

Hayat Medical College
Global Trends, Summary Note

Chapter One: Understanding International Relations

Understanding Nationalism, Nation and State

Nationalism

Nationalism is one of the modern ideologies that has influenced international affairs, political and social movements. It expresses the state of being national, national affection, and nationality. This definition explains nationalism as a set of ideas that members of a particular state, nation, society or region may collectively feel towards their nation. Nationalism advocates national unity and independence and this could be a cause of great wars and revolutions. For example, the outbreak of WWI was caused by nationalism. Nationalism argues that a group of peoples who share similar culture, history, psychological makeup should have their own government or state. Ex ethnic nationalism. Nationalism in Europe has caused for source of conflict and the disintegration of European multinational Empires. Nationalist believe on “self-determination” as the right of a people to determine its own future and fate. But self-determination undermines the legitimacy, sovereignty and territorial integrity of existing states. Nationalist movements in Europe resulted for the emergence of the nation-state which later appeared as the main actor of inter-national relation. For instance, Italian and German cases in Europe signify two nation-building efforts in the 19th century: Italy became united in 1861 and Germany in 1871. To attain national unity via self-determination, German nationalists and others strove to mobilize the people by stressing cultural values more than political ones. Nationalism gradually spread as an intellectual movement and school in the whole of central and Western Europe, when European multinational empires, namely Ottoman-Turkish, Austria-Hungarian, and Tsarist Russia, started to disintegrate in the face of nationalist and separatist forces. As a result, new nation-states began to appear in Central and Eastern Europe and the Balkans. Greece and Serbia in the first half of the 19th century and Romania and Bulgaria in the second half of the 19th century achieved independence from Ottoman Turkey. Nationalist uprisings occurred among the Czechs and the Hungarians against the Austrian Empire.

- **Subject Nationality:** is a nationality that has not achieved independence. Ex. Catalan, Basque, Kurds. Scottish Nationalism.
- **Chauvinism:** is an extreme nationalism that exaggerates one nation, culture, civilization and contribution. Ex. Nazism, Fascism

Development of Nationalism

There are three historical periods for the development of European nationalism.

- i. **During the Middle Ages:** Until the 15th C, both nationalism and the idea of the nation states did not exist. People during the middle ages felt their greatest loyalty to their church, feudal lords, city states and provinces.
- ii. **The Westphalia Treaty of 1648:** The Westphalia treaty of 1648 ended the Thirty Years' War between the Catholics and Protestants. The treaty introduced the first inter-national system to operate based on the recognition of the independence and sovereignty of the state. This gradually transferred the idea of loyalty and nationalism from the church, kings, the pope to the state. After the Westphalia Treaty, international politics was a matter of relations between states not religious leaders and others.
- iii. **The French Revolution of 1789:** The French Revolution of 1789 contributed for the development of intense nationalism that spread throughout Europe and the rest of the world. During this period people placed their country's national interest above all other considerations. Three ideals of the revolution, liberty, equality and brotherhood helped for the strength of peoples' loyalty and patriotism towards their nation.

Nation

A nation is a historical entity that evolves organically out of a more similar ethnic group who reveals its self through myth, legends and other discourses. Nation is a group of people who have a shared culture, history, geography, psychological make-up and believe that they have common destiny.

State

State refer to two things: a bounded, populated territory and/or the body that governs that particular territory. The state is said to have emerged with the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. A sovereign state is an entity of the international legal system that is represented by one centralized government that has supreme independent authority over a geographic area. International law defines sovereign states as having a permanent population, defined territory, government, and the capacity to enter into relations with other sovereign states.

Nation-State

Nation state is an independent country containing a single nationality. In modern politics the nation serves as a soul to the body of the state or the state machinery.

Now because of globalization the role and influence of the nation state is significantly being challenged. Forces that challenge the state include: ethnonationalism, superpowers' influence, terrorism, poverty, state fragility and others. This means, the five basic social values and services the state is expected to provide are now becoming difficult. These basic social values the state is expected to provide but failed to provide are: security, freedom, order, justice and welfare.

Understanding International Relations

International Relations (IR) is a sub field of political science and it's one of the young disciplines in academics. Its genesis can be traced back to the period immediately following World War I. At its core, the initial study of IR was both normative and empirical. Normative IR theory seeks to provide a set of values that policymakers, diplomats, and other actors of IR should follow in order to better the human condition. Empirical IR theory seeks to explain the underlying causes of political events.

With this narrow focus on interstate conflict, the original scholars in the field drew their theoretical insight from philosophy, politics, history, law and economics.

Although the discipline began by focusing on the causes of war and the potential for peace, the complexities of world politics and the emergence of globalizing forces throughout the 20th century expanded the scope of IR to include the study of human rights, migration, environmental cooperation, economic development, ethnic conflict, nationalism, terrorism, and international crime. Today, IR scholars have developed sophisticated theories and models in order to study an ever-expanding set of issues and concerns. Constituting one of the main subfields in political science, IR continues to demonstrate how political power defines this growing set of issues and concerns.

The main reason why we should study IR is the fact that the entire population of the world is divided into separate political communities, or independent states, which profoundly affect the way people live.

Actors in international relations

Basically, actors in International Relations can be categorized in to two: State Actors and Non-State Actors.

State Actors

States are primary and most powerful sovereign actors of international relations. The power and capability of state is different or asymmetrical. Some states have large territory, economy, military, advanced science and technology and quite large number of populations; while still others are poor, small, underdeveloped and have a very tiny and thousands of populations.

The diffusion of power and capability among states is asymmetrical and the way in which power is distributed among them is key variable in determining the structure of their relationship. In IR the most powerful actors dominate in establishing rules and regulations of the international system.

Non-State Actors

Are non-sovereign international influential players which act individually or in group beyond their state of origin.

Non- State actors include:

- ✓ **Multinational Corporations (MNCs)** are profit oriented transnational business companies that operate in multiple countries other than their origin. Ex coca cola,

- ✓ **Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)** are non-for-profit civil society organizations that operate globally to provide humanitarian help.
- ✓ **Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs)** these are supra national but non sovereign actors which are established to solve various problems of the world e.g. UN, AU, EU, AL, NATO, IMF, WB, IGAD,
- ✓ **International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs)** these are international private philanthropic organizations founded to provide help for the needy
- ✓ **Individuals:** individuals with influential personality play greater role to solve global problems. E.g. Ex-US Presidents
- ✓ **Terrorists Organizations:** terrorist use violence against civilians to advance their political goals or desired changes. In contemporary world terrorism by small groups have undermined the capacity and sovereignty of states.
- ✓ **Media:** media in international relations has assumed big role by increasing people's awareness in their religion, culture and place in the world. By this media have become an integral parts of the world politics.

Levels of Analysis in international relations

Levels of analysis tries to explore the “why” and “how” actors of international relation decide in complex problems. In IR, there are four levels of analysis.

Individual level

It focuses on the individual who takes decision. It is concerned about the perception, choice, behavior, personality, background, health, psychology of leaders and policy and decision makers in foreign policy.

Group level

This level of analysis focuses on the role that groups play in the international system and their influences on the decisions and behavior of states. In this case, the actions of *pressure groups, lobbying organizations, high level managements of international financial institutions, political parties, activists, etc* and their influences on national decision-making processes is given greater emphasis. Such groups can influence international relations and the international system.

State/domestic level

Is the dominant unit of analysis in IR. It is aggregation of individuals decision within the state that influence state action in the international arena. Factors that affect domestic issues include: **ethnic conflict, government status** (authoritarian, democratic, parliamentary v. presidential), **level of democracy, public participation or opinion**, the presence of **pressure groups, state stability** and other domestic issues that affect the behavior, policy, choice and decisions of state. For instance, in the USA

the presence of AIPAC and 'the Military-Industrial Complex' exert greater pressure in the US government to effect foreign policy towards their interests.

The Systemic level

The system level analysis tries to analyze the **global system** as the structure or context within which states cooperate, compete and confront each other over issues of perceived national interest. Systemic level analyses the distribution of global power on the behavior and choice of states. In IR there is three types of power distribution: unipolarity (one power), bipolarity (two powers) and multipolarity (several powers).

It tries to analyze the ability and opportunity of states and groups of states to pursue their interests in cooperative or competitive ways. The overriding principle is that the international system is 'anarchic'. An anarchic system is one that lacks a central government (or international sovereign) that regulates and controls what happens to states in their dealings with each other.

