wars throughout Europe. The most outstanding was the 30 years' war, between 1618 and 1648 that ended with the Peace of Westphalia, where it was agreed that each ruler could determine the religion of his State. The modern international system can be traced to this Treaty that established the principle of independent sovereign States which has continued to shape the International System. The Treaty defined the sovereign and territorial integrity of States as equal and independent members of an International System. Since this Treaty, States defeated in war, though might have been stripped of some territories, were allowed to continue as independent States, rather than being subsumed into the victorious State. Commercial activities also expanded into larger geographical areas as merchants traded along increasingly safer transportation routes. All forms of communication improved. New technologies emerged that

aided agricultural advancement. Municipalities like the reinvigorated City-States of Northern Italy – Genoa, Venice, Milan, Florence etc. established trading relationships, setting up meeting places at key locations, for shipment of commercial materials and diplomatic practices to facilitate commercial activities. These diplomatic practices established Embassies with permanent staff, sending special Consuls to handle commercial disputes and dispatching diplomatic messages through specially protected channels. These activities laid the foundation of contemporary diplomatic practice. (Mingst pp.8-23)

Economic structures of Europe also underwent changes. European population grew by 20 percent. Growing prosperity for some groups with more disposable wealth produced greater expenditure within the household. Changes in social structure, produced anxiety. Generally, these processes of changes in economic, social organisation, politics, culture of the 18th century, produced a dynamic society whose position depended on establishing prominent positions in world politics. The desire to expand economic intercourse coupled with the technological inventions that made ocean exploration safer, fuelled a period of European territorial expansion. Explorers from Western Europe mapped out empires in the America and redefined the nature of international exchange. New areas of the world including, Africa, America and Polynesia were brought into focus. New ships designed for ocean traffic and to carry heavier weapons were built. The compass and improved mapmaking allowed more proficient navigation for long voyages. Europe's entry into the Atlantic and Pacific, created an international exchange of goods and a new world-wide economy that paved way for the establishment of Colonies. European's penetration into the coasts of Africa, India and Asia, reduced Spain and Portugal, as earlier Colonizers hold over these areas. England, France and Holland increased export of manufactured goods, in return for raw materials, to increase their profit margins. The Western control of the seas permitted Europeans to achieve dominance over a variety of cultures and peoples. Western leaders fostered colonialism as a means of creating controlled markets for manufactured goods. Colonial administrators were established by small groups of adventurers loosely controlled from the

Mother Countries. European nations fought many wars to take over Colonial possessions (Bischoff, 1996).

Intellectual ferment and economic changes that accompanied the enlightenment on their own, led to series of political revolutions. The first was when the British Colonies of North America sought their independence after 1773. By 1776, the Declaration of independence was made and a provisional government set up. Battles against the British forces ensued, with victory that established a new American Constitutional structure in 1789. Following the American success, Reformers in France attacked the inefficiency and autocracy of the French Monarchy. Resistance to the government arose at all levels of French society from 1789 revolution, until when Napoleon Bonaparte's zealous attempt to carve out a European – wide empire was truncated in 1815. The growth of revolutionary national patriotism in France spawned similar movements in other parts of Europe.

The Congress of the Allies that defeated Napoleon at Vienna in 1815, crafted a lasting peace predicated on the establishment of a European balance of power. This effort gave Europe almost 50 years of stability, though social and political revolutions were not completely off the scene in Europe. Liberals quest for greater individual liberties, guaranteed by Constitutions and Parliaments, and Radical's press for more democratic political structures and social reforms for workers, as well as Nationalists urge for national boundaries and ethnic unity aroused much consciousness. Revolutions broke out in the 1820s and 1830s in Spain, France, Belgium, Britain, the U.S., Germany, Austria, Hungary etc. However, the Alliance System that introduced the European Balance of Power from the 1815 Vienna congress was upset with the unification of Germany. (Bischoff, 1996 pp.1-12) Germany's emergence set off rounds of diplomacy that resulted in new alliances.

By 1907, two Alliance Systems structured the diplomatic relations of Europe. Germany, Austria –Hungary and Italy formed the Triple Alliance, while France, Britain and Russia made up the Triple Entente. All parties began to construct more powerful militaries to offset perceived gains among their rivals. This is the politics of the Alliance

System, dependent on the status of a weak member. Russia of the Triple Entente, had recently suffered an internal revolution and was unstable. Austria – Hungary of the Triple Alliance was divided among warring ethnic groups seeking autonomy. Both of the weaker partners were engaged in extending their influence into the Balkans, where smaller nations had won independence from the Ottoman Empire. The 19th century Slavic nationalism threatened Austrian interest in the region, as Russia tried to advance her interest there.

This was the situation when a Serbia nationalist assassinated the Austrian heir to the throne. Austrian attempt to crush the Slavic State mobilised Russia's support for Serbia. In response, the greater powers of both Alliance Systems were drawn into war that escalated into a world war that attracted other interests, regions, States and powers. Three Fronts were on spot in the WW1. They include;
   i.   The Western Front where Germany's armies confronted French and British troops
   ii. The Eastern Front covered a great distance across Poland and Russia where Germany battled Russia.
   iii. The Italian Front came up after 1915, between Austria – Hungary and Italy.

Surface sea battles were unknown, but the Germans mounted an intensive submarine campaign against Allied shipping. The Western Front Featured Trench warfare, where the new technology of machine guns, barbed wire, poison gas and massed artillery, wreaked havoc on the contending armies. There was little mobility along the Western Front. Although the war was fought mostly in Europe, other States were drawn in. Troops from British Dominions in Australia, Canada and New Zealand were dragged in. The U.S. came in when German Submarine warfare affected American ships. In 1917, the U.S entered the war on the side of the Allies and helped to turn the tide of the battle against Germany. There were minor skirmishes in the German Colonies in Africa, and the French used African troops in Europe.

Indian contingents also served the British army. Japan entered the war on the side of the Allies as a justification for seizing German Colonies in the

Pacific. China declared war on Germany in 1917, but with little participation. In the Middle East, the Ottoman Empire's decision to join the German alliance, spelled the end of the Turks hold over Arab regions. The British sponsored rebellions among Arabs seeking independence from the Ottomans. The British also promised a Middle Eastern Homeland to the Jews in the Balfour Declaration of 1917.

WW1 advanced the prestige and power of the U.S. and Japan, but diminished Europe's hold over global Empires. The Russian Revolution of 1917 took Russia out of the war. Lenin and the Communist, signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with the Germans, but Germany lost out on the Western front. By 1918, the French and British, with the aid of America, pushed German troops back to the French border. The military installed a civilian government that sued for peace in 1914 at Versailles. The Versailles Peace Treaty gave France her Provinces lost in the war, but had no security against future German aggression. Japan's claim for compensation was ignored. The American concept of an international organisation to prevent wars yielded the emergence of the League of Nations. The U.S. Congress refusal of America to join the League, led America into a period of diplomatic isolation. China lost territories to Japan. Germany was forced to pay reparations. Internal discontent in the civilian government, and economic disaster rose up in Germany. Russia, with her Communist ideology, was not included in the Conference. All these discontents led to universal diplomatic insecurity and tension in the international arena. WWI was devastating both in terms of manpower and the European psyche. The loss of men reduced available labour forces and produced economic instability in Europe. Financial insecurity resulted from massive amounts of credit extended to combatants during the war. Increased government spending led to inflation. The Ottoman Empire ceased to exist, and was replaced by stronger Turkish Republics and a Group of Mandates, that divided up the Arab regions between France and Britain. Monarchies under Arab or Persian rulers emerged from the wreck age of the Ottoman Empire. The world trade system was organised with Japan and the U.S. as major forces.

There was the Great Depression that led New Governments develop new policies that triggered political extremism. Germany suffered massive inflation. Britain dependent on exports, faced stiff competition in the global market. Falling farm prices made it difficult for Europe to repay war loans. America as a creditor nation suffered economic collapse as investment funds were withdrawn, when creditors went bankrupt. One of the few economics that resisted the depression was the Soviet Union. Japan, though industrialized, but heavily dependent on exports suffered, high unemployment figures. The depression increased her paranoia about the West that pushed her into more aggressive imperialism in Asia. Military expansion in Germany and Japan led to a series of diplomatic crisis during the 1930s. The Depression fragmented Japanese politics and produced various radical, ultranationalist groups. The failed coup that established military government in Japan toed an aggressive foreign policy towards China. Japan's invasion of Chinese Province of Manchuria in 1931 was condemned by the League of Nations that made Japan to withdraw from the Organisation. The Depression triggered political radicalism in Germany and led to the emergence of Adolf Hitler. In reaction, he removed all political rivals, launched a racist attack on the Jews, and built up the "German war Machine". In Italy, Benito Mussolini had developed a similar Fascist Government cueing from the success of Hitter in Germany.

Hitler withdrew Germany from the League of Nations and intentionally broke off the terms of the Versailles Treaty by suspending reparations, re-arming, and entered the Rhineland. Italy on her part, like Germany attacked Ethiopia with impurity in 1935. When Civil war broke out in Spain, Italy and Germany actively supported the Right-wing faction. Germany's declaration of a Union with Austria and her invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1938 led to the Munich Conference which adopted a policy of appeasement in favour of Germany, but was thwarted by another invasion again in 1939. Germany also signed a Peace Treaty with Russia. When Hitler invaded Poland same 1939, Britain and France declared war on her obviously setting off another world war, World War 2(WW2).

By 1940, Germany, Italy and Japan signed a formal alliance; the Tripartite Pact. America's isolation in the war again was broken when Japan attacked the American Naval Base at Pearl Harbour in the Hai Waiian Islands in 1941. By this time, Germany had almost taken over much of Europe, exterminated the Jewish population in a concentration camp where 6 million Jews died. The combined forces of the U.S, Britain and the Soviet Union, dislodged German forces that led Hitler to commit suicide, rather than face defeat. The American atomic bomb at Nagazaki and Hiroshimia forced the Japanese to give up (Bischoff pp.138-150). The Peace settlements of the WW2 led to the creation of the United Nations (UN) by the Great powers of America, Britain, France, China and the Soviet Union. Africa, Asia and Latin America drawn into the WW2, now came into the international system. As part of the post war outcome in Europe, tensions emerged between the Soviet Union and the U.S. and Britain. In the series of Conferences at the end of the war, spheres of influence within post war Europe were established. Western leaders conceded Soviet control of much of occupied Eastern Europe; but insisted on a Germany divided among the Victorious Allies. The U.S. occupied Japan and Korea, and former Japanese colony was divided between the Soviet and the U.S. Former European Colonies in Asia were briefly re-established prior to successful independent movements. European colonialism in Africa, the Middle East and India were also shaken. The Soviet rapidly established Communist regimes in those Eastern European Nation created after W.W2. Western Europe was free to establish democracy under U.S. control. A bipolar world dominated by the U.S and the USSR had emerged initiating the Cold War.

Thus, the combined effects of the two world wars and the depression sapped the vitality of Europe and laid the foundation of the bipolar world. European colonialism elsewhere in the world also came to an end. The economic and demographic devastation of the two World Wars unsettled Western Europe. Central Europe lost its traditional structure with the collapse of the German and Austrian Empires. Some few European nations including Sweden, Finland, Switzerland, and Yugoslavia managed to remains outside the bipolar alignment.

The Cold War

According to Mingst 2007, the most important outcome of WW2 was the emergence of the two superpowers; the United States and the Soviet Union as the major actors in the international system, and the attendant decline of Europe as the epicentre of international politics. Russia's efforts to solidify her spheres of influence on Eastern Europe and the U.S. shots in containing the Soviet Union expansion, were the politics of the Cold War. In 1947, the U.S. introduced the Containment or Truman Policy to achieve this course. Thus, Containment, based on U.S. geostrategic interests, became the fundamental doctrine of U.S foreign policy during the Cold War. U.S created the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) for Western Europe and the Soviet Union countered, with the formation of the Warsaw Pact. Following the Soviet development of an atomic bomb in 1949, the U.S and the Soviet entered into a period of increasing atomic arsenals.

Differences between the two superpowers were exacerbated by mutual misperceptions, that we can define the Cold War, as the series of events that directly and indirectly pitted the superpowers against each other. Some of these events were confrontations, just short of war, while others were between proxies. Other confrontations were fought over words and usually ended in Treaties and Agreements, and some involved their allies. It is worthy to note that as the number of newly independent States proliferated in the Post-War world as a result of decolonization, the superpowers vied for influence in the new States as the way to project power to areas outside their traditional spheres of influence. The result was in the globalisation of conflict in all Continents, that enhanced international relations. Many of the events of the Cold War involved the 2 powers only indirectly as proxies fought in their place, as was demonstrated in the Middle East, Africa, and most wars and conflicts in Asia, Cuba, Vietnam, Hungary, Zechoslovakia, Afghanistan, Grenada, Panama etc. The acquirement of atomic arsenals by the Powers, introduced the period of Nuclear Deterrence in international relations, as neither was willing to use them, since their very deployment, would jeopardized their existence. The doctrine of Nuclear Deterrence has continued to prevail in international relations and contributed stability in the international system.

Thus, the Cold War can be defined as the behavioural patterns of the U.S/Soviet relations, between 1945 and 1989. It can be seen as the basic structure of the US/Soviet relations within this period. Key elements were political and military rivalry, ideological conflict between capitalism and communism, the division of Europe, and the extension of superpower conflict to the Third World. It is the extreme state of tension and hostility that developed between the Western Powers and the Communist bloc of Eastern Europe. The period was characterised by political maneuveving, diplomatic wrangling, psychological warfare, ideological hostility, economic warfare, major arms race, peripheral wars and other power contests, falling short of an all-out hot war. Igwe 2005 captures it, as ideological conflict between the U.S. and Soviet and their military and political blocs between 1947 and 1990 which never led to any direct armed conflict between them, but restricted to an arms race, propaganda, brinkmanship, mutual subversion and proxy wars.

Mikhail Gorbachev, in 1985 new thinking in foreign policy and domestic reforms in his policies of Glasnost (Political Openness), and Perestroika (economic restructuring), laid the foundation for an end of the Cold War. These changes in Soviet policy and the eventual demise of the Soviet empire, marked the end of the Cold War: The end of the Cold War was the end of a major historical era that ushered in another phase in international relations. The end of the Cold War was an outstanding historical turning point as measured by changes in the international system, the Nation-state and international organisation. Cold War ended with the collapse of communism and another transformation in international relations. The Cold War ended with the primacy of the U.S in Global politics and Russia's maintain of enough military power and political influence to prevent U.S intervention in ethnic hostilities in the Transcaucasia region (Eastern Europe and Western Asia)

The Post-Cold War Era
The Post-Cold War era in international relations, as earlier outlined, revolves around the U.S dominance in World politics, ethnic conflicts, civil wars and increasing threats to international security. According to Mingst 2007, this era appears to be marked by U.S eminence in international affairs, to a degree, not even matched by the Romans or

Alexander the Great. In the face of America's dominance, ethnic and civil strife prevailed. In the 1990s, Yugoslavia's violent disintegration was a prominent issue all through the decade. Ethnic tension and violence was also prominent in Central Africa. Genocide in Rwanda and Burundi went unchallenged by the international/community. Russia still maintained enough military power and political influence in Transcaucasia region.

The September11 2001 deadly terrorist attack on the U.S, initiated another trend in global security. The world witnessed deadly, psychologically, devastating and economically disruptive attacks that set in motion, a U.S. led global war on terrorism. The NATO's Charter on Article V which declares an attack on one NATO member, as an attack on all, was invoked and many States rose up to the fight against terrorism. This zeal led to the U.S war in Afghanistan to oust the Taliban regime who provided a safe haven to Osama bin Laden's Al Qaeda Organisation that carried out the 9/11 attack. The U.S success in Afghanistan was followed by a Coalition Force against Iraq that destroyed Iraqi military and overthrew the Iraq government of Saddam Hussein.

Significantly, the Post Cold War era witnessed a reduction in the nuclear stockpiles of the U.S. and Russia, America's dominance of world politics, and a re-focus of governments on security and defense because of the rising security threats especially from the 9/11 attack on the U.S. There emerged a shift in political power away from traditional political forces towards a focus on military and defence issues. Other rising Powers arose to influence world politics. The balance of power in Europe was affected with the developing regions in Europe and Central Asia, especially within the Soviet sphere of influence. Liberal democracy and free market economy became the accepted political and economic systems.

