

INR



NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

**COURSE CODE: INR272**

**CREDIT UNITS: 3**

**COURSE TITLE: NEW STATES IN WORLD POLITICS**



**INR 272**

**NEW STATES IN WORLD POLITICS**

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**NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA**

## **COURSE DESCRIPTION**

Welcome to INR 272 New States in world politics. It is available for students in the undergraduate International Relations and Diplomacy programme. The course provides an opportunity for students to acquire a detailed knowledge and critical understanding of the ways in which the related phenomena of New states in International Relations and Politics. The goal of this module is to bring to bear the understanding that while the Westphalia treaty of 1648 addresses the question of what a state is and what its attribute are, there are states that are older than others, using the parameters of age and development as yardstick for measurement. The module addresses the intrigues of international politics and the current world order which puts new states in the position which they are. It provides discuss on the phenomenon of State sponsored terrorism among other issues germane to new states. In the end students should be able to posture of new states in the current world order.

This course guide provides you with the necessary information about the contents of the course and the materials you will need to be familiar with for a proper understanding of the subject matter. It is designed to help you to get the best of the course by enabling you to think productively about the principles underlying the issues you study and the projects you execute in the course of your study and thereafter. It also provides some guidance on the way to approach your tutor-marked assignments (TMAs). You will of course receive on-the-spot guidance from your tutorial classes, which you are advised to approach with all seriousness. Overall, this module will fill an important niche in the study of International Politics as a sub-field of International Studies, which has been missing from the pathway of Politics and International Relations programmes offered in most departments.

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## INTRODUCTION

The course provides an opportunity for students to acquire a detailed knowledge and critical understanding of the ways in which the related phenomena of New states in International Relations and Politics. The goal of this module is to bring to bear the understanding that while the Westphalia treaty of 1648 addresses the question of what a state is and what its attribute are, there are states that are older than others, using the parameters of age and development as yardstick for measurement. The module addresses the intrigues of international politics and the current world order which puts new states in the position which they are. It provides discuss on the phenomenon of State sponsored terrorism among other issues germane to new states. In the end students should be able to posture of new states in the current world order.

## COURSE AIM AND OBJECTIVES

The general aim of this course is to provide an in-depth analysis of the UN peacekeeping operations and humanitarian efforts while exploring the dynamics of its interventions in the world affairs with reference to selected case studies.

The specific objectives of the course are to:

- a) Inspire learners on the origin and structure of the contemporary state in international relations.
- b) Educate learners on the Nationalism and Politics of New State in World Politics
- c) Enlighten learners on Challenges faced by new states in World politics.
- d) Discuss the phenomenon of terrorism and state sponsored terrorism in world politics

## **WORKING THROUGH THE COURSE**

To complete the course, you are required to read the study units and other related materials. You will also need to undertake practical exercises for which you need a pen, a note-book, and other materials that will be listed in this guide. The exercises are to aid you in understanding the concepts being presented. At the end of each unit, you will be required to submit written assignment for assessment purposes.

At the end of the course, you will be expected to write a final examination.

## **COURSE MATERIALS**

- i. Course guide
- ii. Study units
- iii. Textbooks
- iv. Assignment file
- v. Presentation schedule.

## **STUDY UNITS**

INR 272 is a 3-Credit Unit 200 Level course for undergraduate International Studies students. There are four modules in this course, and each module is made up of three units. Thus, there are 16 study units in this course in the whole text. Some units may be longer and/or more in depth than others, depending on the scope of the course that is in focus. The four modules in the course are as follows:

### **MODULE 1: THE STATE**

Unit 1 Origins and Theories of State

Unit 2 The State and Nation: Characteristics And Functions

Unit 3 The State and Sovereignty

Unit 4 State, Power, Authority and Legitimacy

### **MODULE 2: NEW STATES IN WORLD POLITICS**

Unit 1 Theoretical/Conceptual Explanation of New States in World Politics

Unit 2 Characteristics of New States in World Politics

Unit 3 State Actors in International Relations  
Unit 4 Challenges of New States in World Politics

### **MODULE 3: NATIONALISM AND POLITICS OF NEW STATES**

Unit 1 Nationalism  
Unit 2 Nationalism of New States in Africa and Asia  
Unit 3 Politics of New States in Africa and Asia  
Unit 4 States and International Order

### **MODULE 4: TERRORISM, STATE SPONSORED TERRORISM AND THE NEW STATES**

Unit 1 Understanding Terrorism  
Unit 2 Concept, Indicators, Forms of State Sponsored Terrorism  
Unit 3 Iran, Pakistan and State Sponsored Terrorism  
Unit 4 Boko Haram Terrorism and the Nigerian State

Each module is preceded by a listing of the units contained in it, and contents, an introduction, a list of objectives and the main content in turn precedes each unit, including Self-Assessment exercises (SAEs).

### **TEXTBOOKS AND REFERENCES**

At the end of each unit, you will find a list of relevant reference materials which you may yourself wish to consult as the need arises, even though I have made efforts to provide you with the most important information you need to pass this course. However, I would encourage you, as a thINR year student to cultivate the habit of consulting as many relevant materials as you are able to within the time available to you. In particular, be sure to consult whatever material you are advised to consult before attempting any exercise.

### **ASSESSMENT**

Two types of assessment are involved in the course: the Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs), and the Tutor-Marked Assessment (TMA) questions. Your answers to the SAEs are not meant to be submitted, but they are also important since they give you an opportunity to assess your own understanding of course content.

### **FINAL EXAMINATION AND GRADING**

The final examination for **INR 272** will take three hours and carry 70% of the total course grade.

The examination questions will reflect the SAEs and TMAs that you have already worked on. I advise you to spend the time between your completion of the last unit and the examination revising the entire course. You will certainly find it helpful to also review both your SAEs and TMAs before the examination.

### **HOW TO GET THE MOST FROM THIS COURSE**

1. There are 16 units in this course. You are to spend one week in each unit. In distance learning, the study units replace the university lecture. This is one of the great advantages of distance learning; you can read and work through specially designed study materials at your own pace, and at a time and place that suits you best. Think of it as reading the lecture instead of listening to the lecturer. In the same way a lecturer might give you some reading to do. The study units tell you when to read and which are your text materials or recommended books. You are provided exercises to do at appropriate points, just as a lecturer might give you in a class exercise.
2. Each of the study units follows a common format. The first item is an introduction to the subject matter of the unit, and how a particular unit is integrated with other units and the course as a whole. Next to this is a set of learning objectives. These objectives let you know what you should be able to do, by the time you have completed the unit. These learning objectives are meant to guide your study. The moment a unit is finished, you must go back and check whether you have achieved the objectives. If this is made a habit, then you will significantly improve your chance of passing the course.
3. The main body of the unit guides you through the required reading from other sources. This will usually be either from your reference or from a reading section.
4. The following is a practical strategy for working through the course. If you run into any trouble, telephone your tutor or visit the study centre nearest to you. Remember that your tutor's job is to help you. When you need assistance, do not hesitate to call and ask your tutor to provide it.
5. Read this course guide thoroughly. It is your first assignment.
6. Organise a study schedule - Design a 'Course Overview' to guide you through the course. Note the time you are expected to spend on each unit and how the assignments relate to the units.
7. Important information; e.g. details of your tutorials and the date of the first day of the semester is available at the study centre.
8. You need to gather all the information into one place, such as your diary or a wall calendar. Whatever method you choose to use, you should decide on and write in your own dates and schedule of work for each unit.
9. Once you have created your own study schedule, do everything to stay faithful to it.



10. The major reason that students fail is that they get behind in their coursework. If you get into difficulties with your schedule, please let your tutor or course coordinator know before it is too late for help.
11. Turn to Unit 1, and read the introduction and the objectives for the unit.
12. Assemble the study materials. You will need your references for the unit you are studying at any point in time.
13. As you work through the unit, you will know what sources to consult for further information.
14. Visit your study centre whenever you need up-to-date information.
15. Well before the relevant online TMA due dates, visit your study centre for relevant information and updates. Keep in mind that you will learn a lot by doing the assignment carefully. They have been designed to help you meet the objectives of the course and, therefore, will help you pass the examination.
16. Review the objectives for each study unit to confirm that you have achieved them. If you feel unsure about any of the objectives, review the study materials or consult your tutor. When you are confident that you have achieved a unit's objectives, you can start on the next unit. Proceed unit by unit through the course and try to space your study so that you can keep yourself on schedule.
17. After completing the last unit, review the course and prepare yourself for the final examination. Check that you have achieved the unit objectives (listed at the beginning of each unit) and the course objectives (listed in the course guide).

## **COURSE MARKING SCHEME**

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

<b>ASSESSMENT</b>	<b>MARKS</b>
Four assignments (the best four of all the assignments submitted for marking)	Four assignments, each marked out of 10%, but highest scoring three selected, thus totaling 30%
Final Examination	70% of overall course score
<b>Total</b>	<b>100% of course score</b>

## COURSE OVERVIEW PRESENTATION SCHEME

Units	Title of Work	Week activity	Assignment (end- of-unit)
<b>Course guide</b>	<b>Religion, Ethnicity and Nationalism in International Politics</b>		
<b>Module 1</b>	<b>The State</b>		
Unit 1	Origins and Theories of State	Week 1	Assignment 1
Unit 2	The State and Nation: Characteristics And Functions	Week 2	Assignment 1
Unit 3	The State and Sovereignty	Week 3	Assignment 1
Unit 4	State, Power, Authority and Legitimacy	Week 4	Assignment 1
<b>Module 2</b>	<b>New States in World Politics</b>		
Unit 1	Theoretical/Conceptual Explanation of New States in World Politics	Week 5	Assignment 1
Unit 2	Characteristics of New States in World Politics	Week 6	Assignment 1
Unit 3	State Actors in International Relations	Week 7	Assignment 1
Unit 4	Challenges of New States in World Politics	Week 8	Assignment 1
<b>Module 3</b>	<b>Nationalism and Politics of New States</b>		
Unit 1	Nationalism	Week 9	Assignment 1
Unit 2	Nationalism of New States in Africa and Asia	Week 10	Assignment 1
Unit 3	Politics of New States in Africa and Asia	Week 11	Assignment 1
Unit 4	States and International Order	Week 12	Assignment 1
<b>Module 4</b>	<b>Terrorism, State Sponsored Terrorism and the New States</b>		
Unit 1	Understanding Terrorism	Week 13	Assignment 1
Unit 2	Concept, Indicators, Forms of State Sponsored Terrorism	Week 14	Assignment 1
Unit 3	Iran, Pakistan and State Sponsored Terrorism	Week 15	Assignment 1
Unit 4	Boko Haram Terrorism and the Nigerian State	Week 16	Assignment 1

## **WHAT YOU WILL NEED FOR THIS COURSE**

First, I think it will be of immense help to you if you try to review what you studied at 100 level in the course, *Introduction to International Studies*, to refresh your mind of what strategy is about. Second, you may need to purchase one or two texts recommended as important for your mastery of the course content. You need quality time in a study-friendly environment every week. If you are computer-literate (which ideally you should be), you should be prepared to visit recommended websites. You should also cultivate the habit of visiting reputable institutional or public libraries accessible to you.

## **FACILITATORS/TUTORS AND TUTORIALS**

There are sixteen (16) hours of tutorials provided in support of the course. You will be notified of the dates and location of these tutorials, together with the name and phone number of your tutor as soon as you are allocated a tutorial group. Your tutor will mark and comment on your assignments, and keep a close watch on your progress. Be sure to send in your tutor-marked assignments promptly, and feel free to contact your tutor in case of any difficulty with your self- assessment exercise, tutor-marked assignment or the grading of an assignment. In any case, I advise you to attend the tutorials regularly and punctually. Always take a list of such prepared questions to the tutorials and participate actively in the discussions.

## **CONCLUSION**

This is a theoretical as well as empirical course and so, you will get the best out of it if you can read wide, listen to as well as examine activities of new state in world.

## **SUMMARY**

This Course Guide has been designed to furnish the information you need for a fruitful experience in the course. In the final analysis, how much you get from the course depends on how much you put into it in terms of time, effort and planning.

I wish you success in **INR 272** and in the whole programme!

## **REFERENCES FOR FURTHER READINGS**

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Appadorai, A., (2004), *Substance of Politics*, Oxford University Press, London Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Zed Books.

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## ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AIIB	Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank
AQAP	Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula
AQI	Al-Qaeda in Iraq
AQIM	Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb
AU	African Union
BH	Boko Haram
BRI	Belt and Road Initiative
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investments

GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HDI	Human Development Index
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICJ	International Court of Justice
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IR	International Relations
IRGC	Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corp
ISIS	Islamic State in Iraq and Syria
JeM	Jaish-e-Mohammed
JIBWIS	<i>Jama 'at izalat al-bid'a wa iqamat al Sunna</i>
LDC	Less Developed Countries
LEDC	Least Economically Developed Countries
LeT	Lashkar-e-Taiba
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NATO	North Atlantic Trade Organization
OUA	Organisation of African Unity
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organisation
SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organisation
UN	United Nations
UNCLOS	United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea
UNDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
US	United States
USA	United States of America
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction
WTO	World Trade Organization

## **MODULE 1 THE STATE**

The main purpose of this module is to enable you gain in-depth knowledge on the concept of the state in International Politics. Students develop a practical understanding of origin and theories of the state, differentiate between state and the nation, understand the important nexus between state and sovereignty, finally understand the relationship between state, power, authority and legitimacy.

Subsequently, you will find the comprehensive explanations on module 1 under the following four units:

Unit 1: The Origins and Theories of State

Unit 2: The State And Nation: Characteristics And Functions

Unit 3: The State and Sovereignty

Unit 4: State, Power, Authority and Legitimacy

## **UNIT 1: THE ORIGINS AND THEORIES OF STATE**

### **Unit Structure**

- 1.1. Introduction
- 1.2. Learning Outcomes
- 1.3. The Origins and development of the modern State
- 1.4. Theories on Origin of the State
- 1.5. Appraisal of the Theories
- 1.6. Summary
- 1.7. References/Further Reading/Web Sources
- 1.8. Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

### **1.1 Introduction**

This Unit discusses the history and evolution of the state from its early days as city-states until it developed into the modern country-states. It also examines different theories of the state and finally did a brief appraisal of these different theories, under two broad classifications as theory of divinity and theory of destiny. There are many theories on the origins of the state. Each of these theories gave different reasons why the state came about and became an arena for political activities

### **1.2 Learning Outcomes**

At the end of this unit, you are expected to:

- describe the origins and evolution of the state as a political institution
- explain different theories of the nature of a state
- analyse and appraise different theories in order to know which of them fully captures the essence of the state as a political concept.

### **1.3 Main Content**

#### **1.3 The Origins and development of the modern State**

##### **1.3.1 The City-state**

The city-state was an organized society of people living in what the Greeks called “polis.” The Greek-city state shared three basic characteristics: small size, love of independence and all-inclusiveness. Appadorai (2004:175-7) has suggested that geographical factor may be responsible for this preference for small size in the days of the Greek city-states. Greece is a land dotted and interspersed with mountains and small valleys, making it impossible for big, linear settlements. Consequently, this natural division encouraged the development of small and separate communities, popularly called the city-states. The Greek city-states also preferred their separate independent status, for reasons that ranged from freedom to practice their different religions, and to pursue different economic activities. By its nature, a city-state was an isolated

community that rarely admits of stranger that could possibly pollute its purity. Citizenship status or rights could only be granted by virtue of birth. All the activities of the state: political, economic and social were restricted to the city. According to Aristotle, a city-state must be large enough to be economically viable or self-supporting, but must not be too large as to prevent unity or personal feelings among its members. The city-state also approximates to the Platonic notion of an ideal state: something that is close to the idea of an individual, in which if a part of the body suffers, other parts will feel it and sympathize with the affected part, in the manner of the saying that the “pain of the toe is that of the whole body”. However, the city-states could not endure for long and had to collapse because of quarrels and disagreements among them, which peaked when a powerful state in the north, under Philip of Macedon, emerged. In contemporary time the Vatican with its seat in Rome, because it fulfills the features of modern sovereign states of the post 1648 Treaty of Westphalia can be regarded as a city-state.

### 1.3.2 The Nation-State

The modern state is a nation-state, which is larger than the city-state. Its territory is far bigger and larger beyond the capital city. While in city-states like Athens the citizens are called the Athenians, a name derived from its capital, Athens, this is not the case in a modern state. In a modern state, the citizens of Britain or India are not called Londoners or Delhians, their respective capital cities. Rather they are called Britons or Indians. Other features of the modern country-state include the followings:

- (i) In a nation-state because of its size, only indirect democracy or representative government is possible, unlike in a city-state where participatory or direct democracy is the rule.
- (ii) The modern state also faces more daunting social, economic and political challenges and problems due to its complexity than a city-state.

#### Self-Assessment Exercise 1

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.*

1. *The city-state was an organized society of people living in what the Greeks called \_\_\_\_\_*
2. *The modern state is a....., which is larger than the city-state*
3. *According to .....a city-state must be large enough to be economically viable or self-supporting, but must not be too large as to prevent unity or personal feelings among its members.*

### 1.4 Theories on the Origins of the State

There are many theories on how and when the state came into existence. The origin of state has,



over the centuries, generated disagreements among scholars. While some have argued that the institution of the state originated from the will of God (the fall of man from the Garden of Eden), others proffered different theories. We will examine these different theories in this section.

#### **1.4.1 The Natural Theory**

According to Aristotle, human by nature are social beings; that is they naturally gather and interact among themselves in a community. Beyond the biological necessity for this interaction, human beings also find more fulfillments when they come together socially. This coming together in a community or state is the only way men seek to achieve moral perfection. This therefore makes the state the natural environment in which a man could be truly human, and as Aristotle pointed out; an individual outside the state is either “a beast or a god.”

#### **1.4.2 The Force Theory**

The force theory has two components: the negative and the positive. The negative conception of the force theory states that the state was created by conquest and force, i.e. by the forceful subjugation of the weak by the strong. A powerful group of bold and cunning men got together and made themselves masters over the rest of the society. They took over the resources of the society, ran it in their own interest, thereby making the rest of the people their servants. The Greek Sophist, Thrusy Machus once observed: “Justice is the interest of the stronger.” Marx equally shares this view when he agrees that the conquest band imposes her dominion on the conquered. Machiavelli was also a fanatical believer in force theory when he admonished every prince (leader) to combine force with guile in order to sustain himself in power.

In some respects, it could be argued that Rousseau is also of this view when he argued, “the strongest is never strong enough to always be master, unless he transforms strength into right and obedience into duty”. During the inter war years, Benito Mussolini and Adolf Hitler used the force theory to convert Italy and Germany into a police and totalitarian state respectively. Mussolini’s idea of a police state is the forerunner of what is today known as Statism. According to him, the State has mystical properties; it is the centre of life, with incomparable purpose and meaning. Just as individual has a personality and a will of its own, the State, Mussolini argued, draw from each developing a personality and will of its own. The will of the state is therefore a measure of values, virtue and wisdom. As the late Italian fascist declared: “The power of the state is total and commitment of the individual must be total...everything for the state; nothing against the state: nothing outside the state”. Likewise, Hitler employed German mythology, elitism, militarism and the concept of a corporate state to foist a one-man power regime in Germany. Hitler declared: When those with the greatest will to power dominated others, the most perfect possible existence would have been achieved...It is evident that the stronger has the right before God and the world to enforce his will” (quoted in Baradat 2000:251). All the scholars quoted above are all in agreement with Coulumbi who wrote, “Consideration of justice arises between parties of equal strength, and there is no dishonor, but only prudence when the weak capitulate to the poor.” Maclves is however one scholar who was opposed to force, since

according to him force is destructive violence. “Force does not create right.” History has also shown that though many leaders have acquired power through force (revolution) but not all have been able to keep the power thus acquired through the same means. Due to this origin, the state is sometimes viewed as an evil contrivance that could be resisted in a righteous cause. Harold Laski (1982) was of this view when he described rebellion against the state as a contingent duty of a citizen, especially if it departs from its utilitarian purpose. This conception of the state has therefore given encouragements to revolutionary groups who consider opposition to the state as a worthy and altruistic cause. Thus, in history we saw the rejection of the doctrine of the two swords (Roman Catholic doctrine) by the Protestants, as well as the challenge of the monarchical tyranny by the Republicans. On the other hand, the positive conception of the force theory developed in 19th century Germany. Rather than being born of, or the incarnate of evil, it is force that is said to dignify the state (Baradat, 2000:52). The concept of “might is right” is meant to legitimize the rule of the strong over the weak. Nietzsche, a prominent member of this school argues that by institutionalizing the power of the strong over the weak the state was doing the right thing; since the weak should be ruled by the strong.

### **1.4.3 The Divine Rights of the King Theory**

This theory states that state is of supernatural authority that was created by God and that God appointed some people to preside over the government of a state on His behalf. In other words, the Chiefs, Emperors, Presidents are said to be anointed or very close to God, hence the subjects must obey them. Disobeying them means direct opposition to God. The divine Theory was used to justify the rule of monarchs as best exemplified in the rule of the Tudors in Britain. As Appadorai (2004:229) explains “monarchy is a divinely ordained institution”; Kings are accountable only to God only; and non-resistance and passive obedience are enjoined by God.” Other example of leaders who have claimed divine right in both ancient and modern governments include the Hindu Maharajahs, who was regarded as the incarnate of the God Krishna, the Egyptian kings reputed to be the son of Ra, and the Mikados of Japan who was said to have carried the claim to divine right to rule to the extreme, when they asserted that they were the incarnations of the sun-God who ruled the entire universe.