The structure of the international system and important IR Concepts

Power

Power is the currency (blood line) of international politics. As money is for economics, power is for international relations (politics). In IR power is the ability to influence others and to force them what the power holder wants to do them. In the international system, power determines the relative influence of actors and it shapes the structure of the international system.

Hans Morgenthau, a famous thinker of realism theory in IR, argues that international politics, like all other politics, is a struggle for power. i.e., the desire to dominate others. He defined power as, "man's control over the minds and actions of other man." In international relation power is defined as: 'A's' ability to get 'B' to do something it would not otherwise do. In IR power can be three types: **Hard power, soft power and sharp power.**

- ✓ **Hard power** includes: economy, military, science and technology, population size and quality, natural resources etc.
- ✓ **Soft power** includes: diplomacy, persuasion, education, innovation, know-how.
- ✓ **Sharp power** includes: culture, information etc.

In IR there are three types of power distribution/structures. Namely: (i) **uni-polar system**, (ii) **bipolar system** and, (iii) **multipolar system**. These three different systems reflect the number of powerful states competing for power and their hierarchical relationship. In a uni-polar international system, there is one state with the greatest political, economic, cultural and military power and hence the ability to totally control and influence other states. In the case of the bi-polar system, for instance, there are two dominant states (super powers) and the less powerful states join either sides through alliance and counter alliance formations. The problem with bipolar system is that it is vulnerable for zero-sum game politics because

when one superpower gains the other would inevitably lose. Good example is cold war period. But bipolar is regarded as the most stable because the two super powers don't go to war due to the mutual destructing capacity of their powers. Multi-polar system is the most common throughout history and it is characterized by the existence of more than two super powers. E.g. the alliance system during the two world wars. Now the world is heading towards a multi-polar world.

Anarchy

Anarchy is a situation where there is absence of authority (government) be it in national or international/global level systems. 'Anarchy' in domestic politics refers to a breakdown of law and order. But in international relations, it refers to a system where power is decentralized and there are no shared institutions and authority with the right to enforce common rules up on others. An anarchical world is a world where everyone looks after themselves and no one looks after the system as a whole. Instead, states had to rely on their own resources or to form alliances through which the power of one alliance of states could be balanced against the power of another alliance.

Sovereignty

Sovereignty is another basic concept in international relations and it can be defined as an expression of: (i) a state's ultimate authority within its territorial entity (**internal sovereignty**) and, (ii) the state's involvement in the international community (**external sovereignty**). In short, sovereignty denotes double claim of states from the international system, i.e., autonomy in foreign policy and independence/freedom in its domestic affairs. Sovereignty is characterized by *Absoluteness*, *Comprehensiveness*, *Indivisibility* and *Permanency*.

Theories of International Relations

What is a theory?

Theory is a simplified version of complex reality. A theory is subject to criticism; it can't explain everything and is subject to debate and falsification. International relation theories allow us to understand and try to make sense of the world around us. IR theories can be divided into two: main stream IR theories and critical theories. Main stream IR theories provide a single or materialistic explanation for global problems and solution. Critical theories of IR criticize the mainstream IR theories for the focus on single aspect of global problems and their solution. Critical theories forward multiple cause and explanations and other alternatives in theorizing global conflict and the potential for peace and cooperation.

Mainstream IR theories

There are three main stream IR theories. These are: idealism/liberalism, realism and Marxism.

Liberalism/ Idealism

Liberalism/ idealism in IR is also referred to as a 'utopian' or wishful. Liberalism views human being as innately good, believe in peace and cooperative not competitive. Liberalism is optimistic for global politics; believes in harmony between nations and global peace is achievable. Liberalism argues that liberal states have no tendency to go to war. This is called the democratic peace theory which says that democracies or democratic states do not fight each other.

Liberalism argues that state have a common interest and values e.g. trade, cooperation, global peace. What need is good will to cooperate. Liberalism believes in institutions, international law, cooperation and collective security to meet growing demands and prevent future wars which collectively known as liberal institutionalism. Both free trade and democracy are the two pillars of liberal institutionalism which required a peace full IR through cooperation and interdependence. E.g. the League of Nation was the result liberal idea of IR just to provide collective security and international peace although it has failed to provide peace, collective security to its members and failed to prevent the outbreak of WWII in 1939.

For liberalism individuals and private groups, not States, are the fundamental actors in world politics. The focus is on Non-State Actors.

Collective security: is one type of coalition building strategy in which a group of nations agree not to attack each other and to defend each other against an attack from one of the others, if such an attack is made. The principal is that "an attack against one, is an attack against all".

Realism

Realism is based on realpolitik (The politics of reality- politics based on practical rather than moral or ideological considerations)- for realism power is an autonomous sphere of action which can't not be reduced into morality. Realism is the most powerful and dominant IR theory since the classical period. Historians like Thucydides and philosophers like Machiavelli and Hobbes influenced realist thinking. Realists usually have a pessimistic view of human nature. Realist argue that human nature is basically evil, selfish, seeking power to dominate others and competitive instead of cooperative. Hence, conflict is unavoidable and everlasting. Realists are skeptical that there can be progress in international politics and peace.

Realism argues that the international politics is the struggle for power and its competitive not cooperative. For realist state are the only rational actors and decision maker in international politics which seek to maximize their national interest, security and survival. It says that the international system is anarchic- no rule and regulation, self -help and only the strong survives the Darwinian world. Realism argues that power is the only means to get security and keep national interest i.e., security and survival. For realist states should only rely on their power and capacity by avoiding trust on International law, institutions, collective security and above all morality. For realist there is no sovereign body to provide international security and national security other than the state itself.

- ✓ **Polarity**- the distribution of power amongst the Great Powers- is thus a key concept in Realist theory.
- ✓ **Balance of power**: is one of realist principle which dictates that state “A” should check and balance its power with state “B”. The strategy is to prevent any great power from getting out of control and attempting to impose its political and military will on everybody else. The objective of Balance of power is to safeguard national security, uphold order among great powers, and insure the independence and sovereignty of states.
- ✓ **Security dilemma**: is a classic realist concept whereby a state seeking to maximize its security makes other states in the international system feel less secure.

Neorealism

While realism focuses on the behavior of states and their leaders; ***neorealism*** focuses on the anarchic nature and power capability of greater powers within the international system. Neo realism focuses on the international system itself and seeks to provide a ***structuralist*** account of its dynamics and the constraints it imposes on state behavior. For neorealist, the international system is anarchical and hence perpetually threatening and conflictual. Hence, neorealism is an attempt to explain international relations in scientific terms by reference to the unequal capabilities of states and the anarchical structure of the state system, and by focusing on the great powers whose relations determine the most important ‘outcomes’ of international politics.

Marxism

Marxism is an ideology which divides a country’s population into a capitalist class and the working class or proletariat which will be the source of both domestic and international conflict. Marxism argues that in international relation developed or capitalist countries exploit poor countries and this would be the source of international conflict. Marxism argues that inequality in the world, the north-south division, developed and developing world dichotomy and division of labor sustained the structural dependency, exploitation which made the global south into absolute poverty. For Marxists both imperialism of the West and state capitalism of the socialist bloc imposed unequal exchange and division of labor for the Third World countries. Structuralist Marxism (Neo-Marxism) paradigm focused on **dependency, exploitation** and the **international division of labor** which relegated the vast majority of the global population to the extremes of poverty. Neo -Marxist structuralism viewed these processes as the basis of inequality, the debt burden, violence and instability both at the domestic and international level.

Marxists would argue that any international body, including the United Nations, works to promote the interests of the business class. Such international organizations and their systems perpetuate and legitimize state-led exploitation.

