



EDO UNIVERSITY IYAMHO
Department of History and International Studies
HIS 112 INTRODUCTION TO INTERNATIONAL STUDIES



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General overview of lecture: This course introduces students to the basic concepts in International Studies such as the theories of International Relations, national interests, sovereignty, power, balance of power and foreign policy .It also exposes students to the sub fields of International Studies such as political economy, international law and International Organizations .There are no compulsory prerequisites for this course.

Learning outcomes: On successful completion of this course students are expected to;

1. Explain the evolution of International Studies
2. Distinguish between International Studies and International Relations
3. Be conversant with the application of the theories of International Relations
4. Understand the basic concepts in International Studies
5. Understand the complex nature of the international political economy
6. Be conversant with the sources of international law and the methods of settlement of international disputes
7. Understand the administration and the workings of international organizations

Assignments: We expect to have two (2) homework assignments throughout the course in addition to quiz and a mid semester test and a final exam. Home works in the form of individual and group assignments in addition to a quiz test are organised and structured as preparation for the mid semester and final exam.

Grading: Individual homework will be assigned 5% ,group homework will attract 10% and class quiz 5% ,10% will be allotted for the mid semester test and 70% for the final exam.

Textbook: The recommended textbook for this course are as stated;

Title: International Relations: An Introductory Text

Author: Funsho Adesola

Publisher: College Press and Publishers Ltd, Ibadan

Year: 2004

Title: International Relations

Authors: Palmer and Perkins

Publisher: AITBS, New Delhi

Year: 2010

Title: International Relations and Politics: Theoretical Perspective in Post-Cold War Era

Author: J.C. Johani

Publisher: Sterling Publishers Private Limited, New Delhi

Year: 2012

Courseware: HIS 112 INTRODUCTION TO INTERNATIONAL STUDIES. The following documents outline the courseware for the course HIS 112 INTRODUCTION TO INTERNATIONAL STUDIES. Much of this material is taken from recommended textbooks.

INTRODUCTION:

1. What is International Studies?
2. Historical Evolution of International Studies

THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

3. Idealism
4. Realism
5. Liberalism

BASIC CONCEPTS IN INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

6. National Interests
7. Sovereignty
8. Power
9. Balance of Power

10. Foreign Policy

INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY

11. Historical Background
12. The Nature of International Economic Order

INTERNATIONAL LAW

13. Sources of International Law
14. Sources of obligation in International Law
15. Methods of settlement of international disputes

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

16. Origin of International Organizations
17. Types of International Organizations
18. Impact, contributions and shortcomings of International Organizations

CONCLUSION

INTRODUCTION/DEFINITION

1. What is International Studies?

International studies as an academic field focuses on the dynamic of global politics or international Relations and several other global phenomena such as famine, gender, war, terrorism, environmental challenges, immigration, refugees epidemics etc. Broadly speaking, international studies is essentially concerned with the study of “the major political, economic, social, and cultural issues that dominate the international agenda”. To this extent, international studies is more of contemporary and historical study of global societies and their complex relationship. It is pertinent to stress that international studies and international Relations are not essentially the same while international Relations deals with the pattern and nature of relationship that exists between nations, either at bilateral or multilateral levels, international studies is more embracing and encompassing as it treats international Relations, which is the foundational stone and other global phenomenon, already highlighted above.

2. Historical Evolution of International Studies

Since the emergence of human societies after the era of hunting and gathering, communities and groups has been in constant relationship. At the earliest stage of man’s

development, even though as wanderers and scavengers people lived together in family units. These men who were constantly on the move were either fighting or living in peace in their quest for survival. Following the emergence of clustered settlements after man imbibed the art of farming and animal husbandry, city states sprang up in some of the earliest centres of civilizations such as Mesopotamia, Egypt and Greece.

Above all others, the city states of Greece were unparalleled in organisation, artistic creativity and in the art of governance. The two leading city states in Ancient Greece have channels of diplomatic engagements, state officials and laws that regulates interstate engagement. While of the two leading states, Athens was operating a democratic system of government, Sparta on the other hand was more of a military garrison. Each of these two city states were in alliance with other smaller city states who looked up to them for protection and influence. In this atmosphere, there were occasional conflicts and warfare. However most of their conflicts were often resolved through truce and treaties. For example the two sides fought a protracted war known as the peloponessian wars from 430 – 404BC. Though the level of animosity between Athens and Sparta was so intensified, the two and their dependent allies would usually found a common ground in the face of any attack against Greece. Between 499 and 449BC, Athens and Sparta joined alliances in the war against the Persians through the formation of the Hellenic League. According to Herodotus, during the Persian wars “almost all the city states were forced to join one alliance, the Persian one or the other the Hellenic League for their own survival as they know that they could not survive independently”.