### **1.4.4 The Social Contract Theory**

There are many versions of this theory. However, the kernel of the theory is that government came into existence because of a contract between the ruler(s) and the ruled. The understanding is that individuals surrender their rights to rule themselves to the government or a constituted authority, with the hope of getting security and every necessities of life in return. However, why the contract was established or how did it happen, is where opinion differs.

### **1.4.5 Thomas Hobbes’s version**

His version of the social contract appeared in his popular book *The Leviathan*. According to Hobbes, in the beginning men were living in a “state of nature” where life was “poor, solitary,

nasty, brutish and short.” In order to free themselves from the state of nature, which was characterized by selfishness and unbridled desires, men decided to surrender all liberties to one man (the leviathan or king) or an assembly of men. The aim was to transform the state of nature with its insecurity of life and property to a civil society, where peace and order prevails. This was the origin of social contract or as observed by Hobbes, the creation of the great leviathan. Hobbes wrote the Leviathan in 17th Century England to justify the restoration of the Stuart dynasty. Hobbes’ Leviathan was a response to the problem of social order, and was specifically meant to regulate the relations between society and man, and between the sovereign and the citizen. In England of the 17th Century, the forces of absolutism in alliance with Anglican traditionalism were in competition with those of puritan reform that was in league with parliamentary assertiveness. To justify the absolute power he recommended for the monarch or Leviathan, Hobbes had to appeal to natural law (Nisbet, 1973:24). There are also John Locke and J. J. Rousseau’s versions of the theory of Social Contract that are different from that of Hobbes’ only in emphasis but not in substance.

#### **1.4.6 The Marxian Theory**

The basic claim of this theory is that in the beginning, life was not in a state of nature, but was peaceful. There were no selfish people who harbored egoistic interest of appropriating the resources of the society, for their selfish interest, as the society’s resource were shared fairly equally by every member of the society. According to the Marxists, this period was known as communalism. However, with the collapse of communalism came feudalism. This period witnessed the emergence of social fragmentation. Some powerful individuals assumed the status of the lords and took over total control over the means of production. Other members of the society were relegated to the status of serfs and were used by the lords as instruments of production on their property. Those serfs had no property of their own and the feudal lords appropriated all that was produced through their labor. During the feudal epoch, the lords formed a government that protected their personal safety and property, and the government kept their serfs under perpetual subjection. After the demise of feudalism, especially in Western Europe, came capitalism. In the capitalist epoch of development, those who control the means of production are the industrial bourgeoisie and their main instrument of production is the proletariat. In the capitalist state, the government that emerged was that of the bourgeoisie. Hence, Marx and Engels declared in The Manifesto of the Communist Party that the “executive of the modern state is a committee of the bourgeoisie.” All laws made in every capitalist state are meant to protect private property or to be specific, protect the properties (banks, industries, cars etc) of the capitalists. The bourgeoisie controls the government and monopolizes the instruments of coercion to protect their private interests. The Marxists further argue that after the demise of the capitalist state, a socialist state will be instituted under which the government will impose its dictatorship on the bourgeoisie. However, after all pockets of resistance by the bourgeoisie and injustice have been completely eliminated, the state will wither away and give way to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

#### **1.4.7 The Family Theory**

There are also different versions of this theory; however, there is a consensus among the versions that the state or government started from the family and expanded to the clan or kinship group, to the community and finally the state was created. This means that a single family expanded and the rules made by parents of the nuclear family were transferred to the enlarged family, which later on developed to the level of the modern state. Hence, Maclver has observed that government is continuous by the more inclusive society of a process of regulation that is already highly developed within the family. How this happened is where opinion differs.

#### **1.4.8 Sir Henry Maine and the Patriarchal Theory**

Maine has argued vehemently that the modern State or government is traceable to the male decent in every family hence; the evolution of the state is patriarchal in nature. His arguments run as follows: The unit of primitive society was the family in which the eldest male parent was supreme. His power extended to life and death and was as qualified over his children and their houses as masters over his slaves. The single family breathes up into many families, which all held together under the head of first family (the chief or patriarch) becomes the tribe. An aggregation of tribes makes the state. In his own opinion, Millenar believed that the state evolved matriarchal. It is a contention that the primitive group had no common male head and that Kinship among them could be traced only through the woman. That it is only through the women, that blood relationship can be traced and not through men. Hence, he observed that, “maternity is a fact, paternity an opinion.”

#### **1.4.9 Evolutionary Theory**

This theory considers the state mechanism, neither a divine institution nor as a deliberate human contrivance; but sees the emergence of the state as a result of natural evolution. However, J. W. Burgess is of the view that the evolution of the state has been due to a gradual and continuous development of human society out of a gross imperfect beginning, through crude but improving forms of manifestation towards a perfect and universal organization of humanity. Sharing this view, conservative British philosopher Edmund Burke (1729-1797) believed that the state evolved out of a complex set of human needs and that neither these needs nor the characteristics of the state can be totally understood through human reason. He therefore advised against tampering with existing institutions and social relationships because they are the sinews that hold society together. Furthermore, Greece et al (1976) has observed that the ancient Greeks gave the evolutionary or natural theory of the state, its highest prominence. They had viewed man as inseparable from the state, which they considered not only a necessity for human survival, but also the means whereby man could achieve the “good life.” Aristotle assessed that man was “by nature a political animal” who could fulfill himself only through the state and that man outside the state was indeed, not a man at all, but either a god or a beast.

## Self-Assessment Exercise 2

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.*

1. *Maine has argued vehemently that the modern State or government is traceable to the \_\_\_\_\_ in every family hence*
2. *The basic claim of .....theory is that in the beginning, life was not in a state of nature, but was peaceful.*
3. *According to ..... Theory, the state mechanism, neither a divine institution nor as a deliberate human contrivance; but sees the emergence of the state as a result of natural evolution*
4. *The negative conception of the force theory states that the state was created by conquest and .....*

### **1.5 Appraisal of the Theories of the State**

We can broadly classify the theories discussed above into two; and to use Saint Augustine's terminology, one serving the city of God, and the other the city of man: one spiritual and the order temporal. In its early days, the state was subsumed within the Church. Nevertheless, in the wake of the successive impact of the Renaissance, Reformation and Enlightenment, otherwise called the Age of Reason, the doctrine of the infallibility of the Papacy was challenged. The decline in the primacy of the Church in secular matters was assisted by what was called the indulgences. What is today known as corruption of the leadership of the Church was initially mildly challenged by Erasmus, and later more forcefully by Luther, who led the revolt against the Church and the demand for the separation of the State from the Church. But in spite of its defects or imperfections, until it yielded to the temporal order, the spiritual order from which the theory of Divine Right of the King found its justification, remained an anchor of societal stability.

The rise in secularism-the increasing attention to non-religious values marked the beginning of the emphasis on private initiatives in economic matters, and human rights in politics. Yet, it was realized that individualism if left without control or check could resort to anarchy. Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and J. J. Rousseau, the prime philosophers of this era all agreed that individual should be free, but they disagreed on the definition of freedom, or the limits to be imposed on the exercise of this freedom. Hobbes argued that freedom was possible only when the individuals in society subordinate themselves completely to the monarchs, hence his Leviathan. Locke, a liberal believed that freedom could be maximized when the individual was left alone; hence his preference for parliamentary republic, while Rousseau preferred an

“infallible” general would, through the democratic process (Baradat, 2000:64-5).

Historically, the Greek city-state where direct democracy was practiced was the highest expression of individualism, at least in political matters. Similarly, Adam Smith’s notion of the “invisible hands” in his *The Wealth of Nations*, before the rise of Mercantilism, known today as state’s involvement in business foreign trade is its equivalent in the economic realm.

### Self-Assessment Exercise 3

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 3 minutes.*

- 1. Historically, the .....city-state where direct democracy was practiced was the highest expression of individualism, at least in political matters*
- 2. In its early days, the state was subsumed within the .....*
- 3. The rise in .....-the increasing attention to non-religious values marked the beginning of the emphasis on private initiatives in economic matters, and human rights in politics.*

### 1.6 Summary

In this unit, we have examined the origins of the state from the period it began from the simple city-state to the more complex and modern country-state of today. We also discussed different theories of the state, and finally did an appraisal of these theories, thereby taking our discussion from the realm of theoretical exposition to a practical level of analysis.

The institution of the state emerged as a political necessity in order to cope with the need of man when he changed from being a wandering into a settled being. Without claiming to be holistic in how they conceived the state, each of the theorists on the origins of the state examined the state from different angles. The correct approach you should take as students is not to accept one theory and reject the others, but how you can reconcile or combine these theories in order to have a more comprehensive view of the state.

### 1.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources

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## 1.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAE1

1. *Polis*
2. *Nation State*
3. *Aristotle,*

Answers to SAE2

1. *male decent*
2. *Marxist*
3. *Evolutionary*
4. *force*

Answers to SAE3

1. *Greek*
2. *Church*
3. *secularism*

## UNIT 2: THE STATE AND NATION: CHARACTERISTICS AND FUNCTIONS

Unit Structure

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcomes
- 2.3 The Concept and Characteristics of a State
- 2.4 The Functions of the State
- 2.5 The Class character of the State
- 2.6 Concept and features of a Nation
- 2.7 Summary
- 2.8 References/Further Reading
- 2.9 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

### 2.1 Introduction

In this unit, we will continue our discussion on the concept of the state. We will however proceed from the discussion on the theories of the origins of the state to a more practical level of examining the features and characteristics of the state. We will also discuss the functions of the state, where an attempt will be made to make distinction between the state and government and between a state and a nation/nation-state.

## 2.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- explain the meaning and characteristics of a state
- discuss functions and purposes of a state within a society
- differentiate between the state, nation and nation-state.

## 2.3 Definition and Characteristics of a State

Scholars have approached the concept of a state and its definitions from different perspectives. Harold Laski (1982) defines a state as “a territorial society divided into government and subjects claiming within its allotted physical area, a supremacy over all other institutions. In this definition, four elements can be identified: people, territory, government and sovereignty. Although, the words ‘state’ and ‘nation’ are closely related, they do not mean the same thing. The term state applies to that political authority which maintains domination over a specific geographical area. It is the means by which the people are organized for the purposes of legal coercion. To Borlatsky (1978) the state mechanism is usually regarded as “an autonomous entity set-off from the society by a system of norms, rules and prejudices that reflect a certain specialization of labor within the society.”

On his part, Marx Weber (1964) defines the state as “a regime or supreme authority, which gives order to all and receives orders from all.” Northedge (1971) also gave an international dimension to the state when he defines it as a means by which people are organized for participation in the international system. This conceptualization is closer to that of Woodrow Wilson who defines a state as “a people organized for law within a political community. Karl Marx introduced the ideological dimension to his definition, when he defines the modern state as “a committee for managing the affairs of the whole bourgeoisie”. Common to all these conceptualizations is that above all, the state is a political community that recognizes the importance of law in its internal organization and its external relations. A state also functions within a deliberately structured institutional framework. It possesses compulsory jurisdiction over those who live within its territory. Employing his inimitable expressive language to compare the state with other associations, Harold Laski (1982:39) states: With the state, the case is different. I can dissent from its conclusions only at a cost of penalty. I cannot, in any fundamental way, withdraw from its jurisdiction... It may choose to tax me out of existence... It may compel me to sacrifice my life in a war that I believe to be morally wrong.

“The state,” according to Leeds (1981:7), “is a territorial association, an area with a clearly defined boundary within which a government is responsible for law and order.” Every person becomes a member of a state at birth and the membership cannot be disowned but citizenship can be transferred through naturalization. The state has a monopoly of coercive powers over every person domicile within the defined territory. This implies that all individuals and groups living



within the state are subject to its authority. The authority exercised by the state is usually defined by the constitution, which provides for the institutions of government that are necessary to ensure internal stability and external security. For any polity to be regarded as a state, it must have the following fundamental elements: population; defined territory; government and sovereignty. These characteristics differentiate a state (properly so-called, e.g. Nigeria, USA, etc.,) from a state (a component unit in a federation, e.g. Kwara, Lagos, New York, Illinois, etc.,) and such other sociopolitical institutions like a nation, a society, etc. Since the state is an artificial person, it operates through an agent called ‘ the government’ which is an administrative institution capable of resolving conflicts between groups within the society by making enforceable decisions without necessarily the use of force. Although, government as the agent of a state, is that body which exclusively exercises the legitimate use of force in making regulations and in enforcing its rules within the given territorial boundary. However, the allegiance and loyalty of the citizenry in a state is to the state but expressed it through the agents of the state - the government. In addition, states seldom apply force to maintain its authority as the threats of sanctions or punishments, which constitute the basis of justice, are sufficient to obtain obedience.

One of the main purposes of government is to minimize or eliminate likelihood of any challenge to the state’s authority. Otherwise, the possibility of internal conflicts and instability that might lead to the failure of the state is imminent. It should be noted that the government (in this context) is a narrow concept, a sub-structure within the superstructure of the state; since the state includes both the government and the governed while government is only the machinery through which the state realizes its purpose. In addition, sovereignty is the characteristic of the state and not of the government even though the government exercises sovereignty on behalf of the state. Another distinction is that while the state is relatively more permanent than government, government is temporary and changes more frequently. It is however possible that one state may dissolve into several other states like the former Soviet Union, which broke into fifteen new states. Yugoslavia also split into six after a civil war, which led to the disappearance of the country from the world map while Czechoslovakia dissolved into two states - Czechs and Slovak. The random and arbitrary ways in which frontiers are superimposed on the world map means that states vary enormously in their sizes, mineral deposits, access to the sea, vulnerability and cohesiveness. Part of the authority of the state came from other states recognizing its sovereignty, i.e. the state’s ability to exercise supreme power over its citizens without external interference. In international law, there are two kinds of recognition; de facto and de jure. De facto recognition of one state by another is given when a state agrees that another is able to exercise proper governmental control over its territory. De jure recognition is given, if the recognizing state thinks that the method by which the government in the other state was formed is in accordance with the accepted constitutional traditions and procedure of that state.

The table below summarizes the relationship between the state and the government:

<b>The State</b>	<b>The Government</b>
------------------	-----------------------

State is the principal	Government is the agent
Life expectancy is permanency ; Lives in	Life span is ephemeral/temporary; It changes hands periodically
Membership includes every	Only a few employed or elected are
Existence is abstract	Exists in concrete terms, could be seen
Power and authority are	Exercises delegated powers and
Powers and authority are absolute	Powers and authority are limited by the constitution
States are not different in nature	There are different forms and types of
Membership is compulsory	Membership is optional

### Self-Assessment Exercise 1

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.*

1. .... (1982) defines a state as “a territorial society divided into government and subjects claiming within its allotted physical area, a supremacy over all other institutions.
2. *The* state has a monopoly of .....over every person domicile within the defined territory.
3. One of the main purposes of government is to minimize or eliminate likelihood of any challenge to the state’s .....
4. Yugoslavia also split into .....after a civil war, which led to the disappearance of the country from the world map

### 2.4 Functions of the State

The state evolves for the sake of life and continues “for the sake of life” (Aristotle). The end of the state is therefore ethical. As Newman puts it: “the state exists (according to Aristotle) for the sake of that kind of life which is the end of man. When the state by its education and laws, written and unwritten, succeeds in evoking and maintain in vigorous activity a life rich in noble aims and deeds, then and not till then has it fully attained the end for which it exists”. The ethical end of the state is subordinated to convenience in Locke’s view. His concern is not with the ‘good’ but with the ‘convenient’. This is the preservation of the people’s property-which is Locke’s general name for ‘lives, liberties and estates’. The manner these natural rights is preserved is therefore the purposes of political society; and the exercise of power by government is conditioned by that purpose (Appadorai, 2004) Adam smith (1723-90) in his *The Wealth of*

Nation (1776) laid down the following as the three duties the sovereign must attend to:

1. The duty of protecting the society from violence and invasion of other independent societies
2. The duty of establishing an exact administration of justice
3. The duty of erecting and maintaining certain public works and certain public institutions for the society

In contemporary language, these three functions are the maintenance of internal law and order, defense of a state independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, efficient administration of justice and provision of public good and infrastructural facilities. Writing on the purpose of the state, Laski says the state is an organization that enables the mass of men to realize social good on the largest possible scale.

#### Self-Assessment Exercise 2

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.*

1. *The Adam Smith (1723-90) in his *The Wealth of Nation* (1776) laid down the following as the .....duties the sovereign must attend to:*
  - A. *Three*
  - B. *Four*
  - C. *Seven*
  
2. *One of the following is not a main function of the state*
  - A. *Internal Law and Order*
  - B. *Conduct Periodic Election*
  - C. *sovereignty and territorial integrity*
  
3. *According to .....the state evolves for the sake of life and continues “for the sake of life”*
  - A. *Harold Laswell*
  - B. *Aristotle*
  - C. *V. I. Lenin*

## 2.5 The Class Character of the State

The assumption of statehood by most nations obscures the urgent fact that the state is only one, however, important, of the various groups into which society is divided. In the opinion of Harold Laski (1982:235), the state is, in its daily administration, the government; and the government may lie at the disposal of a special interest and it is essential it consult with the various groups if the will realized is to represent a just compromise between competing wills. In other words, Harold Laski was indirectly affirming Marxist's notion of the state, which states that a state

expresses a will to maintain a given system of class relations. Indeed, the territorial character of the sovereign nation-state enables a small fraction of its members to appropriate its power for its own ends even against the interest of their fellow citizens. It does so by the use of its supreme coercive power to that end. In a feudal state, law is made to serve the interest of the owners of land, the reason it embodies is their reason; the general end of society it seeks to fulfill is its conception of what that general end should be. Similarly, in a capitalist society, the owners of capital will similarly determine the substance of the law predominantly. However, it also reflects the interest of the society as a whole. Therefore, the idea of equality before the law within a state is meaningless, unless such society is a classless one.

The question arises whether the citizens always obey the state. What are the reasons for peoples' obedience? Is it out of fear, habit, consent or utility? No doubt, in some degree it is all of these. In a feudal state, the serf had no option but to live as the feudal lord decrees because it was upon such obedience that his livelihood and existence are guaranteed. In a capitalist system, the coercive power of the state is always at the disposal of the ruling class to compel obedience, thereby enforcing their will. The difference between a feudal and capitalist society is that while obedience was usually secured in the most crude, even cruel ways in the former, in the latter, the pretence to democracy makes obedience to state voluntary and freely given since it is assumed that the state authority are exercised in the interest of the generality of the people. The veneer of participation of all citizens is thus reinforced by the freewheeling principle of the capitalist system, which in a reality is a contraption to promote the interest of a few.

### Self-Assessment Exercise 3

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.*

- 1. In a .....state, law is made to serve the interest of the owners of land, the reason it embodies is their reason.*
- 2. According to Karl Marx state expresses a will to maintain a given system of .....relations.*
- 3. In ..... society obedience democracy makes obedience to state voluntary and freely given since it is assumed that the state authority are exercised in the interest of the generality of the people.*

## **2.6 The Concept of Nation and Nation-State**

The term nation is often used as a synonym for state or country. This is not technically correct. Indeed the concept of a nation is not political, but sociological. A nation can exist even though it is not contained within a particular state or served by a given government. A nation exists where there is a union of people based on similarities in linguistic pattern, ethnic relationship, or

cultural heritage. Although the German people make up the bulk of the population of Germany, but the Austrian and Dutch are also Germanic. For thousands years until the creation of the state of Israel in 1948 the Jews maintained a national identity without a state of their own. In addition, between 1797 and 1919, the Polish state ceased to exist as a political entity but the Polish nation survived. It is common to talk of one's nationality or one's state of origin as if the two are interchangeable or synonymous. One can belong to a state without belonging to the nation or one of its constituent nations. Conversely, one can belong to a nation and not the state in which it is located. For example, it is possible to find members of Yoruba nation outside the traditional home states (Southwest of Nigeria) of the nationality. It is also possible for a nation to live across many states (e.g. Igbominas in Kwara and Osun States of Nigeria). It can also be transnational like the Hausas and Yorubas in some West African countries. Similarly, a Nigerian living in London can be a British citizen without being an Irish, English, Scot or Welsh. In effect, while the state is a political entity with sovereignty, a nation is a group of people bound together by the sentiment of nationality - race, culture, religion, language, history. However, the state has monopoly of coercive force but a nation lacks such element power. Only the states not nations, are recognized and represented at the international for a such as the United Nations, African Union, International Monetary Fund, Arab League, etc. Nigeria is a nation of about 250 nations (ethnic nationalities) that make up the 36 states of the federation. Similarly, the United States of America became a nation that made up 52 states after the independence war with the Great Britain.