Summary of the three mainstream theories to IRs

<i>Features</i>	<i>Idealism/Liberalism/Utopianism</i>	<i>Realism/Realpolitik/Power politics</i>	<i>Marxism/Socialism</i>
<i>Key actors</i>	<i>Sovereign states and non-state actors/non-state-centric</i>	<i>International system and Sovereign state/state centric.</i>	<i>Social Classes, transnational elites and MNCs.</i>
<i>View of the individual</i>	<i>humans are naturally good and bad. They are cooperative, friendly and able to compromise.</i>	<i>human nature is naturally bad, egoistic and selfish. Power-seeking and antagonistic.</i>	<i>Actions determined by economic classes.</i>
<i>Outcome of relationship</i>	<i>win-win/ IR is a not a zero-sum game.</i>	<i>win-lose/ IR is a zero-sum game</i>	
<i>Interaction</i>	<i>competitive but also cooperative in economic and diplomatic issues</i>	<i>competitive, conflictual, only short-term cooperation</i>	<i>competitive, exploitative in North-South relations, transnational cooperative relations</i>
<i>View of the international system</i>	<i>Interdependent, international society and anarchy</i>	<i>Anarchy, stability can be maintained through balance of power.</i>	<i>Highly stratified and dominated by international capitalist classes</i>
<i>Beliefs about changes</i>	<i>probable and desirable process.</i>	<i>potential for change is slow and structural change is also low.</i>	<i>Radical change and revolution sought.</i>
<i>Nature</i>	<i>peace, human progress, social harmony, individual rights, moral values and legal norms.</i>	<i>a struggle for power, dominance, force, national interest, self-help (in order to uphold sovereignty)</i>	<i>conflicting/ dominant interests of social classes (rich vs poor), dominance, trans-national.</i>
<i>Sources of international peace</i>	<i>cooperation and interdependence</i>	<i>accumulation of power and wealth</i>	<i>communism, abolishing classes.</i>
<i>View of the state</i>	<i>Not an autonomous actor, there are many different interests and actors in the system.</i>	<i>states are competitive. Seeks power and unitary actor with a defined national interest.</i>	<i>State is an agent of international capitalist classes. Agent of exploitation of the proletariat by the capitalist.</i>
<i>Theorists</i>	<i>Montesquieu, Kant, Wilson, Koehane</i>	<i>Thucydides, St. Augustine, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Morganthau</i>	<i>Marx, Lenin, Hobson, Wallerstein</i>

Critical theories of IR

Critical theories of international relation began their theorization of international politics by criticizing the mainstream theories focus on the power and material aspect of the world politics which is regarded as one-sided and materialistic approach. Critical theories are valuable because they identify positions that have typically been ignored or overlooked within IR. They also provide a voice to individuals who have frequently been marginalized, particularly women and those from the Global South.

Social Constructivism

The focus of social constructivism (in shorthand: constructivism) is on human awareness or consciousness and its place in world affairs. Constructivists reject such a one-sided material focus. They argue that the most important aspect of international relations is social, not material or power aspects. Constructivism argues that the goals of states are not decided beforehand; they are shaped by the ideas and values that come forward in the process of discourse and interaction between states. Constructivism argues that history, ideas, norms, values explain state behavior. Example the USA has the desire to expand its liberal values and its democratic culture. Similarly, Iran wants to support its Islamic values of the 1979 Islamic Revolution. Other states have their own values and ideas for themselves and the world which shape their interaction with others globally. The perception of friends and enemies, in-groups and out-groups, fairness and justice all become key determinant of a state's behavior.

Social constructivism claim that realism and liberalism are 'materialist' theories; they focus on material power, such as military forces and economic capabilities and cooperation. Constructivists argue that the international system is constituted by ideas, not material power. Constructivists highlight the importance of values and shared interests between individuals who interact on the global stage. For constructivists ideas, or 'norms' and identities as they are often called, have power.

For constructivists the international relation is constituted by ideas, not by material forces. It is a human invention or creation not of a physical or material kind but of a purely intellectual and ideational kind. Hence, constructivism is a set of ideas, a body of thought, a system of norms, which has been arranged by certain people at a particular time and place.

Post-colonialism

Post- colonialism focuses on the relation between Western countries in Europe and North America in one hand, and the areas in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and elsewhere that were colonized or dominated by Western countries on the other hand. Post- colonialism argues that although the physical colonization is over, however, the now independent states are indirectly under the control of the West. Post- colonialism argues that, intellectual strategies of 'decolonization' are needed in order to liberate our thinking from the Western dominance.

The task of post-colonialism is to reject what is called “Eurocentrism” Eurocentrism is, according to John Hobson, is ‘the assumption that the West lies at the center of all things in the world and . . . [the West] is projecting its global will-to-power outwards through a one-way diffusionism so as to remake the world in its own image’(Hobson 2007: 93). The task for post-colonialism is to abandon this way of thinking and offer a different analysis which treats and respects the dominated areas on their own terms.

The intellectual dominance of the West and the corresponding suppression of the Orient (East/non West) are reflected in the ways in which the Orient is represented in Western thinking. Accordingly, the Oriental societies are backward, traditional, irrational and despotic. Western societies, by contrast, are rational, advanced, modernized, liberal and democratic. A good example of Eurocentrism is their defense of “colonialism” which they have colonized Africa for the sake of African’s themselves which it was the “White Man’s Burden to Civilize” Africa.

Post-colonialism differs from Marxism by focusing on the inequality between nations or regions, as opposed to classes. The effects of colonialism are still felt in many regions of the world today as local populations continue to deal with the challenges created and left behind by the former colonial powers. Post-colonialism’s origins can be traced to the Cold War period when much activity in international relations centered around decolonization and the ambition to undo the legacies of European imperialism. They would suggest, for instance, that, as it has no African or Latin American permanent members, the Security Council fails to represent the current state of the world. Post-colonialists would also point to the presence of former colonial powers on the Security Council and how their ability to *veto* proposals put forward by other countries perpetuates a form of continued indirect colonial exploitation of the Global South. Finally, the idea of post-colonialism is not to reject established international relation theories. But it argues that established IR-theories and post-colonialism can both benefit from engaging with each other.

Feminism

Feminists have sought to explain aspects of state behavior and its effects by emphasizing gender as a variable of interest. Feminism underlines that women are a disadvantaged group in the world, both in material terms and in terms of a value system that favors men over women. Feminism as a gender sensitive perspective on IR investigates the inferior position of women in the international political and economic system and analyses how our current ways of thinking about IR tend to disguise as well as to reproduce a gender hierarchy. Feminism as a new approach to IR aims to divert or challenge the idea of state security in favor of the notions of human security. In such a perspective the effects of war, for example, reach far beyond the battlefield to family life and other aspects of social relations.

Chapter Two: Understanding Foreign Policy and Diplomacy

Defining Foreign Policy

A country's foreign policy (international relations policy) can be defined as:

- ✓ the *actions, decisions* and *goals* that states pursue towards the outside world.
- ✓ a *set of goals about how the country will work with other countries economically, politically, socially and militarily*. It includes such matters as international trade, foreign aid, military alliances, and war.
- ✓ the rational pursuit of a *set of national objectives*. “Pursuit” suggests the *actions, steps*, and *roles* that will describe the attitude or behavior of a state in the external context. *Foreign policy may be considered like a wedding ring with which the domestic context of a nation performs its union with the international community. Such political “marriage” is underlined by the ambitions and desires of state; hence foreign policy is a means to an end for states.*
- ✓ a *pattern of behavior that one state adopts in relation with other states*, an idea that other scholars consider as the strategy and tactics employed by the state in its relation with other states in the international system.
- ✓ a *plan or program of actions of a state*, which determines the *sum-total of the state’s objectives in the international system*. Put differently, they are the actions of a state toward the external environment and the conditions, usually domestic, under which such actions are formulated.
- ✓ Put simply, foreign policy could mean the external attitude of a state. Its *ultimate goal is to maximize greater advantage for the country*.

Determinants of foreign policy

States’ foreign policies are shaped by both *external/systemic* factors and *internal factors*, situations, circumstances and developments.

Domestic factors include:

- ✓ **character of the state**: this would include its basic features and what obtains in it. The multinational and multicultural nature of state will, for instance, make it more cautious when relating to other states which share cultural or national values or nationalities with it.