America's dominance in world politics under challenge with the rise of other powers. China emerging as a center of global industrial growth launching into the global arena. North Korea increased her nuclear capabilities. Japan is also initiating herself into global dominance. The world is moving into a Multipolar world power context and Kegley 2007 would say, "a highly globalised era of world politics" has emerged, with

unfolding military and economic rivalries and increasing threats to international security. More insights into the Post-Cold War Era will be glaring when we examine the emerging and contemporary challenges and issues in internationals relations in upcoming chapters.

Foreign Policy

In our earlier presentation on Actors in international relations, we saw them as agents who are primary performancers in the international system. We saw them as forces to be reckoned within international relations. These "Performers, or Forces, include States and Transnational or Non-States Actors. According to Kegley 2007, the leading Actor's dominate center stage, and the supporting players move along the periphery. Whatever their relative capacity to influence the international system, is based on their choices and decisions. States as dominant Actors in international relations, make their decisions to cope with challenges in the international environment.

The processes by which States make Foreign Policy decisions, influences how the other Transnational Actors make their Foreign Policy choices. We will concentrate more on States, because international law as we will see later, gives them special status as the "principal holders of economic and military capabilities in world affairs and assigns them alone, the legal right to use armed forces. (Kegley pp.35-56). Policy is a framework designed to teleguide an individual, organisation or government in the planning and implementation of objectives, projects or programmes. According to Obiozor, 1994, policy is a guiding principle which forms the focus for any action taken in any regard. In foreign policy matters, many actions are taken without any course adopted or plotted, but such actions are usually instant responses to situations, but made, in regard to prior laid out rules and principles. Foreign policy according to Goldstein and Pevehouse 2008, are the strategies, governments use to guide their actions in the international arena. Foreign policies spell out the objectives State leaders have decided to pursue in a given relationship or situation. Foreign policy is the bedrock on which State's external relations are laid.

A State's relations with other States and Bodies, as well as her dispositions to global issues are directed by her foreign policy. It is the general principles that directs states reactions to the international arena. Frankel, J 1979, defines Foreign Policy as a dynamic process of interactions, between the changing domestic demands and supports and the changing external circumstances Mac-Ogonor 2000, see Foreign Policy as legally formalised principles on ways and means states respond to the external environment, based on certain goals and objectives. Foreign policy is a dynamic process of interaction between the internal environment of a state and the external dynamics of the international arena. It is on this light, that foreign policy can be seen as an inter play between the outside and inside of a State. As the basic political and sovereign entity in the international system, all States relations in which it is engaged are reflections of her policies. Foreign Policy embodies the totality of transaction including political, economic, trade, cultural, financial and diplomatic relations of States.

Foreign policy can be said to be the formulation, implementation and evaluation of external choice with one State, scanned from the views of another. Foreign policy is the formulation of a state's grand strategy or world view. Because of the complex interdependence of States in the international arena, the foreign policy of a State towards a particular State, region or organisation may have the potential of affecting the whole international political system Foreign Policy goals, include the following;

 i. Protection of national interests.
 ii. Promotion of economic interests
 iii. Enhancement of national security
 iv. Prosperity
 v. Prestige/Honours
 vi. Peace

Determinants of foreign policy include;
 i. Domestic structure
 ii. Economic strength
 iii. Military capability
 iv. National ideology

v.   External environment
vi. Historical experience
vii. Geographical location

Principles of foreign policy include;
i.   Sovereignty
ii.   Security
iii. Autonomy
iv.   Welfare
v.   Status and prestige
States foreign policy are structured on these principles

International Law
Law is basically rules that binds members of a community together in their adherence to accepted values and standards. Law encompasses norms of permissible and impermissible behaviour. Law sets a body of expectations, provides order, protects and regulate the system. Law aims at justice, fairness and equity. Law has played a central and vital role in the growth of man and society. States, as principal Actors in international relations, have over the years developed for themselves certain principles in their courses of relationships. These principles emphasized co-operations, as no one State could live as an Island. However, as relationships increased among States, it became necessary to regulate and set common standards to avoid chaos and anarchy. International law filled this gap, to also promote international co-operation and development. (Umozurike, p.33)

International law is the law that regulates international relations. It is the law that restricts the Actors, regulate their behaviours and ultimately impose sanctions. It is the law that sets out a series of principles which society should follow. It attempts to create a framework which moderates and even balances interests. International law is the body of rules accepted by States as defining their rights, and the means of procedure to protect and enforce them. Starke 1955, defines international law as "that body of law which is composed for its greater part, of the principles and rules of conduct which States feel themselves bound for or to observe, and therefore, do commonly observe in their

relations with each other. These rules include;

i. The rules of law relating to the functioning of International Institutions or Organisations, their relations with each other and their relations with States and Individuals.
ii. Certain rules of law relating to Individuals and Non-State entities, so far as the rights and duties are the concern of the international community.

International law developed in accordance with the prevailing courses of international relations, and in harmony with the reality of the age. It evolved from its primary concern to maintain and preserve peace, to embrace all the interest of contemporary international life. Its developments placed it above religion, race and continents, because as problems arose in the international community, international law has to face up to them by finding, at least immediate, if not lasting solutions to them. Such problems included: the use of the outer space, the exploitation of the Deep Seabed as the common heritage of all mankind, apartheid, colonialism, neo-colonialism, Fascism, and the new international economic order, Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD), disarmament, environmental protection, terrorism, international co-operation, human rights and other evolving issues. International law from this analysis can be seen to consist of a common body of norms or principles, used in the solution of diverse problems and falls under public international law.

The origin of international law is traced to the writings of prominent scholars and authors from Francisco de Vitoria (1483-1546), Francisco Suarez (1548-1617), Alberico Gentili (1552-1608) and Hugo Grotius (1583-1645). Of all these authors, Hugo Grotius is generally regarded as the principal forerunner of modern international law, and is said to be the father of international law. His famous treatise, titled De Jure Belli ac Pacis (on the Law of War and Peace) written in 1623 serve as the ingenious work on international law. Writings from all the scholars laid the theoretical foundation of international law which yielded up in the 19th century, with the establishment of the Concert of Europe by the Vienna Congress of 1815 and other International Conferences, Unions

and Institutions, to the establishment of the International Court of Justice in 1946 (Nte 2019 pp. 157-162).

Seven main principles of international law include the following;
- Non-use of force
- Peaceful settlement of disputes
- Non-interference
- Co-operation
- Self determination
- Sovereign equality
- Good faith

Diplomacy

The concept of diplomacy in international relations is derived from the Greek word diploma, meaning a folded document, and is linked to the official handwriting and the idea of credentials, confirming the claims of the bearer. (Onuoha, p.239). According to Satow 1917, diplomacy is the act of negotiation between States by their representatives, usually in very tactical manner, to achieve a peaceful end. He defines diplomacy as "the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between the governments of independent States". The Oxford English Dictionary, defines diplomacy as the management of international relations by negotiation. The New World Encyclopaedia defines it in a broader form, as the act of negotiating and arranging treaties between nations, as well as the management of envoys. The Encyclopaedia Americana see it as comprising the procedures and processes of negotiating agreements between sovereign States. Diplomacy, briefly is the conduct of business between States by peaceful means. Diplomacy is an instrument of Foreign Policy, and functions through a labyrinth of Foreign Offices, Embassies, Legations, Consulates and Special missions all over the world. Diplomacy is the agency through which Foreign Policy attains its goal by agreement. Diplomacy provides the machinery and personnel by which Foreign Policy is executed. While Foreign Policy is the substance, diplomacy is the method to implement the substance.

The methods applied usually vary from place to place depending on the prevailing circumstances of the political conventions of each age. In courses of conflict, the practice embraces not merely negotiations, but adopts the use of a complex range of moral and psychological weapons to achieve any peace resolution. Diplomacy is an age long practice that have undergone modifications with the growth of society. As the number of sovereign States increased, so did the complexities of the decision-making process, the machinery for conducting foreign relationships and the nature of the task of the Diplomats, as well as the number of Diplomats. A wide range of practices and precedence developed during the 18th century and steps were taken to regularise the system of diplomatic representatives at the Conferences of Vienna in 1815, 1818, 1861 and 1963.

Generally, the diplomatic agents recognised are Ambassadors, Envoys – Extra Ordinary, Ministers Plenipotentiary, Ministers Residents, Charge d' affairs, Secretaries of Legation and Attaches. The powers and dignitaries are graded successively in the named order. There are also diplomatic agents commissioned by the state to reside in a foreign town or port to protect the interest of the State and its subjects there, and to watch over commercial rights and privileges. These diplomatic agents are known as Consuls. A Consular service is a branch of a State's Foreign Service that deals mainly with commercial functions. A Consul function only if he receives written authorization known as exequatur. Their functions are to protect their State national, issue visas, authenticate documents and perform other legal services on behalf of nationals or States having business in the receiving State (Rutherford and Bone 1993).

The growth of international law brought to light the concept of diplomatic privilege, which is an exemption from police regulations, arrests, taxation and payment of customs duties according Representatives of foreign States and members of their households. The laws governing diplomatic immunity are contained in the Diplomatic and Other Privileges Act of 1964, 1978, and the 1966 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic and Consular Relations. All inter-state

relations are conducted in very high diplomatic expressions to protect State interests (Chukwu, 2023).

In all these, we can see diplomacy as the skill of managing international relations as demonstrated in dealing with people. Contemporary diplomacy is primarily aimed at maintaining peace and developing economic relations between States as well as creating policies to regulate the conduct of States. Diplomacy is the practical implementation of foreign policies of States by professional diplomats because diplomats are the foreign policy carriers of their States. Elements of diplomacy include; Tactics, Negotiation, Flexibility, Ethics, Intelligence, Vision, Leadership etc. Diplomatic Mission are the institution to which delegates are sent by sending States to be stationed in a receiving State for the purpose of achieving her objectives. The functions of Diplomatic Missions include;

    i. Representing the sending State, the interests of the Sending State and its nationals within the limit permitted by international law.

    ii. Negotiation with the government of the Receiving State.

    iii. Ascertaining by all lawful means conditions and developments in the Receiving State and reporting there on, to the government of the sending State.

    iv. Promoting friendly relations between the Sending State and the Receiving State and developing their economic, cultural and scientific relations. (Chatterjee, 2007)

The functions of a diplomat is to negotiate on behalf of his/her government in accordance with the set mandate, because a Diplomat's remit of authority is restricted. A diplomat must be able to present a case on behalf of his/her State before other Diplomats in a concise and articulate manner. He must have a mutuality and co-operative attitude. To do these well, he must be alert and prompt in replying. The functions of a UN Diplomat are strictly in compliance with the promotion of the aims and objectives of the UN and not the interest of her/his state. The functions are different from those of national diplomats.

Review Questions

1. Write briefly on The Concept of System and the International System and the Historical Development of the International Society
2. States and International Relations
3. International Organisation/Institutions
4. Give a simple definition to the Foreign Policy, International Law, Diplomacy

References

Bischoff, J. (1996). World Civilizations: The Global Experience. Second Edition. Oklahoma. Addiso Wesley Longman Inc.

Chatterjee, C. (2007). International Law and Diplomacy. London Routledge Taylor and Francis Group.

Frankel, J. (1979). International Relations in a changing World. New York. Oxford University Press.

Frankel, J. (1975). International Relations Theory and the behaviour of States. London. Oxford University Press.

Goldstein J and Pevehouse, J. (2008). International Relations. Eighth Edition. New York. Pearson, Longman.

Gore-Both, L. (1979). Edited. Satow's guide to diplomatic practice. Harlow. Longman.

Hoffman, S. (1960). Contemporary Theory of International Relations. New Jersey. Prentice Hall Inc.

Igwe, O. (2005). Politics and Globe Dictionary. New Edition. Aba. Eagle Publishers.

Kegley, C. (2007) World Politics; Trends and Transformation. United States of America. Thompson & Wadsworth

Mac-Ogonor, C. (2000). The Power of the Republic: Strategic Policies and International Relations. Volume One. Owerri. Springfield Publishers.

Mings, K. (2004). Essentials of International Relations. New York. W.W. Norton & company Inc.

Nte, T. (2019). International Relations: Fundamental Theories and Law of Nations. Port Harcourt. Ken Nami Publishers. https://academic.oup.com

Obiozor, G. (1992). The Politics of Precarious Balancing: An Analysis of Contending Issues in Nigeria's Domestic and Foreign Policy. Lagos. NIIA Press.

Rutherford, L. and Bone, S. (1993). Edited. Osbornes Concise Law Dictionary. London Sweet and Maxwell.

Rutherford, L. and Bone, S. (1993). Osborn Concise Law Dictionary. Eight Edition. London. Sweet and Maxwell.

Starke, J. (1955). Introduction to International Law. London. Butterworth. https://academic.oup.com.

Satow, E. (1917). A Guide to Diplomatic Practice London. Oxford University Press.

Umozurike, U. (1993). Introduction to International Law. Ibadan. Spectrum Law Publishers.

Umozuruike, U. (1999) Introduction to International Law. Ibadan. Spectrum Law Publishers.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS: CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATIONS

Politics has been defined in various ways. Etymologically, the term Politics, is from the Greek Word, Polis which means city state, and refers to a process by which matters concerning the "polis" is discussed, for the good of all. As the father of politics, Aristotle aligns man with politics when he said in his famous book, Politics, that "man is a political animal", meaning that politics is part of man, and every activity of man, involves politics and the State, is the center piece of politics. It is on this basis that scholars have addressed politics in their various contentions. Harold Lasswell, popularly defined politics as the process, to determine who gets what, how, and when. According to him, politics is the shaping and sharing of power.

David Easton 1953, defined politics as the authoritative allocation of value. Vernon Dyke, see politics as the struggle among actors pursuing conflicting desires on public issues. Politics is also observed as:

   i.   The quest for power, order and justice
   ii. The art of influencing, manipulating and controlling others
  iii. A process to resolve conflict in the society
  iv. The quest to rule
   v. The urge to have overriding access to the limited resources.
  vi. Competition for relevance.

For Wax Weber, politics is the operation of the State and its institutions, as well as means, and strivings to share power, or to influence the

distribution of power among individuals and groups within a State. All these nouns; competition, urge, quest, art, process etc, used for politics can only be actualized by possession of the force of power. Politics involves power and influence. The Realist as we earlier contended, see Power as the ultimate in politics.

International Politics
According to Igwe 2005, International Politics is the power and influence related interactions between Actors in the international system. Morgenthau 1967, clearly see International Politics as the struggle for power. According to him, in the international system, the strong do what they have power to do, and the weak accept what they have to accept. This make International Politics, to be viewed as the art of achieving group ends, against the opposition of other group. International Politics can be seen as power politics, because power play very crucial role in politics generally. Power struggle is a common force in International Politics. International Politics is the sum total of all interactions in the international system. As a tussle for power, International Politics revolves around States efforts to maintain power and protect their interests in the international society. Power is the instrument for the achievement of national values and a vital ingredient of Foreign Policy. States design their Foreign Policy to actualize their national interest, based on their power capabilities. As States mobilise resources to enhance their national interests, they are involved in International Politics. International politics encompasses foreign policy, diplomacy, alliances etc. as strategies to enhance relevance in the international system.

Power
Writings of great social and political theorists from Plato and Aristotle, through Machiavelli and Hobbes, to Pareto and Weber, all agree that power is a central concept in politics. Harold Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan see politics as the shaping distribution and exercise of power. Power is bilateral as well as relational as it is exercised with respect to others. Power exists wherever people are involved in relationships. Simply defined, Power is the ability to make one do what he/she will not ordinarily want to do. In collaboration, Max Weber defined power as the

ability of imposing ones will upon the behaviour of other persons. For Lasswell and Kaplan, power is a special case of the exercise of influence. Carl Frederick sees power as the capacity of an individual or groups of individuals to modify the conduct of others in the manner which he desires. Robert Dahl sees power as the product of human relationship, A has power over B, to the extent that he can get B to do something that he would not otherwise do (Anifowose & Enemuo, pp.107-110).