The nation-state has become the principal form of political organization among modern people. In the past Tribes, City-states, Empires and Feudal barony were known. Indeed, in political terms, part of the definition of a modern society is that it is organized into a nation-state. The term nation symbolized the unity of a people around which people unify and through which they identify themselves and assess political events. So strong is the peoples' identification with the nation-state that political leaders often need to claim that a particular act is in the national interest to satisfy many citizens that the policy is justified. Many scholars have listed specific pre-conditions such as a common language, religion and ethnic heritage before a nation-state can emerge. This is not strictly valid. Switzerland, for example with four official languages and Belgium with two, are good examples of nation-states. The United States is ethnically diverse, and yet remains a model of a nation-state. Obviously common language, religion and ethnic origin will help create a nation-state, but it is not mandatory as the U.S.'s experience as a successful nation-state has shown. However, what is essential is that the people feel that they share deeply significant element of a common heritage and that they have common destiny for the future. Groups of people who are completely different have been brought together by accidents of geography, military conquest, local and external political rivalries. But they can see themselves as one, or members of a nation-state to the extent to which they co-operate in common enterprise such as self-defense against external enemies, acceptance of similar concepts of political authority and legitimacy and see their future as being bound up with each other and being willing to accept this prospect.

## Self-Assessment Exercise 4

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.*

- 1. The concept of ..... is nation is often used as a synonym for state or country and this is not technically correct.*
- 2. The State of Israel was created in the year .....*
- 3. A nation exists where there is a union of .....based on similarities in linguistic pattern, ethnic relationship, or cultural heritage*
- 4. Switzerland, for example has .....official languages*
- 5. The .....has become the principal form of political organization among modern people*
- 6. In a nation state, it is essential is that the people feel that they share deeply significant element of a common .....and that they have common destiny for the future*

## 2.7 Summary

In this unit, we have examined the concept of the state in a practical sense by defining it and outlining its features and characteristics as well as its functions. We attempted to bring out the differences between a state and nation/nation-state. We also explained that a state is a political while a nation is sociological concept, and that a state does not automatically transform into a nation-state unless certain integrative or adhesive conditions are met. The state is usually the primary arena within which several nations in the modern world always look towards to find opportunities for better fulfillments. Many factors have made the idea of multi-lingual and multi-national states compelling for both the developed countries of the West and developing countries, especially in Africa. Among others, the need to meet the increasing social, economic and political challenges of the modern world, in case of the former; and the historical factor of colonial partition, in the latter case. But for every society, no matter its level of development the state will continue to play vital roles of serving as instrument of promoting community building and national integration.

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## 2.9 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

### Answers to SAE1

1. Harold Laski
2. *Coercive powers*
3. Authority
4. *Six*

### Answers to SAE2

1. *A- Three*
2. *B- Conduct Periodic Elections*
3. *B- Aristotle*

### Answers to SAE3

1. *feudal*
2. *Class*
3. *Capitalist*

### Answers to SAE4

1. *Nation*
2. *1948*
3. *People*
4. *Four*
5. *Nation State*
6. *Heritage*

## **UNIT 3            THE DOCTRINE OF SOVEREIGNTY AND ITS LIMITATIONS**

### **Unit Structure**

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 Definition of the concept of sovereignty
- 3.4 Types of sovereignty
  - 3.4.1 Legal sovereignty
  - 3.4.2 Political/Popular sovereignty
  - 3.4.3 External Sovereignty
- 3.5 Criticisms and Limitations of Sovereignty
- 3.6 Summary
- 3.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 3.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

### **3.1 Introduction**

Sovereignty is a very important concept in political science and it is the foundation for the survival and existence of the state in both its domestic and external affairs. This unit sets out with a working definition of the concept of sovereignty; it discusses its relevance as well as different types of sovereignty. The Unit also presents criticisms of sovereignty both from the theoretical and practical point of views, as well as from its limitations as a philosophical and political concept.

### **3.2 Learning Outcomes**

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

- define the concept of sovereignty, its different types and relevance as a political concept
- explain relevant criticisms of sovereignty with a view to bringing to light that it can only be applied in a modified form
- discuss the recent developments on the international scene in relationship to the concept of sovereignty.

### **3.3 Definition of the concept of sovereignty**

Sovereignty may be defined as the power of a state to make laws and enforce the laws with all the coercive power it can employ without any external interference. It is that characteristic of the state by virtue of which it cannot be legally bound except by its own will or limited by any



power than itself. The modern states claim to be sovereign, and to be subject to no higher human authority. It issues orders to all and receives order from none, and its will is not subject to any legal limitation of any kind. The French writer, Jean Bodin (1530-96), introduced the theory of sovereignty into the study of political science. He, it was who postulates that, "If the state is to live there must be in every organized community some definite authority not only itself obeyed, but also itself beyond the reach of authority." Harold Laski corroborates Bodin's definition when he concludes that when we discover the authority, which gives commands habitually obeyed but itself not receiving them, we have the sovereign power in the state. By these characterizations, in an independent political community sovereignty is determinate, absolute and illimitable.

Sovereignty is a supreme power of the state over her citizens and subjects, itself not bound by the laws. Scholars who have helped to develop the theory of sovereignty include Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, J. J. Rousseau, and Jeremy Bentham. According to Hobbes, sovereignty is absolute and located in the ruler, his premise being the social contract. Locke did not use the term sovereignty at all; in so far there was a supreme power in his state, it lay with the people; but normally it was latent. Rousseau maintained that sovereignty belonged to the people; it could be exercised only in an assembly of the whole people. Government was but the executive agent of the general will: it had no manner of sovereignty. The sovereignty of the people of Rousseau was as unlimited just as morally is unlimited. It is limited by the possibility of resistance, and there are conditions under which resistance is morally justifiable. Bentham urged the necessity for the sovereign to justify his power by useful legislations to promoting "the greatest happiness of the greatest number."

Within the domestic environment, the sovereignty of the state is located in, or exercised by persons or institutions. In a monarchical system, sovereignty is located in the king except where that king is a constitutional monarch like in Britain, where the law obliges or compels a division of sovereignty among several institutions of the state, with the parliament in obvious supremacy. In a republican democracy like the United States, a number of institutions also shares sovereignty, where the President occupies a primacy. In most modern democracies, one of the principal institutions involved in the exercise of the sovereign power of the state is the Legislature or Parliament, which has powers to make laws that are binding on all including the lawmakers. Others are the Executive, which has constitutional responsibility for enforcing or executing the laws while the Judiciary, which has the power to interpret and adjudicate disputes arising from the constitution and the law. There has been a great deal of academic debate on whether sovereignty is determinate or illimitable. It is not worthwhile to reopen such a debate here but the important thing is to know what sovereignty denotes and connotes. First, in every state there must be a sovereign, the sovereignty must be clearly located, his commands are laws and within the sphere of law, as Hobbes said there is no such thing as an unjust command. Second, such laws or commands may oblige the subjects to do, or to refrain from doing, certain things and failure to comply attract penalty. Therefore, sovereignty is located in that individual, group or association which is obeyed without question by the rest of the people in a state.

### Self-Assessment Exercise 1

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.*

- 1. ....may be defined as the power of a state to make laws and enforce the laws with all the coercive power it can employ without any external interference*
- 2. The modern states claim to be sovereign, and to be subject to no higher human .....*
- 3. Karl Marx and V.I Lenin helped the development of the concept of sovereignty. True or False.*
- 4. According to Hobbes, sovereignty is absolute and located in the ruler, his premise being the .....*
- 5. Within the domestic environment, the sovereignty of the state is located in, or exercised by persons or .....*

### 3.4 Types of sovereignty

The most common distinction is that which is made between legal and political sovereignty, on one hand, and internal and external sovereignty on the other. Legal and political sovereignty can be subsumed within internal sovereignty, while external sovereignty is relevant to, and applicable in the conduct of international relations. However, in the present interdependent world when bridges of cooperation among states are fast replacing barriers or divisions, the distinction is no longer of strict relevance, but merely serving academic purposes or analytical convenience.

#### 3.4.1 Legal sovereignty

John Austin is the foremost exponent of legal sovereignty. For him the state is a legal order in which the sovereign is determinate and exercises ultimate power. He admits that a sovereign may act unwisely or dishonestly, but for the purpose of legal theory, the character of its actions is not important. This view is similar to the popular saying in Britain that “the King or Queen can do no wrong.” But since a constitutional Monarch like it obtains in Britain operates within a legal or unwritten conventional milieu, legal sovereignty connotes also the power of the legislature to make laws, or that of constitutive and regulative laws of the state as symbolized or permitted by the constitution, which is the supreme law. It is also plausible to argue essentially that legal sovereignty resides in the constitution. Although the legislature can review, amend or even mutilate the constitution, it can only do so in accordance with the same constitution. This makes the idea of legislative sovereignty to be limited or suspect. In any case, the legality or otherwise of a legislation can be challenged in the court of law whereas the constitution cannot. All that can

be done to the constitution in the court of law is to interpret it in a way to make its provisions less ambiguous and more precise. In this sense, we can only talk of legal sovereignty, which means the supremacy of the constitution.

### **3.4.2 Political/Popular sovereignty**

It is also possible to talk of political or popular sovereignty, which in fact refers to the ultimate power of the people. It is often argued that the people make up the polity and all constitutions are, or ought to be reflections of their preference, culture and institutions. By popular/majority will, they also enthrone and can also displace or remove governments. Consequently, in discussions of sovereignty it is tempting to suggest or conclude that the people are sovereign. Nevertheless, in practice the impact of the people in the process of law making or drafting of constitutions is minimal, if not nil. Most legislators hardly consult their constituents before vital decisions are made, recall procedure is cumbersome to be applied as a check on recalcitrant legislators, while the electoral process, particularly in ThINR World nations hardly reflect popular will. For these reasons, we must be cautious in placing too much hope on the strings that the political sovereign can pull. This is why Laski dismisses as an abstraction, attempts to equate popular sovereignty with public opinion, especially when we do not “know when public opinion is public and when it is opinion.”

In the modern state, it is therefore an illusion to suggest that the people are sovereign. Only the very active, powerful, aggressive or interested, actually get to exert any influence on the constitutions, institutions of state or the workings of government. The mass of the people cannot only govern in the sense of acting continually as a unit, more importantly; the business of the modern state is far too complex to be conducted by perpetual referenda. John Chipman Gray confirmed elitist rule when he declared that the real rulers of society are undiscoverable. For the most part, constitutions and regulative rules emerge from the manipulation, compromises and conflicts of powerful minorities. The majority often concedes through apathy, indifference or ignorance their right to influence public policy. Thus, while in theory; the people are sovereign, in practice; it is the constitution that is sovereign and the operators who exercise this sovereignty. However, it is possible for the people to be mobilized to assert themselves and influence the legal sovereign (constitution and parliament) in such a way as to suit their interest or desires. Such occasions however are rare. They occur only in moments of crisis when there is need for radical changes. In short, sovereignty is meaningless in the absence of power; that is power to enforce laws. But as others have argued power is neither necessary nor sufficient for the exercise of sovereignty. What is central and necessary is to earn the obedience of the people, which ultimately enhances the possession, and exercise of authority.

### **3.4.3 External Sovereignty**

Sovereignty is the central organizing principle of the international system. It means essentially supremacy and separateness of states as legal or political entities with power to control others and regulate not only their internal affairs, but also their external or foreign relations. The state is

sovereign within a defined territory and enjoys equal status with others, which have the same attribute. The importance of Hugo Grotius in the development of the theory of sovereignty is that he emphasized external sovereignty, i.e. the independence of the states from foreign control. Sovereignty is therefore used in reference to states, which are autonomous of any other entity. Although, membership of international organizations is voluntary, States willingly join because they consider such participation to be in their enlightened national interests. States can also decline the jurisdiction, or refuse to abide by the judgment of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) as the United States has severally done with its optional clause or that of the International Criminal Court (ICC) by refusing to ratify its Statute. This is still within the exercise of a state external sovereignty. The idea of sovereign state in diplomatic history had its roots with the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. After the Thirty Years War the sovereign state emerged from the bloody clash to vindicate the supremacy of the secular order against religious claims. And since then states have been guarding jealously their sovereignty, equality and territorial integrity. From the 1815 Congress of Vienna through the 1919 Versailles Peace Treaty, the San Francisco Conference of 1945, which gave birth to the Charter of the United Nations, the 1961 Vienna Conference on Diplomatic Immunity to the 2000 Rome Treaty of the International Criminal Court, the notion of sovereignty of states, has been preserved.

### **Self-Assessment Exercise 2**

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.*

1. *sovereignty connotes also the power of the legislature to make laws, or that of constitutive and regulative laws of the state*
  - A. *Legal*
  - B. *Political*
  - C. *Legislative*
  
2. *The political or popular sovereignty, which in fact refers to the ultimate power of the .....*
  - A. *Institutions*
  - B. *People*
  - C. *Rulers*
  
3. *The importance of .....in the development of the theory of sovereignty is that he emphasized external sovereignty*
  - A. *Hugo Chaves*
  - B. *Hugo Grotius*
  - C. *Karl Marx*

### **3.5 Criticisms and Limitations of Sovereignty**

There are several criticisms of the theory of sovereignty. First, in the view of Sir Henry Maine

sovereignty it is not applicable to undeveloped communities, among whom custom is the king of men (Appadorai, 2004). Second, sovereignty assumes that the state is the only association. This is not true according to the pluralists who recognize the existence of other non-political associations like trade unions that grow naturally, have a will of their own and possess personality distinct from that of the state. They also have members who find fulfillment within such bodies. ThINR, in a federal state it may not be easy to determine or locate sovereignty in one source giving the origin, cooperative and dual character of most federations, which often compel distribution of powers among levels of government. But a caveat to this criticism is that even in federations efforts are being made to build overarching national consensus. As Laski puts it, "The will of the state must be all or nothing. If it can be challenged, the prospect of anarchy is obvious." It was this realization, which made Abraham Lincoln in the United States between 1861 and 1865, and Yakubu Gowon of Nigeria from 1967 to 1970 used federal might to suppress rebellion by the secessionist states to keep the federation intact. Fourth, the sovereign must habitually observe certain principles or maxim. For example, it is unthinkable that the Queen in Parliament will ignore established age hold conventions that hold the British society together. Fifth, in a democracy, it is almost a truism that the legal sovereign should bow to the political sovereign. The question then is: if sovereignty is determinate, how can the people or the electorate where popular sovereignty rest, satisfies this requirement? Sixth, while it is conceded that the law of the sovereign is a command, yet the state cannot make laws that offend the historical and sociological milieu of a society, otherwise the sovereign may risk resistance, or even rebellion. Seventh, to say that there is no law beyond the reach of the sovereign is to strain the definition to its limit, as the sovereign cannot tax private property without the consent of the owner. As Laski warned, "Men will sooner part with their souls than with their possessions."

The concept of absolute, unlimited sovereignty did not last long after its adoption, either domestically or internationally. The growth of democracy imposed important limitations upon the power of the sovereign and of the ruling classes. The increase in the interdependence of states restricted the principle that might is right in international affairs. Citizens and policymakers generally have recognized that there can be no peace without law and that there can be no law without some limitations on sovereignty. They started, therefore, to pool their sovereignties to the extent needed to maintain peace and prosperity. For example, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, United Nations, European Union, African Union and ECOWAS Charters, which modern states are signatories and respected, serve as limitations on their sovereignty.

In spite of these criticisms, sovereignty remains a valid legal and political theory. In those levels of society in which obedience is habitually rendered by the bulk of society to an authority or superior who is independent of any other superior, the obedience is so rendered because this authority or superior is regarded as expressing or embodying what may properly be called the general will. This sovereign does not exercise an unlimited power of compulsion since his power

is dependent upon his conforming to certain convictions that the subjects consider to be in line with the general interests. The sovereign is able to exercise the ultimate power of getting habitual obedience from the people because of what the people stand to gain for so doing. The consent is not reducible to the fear of the sovereign; rather it is a common desire to achieve certain purpose towards which obedience to law contributes. The Austinian conception of sovereignty which emphasizes a determinate person or body of persons with sovereign power is therefore not without qualifications. It only suggests common interest, a common sympathy, and a desire for common object, which we call the general will, and which the people believe is embodied in the sovereign. The foregoing is what Harold Laski (1982:62) had in mind when he wrote of a modified view of sovereignty. In his characteristic inimitable way, he wrote: "If the state is to be a moral entity, it must be built upon the organized acquiescence of its members. But this demands from them the scrutiny of government orders; and that, in its turn, implies a right to disobedience." Therefore, will, not force, is the basis of the state. On the limitations of the concept of sovereignty, there has been a great deal of debate on its relevance when it comes to the arena of international relations. Scholars like John Herz, J. Rosenau, R. Cooper and Karl Deutsch have argued at one time or the other that sovereignty has become obsolete. Herz's position is that nuclear weapons have undermined the isolation and separateness of states making them vulnerable to decisions outside their control. Rosenau's concept of cascade interdependence argues from the point of view that other states, forces or agencies that intrude into the decision-making process of another, thereby undermining its supremacy and separateness. Karl Deutsch premised his argument on the rise of hegemonic powers, which have the capacity to impose their will on others and exercise such power without authorization and often with impunity. This was the case when the United States in 2003 invaded Iraq, toppled Saddam Hussein's government and forcefully imposed its coercive will on the country, an action that amounted to virtual extinguishing of Iraq's sovereignty.

This reality has reduced the sovereignty of smaller states, making them live at the mercy of powerful ones as it happened when Kuwait was overrun by neighboring Iraq in August 1990, until her sovereignty was restored in January 1991 after the intervention of the United Nations backed, US led Allied Forces. For similar hegemonic, imperialist or economic reasons countries such as Vietnam, Grenada, Panama, Afghanistan, Georgia, at one time or the other, were at the receiving end of the ambitions and manipulations of super powers like USA and the former Soviet Union, now Russia. Joseph Nye Jr. (2000:177) also wrote extensively on the subject of economic interdependence of states, how it seriously undermines or reduces the capacity for independent action on the parts of sovereign states.

### Self-Assessment Exercise 3

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.*

- 1. According to the view of .....sovereignty it is not applicable to undeveloped*

*communities, among whom custom is the king of men.*

2. *As Laski puts it, "The will of the state must be all or nothing. If it can be challenged, the prospect of .....is obvious."*
3. *Scholars like John Herz, J. Rosenau, R. Cooper and Karl Deutsch have argued at one time or the other that sovereignty has become .....*

### **3.6 Summary**

This unit examines the concept of sovereignty and stresses its importance as an organizing principle of the state in both its domestic and external relations. The point was made that sovereignty belonged to the state and not the government; the latter being a mere agency of the former. We also emphasized that despite the views of the classical theorists a modified theory of sovereignty is the one that is realistic in the modern state in which its ultimate purpose is better served only if the interests of its citizens are maximized. In spite of the limitations of the concept of sovereignty, it retains its relevance and vitality in politics at both the domestic and international levels. Within the state system, supreme power is located in the major political institutions or the constitution. Although the ability of a state to govern may be influenced by extraneous forces, it is uncommon to find any state, which is not managed largely based on its constitution. Therefore, from the issues raised in this unit and recent developments in the world of sovereign states though we may concede that sovereignty is no longer absolute, yet they have by no means eliminated the formal independence of states, their separateness and the ability of governments in those states to exercise sovereignty on behalf of their people.

### **3.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources**

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Laski, H. (1982) A Grammar of Politics, George Allen and Unwin Publishers, London  
Mbah, M.C.C (2007) Foundation of Political Science, Anambra Rex Charles and Patrick limited p.144-145  
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### **3.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)**

Answers to SAE1

1. *Sovereignty*
2. *Authority*
3. *False*
4. *social contract*

## 5. *Institutions*

### Answers to SAE2

1. *A- Legal*
2. *B- People*
3. *B- Hugo Grotius*

### Answers to SAE3

1. *Sir Henry Maine*
2. *Anarchy*
3. *Obsolete.*

## **UNIT 4: STATE, POWER, AUTHORITY AND LEGITIMACY**

### **Unit Structure**

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Objectives
- 4.3 The meaning of the concept of Power
- 4.3 Attributes and elements of National Power
- 4.4 Differences in the concepts of Power/Influence and Authority/Legitimacy
- 4.5 Summary
- 4.6 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 4.7 Possible Answer to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

### **4.1 Introduction**

Power is an important concept in state, as it is well known that all struggles in politics is centered on the acquisition and retention of power. In this unit, we attempt to provide meaning to the concept of power, its characteristics and elements and its importance in political relationships. The unit makes further attempt to make distinctions between related concepts of authority and influence.

### **4.2 Learning Outcomes**

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

- define the concept of power and know its characteristics, elements and importance
- differentiate between the concepts of power, authority/legitimacy and influence
- discuss the necessity for the state to put limitations on the exercise of power by the political leadership.



### 4.3 The Meaning of Power

The concept of power features regularly in political discourse. For this reason, it is often said that power is to politics what energy is to physics. Power is also often used interchangeably with power and influence. But in spite of the apparent relations, the three concepts have different meanings. Power, when used in a socio-political context, is the ability by Mr. A to get Mr. B or other people to do what they would ordinarily not have done. This ability may be a derivative of possession of either: a gift, trust/goodwill, supernatural power, public office or any other coercive superiority over others. However, the more precise meaning of power necessarily involves the concept of coercion. Power is the ability or capacity to get other people to do ones wishes, with or without their consent; that is, whether they like it or not. This may be as a result of social, biological or economic relationship e.g. between father/children, sponsor/beneficiary, political godfather/godson. Similarly, possession of a monopoly of weapon or agents of death e.g. armed robber/victim, armed security official/unarmed civilian. It can also be a group of armed military officers forcing their way into power. Power is invariably tied up with superior quality or capability. This is where power is different from influence. It is important we make this distinction at this stage in order not to mistake power for influence. Our concern here is primarily power, even if we recognize that other forms of power-economic in particular- may have almost decisive impact on political power.