At the end of the Persian war, the unity amongst the city states of Greece collapsed showing the lack of agreement and poor nature of international relations between states. Following the Greco-Persian war, many of the Greece city states joined forces with Athens to form the Delian League in 478BC while Sparta and a few other states also had their own alliance. Sparta with the support of the Persian challenged the dominance of the Delian League and Athens in the Greek Peninsular leading to a series of bitter war known as the Peloponnesian war that lasted for almost three decades between 431-404BC. At the end of the war, Sparta emerged victoriously, the city of Athens was destroyed and the Delian League became bankrupt. Sparta too was devastated and sapped of both human and material resources, hence the entire Greece States became weak and vulnerable, thus paving the way for the eventual defeat of the entire Greece Peninsular by the Romans which effectively brought to an end the glory of the once robust Greek civilization.

From the period the Roman Empire sacked the Greek city states and their civilization, activities in the realm of international relations were curtailed due to the imposition of the Roman imperial rule across Europe and Asia. **Kalijarvi** while summing up the development of the subject of international relations and politics in the days of the ancient Greeks stated that “Greece became a laboratory for experimentation in foreign affairs and world politics... Disputes were arbitrated, criminals extradited, ambassadors, messengers, heralds, diplomatic officers, and secretaries exchanged; temples accorded immunity from attack or violation; and cooperation among states fostered. An international law, far more effective than our own was observed. It covered the items already mentioned and in addition such subjects as asylum, naturalisation, immunity of monuments from destruction, diplomatic privileges, consular regulations and the pacific settlement of international disputes. So numerous were the subjects dealt with prior to World War I, that classical scholars delighted in asserting that every international institution of our time had its antecedent in ancient Greece.”

From critical observations of the activities of Roman Empire, the legacies bequeathed to modern international Relations lies in the concepts of a world empire and universal law i.e. that a supranational body could actually command influence across the globe and administer nations through sets of laws and regulations Jus Gentium (law of nations). Following the subjugation of Macedonia in 200B.C and the complete destruction of the city of Carthage and her inhabitants in 146B.C, Rome became the first world empire thereby putting an end to any international relations based on the principle of independent states in a community of states.

The Roman imperial system was overthrown by the Barbarians in 410A.D which led to a long period of cultural decline and chaotic political conditions. It was the later medieval period in the 8th century after the “Dark Ages” that brought about the revival of knowledge and culture. During this period the system of city states crushed by the Romans started springing up in the forms of small principalities dominated by feudal potentates (land owners). With the growth of Christianity the Church became the leading authority in Europe as supreme authority was vested in the Roman Pope – the civil law “jus Naturale” was converted into the law of God “Jus Divina” to be “written in the heart of man by the finger of God.” The politics of this era both at the local and inter-feudal domains were dominated by the clergies who were saddled with the responsibilities of interpreting the law (scripture) which was the basic instrument of sanction and governance.

By the 12th century however a new trend emerged whereby secular authority began to gain recognition over religious authority. Great scholars such as **Dante**, **Marsiglio** of Padua and **William** of Ockam defended the supremacy of secularism in political matters. It was

during this period that the King of France **Philip** and that of Bavaria **Lewis** resisted the authority of the Pope in their respective domains, and prevailed, thereby laying the foundation for the rise of the modern nation state system. The renaissance era in Europe gave rise to a religious movement known as the reformation which questioned the authority of the Roman Catholic doctrines and practices. This movement led by a young German Priest, **Martin Luther** attracted a fierce response from the church authority known as Counter Reformation. Sweden, France, Spain and Austria with the German enclaves and several other European nations in the light of Martins opposition to the catholic authority became polarised in terms of religious stand points between Catholicism and Protestantism. The contestation degenerated into violence conflicts between the catholic authority and her loyal adherents on one side and the Pentecostal faithful on the other hands. This conflicts which pervaded the whole of Europe was the root cause of the thirty year war fought across Europe between 1618 – 1648. The resultant effect of this clash was the breaking up of Christendom and the growth of nationalism in Europe. These two factors were responsible for the emergence of the modern nation state system. It was at the end of the war that the new states of Italy, Poland and Germany were born. The borders of Spain, France, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Bohemia, Hungary and Germany were settled as part of the peace of Westphalia in 1648 at a meeting attended by more than 179 diplomats from 194 separate entities.