- ✓ **geography**: The *location* of a country accounts for its behavior towards other members of that location. The closest neighbors could be best friends or worst enemies. Besides proximity there is also the possibility of *strategic location*. The *availability of natural resources or none* is also a factor of geography. Nations with abundant resources of international commercial value are likely going to be important in world politics and ultimately become ambitious.
- ✓ **demographics**: Population has both *commercial (market)* and *political value*. The largest populations are good 'markets' for international capitalist investment, which also translates to political influence. The *military value of demography* is that the large population size of states could either be intimidating to smaller ones or become veritable for military replenishment in times of war.
- ✓ **political system/structure and leadership**: are crucial in the shaping of the foreign policy of a state. Democracies are more likely to be more stable and find one another attractive for alliance. *Leadership* of a state makes policies and conducts foreign affairs. The strength or weakness of states lies to large extent in political leadership and international movements, including war or peace.
- ✓ **economy**: the level of economic development of countries has greater impacts on the nature and content of their foreign policies. As such, the foreign policies of developing and developed countries might have significant differences in the ways that they use their economic power to influence each other.
- ✓ **military capability**: refers to the war resources at the disposal of states. A skillful, disciplined and well armed military will not only firmly secure the territorial integrity of a state, but also have the capacity to provide regional and international security.
- ✓ **historical values**: historical attachment between states can influence their foreign policy towards each other, hence their actions, decisions and behavior.
- ✓ **national interest**: the aggregated objective of a state in international politics determines how leadership employs military or economic capability in the conduct of its foreign policy.
- ✓ **media and public opinion, pressure groups**: the three refer to the press, the thinking and expectation of the people of a state and wishes of professional groups, respectively. Although they play lesser roles in most cases, particularly in monarchies and autocracies, they are fairly significant in the foreign policy formulation of democratic states

External variables include:

- ✓ **intentions of other states:** are critical to the actions of others. These are considered when policies are formulated or actions are taken.
- ✓ **consideration regarding immediate neighbors:** how states consider their neighbors regarding whether they are friends or enemies would affect their foreign policy towards them.
- ✓ **national security:** is the main reason nations keep armies. Every state, from abundant historical experience, is alive to the critical fear that other states seek what it possesses. National security is the defense of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of state against external aggression.
- ✓ **membership of international institutions:** will naturally limit state sovereignty or, put differently, cut down the excesses of states in relationship with one another. International organizations have founding treaties, charters, covenants, agreements and so forth that bind member-states and guide their actions.
- ✓ **international law:** system of *international laws* regulates the behavior of states, so long as they are contracting partners. Foreign policies are often formulated and implemented within such frameworks.
- ✓ **opinions and actions of great powers:** within or outside the UN Security Council, for instance towards nuclear armament and global terror, are the reasons states with the capacity in the international community cannot acquire nuclear arms or seen to be favorably disposed to global terror. It is commonly believed that ‘the fear of the super powers is the beginning of political wisdom among states’.

On top of these, the **idiosyncrasy** of *leaders* (a mode of behavior or way of thought peculiar to an individual, in this case the leader of the state) contributes much in affecting the foreign policy making and implementation of a country. In this manner, it is important to understand the deriving motives behind foreign policy, viz., the pursuit of national interest. States adopt foreign policy to achieve and promote their national interests often defined as the short term, medium term and long term goals. To this end, states establish diplomatic relations and contacts and use different tactics to protect, often to maximize, their national interest. In this chapter attempt has been made to examine the debates on national interest and foreign policy, patterns and instruments of foreign policy, and finally an overview of Ethiopia’s foreign policy.

Defining National Interest

- ✓ National interest is the *raison de`tat, (the reason of state)*, to justify its actions and policy towards other states at international level.
- ✓ National interest refers to set of *values, orientation, goals* and *objectives* a given country would like to achieve in its international relations. It has been the main driving force that determines the contents of foreign policy.

Criteria to define national interest

Colmbis has provided a multiplicity of criteria used in defining national interest, including the following.

- ✓ **Operational Philosophy:** Depending on time, location, orientation toward the world around, and in particular the action of your predecessors, you may choose one of two major style of operation. *First, act in a bold and sweeping fashion.* This style is often referred to as *synoptic* in the decision making literature. *The second is to act in caution, probing, and experimental fashion.* This style is called **incremental** in the decision making literature.
- ✓ **Ideological Criteria:** Most of the time, governments employ ideological criteria and establish their relations on the basis of that criteria. National interest may be shaped by underlying ideological orientations of the regime in power.
- ✓ **Moral and Legal Criteria:** states are expected to act morally as this is equated with acting honestly and making your public decision accordingly.
- ✓ **Pragmatic Criteria:** the practical utility of merit of your action will be counted other than morality and personal sentiments.
- ✓ **Professional Advancement Criteria:** actions may be manipulated and adjusted in consideration of professional survival and growth, in short personal success.
- ✓ **Partisan Criteria:** Here you tend to equate the survival and the success of your political party, or ethnic or religious origin with the survival and success of your country.
- ✓ **Foreign Dependency Criteria:** These criteria usually applies to less developing countries, who had fallen under the yoke of colonialism, and now, even after political independence, kept the colonial ties with their ex-masters intact.

Foreign Policy Objectives

- ✓ Foreign policy sets *short term, middle term* and *long term goals* and *objectives* to be achieved in proportion to a state's capability.

- ✓ Such classifications of foreign policy objectives is based on the combination of the three criteria: (1) *the value placed on the objective*; (2) *the time element placed on its achievement*; and (3) *the kind of demands the objective imposes on other states in international system*.
- ✓ Based on these criteria, the objectives can be classified as:
 - **Core values and interests:** to which states commit their very existence and that must be preserved or extended at all time. These group of objectives are called *short range objectives*. Such issues as national security, territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty are the most important concerns;
 - **Middle range goals:** which normally impose demands on several others states (commitments to their achievement are serious and time limit is also attached to them). Such objectives focus on overall socioeconomic and political developments; and
 - **Universal long range goals:** which seldom have definite time limits. In practice leaders rarely place the highest value on long range goals and it's very much dependent on the capability and ideology of the state. An example is a state's desire to influence the international system and to restructure it.

Foreign Policy Behavior: Patterns and Trends

- ✓ Foreign policy behavior refers to the actions states take and the decisions that they make towards each other. It is important to note that these actions usually are not as ends in themselves, but are tied in some way with larger purposes, from long range objectives to short term objectives that leaders hope to achieve in their dealings with other countries.
- ✓ **Arnold Wolfers**, a famous specialist in the field of International Relations, suggested that all foreign policy behavior ultimately boils down to three possible patterns:
 - **self-preservation** (maintaining the status quo); a tendency to keep ones own positions. Such states don't want to influence or be influenced by other states.
 - **self-extension** (revising the status quo in one's own favor); a tendency to influence and manipulate others to achieve ones own desire. Such states have the interest to manipulate and maneuver others to make them act in their own interests.
 - **Self-abnegation** (revising the status quo in some else's favor); a tendency of a state to open itself and be willing to be influenced by other's interests. Such states are usually open to manipulation.

Foreign Policy Dimensions

The foreign policies of states have the purpose of defining the nature and extent of relationship and interaction with other states as well as directing the state to which of the groups or camps that they should align when there are a number of such camps to cooperate with. In this regard, determining the major dimensions of foreign policy might appear being important. These dimensions include *alignment*, *scope* and *modus operandi*.

- ✓ **Alignment:** refers to a situation where by national leaders should choose to ally with certain countries/groups or to remain neutral. One can identify the alignment tendencies of states such as alliance, neutrality and non-alignment.
 - **Alliances:** is a formal agreement to provide mutual military assistance; as such, they carry legal weight and certain benefits as well as risks. E.g. NATO
 - **Neutrality:** is a stance of formal non-partisanship in world affairs. By keeping a low profile, neutrals may avoid some of the problems associated with alliances, particularly the generating of potential enemies and counter alliances.
 - **Non-alignment:** has been the foreign policy pattern of most developing state during the Cold War Era, where by the world was divided into the West (the Capitalist, under the leadership of USA) and the East (the Socialist, under the leadership of the former USSR). During this time, most of the developing countries had a movement called Non-Alignment Movement (NAM), in which they tried to remain neutral from aligning themselves with either of the two sides.
- ✓ **Scope:** this refers to the extent of the relationship and interactions that a state may have with another state. Some countries have extensive, far-reaching international contacts, while other countries have more limited activities abroad. A country's scope of contact can affect the outcome of disputes and crises.
- ✓ **Mode of Operation/ "Modus Opernadi":** refers to the way that relationships and interactions between states is conducted. It involves multilateral, bilateral or unilateral approaches.

Instruments of Foreign Policy

States may use a number of instruments in their relations and interactions with the states of the world with the intention of influencing others so as to pursue their national interest. Among the most widely used instruments are diplomacy and varieties of economic instruments.