Max Weber defines power as the “probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance.” The corollary of this is that power relationship is said to exist when A makes B to act in a manner he wants him to act, regardless of B’s wish. Inherent in the power relationship therefore is the element of sanction, coercion and the use of physical force. While sanction is the drive of fear of punishment by A and B, coercion refers to compulsion by A of B to carry out his wish, and the use of physical force involves the threat by A to harm B. It should however be noted that the power relationship does not necessarily involve the use of physical force, although elements of sanction and coercion may be in the background, which help to enhance the credibility of power. Political power is the capacity to affect another’s behaviour by the threat of some forms of sanction. The greater the sanction, or the more numerous the sanctions, the greater will be the political power. The sanctions may be either negative or positive or a carrot and stick approach. Thus, a political leader may acquire compliance with his wishes by promising those who support him with wealth or honors, or he may threaten to deny such rewards to those with both. The penalties for opposing the holder of political power may be extreme, such as imprisonment or even death. These latter penalties are usually reserved for the state, and those who control the state’s apparatus often wield the strongest political power.

However, it is the fear of these coercive penalties that provokes the obedience, not the coercion itself; indeed a too frequent use of these penalties may be an indication of the weakening of that political power. Nonetheless, if those who claim authority lack the power to enforce their will, they cannot rightly claim authority. Political power is important not because it is an end in itself

but because it is a means to an end. Power can serve as an instrument both for empowerment and for domination. For this reason, scholars have warned against the possibility of misuse or abuse of power, since according to Lord Acton, “power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely”

### **Self-Assessment Exercise 1**

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.*

- 1. The more precise meaning of power necessarily involves the concept of.....*
- 2. Power is invariably tied up with superior quality or capability. This is where power is different from.....*
- 3. ....defines power as the “probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance.”.*
- 4. ....power is the capacity to affect another’s behavior by the threat of some forms of sanction.*
- 5. The penalties for opposing the holder of political power may be extreme, such as imprisonment or even .....*

## **4.4 Attributes and Elements of State Power**

Power in politics can be understood to mean the sum total of national capabilities, including the tangible and intangible resources of a nation. Power is also a political resource, which encompasses the sum of the various attributes of a state that enable it to achieve its goals. The characteristics or attributes of power include the following:

### **4.4.1 Attributes of Power**

Power is dynamic: Power being exercised by a state changes from time to time, and is never static but dynamic. Before 1991, the Soviet Union was a Super Power, but today the country has ceased to exist. Indeed, its successor state, Russia is far from assuming status in the world today. Until the turn of the 19th Century, Britain was perhaps the most powerful country in the world, with colonial possessions across the globe. Today Pax Britannica is now history with leaving the United States as the most powerful country in the world today, in all the dimensions of power.

Objectivity and Subjectivity of power: Objective power consists of assets that a state actually possesses and has both the capacity and will to use. On the other hand, subjective power depends on perception, and in some cases, appearance may be more important than reality. It is easier to assess the contribution of the tangible than the intangible elements of power to a nation’s power

matrix. Tangible elements are easily more measurable and thus objective than intangible power, which is less precise and thus, subjective.

Power is relative: Power can best be perceived in relative than absolute term. Power therefore becomes meaningful when you compare the power a nation wields in a particular period with another, or when actor A is compared to actor B. For example, we cannot say Nigeria is powerful in absolute term, except we specify in comparism to whom, or compare power of a country between one period and another.

#### **4.4.2 Elements of national power**

**Tangible Elements:** The tangible elements of a national power include military capabilities, economic strength, natural resources, demographic or population, strategic location, etc. These elements however interrelated and need some qualifications. Military capability consists of both conventional and nuclear powers and without it a state may not be able to defend her territorial integrity, which is a vital attribute of a state. Similarly, a country with a weak economic base may not be able to acquire military weaponry or sustain political stability. The size and quality of a country's population may constitute either an asset or liability and this may have serious implications on national power. For instance, Nigeria is respected in the international community among others, because of her heavy population, which has psychological effects in the global system. It is also not enough for a country to have huge natural endowments, its power will remain qualified if it has to rely on other nations for technology to explore or exploit the resources. A country that is strategically located along the coastline will command more respect or wields more power in the international politics than a landlocked country. A landlocked country that has no territorial waters has to depend on foreign country(s) international trade through the sea. This will make such a country vulnerable to external control.

**Intangible elements:** The intangible (or soft power) elements of national power include culture, attraction of ideas, ideology and institutions. This form of power does not require any form of coercion. The power a state like the Vatican wields today in the world, especially among the Catholics is principally because of religion. Beyond her tangible oil wealth, Saudi Arabia occupies a prime of place in the Muslim world on account of the religious intangible of the city of Mecca, located in the country. There is no doubt that the widespread acceptance of western values, including western idea of liberal democracy, and even the near acceptance of the capitalist ideology as the orthodox route to development, is a huge accretion to the power Western nations, especially the United States, exercises in the world today.

#### **Self-Assessment Exercise 2**

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.*

- 1. ....power consists of assets that a state actually possesses and has both the capacity and will to use.*

A. *Objective*

B. *Subjective*

C. *Reflective*

D. *Coercive*

2. ....power depends on perception, and in some cases, appearance may be more important than reality.

A. *Objective*

B. *Subjective*

C. *Coercive*

D. *Standard*

3. Power can best be perceived in relative than .....term.

A. *Absolute*

B. *Relative*

C. *Ubiquitous*

D. *Relationship*

## **4.5 Differences in the concepts of Power/Influence and Authority/Legitimacy**

### **4.5.1 The Concept of Authority**

Authority has a relationship with power but it is distinct from it in one important respect. It is based on rules. It is common to define authority as legitimate power but this may be misleading because it gives the impression that coercive power is necessarily illegitimate. When coercive power is used or exercised by the state it is legitimate. While a definition of authority needs not exclude the concept of power, the two concepts are not synonymous. Authority is the consequence of the acknowledgement of power. This may also be misconstrued because it is possible to accept or acknowledge other people's power as "a fait accompli," but this would not necessarily confer legitimacy on such force. For example, if one surrenders a property to an armed robber, it is an acknowledgement of power but it does not confer authority or legitimacy on that power.

A more acceptable definition will be one that sees authority as legitimate power, that is, power derived from accepted rules and exercised with the consent of the people. Thus, authority rather than brute force is better understood when power is seen as a right to issue command and have them obeyed willingly. We can therefore regard authority as a form of power. It is different from the form of power exercised by A over B in order to get B to do what he could never had wish to do. Rather, it is a form of power derived from approved procedures of political culture, which enable the office holder to act in certain ways to affect predictably and in anticipation, the behaviour of others. In a democracy for example, there is compliance with the executive directives of the president of a country not for his individual person but because the office

holder has been freely given a mandate to rule through procedures acceptable to them. Compliance therefore, is voluntary and in support of a system, which the people hold in high esteem. In the same token, when a legal system is established, it is recognized and obeyed by the people voluntarily regardless of whether a particular law is wrong or right. Thus, authority has been described as legitimate power because it commands voluntary obedience. This is in sharp contrast to the power structure of superior-subordinate relationship in which the command of the superior usually takes precedence. Herbert Simon (cited in Bello- Imam, 2008) described the circumstances surrounding the exercise of power as "Sanctions of Authority". The sanctions are not in the sense of punishment, but as a means of explaining why subordinates carry out commands from their superiors. It is said that in a republic it is not power that creates obedience, but authority.

#### **4.5.2 The concept of Legitimacy**

Max Weber identifies three major sources of authority. These are not three different kinds of authority but only different sources of authority. These are the traditional, legal rational and charismatic. Traditional authority derives from long standing traditions and common acceptance of the sanctity of traditions and usages. This takes the forms of respect for the monarchy or chief or Oba/ Emir, respect born out of the inheritance of the status of one's parent and exercise of authority conferred on that status. Legal rational authority is legitimated by the supremacy of the law. The exercise of such power is accepted as legitimate because it derives from institutionalized rules, which confer and circumscribe the right to give command and have them obeyed. In the legal rational situation, such a right derives from rules, e.g. constitutions status whereas in a traditional situation the right derives from customs, usages and acceptance of common antecedents. Charismatic authority derives from persons of exceptional qualities who are accepted and obeyed as leaders. Such qualities include heroism, power of oratory, intelligence, power of healing or prophecy, etc. Charismatic authority often derives from a common acceptance or a voluntary submission to the perceived competence or superiority or simply charisma of a leader. Leaders such as Mahatma Gandhi of India, John Kennedy of the United States Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Sir Ahmadu Bello and Muritala Muhammad of Nigeria are examples of leaders who, during their lifetime, possessed charismatic qualities that endeared them to the people of their countries.

#### **4.5.3 Influence**

Influence is the ability to intrude into other people's decision-making process. It involves, largely, the capacity to make one's presence felt in other people's minds. Influence can be exercised without power, although it can be conferred by power. Also important is the fact that influence can also acquire the intensity of power. This happens when somebody's influence is so overbearing that others have no choice but to take account cognizance of the person in their decision-making. The distinction between power and influence can only be made in terms of the form of the relationship between actor A and B. At the same time, it would be correct to say that

power relationships also connote influence, since both concepts express the relationships between A and B. Power and influence are inseparable.

- Influence has been identified to take several forms, which can be classified into two categories - manifest and implicit influence. Manifest influence is said to exist where B is able to anticipate A's wants. For example, if A wants outcome X; and if as a result of A's action, B attempts to bring about X, then A exercises manifest influence. On the other hand, if A wants outcome X, then although A does not act with the intent of causing B to bring about X, if A's desire for X causes B to attempt to bring X, then A exercises implicit influence over B (Dahl, 1984:42-5).
- The relationship of influence could be achieved through several means or a combination of them. The means according to Robert A. Dahl (1984) include trained control and persuasions which could be rational, manipulative or inducement.
- Influence through trained control takes the form of prior persuasions and inducement aimed at manipulating actors' behaviour in the required direction in compliance with appropriate cues and signals.
- Rational persuasion is influence borne out of truthful information and rational communications. The relationship of influence derives from an appeal to the emotion of conscience of B concerning the genuineness of the subject over which he is being influenced. On the other hand; manipulative persuasion is achieved through half-truths and falsehood presented to B by A.
- This is an influence relationship in which there is the offer of reward in order to prevent anticipated action. Examples include offer of wage rise and the threat of strike action or improved student's amenities and students' boycott lectures.

### Self-Assessment Exercise 3

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.*

1. ....has a relationship with power but it is distinct from it in one important respect.
2. Authority has been described as .....power because it commands voluntary obedience
3. Max Weber identifies .....major sources of authority.
4. ....authority derives from persons of exceptional qualities who are accepted and obeyed as leaders
5. ....is the ability to intrude into other people's decision-making process.

#### 4.6 Summary

In this unit, we have defined power, its features and indices as well as significance in a political system. We also differentiated between power, authority and influence. We underscored that while power involves coercion, authority connotes voluntary acceptance and submission to control. We however conceded that it is not unlikely to see people use the two concepts interchangeably in ordinary discussion, leaving the strict distinction between the two to academic discourse. The concept of power, influence and authority express relationships among human actors, and the distinctions that could be made between these concepts is only in the extent of variance in the form of relationship. In other words, there is no hard and fast rule in trying to differentiate between these concepts, outside the form which relationships take among human actors. They are generic items and hence Robert A. Dahl used “the concept of influence” to embrace them all, including related concept such as control, persuasion, might, force and coercion.

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#### 4.8 Possible Answer to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAE1

1. *coercion*
2. *Influence*
3. *Max Weber*
4. *Political*
5. *Death*

Answers to SAE2

1. *A- Objective*
2. *B- Subjective*
3. *A- Absolute*

Answers to SAE3

1. *Authority*

2. *Legitimate*
3. *Three*
4. *Charismatic*
5. *Influence*



## **MODULE 2 NEW STATES IN WORLD POLITICS**

**Unit 1:** Theoretical/Conceptual Explanation of New States in World Politics

Unit 2: Characteristics of New States

Unit 3: State Actors in International Relations

Unit 4: Recognition and State Creation in International law

Glossary

**Unit 1: Theoretical/Conceptual Explanation of New States in World Politics**

### **Unit Structure**

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcomes
- 1.3 Theoretical/Conceptual Explanation of New States in World Politics
- 1.4 Theorizing the New States In Terms Of Age
- 1.5 Theorizing New States in Terms of Development
- 1.6 Making of New States in the International System
- 1.7 Summary
- 1.8 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 1.9 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

### **1.1 Introduction**

World politics, also called global or international politics, is a theatre of competing state forces where both the old and new states are engaged in the exploitation of world mineral resources in yet another conflicting milieu. This competitive process rekindles the anarchy of the

international system and permeates master-slave relationship between and among states. The geopolitical entity called state (whether old or new) has continued to acquire considerable importance both in theory and practice especially as it remains an indispensable unit of analysis in the global political terrain.

## **1.2 Learning Outcomes**

At the end of this unit you should be able to

- Explain theoretical and conceptual explanations of new states
- Discuss New States created after 1945
- Understand new states in terms of development

## **1.3 Theoretical/Conceptual Explanation of New States in World Politics**

Many scholars have attempted a study of the state in terms of its indispensable role in the global system. Similarly, the end of the Second World War brought into existence a number of new states in Asia and Africa. These states came into being as a result of the politics of decolonization on the part of the imperialist powers and urge for nationalism on the part of the colonized countries. The First World War which was fought to save the world for democracy had added to the urge for political independence and autonomy in the subjugated and colonized countries, and by the end of the outbreak of the Second World War, political scene in the whole of Africa was agitating to throw away the yoke of colonialism with the belief that the moment colonialism is defeated, imperialism would die a natural death. However, following the emergence of new states in the world politics with the attendant globalization, the master-slave relationship of the post-colonial imperialism has been reinforced. Consequently, extant literature abounds on both the meaning and theories of the state but no such thing as the theory of the new states. Perhaps, the Marxian scholars have made a lot of efforts in studying the new states. In fact, the studies on dependent, center-peripheral and post-colonial states are assumed to be studies on new states. However, in the post-colonial state studies, the ideas of conceptualization and theoretical understanding of new states as well as the contemporary challenges faced by them in the New World Order are yet to be studied well enough. In view of the foregoing, we will be engaging in discussing in-depth the under listed issues.

The career of the state in international relations research has been a peculiar one, central as a matter of faith, but often taken for granted the theoretical sideshow (Kahler, 2000). While not disagreeing with the foregoing Kahler's observation, some scholars have made attempts both in definition and theory aimed at understanding the state (Onuoha, 1992; Mingst, 1999). However, while extant literature abounds on the concept of state and its theoretical underpinnings, not much attention of such has been extended to explaining the new states, either because they are part and parcel of the state system or that scholars' attention is yet to be drawn considerably to the plights of the new states in the new world order, especially given the stratification that

characterizes the international system much to their disadvantage. Interestingly, Marxian scholars (as earlier noted) have attempted to explain the problems of new states from the stand-point of dependency and imperialism (Slater, 2004). While these scholars have tried in offering the theoretical basis of dependency that characterizes the less developed countries that largely constitute the new states, there was no direct approach to the explanation of the new states in global system either in terms of age or levels of development. Therefore, the concept of new states would be explained through the two contending theoretical underpinnings.

### Self-Assessment Exercises 1

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.*

- 1. The end of the Second World War brought into existence a number of new states in Asia and.....*
- 2. Many scholars have attempted a study of the .....in terms of its indispensable role in the global system.*
- 3. .... scholars (as earlier noted) have attempted to explain the problems of new states from the stand-point of dependency and imperialism*

#### 1.4 Theorizing the New States In Terms Of Age

Theorizing New States in Terms of Age the Peace Treaty of Westphalia (1648) has given some characteristic meanings to the understanding of the modern state system. This treaty which ended the 30 years' war (1618-1648) between the Holy Roman Empire and the rest of Europe led to the cartographical division of the world based on defined boundaries. For a state to be so called, the following features must be present:

- A clearly defined territory or boundary
- Government within the territory
- Population and
- Sovereignty

Ever since then, the primary understanding of state is that it is a political institution of sufficient organized authority and power to govern a defined territory and its population and to remain independent of other states (Onuoha, 1992). With the state understood in this viewpoint, new states are those ones that recently acquired independent political control over their own affairs (Scott, n.d). These include the majority of the countries in Asia and Africa as well as Latin America, Europe and Oceania which, before 1945, were under some form of colonial rule. This definition to a large extent satisfies the idea of new states in terms of age. The yardstick used in measuring new states here is strictly age, the level of development notwithstanding. In terms of age, below is the list of new states in the world politics formed after 1945.

**Table 1: The List of New States in Terms of Age (those formed after 1945) Africa**

<b>S/No</b>	<b>State</b>	<b>Date of formation</b>	<b>Colonizer</b>
1	Algeria	1963	France
2	Angola	1975	Portugal
3	Benin	1960	France
4	Botswana	1966	Britain
5	Burkina Faso	1960	France
6	Burundi	1962	Belgium
7	Cameroun	1960	France
8	Cape Verde	1975	Portugal
9	Central African Republic	1960	France
10	Chad	1960	France
11	Comoros	1975	France
12	Democratic Republic of Congo	1960	Belgium
13	Congo Republic	1960	France
14	Cote d'Ivoire	1960	France
15	Djibouti	1977	France
16	Equatorial Guinea	1968	Spain
17	Eritrea	1993	Ethiopia
18	Gabon	1960	France
19	Gambia	1965	Britain
20	Ghana	1957	Britain
21	Guinea	1958	France
22	Guinea Bissau	1974	Portugal
23	Kenya	1963	Britain
24	Lesotho	1966	Britain
25	Libya	1947	Italy and France
26	Madagascar	1960	France
27	Malawi	1964	Britain
28	Mali	1960	France
29	Mauritania	1960	France
30	Mauritius	1968	Britain
31	Morocco	1956	Spain
32	Mozambique	1975	Portugal
33	Namibia	1990	Broke out of South Africa
34	Niger	1958	France
35	Nigeria	1960	Britain
36	Rwanda	1962	Belgium
37	Sao Tome and Principe	1975	Portugal
38	Senegal	1960	France
39	Seychelles	1976	Britain

40	Sierra Leone	1961	Britain
41	Somalia	1960	Trust territory
42	South Africa	1961	Britain
43	South Sudan	2011	Broke out of Sudan
44	Sudan	1956	Egypt and later Britain
45	Swaziland	1968	Britain
46	Tanzania	1961	Britain
47	Togo	1960	France
48	Tunisia	1962	France
49	Uganda	1962	Britain
50	Zambia	1964	Britain
51	Zimbabwe (formerly South Rhodesia)	1980	Britain

**Table 2: The List of New States in Terms of Age (those formed after 1945) America**

S/No	State	Date of formation	Colonizer
1	Antigua and Barbuda	1981	Britain
2	Bahamas	1973	Britain
3	Barbados	1966	Britain
4	Belize	1964	self-governing
5	Dominica	1978	Britain
6	Grenada	1974	Britain
7	Guyana	1966	Britain
8	Jamaica	1962	Britain
9	Saint Kitts and Nevis	1983	Britain
10	Saint Lucia	1979	Britain
11	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	1979	Britain
12	Suriname	1975	Netherland

**Table 3: The List of New States in Terms of Age (those formed after 1945) Asia**

S/No	State	Date of formation	Colonizer
1	Bahrain	1971	Iran
2	Bangladesh	1971	Pakistan
3	Brunei	1984	Britain
4	Cambodia	1989	Freed from Vietnam
5	China	1949	Britain
6	India	1947	Netherlands
7	Indonesia	1949	Britain
8	Israel	1948	British mandate
9	Jordan	1946	British mandate
10	Kuwait	1991	Iraq
11	Kyrgyzstan	1991	Soviet Union
12	Laos	1953	France

13	Malaysia	1957	Britain
14	Maldives	1965	Britain
15	Myanmar (Burma)	1948	Britain
16	North Korea	1948	-
17	Oman	1950	Portugal
18	Pakistan	1947	British India
19	Qatar	1971	Britain
20	Singapore	1965	Britain
21	Sri Lanka	1972	Britain
22	Syria	1961	UAE
23	Tajikistan	1991	Soviet Union
24	Timor-Leste	2002	Indonesia
25	Turkmenistan	1991	Soviet Union
26	Uzbekistan	1991	Soviet Union
27	Vietnam	1945	Japan and France
28	Yemen	1990	-

**Table 4: The List of New States in Terms of Age (those formed after 1945) Europe**

S/No	State	Date of formation	Colonizer
1	Belarus	1991	Soviet Union
2	Bosnia and Herzegovina	1992	Yugoslavia
3	Cyprus	1960	Britain
4	Czech Republic	1993	Formerly Czechoslovakia
5	Estonia	1991	Soviet Union
6	Latvia	1990	Soviet Union
7	Lithuania	1990	Soviet Union
8	Macedonia	1991	Yugoslavia
9	Malta	1964	Britain
10	Moldova	1991	Soviet Union
11	Slovakia	1993	Formerly Czechoslovakia
12	Slovenia	1991	Soviet Union
13	Ukraine	1991	Soviet Union

**Table 5: The List of New States in Terms of Age (those formed after 1945) Oceania**

S/No	State	Date of formation	Colonizer
1	Fiji	1970	Britain
2	Kiribati	1979	Britain
3	Marshall Islands	1986	USA
4	Micronesia	1986	USA
5	Nauru	1968	UN Trusteeship
6	Palau	1994	UN Trusteeship
7	Papua New Guinea	1975	Australia

8	Samoa	1962	New Zealand
9	Solomon Islands	1978	Britain
10	Tonga	1970	Britain
11	Tuvalu	1978	Britain
12	Vanuatu	1980	France and Britain
13	Armenia	1991	Soviet Union
14	Azerbaijan	1991	Soviet Union
15	Georgia	1991	Soviet Union
16	Kazakhstan	1991	Soviet Union

A state, in the sense of modern state system, cannot be so called without sovereignty, and sovereignty cannot be exercised while an entity is under some forms of colonial rule. This is why the understanding of the formation of new states assumed the period of independence rather than the actual date of formation. To this end, Nigeria became a modern state in 1960 instead of 1914 when the Northern and the Southern protectorates were amalgamated to form an entity called Nigeria. From the above table 3 under Asia, it is observable that China and Israel are all new states; hence, the expectation that they suffer the same fate – master-slave relationship – of the new states in the international system. However, such is not the case since both Israel and China are indispensable world powers notwithstanding that the modern states of Israel and China just emerged in 1948 and 1949 respectively. On the other hand, any state not mentioned in the above tables, including Liberia, Haiti, Ethiopia, Chile, among others are old states in terms of age. Meanwhile, their age is yet to translate to any significant global assertion of historical relevance in terms of power and influence in the international system. To this end, understanding the new states strictly in terms of age could be misleading. The reason being that there is a sharp disconnect between the new and the old states in global politics depending on their access to global resources. Old states are traditionally known to have greater access to global resources than the new states (notwithstanding the location of such resources) and this is not necessarily as a result of their age, but due to their overall social development.