Power is the capacity to achieve an outcome. Power and influence go together. Power explains influence and influence measures power. Power is the ability or potential to influence others. That ability or potential is determined by some tangible and intangible possessions of States. Power is indeed a central theme in international relations because it determines international behaviour as it dictates the level, direction, goals and achievements of States Foreign Policy. The possession of power by a State is not just the end, but the effective and strategic deployment of the power that justify the power of the State. States are critical Actors in international relations because they have power that gives the ability, not to only influence others, but to control outcomes and produce results. According to Mingst 2007, Power is multidimensional as there are different kinds of power. The outcome of the power relationship is determined by the power potential of each of the parties involved.

Elements of Power
Elements of power is also seen as power resources, or power capabilities. States ability not only to influence others but to control outcomes that will produce results is dependent on their power possession. State's potentials determine their power, based on the capabilities or resources available to support their influence. Power relates to the quantities of the elements on which it is based. These components can be categorised as tangible and intangible factors. Tangible elements include geography, population, technology, natural resources, economic capacity, military strength, etc. Intangible elements include the political system, leadership, national morale, ideology etc.

Geography

The geographical location of a State is very important in enhancing the strength of the state. Geographical factors include locations, topography, size and climate. Location can be of advantage or disadvantage. The size of a State can give it an advantageous defense strategy. The climatic condition of a State also play a power role on health and energy of the people. Excessive heart is enervating, while excessive cold, forces loss of energy in resisting the effects of the cold. Russia has had enough geographical advantage in terms of location and climate in enhancing her power. A large geographic expanse gives a State automatic power as proven not only for Russia, but China, the U.S, Australia, India, Canada, Brazil etc. For Alfred Mahan 1840-1914, control of the sea is a major avenue for power of a State, while Sir Halford Mackinder in his Heartland theory contends on the control the Eurasian geographic heartland as the real powerful State. Britain's control of the sea gave her the power to colonise distant places including India, Africa, North and Central America etc. According to Mac-Ogonor 2000, the world's principal sea routes became the Empires internal communication link. Also control of key oceanic choke points, like the Straits of Makaca, Gilbraltar, and Hormuz; the Dardaneues, the Persian Gulf, and the Suez and Panama Canals can be an important indicator of power potential. Germany's power capability was also strengthened by her control of the heartland of Eurosia. Thus, geography is a major element to advance and enhance State power Mingst pp.109-111. It is the importance of Geography to power that introduced Geopolitics and Geostrategic Studies in international relations.

Population

For Population as a tangible element of Power, emphasis is on skill and the effective management and use of human resources. Large population can be advantageous or disadvantageous. China and India with large population are potential powers today, but the large skilled populations of America and Russia make them higher powers. It is important to state that if a State have a large percentage of her population in the productive years (15-65 years), it provides a sizeable population for armed mobilization. Equally, an educated, healthy percentage of people with

high standard of living is an asset, but a large uneducated and unhealthy people is no doubt a liability.

Technology
Technology as the application of scientific knowledge for practical purposes, is a major element of State power. The abundant availability of natural resources without conversion into industrial products, will no doubt limit a states power capability. With the possession of good technological know-how, a state can transform available raw materials into industrial goods for both domestic consumption and exports that will increase her foreign reserves. It will also help to build and maintain a qualitative military establishment for self defense and actualise her foreign policy goals. Industrialized States generally have higher educational levels, more advanced technology and more efficient use of capital which add to her power potentials.

Natural Resources
Natural Resources also comprises of raw materials, as gifts of nature or natural endowments such as soil, waterfalls, flora and Fauna, all by products of geography. Natural Resources could be used as a weapon in international relations, as States desires for strategic reasons, to acquire and control as much of resources that are not within their territories. These Natural Resources also serve a formidable weapon for those States that have the capability to use them. Oil for instance has had the most fundamental impact on global political economy. According to Mac-Ogonor 2000, the oil price increase of the 1970s, has resulted in the largest peaceful redistribution of income and wealth ever recorded in history. Wealth and income have shifted among nations, among regions within nations, among sectors within economies, among occupations, among income classes, and perhaps among generations. It has also raised some Third World States to great prominence and shifted the focus of world politics. Notwithstanding natural endowments, without the technology to exploit them, the power capability of a State cannot be properly enhanced as to increase the clout of that State.

Economic Capability
Economic Capability or capacity is measured in wealth that has become

a common standard for comparing national power, even in relations to military power. It is a wealthy State that can afford to buy military power. The Gross National Product (GNP) or the total value of goods and services, is being frequently used as a relatively accurate and measurable standard for comparing times Gilbert p.147. Economic Capability, in money term is the most fungible capability, because it can buy other capabilities. The total size of a state's economy which is the total Gross Domestic Product (GDP) as well, reflects both population and the level of income. Thus, with a healthy economy, a state can buy a large army, popular support and even allies.

Military Strength

States military power is measured by the quantity and quantity of her armed forces and weaponing. Countries with large populations have large armed forces, but not measureable to States that have enough economic capacity to acquire technologically superior weapons. The acquisition of nuclear weapons by States is an added advantage to its power, as other non-nuclear States world exercise good caution in their relationship with her. The size, composition and preparedness of States military forces that come to bare in military confrontation, empower States. Also, military industrial capacity to quickly provide weapons, also enhances State power. Military preparedness requires military establishments capable of supporting states foreign policy. The Intangible elements as earlier stated include political system, leadership, national morale ideology etc.

Political System

As an intangible element of power, Political System is about the government of a State. According to Mac-Ogonor 2000, how well the government functions in the area of distributive justice, in terms of resolving conflicts arising from the diverse socio-political and economic activities, has a bearing on how well the economy, technology, industry, social groups, as well as all other infrastructural investments of the State can function. Mechanisms put in place for the effective functioning of the State is a real ingredient of power. The primary duty of government, given the nature of human society, is the resolution of conflicts of interests within. The efficient delivery of distributive justice encourages

peaceful coexistence and social integration, which in turn enhance national unity. A socially disintegrated nation can hardly muster the will for collective action needed to translate national interest objectives into reality. In its zeal for the promotion of the rule of law, law enforcement, made possible by an independent judiciary, is indispensable for industrialization, disciplined social organisation, institutional flexibility and adaptability of the State to change, within, and in the external political environment that enhances her power. As people within States have images of their state's power potentials, so do external entities, based on the efficiency and effectiveness of the government.

Leadership

Other components of power are all dependent on effective leadership. Our earlier statement on the effective and strategic deployment of power resources to enhance States capability in the international system, is hinged on leadership. It is the responsibility of the leaders of a State to maximally utilize the totality of the elements of power for the transformation of the State into world power. Visionary and charismatic leaders as India's Mohandas Ghandi, France's Charles de Gaulle, the U.S Franklin Roosevelt, Germany's Otto Von Bismarck, Britain's Winston Churchill etc, were able to augment the power potentials of their States by their bold initiatives. The quality of leadership always exerts decisive influence upon State power. The utilization of man power and natural resources, raw materials, technology, industrial capacity, military power and ideology for strengthening the national power of a State is dependent upon the qualities of the leadership that runs the government of the State. The quality of leadership determines the nature and extent of power that a State can use in securing her national interest. National power is just the ability of national leaders. To make and implement foreign policy is the responsibility of the leadership and decision-makers of the State.

National Morale

Morale is simply a healthy frame of mind characterised by real commitment to a course. It is a popular dedication to the State and support of her policies. No government can rule successfully without mass support especially in times of conflicts. According to Morgenthau.

1967, National Morale is the degree of determination with which a nation supports the foreign policies of its government, in peace or war. National Morale covers all activities of a State, including its agriculture, industrial production, military and diplomatic services. National Morale influences the determination with which government pursues her foreign policy. Any segment of the population of a State that feels deprived of her rights and full participation in the political affairs of her State will obviously have a lower national morale, be less patriotic than those on the other advantaged side. Any State with deep and unbridged class division will find its national morale in a precarious state. In fact, the more closely identified a people are with the actions and objectives of their government, the better for a boast in national morale. The power of a State, in view of her national Morale, is dependent on the quality of its government. It is the quality of government that engineers public support and Cohesion. When public support is absent, the power potential of the State is diminished.

Ideology
Ideology, as an intangible element of power is concerned with the ideas and values States display in their political and economic relations. Ideological inclinations of States can be a source of friendship or enmity between States in attempt to enhance their power in the international system. The ideological war of Communism and Capitalism between the U.S.S.R and the U.S. during the Cold War enhanced their power capabilities then. The Non-aligned stands of States during the Cold War also strengthened their power status. Thus, the ideology which a government upholds can be a source of unity and support of the people at home and abroad. Ideology help a State influence the exercise of its power, as the U.S. and U.S.S.R did, in the era of the Cold War. A choice of wrong ideology can be a source of weakness of state's power. Nazism weakened Hitler's Germany and Fascism also did to Mussolini's Italy. Ideological differences within a State as well as among different States, can be a source of weakness of power.

The ability of States to use ideological principles determines their national power. All the Elements or Instruments of Power can be generally captured as;

i. Geographical factors and Geopolitics
ii. Technological Advancement and know-how
iii. Industry – Productivity
iv. Population – Skill
v. Economy – Money
vi. Natural Resources
vii. Government Forms
viii. Political Leaderships
ix. Ideas – ideology
x. Moral
xi. Food Production
xii. Military Strength

According to Mac-Ogonor, world power status cannot be attained in isolation of any of these factors. (Mac-Ogonor p.118). Kegley 2007 outlined other capabilities to include;
i. The relative Size of a State's Economy
ii. Population and Territorial Size
iii. Geographical Location
iv. Raw Materials
v. Lack of dependence on foreign sources of materials
vi. Technological Capacity
vii. Political Culture and Values
viii. Ideology
ix. Efficiency of Governmental Decision Making
x. Industrial Productivity
xi. Volume of Trade
xii. Savings and Investment
xiii. Educational level
xiv. National Morale and Internal Solidarity

According to him, advances in technology and increases in social and economic transactions will lead to a new world, in which States and their control of force, will no longer be important. Elaborating further, especially with the changing international system, the sources of power appear to be moving away from the emphasis on military force, that factors, as technology, external respect and reputation, education and

economic growth are standing out against geography, population and raw materials. Military superiority for instance is being questioned in the war against politically mobilised terrorist movements, where intelligence and communication are proving important counterterrorism mechanism. In addition, economic and trade approaches to national power seem to be increasingly effective in acquiring political power and material advancement. Morgenthau in his Realists conviction, will obviously kick against this position from the prevailing trend in international politics of his time. But the dynamic nature of international relations, with the unfolding trends in the international system give so much credibility to these other elements of power, as much as military flairs.

Balance of Power

Realists believe that the international system exists in a state of anarchy, a term that implies, not complete chaos or absence of structure and rules, but rather the lack of a central government that can enforce rules. In the anarchy of the international system from the realists, the most reliable break or force on the power of one State, is the power of other States. Thus, Balance of Power is the general concept of one or more States power being used to balance that of another State or group of States. It can be seen as any ratio of power capabilities between States or alliances or a relatively equal ratio. Balance of power is a process by which counter balancing coalition have repeatedly been found in history to prevent one state from conquering an entire region. The theory of Balance of Power argues that such counter balancing occurs regularly and maintains stability of the international system. In this thought, George Schwarz Berger, defined Balance of Power as equilibrium or a certain amount of stability in international relations created by an alliance of States, or by other devises. Balance of Power serves as an equilibrating process that maintains peace by counter balancing any State that claims military superiority. Balance of Power comes as a force, distributing global power evenly through alignments or shifts by nonaligned States to one or the other opposing coalitions. Thus, national security is enhanced when military capabilities are distributed so that no one state is strong enough to dominate all others. Alliances play a key role in the Balance of Power strategy, because building up one's own capability against a rival is a form

of power balancing, but forming alliance against a threatening State is often quicker, cheaper and more effective. In the Cold War, the U.S waged the Soviet Union with military and political alliances to prevent Soviet territorial expansion. Sometimes, a particular State deliberately becomes a balancer in its region or the world, shifting the support to oppose whatever State or alliance is strongest at the moment. Britain played its role in Europe, and China did same in the Cold War. States do not always balance against the strongest actor. Sometimes, smaller States jump on the bandwagon of the most powerful State (Bandwagoning as opposed to Balancing).

The aim of balance of power is not to eliminate Power, but to manage or contain Power in such a way as to make it constructive, not destructive, and serve as a stabilising or establishing force. This is achieved through shifting alliances and counter vailing pressures, such that no one Power or combination of Power can grow so strong as to threaten the security of the rest. (Kegley pp.51-53).

From this analysis above, we can distinguish some techniques or strategies of Balance of Power. They include the following;
 i. Formation of Alliance
 ii. Divide and Rule
 iii. Mobilizing Power
 iv. Acquisition of Armaments
 v. War (last resort for the creation of a new equilibrium)

In all these on Balance of Power, the dynamics of international relations, has put them into questioning as the management of Power in the contemporary international system has taken a new tog. The globalisation wave in the contemporary international system is seriously challenging nationalism which was the powerful political force the European States system of the 17th and 18th century operated on. Though Regional Powers and other Powers have emerged in the international system, the highly interdependent, interrelated and interconnected world we are today, has placed so much caution, on the forces of Balance of Power theory.

Review Questions

Briefly, define the following
1. The Concept of Politics
2. International Politics
3. The Concept of Power
4. Elements of Power
5. Balance of Power

References

Anifowose, R and Enemuo, F. (1999). Elements of Politics. Lagos. Sam Iroanusi Publishers. https://www.yourarticlelibrary.com

Anifowose, R & Enemuo, F. (1999). Elements of Politics. Lagos. Sam Iroanusi Publications.

Dahl, R. (1984). Modern Political Analysis. Englewood Cliffs. N.J. Prentice-Hall.

Easton, D. (1953). The Political System: An Inquiry into the State of Political Science. New York. Knot.

Friedrich, C. (1963). Man and his Government. New York. MacGraw-Hill Book Co.

Gilbert L. (2013). International Relations. A Handbook for Beginners. Port Harcourt. alheri books.

Igwe O. (2005) Politics and Globe Dictionary. New Edition. Aba Eagle Publishers

Lasswell, H. and Kaplan, A. (1950). Power and Society: A Framework for Political Inquiry. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Mac-Ogonor, C. (2000). The power of the Republic: Strategic Policies and International Relations. Owerri. Springfield Publishers.

Makinder, H. (1943). The Round World and the Winning of the Peace. Foreign Affairs Journal vol. XXI.

Morgenthau, H. (1978) Politics among Nations. The Struggle for Power and Peace. New York. Alfred A. Knopf

Schwarzenberger, G. (1952). Power Politics: A Study of International Society. In the Modern Law Review. Vol. 15. No.4.

Vernon, D. (1960) Political Science: A Philosophical Analysis. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

EMERGING CHALLENGES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

H uman life is truly not static, so is the international environment that make international relations dynamic. The dramatically changing international environment with all the emerging challenging forces are affecting relationships in the international system. Assessing these evolving trends brings to light these forces which may not be actually new, but the changing environment has placed on them changes in tactics and operations. As earlier analysed in chapter one, after WW2, world politics was dominated by three major trends; the Bipolar world of Capitalism headed by the U.S, and Communism headed by the Soviet Union, Decolonization and Political Upheavals. As the European Colonial Lords retreated in the 20th century leaving the boundaries of the New Colonial States that frequently separated members of the same tribal groups, artificial boundaries plagued international politics with so much conflicts.

The 19th century saw an erosion of the classical balance of power in the European State system. The Industrial Revolution and the growing power of Nationalism created a shift to a Post-Industrial Order. Simultaneous integration and fragmentation of political authorities were taking place at a dramatic pace. Technology, with its own positive and negative trails, is heightening interdependence and interconnectedness of local, national and international communities that are impacting on international relations. The forces engineering these trends include Globalisation, Terrorism, Environmental

Protection, Demography, Health and Diseases, Human Rights, Democratization etc.