Diplomacy: is a *system of structured communication between two or more parties*. It is a process between actors (diplomats, usually representing a state) who exist within a system (international relations) and engage in private and public dialogue (diplomacy) to pursue their objectives in a peaceful manner. Diplomacy is a complex game of maneuvering in which the goal is to influence the behaviors of others in one's own favor and interests. It is the most wise and productive instrument, which is usually taken as a formal substitute for war. However, diplomacy will become effective only when it is utilized as per the rules that are meant to make it efficient and effective enough. The following are the rules of effective diplomacy.

Rules of Effective Diplomacy

For diplomacy to become successful in solving conflicts and disagreements, the parties in the formal dialogue should engage in the discussion by applying the following rules of effective diplomacy.

- **Being realistic:** It is representing the issues of the dialogue in a way that is accurate or true to life and the ground reality. In this case, it is important to have goals that match your ability to achieve them;
- **Being careful about what they say:** The experienced diplomats plan out and weigh words carefully. They should be careful about the words that they use to explain their stand and think about the impacts of what they say to themselves as well as to others who are in the diplomatic talk.
- **Seeking a common ground:** Dispute begins negotiations; finding a common ground ends them successfully. Almost any negotiation will involve some concession/agreements and compromise, so it is important to maintain a degree of flexibility.
- **Understanding the other's side:** There are several aspects to understanding the other side. One is to appreciate an opponent's perspective even if you do not agree with it. As such, an effective diplomat is the one who is willing to understand the other side and give recognition without losing the grounds of its goal.
- **Being patient:** it is important to be tolerant enough up until the desired gains are obtained. Effective diplomats are those who remain calm no matter how long the sufferings of being patient might be. Being overly anxious/worried can lead to concessions that are unwise and may convey weakness to an opponent.
- **Leaving avenues of retreat open:** it is axiomatic/unquestionable that even a rat will fight if trapped in a corner. The same is often true for countries. Call it honor, saving face, or prestige; it is important to leave yourself and your opponent an "out".

Economic Instruments of Foreign Policy

Just as modern states are politically and technologically interdependent, so do they rely up on each other for resources and commodities that enable them to develop and sustain viable economies. States often use their economic muscle to influence the behavior of others. In this regard, economic instruments, such as the following, can be used by states to achieve their foreign policy objectives.

- ▶ **Tariff:** it is a tax or duty to be paid on a particular class of imports or exports. It is the duties that states or government levy on imported or exported goods. The tariff structure can be used effectively as an inducement or punishment when a country stands to gain or lose important markets for its products by its upward and down ward manipulation. States may use tariff as an instrument to influence the behavior of other states with which they have trade relations when the interests of the others deviates from their own.
- ▶ **Quota:** it refers to limiting the amount/quantity of a particular product which, under official controls, can be exported or imported to/from a country. To control imports/exports of some commodities, governments may apply the quota systems rather than tariffs (tariffs may of course be applied to the items enter under quota) with the intention to influence their behavior in the international system.
- ▶ **Boycott:** it is a state's refusal to buy goods/services as a punishment or protest. Trade boycott organized by a government eliminates the import of either a specific commodity or the total range of export products sold by the country against which the boycott is organized. For example, the Arabs had a boycott campaign on France products with the intention to influence the way that the President of France behaving against Islam.
- ▶ **Embargo:** it is an official ban on trade or other commercial activity with a particular country. It is an official or legal prohibition on trade with another country. A government that seeks to deprive another country of goods prohibits its own businessmen from concluding its transactions with commercial organization in that country against which the embargo is organized.
- ▶ **Loans, Credits and Currency Manipulations:** it is the granting of loans (favorable reward offered by the major powers to developing countries) or extending credits to another country with the purpose of manipulating its behavior. The manipulation of currency rates is also used to create more or less favorable terms of trade between countries.
- ▶ **Foreign Aid:** it is money, food, or other resources given or lent by one country to another country with the intent to influence its behavior in the international system. It involves the transfer of money, goods, or technical advice from donor to recipient.

- **Military Aid:** it involves the provision of military assistance to states with the intention of influencing the state's behavior. It is probably the oldest type of aid which had been used for buttressing alliances.

Chapter Three: International Political Economy (IPE)

Introduction

The study of Political Economy has always been dominated by a national or domestic /and international level debate over the responsibilities of the state with regard to the economy.

Domestic level debate

- ✓ Should the state be responsible for determining how the economy of a given country be organized? Or
- ✓ Should such responsibility be left to the market which is populated by self-serving individuals acting as private agents?
- ✓ Should housing, medical care, education, welfare be provided by private citizens using the resources they have available to them? Or should they be provided by the state?

International level debate

- ✓ How should international trade be governed?
- ✓ How should international investment be governed?
- ✓ How should international finance be governed?
- ✓ What should be the role of international financial institutions?

Meaning and Nature of International Political Economy (IPE)

First, there is no universal agreement on how IPE should be defined. The factors are:

- i. Tension between number of actors (how many actors?)
- ii. the question whether state is the only political society vs. non-state actors
- iii. the presence of two contending definitions of IPE; One is state-centered definition of IPE e.g. realism & mercantilism and the other Marxist definition of IPE- against state
- iv. the use of the term **International** in the concept. The concept International applies only to relations between and among sovereign states (i.e., **195** states exist internationally).

Hence, IPE's definition is getting ever widened and deepened in content and even the name of the field is changing from **IPE** to **GPE** (Global Political Economy). Hence, it would be difficult to come up on common understanding. Because of the above factors, a narrower definition of IPE was adopted.

A broader definition of IPE

- ✓ IPE is a field of inquiry that studies the ever-changing relationships between governments, businesses, and social forces across history and in different geographical areas.
- ✓ This could be the working definition of IPE
- ✓ **IPE** consists of two central dimensions namely: the political and economic dimension.

The political dimension

- ✓ accounts for the use of *power by a variety of actors*, including *individuals*, *domestic groups*, *states* (acting as single units), *International organizations*, *non-governmental organizations* (NGOs), and *Transnational corporations* (TNCs). All these actors make decisions about the distribution of tangible things such as money and products or intangible things such as security and innovation.
- ✓ It involves how states and societies achieve their goals.
- ✓ “Politics determines the framework of economic activity.” —Robert Gilpin

The economic dimension

- ✓ deals with how *scarce resources* are distributed among individuals, groups, and nation-states.
- ✓ economists, political scientists, and historians are considered as the intellectual entrepreneurs or founders of IPE.

Theoretical Perspectives of International Political Economy

There are **three** major theoretical (often ideological) perspectives regarding the nature and functioning of IPE. These are: *liberalism*, *Marxism*, and *mercantilism* or nationalism (these are taken as foundational theories of International Political Economy).

1. Mercantilism/Nationalism aka realism

Mercantilism is an economic theory arguing that trade generates wealth and is stimulated by the accumulation of profitable balances (positive trade balance/trade surplus), which a government should encourage by means of protectionism.

- ✓ is the oldest of the three, dating back as early as the 16th century;

- ✓ **Friedrich List** (1789–1846) is considered as the intellectual father of mercantilist thought;
- ✓ It was a thought in response to classical economics and, more specifically, to Adam Smith's (1723-1790) classical liberal perspective;
- ✓ It defends a strong and persistent role of the state in the economy – both in domestic and international trade, investment and finance;
- ✓ It emphasizes the importance of balance-of-payment surpluses in trade;
- ✓ it often promotes an extreme policy of autarky to promote national economic self-sufficiency.
- ✓ It defends interventionist role of the state in the economy-for example, identifying and developing strategic and targeted industries vital to long-term economic growth via tax policy, subsidization, banking regulation, labor control, and interest-rate management.

2. **Liberalism**

- ✓ is a contemporary and mainstream perspective in IPE;
- ✓ it defends the idea of free market system (i.e. free trade/trade liberalization and free financial and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) flows;
- ✓ it argues that **removing impediments (barriers) to the free flow of goods and services among countries** is the foundational value and principle of liberalism;
- ✓ it argues that free trade reduces **prices, raises the standard of living, makes a wider variety of products available, and contributes to improvements in the quality of goods and services;**
- ✓ It believes that removing barriers to the free movement of goods and services among countries would encourage to specialize in producing certain goods and services;
- ✓ It argues that specialization on certain goods and services contributes for optimum utilization of limited resources based on **comparative advantage**.
- ✓ However, countries' comparative advantages have faced problems from **economic globalization**, the role and growth of transnational or multinational corporations(TNCs / MNCs) high production costs, arbitrary specialization, unfair government and corporate policies.