### **Self-Assessment Exercises 2**

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.*

1. *South Sudan was created in .....*
  - A. 2011
  - B. 2015
  - C. 2022
  - D. 2013
  
2. *Solomon Island got its independence from .....*
  - A. United States of America

- B. *Britain*
- C. *China*
- D. *Russia*

3. *A clearly defined territory or boundary is an important characteristics of a State. True or False*

### **1.5 Theorizing New States in Terms of Development**

The world politics is a capitalist dominated system historically designed to subjugate the less developed countries and perpetually beat them to submission through dependency and imperialism (Offiong, 1980; Mingst, 1999; Mommsen, 1980). According to Mingst (1999: 97), “the structure of the international system reflects stratification as well as polarity”. Stratification in this case refers to the uneven access to resources by different groups of states and it is a key to understanding the radical Marxist notion of the international system where new states mostly play the role of the second-fiddle. The determining factors in this stratification include military strength, economic power, stable political leadership, mineral deposit, among others. While these indicators are found in large quantity and quality in many old states, they are found wanting (except the mineral deposits) in many new states of the world. New states in terms of development include all those states that are economically backward, where unemployment, poverty, hunger, political instability, violence and many other social vices thrive. Having understood state in this axiom, China and Israel cannot be categorized as new states. On the other hand, Liberia, Haiti, Chile and many others are all new states, age notwithstanding. All the states that fall within the apex of the pyramid labeled “A”, are developed economically, politically, socially, militarily, and otherwise and are therefore categorized as old states. Age here is measured in terms of achievement and development. Most of the states in the North America and Europe fall within the peak of the pyramid, including Japan, China and Israel in Asia. In the “B” division of the pyramid are developing states. They can also be called new states in transition. These states have developing economies where poverty is seriously being fought, unemployment tamed and hunger in serious check. In the world politics, otherwise the global system, they suffer almost the same fate with the less developed countries but with serious moderation. The Latin American states like Brazil, Argentina, Mexico and such Asian states like South Korea, India, Qatar as well as Malaysia fall within this categorization. Those who largely occupy the base of the pyramid are labeled less developed countries where all the new states in terms of age (except China and Israel) and the old ones like Liberia, Ethiopia, Haiti, etcetera who are underdeveloped fit into. These states joined together have the highest world population, land mass, mineral deposits, and record the highest rates of poverty, unemployment, hunger, instability, among others. As a matter of specificity, virtually all the African states, Middle-East (except Israel) as well as many more in Latin America, Asia and Europe (Greece, for example) occupy the “C”



position in the pyramid. Ironically, these states, mostly those in Africa and Asia (Middle-East precisely) have the highest mineral deposits like crude oil, gold, uranium, among others as well as possess the best climatic conditions, record the least natural disasters, and yet are the worst-hit by hunger, poverty, unemployment and death issuing from starvation and man-made disasters. It is on this basis that such derogatory terms like thINR world countries, underdeveloped states, and peripheral states, among others coined. All the new states of the world in terms of development are inescapably tied to the rung of the pyramid.

From the foregoing theoretical explications, new states are not only those that are new in terms of age subject to when they secured political independence and self-rule, but also those whose developmental strides are still at the rudimentary level. In fact, the understanding of new states in the international system is synonymous with their level of development because that is what determines the capacity of states to assert themselves in the global politics. States that are developed also have and wield more powers and are likely to benefit more in the global resources whose territorial location and control have been affected by globalization to the disadvantage of less developed ones. In fact, globalization has worsened the continued understanding of the state from the stand-point of sovereignty and if sovereignty remains a cardinal tool for measuring the state, then there are very few states in the international system. Accordingly, one can therefore argue that old states are those ones that can exert greater influence in the international system and whose borders are not as porous as what obtains in many developing states even with the emergence of globalization and information technology; while new states are those states that lack the requisite technology to challenge the old states at the era of globalization. From the foregoing analysis, we can make the following deductions:

- All new states are post-colonial states
- All new states are either developing or underdeveloped
- All new states are mostly found within the continents of Africa, Asia and Latin America
- All new states are at the receiving end of globalization.

### **Self-Assessment Exercises 3**

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.*

1. *All new states are post-colonial states. True or False.*
2. *The world politics is a capitalist dominated system historically designed to subjugate the less developed countries and perpetually beat them to submission through .....and imperialism*
3. *Mexico is not a Latin America state. True or False.*
4. *States, mostly those in Africa and ..... (Middle-East precisely) have the highest mineral deposits like crude oil, gold, uranium.*

## 1.6 Making of New States in the International System

There is no straight-jacketed theoretical means of making a new state in the international system. Whereas some states are products of wars, others were created through negotiations and bargaining. Indeed, the modern state system rooted on the threshold of the Westphalia treaty is a product of political alchemy arising from wars. No war has ever ended with war. The end or resolution of wars is always reached through dialogues and peace appeals. The establishment of the modern state system in 1648 through the Westphalia treaty ended a thirty-year war (1618-1648) between and among the European Empires, thereby suggesting that the very essence of state creation is to resolve disputes. The making of new states, therefore, can assume the forms of war or peace and/or the combination of both. Consequently, the following stages can give credence to state creation in the international system outside the process of securing independence from colonial powers:

- Looting
- Truce
- Occupation
- Disintegration
- Recognition

**Looting:** Oppenheimer (1970) noted that looting comprises of robbery and killing in border fights, endless combats broken neither by peace nor by armistice. It is marked by killing of men, carrying away of children and women, looting of important resources either of animals or other valuables, destruction of property and burning of houses both private and public and even if the offenders or rebels are defeated, they return in stronger and more determined force, impelled by blood feud. If the rebel forces were able to assert themselves beyond the strength of the mainstream forces, then they are likely to be established as a state should that be their request. This style was adopted in Sudan and it led to the creation of South Sudan. It was also tried in the case of Biafra but it could not receive recognition by the international law in addition to the inability of the Biafra rebel forces to defeat the Nigerian military, hence its failure. Similarly, the case of Ethiopia and Eritrea in fierce civil war for over thirty years, and Eritrea subsequently emerged a sovereign state. In fact, the history of many old and new states is replete with well-known instances of mass expeditions of this averred looting style and the result has been the creation of new states.

**Truce:** This stage entails the brokering of peace process as a result that conquest from the mainstream power has become difficult, hence, the need for peace and stoppage of the blood feud. This was also obtainable in the case of South Sudan and Eritrea. Many decades of the war between the rebel forces and the Sudanese military could not produce a victor and the international community was becoming fed up with the number of lives being wasted daily and

was therefore faced with no other option than to try and broker peace with the Sudanese and the rebel governments. The result was the creation of South Sudan in 2011.

**Occupation:** Occupation has added decisive factor in the creation of new states. The state of Israel is a good example of a state created through occupation. Though the establishment of the Israeli state took many decades of negotiations and bargaining within the United Nations, it eventually settled for its present territory in the Middle-East within the Palestinian boundary out of many options given, including in Africa.

**Disintegration:** State creation through disintegration can occur as a result of wrong political calculation and economic policies such as the glasnost and perestroika of Mikhail Gorbachev of the defunct Soviet Union which led to the disintegration of that country into fifteen sovereign states with Russia retaining the veto power of the former USSR in the United Nations Security Council. Similar policies are capable of producing similar results elsewhere given similar characteristics of the defunct Soviet Union. Beyond wrong political calculation and economic policies, looting, either in the forms of killing, stealing and kidnapping in the border territories or corruption and embezzlement of public funds by the politicians, can also lead to disintegration of a country. Meanwhile, it is possible to find in a state the attributes of looting, truce, disintegration or even occupation as contributory factors to its creation.

**Recognition:** While the first four can be regarded as sociological approach to state creation, recognition is a legal approach. It takes social conditions of looting, truce, occupation or disintegration and the legal imputation of recognition to make a state in the international system. Recognition is an exclusive preserve of the international law and most fundamental in state creation without which an entity remains a persona non grata in international politics while measuring the state as a unit of analysis. Given certain conditions, such an entity can be welcomed as an international non-governmental organization but not as a state. Besides recognition by the international law, the Montevideo Convention on the Rights and Duties of States (1933) laid down the following criteria as the condition for state creation. These criteria include:

- The state (to be created) must possess a permanent population
- It must have a defined boundary
- There must be government and
- The state must possess the capacity to conduct international relations.

These criteria are just reinforcement of the features of a state in Westphalia order, and so might not help much in understanding state creation, hence, the five prevailing social conditions. Therefore, while the sociological approach provides the necessary conditions for state creation, the legal approach, based on recognition by the international law, offers the sufficient condition. Of course, it is noteworthy that without sufficient conditions, it cannot produce a desirable outcome for political change and vice versa. Perhaps, while many states that were under colonial

rules fought and secured their independence and statehood, others got theirs through nonviolent negotiations and bargaining. Almost all the states in Africa that were colonized got their independence and by extension statehood through the latter processes of nonviolent negotiations and bargaining.

#### **Self-Assessment Exercises 4**

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.*

- 1. .... stage entails the brokering of peace process as a result that conquest from the mainstream power has become difficult, hence, the need for peace and stoppage of the blood feud*
- 2. State creation through disintegration can occur as a result of wrong political calculation and economic policies such as the glasnost and perestroika of .....*
- 3. Where rebel forces were able to assert themselves beyond the strength of the mainstream forces, then they are likely to be established as a state should that be their request. This style was adopted in Sudan and it led to the creation of .....*
- 4. State recognition is seen as a .....approach, without which an entity remains a persona non grata in international politics*

#### **1.6 Summary**

This unit examined the theoretical origin of new states from two views. One in terms of age and the other in terms of development. Theorizing New States in Terms of Age the Peace Treaty of Westphalia (1648) has given some characteristic meanings to the understanding of the modern state system. This treaty which ended the 30 years' war (1618-1648) between the Holy Roman Empire and the rest of Europe led to the cartographical division of the world based on defined boundaries. For a state to be so called, the following features must be present: A clearly defined territory or boundary, Government within the territory, Population and Sovereignty. In terms of development, new states in terms of development include all those states that are economically backward, where unemployment, poverty, hunger, political instability, violence and many other social vices thrive.

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## 1.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

### Answers to SAE1

1. *Africa*
2. *state*
3. *Marxian*

### Answers to SAE2

1. *A- 2011*
2. *B- Britain*
3. *True*

### Answers to SAE3

1. *True*
2. *dependency*
3. *False*
4. *Asia*

### Answers to SAE4

1. *Truce*
2. *Mikhail Gorberchev*
3. *South Sudan*
4. *Legal*

## **Unit 2: CHARACTERISTICS OF NEW STATES IN WORLD POLITICS**

### Unit Structure

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcomes
- 2.3 Economy
  - 2.3.1 Economic Backwardness
  - 2.3.2 Colonialism and Economy of New States
  - 2.3.3 Late Entrant into the modernization process
- 2.4 Development
  - 2.4.1 Misconception of the notion of development
  - 2.4.2 Misapplication of the idea of development:
- 2.5 Political
  - 2.5.1 Victims of colonial exploitation
  - 2.5.2 Pluralistic Nature of the society
  - 2.5.3 Imperialistic Imposition
  - 2.5.4 Evolution from Nationhood to Statehood
- 2.6 Summary
- 2.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 2.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

### **2.1 Introduction**

A new state is one which has recently acquired independent political control over its own affairs. This includes the great majority of the countries of Asia and Africa which, before 1945, were under some form of European colonial rule. The term 'new state' is used as a description of these countries in preference to more common alternatives because it is an objective and verifiable definition. The existence of an independent state can be established by the application of reasonably firm legal and constitutional rules. The term 'new state' seems to offer a more precise and objective description of the countries under discussion here. In one sense, it is too limited - emphasizing the recent acquisition of independent political control and so excluding a number of important states which possess most of the other social, economic and political characteristics of new states, places like Ethiopia and Thailand. More significantly, Latin America is also excluded since most states there achieved their independence during the last century. But all these older states have in common established indigenous elite with local traditions of political practice, which has had more than a century to try to establish some form of accommodation with the forces of social and economic change and has often settled for an uneasy form of stability based upon virtual stagnation. It is difficult to generalize about the character of all pre-colonial societies because of the wide range of differences between them.

But, in contrast to the situation after a period of colonial rule and associated economic and social change, certain features can be identified which are common to most societies. The society is essentially a closed 'traditional' one because it operates a self-sufficient and essentially rural economy. Exchange of goods and services will occur within the social framework and there will be some specialization of functions, but broadly the inhabitants will not see themselves as heavily dependent upon others apart from their identification with such simple primary groups as the family, the tribe and the caste. An individual will fit into a social order in which status is ascribed, i.e. based upon inheritance rather than achievement; demands for change will be channeled through these traditional institutions and moderated by the respect for continuity embodied in an hereditary system of authority. This remains true even of African tribal societies where leadership is not directly hereditary but appointed by a supervisory council of elders. Even though this self-contained world cracked open under the impact of colonial change, the bulk of individuals continued to perceive their social and political role in terms of loyalties to traditional groups.

## **2.2 Learning Outcomes**

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

- a. Describe the political characteristics of New States in world politics
- b. State clearly the economic characteristics of New States in world politics
- c. Enumerate the development characteristic characteristics of New States in world politics.

## **2.3 Economy**

### **2.3.1 Economic Backwardness**

Thus, in purely physical terms, the closed traditional world was shattered. Economic change also led to social change, particularly as colonial administration was accompanied by the introduction of western education - initially as a result of missionary activity. There was a considerable re-stratification in which status came to be based upon such modern characteristics as income, education and position in the new power structure. An individual was no longer held firmly in a fixed social order but could possess mobility throughout his own achievements. Elite tended to emerge unrelated to any traditional ruling group - although some were members of both - just as a gap had appeared between urban wage earners and cash-oriented farmers and those who had not left the old ways of subsistence agriculture.

### **2.3.2 Colonialism and Economy of New States**

While the economic and social changes produced by colonialism had, in some sense, a liberating effect, they also created frustrations. Colonial governments pursued policies of economic restraint which were parallel to their authoritarian political controls, both methods being at odds with the laissez-faire and democratic views prevailing back in Europe. In economies dependent for foreign trade upon agricultural produce such as West Africa and India, free enterprise was rigidly restricted by controls designed with genuine benevolence to protect the interests of

‘simple’ people, which seemed to be denying the local inhabitants the fruits of their labour. In places where Europeans operated plantations and large-scale farms such as Kenya and Malayan (Malaysia), a discriminatory wages structure was evolved which emphasized racial differences as a basis for economic reward. In all areas, the claims of an elite which demanded some form of recognition as a result of educational achievements were rejected because of an overwhelming paternalism of the colonial administrators. Because they could not secure genuine equality with Europeans - in social, economic or political terms - the members of this elite determined to respect Kwame Nkrumah’s dictum of ‘seeking first the political kingdom’. As a consequence, movements emerged in most colonial territories led by members of these rejected elite groups which aimed primarily at the removal of colonial control but were also regarded as the embodiment of a new spirit of nationalism. Support for these elite came from diverse groups representing both traditional and modern interests, connected by a diffuse ideology primarily concerned with the substitution of indigenous control for the existing colonial regime. Under colonial rule, the absence of outlets for the articulation of political demands and the importance of state control in economic affairs meant that pressure in defence of specific interests was concentrated on the bureaucracy. As a result, techniques of persuasion had to be adapted to the use of informal channels of private petitions which typify interest group activity facing any all-powerful bureaucratic system; in this respect, colonial government resembled Russia and also the sort of authoritarian regimes which eventually replaced colonial control in many new states. But the system of informal petitioning tended to favour those with closest social connection with the colonial rulers, particularly expatriates in commerce or agriculture. As groups grew in strength and the educated elite played upon the European’s lack of confidence in indigenous ability which was implicit in paternalism, an attractive option emerged. Instead of collaborating separately, accepting the political limits set by the colonial administration, groups combined to challenge the basic premise of the system and to support the elite in their nationalist demands. The network of separate and often competing groups, never as fully developed as in western societies, gave way to common support for anti-colonialism which the elite sought to weld into a mass movement.

### **2.3.3 Late Entrant into the modernization process:**

The new states of Africa and Asia are in an entirely different position. Their present leaders are from the first generation to face the challenge of controlling their own political destinies. They are linked by a common colonial heritage which placed restrictions upon both the rate and direction of national growth. They are all committed (in widely varying degrees) to policies aimed at rapid social and economic changes. They are all searching for stable relationships with powerful traditional structures. Policy decisions of a fundamental character cannot be left to evolve out of the routine of small decisions, as they tend to in the mature political systems of old states; the leaders of new states must take all of these decisions as a firm basis for the future. And they are all short of two vital commodities in decision-making: time and experience.

Self-Assessment Exercises 1

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take*



*you more than 5 minutes.*

- 1. In the new post-colonial state, Economic change also led to .....change*
- 2. In economies dependent for foreign trade upon .....produce such as West Africa and India, free enterprise was rigidly restricted by controls designed with genuine benevolence to protect the interests of 'simple' people*
- 3. Colonial governments pursued policies of economic restraint which were parallel to their .....political controls.*

## **2.4 Development**

### **2.4.1 Misconception of the notion of development**

The notion of a 'developing area' is another example of a tendency for some definitions to beg the question. The implication is that 'development', however defined, is actually taking place, and at a greater rate than in areas not defined as developing. In practice, such development is more often only an aspiration (like nationhood) than a reality, particularly when compared to the growth rate of many of the so-called 'developed' states like the USA and Germany. Much of the confusion arises from a tendency to broaden the notion of development beyond its original specifically economic content. Originally, the notion of economic underdevelopment implied inadequate commercial and industrial activity and low levels of productivity, urbanization and literacy. These factors could be measured by economists, expressed in the form of comparable indices and used to create a viable (if not always accurate) set of categories to distinguish levels of development among the countries of the world. However, it could be shown that the rate of economic growth was related to changes in the existing social structure and the attitude of individuals towards these changes. New political changes tended to accompany the process, just as the demand for democratic reforms and the emergence of the Labour Party accompanied economic expansion during the second half of the nineteenth century in Australia. Some writers even argued the rather dubious proposition that the rate of economic growth was directly related to the level of party competition in the political system, so that countries would necessarily become more democratic as they became richer.

### **2.4.2 Misapplication of the idea of development:**

'Development' thus came to be regarded as a single process of economic, social and political change. Progress would be made towards an ideal, developed and modern state – a unilinear concept. This notion may be appropriate for economics, since states tend not to become less industrialized, less urban or less literate, but the direction of change in political factors is not always in the same direction and towards the same final goal. There is no reason why we should expect all states to be moving towards a basically European liberal-democratic form of political organization and no justification for terming states which are moving in a different direction 'under-developed'. This topic will be discussed in more detail later, but it is enough for the

moment to note that, as with 'new nation', the concept of 'developing' or 'under-developed' areas or countries is unsatisfactory because subjective judgments are involved when the term is applied beyond a strictly economic analysis.