The end of the Roman hegemony of papacy meant that the states of Europe could conclude bilateral and multilateral treaties and form alliances amongst themselves, thereby signifying the emergence of the international system. Diplomacy then assumed the most significant place in the field of international Relations with states of Europe employing diplomatic representative to maintain their foreign relations.

The treaty of Westphalia weakened the Roman Empire and facilitated the emergence of the modern states of Europe. These states collectively agreed that there should be no more imposition of religion and outside interest in the internal affairs of nation states. The nation state was recognised as the highest form of government. All the national states also agreed that military attack should only be employ as a means of defence when a given nation is threatened. The treaty of Westphalia did not only put an end to the bloodiest war in Europe prior to the 20th century but also laid the template for relationship amongst the nation states of Europe up to the outbreak of the First World War.

Following the signing of the treaty of Westphalia the concept of state sovereignty, the principles of international law and the politics of balance of power became the cardinal features of international Relations.

The outbreak of the First World War in 1914 and the Paris peace settlements that followed at the end of the war between 1918 and 1919 widened the scope of international Relations and took the phenomenon beyond Europe following the involvement of Japan, United States of America and the colonies of leading European powers who also fought on the side of their colonial masters. The high point of the Paris peace settlement was the formation of the first international organisation, the League of Nations. Considering the level of death and destructions caused by the First World War the focus of some world leaders led by President **Woodrow Wilson** was how to build and develop synergy for world peace through the League of Nations and also the encouragement of the study of international relations and politics. Consequently chairs (departments) were created in leading universities and research centres in Europe and the United States with the intention to understand and explain international political developments. By 1919, a department of international politics was first established in the university college of Wales, Aberystwyth followed by the establishment of department of international relations in London school of Economics in 1920.

THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Theories of international relations are a set of ideas aimed at explaining how the international system functions. There are 3 major theories of international relations, idealism, realism and liberalism.

3. Idealism

Idealism emphasise on the value of peaceful correlation and interdependency. The proponents viewed the recourse to military competition and the use of brute force in international relation as antithetical to growth and development. Those at the forefront of idealism such as **Woodrow Wilson** believed that cooperation at the international level especially through the instrumentality of the league of Nation instead of unhealthy rivalry through military alliances and blocs is what is needed for global peace and advancement. Idealism as a theory gained currency after the First World War upto the period before the World War II. After World War II, realism became the dominant perspective in international Relation with the emergence of the cold war era coupled with the attendant arm race between the Western and Eastern Blocs.

4. Realism

Realism on the other hand focuses on the notion that states are always striving to achieve their interests at the expense of others. The proponents are of the view that there is no morality in international relations since most players are disposed to using foul means, including war or the threat of it to advance their causes. Global politics or relations is viewed by the realist as the survival of the fittest, hence to flourish in international Relation, military might is essential. International organisation and laws are viewed as mere toy in the hands of powerful nations and not portent enough to check the excesses of super power. **Hans Morgenthau** was among the major proponents of realism.

5. Liberalism

However as from the 1970s, liberalism began to gain currency in the international system. The proponents argued that since states shared broad ties, it is difficult to define singular independent national interests. Therefore instead of emphasising military power, nations of the world were encouraged to find a common ground for mutual cooperation such as was obtainable between USA and USSR in their synergy in space science. With increasing globalization, communication technology and international trade more and more scholars began to counter the views and position of the realist. The liberalist claim that the consequences of military power outweigh the benefits and that international cooperation is in the interest of all states, hence they argued that it is better to exercise economic power than military power just as it is been done by the Asian tigers today.

BASIC CONCEPTS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

6. National Interest

National interests is the sum total of a nation goals and ambitions whether in terms of economic, political, cultural or military pursuit. The concept often referred to by the French as *raison d'Etat* which means “reason of state” actually predated the nation states, hence what is viewed as national interest in modern time is not different from the “interest of the prince” or the “interest of the church” during the monarchical period and Christendom respectively. All the nations of the world are involved in the process of securing the goals of their national interests. Since the foreign policy of each nation is tied to its national interests as expressed in its aspirations and goals, it is therefore the universal rights of all nations of the world to chart its national interests. Most actions and behaviour of states are either justified or conditioned by their national interests.

There is no universal definition for the concept of national interests, hence different scholars have offered their diverse thoughts on the subject matter. **Hans J. Morgenthau** for instance defined national interests to mean "... survival – the protection of physical, political and cultural identity against encroachment by other nation states."