All the above factors shift the conventional theory of *comparative advantage* to what is known as *competitive advantage*.

Finally, in order to protect their own companies, states have been engaged in protectionist policies. For example: the case of European Union (EU) and US protectionist policies and subsidization for their agricultural and airline industries against other competitive firms.

3. **Marxism**

Marxism originated with the writings of **Karl Marx**, 19th Century political economist and the severest critic of capitalism and liberalism. Central to Marxist theory is an explanation of social change in terms of economic factors, according to which the means of production provide the economic base, which influences or determines the political and ideological superstructure. *Marx and Engels predicted the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism by the proletariat and the eventual attainment of a classless communist society.*

- ✓ Marx saw capitalism creating extremes of wealth for capitalists and poverty for workers;
- ✓ In today's world the relevance of Marxism greatly declined, and liberalism has experienced a relatively considerable growth in influence; but it has been serving as an analytical tool and ideological critique of capitalism and its shortcomings i.e.. **inequality, wealth gap, unemployment, social security, housing problems, healthcare, access to education** etc;
- ✓ It argues that the capitalist class at domestic level exploits the other classes;
- ✓ Internationally, the capitalist countries and the developed world systematically exploit the poor and developing countries; which has resulted in global inequality;
- ✓ It argues that Global and national income inequality remains extreme;
- ✓ It argues that all global economic and social crises are resulted because of the capitalist economic system which it totally focuses on profit making.

According to Marxist thought or teaching , international revolution led by workers and the establishment of socialism would be the guarantee for everlasting global peace and equality.

The indicators of world inequality

- People living in extreme poverty
- Unemployment
- Level of illiteracy
- Children's malnourishment
- No of children die from easily preventable disease

Differences among the three political economies

Mercantilism	Liberalism	Marxism
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Nation -state as the key unit of analysis; ✓ Argues that politics determines economics; ✓ the pursuit of power by nation-states shapes the international economy; ✓ nation-states are rational actors; ✓ Conflict among states is inevitable; ✓ National power is the only guarantor for the state. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ individuals are the proper unit of analysis; ✓ Liberals believe that economics and politics are largely autonomous spheres; ✓ The pursuit of happiness, prosperity and freedom determines the individual's success; ✓ Individuals are rational actors; ✓ Interdependence and trade increase trust. Hence, conflict can be avoided; <p>e.g. Liberal and trading states don't fight each other (called the Democratic Peace Theory)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ The concern of analysis is class; ✓ Believes that economics determines politics; ✓ Exploitative relation between capitalist and workers leads to conflict; ✓ Pays due concern to the value of labor-wage; ✓ Conflict between the capitalist class and workers is inevitable; ✓ Considers Socialism as a guarantor for global peace.

Contemporary Theories of International Political Economy

1. Hegemonic Stability Theory (HST)

- ✓ It is a hybrid theory containing elements of mercantilism, liberalism and Marxism. However, it's more associated with mercantilism;
- ✓ It argues that the root cause of the economic troubles that caused Great Depression of the 1920s and 1930s was the absence of a benevolent hegemon (a dominant leader/government or force)-a dominant state willing and able to take responsibility to solve economic crisis at the international scale;
- ✓ HST argues that hegemony is both necessary and sufficient to ensure global stability;
- ✓ HST has influenced the establishment of the Bretton Woods Institutions (IMF and WB)- both being the products of American power and influence in the post-WWII world;
- ✓ After the World War II's effect had vanished, the United States maintained a substantial lead over global economy and even reinforced by the collapse of the Soviet Union which left the

United States as the world's last remaining power to have a say in global economy and still dominated all the key structures of the global economy.

2. **Structuralism**

- ✓ is a variant of the Marxist perspective and aims to diagnose the specific structural problems of liberal capitalist economic system.eg. inequality, injustice etc;
- ✓ It focuses on center-periphery (dependency) relationship between the Global North and the Global South which permanently resulted in an “unequal (trade and investment) exchange.” International capitalism exploits the periphery and benefits the center or core;
- ✓ It advocates for a new pattern of development based on industrialization via import substitution based on protectionist policies.

3. **Developmental State**

- ✓ Is a variant of mercantilism developed as a response to the failure of neo-liberal (favoring policies that promote free-market capitalism, deregulation, and reduction in government spending) development paradigm in solving economic problems in developing countries;
- ✓ it advocates for the strong role of the state in the process of structural transformation;
- ✓ developmental state refers to a state that intervenes and guides the direction and pace of economic development.

Core features of developmental state

- ✓ Strong interventionism in tax, credits, subsidies, import controls, export promotion, direct financial and credit policies instrumental to industry and trade;
- ✓ Strong bureaucratic apparatus to efficiently and effectively implement the planned process of development;
- ✓ Existence & active participation the private sector and PPP (Public-Private Partnership);
- ✓ Regime legitimacy built on development results and fair distribution of the fruit of dev't.

Survey of the Most Influential National Political Economy Systems in the World

1. **The American System of Market-Oriented Capitalism**

- ✓ American system of political economy is founded on the premise that the primary purpose of economic activity is to benefit consumers while maximizing wealth creation; the distribution of wealth is given secondary importance.

- ✓ It is a competitive market economy in which individuals are assumed to maximize their own private interests (utility), and business corporations are expected to maximize profits.
- ✓ It gives emphasis on consumerism and wealth creation results in a powerful pro-consumption bias and it is insensitivity to social welfare and reducing economic and social inequality.

2. The Japanese System of Developmental Capitalism

- ✓ Unlike the American economic system, Japanese economy is subordinate to the social and political objectives of society.
- ✓ Japan since Meiji Restoration (1868), had been making the economy self-sufficient and catching up with the West.
- ✓ Since its disastrous defeat in World War II, however, Japan has abandoned militarism and has focused on becoming a powerful industrial and technological nation, while also promoting internal social harmony.
- ✓ The Japanese state had great influence to guide the course of the economy this is called neo-mercantilism or new mercantilism.
- ✓ it involves state assistance, regulation, and protection of specific industrial sectors in order to increase their international competitiveness.
- ✓ The economic objective of achieving industrial and technological equality with other countries (the West) were aroused by factors such as **Japan's experience as a late developer, sense of economic and political vulnerability and belief in their uniqueness, superiority of their culture and the desire to become a great power.** All these closed the technology gap industrial evolution of Japanese economy.

3. The German System of Social Market Capitalism

Germany's economy has some characteristics similar to the American and some to the Japanese systems of political economy, but it is quite different from both. Germany, like Japan, emphasizes **exports** and **national savings** and **investment** more than consumption of the American system. But, Germany permits the market to function with considerable freedom; it is less interventionist than Japan.

It attempts to balance social concerns and market efficiency. The German state and the private sector provide a highly developed system of social Welfare this is called "**corporatist**" or "**welfare state capitalism**" in which capital, organized labor, and government cooperate in management of the economy. German political economic system is thus closer to the American **market-oriented** system than to the Japanese economic system.

Chapter Four: Globalization and Regionalism

Introduction

- ✓ Globalization and Regionalism are two major phenomena influencing global trend;
- ✓ While globalization represents integration;
- ✓ regionalism represents differentiation among states;
- ✓ Both processes characterize a form of reorganization of interstate relations in contemporary world;
- ✓ Globalization is often understood as a phenomena, or a process characterized by increasing interconnectedness or interdependence. In short, it is a supra;
- ✓ regional process bringing the world into one global village. Economy, politics, and technology have been the driving forces of globalization;
- ✓ Regionalism, on the other hand, is conceived as a way of dealing with politico-economic, social, military and security issues affecting states in common;
- ✓ Both developments have continued to significantly shape the nature of global politics, peace and security;
- ✓ The mutual causation between regionalism and globalization is an area of unsettling debate involving convergence, divergence and overlap.