Globalization

Globalization is simply the process of the intensification of economic, social, cultural, political and environmental relations across international boundaries. It can be seen as the process of increasing relations between societies across the globe. As defined by the International Monetary Fund, (IMF), it means greater integration of goods, services and capital between countries in the international system. A globalised world is one in which political, economic, cultural and social activities become more and more interconnected and have more impact (Baylis and Smith, 1997). Globalisation stands out as one of the defining terms of contemporary society. It is a reality which overwhelms all others, such that virtually all the emerging challenges to world peace have bearing on the trend of globalization. The five general conceptions of Globalization include, Internationalization, Liberalization, Universalization, Westernization, Deterritorization. Globalization has been taking place for centuries and with time, it has accelerated from the colonization of the uninhabited parts of the world to the appearance of nations from conquest to independent countries, from sailboats and caravans to steam boats, truck fleets and cargo planes, from trade in a few commodities to global production and distribution networks and to present explosion of international flows of services, capitals and information (Goldin and Reinert, 2006).

According to Kegley (2007), capital, commerce advanced technology and information are spreading worldwide at record speeds, producing multiple changes, complexities and chaos. All these processes can hardly be seen but they are felt everywhere. Thus, globalization refers to a cluster of interconnected phenomena transforming world politics. It can be described alternatively, as a process, policy predicament and a product of vast and invisible international forces. Globalization is uniting the world and generating unprecedented levels of wealth and woes. The world seems to be shrinking.

The chronology and periodization of globalization show that the trend has unfolded in recent history with developments in telegraphic and communications from the mid-19th century. The World Worldwide Web (www), for instance, allows one to sit at home and have instant communication with web-sites around the world. Electronic mail, worldwide television communications, global newspapers, international social movements such as Amnesty International or Green Peace, global franchises such as MacDonald's, Coca-Cola, KFC, and Pizza Hut, the global economy and global risks such as pollution, AIDs, etc., are all agents of globalisation. It is this pattern of events that seems to have changed the nature of world politics from what it was just a few years ago. Some of these changes are impacting on international relations. An important and unique feature of the current globalisation process is the globalisation of national policies and policy-making mechanisms. National policies that, until recently, were under the jurisdiction of States and their peoples have come under the influence of international agencies and processes or private corporations and economic financial players. This has, in a way, led to the erosion of national sovereignty and narrowed the ability of governments and people to make choices from options in economic, social and cultural policies. The erosion of national policy-making capacity is due to the liberalization of markets and new developments in technology. The Transnational Companies and Financial Institutions control huge resources. The establishment of Satellite Television and the availability of small receivers and the spread of the use of electronic mails and the internet make it difficult for governments to determine cultural products.

Global institutions such as the IMF, WTO-GATT and World Bank have become major makers of policies that also cover social responsibilities, (Khor, 2001). The movements of money, goods, services, ideas and communications across State borders are just two fluids for them to control. States, thus, become increasingly incompetent in the face of global transactions. Effective authority leaks away from the State political power and informal apparatus of governmental coordination outside State boundaries, to the organization of the Global Civil Society with which states are increasingly forced to co-operate, collaborate and negotiate. There is thus a general structural shift that calls for

collaborative attitude. (Lachor 2006). Communications have revolutionized relations as we now live in a world where events in one location can be immediately observed on the other side of the world. Electronic communications alter our notions of the social groups we work and live in. There is now a global culture as the world is becoming more homogenous. Differences between peoples are diminishing. Time and space seem to be collapsing. Our old ideas of geographical space and of chronological time are undermined by the speed of modern communications and social media. There is an emerging global polity, with transnational social and political movements initiating a beginning of transfer of allegiance from the State to sub-State and transnational entities. A cosmo political culture is developing, as people are beginning to think globally and act locally. A risk culture is emerging with people realizing that the main risks that face them are global (pollution and AIDS), and that States are unable to deal with the problems. (Lachor 2006).

Globalization makes it easier for drug cartels and terrorists to operate, and the world wide-webs-anarchy raises crucial questions of censorship and preventing access to some Sites. Globalization in its efforts geared towards universal homogenization of ideas, cultures, values and even life-styles, as well as the deterritorialization and villagization of the world comes with it some challenges on international relations.

Terrorism
The advance in technology as a result of globalization is posing serious security challenges on transnational threats and national vulnerabilities. Threats across international borders move with relative ease as a result of the sophisticated technologies, information and communication infrastructures provided by the processes of globalisation. Trans-nationalization of threats constitutes the new form of global network terrorism that poses serious security challenges to world peace Elaigwu, 2000. In Febraury 1993, a yellow Ryder rental van containing a 1,200 pound bomb exploded in the parking garage of the World Trade Center in New York City, killed six people and injured thousands of people. About eight years later, on Septembers, 11, 2001, the same World Trade Center Towers were hit by hijacked commercial airliners loaded with

highly volatile jet fuel that killed about three thousand people from diverse nationalities. Between 1983 and 2004, over twenty-two terrorist attacks were launched against America and her allies. Several other regions of the world have also suffered far more terrorist attacks in recent decades. Asia, Africa, American countries (especially Peru, Colombia, and Mexico) have been plagued by terrorism for many years. The most advanced industrial nations of Western Europe are not immune either, since the late 1960s. The Irish Republican Army (IRA) ultranationalists have conducted terrorist campaign against British control of Northern Ireland. During the Spring and Summer of 1994, the German police discovered and foiled four attempts to sell nuclear materials that could have been used to construct atomic bombs. In August, 1994, 350 grams of atomic fuel were discovered on a Lufthansa flight from Moscow to Munich. Two days later, a German was arrested for trying to sell a pure sample of plutonium to a police informant. The smuggling of biological weapons for sale on the Black Market pose great security threats as well. (Magstadt, 2006).

Terrorism has been given different definitions that boil down to the use of or the threats of violence to pursue political ends. It can also be defined as the deliberate attack on innocent civilians for political or religious purposes. Terrorism in all embodies violence, the desire for publicity, political, religious motives, and information aimed at civilian populations. It can be seen as a form of covert attack directed at targets that are outside a certain range of clearly defined military targets. Terrorist acts often involve a small group, united around a particular cause, unleashing violence against society in order to frighten the populace and demoralize the leadership to achieve set political goals Ogwu, 2001. Terrorism comes in many forms, such as those controlled or directed by a government or involve nationals from more than one country. State terrorism involves terrorist attacks carried out by covert units of an established government or by private individuals or groups financed and perhaps given terrorists weapons by such a government. The U.S Department of States designates Cuba, Iran, Iraq, Libya, North Korea, Sudan and Syria as countries that are guilty of State Terrorism, they called "Rogue States".

Examples of Terrorist Forms that involves individual(s) or groups of independent established government abound. The AI Qaeda group led by Osama Bin Laden is about the most notorious. There are also the Red Hand Defenders in Northern Ireland, Hizballah in the Middle East, Sondero Luminoso or Shining Path in Peru, the Tamils in Sri Lanka, Maoists and Sikhs, both in India, Red Army of Japan, Red Brigade in Italy, Bandamein of Germany, Action Direct of France, and so many others. Terrorists can be Nationalists, Separatists and Ideological. Responding to terrorist activity has become increasingly different, because most perpetrators have networks of supporters in the resident populations. Protecting populations from random acts of violence is an almost impossible tasks, given the easy availability of guns and bombs in the international market. Despite better devices for detection and tracking, committed individuals or groups of terrorists are difficult to deter. Such individuals may become heroes in the community, as one person's terrorist is another person's freedom fighter. The new age of Terrorism is different today because of the following;

    i.   Global, in the sense that with the death of distance, borders no longer serve as barriers to terrorism.

   ii.   Lethal, because new terrorists have shifted their tactics from theatrical violent acts seeking to alarm for publicity, to purposeful destruction of civilian Non-combatants, to kill as many as possible, for the purpose of instilling fear.

  iii.   Waged by civilians without State sanction, in ways and by means that erase the classic boundaries between terrorism and a declared war between States.

  iv.   Reliant on the most advanced technology of modem civilization to destroy. Through those sophisticated technological means, the modem civilization is seen as posing a threat to the terrorist's sacred traditions.

   v.   Orchestrated by Transnational Non-State Organizations through global conspiratorial networks of terrorist cells located in many countries, involving unprecedented levels of communication and coordination.

Environmental Degradation

Environmental issues emerged in the late twentieth century as major focus of international concern and activity, because global threat to the natural environment has become a difficult and a collective problem. Consequently, a sustainable natural environment has become a collective good. Awareness of the importance of environmental protection has expanded greatly. Assessing the emerging challenges of the environment in international relations, will start from an understanding of the environment. The environment is the physical surroundings, conditions and circumstances in which man lives. The environment is made up of the entire physical and human conditions on earth. These conditions include the resources of the earth which need to be exploited in order to maintain and improve upon the living standards of man. The exploitation of these resources has constituted a great danger not only to man but also to nature itself. For instance, the conduct of atomic and hydrogen tests in the atmosphere has been a serious cause of pollution that is a threat to the existence of human, animal and vegetable life on planet earth. All industrial activities exude pollutants into the air, water or soil.

Pollution has global consequences on plant and animal life and on the soil and water. Air pollution leads to the depletion of the ozone layer in the upper atmosphere and reduces its ability to filter hazardous ultraviolet radiation from the sun with serious consequences to life and the environment. The burning of fossil fuels and forests on its own increases the atmospheric carbon dioxide and leads to increased warmth on earth. Industrial accidents have led to widespread poisoning with dire consequences to human lives. The sea is polluted by waste from chemicals as well as oil from ships. The quality of water in streams, rivers and lakes, especially in the industrialized countries has become dangerous for man and living resources. Little wonder that industrialized countries have continued to dispose of their chemical toxic waste in developing countries.

Nigeria in 1960 had to severe diplomatic ties with Frances a result of three different atomic tests by France that were considered induced hazards to Nigerian environment. Natural occurrences such as drought

could result to desert filiation, while excessive rains can cause soil erosion and flooding. Insufficient rains also encourage the breeding of pest. To the extent that these environmental hazards may be caused by activities beyond national borders and their effects transcend such borders, they have no doubt become matters of international concern requiring international co-operation. International environmental protection is thus concerned with the preservation and protection of the air, water and soil from pollution or degradation and preservation of the hostage of mankind for the benefit of the present and future generation, Umozuruike, 1999:253-256. There are various customary rules for the protection of the international environment. These rules were embodied in the various municipal and later international laws.

The origin of International Environmental Law, can be traced to the international legal developments that occurred in the second half of the 19th century. These laws have evolved over three distinct periods of the Post-Industrial Revolution, up to 1945, Post-United Nations era, and from the Stockholm Conference, to the Rio Earth Conference era. The major or principal features in all the phases of the development of International Environmental Law is the responsibilities of States, in ensuring that activities within their jurisdiction and control did not cause damage in other States, or in areas beyond national jurisdiction, such as in Outer Space or the High Seas. These responsibilities extend to activities carried out by State's Nationals or on ships, oil platforms registered in its territory. The 1972 UN Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment provided the basic framework on which subsequent agreements, reports and conferences were built upon.

The World Charter for Nature of 1982, held in Nairobi, Kenya, the Bruntland Report "Our Common Future" by the World Commission on Environment and Development in 1987, the United Nations Conference on Environmental Treaties, Conventions and Protocols, all show welcome trends towards a global approach focusing on the environment. The Regional attempts address trans-boundary environmental problems with countries sharing common geographical boundaries, similar infrastructures and similar patterns of economic development, cultural and political outlooks. In 2002, at Johannesburg,

South Africa, another conference also took place to address issues of climate change, and measures aimed at tackling them. The major theme in all these Conferences are sustainable development which is simply economic growth that does not deplete resources and destroy ecosystem so quickly that the basis of economic growth is undermined. The Brundtland's Report characterized sustainable development as development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. The focus of sustainable development strategies is on promoting economic and social developments in ways that avoid environmental degradation, over exploitation and pollution. Its concern is basically that present patterns of economic and population growth would have to change because humankind is reaching the limits of the earth's finite natural resources and carrying capacity. It is concerned about problems on pollution, climate change, and threats to habitats and biodiversity, Baylis and Smith.

Awareness of environmental protection has been on the increase. By the early 1990s, there were at least 120 multilateral environmental agreements and hundreds of bilateral one. This has risen because environmental issues are often difficult to identify the problems. Without careful scientific monitoring and assessment, problems such as pollution, depletion of fish stocks, decline in biodiversity and climate change, may emerge slowly and not become clear until it is too late to prevent major impacts or even disaster. In the past, environmental issues such as the growth of population, industry, energy use and extraction of natural resources on the planet have been on an increasing rate that has to be checked. Ecological preservation of the global environment is indeed a means to a healthy life. Environmental issues are linked to values such as security, economic and social well-being. In fact, the politics of scarcity, predicts that future international conflicts will likely be caused by resource scarcities; restricted access to food, oil and water for example, rather than by overt military challenges. Environmental security emphasize that threats by such phenomena as global warming, ozone depletion and the loss of tropical forests and marine habitats can threaten the future of humanity as much as the threat of war and using

weapons of mass destruction. All these issues and responses to them have enhanced international relations.

Demographic Challenges

Demographic threat has to do with population explosion. The earth's ability to support and sustain life has brought population and environmental issues to the center stage of world politics. Global population has been on the increase as the years go by. The world's population of 6.6 billion in 2007, has been growing by 75 million each year. The projected world population by 2030 will be about 8 billion people. Population growth results from a difference between birth rates and death rates. The process of economic development or industrialization and the accumulation of wealth on a per capital basis bring about a change in birth rates and death rates. Death rates fall as food supplies increase, and access to health care expands. Birth rates fall as people become more educated, more secured, and more urbanized as the status of women in the society are enhanced. Rapid population growth is to reduce per capital income, Pevehouse and Goldstein 2008:411-416. High rates of population growth are punitive and painful, sponsoring low economic growth and increasing the likelihood of civil strife. In traditional low-income societies, children are economic bonuses, because they provide labour that contributes to family income; but with modernization, children became economic burdens, inhibiting social mobility and the capital accumulation of wealth. With the dangers associated with them, disease, malnutrition and violence have seriously impacted on population growth, which have in turn affected relationships in the international system.

The Challenges of Diseases

As earlier stated, population growth is determined by death rate and birth rate. People die due to different causes at different ages. Droughts, wars, epidemics and diseases could be felt locally in lowering population, but the interconnected nature of the world today makes it a matter of global concern. Throughout history, the spread of bacteria, parasites, viruses, plagues and diseases to various ecospheres, regardless of State borders, has suspended development and brought down once mighty States and Empires (Kolhert, 2003). It is obvious that a relationship

exists between the health of individuals within a State and that State's national security. A population's health is of utmost importance to the State's ability to survive (Youde, 2005). In this age of globalization, a disease such as tuberculosis (TB) which is killing millions worldwide each year knows no borders. It can spread with a sneeze or a cough on an international flight. In an interconnected world, the threat from natural pandemics is increasingly similar to bio-terror, capable of striking anywhere without warming. Diseases can migrate from African refugee camp, to Western Cities or South American villages to other remote regions. The outbreak of Swine flu in Mexico in 2009 rapidly spread to the U.S, France, New Zealand, Canada and Britain. A terrorist attack with small pox, anthrax, or the plague, could be more devastating than a nuclear attack, and harder to prevent. Bio agents can be made cheaply and easily transported across borders without detection (Henderson, 2009).

The grim possibility that virulent diseases will diminish the world's population, and that we share a common fate, is evident in the spread of the Human Immune Deficiency Virus (HIV) that cause Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDs), and the Covid-19 that was the deadliest of all. According to the then UN Secretary General, Kofi Anan in November 2001, on the eve of World AIDS Day; "every day, more than 8,000 people die of AIDS, every hour almost 600 people become infected, every minute, a child dies of the virus. Just as life and death go on after September 11, so must we continue our fight against the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Before the (9/11) terrorist attacks. Tremendous momentum had been achieved in that fight. To lose it now would be to compound one tragedy with another. Most health experts agree with Anan's warming that "in the ruthless world of AIDS, there is no "us and them. International solidarity is required to fight the disease which spreads across national borders (Kegley, 2008).