### Self-Assessment Exercises 2

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.*

1. *The notion of .....underdevelopment implied inadequate commercial and industrial activity and low levels of productivity, urbanization and literacy*
  - A. *Economic*
  - B. *Political*
  - C. *Social*
  - D. *Military*
  
2. *In the new states, new .....changes tended to accompany the process, just as the demand for democratic reforms*
  - A. *Independence*
  - B. *Political*
  - C. *Socio-Economic*
  - D. *Cultural*
  
3. *Majority of the new states in the world are modelled after the .....liberal-democratic form of political organization.*
  - A. *Asian*
  - B. *African*
  - C. *European*
  - D. *Oceania*

## 2.5 Political

### 2.5.1 Victims of colonial exploitation

The general experience of colonial rule should not be allowed to disguise the difference between states and the importance of pre-colonial or non-colonial factors in political development. Quite clearly, India has very many more points of difference than points of similarity with the Congo and the colonial experience has had considerably less impact upon present-day politics. Differences in pre-colonial political behaviour and traditional culture can be more important in explaining current problems than differences between colonial regimes. For the great majority of inhabitants of the new states, political perspectives and attitudes to authority were shaped by their experience of the traditional system which had prevailed for centuries rather than by brief contact with colonialism. The Indian Empire is often taken as a model of efficiency and thoroughness but several writers have noted that millions of Indian lived out their lives without

ever seeing a white representative of the Raj; in Africa, and now in New Guinea, colonial administration often penetrates the farthest points just in time to prepare the inhabitants for its withdrawal in favour of new national independence.

### **2.5.2 Pluralistic Nature of the society**

In this situation, it is important to note that the traditional unit of organization rarely coincides with the structure of the colonial administrative unit, which in turn usually provides the dimensions of the new state. Most states were born of a partition between colonial powers which tended to enclose several different traditional units and to create a problem of cultural pluralism which has provided a continuing problem for the rulers of the new states. This pluralism - the existence of loyalties to groups based upon shared religion, race, tribe, caste or language - poses a major challenge to the new states. Nationhood - the achievement of a full and over-riding commitment to the state from all its inhabitants against the demands of sub-national loyalties - remains a rare phenomenon among the new states. This is scarcely surprising in view of the persistence of similar cultural separatism among such 'old' states as Belgium and Canada. In this particular aspect, colonial control did not sweep away the existing patterns of behaviour. Separatist loyalties did not disappear beneath some engulfing tide of nationalism created by territorial administrative structures and the magnetic attraction of urban and commercial centers. In social terms the bringing together of workers from different areas with different traditions tended to increase the individual's awareness of cultural separation rather than diminish it. He tended to classify everyone except members of his own group as foreigners and to strengthen those links which held him to his traditional culture; eventually he came to perceive his economic and political self-interest in terms of the group and to support new organizations on this basis. Similarly, in administrative terms, separatism was given increased strength by the policies pursued by many of the colonial authorities. Under a system subsequently rationalized as 'indirect rule', the British used the existing patterns of control and communication to rule large numbers of colonial subjects without the expense of creating their own administrative machinery. Where an existing ruler seemed moderately efficient and suitably pliable to British pressures, the traditional structure was maintained and given the backing of colonial authority. The rulers sometimes became the mouthpiece of colonial rule but usually had a relatively free hand in internal matters. In some areas, the traditional units became the basis for a decentralized structure of administration and a major obstacle to future plans for national unity.

### **2.5.3 Imperialistic Imposition**

Indirect rule was part of a broader attempt on the part of the colonial administrators to create an institutional basis for understanding and guiding the societies which they controlled. A leading social anthropologist has argued that "'tribe", to take the example of a basic unit, would appear to be a concept that was intellectually imposed on Africa by its early foreign visitors'. Colonial administrators came to view social change as a discontinuous series of events on the way to modernity, with 'tribalism' as a barrier to be destroyed by the process of development. It seems more reasonable to accept that the non-colonial elements in society were not and are not static,

whether in Asia or Africa. Social change is a continuous process, a gradual mixing together of the forces operating in a society. In the colonial context, this meant that traditional values and structures were dramatically affected but not destroyed by the impact of external forces sometimes termed the process of 'modernization' or 'westernization'. A mainspring for these changes was the creation of a new economic order in which the subsistence rural agriculture with its lack of labour specialization was replaced by the production of cash crops for an international market, either on plantations or by peasant producers. Production of minerals also drew together a specialized labour force and urban groupings began to appear in response to the need for commercial centers. New tastes for consumer goods were generated by the introduction of cash incomes and a stimulus given to increased export trade and limited local industrialization.

#### **2.5.4 Evolution from Nationhood to Statehood**

This is not true of other terms like 'new nations' or 'developing areas', or (less common now, in deference to the pride of the inhabitants) 'backward countries'. The notion of a nation, for example, presupposes a feeling of national identity on the part of the inhabitants of the whole territory. In many new states, it is precisely the absence of an equivalent 'new nation' which is the root cause of most of the political problems. For example, the new state of Nigeria came into existence in 1960 but, if any nations existed there at that time, they were the nations of ethnic groups like the Hausa and the Ibo and did not correspond to the area and population of the whole of Nigeria. Referring to Nigeria (or Pakistan or New Guinea) as a new nation is more an expression of hope than fact.

#### **Self-Assessment Exercises 3**

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.*

- 1. ....has very many more points of difference than points of similarity with the Congo and the colonial experience has had considerably less impact upon present-day politics*
- 2. For the great majority of inhabitants of the new states, political perspectives and attitudes to authority were shaped by their experience of the .....system*
- 3. Most states were born of a partition between .....powers.*
- 4. Indirect rule was introduced by.....*
- 5. Colonial administrators came to view social change as a discontinuous series of events on the way to modernity, with..... as a barrier to be destroyed by the process of development*

## 2.6 Summary

This unit examines the development, political and economic characteristics of new state in world politics. Some new states have made considerable progress since its creation, however, majority of them economically backward, influenced by their colonial history, late entrant into the modernization process. Politically, they are still haunted by colonial political exploitation; their plural nature has been a source of conflict rather than an advantage, their imperial disposition from colonial days still exists today with some authoritarian leaders that have directly contributed to weakening institutions.

## 2.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources

- Almond, G. (1960). *coleman, JS The Politics of the developing Areas*. Princeton University Press
- Millikan, M. F., & Blackmer, D. L. (1961). *emerging nations: their growth and United States policy*. Little, Brown & Co., 1961
- Pye, L. (1966). *Aspects of political development little. Brown and Company, Sixth Printing.*
- Von der Mehden, F. R. (1964). *Politics of the developing nations* (Vol. 88). Prentice-Hall.

## 2.8 Possible Answers to SAEs

Answers to SAE1

1. *Social*
2. *Agricultural*
3. *Authoritarian*

Answers to SAE2

1. *A- Economic*
2. *B- Political*
3. *C- European*

Answers to SAE3

1. *India*
2. *Traditional*
3. *Colonial*
4. *Britain*
5. *Tribalism*

## UNIT 3 Categorizing New States in International Relations

Unit Structure

3.1 Introduction

- 3.2 Learning outcomes
- 3.3 Conceptualizing State Actors
- 3.4 Categorization of New States
  - 3.4.1 Failed States
  - 3.4.2 Developed States
  - 3.4.3 Developing States
  - 3.4.4 North/South Divide
- 3.5 Summary
- 3.6 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 3.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

### **3.1 Introduction**

International relations is presumed to encompass the whole gamut of relationships in the international system. It involves the issues of high and low politics, the volatile to the mundane, and the conflictual and the cordial. In these very types of relationships, there are actors and players that initiate and carry out the various types of interactions. These actors include the state and the non-state actors. There have been debates about the importance of the state in contemporary international relations, the debates remain on going thus, the importance of focusing on the state as an actor without necessarily comparing the state with other actors in the system.

### **3.2 Learning Outcomes**

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

- Explain the meaning of state as an actor in the international system.
- Distinguish among the different categorizations of the states and new states

### **3.3 Conceptualizing the State as an Actor**

Theoretically, the state is the basic actor in international relations. All forms of interactions, even those that are not carried out by the state, revolve around the state. This major catalyst for international relations can thus be defined as a legitimate and organised political entity controlled by a government (including the various arms and levels), with human inhabitants and whose independence is recognized by other states. States differ in size but share similar characteristics. For a political entity to be regarded as a state, the following features must be presented:

**Sovereignty:** - this is arguably the most essential character of the state. The sovereignty of a state refers to the legal attributes that compel others to accept a political entity as a state. The possession of sovereignty guarantees the existence of equality among states, and ensures that interference is not acceptable under normal circumstances. There are two types of sovereignty; the external and the internal sovereignty.

External sovereignty is required in the conduct of relations and interactions with the rest of the world. This sovereignty ensures that the state creates the basis for its own foreign-policy objectives and works towards the actualization of the objectives. External sovereignty is that instrument that guarantees the freedom and independence of states. It is the recognition by the rest of the world that a state is not under the rule of another state. For instance, Africa's colonial political entities became sovereign states when they were granted their independence. In other words, a state under the yoke of colonialism, invasion or occupation does not possess the instrument of external sovereignty. When a state becomes sovereign, it is therefore at liberty to determine its own national interest, thereby able to define; vital and core interests, long, medium and short-range interests, etc Internal sovereignty on the other hand, is the instrument that confers legitimacy on the government of a country. Under this arrangement, the citizenry accepts the authority of government and are willing without force or coercion to obey the laws of the land as enshrined in the constitution, and to carry out their obligations, and legitimately await the fulfilment of their rights by the government. In essence, internal sovereignty is a 'sine qua non' to domestic tranquillity and general well-being of the people. In the wake of the Arab Spring, the subsisting governments of Tunisia, Egypt and Libya had lost their internal sovereignties before their overthrow. In the instance of Syria, the civil disobedience that has remained constant in the country is suggestive of the fact that the government no longer commands the respect of the citizenry, and therefore, the internal sovereignty does no longer exist.

**Territory:** - for a state to be so recognised, it must have a clearly defined territory. Thus, there is the existence of international borders which demarcate the various states from one-another. Aside of land- borders, sea-territories and air-space are also fundamental in the definition of territories. Thus, for a political entity to be regarded as a state, it must possess its own territories on land, sea and in the air.

**Population and Nationalism:** - a state must also have its own population made up of its citizenry, who must share common basic characteristics, such as; value systems, norms, cultural orientation, etc. The population of the state is indicative of the history of the state, and also defines the identity of the state. It is expected that the citizenry should be loyal to the government and the state, and in effect, display some level of nationalism at critical periods, as and when required.

**Armed Forces:** - based on the fact that a political entity must be able to protect itself against external aggression, whether on land, in the sea or air, a state must possess its own military force, which must include the army, navy and air-force. Though the level of military strength and capability may differ, each state must at all times have a standing army.

**Recognition by other States:** - a state must also seek recognition from the rest of the

international community. It is that recognition that allows for participation in the interaction among the comity of nations. Such recognition provides mutual benefits for all concerned, since the international system as evolved into an interdependent global village. Recognition, whether in its *dejure* or *defacto* is of immense importance for a political entity to be regarded as a state.

**Government:** - this refers to the instrument through which the aspirations and objectives of the state is realised. The government as an instrument of the state is mandated to ensure the pooling of the human and material resources in the pursuit of the state's national interest. In this respect, the government represents the state at all international functions, including signing of treaties and agreements on behalf of the state. The strength of the state is therefore determined by the functionality of its government.

### Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 4 minutes.*

1. *The .....is the basic actor in international relations.*
2. *..... refers to the instrument through which the aspirations and objectives of the state is realized.*
3. *For a state to be so recognized, it must have a clearly defined.....*
4. *..... is arguably the most essential character of the state*
5. *.....is required in the conduct of relations and interactions with the rest of the world*

## 3.4 Categorizing New States in World Politics

### 3.4.1 Failed State

A failed state is one that is unable to effectively maintain all or some of the essential characteristics of a state. It could also be referred to as “collapsed” or “disintegrated” state. In effect, the political structure of a failed state would have been crippled by significant variables. Max Weber argues that a state can be described as a failed state if it fails to maintain either or both internal and external sovereignty, thereby losing the ability for internal “monopoly of power”. A failed state is therefore an unworkable state, which may likely disintegrate or be dismembered. This means that a failed state is one without a sovereign government, a state that has lost control of its borders, a state where the government cannot guarantee the safety of its citizens, a habitat for the procreation of corruption and criminality. Although some times, states move from being failed to regain their statehood.

Failed states have specific characteristics which are the indicators that demonstrate their status. These indicators have been presented as the Failed States Index (Patrick, 2007). They are categorised into the social, economic and political indicators, and on the basis of the



performances of these indicators states are assessed. The indicators are:

Social indicators:                      Demographic pressures  
Populace emigration Brain-drain

Economic indicators:                  Economic and social inequality  
Economic decline

Political indicators:                    Widespread corruption  
Violation of human rights  
Illegal Security mechanism  
Decline of public services  
Intervention of foreign forces  
Rise of factionalised elites

These conditions are reflections of unhealthy domestic conditions, some of which could arise as a result of internecine and ethnic wars and class or group rivalries. Basically therefore, the inability to manage contending objectives of the various forces in a state could trigger conditions that may turn the state into a failed state. Unfortunately, the failed state condition also has snowballing effects on its own environment, called domestic effects, and also on its region, called neighborhood effects. Domestic effects are evident when there is massive emigration and consequently, massive inflow of refugees into neighbouring states. It should also be noted that once a state loses control of its borders, illegal activities such as drug production and trafficking thrive. These domestic effects trigger the neighbouring effects, which could come in form of the spread of various kinds of diseases, including, HIV/AIDS. Beyond these, conditions in some failed states may alter the political and socio-economic circumstances of neighbouring states. In recent years, quite a number of countries in Africa have experienced this condition.

Five possible pathways to state failure:

1. Escalation of communal group (ethnic or religious) conflicts.  
Examples: Rwanda, Yugoslavia.
2. State predation (corrupt or crony corralling of resources at the expense of other groups).  
Examples: Nicaragua, the Philippines.
3. Regional or guerrilla rebellion. Examples: Colombia, Vietnam.
4. Democratic collapse (leading to civil war or coup d'état). Examples: Nigeria, Nepal.
5. Succession or reform crisis in authoritarian states. Examples: Indonesia under Suharto, the Soviet Union under Gorbachev

The post-conflict states that are emerging from external or civil war. Many of these countries have been in Africa—South Africa, Mozambique, Sierra Leone, Somalia. Some have been in

Latin America (Nicaragua, El Salvador, and much of Central America), in Asia (e.g. Cambodia), and in the Middle East (Lebanon, Algeria, and Iraq); Countries that are in the midst of civil war or ongoing violent conflict, where central state authority has largely collapsed, as in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

### **3.4. Developed States**

The concept of development in relation to the circumstances of states focuses on the economic well-being and the social welfare opportunities open to the general populace. It is meant to be a reflection of the economic circumstances of the people. However, in recent times, conditions such as political stability, socio-cultural harmony, level of education, infrastructural development, etc. have been to the economic indicators in determining whether a state is developed or not. A developed state can therefore be defined as one that has recorded remarkable growth and development in its economic, political and social spheres. Such states are also called “advanced state”, “industrialised state” or “a first world country”. Most states that qualify for this categorisation are found in the Western world, comprising of most Western and Central European countries and the United States of America. In the qualifications, rankings are undertaken using the assessment of the following variables:

- Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per Capita: this is the total worth of goods and services produced in a state within a particular period.
- Level of Industrialisation: the economic and social system is defined by the industrial growth and development in a state.
- Human Development Index (HDI): this is a combination of the economic measure, national income, life expectancy and education of the populace.

Instructively though, the United Nations Statistics Division argues that there is no established convention for the designation of “developed” and “developing” countries or areas in the United Nations system. The designations “developed” and “developing” are intended for statistical convenience and do not necessarily express a judgment about the stage reached by a particular country or area in the development process”. Despite this position, there are fundamental differences in the level of development among states.

New states such as United Arab Emirates, Malta, Estonia, Slovenia, Norway, Bahrain, and Qatar are categorized as Developed Countries based on high HDI, purchasing power parity and other indicators.

#### **3.4.3 Developing States**

On the other extreme are countries that do not meet any of the criteria used in the assessment of the level of development. For these states, it is found that while the economic conditions are worrisome, political stability is not guaranteed, as such the basic necessities of life become a herculean task to achieve. Most of these countries suffer from lack of infrastructure and in some

cases, infrastructural decay. These unfortunate conditions are not helped by massive corruption, which is usually the order of the day because of the absence of adequate control systems. In most cases, the economies are comatose and highly dependent on aids and assistance from external sources. These states are also referred to as Less Developed Countries (LDCs), Least Economically Developed Countries (LEDCs), “Under – developed Nations”, ThINR World Nations”, non-industrialised states”, “Least Developed Countries (LDCs). All these are euphemisms which subtly suggest inferiority (Sullivan & Sheffrin, 2003). There has however been contention over time that the suggestive inferiority toga should be discountenanced, because the concerned countries are known to attempt treading the path to growth and development; thus, the adoption of the “Developing State” concept.

Characteristically, developing states can be perceived as the under- privileged and deprived countries of the world, mostly from Africa and Latin America. Their low level of development and growth is usually characterised by the fragility present in their economic, political and social lives. Their economy is usually dominated by the agricultural sector (primary products) which is crippled by low investments and productivity. As a result of the lack of industrialisation, the primary or crude products cannot be refined, and are therefore exported to the developed parts of the world for processing. Mostly, such products after being refined and packaged are now imported by the developing country, which happens to be the originating country of the product. On the long run, the developing country’s unrefined product that was sold cheaply is now being bought at exorbitant as refined products. Without doubt, these countries have become vulnerable states, because of their positions at the periphery of the international economic system. Except fundamental changes take place, most developing countries may never cross the line to development. Specifically therefore, a typical developing country would be characterised by the following features; low Gross National Income, high infant mortality rate, lack of infrastructure (epileptic power supply), low literacy level, poor educational facilities, balance of payments deficits, mono-product economy, political instability, corruption, weak control systems, among other features.