Till date the definition of national interests has remained ambiguous as different countries has used the term to justify virtually every of their actions in international politics. While Hitler justified expansionist policies in the name of German national interests, the United States justified their huge investment in nuclear armament in the name of American national interest. Ironically all the 5 permanent members of the United Nations have been pushing for non-proliferation and arms control in terms of their national interests. USSR justified its intervention in Afghanistan in the name of "Soviet national interests".

According to **Vernon Von Dyke** National Interests is "that which states seek to protect or achieve in relation to each other. It means desires on the part of sovereign states."

Suffice to say that sometimes the interests of leaders and the ruling class could be projected as national interests. For instance when Nigeria switched diplomatic interaction and engagement from the West (Europe and America) to the East (China India and the Arab world) during the **Abacha** era it was not so much because of economic gains or national interests but because of the sanction and travel ban imposed on members of the ruling elites by European union and America. Interests of dominant ethnic or religious groups are also sometime disguised as national interests. Nigeria, though a secular nation became a member of the Organisation of Islamic Countries (OIC) during the **Babangida** era, all because of the dominant status of Islam.

We must note that national interest is always shifting as circumstances and conditions change from time to time. It is for this reason that Pakistan, once a member of the Western bloc, became a non-aligned country after the liquidation of the South-East Asia Treaty organisation. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, many states in central and East Europe have abandoned communism and have come to embrace liberal-democratic order.

In the words of **Hartmann**, national interests are "those things that states could or do seek to protect or achieve vis-à-vis other states." **Hartmann** proceeded to identify two distinct categories of national interest. The two are vital national interests and secondary national interests.

Vital national interests are those interests for which a state is normally willing to fight immediately or ultimately. Vital national interests cannot be compromised or negotiated.

Such interests include the protection of existing territory and national sovereignty or political authority.

Secondary interests on the other hand cover all the myriad desires of nations that they would like to attain but for which they will not fight. For instance if Nigeria make a bid to host the FIFA world cup and is denied the hosting right, she will not go to war, but may instead bid for another FIFA organized tournament. While there can be no compromise on the matters relating to vital interests, it is possible in the case of matters relating to secondary interests. Put in the words of Hartmann “secondary interests are the stuff of diplomatic compromise. One interest can be obtained by giving up another in negotiation.”

NB: How valid is **Morgenthau’s** assertion that “nations follow one guiding star, one standard for thought, one rule for action – the national interest.”

7. Sovereignty

Sovereignty is the full right and power of a governing body over itself, without any interference from outside sources or bodies. In political theory, it is a substantive term designating supreme authority over some polity. The Westphalian model of state formation was anchored on the principle of sovereignty. The current notion of state sovereignty contains four aspects consisting of territory, population, authority and recognition.

According to **Immanuel Wallerstein**, a fundamental feature of sovereignty is that it is a claim that must be recognised by others if it is to have any meaning. It goes to say that sovereignty and a sovereign authority must not be in doubt. **Wallerstein** further posited that “sovereignty is more than anything else a matter of legitimacy... that requires reciprocal recognition. Sovereignty is a hypothetical trade, in which two potentially conflicting sides, respecting defacto realities of power, exchange such recognitions as their least costly strategy.”

8. Power

Ever since Machiavelli produced his book Prince in 1513 and Hobbes, Leviathan in 1651, the concept of power has become the foundational touch stone of national as well as international politics. Several philosophers and scholars have offered different definitions of power.

According to **Schwarzenberger**, power means “the capacity to impose one’s will on others by reliance on effective sanctions in case of non-compliance.” **Morgenthau** on the other hand asserted that “when we speak of power, we mean man’s control over the minds

and actions of other men. By political power we refer to the mutual relations of control among the holders of public authority and between the latter and the people at large.” To Haas and Whiting “Power is synonymous with strength and might be defined as the amount of force available to a nation’s elite towards the accomplishment of any given aid...”

Most definitions of the term, power is hinged on the capacity of a political unit to achieve a favourable outcome in its relationship with other political unit. When applied to international politics, power may be described as the general capacity of a state to control the behaviour of others. It is without doubt that power can be exercised through persuasion, threat, intimidation or by force.

Elements of State Power

States all over the world derives their power and influence form both tangible and intangible elements of power. The strength and weaknesses of states are determined by these sources.