The Covid-19 engulfed the entire world in a historic scale. While the early transmission appeared to affect China, South Korea, much of Europe and the United States of America, the virus, in the same trend spread into Africa, Asia, and the whole world with serious implications, not only on health, but on international relations. A collective paralysis

gripped the international community, as captured from this poetic context;

i. New York, the city that never sleeps, suddenly became asleep and quiet.
ii. Paris, the Center of Romance, lived in echoes
iii. Rome, the Eternal City, became deserted
iv. Disney went out of Magic.
v. London was caged in silence. The Queen spoke to her people from a hidden room.
vi. Mecca became empty. Nobody was "stone to the devil"
vii. The Chinese wall was no longer a fortress
viii. The G8 Nations were speechless
ix. The Developed world were suddenly on their knees.
x. Churches, Mosques, Great Parks, Monuments and Stadiums were filled with unfilled spaces.
xi. The busiest places, now became the hitherto most dreaded; Hospitals and Cemeteries.
xii. The famous Football Leagues, the Fashion Shows, exotic Weddings, Burials, Festivals, all lost to memory.
xiii. Celebrants ran out of celebrations. Titles, Status, and privileged positions became stale.
xiv. With all man's boastful citizenship, "we could not step out of our houses. With all our savings in gold and cash, we could only buy food to eat, and toilet papers to take care of the waste.
xv. Animals, we usually watch in cages, now reamed our empty streets, watching us in our cages, as was seen in Russia and other States and Cities.
xvi. With all our expensive clothes and shows, our house clothes and pyjamas became the reigning fashion.

In the face of all these oddities, a trend unfolded in international relations. Mental realities showed off, as Europe, America and Asia recorded higher numbers of cases and deaths, while Africa was on a low ebb which analysts attributed to disparity in environmental forces. Old schemes and strategies of escalating political and cultural polarization in States, became replaced by greater national solidarity and functionality. COVID-19 presented the world with a formidable enemy that could not discriminate colour, race, religion or ideological inclination. The spread

and control of infectious diseases are obviously serious global security challenges that affects international relations (Chukwu, 2020).

According to the UN, "The COVID-19 Pandemic was more than a health crisis, it was an Economic, a Humanitarian, a Security, and a Human Rights crises that highlighted severe fragilities and inequalities within and among nations. As organisations and governments around the world asked for citizens to practice social distancing to help reduce the rate of infections, the digital world was allowing people maintain connections and commerce like never before. Technology rules. National security resurfaced, not in military term, but to the dictates of COVID-19 ethos. COVID-19 heightened the already insecurity in the world as governments directed their aid programmes to COVID-19 specific programmes of movement restrictions, Chukwu 2020. According to the then UN Secretary General, Kofi Anan in November 2001, on the eve of World AIDS Day; "every day, more than 8,000 people die of AIDS, every hour almost 600 people become infected, every minute, a child dies of the virus. Just as life and death go on after September 11, so must we continue our fight against the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Before the (9/11) terrorist attacks. Tremendous momentum had been achieved in that fight. To lose it now would be to compound one tragedy with another. Most health experts agree with Anan's warming that "in the ruthless world of AIDS, there is no "us and them. International solidarity is required to fight the disease which spreads across national borders (Kegley, 2008). The spread and control of infectious diseases as AIDS, tuberculosis, malaria, cholera, Lassa and Ebola Fever, Diarrhea-causing diseases, measles mad cow disease, etc, are serious global security concerns to enhance international relations

The Emerging Challenges of Human Rights
Human rights are those rights which the international community recognizes as belonging to all individuals by the very fact of their humanity. J.J Rousseau in his Social Contracts Theory, captures the situation of human rights when he said "man is born free but everyone he is in chains". It is in this context that human rights have become an emerging issue in international relations. When we consider the depth of human deprivation and despair that have befallen humanity from

realizing their potentials and obtain the high ideas of security, freedom and dignity, then, we will understand the threat well and why it requires collective action. The individuals have become an object of international concern and compassion. When we consider the inequalities and disparities in the standard of living, especially of people in the Less Developed States (LDS), it evokes sympathy. The daunting scale of poverty accompanied with the poor living standards is glaring throughout the world.

People in developed countries are better off because of better health services, better education and better social facilities. The division between the rich and the poor, is no doubt, a growing source of resentment and conflicts all over the world. The opportunities and choices that is most basic to freedom from fear and poverty are unavailable for most people in the Less Developed States, hence, the slow pace of development. These serious deprivations, no doubt, call for humanitarian concern (Kegley, 2007). The promotion of human rights, therefore, stands as a collective effort of all. Though, some international relations analyst might see human rights in the light of sovereignty and territorial integrity; it is no doubt a matter of universal concern considering the interconnected nature of the emerging world politics.

The concept of Human Rights arises from, at least, three sources including religion, political and legal philosophy and the political revolutions of the 18th century. All religions are founded on the idea that humans were created in the image of a higher power and as such, should be treated humanely. Political and legal philosophers, from Aristotle, Locke and J. Austin, etc, have developed the idea that a natural law exists that grants all humans, the right to life, liberty, prosperity and happiness. The American and French Revolutions of the 18th century translated the theory of natural law and natural rights as propounded by the Philosophers into practice as they created laws that solidified the idea that humans have certain inalienable rights that no State or other individuals can take away. Though, States tried to limit human rights within their jurisdictions, the horrors of Nazi Germany's attempt to exterminate the Jews and Japanese abuses of Chinese citizens in World War II, showed the limits of State sovereignty over human right. From

then, it became obvious that States' claim to sovereignty is beyond human rights abuses. This is the basis of the 1948 United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other subsequent Declarations and Treaties at both international and regional levels, (Pevehouse and Goldstein 2008). All these attempts are aimed at setting international human right standards.

The inadequate implementation and enforcement of these standards have remained major issues in international relations. As a matter of international concern, the international community is the primary enforcer, while States are the major enforcers. States use their legal systems in the enforcement of human rights under the principle of universal jurisdiction in international law. The difficulties fraught with these enforcement mechanisms stand as an emerging threat as signing a treaty is no guarantee of a state's willingness to abide by the provisions. Monitoring State compliance through self-reporting systems presumes a willingness to comply and to be transparent. Taking direct action by imposing economic sanctions may not achieve the desired goals, as it may have direct adverse effects on the citizens it is supposed to help out. The case of Iraq after the First Gulf War and NATO's intervention in Kosovo and Serbia in 1999 to stop Serbian atrocities, had adverse consequences for the citizens (Mingst, 2004). The problem of enforcement and sanctions with regard to human rights in international law is indeed, of global concern. The creation of international criminal tribunals and criminal courts, since the 1990s to try and prosecute individuals alleged to be responsible for grave human rights violations, have aroused international concern, creating a trend in international relations.

The Challenges of Democratisation
Globalisation processes have heightened the wave of democracy in the world. As earlier stated, globalisation has been taking place for centuries, but with time, it has accelerated from the colonization of the inhibited parts of the world to the appearance of States from conquest to independent countries, introducing new forms of political organisations. The unequal relationships yoked in the globalisation process has affected the success of democracy in States and have also

affected relationships. Imperialism and colonialism as forces of globalisation graduated into democratisation, impacting on relationships in the international arena. Democracy has eventually become a yardstick to enhance relationships between States and a factor to determine aids and assistance of Western countries to developing States. Democratisation is simply the introduction of democracy to a non-democratic system. Democratization is the extent to which democratic principles are instilled in a political system. It is the transition to a more democratic political regime. It may be the transition from an authoritarian regime to a full democracy, or a transit from an authoritarian political system to a semi democracy, or transition from a semi authoritarian political system, to a democratic political system. Democratization is the introduction of democracy, the deepening of democratic values and the survival, sustenance and maintenance of democracy Democratization has been seen as a panacea for global peace.

According to Immanuel Kant, the only remedy to international conflict was the universal acceptance to democratic values by all States. President Woodrow Wilson carried this message to the Versailles Peace Conference and the Paris Conference that created the League of Nations. He was convinced that world peace could only be achieved by a compact among democratically governed States. Thus, relationship between the West led by the U.S, were clouded in the promotion of democracy.

According to Ake 2011, it was and still attempts to control the strategic raw materials of Africa and other factors that necessitated imposition of dictators and authoritarian government to maintain the status quo and promote democratic ethics that democracy in Africa became contradictory, not to the political values, but to the strategic interests of the West. America had used democracy to blackmail several African States, insisting on evidence of democratisation, political pluralism and respect for human rights as conditions for economic assistance. European powers have also adopted measures to enhance the spread of democracy through subtle interventions as aids, assistance and trade policies.

In Nigeria, for instance, the Independent Electoral Commission (INEC) has steadily been given assistance by the European Union (EU) and the U.S, hence their visible presence as international observers and independent monitors. Their presence is also evident in elections held in several other African States like Ghana, South Africa, Kenya, Senegal etc. The European Union, the U.S government and several other European governments are getting well involved in the meetings of the African Union (AU) and in disarmament projects, because conflicts in the States would threaten the budding of democratic governments in the continent and the spread of their values. The Arab States have been most hit by the democratic wave, because democracy advocates, asserts that the lack of good governance in the region is the reason most Arab States score low in socio-economic development indicators. The cases of Libya, Syria and Iraq defies this assertion. In fact, the speed of the democratic phenomenon is such that the Arabs and the Muslims see it as Americanization, that is a threat that must be destroyed. This thought has remained a force in the relationship in this region and by extension, the entire international system.

Review Questions

1. According to International Monetary Fund (IMF), what is Globalisation
2. Define Terrorism and give examples of Terrorist Forms that involves individual(s) or groups of independent established government abound.
3. What is Human Rights and the concept of Human Rights
4. Environmental Protection
5. Define Democratization and its challenges

References

Adibe, C. in Ayoob, M. Security in the Third World. The Worm about to turn. In International Affairs Journal vol. 60 No. 1 1984.

Baylis, J & Smith, S (1997) Edited The Globalization of World Politics. Oxford University Press. London.

Buzan, B. (1983). People, States and Fear. The National Security Problem in International Relations. Brighton Wheatsheat Books.

Chukwu, R. (2020). Globalization Technology and Pandemic in International Relations in COVID-19 Policy Responses and Impacts on World Economy.

Falk, R., 1983. The end of World Order: Essays on Normative International Relations. Michigan. Holmes and Meiev.

Goldstein J and Pevehouse, J. (2008). International Relations. Eighth Edition. New York. Pearson, Longman

Hinderson, D. (2009) Why Pandemics Strike as Unpredictably as Terrorist. New York. Newsweek Magazine.

Kegley, C.W. (2007). World Politics. Trends and Transformation. Eleventh EDITION. United States. Thompson Wadsworth.

Kegley, C. (2007) World Politics: Trend and Transformation. United States of America. Thomson and Wadsworth.

Khor, M. (2001). Globalization and the South. Some Critical Issues. Ibadan. Spectrum Publishers.

Lachor, H. (2006). Beyond Globalization. Capitalism, Territoriality and the International Relation of Modernity. Canada. Routledge.

Lippmann, W. 1943. United States Foreign Policy: Shield of the Public Boston Little Brown and Company.

Magstadt, T.M. (2006). Beyond Understanding Politics, Ideas Institutions and Issues. Seventh Edition. United States. Thompson Wadsworth.

Mingst, K. (2004). Essentials of International Relations. New York. W.W. Norton & company Inc.

Umozuruike, U.O. (1999). Introduction to International Law. Ibadan. Spectrum Law Publishers.

Worika L. (2002) Environmental Law and Policy of Petroleum Development; strategies and mechanisms for sustainable management in Africa. Port Harcourt. Appen Centre for Environment and Development

Wolfers, A. 1952. National Security as an Ambiguous symbol. In political science quarterly. Vol. 67. Nov 1952.

Youde, J. (2003). Enter the Fourth Health Security and International Relations Theory. The White Head, Journal of Diplomacy and International Affairs.

FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

In the dramatically changing international environment as captured in the various challenges as enumerated above, some striking issues are dominating that are also forces affecting relationships in the international system. These blackjacks will be captured in the realm of States and Protection and Enhancement of National Interests, the United Nations in International relations, Regional Blocks and international relations, Conflict/War and International Security and Changing Power Configuration in international politics. All these sandbags have continued to hang on especially, with the evolving trend in the international system as a result of the highly interconnected and interdependent world of today, that calls for a re-assessment of their impacts on international relations.

States and National Interest

National interests can be defined as the claims, objectives, goals, demands and interests which a State always tries to preserve, protect, defend and secure in relations with other States. The core values of national interests are survival and security. Every State in the international system has values and ideas that it cherishes, that it would rather go to war than compromise. National interests are State's goals and ambitions, centred around pursuit of power, security and wealth. A strong economy and robust defense system are vital elements of national interest. A strong defense system is necessary to promote State's independence, integrity and sovereignty, while a strong economy aids in

promoting States welfarism. These components help to ensure the safety of citizens and resolution of conflict with other states.

In international relations, pursuit and promotion of national interest are the guiding principles, in conformity with the widely acclaimed expression by one-time British Prime Minister, Lord Henry Palmerston, that nations have neither permanent enemies nor permanent friends, only permanent interests. National interests are goals and ambitions of governments. National interest can be influenced by a variety of factors, including economic, national security and the promotion of values, such as democracy and human rights. Different governments and political actors may have different views on what constitutes their national interest because national interest can change over time as a country's circumstances and priorities change. National interests of State can also vary depending on States size, location, resources and other factors. Some examples of national interest that a State may seek to advance and protect include the following;

i. **Economic interests:** These can include promoting economic growth, protecting domestic industries, and securing access to national resources, markets and other economic opportunities.

ii. **National security interest:** This revolve around protecting the State from external threats, like military aggression, terrorism and cyber-attacks, as well as maintaining a strong military and intelligence capabilities.

iii. **Political interests:** like promoting democratic values, protecting human rights, and supporting stable and effective governance within the country and in the world.

iv. **Cultural interests:** including presenting and promoting the States cultural heritage, language and traditions.

v. **Environment interests:** including protecting the country's natural resources and promoting environmental sustainability.

vi. **Humanitarian interests:** as providing assistance to other countries in need, as in the aftermath of natural disasters or conflicts.

vii. **Strategic interests:** to include securing access to key transportation routes like sea lanes or maintaining a presence in key regions of the world.

National interest is central to any attempt at describing, explaining, predicting, prescribing, and understanding State behaviour in the international arena. States and her leadership often justify their actions in the name of national interest. National interest is the total of all national values. National interest is an outstanding guide to State's action. It is the overriding purpose ordering State's relationship with the outside world.

Assessing State's promotion and enhancement of her national interest in international relations, can best be captured from the Realist theory. The Realist theory is basically centred around the State and the State system, human nature, transferred into the State, history and ethics. Rationality and State centrism are the core premises on which realism anchors. Realists stress the importance of power and interest, rather than ideals in international relations. The Realist picture of international relations is being dominated by States and the highest moral duty of the State is its own preservation, which must be realised by welding power (Smith, S Cermy et al 1996). For the Realists, in a world of power politics, State must arrange their interests to provide for survival. According to Mac-Ogonor 2000, the interest of the State, defined in terms of power is the primary moral guide by which policies are developed. These are of course the foreign policies of States. As the bedrock on which State's external relations are laid, foreign policy spells out the goals and objectives of States interests. Foreign policy objectives are policies directed by the prevailing national interests and the international arena for the overall benefits of the State. According to Lamido 2000, foreign policy of any State is in reality, the extension and pursuit of her national interest at the international arena based on her domestic situation and reality. Foreign policy is the strategy or planned course of action developed by the decision makers of States, aimed at achieving national interest. Foreign policy is essentially the instrumentality by which State influence or seek to influence the external environment and attain objectives that are in consonance with their perceived national interests.

The pursuit of these goals in view of the dramatically changing international system has assumed new dimensions. Structural changes that have emerged in the world economy have put States in a decisively new situation, as it affects every aspect of social and economic life. This is

manifest in the extremely rapid internationalization of the world economy, with the diverse world economic problems, impacting on international relations.

The United Nations in International Relation
The formation and establishment of the United Nations marked a significant milestone in the history of international relations. According to Inis 1963, international organisations represent an attempt to adapt institutional procedures and rules of international relations, to the conditions of international interdependence. International organisations developed out of the existence of objective facts and conditions that the world must be divided into a number of States, which function as independent political units, and a substantial measure of contacts must exit between them. The UN is a permanent conference of States for multilateral diplomacy and can be seen as the theatre of world politics. Bosco 2009 confirms that the UN is a world of international relations to itself. It was in large measure a product of a realistic assessment of, and response to the realm of world affairs and the structure of international relations.