Defining and Understanding Globalization

Globalization can be defined as a multidimensional process characterized by:

- ✓ the stretching of social and political activities across state frontiers e.g.. Any political, social or economic decisions affects other countries
- ✓ the intensification or the growing magnitude of interconnectedness e.g.. the spread of global pandemic like corona-virus, HIV AIDS, global trade
- ✓ the accelerating pace of global interactions and process e.g. modern means of global communication
- ✓ the growing extensity, intensity, and velocity of global interaction e.g.. this has created the world to be a small village and collective awareness of the world as shared social space, i.e. **globality** or **globalism**.

Globalization represents a process of **deterritorialization**, as social, political, and economic activities are increasingly stretched across the globe and they no longer organized solely according to territorial logic or sovereignty.

The Globalization Debate

Globalization is a contentious issue in international relations. There has been intense debate as to the **direction**, **nature** and **effect** of globalization on states. In this regard, there are three perspectives: the **hyper-globalists**, the **skeptics**, and **transformationalists**.

The Hyper-globalists

- ✓ Argue that globalization defines a new era in human history in which nation states become **obsolete** to regulate their economy and boundary.
- ✓ It favors the **economic** over the political, the **market** over the state, and prefigures the decline of states.
- ✓ It argues that economic globalization is bringing about a de-nationalization /*de-territorialization* of economies through the establishment of transitional networks of production, trade and finance.
- ✓ It contends that nation states will ultimately be powerless institutions marginalized by the growing significance of **local**, **regional** and **global** mechanisms of governance.
- ✓ the authority and legitimacy of states is undermined as states increasingly unable to control the trans boundary movements and flows of goods, services etc.
- ✓ They argue that globalization is imparting new liberal ideas and implant culture of modernization replacing traditional culture having an impetus towards creating a new global order marked by uniform cultural values or way of life

The Skeptics

- ✓ They reject the view of super-globalist as a **myth**, **flawed** and **politically naïve** since it fundamentally underestimate the enormous power of national governments to regulate international economic activities.
- ✓ States are central actors and agents of globalization playing central role in shaping and regulating the economic activities.
- ✓ They undermine the view that the world is interconnected and moving into a village where by there exists a free flow of goods and services
- ✓ Argue that globalization is not more than regionalization that is being manifested in the emergence of financial and trading blocs.
- ✓ argue that there is no free flow of goods, resources, technology and finance at the global level; instead we have regional based globalization

- ✓ They argue that it has become evident that the Western region is more intergraded and globalized than the other part of the world.
- ✓ Reject that globalization would help to narrow the economic and technological gap that is still prevailing between the global north and the global South.
- ✓ Hence, for the skeptics, globalization is marked by **North-South** gap reflected in terms of the deeply rooted inequality and hierarchy.

The Transformationalist

- ✓ They accept that globalization is a critical driving force behind the rapid social, political and economic changes reshaping societies and international politics.
- ✓ Argue that the process of globalization is historically unprecedented that governments and societies are having to adapt to a world in which there is no a clear distinction between the international and domestic affairs.
- ✓ the central argument of transformationist view is the belief that globalization is reconstituting or reengineering the power, function and the authority of the state, however, it can't command sole control over trans-boundary issues, actors, resource movements
- ✓ They reject both the hyper globalist view of the **end of the sovereign state**
- ✓ as well as the Skeptics claim that **nothing much has changed**.
- ✓ argue that world order can no longer be conceived as purely State-Centric or even primarily managed by state
- ✓ However, this does not mean that the power of national government is necessarily diminished but on the contrary it is being redefined, reconstituted and restructured in response to the growing complexity of process of governance in a more interconnected world.

Globalization and Its Impact on Africa

- ✓ The impact of globalization on African in particular and other continents in general can be **social, cultural, economic and political**;
- ✓ Culturally and socially, globalization seems to be leading unavoidably to the homogenization of the world where US is taken as a model;
- ✓ Economically and politically, African states, like other poor countries, have been forced to adopt liberal economic and political model know as the **Washington Consensus** which includes trade liberalization, privatization;

- ✓ All these economic and political prescriptions are against the very socio-economic realities of the African states and finally lead to social unrest, political and social instability and poor performance of the state;
- ✓ This poor performance by African countries caused the rise of authoritarian regimes that have characterized by weakening the ability of African countries to deal effectively with globalization;
- ✓ Specific impacts of globalization on Africa are:
 - ✓ Politically the erosion of sovereignty on **economic** and **financial** matters;
 - ✓ However, there are other **positive impacts** of globalization on Africa like:
 - **The spread of democratic ideas,**
 - **promotion of human rights,**
 - **exposing its violations,**
 - **promoting transparency, openness and accountability in Africa.**

Pros and Cons of Globalization

Globalization has its merits and demerits

Merits of globalization

- ✓ The expansion of democratic culture, human right and the protection of historically minority and marginalized groups.
- ✓ Innovation in science, medicine, and technology and information communication has enabled the improvement of quality of life.
- ✓ technological and social revolution significantly contributed to advancement of human security and safety.
- ✓ free movement of good, service, people, ideas, expertise, knowledge and technology across national borders strengthened international interdependence.
- ✓ the responsibility of states to protect their citizens and the shared responsibility of the global society for protecting vulnerable groups.
- ✓ rapid economic growth in some countries of the south is attributed to globalization e.g. Asian nations

Demerits of Globalization

- ✓ the prevalence of a gnawing gap between rich and poor
- ✓ Imposition of Western Ideas and beliefs eroding the sovereignty of non-Western countries.

- ✓ climatic, environmental, disease and technological risks have multiplied.
- ✓ threats and vulnerabilities like
- ✓ global terrorism, religious fundamentalism, proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALWs), arms and human trafficking.
- ✓ globalization has stimulated the emergence a simultaneous but opposite process of *Glocalization*, which involves a process of integration to the world and differentiation to the local. This process has contributed to the rise of radical nationalism and ethnicity, which set the context for the emergence of the era of identity and identity conflicts.

Regionalism and Regional Integration

- ✓ Region can be defined as a limited number of states linked together by a geographical relationship and by a degree of mutual interdependence (Nye, 1968).
- ✓ Regionalism refers to intensifying political and/or economic processes of cooperation among states and other actors in particular geographic regions.
- ✓ Regionalism normally presents the sustained cooperation among governments, non-governmental organizations for mutual gains.
- ✓ Regionalization can be conceived as the growth of societal integration within a given region, including the processes of social and economic interaction
- ✓ it can be best understood as a continuing process of forming regions as geopolitical units, as organized political cooperation within a particular group of states.
- ✓ It is a process occurring in a given geographical region by which different types of actors (states, regional institutions, societal organizations and other non-state actors) come to share certain fundamental values and norms.

Theories of Regional Integrations

Functionalism

- ✓ Functionalist view regionalism as a functional response by states to the problems that derived from regional interdependence.
- ✓ It starts from technical and non-controversial issues and spills over into the realm of high politics and redefinition of group identity around the regional unit.
- ✓ the task of policy makers is to encourage the states to peacefully work together.
- ✓ Regional organizations builds up to cope with one common problem and **spill over** to other problems and areas of cooperation, which will deepen integration among member states.

- ✓ 'spill-over' is the key explanation of functionalist regionalism.
- ✓ There are two types of spill over
 - i. **functional spillover**: Argues that cooperation in one area would broaden and deepen further areas e.g. cooperation in economic field
 - ii. **political spillover**: existence of supranational institutions would set in motion a self-reinforcing process of institution building.
- ✓ The end-result would be a shift in loyalties from nationalism towards regionalism
- ✓ institutions possess or demands jurisdiction over the preexisting national states e.g. European Union is diminishing role of the nation-state

Inter-Governmentalism

- ✓ is a theory and approach that focus on the state for integration to succeed.
- ✓ It considers the state mainly as an actor in the international system and the integration process.
- ✓ integration can be considered as part of the rational choice of state actors
- ✓ It puts process of integration into three stages: **national preference formation, interstate bargaining** and **institutional choice**

Supra-nationalism

- ✓ Developed based on the theory of neo-functionalism which defined integration as a process
- ✓ 'Political integration is the process whereby political actors in national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities towards a new center or the supra national institution e.g. AL, EU,AU
- ✓ It argues that once supranational institutions are created, international interdependence grows, and interest groups or political party leaders can shift their loyalties from existing institutions or states to the new institution.