Tangible Elements of Power

- (a) Population: It is not just the numerical or demographic strength alone that constitutes an element of state power, rather the quality of the population. Whereas a well nourished, educated and highly skilled population is an asset irrespective of their size, a poorly fed, poverty stricken and illiterate population is a huge liability. India until recently inspite of her huge population was weak in international politics compared to Libya under **Moumar Ghadafi** with a small population of 12 million and Iraq under **Saddam Hussein** both with high GDP. India with her huge population was also colonized by thinly populated Britain. Nigeria’s population though huge and impacted on the country’s status as a regional hegemony in West Africa has also posed as a liability as the high level of illiteracy, malnutrition and poverty has produced a great pool of depressed citizenry.
- (b) Physical Geography and Geopolitics: The size, location, climate and topography have their part in making the power of a state and as such deserve a place of importance in the study of international relations and politics. **Napoleon Bonaparte** once said that the foreign policy of a country is driven by its geography. The size of a state is considered as the source of its strength, or weakness. For instance the USA, Russia and China are powerful states by virtue of having a very large size of territory. However some have argued that the physical size of a state has nothing to do with its

actual strength since Britain, France and Japan became great powers in spite of their small size.

- (c) Natural Resources and Raw Materials are also salient elements of state power. Natural resources play a very important role in making a state powerful. Once a given population or state have the ability to harness their natural and mineral resources they are bound to become great and powerful. However the availability of enormous natural and mineral resources can be a source of attraction for imperialist exploitation especially where the host countries such as Congo, Niger and Nigeria lack the capacity for proper exploitation. So many countries of the Afro-Asian region are still tied to the aprong string of European powers for this very reason. In some climes such as Sudan and Congo agitation for resources controls has given rise to violent conflicts, thereby limiting growths and development. It is a paradox that while the Afro-Asian countries have more than 70% of world mineral resources, these continents are the poorest in terms of natural growth and development, whereas countries such as Japan and Israel with limited natural resources have utilized their human resources to position themselves among global economic powers.
- (d) Economic Capability: The nature of the economy of any nation determines its place and respectability in the international system. The more buoyant an economy is, the more such a country would command respect among the comity of nations, and the poorer the economy, the more subservient such a nation would be among its peers. For instance the USA is highly respected in the international system. Principally because of her buoyant economy, while a country like Soa Tome and Principe is despised because of her lean economy.

Due to the lopsided nature of global economy, economic capability could either be employed as a threat or serve as a reward. Developed nations of the world uses their economic wherewithal to carve spheres of influence for themselves. For example the USA with the largest share (29%) in the International Monetary Fund (IMF) had since taken over the leadership of global economy from Britain after the First World War and with the American Dollar taken over from pound sterling as the leading currency with international convertibility value. To a large extent the countries of the western hemisphere such as Panama, Chile, Costa Rica, Paraguay, Brazil, Argentina, Grenada and Haiti are literally at the mercy of American economic policy. On the other hand, both South Africa and Nigeria presided as economic hegemon in the Southern African and Western African region respectively.

The reason for the collapse of the defunct Soviet Union was essentially due to her poor economic base. Japan, Germany and the Asian Tigers of Singapore, Taiwan, Indonesia and Korea are now forces to be reckon with in the international system because of their economic wherewithal. It is pertinent to note that countries with flourishing economy has less incidence of restiveness or discontent and also has a domestic population that are always willing to support their government.

- (e) **Military Capability:** The military capability of a country is a potent element of power by virtue of its deterrence value. All along, military capability has been highly regarded in inter-state relations. This explains the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Unions during the cold war era.

Military might apart from deterrence can also be use to impose the will or desire of a country over the other. For instance the United States had at various times deployed her military might in order to achieve her interests over other nations. **Manuel Norega** the president of Panama was forcefully removed from power and taken to United States to face trials and was eventually jailed. Also in the bid to achieve her economic interests in the Arabian Peninsular, the United States led her allies in a war against Iraq in the 1990s and succeeded in putting an end to the reign of **Saddam Hussein**. Presently Nigeria following the footstep of the United States mobilises West African troops against the recalcitrant **Yahya Jammeh** of Gambia who was bent on staying in power, even after losing an election. The pressure that was brought to bear on **Jammeh** led to his embarking on an exile.

Intangible Elements of Power

- (a) National character and morale political leadership all over the world derives great courage and boldness from their well motivated and inspired citizen. The presence of citizens galvanized by the spirit of nationalism, high work ethics and unity is a great advantage for any country in international relations. For instance while Japan a small island was able to defeat China in the 1930s due to disunity and low morale among the Chinese, Britain was able to overcome the German onslaught through fervent nationalism under the inspirational leadership of **Winston Churchill** during the second world war. It was the presence of some fascist elements in France that paved way for the Germans to overrun France in 1941 during the Second World War. The reason why Nigeria instead of going to war with Cameroon over Bakasi Peninsular decided to opt for diplomatic resolution, even after the killing of Nigerian soldiers by

the Camerounian gendarmes was because of the low morale of Nigerian citizens during the **Shagari** era due to widespread inflation, salary crises and general economic downturn that adversely affected the people standard of living. The Nigerian government realizing that she may not have the full support of her citizens avoided the option of engaging Cameroun who had the backing of France in a war.