The major foundation on which the UN was laid was co-operation and collaboration, well laid out in her charter; and demonstrated in the various organs of the organisation, as spelt out in chapter III, Article 7 to include;
   i.   The General Assembly
   ii. The Security Council
   iii. The Economic and Social Council
   iv. The Trusteeship Council (Now Obsolete)
   v.   The International Court of Justice
   vi. The Secretariat

The primary objectives of the UN are expressly stated in the preambles of the charter
> "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of

men and women, and of nations, large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom".

Chapter 1, Article I, of the Charter, spells out the Purposes and Principles of the UN as;

i. To maintain international peace and security and to that end, to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations, which might lead to breach of the peace.

ii. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace.

iii. To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character and in promoting and encouraging respect for all, without distinction, as to race, sex, language or religion.

iv. To be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

The Charter no doubt introduced new controls to eliminate or reduce the use of force at the international level, to safeguard against violent tactics among its members, and formally endowed with a range of means to settle disputes, including, establishing a mechanism for an international force fundamentally to maintain peace and security. The Charter equally made provisions for the resolution of economic and social problems and made the promotion of human rights a principal issue in international relations (Obiozor & Ajala pp.4-6).

The fulfilment of these goals is injected in the Organs of the UN. The General Assembly is the central organ of the UN, as it is made up all the

member States of the Organisation. The Security Council is made up of fifteen members of five Permanent Members and the ten Non-Permanent Members elected by the General Assembly for two years term. The Security Council is the organ charged with the responsibility to maintain international peace and security. The Economic and Social Council (ESOSOC) is made up of eighteen member States elected by the General Assembly for a three-year term. The Organ is charged with the responsibility of promoting higher standards of living, better health, respect for human rights and international co-operation in education and arts. The Secretariat is headed by the Secretary General and is in charge of all the administrative work of the organisation. The Secretary General is also empowered with important political responsibilities. The International Court of Justice (ICJ) is the principal judicial organ of the UN. It is not in doubt that the UN has tried in meeting up her responsibilities, but the evolving and dynamic nature of the international society have constantly placed a clog on the wheels of performance of the UN. The changing courses of international relations from the dramatically changing international environment have to a large extent limited the UN in fulfilling her responsibility. Notwithstanding, the UN has huge success in promoting international peace at least, to the extent that there has not been a third world war. Though limited, the UN has not failed in her responsibilities in enhancing and promoting international relations.

Regionalism and International Relations

The dynamic nature of the international society has undergone massive mutations compelling States and Regions across the globe to find ways to cope with the growing uncertainties. By the different historical, cultural, environmental exigencies of the regions, they all adopts different measures in their co-operations and alignments. According to Baylis and Smith 1977, during the 1960s there was a widespread enthusiasm to promote integrations on various levels. The processes of Regionalism across many areas of the globe were aided by the growing number of newly independent States. Thus, Regionalism can be seen as States linked by a geographical relationship and degree of mutual interdependence of political, socio-economic values and cultural tradition.

Most of the regional groupings are focused in this line. Some are concerned with economic welfare, defence and security or the protection of social and cultural values. It is in this line of thought that Baylis and Smith 1997 define Regionalism as a process involving the growth of informal linkages and transactions, derived from economic activity and also involving social and political independence. The goal of Regionalism is for a cohesive and consolidated regional bloc that impact greatly on international politics. Development of regional blocs have enhanced peaceful and co-operative political relationships. These Blocs are found in the Americas, South East Asia, Africa and Europe.

Notable blocs in Latin, Central and North America is the North American Free Trade Association (NAFTA). NAFTA's formation was enhanced by the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America established in the 1950s. The Central American Common Market (CACM) was set up in 1960. The Caribbean Common Market was also formed. There was also the MERCOSUR, Common Market of the South or Southern Cone. Concerns of fear for political and economic marginalization in a region dominated by U.S political power and covert strategic involvement explains much regional activity in Central and Latin America. The Organisation of American States (OAS) was a victim of this U.S politics. Countries of Latin and Central America have persistently sought alternative economic development strategies and adjustments, primarily driven by ideological, economic and cultural expressions of differences, to their powerful U.S. neighbour. Regional arrangement in Asia is centered around the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) formed in 1967. The early 1990s witnessed moves towards regional economic integration with agreement in 1992 to develop an ASEAN free trade area and development of Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC) as a wider forum including Austrialia, New Zealand, and the U.S. for the pursuit of common economic interest, in particular, concerning the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). There was also the South East Asian Treaty Organisation (SEATO). ASEAN was a State promoted regional co-operation and also one of the major regional groupings closely connected with European trade and diplomacy (Baylis and Smith).

Regionalism in Africa started with the Organisation of African Unity OAU that later transformed into African Unity (AU). Other sub-regional Blocs like the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the South African Development Co-ordination Committee (SADCC), the Union of Central African States, the Arab Unity Council, East African Community, the Maghrib Permanent Consultative Committee, the Mano River Union, the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) etc. All these and many other regional co-operations and integration came up as response to the overwhelming scale of problems facing the African continent.

The formal process of European integration started with the European Union, which has been, and continue to be shaped according to particular historical and political exigencies. There was the Organisation of European Economic Co-operation (OECD) for the Western Europe, which was countered by the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) for the Eastern Europe. The North Atlantic TREATY Organisation (NATO) was also formed and countered by the Warsaw Pact. There was also the Western European Union, the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), the European Economic Area (EEA), the Nordic Council, the Council of Europe etc. Regionalism and Integration of Europe were shaped by the courses of developments in the Area. Differing interests and political forces were major factors. The Co-operations staggered in economic, military, security and legal administrative activities.

CONFLICTS, WAR AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY
Conflict: Conflict is an integral part of man's search for interest, peace and security. Conflict affects individuals, families, communities, Organisations, Nations and States. Conflict exists either by perception or in reality. Conflict involves two or more parties in opposition to interests, principles, practice and strategies. Conflict reflects a clash of interest or goals between parties Akpuru-Aja 2007. Conflict is an intrinsic and inevitable part of human existence and can be defined as the pursuit of incompatible interests and goals by different groups. Conflict can be seen as an attitude, behaviour or an action, or a process that

introduces strains and stresses in the relationship between two or more parties in the attainment of interests or goals (Francis, 2006).

Conflict is a condition in which one identifiable group of human being, maybe for tribal, ethnic, linguistic, cultural, religious, socio-economic, political etc) is engaged in conscious opposition to one, or more identifiable human groups that are pursuing incompatible goals. Coser 1956 defines Conflict as a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources, in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals. Conflict may be violent or nonviolent, in terms of physical force, may be dominant or recessive, controllable or uncontrollable, resolvable or insoluble under various circumstances. Conflict is a universally and permanently recurring phenomenon within and between societies. Examples or forms of Conflict include; civil war, revolution, coup, guerrilla insurgency, political assassination, sabotage, terrorism, seizure of hostages, prison riots, strikes and strike breaking, sit-in threats, displays of force, economic sanctions and reprisals, psychological warfare, propaganda, tavern brawls, labour management disputes, flame-ups at collegiate or professional sports events, divorce contests and legal wrangling over the custody of children, interfamily fights and felonious crimes.

War: It is important to also state that conceptions of international relations recognise the problem of war as a central issue, because the stability of the international system is usually defined in terms of its proximity to, or remoteness from the occurrence, or likehood of large – scale war. While conflict is a fight between armed troops, War is hostility directed by or issued by governments. Conflicts are part of war; because war is a widespread of conflict. War is exclusively interstate, while conflict is intrastate. War can be seen as a form of political violence. War is a recurring phenomenon and is the result of competition for power. According to Donald Kagan as noted by Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff 2001, in a world of sovereign States, competition is a normal condition that sometimes leads to war. He contends that States seek power, not only for greater security or economic gain, but also for "greater prestige, respect, deference and honour. Waltz, on his own, confirm that war is part of human nature and behaviour.

According to Eagleton 1948, War is a means for achieving an end, a weapon which can be used for good, or for bad purposes. He insists that War performs functions which are essential in any human society. According to him, War has been used to settle disputes, to uphold rights, to remedy wrongs etc. It is certain that nations resort to force to enhance their security by extending, or preserving power, control, and influence over their environment, territory, populations, government and resources. Conventional Political Scientist, from researches have compiled as reasons why governments go War, to include the following;

i. To gain dominion over territory
ii. To enhance security
iii. To weaken a foreign foe
iv. To acquire wealth and or prestige
v. To preserve (by defending or extending) ethnic, cultural and religious identity or values
vi. To preserve or extend dynastic interests
vii. To gain or hold a colonial empire
viii. To spread a political ideology
ix. To prevent secession and national dissolution or territorial loss
x. To intervene in foreign conflicts (whether to honour a treaty obligation, support a friendly government, overthrow an unfriendly one, aid in a liberation struggle etc)
xi. To maintain alliance credibility
xii. To preserve or restore a balance of power, and to thwart the hegemonial aims of another power
xiii. To protect a vital economic interest abroad
xiv. To uphold the principle of freedom of the seas
xv. To fill a power vacuum, (before someone else does)
xvi. To prevent a future war
xvii. To carry out reprisals against a government for past injuries inflicted
xviii. To protect endangered nationals
xix. To defend national honour and avenge a grave insult.

It should be noted that the motives for which governments go to war change over time, because governments define their goals, interests,

policies and strategies and the prospects of success or failure in invoking force.

International Security: Security basically implies freedom from threat to core values. Discussions on security, centers on the pursuit of freedom from these threats. In the context of the international system, security is about the ability of States to maintain their independent identity and integrity. A State is secured to the extent to which it is not in danger of having to sacrifice core values, if it wishes to avoid war, and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by victory. Security is the nerve center of international life. Since the 1648 Peace of Westphalia, the history of the State system has been a relentless struggle to achieve security. Military capabilities were traditionally the main focus of security, but expansion of the concept of security to include the basic needs of life, food, shelter, health, education, meaningful work, human rights, environmental protection etc, have added a better understanding of security. This idea has elevated security to the status of such threats as economic, demographic, ecological or environmental and political threats. (Chukwu 2019). The broad processes of globalization, has heightened the dynamics of threats and impacting seriously on international relations. According to Baylis and Smith 1997, the risks associated with these threats, like the breakdown of the global monetary system, global warming, and the dangers of nuclear accidents, are largely outside the control of States, that they require global co-operation. However, ambitious politicians at the head of some Governments, cultural differences, as well as varying values, constrains the emergence of global agreement on a wide range of global issues. Societal insecurity is also increasingly evident as the forces of fragmentation and integration are steering up identities and thereby complicating relations between States. Paradigmatic shift is taking place in international politics in the aftermath of the Cold War as new and positive development with empirical historical evidence, requires real caution.

The spread of democratic values, the processes of globalisation and the general co-operative roles of international institutions are playing important roles in shaping some of the competitive aspects of the security dilemma. The structure of the international system is obviously

displaying important constraints on the way that individuals, States and international institutions should flow. In a world of continuing diversity, mistrusts and uncertainty, it is certain that the search for a more co-operative global society is likely to remain in conflict with the powerful pressures for States to look after their own national security.

All these forces are playing out in the Middle East politics, in the Syria crisis, the U.S China political tensions, in the COVID World health Saga, the Nuclear strives of States, the Russia/Ukraine war and the ongoing Gaza War. The highly interdependent, interrelated and interconnected world we live, seriously call for a strict attention on international security as conflict and war remains intrinsic part of man and the international society at large.

The Changing Power Configuration in International Politics

The question on how to grasp international politics can only be answered from a focus on power, because power is a prevailing force in international relations. At heart, power is best understood in terms of control and command. It is the capacity to make others do as you wish. Power explains influence and influence measures power. In international relations, power is the ability to influence an actor. For States, as major actor in international relations to have overriding influence translated in terms of power, such a State must have the tangible and intangible power potentials to effectively and strategically deploy. According to Mac-Ogonor 2000, it is the possession of such potentials that can make the State have the ability to push others around, and also withstand push, pull and shove threats from other States in the world community.

As in formal and informal relationships, disagreements have always produced a readjustment that enhances relationships. So, it is in international relations. World politics has usually been transformed by outbreak of major or general war or conflict, because they provide punctuation marks in history that force drastic realignments in the relationship among states and in the international society as a whole. It is usually after such total breakdown has the international environment been sufficiently prepared to induce leaders and supporting publics of dominant States to join in the task of re-organising the international

society to avoid a repetition of the terrible tale just experienced. Most great powers rise and fail, may be in response to the law of gravity. The table below give a picture of the trend of great power contest for world leadership from 1495 – 2025, (Chukwu, 2007).

The Evaluation of Great Power Rivalry for World Leadership 1495-2025

Date	Prepondent State(s) Seeking Hegemony	Other Powers Resisting Domination	Global War	New Order After Global War
1495-15400	Portugal	Spain, Valois, France, Burgundy, England Venice	Wars of Italy and the Indian Ocean 1494-1517	Treaty of Tordesillas, 1517
1560-1609	Spain	The Netherlands, France, England	Spanish-Dutch Wars, 1580-1608	Truce of 1609, Evangelical Union and the Catholic League formed.
1610-1648	Holy Roman Empire(Hapsburg dynasty in Spain and Austria-Hungary)	Shifting and adhoc coalitions of mostly protestant States (Sweden, Holland) and German Principalities, as well as Catholic France against remnants of Papal rule.	Thirty Years War, 1618-1648	Peace of Westphalia 1648
1650-1713	France (Louis XIV)	The United Provinces, England, the Hapsburg Empire, Spain, major German States, Russia	Wars of the Grand Alliance 1688-1713	Treaty of Urecht 1713
1792-1815	France (Napoleon)	Great Britain, Prussia, Austria, Russia.	Napoleonic War 17192-1815	Congress of Vienna and Concert of Europe 1815
1871-1914	Germany, Turkey, Austria-Hungary	Great Britain, France, Russia, United States	World War I 1914-1918	Treaty of Versailles creating the League of National, 1919
1933-1945	Germany, Japan, Italy	Great Britain, France, Soviet Union, United State	Cold War 1949-1991	NATO Partnerships for Peace, 1995. World Trade Organization 1995
2001-2025	United States	China, Japan, Russia, India Regional Blocs	A cold peace or hegemonic war 2010-2025	A new security regime to preserve world order (Multilateralism)

(Kegley, 2007)

From the table , Portugal and Spain wielded so much power in the 15th and 16th centuries until the overriding influence of the Holy Roman Empire reigned that led to the 30 years war which ended the Papal rule of the Holy Roman Empire. The growth of the modern Nation States from the Peace Westphalia, introduced the autonomy of States whose efforts at securing their sovereignty led to different alliances both secret and open. This became the major characteristic of the European system that was interest-based. This situation prevailed in European until Napoleon Bonaparte's nearly successful attempt in the 19th century to conquer Europe. It also heralded the rise of modern nationalism. France's bid for hegemony ultimately failed, but it however introduced the idea of national self-determination and universal rights. The industrial revolution in the 19th century also ushered in economic and technological changes that transformed world politics. Towards the end of the 19th century, conciliation were becoming fixed and hardened. while nations were steadily accumulating military power, Europe found itself divided into two opposing alliance that set the stage for World War I, which brought to an end the classical balance of power system in Europe. World War II also produced new configuration that continued to shape world politics. The European system was replaced by a global system dominated by two controlling powers that gave world politics bipolar order. The end of World War II brought to light the growing realization of the military and economic potentials of the United States and the defunct Soviet Union. Both countries emerged as superpowers combining global political objectives with military capabilities that included Weapons of Mass Destruction and the means to deliver them over intercontinental distances. World War II also provided a heavy burden for succeeding generation with the traumatic legacy of the atomic bomb.

After 1945, nuclear weapons presented unprecedented changes in world politics. Since 1945, the transformation of World Politics has been manifested in political, economic, technological and ideological developments. The collapse of colonialism in the twentieth century was a fundamental change in world politics. The emergence of national self-determination as the guiding principle in international politics marked a transformation of attitudes and values especially with its injection into

the UN Charter. This aided the processes of decolonization that was influenced by the exigencies of the time. The rise of the United State as a world power after 1945 was of paramount importance in international politics. Its conflict with the former Soviet Union that became entrenched in the cold war, provided one of the crucial dynamics in world affairs as both powers became the leading voice in world politics.