<b>Country</b>	<b>Population</b>	<b>GNI per capita</b>	<b>Human Development Index</b>	<b>Human Asset Index</b>
<u>Afghanistan</u>	39.8 M	500 USD	0.511	42
<u>Albania</u>	2.8 M	6,110 USD	0.795	
<u>Algeria</u>	44.6 M	3,660 USD	0.748	90.2
<u>Angola</u>	33.9 M	1,770 USD	0.581	52
<u>Antigua and Barbuda</u>	0.1 M	14,900 USD	0.778	96.4
<u>Argentina</u>	45.8 M	10,050 USD	0.845	97.6

<u>Armenia</u>	3.0 M	4,560 USD	0.776	94.6
<u>Aruba</u>	0.1 M	23,070 USD		
<u>Azerbaijan</u>	10.1 M	4,880 USD	0.756	93
<u>Bahamas</u>	0.4 M	27,220 USD	0.814	90.3
<u>Bahrain</u>	1.7 M	19,930 USD	0.852	97.9
<u>Bangladesh</u>	166.3 M	2,620 USD	0.632	75.3
<u>Barbados</u>	0.3 M	16,720 USD	0.814	98
<u>Belarus</u>	9.3 M	6,950 USD	0.823	
<u>Belize</u>	0.4 M	4,290 USD	0.716	89.3
<u>Benin</u>	12.5 M	1,370 USD	0.545	49.4
<u>Bhutan</u>	0.8 M	2,840 USD	0.654	79.5
<u>Bolivia</u>	11.8 M	3,360 USD	0.718	88.5
<u>Bosnia and Herzegovina</u>	3.3 M	6,770 USD	0.78	
<u>Botswana</u>	2.4 M	6,940 USD	0.735	83.1
<u>Brazil</u>	214.0 M	7,720 USD	0.765	95.9
<u>Brunei</u>	0.4 M	31,510 USD	0.838	93.8
<u>Bulgaria</u>	6.9 M	10,720 USD	0.816	
<u>Burkina Faso</u>	21.5 M	860 USD	0.452	56
<u>Burma</u>	54.8 M	1,140 USD	0.583	73.9
<u>Burundi</u>	12.3 M	240 USD	0.433	53.9
<u>Cambodia</u>	16.9 M	1,550 USD	0.594	74.3
<u>Cameroon</u>	27.2 M	1,590 USD	0.563	61.2
<u>Cape Verde</u>	0.6 M	3,330 USD	0.665	91.2
<u>Central African Republic</u>	4.9 M	530 USD	0.397	27.4
<u>Chad</u>	16.9 M	650 USD	0.398	18.3
<u>Chile</u>	19.2 M	15,000 USD	0.851	99.1
<u>China</u>	1,412.4 M	11,890 USD	0.761	95.7
<u>Colombia</u>	51.3 M	6,160 USD	0.767	93.9
<u>Comoros</u>	0.9 M	1,460 USD	0.554	67.2

<u>Costa Rica</u>	5.1 M	12,310 USD	0.81	97.3
<u>Democratic Republic of the Congo</u>	92.4 M	580 USD	0.48	47.9
<u>Djibouti</u>	1.0 M	3,300 USD	0.524	61.9
<u>Dominica</u>	0.1 M	7,760 USD	0.742	93.5
<u>Dominican Republic</u>	11.0 M	8,220 USD	0.756	90.9
<u>East Timor</u>	1.3 M	1,940 USD	0.606	69.5
<u>Ecuador</u>	17.9 M	5,930 USD	0.759	90.3
<u>Egypt</u>	104.3 M	3,510 USD	0.707	83.3
<u>El Salvador</u>	6.5 M	4,140 USD	0.673	88.2
<u>Equatorial Guinea</u>	1.4 M	5,810 USD	0.592	67.1
<u>Eritrea</u>	3.5 M	600 USD	0.459	57.2
<u>Eswatini</u>	1.2 M	3,680 USD	0.611	77.1
<u>Ethiopia</u>	117.9 M	960 USD	0.485	55.3
<u>Federated States of Micronesia</u>	0.1 M	3,880 USD	0.62	83.3
<u>Fiji</u>	0.9 M	4,860 USD	0.743	94.2
<u>Gabon</u>	2.3 M	7,100 USD	0.703	78.5
<u>Gambia</u>	2.5 M	800 USD	0.496	63.8
<u>Georgia</u>	3.7 M	4,740 USD	0.812	98.4
<u>Ghana</u>	31.7 M	2,360 USD	0.611	78.5
<u>Grenada</u>	0.1 M	9,630 USD	0.779	96.5
<u>Guatemala</u>	17.1 M	4,940 USD	0.663	69.3
<u>Guinea</u>	13.5 M	1,010 USD	0.477	39.8
<u>Guinea-Bissau</u>	2.0 M	780 USD	0.48	44
<u>Guyana</u>	0.8 M	9,380 USD	0.682	89.8
<u>Haiti</u>	11.5 M	1,420 USD	0.51	66.2

<u>Honduras</u>	10.1 M	2,540 USD	0.634	83.4
<u>India</u>	1,393.4 M	2,170 USD	0.645	74.3
<u>Indonesia</u>	276.4 M	4,140 USD	0.718	83.3
<u>Iran</u>	85.0 M	3,370 USD	0.783	91.4
<u>Iraq</u>	41.2 M	5,040 USD	0.674	75.3
<u>Ivory Coast</u>	27.1 M	2,450 USD	0.538	53
<u>Jamaica</u>	3.0 M	4,800 USD	0.734	91.3
<u>Jordan</u>	10.3 M	4,480 USD	0.729	90.4
<u>Kazakhstan</u>	19.0 M	8,720 USD	0.825	98.3
<u>Kenya</u>	55.0 M	2,010 USD	0.601	73.2
<u>Kiribati</u>	0.1 M	2,910 USD	0.63	81.5
<u>Kosovo</u>	1.8 M	4,970 USD		
<u>Kuwait</u>	4.3 M	36,200 USD	0.806	97.5
<u>Kyrgyzstan</u>	6.7 M	1,180 USD	0.697	94.5
<u>Laos</u>	7.4 M	2,520 USD	0.613	72.8
<u>Lebanon</u>	6.8 M	3,450 USD	0.744	88.2
<u>Lesotho</u>	2.2 M	1,270 USD	0.527	62.6
<u>Liberia</u>	5.2 M	620 USD	0.48	45.2
<u>Libya</u>	7.0 M	8,430 USD	0.724	83.6
<u>Madagascar</u>	28.4 M	500 USD	0.528	60.7
<u>Malawi</u>	19.6 M	630 USD	0.483	55.5
<u>Malaysia</u>	32.8 M	10,930 USD	0.81	89.5
<u>Maldives</u>	0.5 M	8,400 USD	0.74	89.4
<u>Mali</u>	20.9 M	870 USD	0.434	45.6
<u>Marshall Islands</u>	0.1 M	5,050 USD	0.704	79.6
<u>Mauritania</u>	4.8 M	1,730 USD	0.546	54.1
<u>Mauritius</u>	1.3 M	10,860 USD	0.804	94.1
<u>Mexico</u>	130.3 M	9,380 USD	0.779	94.9
<u>Moldova</u>	2.6 M	5,460 USD	0.75	
<u>Mongolia</u>	3.3 M	3,760 USD	0.737	95.3
<u>Montenegro</u>	0.6 M	9,300 USD	0.829	
<u>Morocco</u>	37.3 M	3,350 USD	0.686	83.1

<u>Mozambique</u>	32.2 M	480 USD	0.456	53.9
<u>Namibia</u>	2.6 M	4,550 USD	0.646	83.5
<u>Nauru</u>	0.0 M	19,470 USD		92
<u>Nepal</u>	29.7 M	1,230 USD	0.602	74.9
<u>Nicaragua</u>	6.7 M	2,010 USD	0.66	85.3
<u>Niger</u>	25.1 M	590 USD	0.394	35.6
<u>Nigeria</u>	211.4 M	2,100 USD	0.539	43.5
<u>North Macedonia</u>	2.1 M	6,130 USD	0.774	
<u>Oman</u>	5.2 M	15,030 USD	0.813	93.1
<u>Pakistan</u>	225.2 M	1,500 USD	0.557	57.6
<u>Palau</u>	0.0 M	14,390 USD	0.826	92.1
<u>Panama</u>	4.4 M	14,010 USD	0.815	89.1
<u>Papua New Guinea</u>	9.1 M	2,790 USD	0.555	53.5
<u>Paraguay</u>	7.2 M	5,340 USD	0.728	90.7
<u>Peru</u>	33.4 M	6,520 USD	0.777	92.7
<u>Philippines</u>	111.0 M	3,640 USD	0.718	84.3
<u>Poland</u>	37.8 M	16,670 USD	0.88	
<u>Qatar</u>	2.9 M	57,120 USD	0.848	96.2
<u>Republic of the Congo</u>	5.7 M	1,630 USD	0.574	68.7
<u>Romania</u>	19.1 M	14,170 USD	0.828	
<u>Russia</u>	143.4 M	11,600 USD	0.824	
<u>Rwanda</u>	13.3 M	850 USD	0.543	67.6
<u>Saint Kitts and Nevis</u>	0.1 M	18,560 USD	0.779	96.1
<u>Saint Lucia</u>	0.2 M	9,680 USD	0.759	93.3
<u>Saint Vincent and the Grenadines</u>	0.1 M	8,100 USD	0.738	94.1

<u>Samoa</u>	0.2 M	3,860 USD	0.715	96.1
<u>Sao Tome and Principe</u>	0.2 M	2,280 USD	0.625	89.4
<u>Saudi Arabia</u>	35.3 M	22,270 USD	0.854	95.6
<u>Senegal</u>	17.2 M	1,540 USD	0.512	66.4
<u>Serbia</u>	6.8 M	8,440 USD	0.806	
<u>Seychelles</u>	0.1 M	13,260 USD	0.796	92.4
<u>Sierra Leone</u>	8.1 M	510 USD	0.452	41.7
<u>Solomon Islands</u>	0.7 M	2,300 USD	0.567	73.8
<u>Somalia</u>	16.4 M	450 USD		24.3
<u>South Africa</u>	60.0 M	6,440 USD	0.709	86.2
<u>South Sudan</u>	11.4 M	460 USD	0.433	22
<u>Sri Lanka</u>	22.2 M	3,820 USD	0.782	93.2
<u>Sudan</u>	44.9 M	670 USD	0.51	61.9
<u>Suriname</u>	0.6 M	4,440 USD	0.738	91.2
<u>Syria</u>	18.3 M	1,170 USD	0.567	77.2
<u>Tajikistan</u>	9.7 M	1,150 USD	0.668	88.7
<u>Tanzania</u>	61.5 M	1,140 USD	0.529	61.1
<u>Thailand</u>	70.0 M	7,260 USD	0.777	94
<u>Togo</u>	8.5 M	980 USD	0.515	58.8
<u>Tonga</u>	0.1 M	5,190 USD	0.725	98.4
<u>Trinidad and Tobago</u>	1.4 M	15,070 USD	0.796	94.6
<u>Tunisia</u>	11.9 M	3,630 USD	0.74	90.8
<u>Turkey</u>	85.0 M	9,830 USD	0.82	97.1
<u>Turkmenistan</u>	6.1 M	7,220 USD	0.715	92.4
<u>Tuvalu</u>	0.0 M	6,760 USD		82.8
<u>Uganda</u>	47.1 M	840 USD	0.544	57.8
<u>Ukraine</u>	43.8 M	4,120 USD	0.779	
<u>Uruguay</u>	3.5 M	15,800 USD	0.817	98.1



<u>Uzbekistan</u>	34.9 M	1,960 USD	0.72	95.7
<u>Vanuatu</u>	0.3 M	3,140 USD	0.609	77.5
<u>Venezuela</u>	28.7 M	13,080 USD	0.711	91.3
<u>Vietnam</u>	98.2 M	3,560 USD	0.704	88
<u>Yemen</u>	30.5 M	670 USD	0.47	57.7
<u>Zambia</u>	18.9 M	1,040 USD	0.584	67.1
<u>Zimbabwe</u>	15.1 M	1,400 USD	0.571	70.4

### 3.4.4 North/South Divide

It is also instructive to note that states are categorized through the premise of hemispheric positions. Although, the geo-strategic arrangement does not follow any defined pattern, however, it provides indication for the wealth of a country for the purposes of analysis and decision-making. The states of the north are regarded as the rich countries of the world, while the states of the south are the poor countries. Under rigid geographical consideration, this classification would be regarded as faulty. This is because, a country like the United States of America, which is a prominent country in the north is put in the same category as the rich countries in Europe. It is noteworthy that the US and the countries of Europe are not geographically contiguous. The same argument goes for countries of the south, in a category that includes African countries, India and Latin America. This is because Africa, Asia and Latin America are devoid of geographical propinquity. However, as earlier mentioned, for the purposes of analysis and decision-making, the countries of the north are the economically developed states of the world, while those of the south are the developing states of the world.

### Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

***Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 4 minutes.***

1. A .....state is one that is unable to effectively maintain all or some of the essential characteristics of a state.
2. Widespread corruption is a ..... Indicator of a failed state
  - A. Social
  - B. Political
  - C. Economic
3. ....this is a combination of the economic measure, national income, life expectancy and education of the populace.
4. .... Is the situation where economic conditions are worrisome, political stability is not guaranteed, as such the basic necessities of life become a herculean task to achieve.

- A. *Developed*
- B. *Failed*
- C. *Developing*

- 5. *The states of the .....are regarded as the rich countries of the world.*
- 6. *The states of the .....are the poor countries*

### 3.5 Summary

This unit is an attempt to examine the import of state as perhaps the most significant actor in the international system. While not delving into the theoretical debate concerning the most important actor, it has exposed the importance of state as an actor. In so doing, the unit has equally presented three of the various categories of states that exist. This categorisation took cognisance of the political, economic and socio- cultural indices. The state is an important factor in the international system. However, in the categorisation of states, it is important to note that the major delimiting factor is that the major concepts have no precise definitions and can have only subjective definitions and meanings; for instance, in the case of the “developed” state, growth and development are neither stagnant nor static. There are also various arguments condemning the international adoption of the term “under- developed” and the re- adoption of the term “Less Economically Developed Countries”.

### 3.6 References/Further Readings/Web Sources

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Sullivan, A. & Sheffrin, M. (2003). *Economics: Principles in Action*. New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall.

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### 3.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

Answers to SAE1

- 1. *State*
- 2. *Government*
- 3. *Territory*
- 4. *Sovereignty*

## 5. *External sovereignty*

### Answers to SAE2

1. *Failed*
2. *B- Political*
3. *Human Development Index*
4. *C- Developing*
5. *North*
6. *South*

## UNIT 4 Challenges of New States in World Politics

### Unit Structure

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Learning Outcomes
- 4.3 The Problem of Instability
- 4.4 External Problem of Globalization
- 4.5 Inequality
- 4.6 Internal Problem of Bad Governance
- 4.7 Summary
- 4.8 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 4.9 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

### 4.1 Introduction

In the modern world of states, the position of a country is largely determined by its power, which can be understood either in terms of economic resources or military capabilities, or both. Although some African countries like Nigeria, South Africa, Egypt, among others, meet this criterion in their respective sub-regions, on a global scale, they (like many other new states) have been increasingly marginalized especially with the massive development in the world of science and technology. This development carries with it other political and economic implications of proportional concern to political scientists while discussing the challenges of new states in the world politics. Against this backdrop, the new states especially those of Africa, Asia and Latin America have suffered untrammelled political cum economic exploitations clothed in many foreign diplomatic relations that are in most cases hostile to both the people and the environment. At a time, it was called slavery, at other times, colonialism and neo-colonialism but the most permeating contemporary avatar that is eroding the sovereignty of many new states in the international system is globalization. Due largely to the rudimentary development of science and technology in the new states, they are unable to bargain favourably in the international division.

of labour and the social wealth it produces. Based on the foregoing, the challenges of new states especially those of Africa, Asia and Latin America in world politics are bifurcated in nature. On one hand is the internal problem of bad governance which breeds corruption, and on the other hand, the external problem of globalization which suffocates genuine internal development efforts by the new underdeveloped or developing states.

## **4.2 Learning Outcomes**

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

- Discuss the challenges of New States
- Understand the challenges of political instability
- Explain the issue of Globalization and how it affects Nigeria as a new state.

## **4.3 Challenges of New States in World Politics**

### **4.3 The Problem of Instability**

In one of the major contributions to social science, Max Weber distinguished three reasons why men may willingly obey the orders of leaders. He asserted that legitimate authority rested on obedience secured from habit ('traditional authority'), from an acceptance by the individuals that it was in their own best interests to abide by the existing set of stated rules ('rational - legal authority'), from a sense of personal devotion ('charismatic authority') or, more commonly, some combination of all three. The analysis specifically excludes two other possible situations which are common in new states – obedience given unwillingly in response to coercion and obedience not given at all so that anarchy prevails or the state dissolved into smaller units of authoritative structures. In both cases, the authority of the state is not accepted as legitimate – in the first category could be placed states like Indonesia or Ghana or South Vietnam immediately following a coup by the army; in the second, states like Nigeria or the Congo at times when national orders cannot be enforced in secessionist areas. These situations are more common in new than states because the period of transition from colonial rule to independence places great strain upon national leadership. Rapid changes are occurring in social and economic relationships; fundamental decisions with wide-ranging repercussions must be taken quickly rather than left to evolve out of smaller decisions; habits of opposition to the central (colonial) administration must be replaced by habits of co-operation; the unity of fighting for a common end must be maintained despite the danger of divisive cut-throat competition in the sharing out of jobs and patronage. At the same time, two of the bases of legitimate authority are automatically undermined by the novelty of the independence situation. The new leaders do not have the advantages of a habit of obedience ('traditional authority') – this belongs to the colonial officials. Nor do they have the rational-legal basis of an accepted set of rules and institutions through which to exercise authority – the constitutions have only recently been formulated and the institutions (usually of parliamentary democracy) have not had the chance to develop to the point where they command any inherent authority or popular loyalty.

In this situation, a heavy load rests on the personality of the new leaders. They must work to create a habit of obedience, to operate and to strengthen the rules and institutions. In Weberian terms, they must try to translate charismatic into traditional and rational-legal authority. In the meantime, charismatic authority remains an important feature of the leadership in new states even though, as with military rule, it tends to be unstable because it rests upon particular individuals. As Rustow has shown, charisma is not just a personal quality which inspires confidence because results are also involved. Charismatic authority is a produce of the relationship between a leader and followers who believe in his infallible ability to fulfil their aspirations. Once this aura of infallibility surrounding an Nkrumah or a Sukarno is diminished, he declines. Others may survive because of coercion, because the habit of obedience becomes established over time or because they have been able to build up self-sustaining institutions such as political parties. But, of itself, charismatic authority is a wasting asset.

Observation of the political history of new states shows a preponderance of three situations – control by charismatic leader, control by military regimes and control by a single authoritarian party. Many states will have experienced various combinations of all three, although there appears to be no regularity or inevitability about the sequence. It is not possible on the evidence to construct any general theory about the relationship between the three types of control, in order to be able to predict how the political situation in a particular state may develop. In New Guinea, for example, it would be rash to predict a specific sequence of events after independence but it would seem perfectly reasonable to expect the growth of more authoritarian party structures, perhaps the emergency of a charismatic figure and certainly the involvement of the modernized and nation-conscious elite of the Pacific Islands Regiment. This raises the broader question about the future of new states: is there any hope at all for democracy in the western sense, or even for stability of any kind? If stability is defined in terms of the persistence over time of certain institutional arrangements and the growth of routine and predictable procedures, the two aspects of the question are related. The western liberal-constitutional democracy is one possible arrangement for stability; the authoritarian single-party state is another. In both cases, the role of particular individuals in maintaining the system is minimized. In both cases, channels of communication to the grass roots of public opinion may exist and it is possible for the top leadership to be replaced without the whole apparatus of the state collapsing – as much in Russia as in America. Stability of this kind does not exist where a particular leader, civil or military, determined the fate of the whole constitutional structure, as is the case in many new states and a few old ones like Franco's Spain.

Liberal-constitutional democracy remains a rarity among new states, despite the good intentions of most colonial powers. It was probably unreasonable to expect that it would take root on the basis of a written document, when the historical background of concern for individual was lacking and economic conditions were not favourable towards the 'luxury' of competitiveness. In any democracy, there is an implicit contradiction between the need to fulfil the aspirations of

the majority and the need to safeguard the liberties of individuals and minorities. In liberal western states, constitutionalism imposes limits upon the majority by placing restrictions upon the activity of the state. In authoritarian regimes, typified by the Communist states, the emphasis is on the majority and the need for maximum state intervention in the interests of social equality and efficient mobilization of resources for the common good. In view of the problems facing the leaders of new states, and the absence of liberalism in their colonial or pre-colonial past, it is reasonable to expect that the emphasis should be given to community rather than individual values. Leaders regard themselves as the spokesmen of all the people and the scourge of special vested interests, a situation likely to give little protection to the rights of minorities and individuals.

However, the unhappy history of coalition governments and federal experiments, in Africa in particular, casts doubt upon the practicality of these proposals. A number of states have suffered greatly from attempts to reconcile artificially the economic or cultural differences confronting them. Malaysia and Singapore could not be held together, nor could Mali and Senegal in French-speaking West Africa; Nigeria is the recent, but not at all a unique example of the problems associated with operating a federal system and the associated coalition government. Many of the problems are common to all federations, including the presence of rampant cultural pluralism and the unwillingness of richer areas to subsidize the standards of the poorer. However, older federations like Canada, USA and Australia do have the advantage of universal reverence, or at least toleration, of the constitutional framework as something above partisan differences. What has been hard to import into the new states, accustomed to accepting that might is right, is an acceptance that the rules of the system are inviolable and that, for example, the electoral process represents a valid demonstration of the will of the state as a whole.

In the absence of this constitutionalism, federal structures are likely to fail because leaders themselves personify the issues at stake and cannot afford to risk their survival by seeming to accept subordinate positions inherent in any compromise between conflicting sectional interests. These all point to pessimistic conclusions about the possibility of western standards of liberalism and democracy becoming established in new states. Instability is common enough, and even states which seem stable at present are most likely to be authoritarian one-party regimes because the party itself constitutes a key factor in institutionalization. But this pessimism is fundamentally ethnocentric – why should we expect Asian and African leaders to strive towards our liberal values and to imitate our political institutions just because they also seek to imitate our standards of economic and social modernization? Because of a fundamental difference in environment, it is misleading to assume that the new states are merely at an earlier stage in a process of evolution already experienced in western societies and that they will ultimately achieve western democratic standards as some sort of peak of achievement. Although the models may be European, this difference in environment means that the nature of the whole process of change will be different. As these new states emerge from the shadow of colonial

domination, experiments will continue as their leaders search for the right balance between the forces of modernization and the forces of traditional culture, the right sort of institutions for their particular situation. It is a worth-while enough achievement for any new state to be able to strike this balance, to be able to break out of cycles of instability and to satisfy the most basic popular demand for peace and good government.

### **Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1**

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.*

- 1. Malaysia and .....could not be held together due to difference*
- 2. In the absence of....., federal structures are likely to fail because leaders themselves personify the issues at stake*
- 3. .... distinguished three reasons why men may willingly obey the orders of leaders.*
- 4. ....authority is a produce of the relationship between a leader and followers who believe in his infallible ability to fulfil their aspirations*

### **4.4 External Problem of Globalization**

Political scientists have developed successful research agenda on the political effects of globalization (Kahler, 2000; Onuoha, 2004; Olayode, 2006). Olayode (2006:10) Globalization has become an important theme of the post-Cold War discussion of the nature of the international order. Although rarely tied to any clearly articulated theory. It (globalization) has become a very powerful metaphor in the sense that a number of universal processes are at work generating increased interconnection and interdependence between states and between societies. The result is that territorial boundaries are becoming decreasingly important, that traditional understanding of sovereignty is being undermined and that individual regions must be viewed within a broader global context.

Essentially, globalization is seen by liberal scholars as a process of freeing economies so that trade between countries can take place more easily. Freeing in this context entails providing unrestrained opportunities for businesses to thrive between and among states while reducing the role of the state in the market. Accordingly, Olisa (1999) cited in Onuoha (2004) argued that globalization is an on-going gigantic/huge movement initiated and pushed forward by the developed capitalist and industrial western nations.