- (b) Leadership: Leadership is an element of state power when the leadership is well focused, dedicated and highly perceptive. The leader is expected to be a person of great qualities of head and heart who can take crucial decisions at the right time and implement them with vigour and speed so that national interest is well protected as well as promoted. Both President **Franklin Roosevelt** of the United States and Prime Minister **Winston Churchill** of Britain emerged as heroes in their respective countries after the Second World War as a result of their charismatic and inspirational leadership. For instance while prime minister Neville Chamberlain's compromise and policy of appeasement boosted the morale of Hitler and placed Britain on a disadvantage position before the commencement of the Second World War, prime minister Winston Churchill through his inspirational leadership was able to instill courage into an already traumatised citizens and motivated them to achieve a resounding victory over the axis power.

Leaders such as **Idi Amin** of Uganda, **Saddam Hussein** of Iraq and General **Sani Abacha** of Nigeria were examples of bad leaders who through their policies and diplomatic conduct brought untold hardship upon their countries. General Abacha due to the abysmal human rights records of his regime incurred the wrath of the international community which imposed various sanctions on Nigeria.

- (c) Diplomacy: The purpose of diplomacy is to reach agreements, compromise and settlements especially where there are conflicting objectives between and among states in the international system. It is often used by rich states as a weapon of power. Countries such as United States, Britain, France, Germany, Japan, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia and South Africa has been employing the "carrot" and "stick" approach in their diplomatic engagement. If effectively implemented diplomacy can achieve the following, serve the interests of a state by protecting its people living abroad, create new opportunities for trade and commerce, open door for a wide range of information on the geography, resources, culture, techniques and military establishment.

9. Balance of Power

Giving that the nations of the world do not have similar capabilities, resources and especially military might, the need arose for the institutionlization of balance of power. In modern times the concept of balance of power was driven by Britain which acted as a balance after the 30 year war that culminated in the treaty of Westphalia in 1648. From the Westphalian period through the Napoleonic war up to the outbreak of the Second World War, Britain through dint of diplomacy and show of might had preserved a balance of power in the international system. At the end of the Second World War, however, with the emergence of the bipolar world headed by the USA and the USSR, Britain lost her position and for 55 years USA and USSR became the major balancers of power in the international system.

As a concept, balance of power refers to a need to organize equilibrium by virtue of asymmetrism or lopsidedness in inter-state relations. The concept is one of the strategies used to create and maintain international peace and control international violence. Balance of power, essentially focus on military power, war and peace management.

Technically, balance of power is suppose to increase the power of the weaker states or group of states as was the case in the merger of Norway and Sweden, Belgium and Holland to act as a fortress against France aggression during the Napoleonic years in Europe. It could also manifest by reducing the powers of the stronger nation through subterranean acts and propaganda, as well as by inciting the population to revolt, or it could be in form of organized treason in order to create internal division. It may also be achieved through armament or an internally imposed disarmament programme, or could manifest through acquisition of allies.

10. Foreign Policy

The foreign policy of a state is the expression of its “national interest” vis-à-vis other states. In his book *The Road to Foreign Policy*, **Gibson** defines foreign policy as “a well-rounded comprehensive plan, based on knowledge and experience, for conducting the business of the government with the rest of the world. It is aimed at promoting and protecting the interest of the nation.”

The concept is similar to diplomacy. The two has been likened to two sides of a coin. While foreign policy represents theory, diplomacy is the practical dimension of international relations or engagements by nation states. Foreign policy as decisions or plans are usually drafted by men in authority, while the prudent implementation of foreign policy which is diplomacy is carried out by diplomats.

INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY

11. Historical Background

The international system right from the precolonial period has been dominated by Europe. Prior to 1945, Europe was the sole determinant of global activities. Britain particularly was the centre of the world commerce with its currency, the pound sterling serving as the international convertibility currency. Europe and to a large extent Britain became the epic centre of international commerce essentially because of slave trade and the industrial Revolution which changed the mode of production from manual to automation thereby giving rise to mass production of goods. It was the slave trade era that laid the foundation for the industrial revolution. The slave trade which led to economic disarticulation in Africa was responsible for the emergence of merchant class in Europe who made enormous profits from the obnoxious trade in human commodity and plantations in America. The huge profit made by European merchants through the Trans-Atlantic trade between the 15th to 18th centuries were injected into the European economy, thereby creating a conducive atmosphere for the take off of the Industrial Revolution, first in Britain before spreading to the other European countries.