The Cold War was a major historical turning point as measured by changes in the international system, the nation – state and international organization. (Baylis and Smith 1998:72-84). The end of the Cold War brought an end to the contest for world dominance and threat, but has not resulted in the abolition of nuclear weapons. The collapse of the former Soviet Union reversed the super-power relations and marked the end of the Post World War II balance of power. Countries consequently had to redefine relationships with one another. A New World Order had emerged giving the international system, according to Ojo (1998) "a New toga of Unipolarity, no more Bi-polarity, dominated by the United States" and her allies. With the end of Cold War, the international system also witnessed the unification of Germany, marking the end of the politics of the Iron Curtain, the democratization of Eastern Europe, the increasing tempo of economic ascendancy of Japan, the independence of Namibia, the changes in Middle East, the collapse of apartheid in South Africa and a stage set for a multipolar world system with America standing as the most powerful country in the global system Ojo 1998.

The changing power configuration in the international system since the end of the Cold War has seen the United States as dominating, but with other contending powers like China, Japan, India, and Brazil. Russian after gaining and loosing the rest of the former Soviet Union has remained a power to contend with. In the Multi-Polar configuration of world politics today, the United States, Japan, China, France, British, Russia and Germany can be seen as power-welding States. These States together, account for more than half of the world total GDP and two-thirds of military spending.

Diagram Representation
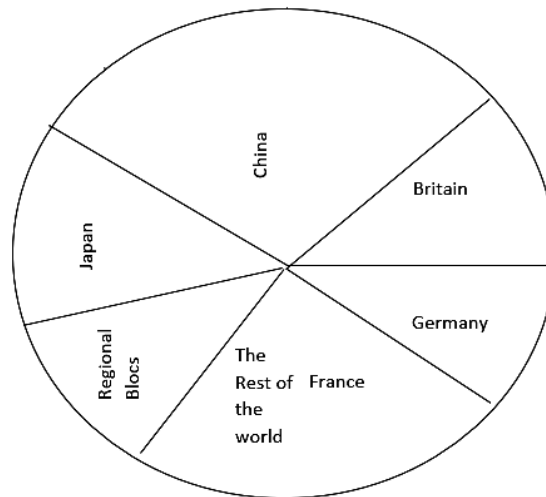
The figure above shows prevailing power structure in the international system. Power appears dispersed and spread out. The United States monopoly of power in the aftermath of the Cold War is been challenged by other rising power States. China with the world's largest population, rapid economic growth, a large military and credible nuclear arsenal is playing a central role in the international power politics. Japan and Germany are economically great powers and have large capable and military forces, but have played constrained roles in the international system which they have begun to deploy abroad. Britain and France have maintained their military powers at a reduced level. Russia retreated at the end of the Cold War to consolidate her hold on her former territories, but has emerged as a great power force. Brazil, Russia, India and China are coming up as a serious contending power force in the BRICS formation.

Regional blocs have also become contending force in the changing power configuration. Most Middle Powers have taken advantage of the regional blocs to assume dominance in world politics through the considerable influence they wield. Co-operation among Western European States in the economic realm led to the formation of the European Union. Asia is also strengthening her regional co-operation just as those of the American continent. African region is strengthening

her co-operation by her transforming from the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to the African Unity (AU), for stronger unity. Sub-regional efforts are also steering up unity. Israel is undoubtedly showing off her strength in the Middle East. North Korea is consistently alerting the world of her nuclear preparedness. Her brother neighbour, South Korea is striving to guard against the military might of North Korea. Other States in the International Community are also gearing up Power Potentials. All these are indications of evolving and dynamic strings of power in international relations. The emergence of these powers, resisting the U.S dominance is tilting towards a Cold Peace era, ushering a Medium Security regime to balance power and preserve world order. It is indicating a period of great-power peace in line with the Realists thought that preparing for war is necessary for peace and also directing relationships in the international society.

Review Questions

1. Define the term "National Interests" and Some examples of national interest that a State may seek to advance
2. The United Nations in International Relations
3. Write briefly on Regionalism and International Relations,
4. What is Conflicts/War and reasons why governments go war

References

Baylis, J & Smith, S (1997) Edited. The Globalization of World Politics. Oxford University Press. London.

Bosco, D. (2009) Five to Rule them All. The UN Security Council and the making of the modern world. New York. Oxford University Press

Coser, L. (1956). The Functions of Social Conflict. New York. Free Press.

Chukwu, R. 2017 The changing Power Configuration in World Politics and the United Nations Security Council: Implication for Africa. In Reach Journal of Humanities, Legal Studies and International Development. Vol. 2 No.

Dougherty, J. and Pfaltzgraff, R. (2001). Contending Theories of International Relations: A Comprehensive Survey. New York. Longman.

Eagleton, C. (1948). International Government (Revised) New York, Ronald Press.

Inis, C. (1971). Swords into Plowshares: The Progress and Problems of International Organisations. New York. Randon House

Kegley, C. (2007) World Politics: Trend and Transformation. United States of America. Thomson and Wadsworth.

Lamido, S. 2000 Keynote Address: Nigeria's Foreign Policy. In, Selected Readings on Nigeria's foreign policy and International Relations.; Ibadan. Vanrage Publishers.

Mac-Ogonor, C. (2000). The power of the Republic: Strategic Policies and International Relations. Owerri. Springfield Publishers

Obiozo, G. and Ajala A (1998) Edited Africa and the UN System; The first fifty years. Lagos NIIA.

Ojo, E. (1998). Five Decades of the Uno: Some Implications for the New World Order. In Nigerian Forum. Lagos. NIIA.

Smith, S., Cermy, P. Cox, M., Biersteker et al. (Edited) (2006). Classical Theory in International Relations. New York. Cambridge University Press.

The Kootneeti Team 2022. National Interests in International Relations: Definition and Types. Thekootneeti.com.

Waltz, K. (1954). Man, The State and War. New York. Columbia University Press.

CHAPTER SEVEN
RELIGIOUS FUNDAMENTALISM AND TERRORISM

The increasing threat of terrorism to international peace and security has speared up studies to address this menace. This study was aimed at examining the role of religious fundamentalism in the surging wave of terrorism. Religion as a well spring of hope, life and virtues stirs deep passions that most times lead to violent action, war and terrorism. Anything that a religious believer perceives to be a challenge to his belief can constitute an existential threat to be likely met with drastic and deadly responses. The universalistic claims and absolute adherence of religious believes have sparked off ideologies that are predisposed to violence which they see as a sacramental act or divine duty. Sayyid Quth's beliefs and ideologies that focused on the catastrophic nature of contemporary life, is the foundation of contemporary Islamic fundamentalism Millennialism combined with religious nationalism may also explain the religious violence in Isreal that has continued to spark off tensions in the entire Middle East. Al-qaeda Fatwa in 1998 that urged Muslims to kill Americans anywhere and everywhere has blazed up terrorist attacks by different Islamic groups all over the international society. Their operations no doubt shows the religious dimensions of terrorism that poses a serious threat to international peace and security.

Introduction
Various forces have helped shape the evolution of the international society in different epochs. Throughout history, religion has played an

important role in orienting human beings towards peace and peaceful coexistence. The role of the Catholic Church in the evolving stages of the modern international society has remained outstanding. Religion has continuously played important role in orientating human beings. Religious convictions and zeal, however distorted or manipulated have always been a driving force in the trends of international relations, in the positive and negative realms. The universalistic claims and absolute adherence of religious believes have sparked off ideologies that are predisposed to violence. Religious extremists see violence as a sacramental act or a divine duty that has influenced terrorism.

Terrorism has not only taken the central stage in the strategic calculation of the global community, it has also completely altered the shape of the global security equation making it a serious threat. Terrorism is a violent mode of response to a conflictual relationship. Terrorism as adopted from the French word terreur is derived from the Latin word terrere; to frighten. The connection between religious fundamentalism and terrorism is on the strict adherence and zeal to promote religious ideologies. Anything that a religious believer perceives to be a challenge to his belief can constitute an existential threat are most likely met with drastic or deadly responses.

Terrorism
Terrorism has been given different definitions that boil down to the use of or the threats of violence to pursue a goal. It can be seen as the deliberate attack on innocent civilians for political, social or religions goals. Terrorism in all, embodies violence, the desire for publicity, political, religious etc motives aimed at civilian populations. Terrorism is a form of covert attack directed at targets that are outside a certain range of clearly defined military targets. Terrorist acts often involve a small group, united around a particular cause, unleashing violence against society in order to frighten the populace and demoralize the leadership to achieve set goals (Ogwu 2001). Terrorism come in different forms such as those controlled or directed by a government or involve nationals from more than one country.

Terrorists can be nationalists, separatists and ideologist Lakghman

Kadiraamar in a lecture in the Chatham House on 15th April 1998, as captured in Imobighe and Eguavoen 2006 gave a broad definition of terrorism as "the use or threat to use serious violence against persons or property, or the use or threat to use any means to disrupt vital computer installations or communications, to intimidate or coerce a government, the public, in order to promote political, social, ideological, religious or philosophical objectives. Terrorism involve the following;

    i. Premeditation – decision by a perpetrator to commit an act of terror.

    ii. Motivation or a cause – may be political, religious, economic, cultural etc.

    iii. Targets – usually non-combatants like political figures, bureaucrats or innocent by standers.

    iv. Secretiveness – where perpetrators belong to a clandestine group or are secretly sponsored by states.

Terrorism can also be economically, religiously, psychologically, ethnically or radically motivated. Terrorism is a mode of response to a conflictual relationship, manifested in, as hostage taking, assassinations, plane hijacking, the detonation of bombs and explosives or release of nerve gas, suicide attacks etc. According to Chaturvedi 2006, terrorism is a violence of a random and arbitrary kind. Moghaden 2006, see terrorism as an outcome of a rising unmet expectations and increasing frustration among millions of young people who feel they have no voice, no hope and no possibilities for a brighter future. For him, terrorism is a form of rebellion risk taking behaviour. Terrorists can be classified as;

    i. Revolutionaries

    ii. Insurgents

    iii. National Armed Forces

    iv. Nationalist and Ethnic Groups

    v. Other State Security agents (Imobighe and Eguaven 2006)

Terrorist Groups include:

    i. Abu Nidal Organisation ~(ANO)

    ii. Al-qaeda-Sunni Islamic fundamentalists – operates in 65 countries

    iii. Hammas-Sunnis Islamists Palestine Nationalists Group, established in 1987

iv. Harakat Ul-Mujahidin (Hura) Pakistani Militant Group, 1985
v. Hizb-Ul-Mujahedin Kashmin Militant Group.
vi. Jaish-e-Mohammed (JEM) (Army of Mohammed) Islamic Terrorist Group baed in Pakristan. Formed in 2000.
vii. Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) Established in Khan 1977
viii. Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) Currently the Kongra-Gel (KGK)
ix. Kurdish Martist-Leninit Group. 1982 in Turkey
x. Lashkar-e-Tayyeba (LET) A Pakistani-Sunni Muslim Religions Organisation
xi. Lebanese Hizballah Radical Shi'ite Organisation. 1982
xii. The Pakistan Islamic Jihad (PIJ) 1970s
xiii. Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and al fatah
xiv. Popular Front for Liberation of Palestine (PFLA). A Marxist-Leninist Palestinian Nationalist group 1967, but later joined the PLO in 1968
xv. Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC) in 1968, opposed to the PLO
xvi. Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) 1919
xvii. Revolutionary Organisation. 17 Nov. (N17) Greek Leftist Group 1975
xviii. Supreme Council for Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI), Shi'ite Muslim Umbralla Organisation in Iraq. 1982 (Byman, D. 2005 pp. 330-339)
xix. The Islamic State of Iraq and other states Isi's.

Many of the groups listed above are religious terrorists' groups ranging from totalitarian sects and cults to broader movements with religious ideologies. According to Johnson, 2009, Terrorism is not a clash of civilians in which the Islamic world confronts the Western world, but it is a clash between Moslems with a modern and progressive outlook, and those with a medieval belief. It is a clash within a civilization that has been on in Egypt, Algeria, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Pakistan, Syria, Somalia etc.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical frame to elucidate the extent of religious fundamentalism in terrorist is Constructivists theory. Constructivism generally maintains that ideas are the main elements in the building of international relations theories. Constructivists emphasize the impact of ideas, language, social discourse and culture as factors that determine how States and other Actors define their interests. According to the constructivist's, ideas and norms, not only constrains, but actually construct how Actors define their interests, because peoples understanding of their interests, depends on the ideas they hold. To the Constructivists, power comes from the influence of ideas, and not just from military forces as stressed by the Realists theorists. For the constructivists, identities and images of the world from how people think of themselves, who they are and what others in the world think of them, can alter the world.

For the constructivists socially accepted ideas, norms and values held by powerful states and Non-State Actors are seen as making difference in constructing an international consensus about the rules that should govern the international society. Individuals popular ideas shape people's self-image, sense of identity and expectations about the purpose and roles in life. For the world at large, leading ideas condition prevailing beliefs in each age about the global condition and prospects for humanity. When a new consensus materialises about norms, the modified shared global culture prepares the way for a transformation in world politics. Constructivist theory reminds us that shared images influence the ways Actors in the International system see themselves and behave. The collective norms and cultures of people and State Actors define their perceptions and influence their relations in the world stage. Actors behaviours are shaped by beliefs, identities and social norms (Mingst pp.74-77).

It is the ideas that terrorists hold that spurs them to act. Religious beliefs, zeal and convictions, however distorted or manipulated is the foundation of most of the terrorists acts in the international society. Hamas, Hezbollah and other seemingly politically motivated groups have the foundation of their philosophical goals and tactics on the

Moslem ideology. According to Smith 2008, in providing its adherence with a sense of conceptual order, religion often deals with the fundamental problem of disorder. Religion according to him, although often brings comfort and a sense of universal meaning to individuals and society, it also features a darker violent side. Religion as a well spring of hope, life and virtue, stirs deep passion that sometimes lead to violent action, to war and even terrorism. Anything that a religious believer perceives to be a challenge to his belief can constitute an existential threat and will be met with drastic or deadly responses.

Religious Fundamentalism and the International System

Religious conviction and zeal, however distorted or manipulated is the foundation of most of the terrorist acts in the international society today. Hamas, Hezbollah and other seemingly politically motivated groups have the foundation of their philosophical goals and tactics on the Moslem ideology. Al-qaeda under Bin Ladin though was inspired by the withdrawal of the U.S forces from the Middle East, was also inspired with the zeal to replace secular regimes in the Middle East with religious based governance. According to Smith 2008 religion is a belief structure that addresses the sense of disorder that many people perceive in their lives. In providing its adherence with a sense of conceptual order, religion often deals with the fundamental problem of disorder. In his thoughts, although religion often brings comfort and a sense of universal meaning to individuals and society, it also features a darker violent side.

Religion as a well spring of hope, life and virtue stirs deep passion that sometimes led to violent action war and even terrorism. Anything that a religious believer perceives to be a challenge to his belief can constitute an existential threat and will be met with drastic or deadly responses. This is the idea of Islamic jihad which is a defensive effort to protect the Islamic faith and tradition. Islam's jihad is essentially a doctrine religiously sanctioned by leading Moslem theologians that fought against perceived "aggressors, tyrants and way ward Muslims". This is the idea of a Salvation Army in Christianity, but not with the much doggedness of the Moslem faith because of differences in their ideological concepts and zeal.

The Dal Khalsa (Army of the Faithful) in Sikhism are used to characterise a disciplined religious organisation. The Christian ideological fight, brought about Millennial terrorism, though not in the fierce of Islamism. Millenialism is a cross-cultural concept grounded in Christianity. It is the belief expressed in the Bible. It is the belief in a coming ideal society, especially created by revolutionary action. According to Smith 2008, Millenialism can be described as the belief that human suffering will soon be eliminated in an imminent apocalyptic scenario that will ensure that the collective salvation of man is accomplished. Millenial movement is any movement that anticipates collective, earthly, imminent, total, supernatural salvation. Terrorists motivated by religious millenialist ideology may seek to bring about their course by violence or force. Millennialism is associated with Messianism.

Messianism is the belief in the coming of a Messiah that will save his people or group politically, Messianism is the belief that a cosmic figure will soon appear to re-establish order, and restore justice. Messianism stems from messianic beliefs characterised with the vision for a day in which history or life on earth will be transformed totally and irreversibly from a condition of perpetual strife to one of perfect harmony, (justice). This belief is the foundation of Islamic fundamentalism. The founding father of Islamic fundamentalism Sayyid Quth's beliefs and ideologies focused on the catastrophic nature of contemporary life that employed the weapon of terror. Millennialism combined with religion and the urge of nationalism may explain the religious violence in the Middle East from the assassination of Anwa Sadat in 1981, the Jewish debacle, the religious violence and even the killing of the Palestinians seen to be desecrating their sanctuary.