The Relations between Regionalization and Globalization

There are three options

- i. regionalization as a component of globalization (convergent trends)
- ii. regionalization as a challenge or response to globalization (divergent trends);
- iii. regionalization and globalization as parallel processes (overlapping trends)

1. **Convergent trend**

- ✓ regionalism understood as one component, or 'chapter' of globalization.
- ✓ regional integration will lead to multilateral cooperation on a global scale
- ✓ globalization may be expressed through regionalization

2. **Divergent trend**

- ✓ Sees regionalization as a challenge or response to globalization
- ✓ challenge the undemocratic and unavoidable economic rules of globalization.
- ✓ It might be also motivated by the denial of a single universal culture, ideology and needs the promotion of alternative social and political organizations .

3. **Overlapping trend**

- ✓ regionalization and globalization might act as parallel or overlapping processes in the areas of economics and security.

Chapter Five: Major Contemporary Global Issues

Survey of Major Contemporary Global Issues

1. Global Security Issues

These include Global Terrorism and nuclear proliferation

Global Terrorism

- ✓ The first thing about terrorism is its definition. ‘who gets to define terrorism and why?’ often complicates the task of defining terrorism. Indeed, the saying ‘some one’s terrorist is another’s freedom fighter’ is often presented as a **justification for the general acceptance of war as a legitimate instrument.**
- ✓ Terrorism is defined as a global security problem characterized by the use of violence in the form of hostage taking, bombing, hijacking and other indiscriminate attacks on civilian targets.
- ✓ Global communication and transport physical technologies helped the terrorists develop capacity to attack their targets. Terrorism continues to pose a major challenge for global security.

There are four different types of terrorist organizations

- **left wing terrorists,**
- **Right wing terrorists,**
- **ethno-nationalists/separatist terrorists and**
- **religious terrorists**

Factors Conducive to Terrorism

1. **socio-economic cause:** Eg. Economic and political isolation, feelings of hopelessness, violations of human rights, and the lack of democracy provides a fertile breeding ground for terrorism);
2. **political cause:** eg. Legitimate grievances and the failure of governments to adequately address problems, lack of democracy, and widespread and systematic violations of human rights often foment terrorism.
3. **psychological cause:** Eg. Humiliation

Types of Terrorism

- ✓ **Domestic terrorism:** occurs within the borders of a particular country and is associated with extremist groups.
- ✓ **Nationalist terrorism:** is closely associated with struggles for political autonomy and independence.
- ✓ **Religious terrorism:** grows out of extreme fundamentalist religious groups that believe that God is on their side and that their violence is divinely inspired and approved.
- ✓ **State terrorism:** is a cold, calculated, efficient, and extremely destructive form of Terrorism
- ✓ **Global terrorism:** is partly an outgrowth of the forces of globalization, which enable the different kinds of terrorism to spread worldwide.

Nuclear Weapons and Their Proliferations

- ✓ Fear of nuclear war dominated security planning during the cold war
- ✓ In the post-cold war period there is greater concern about nuclear proliferation – that is, the spread of nuclear weapons themselves and the technology and knowledge required to build them.
- ✓ the end of the cold war has not diminished the significance attached to nuclear weapons i.e., states desire to acquire nuclear weapons have increased.

Reasons for the spread of nuclear weapons

- ✓ For nuclear states, nuclear weapons play some positive role in providing security.
- ✓ non-nuclear states who have lost the guarantee of **extended deterrence** or security protection by nuclear states, demanded to have their own nuclear arsenals. eg. Japan's desire to have nuclear weapons should the US stops its nuclear protection.
- ✓ the combination of the loss of extended deterrence with regional dynamics. Eg. Pakistan felt vulnerable to attacks from India because the United States has scaled back its support for.
- ✓ India, lost the backing of the Soviet Union, in turn feels vulnerable to both **Pakistan** and **China**. In 1998 both India and Pakistan became nuclear states.
- ✓ the contrasting experiences of Iraq and North Korea suggest strong incentives to proliferate fast and establish deterrence.

2. Global Environmental Issues

- ✓ problems of environmental degradation are transboundary in nature and therefore need an international solution.

- ✓ Global Environmental Issues include climate change and global warming
- ✓ Climate change poses numerous and harsh challenges for sustainable development and its effects are felt in all regions of the globe.
- ✓ Degree of vulnerability varies with developing countries and the poor which have contributed the least to global warming but are suffering the most

Global Inequality and Poverty

- ✓ Economic inequality refers between the **economic gap** between the rich and the poor.
- ✓ economic disparities remained a serious problem in developing countries,
- ✓ Various factors contributed for economic inequality in developing countries. For instance, **incompetent leadership, wrong economic policies, mal administration, corruption, poor state-society relations , law work ethics, conflict, war or civil war** etc.
- ✓ The forces of globalization created conditions that helped widen the gap between rich and poor in industrialized societies.
- ✓ Extreme inequality perpetuates poverty and the concentration of economic and political power and reduces economic efficiency.
- ✓ It strengthens inequality-perpetuating institutions in three ways:
 - *Inequality discourages the political participation of poor people, which, in turn, diminishes their access to education, health care, and economic growth and development.*
 - *Inequality often prevents the building and proper functioning of impartial institutions and observance of the rule of law.*
 - *Inequality enables the wealthy to refuse to compromise politically or economically which further weakens poor societies .*

Inequality among as well as within nations has direct and indirect implications for globalization. Countries may adopt protectionist policies and disengage, from the global economy. It also cause terrorism, the environment, and the spread of infectious diseases.

3. Migration and refugee problems

International migration and refugee have become more prominent on the international agenda because of their increasing scale and growing impact on international affairs. Several factors account for global migration and refugee problems

- ✓ the number of states increased since the end of the First World War

- ✓ a rapid increase in the world's population which led for over exploitation of regional resources, leading on occasions to catastrophic famine and population movement.
- ✓ the revolution in communications and transportation has made people aware of conditions and opportunities in other parts of the world.
- ✓ the turmoil and uncertainty and unstable world place motivating people to search abroad for a better life.

Migration and refugee are now seen as central political issues by most governments in the world. Migrants and refugees to most advanced countries are becoming the target of animosity from **right-wing** groups who regard migrants and refugees as causing high level of unemployment and decline in general living standard. e.g. anti migrants and refugees movement in Europe.

4. Global Cultural Issues

Cultural Imperialism

- ✓ Cultural imperialism is the result of cultural globalization- a process whereby information, commodities and images that have been produced in one part of the world enter into a global flow that tends to 'flatten out' cultural differences between nations, regions and individuals.
- ✓ This has sometimes been portrayed as a process of '**McDonaldization**'.
- ✓ **McDonaldization** is the process whereby global commodities and commercial and marketing practices associated with the fast-food industry have come to dominate more and more economic sectors.
- ✓ Cultural globalization is fuelled by **information revolution, the spread of satellite communication, telecommunications networks, information technology and internet and global media** corporations.
- ✓ The popular image of globalization is that it is a top-down process, the establishment of a single global system that imprints itself on all parts of the world.
- ✓ Globalization is linked to homogenization as cultural diversity are declining in a world.
- ✓ Globalization has in some ways fashioned more complex patterns of social and cultural diversity in both developing and developed states.
- ✓ In developing states western consumer goods and images have been absorbed into more traditional cultural practices through a process of indigenization.

Cultural (civilizational) clash and identity conflicts

- ✓ Culture and nationalism have generally been closely intertwined.

- ✓ Leaders usually draw upon cultural similarities to diminish tensions and, conversely, upon cultural differences and hatreds to promote conflict.
- ✓ all societies, directly or indirectly, promote their values as positive and desirable while, simultaneously, devaluing those of other societies
- ✓ Ethnocentrism (thinking and valuing only your own) as a behavior is likely to develop (being developing).
- ✓ The more culturally distinct the other society is perceived to be, the more inferior it is often deemed to be and thus suitable for negative treatment.
- ✓ In line with this logic, the famous political scientist S.P. Huntington has also developed what he calls '**clash-of-civilizations**' which explains contemporary global conflicts in terms of cultural differences.
- ✓ For Huntington, civilizations will be the dividing lines in future global politics and it is the clash of these civilizations that would primarily define the feature of 21st century global order.
- ✓ Huntington argues that there are eight major civilizations in the world: **Western, Confucian, Japanese, Islamic, Hindu, Slavic-Orthodox, Latin American, and African.**

The clash-of-civilizations theory thus stresses that there exists and will continue to exist conflict instead of cooperation among civilizations.