It is the Industrial Revolution in Europe that multiplied the volume of finished goods and since these could not be entirely consumed domestically, there was the need to source for markets in other continents. On the other hand, the essential raw materials needed for productions could only be sourced from outside Europe in places such as Africa, Asia, America and the Caribbean. It was the quest for the source of raw materials and markets for the finished goods from Europe that led to European imperialist exploitation of Africa, Asia, America, and subsequently laid the foundation for the political subjugation of the three continents by Europe.

Once the conquest of the colonies was perfected, the colonial governments set at introducing infrastructures such as roads, railways and sea ports to facilitate movement of raw materials from the hinterland to the coastal ports or points of departure to the imperial headquarters in London, Paris, Lisbon, Berlin, Madrid and Amsterdam. Under this circumstance, social and economic development of the colonies were of no priority to the colonial lords.

The fortune of the colonial states did not change economically and politically throughout the First and Second World Wars up to the ascendancy of the United States of America into global prominence by 1945. While Britain and the entire Europe was devastated by the Second World War, United State emerged out of the war as the strongest economy,

hence while the British pound sterling declined in value, the United States dollar became the internationally recognized convertibility currency or unit of exchange. So far, the United State is the world's largest economy with the highest gross domestic product (GDP) and gross national product (GNP). However, China at the moment is close to overtaking the United States as the biggest economy in the world.

12. The Nature of International Economic Order

The nature of international economic relations is asymmetrical or lopsided. While the advanced countries of the world relish in abundance and riches in all indexes of what makes life worth living, the developing countries on the other hand grapples with lack, scarcity and abject poverty. The population of inhabitants of developing countries put together is about three quarters of the world population, but unfortunately they receive just 6.5% of the world income. Also, while the developing countries are endowed with about 80% of the world raw materials, their industrial production is less than 7%. The raw materials are cheaply bought by the industrialized countries who in turn transform them into finished goods either in the metropolis or right on the soil of the developing countries and sell them exorbitantly to them. The paradox is that home-made goods in the developing countries are not attractive to the local population, but the foreign manufactured ones which are sold at a high cost thereby contributing to the gross national product (GNP) and foreign reserves of the industrialised countries.

The international economic system is deliberately structured to discriminate against the developing countries. For instance, it is the developed countries that control the major international financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) otherwise known as the World Bank. These two **Bretton Woods** institutions are not driven by democratic ethics or liberal ideals as countries with higher quota or asset exact undue influence on the institutions by vigorously propagating their interests in keeping with the aphorism "He who pays the piper, dictates the tune".

Developing countries are further marginalized and squeezed in the domain of international trade and commerce by the developed countries as a result of unfavourable balance of trade. The developed countries driven by unbridle quest for exploitation and profit maximization put in place all forms of administrative, transportation and communication mechanisms to achieve their aims in connivance with local surrogates.

The developed countries also employ the politics of trade protectionism to frustrate developing countries in international commerce. The IMF and IBRD are often used by the major stakeholders to either preach or force trade liberalization on the developing states, whereas the same measures are not applied to the developed nations. They with reckless abandon and impunity impose quota, embargo, tariff and other forms of trade barriers on less developed countries.

The activities of multi-national corporations have further deepened the crisis of development in the developing countries from where they make huge profits and repatriate same to their headquarters in Europe and United States. MNC in their operations control and monopolise capital and technology, international trade and market as well as production licences and services. Because of their overbearing influence in the economy of less developed countries, the MNC care less about the development and the standard of living of the people in their areas of operation. The non-challant posture of the MNC has often led to restiveness and agitation by domestic population in most developing countries. A case in point is the Niger Delta people agitation against the activities of Oil MNC in Nigeria.

While the advanced capitalist nations operate as the core of the international economic order and regulate global economy through IMF and World Bank and the most powerful economic group known as the Group of Seven (G7) i.e the organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the developing nations are boxed to the periphery of global economic system and made to exist at the mercy of the Bretton Woods institutions. Most often developing nations are made to embrace programmes like the Structural Adjustment Programme as palliative and means of economic recovery. Because SAP is usually imposed on developing nations regardless of their peculiarities and its conditionalities skewed in favour of the advanced capitalist countries, the programme has compounded the economic woes of the less developed countries of the world by increasing their debt burden.