Cosmic struggle is a characteristic of religious fundamentalism. Aum Shinrikyo Japanese cult like religious organisation was responsible for the 1995 Tokyo subway attack. Aum saw their struggle in apocalyptic terms. Some anti-abortion activists in the U.S have also engaged in somewhat cosmic war. Aum successor organisation's religious orientation was grounded in Buddhism with strong mixture of Eastern and Western mystic beliefs including the works of the 16th century French astronomer Nostradamus. The Christian identity movements

established in the U.S after W.W. II by a network of preachers and writers targeted the Jews who they saw as the "literal biological offspring of Satan, the descendants of Satan's sexual seduction of Eve in the Garden of Eden.

Religious extremists see violence as a sacramental act or a divine duty. According Peter Chalk, an Associate Editor of studies in conflict and terrorism", religious terrorists primary goal is to inflict as much pain and suffering on an enemy that is fundamentally evil and beyond all redemption. Religious terrorism seeks a systemic change in the system of governance. It questions the very foundation or rationale for the stage. Al-qaeda issued a Fatwa in 1998, a legal decree that urged Muslims to kill Americans anywhere and everywhere and plunder their money wherever and whenever they find it. This was a declaration of war by a non-state actor against a state.

Al-qaeda and the international Islamic Front were products of both historic and more contemporary trends that has shaped militant Islamic ideology. Two outstanding event that gingered Islamic radicalism were the Islamic revolution in Iran and the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan. The Iran Scenerio was the deposition of the "corrupt and tyrannical" Shah, supported by the U.S and the creation of an Islamic state, and the rise of the Ayatollah Rubollah Khomeini. According to Clarke, 2004 the Iranian revolution and the Soviet Afghan invasion were events that dramatically increased the power and influence of militant ideologies. Both events rekindled the radical movement of Islam and also drew America further into the realm of Islam. The Afghan experience produced thousands of newly radicalised militants, the "Afghan Alumni", the emerging international salati movement al-salafiyya al-jihadiyya from which the al-qaeda organisation evolved. They are known for their strict fundamentalism.

Taqi al-Din Ahmad Ibn Taymiyya was a great Islamic thinker in the 13th century that laid the intellectual foundations for Islamic extremism. The Mongol's invasion of Iraq in the 13th century seen as a threat to Islamic civilization by Al-qaeda and other likeminded extremists is same role currently played by Western Civilization. In Islam, apostasy (abandon

the true faith) is seen as a grave sin. Arab regimes and individuals in league with the U.S are considered apostasies by Al-qaeda. The Afghan alumni are not identified with any particular state or movement, but rather expresses a radical religious-cultural trend that believes in the relentless struggle of Islam against heretic Muslim regimes and adverse cultures. Their channels of activity revolve around:

   i.   Incorporation of the activities of radical Islamic organisations in their native countries (Egypt, the Maghreb states, Jordan) etc and the leadership of these organisations.
   ii. Establishing new terror organisations such as Al-qaeda under Bin Laden's leadership.
   iii. Establishing independent terror cells without a defined organisational links or affiliation while sustaining co-operation with other Islamic terror organisations.
   iv. Joining areas of conflict involving Muslim populations e.g. the Balkans, Chechnya, Kashmir, Tajikistan and others (Shay, 2007).

Al-qaeda is an organisation without a clear graded structure. They operate in cells and groups spread all over the world, and sustains conceptual and organisational links with countries that support terror as well as Islamic organisations that hold similar world views like Sudan, Iran and also sympathetic radical Islamic regimes. The nomadic nature of Bin Ladens terror network including all its branches, enables it to sustain all the blows from the coalition forces but continue to operate. Even before the Soviet defeat in Afghanistan and with greater intensity since 1996, hundreds of young Muslims from all over the Muslim world as well as other countries worldwide including Western Europe, Eastern Europe, Asia, North America, Australia and Africa, have undergone training in guerrilla warfare and terror, and sent back to their own countries. This has created a pool of trained terrorists loyal to the concept of global jihad of Al-qaeda. These terrorists were assembled in terror cells, with each cell composed of a small number of activists to perpetrate terror attacks against Islamic foes. The exposure of terror cells in Europe (Britain, France, Italy, Spain, Germany, Asia – the Philippines, Malaysia, India, Indonesia and Singapore). The Middle East has Jordan, Egypt, Syria, Libya, Lebanon, Isreal etc. North America, the United States, Canada etc. Thus, before and after the 9/11 modus operandi,

intentions and targets shows the inherent dangers that they pose. Since 9/11, Al-qaeda has operated the following:

i. The bombing of the Synagogue at Djerba, Tunisia.
ii. A Nightclub in Bali, Indonesia
iii. The French Oil Tanker in Yemen
iv. The Paradise Hotel, Mombassa, Kenya.
v. Targets in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, Casablanca, Morocco
vi. All the attacks at the government of Ahmed Kwarzai, Afghanistan (Shay 2007)

Islams ideological concepts is centered on:

i. The obligation to fight and overthrow any leader who does not govern according to the Sharia of Allah.
ii. Democracy and Islam are antithetical and thus can never exist.

Befriending believers and battling infidels are critical pillars of a Muslim faith and failure to uphold this fundamental pillar is an access for the enemy to penetrate. Islam is submission and Muslim is who has submitted (Ibrahim, R 2007). Islamist is a Muslim who regards Islam as a body of ideas, values, beliefs, and practices, encompassing all spheres of life including personal and social relations, economic and political. It is the means to be used in achieving these Islamic goals that is where, and the various Islamic groups part ways; creating the Moderate and Radical Islamists.

Organisational Structure of Militant Islamists Group

i. Cross-national Islamists movements that became increasingly nationalists and nationalised. Example, Hamas in the Palestine and Hezbollah in Lebanon, recently, we have the Islamic States groups of states like the Islamic State of Iraq, Syria, West African Province, etc.
ii. Non-nationalists transnational Islamist movement active in a regional context. Example, Jemaah Islamiah in South East Asia.
iii. Islamicized ethno-separatist groups example in the North Caucasus.
iv. Islamicized National liberation groups example, the Iraq insurgence since 2003.

The Sunni Islamist group; Hamas grew out of the Gaza branch of the Muslim Brotherhood. It emerged as an autonomous part of a cross-national Islamist network. The radical Shia group Hezbollah (part of God) emerged in response to Isreal's invasion of Lebanon in 1982 as a transnationally oriented movement inspired and sponsored by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's revolutionary Iran. Hamas initial focus on social and religious dimension has been supplemented by armed struggles and increasingly political activism. Hezbollah's original task of armed resistance was later reinforced by socio-religious and political aspirations.

Their respective structures are no doubt complex, thus reflecting their multifaceted nature that combines elements of social organisational forms, including religions, military, social and political. The process of the nationalization and politicisation of the ProIranian Shia movements was promoted by Hassan Nasrullah after he became Hezbollah's Secretary-General in 1992. Since then, the movement has become an essentially part of the Lebanese political landscape. Resort to nationalism and a significant degree of nationalization play an essential or even decisive role in leading radical semi underground movement to a point where they start acting as political representatives of their ethno-confessional or social communities. Operating in weak fragile or embryonic states, these movements may fill the vacuum of state power and increasingly and effectively assume some quasi-state functions. Both Hamas and Hezbollah now pose as quasi-state actors. Al-qaeda has a quasi-religious nature that merges radical political, social and cultural protest (Stepnova 2003).

The consequences of all these ideological operations make the fight against terrorism more complex. Al-qaeda has come to symbolize the globalisation of terrorism in the twenty-first century. According to Martin 2006, Al-qaeda is seen by many to represent a quint essential model of small groups of like minded revolutionaries waging transnational insurgencies against strong adversaries. Al-qaeda exist as a loose network of relatively independent cells that has evolved into an ideology and a fighting strategy that has been embraced by sympathetic revolutionaries throughout the world. Al-qaeda for Martins 2006, has

become a symbol of global resistance against its enemies, whose underlying commonalities appeal to motivated Islamist activists. The 9/11/2001 terrorists attack of Al-qaeda on the U.S. homeland, marked a turning point in the new international terrorist environment in which terrorists are, and willing to use weapons of mass destruction to inflict unprecedented casualties and destructions on enemy targets using asymmetrical methods. Religious terrorism occupys the last phases of terrorism from 1979 Al-qaeda and other Islamic fundamentalists (Jihadists) launched a war against the U.S in the 1990s. By 1998. Bin-Ladin in a press conference openly called for attacks against American interests and issued a Fatwa to justify himself.

Conclusion
Advance in technology has enhanced communication that is propagating the spread of religious ideologies. As a unified system of beliefs and practices, religious convictions and zeal, however distorted or manipulated have been the foundation of most of terrorists in the international society. Religious extremists see violence as a sacramental act that drive them with the primary goal to inflict as much pain and suffering on all enemies of their faith. Religious extremists seeks a systemic change in the system of governance. Sayyid Quth's beliefs and ideologies from the foundation of contemporary Islamic fundamentalism. Millennialism combined with religious nationalism may explain religions violence in Isreal threatening peace in the Middle East.

Al-Qaeda's Fatwa of 1998 that urged Muslims to kill America anywhere everywhere is also heightening tension in the Middle East and the world over. Al-Qaeda has masterfully exploited the internet to advance her agenda, because terrorism is well aided by communication. Terrorism capitalises on fear and fear must be transmitted through the communication infrastructure. Religion as a well spring of hope, life and virtue steer deep passions that sometimes lead to violent action, war and even terrorism. The complex nature of the international system with multiple Actors especially in the highly interconnected and interdependent world of today has facilitated terrorism with their

various ideological inclinations. Al-qaeda with her fast spreading radical religious ideologies is obviously a top security challenge.

Review Questions

Write short notes on

1. Religious Fundamentalism and Terrorism
2. Constructivists Theory

References

Chalk, P. (1999). The Evolving dynamics of Terrorism in the 1990s. Australian Journal of International Affairs. 53 No.2.

Chaturvedi, A. (2006). Academics Dictionary of Political Science. Nigeria Opp Books Services.

Clark, R. 2004. Against All Enemies: Inside America's War on Terror. New York. Free Press. Google Scholar.

Ibrahim, R. (2007). The Al-Qaeda Reader. New York Doubleday Publishers.

Imobighe, T. and Eguavoen, A. (2006). Edited. Terrorism and Counter-terrorism: An African Perspective. Ibadan. Heineman Publishers.

Johnson, T. (2009). The war on Terrorism A Collision of Values, Strategies and Society. Boca Ration, U.S.A. CRC Press. Taylor and Francis Group.

Martin, G. (2006). Understanding Terrorism: Challenges, Prospective and Issues. Second Edition. London. Sage Publications.

Mingst, K. (2004). Essentials of International Relations. New York. W.W. Norton company Inc.

Shay, S. (2007). The Red Sea Terror Triangle. New York Brunswick. U.S.A. Transaction Publishers.

Smith, P. (2008). The Terrorism Ahead: Confronting Transnational Violence in the Twenty-first Century. New York. M.E. Sharpe Inc.

Viotti, P. Opherm, M and Bowen, N. (2008). Terrorism and Homeland Security: Thinking Strategically about Policy. Boca Raton, U.S.A CRC Press, Taylor & Francis Group.

WAY FORWARD IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The ideas and knowledge from the evolution of international relations, to the processes and structural dynamics of the international system, with the emerging challenges and contemporary issues, obviously shows that a new discourse in international relations is necessary. With the uncertainty, turmoil, turbulence and unpredictability that define the contemporary international system, the question that must be asked remains; What is the hope for a peaceful and just international community? Ultimately, all the conflicts and dramas in international relations are man-made problems as depicted in the struggles for power and wealth, efforts to co-operate, despite differences, the social dilemmas and collective goods problems, order, equity and justices. All these forces pose formidable challenges to real co-operation among all the Actors in international relations.

The international system, in the midst of all these, has become more complex, more nuanced, and more interconnected with other aspects of planetary society. State sovereignty is under challenge by the principle of self-determination. International norms have begun to limit the rights of Governments. Territorial integrity is also under threat, as national borders can no long stop information, environmental effects or missiles. The Covid-19 Pandemic that started in China, could not be contained, and became an international crisis. Information now, have a free flow to allow Actors to know what is going on everywhere in the world, to co-

ordinate actions globally. New Actors are gaining power, as long-standing principles are becoming less effective posing new challenges for all, including States, Groups and Individuals. Technology is also profoundly changing the role and utility of military force. Non-military forms of leverage particularly economic rewards have become much more important. Power capabilities have made States focus more on creating wealth. International bargaining over the environment is becoming difficult. Demographic and economic trends are sharpening relations. So much is trending in the international arena that the issue of peace and security remains a thriving force in international relations.

The processes of interaction among the various Actors in international relations are now frequent and intense, ranging from conventional ad-hoc co-operation and formal organisational collaborations, to non-governmental and network collaboration and even virtual communal interaction on the World Wide Web (WWW) Mingst 2004. How can these interactions be co-ordinated to guarantee international peace and security? The reality of the Covid-19 Pandemic displayed the threats of the interdependent and interconnected world we live today pose to international relations. Covid-19, Presented to the world, a formidable enemy that could not discriminable colour, race, religion or ideological inclination. Covid-19 showed the credibility of science over politics. A global novel virus that kept all contained in homes, brought a re-orientation in relationships with governments, the world and even to individuals including politics and substantial new investments in public good and public services. Then Secretary General of the UN Antonio Gutierrez said COVID-19 was the biggest international threat in 75 years of the UN.

The Russia/Ukraine crisis and the ongoing war on Gaza, are two trending challenges to international peace and security. Russia's efforts to maintain hold on her former Soviet States, and the West, under the umbrella of the EU and NATO Post-Cold war expansion into the former Soviet sphere of influence, are the most notable facts in the Russia Ukraine crisis that have defied resolution since February 2022. Pacific settlement of international dispute, a fundamental principle of international relations is yet to yield harvest on the Russia/Ukraine

crisis, because of the complexities in the crisis. The implication of the crisis is playing out in relationships and the spillover effect is flowing, and not unconnected in the war on Gaza between Israel and Hamas led Palestine militant group that attacked Isreal since 7th October 2023. Israel military strength with extensive aerial bombardment of the Gaza strip and large-scale ground invasion is unleashing death and destructions and spreading to Lebanon.

This war is playing out as the most significant military escalation in the Middle East since the Yom Kippur war, 50 years ago. Iran has launched a direct attack on Israel in retaliation for an Israelie strike on her Consulate in Damascus, Syria. The War is receiving divided supports, and creating so much tension in the international system. The question on how peace can be assured in the international society remains a recurring stickler. In all these, and in agreement with Kegley 2007, we assert that conflict will recede as humanity begin to recognize that national borders, oceans and air strips, provide little protection against the multiple challenges arising from the highly interconnected, interdependent and inter-related world we live. Shared problems can only be managed through collective multilateral co-operation, for the enhancement of international relations. The Federalists Political Scholars advocates a "co-national" to describe a new system of international relations that, besides maintaining national sovereignty, brings intensive co-operation and widespread co-ordination on the different levels (individual, corporate, government etc) of economic, social and political life. In this system, there will be the possibility and a willingness to reach compromise on the basis of differing or conflicting interests for States to enter the stage of collective behaviour and activity, by virtue of the highly interdependent, interrelated and interconnected world of the age.

Review Questions
Write short notes on the following
  1. Global Governance and Global Civil Society

References

Chukwu, R (2020) Globalisation, Technology and Pandemic in International Relations. In Covid-19; Policy Responses and Impacts on World Economy. Interactive Knowledge (IK) Book Project.

Goldstein, J and Pevehouse, J (2008) International Relations. Eighth Edition. New York. Pearson Longman.

Kegley, C (2007) World Politics; Trend and Transformation. Eleventh Edition. United State of America. Thompson and Wadsworth. Thefederalist.eu.

Mingst, K (2004) Essentials of International Relations. New York. W.W Norton and Company.