INTERNATIONAL LAW

Nations of the world have rules guiding their behaviour. It is these rules or laws, either in written or unwritten forms that modify inter-state interaction. However, most of these rules are violated by both small and big nations. International law per se are rules, laws, precepts, covenants, agreements, facts or conventions unanimously agreed upon by states and codified as reference points to guide inter-state interactions.

In international law, there is no law enforcer or police as obtains in local laws, rather its observance is based on moral obligation. However, gone are the days when preference is given to local or domestic peculiarities of any state. With the increasing globalization of the international system and clamour for the protection and promotion of human rights, international law in contemporary time has been given higher premium than what it used to be. For instance the process that led to the over throw of **Moumar Ghadafi** of Libya and **Laurent Gbagbo** of Code d'Ivoire started as domestic issues before assuming international dimension in the light of contemporary international law.

13. Sources of International Law

International Law are derived from the following sources

- i. Conventions agreed on by nations of the world could be regarded as a source of international law. Examples of conventions are the Vienna convention on the law of international treaty, the Geneva Convention on the law of the sea of 1958, the international covenant on Human Rights of 1966 and the Stockholm conference of 1972 on the protection of the Environment.
- ii. Customs, Norms and Traditions of any particular society that does not contravene the civilized standard of behaviour are adopted or accepted as veritable sources of international law.
- iii. Judicial Decisions of a reputable court of law are regarded as sources of international law.
- iv. Writings of international jurists which are found in law books or law reports.
- v. Verdicts of recognised international court of law such as the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in The Hague (Netherland).
- vi. International Treaties as agreed upon between and among states or between states and specialized agencies of the United Nations such as the World Health Organisation (WHO), International Labour Organisation (ILO), International Monetary Fund (IMF) or International Treaties evidenced by International Law Commission are all regarded as sources of international law.

14. Sources of Obligation in International Law

Members of the international communities are obliged to obey and abide by the provision of international law on the following grounds.

- i. International morality: - Once international law is violated, it attracts penalty, sanction and abhorrence from other nations of the world who uphold that it should remain sacred and inviolable. Examples, after the abolition of slave trade, first in Europe, then in America in the 19th century, it became a moral burden for any nation to continue with the illicit trade in slave, beside the fact that there was a consensus by the global community to enforce the abolition policy by all means, including use of force. Other issues confronted by the global community with the same zeal includes Apartheid, colonialism, military dictatorship and drug trafficking.
- ii. The principle of reciprocal violation of entitlement. Countries of the world are aware of the danger of flagrant abuse of international law and rules of engagement, hence the fear of retribution put nations in check. In 1979 when Iranian Youths invaded the U.S embassy in Tehran and took hostage some consular staff, the U.S retaliation by confiscating Iranian deposits worth \$13 billion in American Bank. In 1986, the U.S bombed the cities of Tripoli and Benghazi in retaliation to alleged terrorist attacks by Libya against American servicemen at a night club in Berlin.
- iii. Membership of international organisations placed nations under obligation to abide by the rules and regulations set by such association. As nations adheres to rules governing associations such as the United Nations, A.U, E.U, Common wealth Organisation, ECOWAS, NATO etc, they are obeying international law.
- iv. The quest for peace and avoidance of war makes nations of the world to respect and obey international law.

15. Methods of Settlement of International Disputes

Conflict is an inevitable aspect of international revolutions. In as much as the nations of the world some time co-exist harmoniously in order to achieve their mutual interests, they also disagree as they strive to preserve and protect their national interests. In view of the inevitability of conflict and disagreement among member states of the international system, the following mechanism have been put in place to resolve conflicts among nations.

The three major mechanism employ for settlement of international disputes are Arbitration, Mediation and Adjudication.

The twin process of arbitration and mediation involve setting up of a panel either on adhoc or permanent basis. The arbitration mechanism is used as occasion demands while mediation is for all occasions of disputes between and among states. Organisation such as the United Nations, Common wealth Organisations and African Union have legal luminaries of

international reputes that sits on panels of arbitration and mediation. In the discharge of their duties these legal luminaries does not apportion blame but rather work for amicable settlement of disputes.

However, the process of adjudication is strictly legal. It involve the use of a court action where the positions of plaintiff(s)/defendant(s) would be heard, and the presiding judge would give a verdict based on the facts of the case presented by lawyers representing the parties involve in disputes. The International Court of Justice (ICJ) based in The Hague (Netherland) is responsible for Adjudication of international conflict. The Nigerian/Cameroun border crisis over Bakassi Peninsula was determined by the ICJ using the instrumentality of adjudication.