On the other hand, Asobie further argued that globalization is a technique of ideological marketing devised by global entrepreneurs primarily to counter a rising trend in the underdeveloped world. The idea of globalization is a grand design to villagize the world so much so that one can access the whole world from the comfort of one's room. Indeed, it aims at

weakening (if not removing) traditional and jurisdictional boundaries and barriers of individual state much to the disadvantage of the new ones.

However, while trade liberalization is the motor that drives globalization, information and communication technology (ICT) is the oil that fuels it. Consequently, the new states especially those that are highly underdeveloped or developing are the worst affected in this globalization project; the reason being that they are largely technologically backward and are therefore predisposed to consumption than production. In view of this and along with the monopolization of the international economy by those who produce (in this case, the industrialized countries), the dictate of the trade movement is at the advantage of the producing countries and the efforts made by some underdeveloped or developing new states are often sabotaged by the old established states. Globalization is one of such grand strategies of sabotage used by the industrialized old states against the less industrialized new states. In fact, all the nemeses of the ancient slavery, naked colonialism, coded neocolonialism and imperialism have been summarized in globalization. The implication of the foregoing is that, the world politics is still characterized by inequalities and exploitations of the highest order executed with unmitigated impunity where might is right.

Notwithstanding the foregoing observations, specifically at independence in 1960, Nigerians were in high spirit that come what may, very soon the country would join the world league of developed countries. To make real this dream, the Nigerian government immediately began to make assertive foreign policies designed to actualizing this dream and it was not long before it earned the name “Giant of Africa”. This was due largely to the roles it played in ensuring that many African states secured their independence from colonial rule, including fighting apartheid regime in South Africa and spearheading the liberation struggle in Angola which earned it the membership of the Frontline States. Meanwhile, in terms of human and material resources, Nigeria is endowed to the tune of becoming the world power given the requisite commitment it deserves. This endowment has helped it in the promotion of OAU (now AU), membership of the Frontline States, and peacekeeping operations around the globe, among other leadership roles both within and outside Africa (Ibeanu, 2010; Oculi, 2010; Sanda, 2010; Okolie, 2010). However, contrary to this expectation, Nigeria after 53 years of independence (even with enormous resources at its disposal) is still ravaged by poverty, hunger, unemployment, political instability and terrorism and the dream of becoming a developed country is still in inchoateness, if at all conceived. In fact, the country is even battling to regain its former glory let alone improving on what hitherto existed. The question remains, why is the situation so? The situation is so because Nigeria has ceased from producing anything. The country largely depends on importation and any nation that thrives on importation is bound to be a pariah state. Countries that suffer such fate will definitely lose the grip of any power project in the international system. At present, the only surviving instinct by Nigeria as a power to reckon with in Africa (not even the international system) is its intimidating size which is inadequately exploited, and the moment it is broken, whatever that remains of the entity would be confined to the dustbin of history.



Perhaps, from the look of things, if there is no significant effort made by the Nigerian government in urgently addressing unemployment through industrialization, sooner or later, the country would be unable to manage the mass of unemployed youths and the result would be very catastrophic and capable of breaking the country into many sovereign states reminiscent of a banana republic.

### **Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2**

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.*

- 1. Globalization has become an important theme of the post-Cold War discussion of the nature of the international order. True or False*
- 2. According to Asobie..... is a technique of ideological marketing devised by global entrepreneurs primarily to counter a rising trend in the underdeveloped world.*
- 3. The new states especially those that are highly underdeveloped or developing are the worst affected in this globalization project. True or False.*
- 4. Globalization has made Nigeria a developed country. True or False*

### **4.5 Inequality**

Many factors have contributed to the present inequality that envelopes the international system much to the disadvantage of the new and underdeveloped or developing states. Some of these factors include: slavery, colonialism and neocolonialism. Perchance/Maybe, it is not in our best interest to re-visit these social injustices meted out to the ThINR World countries especially because they have been over-flogged in the literature. Our interest is in the modernization of these injustices cloned in a more amenable term – globalization – with an unchanged philosophy where might is right. While slavery in its brute force (as it was the case before the 20th Century) and colonialism in its naked phase (as it was the case before the end of the Second World War) have been condemned by all, including the perpetrators, not much of such condemnation has been extended to globalization especially by the perpetrators who were still part of the old system that produced slavery and colonialism. This social avatar has given rise to brain-drain especially in Africa – the cradle of civilization. Meanwhile, there is no significant difference between globalization of the new era and slavery and colonialism of the old era except that there appears to be no naked and brute application of force in the new system. The underlining practice has remained the extrication of human resources and exploitation of the new states by those who determine “who gets what, when and how” in the international system. In addition to the foregoing, leaders of the ThINR World countries (the new states) are not helping matters in ensuring that the problem of inequality is curtailed; thereby exacerbating the problems already faced by the new states in the international system.

### Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 3

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.*

- 1. Factors such as slavery, colonialism and neocolonialism have contributed to the present ..... that envelopes the international system*
- 2. ....in its brute force as it was the case before the 20th Century, contributed to international imbalances in world.*
- 3. Meanwhile, there is no significant difference between globalization of the new era and slavery and.....*

### 4.6 Internal Problem of Bad Governance

This remains the greatest challenge confronting the new states upon which other factors including the external problem of globalization are built. Indeed, bad governance has been identified as one of the most critical factors responsible for stunted growth and development, insecurity, unemployment, and poverty (Fallah, 2006; Obama, 2013; Ezekwesili, 2013; Kiani, 2013). While fielding answers to journalists on some nagging questions of global concern, the President of the United States of America, Barrack Obama, noted that the upsurge of terrorist groups could be situated on the fact that countries are not delivering for their people and unless strong and responsive democratic institutions are built, insecurity would continue (Obama, 2013). Similarly, a former World Bank Vice President for Africa and one time Nigerian Minister of Education, Dr Oby Ezekwesili, speaking specifically about Nigeria, has attributed the challenges facing the country to poor governance and the monotonous economic structure (Ezekwesili, 2013). In his view, Dr El Bakri, African Development Bank Vice President for Operations (cited in Fallah, 2006), argued that poor governance in Africa has not only had costly consequence for the productive use of resources but also constrained the ability of African countries in mobilizing resources.

As a corollary to the above observations, bad or poor governance which is akin to maladministration breeds corruption, poverty, insecurity and other social vices that are very inimical to societal development. By extension therefore, it erodes economic development and creates favourable atmosphere for external domination through globalization.

### Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 4

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.*

- 1. .... Remains a major challenge for new state in World Politics*

2. *Bad governance breeds* .....

  - A. *Corruption*
  - B. *Development*
  - C. *Progress*

3. *Poor governance in Africa has not only had costly consequence for the productive use of*.....

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## 4.9 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

### Answers to SAE1

1. *Singapore*
2. *Constitutionalism*
3. *Max Weber*
4. *Charismatic*

### Answers to SAE2

1. *True*
2. *Globalization*
3. *True*
4. *False*

### Answers to SAE3

1. *Inequality*
2. *Slavery*
3. *Colonialism*

### Answers to SAE4

1. *Bad Governance*
2. *A-Corruption*
3. *Resources*

### **MODULE 3 NATIONALISM AND POLITICS OF NEW STATES**

Unit 1: Nationalism

Unit 2: Nationalism and integration

Unit 3: Politics of New States

Unit 4: States and International Order

End of the Module Questions (These could be MCQs, True/False, or Matching)

## **UNIT 1: NATIONALISM**

### **Unit Structure**

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcomes
- 1.3 Main Content
- 1.3 What is Nationalism?
- 1.4 The Emergence of Nationalism

- 1.5 The modernity of Nationalism
- 1.6 Nationalism as a Discourse
- 1.7 Summary
- 1.8 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 1.9 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

## 1.1 Introduction

Nationalism is one of the most ancient forces that influence world events. Objectively, it can be said to play a dual role in International Politics. Nationalism is one of those things that most of us take for granted, but which nobody ever stops to think about. Nationalism, like ethnicity, is something whose exact definition is elusive. Just as there are many definitions of ethnicity, many have tried to exactly define what nationalism is, with no clear consensus. Still, there are a few factors that are common in the discussions of nationalism, such as language, ancestry, and nationality.

## 1.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- introduce you to the central concepts in the study of nationalism and International Politics
- develop your comparative skills of analysis of differing international problems and policies related to nationalism
- promote critical engagement with the nationalism literature
- enable you to demonstrate this engagement by developing your ability to present, substantiate and defend complex arguments.

## 1.3 Main Content

### **1.3 Meaning of Nationalism**

Nationalism, in particular, remains the pre-eminent rhetoric for attempts to demarcate political communities, claim rights of self-determination and legitimate rule by reference to “the people” of a country. Nationalism is defined as a collective sentiment or identity, bounding and binding together those individuals who share a sense of large-scale political solidarity aimed at creating, legitimating, or challenging states. As such, nationalism is often perceived or justified by a sense of historical commonality which coheres a population within a territory and which demarcates those who belong and others who do not (Greenfeld, 1991).

According to Greenfield (1991) such “a specific sentiment of solidarity may be linked to memories of a common political destiny.” But such boundedness is not one that is historically given; instead such cohesion must be and has been actively constructed by both elites and commoners. It may then be solidified as a fundamental political belief, inspiring and inspired by engagement with state authority. For nationalism as a particular collective sentiment and related discourse to become a historical force, it must so refer to a state as an existing structure or potential object of engagement. This definition of nationalism does not specify the locus of its initiation. It instead only stipulates that such a subjective collective sentiment or identity claim coincides with or refers to existing or emergent institutionalized state power. Nationalism often inspires support for elites ruling a state, though its basis is not necessarily an elite ideology but rather a more widespread sentiment that may or may not be inspired by an elite or coincide with the interests of a particular elite nor is it necessarily in opposition to such an authoritative elite. So defining nationalism as a mass sentiment for or against state power specifies our subject. If nationalism is not defined with reference to the state, then it would remain too vague a subject of analysis.

#### Self-Assessment Exercise 1

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.*

- 1. ....is defined as a collective sentiment or identity, bounding and binding together those individuals who share a sense of large-scale political solidarity*
- 2. Nationalism is often perceived or justified by a sense of historical commonality which coheres a population within a .....*
- 3. Nationalism often inspires support for .....ruling a state.*

#### 1.4 The Emergence of Nationalism

Historically, an important part played by nationalist ideologies in many contemporary nation-states has been to integrate an ever larger number of people culturally, politically and economically. The French could not be meaningfully described as a 'people' before the French revolution, which brought the Ile-de-France (Parisian) language, notions of liberal political rights, uniform primary education and, not least, the self-consciousness of being French, to remote areas - first to the local bourgeoisies, later to the bulk of the population. Similar large-scale processes took place in all European countries during the 19th century, and the modern state, as well as nationalist ideology, is historically and logically linked with the spread of literacy (Goody, 1986), the quantification of time and the growth of industrial capitalism. The model of the nation-state as the supreme political unit has spread throughout the 20th century.



Not in the least due to the increasing importance of international relations (trade, warfare, etc.), but rather the nation-state has played an extremely important part in the making of the contemporary world. Social integration on a large scale through the imposition of a uniform system of education, the introduction of universal contractual wage work, standardization of language, etc., is accordingly the explicit aim of nationalists in, for example, contemporary Africa. It is, of course, possible to achieve this end through contrasting the nation with a different nation or a minority residing in the state, which is then depicted as inferior or threatening. This strategy for cohesion is extremely widespread and is not a peculiar characteristic of the nation-state as such: similar ideologies and practices are found in tribal societies and among urban minorities alike. Insofar as enemy projections are dealt with in the present context, they are regarded as means to achieve internal national cohesion since international conflicts are not considered. Nationalism as a mode of social organization represents a qualitative leap from earlier forms of integration. Within a national state, all men and women are citizens and they participate in a system of relationships where they depend upon and contribute to the existence of a vast number of individuals whom they will never know personally. The main social distinction appears as that between insiders and outsiders; between citizens and non-citizens. The total system appears abstract and impenetrable to the citizen who must nevertheless trust that it serves his needs. The seeming contradiction between the individual's immediate concerns and the large-scale machinations of the nation-state is bridged through nationalist ideology proposing to accord each individual citizen particular value. The ideology simultaneously depicts the nation metaphorically as an enormous system of blood relatives or as a religious community.

### **Self-Assessment Exercise 2**

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.*

1. *The French could not be meaningfully described as a 'people' before the French*
  - A. *Revolution*
  - B. *Uprising*
  - C. *Riot*
2. *The Social integration and imposition of a uniform system of education, the introduction of universal contractual wage work, standardization of language, the explicit aim of nationalists in contemporary*
  - A. *Europe*
  - B. *Africa*
  - C. *Asia*
3. *Nationalism as a mode of social organization represents a qualitative leap from earlier forms of.....*
  - A. *Work*
  - B. *Separation*
  - C. *Integration*

## 1.5 The modernity of Nationalism

The discourse of nationalism is distinctively modern. It is variously argued to have originated in the seventeenth century British rebellion against monarchy (Kahn, 1944), the eighteenth century struggles of New World elites against Iberian colonialism (Anderson, 1991), the French revolution of 1789 (Alter, 1989), and the German reaction to that revolution and to German disunity (Breuille, 1982). But as Best (1982) puts it:

Historians of nationalism agree to differ in their estimates of how much of it (and what sorts of it) already existed in the Atlantic world of 1785. They are at one in recognizing that that world by 1815 was full of it, and that although each national variety had of course its strong characteristics, those varieties had enough in common for it to constitute the most momentous phenomenon of modern history.

In the early modern era the idea of nation as an aggregate of people linked by co-residence or common sociocultural characteristics took political and cultural connotations in struggles with and between states and over state-building. This led to the distinctively modern invocation of nationalism as “a theory of political legitimacy, which requires that ethnic boundaries should not cut across political ones and in particular, that ethnic boundaries within a given state—a contingency already excluded by the principle in its general formulation should not separate the power-holders from the rest” (Anderson 1991). As Anderson (1991) sums up a generation before, the discourse of nationalism ideal-typically offers three propositions: “that humanity is naturally divided into nations, that nations are known by certain characteristics which can be ascertained and that the only legitimate type of government is national self-government”.

Nationalism has become the preeminent discursive form for modern claims to political autonomy and self-determination. The term was apparently coined in German by the philosopher Herder (Berlin, 1976) and in French by the Abbe Barruel (Anderson, 1991) just less than 200 years ago. It was linked to the concept of nation-state in the notorious formulations of Woodrow Wilson and the League of Nations (Mayall, 1990). In the wake of communism’s collapse, nationalism and ethnic conflict appeared as the primary issues in the realignment of Eastern European politics and identity (Chirot, 1991). Indeed in many instances, communist governments had been cynically and idealistically active involved in nationalist mobilization in varying degrees cynically and idealistically (Connor, 1984). Appeals to the idea of nation organize movements of ethnic separatism from Quebec (Birch, 1989) to the postcolonial states of Africa (Davidson, 1992). Nationalism is equally prominent in movements to integrate disparate polities, as in twentieth century Arab nationalism (Anderson et. al., 1994) and nineteenth century German nationalism before it (Coetzee, 1990). New nationalisms proliferate throughout the developed West (Smith, 1981) and attempts are made to decolonize the discourse of nationalism in the ThINR World and claim it for indigenous movements and meanings (Blaut, 1987). In East Asia, nationalism has throughout

the twentieth century been the rhetoric not only of anti-imperialist struggles but of calls for strengthening and democratizing states from within (Chow, 1960). Nationalism is anything but a thing of the past and even the newest claims to nationalism are often rooted in rhetoric of pre-existing ethnicity.

### **Self-Assessment Exercise 3**

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.*

- 1. The discourse of nationalism is distinctively modern. It is variously argued to have originated in the .....century*
- 2. The French revolution occurred in the year.....*
- 3. The term Nationalism was apparently coined in German by the philosopher.....*
- 4. In the wake of ..... collapse, nationalism and ethnic conflict appeared as the primary issues in the realignment of Eastern European politics*
- 5. Nationalism is equally prominent in movements to integrate disparate polities, as in twentieth century .....nationalism*

## **1.6 Nationalism as a Discourse**

Despite the agreement about the contemporary salience of the discourse of nationalism, Anderson (1991) makes a sharply contentious assertion when he writes “the basic characteristic of the modern nation and everything connected with it is its modernity.” Even the repetition of the term modern in both subject and predicate of his sentence does not save it from controversy, for Anderson is arguing against a widespread view of both academics and nationalists themselves. This is the view that modern nations are based on ethnic identities that are in some sense ancient, primordial, possibly even natural or at least prior to any particular political mobilization. A great deal is at stake in this argument. Most crucially, can “nationhood” be taken as the prior basis for nationalist claims? Is self-determination, for example, a political right to be accorded all “true” nations, as the apostles of nationalism assert in the mid-nineteenth century “springtime of the Peoples” (Kahn, 1962)? Are Serbs intrinsically a nation, to revert to our opening example, such that any claims of multiethnic Bosnia-Herzegovina to include large Serbian populations are infringements on the rights of the Serbian nation? Or, is “nation” at best a rhetorical mode of making political claims and at worst a way for certain elites to manipulate mass sentiments in the pursuit of power? In more academic terms, does the prior existence of ethnicity explain nationhood and does nationhood explain nationalism? Or is the notion of membership in a common nation (and perhaps even in

an ethnic group) a product of nationalist (or ethnic) mobilization? Is nationalism simply a derivative result of state-formation and other “material” aspects of modernization, or is it one of the primary constituents of modernity? This issue is hard to keep entirely clear in our minds because most variants of nationalist rhetoric claim the nation as an always-already existing basis for action, whether as the continuation of ancient ethnicity or as the result of historically specific acts of foundation. As modems, we are all participants in the discourse of nations whether we like it or not. Many of the categories and presumptions of this discourse are so deeply ingrained in our everyday language and our academic theories that it is virtually impossible to shed them, and we can only remind ourselves continuously to take them into account. A simple example is the assumption that “society” is a noun referring to self-sufficient units with clear boundaries.

Tilly (1984) makes this the first of his “eight Pernicious Postulates of twentieth-century social thought”: “Society” is a thing apart; the world as a whole divides into distinct “societies, each having its more or less autonomous culture, government, economy, and solidarity”. This is a usage produced by the discourse and political salience of the modem idea of nation (and specifically its hyphenated conjunction with “state”). As Halle (1962) puts it, “perhaps the idea alone can give the community the singleness and integrity which we attribute to it when we think of it as a corporate person.” In fact, societies have not always been and are not everywhere equally bounded, nor is it clear that they are as bounded in the archetypal cases of modern nation-states (Anderson, 1991). Even island Britain manifests a complex history and present struggle over external as well as internal boundaries (Anderson, 1991). Given the multiple and overlapping networks of our social relations (Mann 1986 and forthcoming), and given the large scale international flows of our ideas, language, and cultural productions (Alter 1989). It should perhaps be a matter of principle to avoid using terms like society as though they referred to unitary, clearly demarcated objects. But this would be an extremely difficult principle to live up to. We live in a world-system which is organized into states and which thematizes certain cultural differences as constituting “cultures,” while others are suppressed as unimportant internal or cross-cutting variations. This world-system makes both nationalism and claims to ethnic identity as problematic as they are imperative, even while it makes it hard to escape from the power of received categories to understand why they are problematic.

This is one reason why “nationalism” and corollary terms like “nation” have proved notoriously hard concepts to define (Alter 1989). The notion of nation is so deeply imbricated in modern politics as to be essentially contested, because any definition will legitimate some claims and delegitimize others. It also reflects more general problems with essentialist definitions (Fuss, 1989). Thus, not only because they bias usage for or against various political claims, but because they are based either (i) on qualities which putative nations or nationalist movements share with admitted non-nations (such as ethnicity), or (ii) on qualities which are not clearly shared among all recognized members of the set of nations (like control over or

ambition to control a state). Though nationalisms are extremely varied phenomena, they are joined by common involvement in the modern discourse of nationalism. They are common objects of reference in international law, political debate, and even economic development programs.

As Anderson (1991) has stressed, once the idea of imagining political communities as nations was developed, it was “modular” and could be transplanted into a wide range of otherwise disparate settings. This is what raises the issue of whether ThINR World or postcolonial nationalisms express “authentic” indigenous concerns or are in some sense derivative discourses (Chatterjee, 1986). The discourse of nationalism is inherently international. Claims to nationhood are not just internal claims to social solidarity, common descent or any other basis for constituting a political community. They are also claims to distinctiveness vis-a-vis other nations, claims to at least some level of autonomy and self-sufficiency and claims to certain rights within a world-system of states (Breuilly, 1982). In other words, however varied the internal nature of nationalisms, in other words, they share a common external frame of reference. Thus, even if nationalist claims to be of primordial origins, ancient ethnic pedigrees, or hallowed founding histories were all true, and even if every nation had premodern roots (something manifestly impossible in the case of such settler societies as the United States, Australia or South Africa-at least as defined by their European populations), nationalism would still be a modern phenomenon. This is true even of “extreme” forms such as National Socialism, despite the tendency of modernization theorists and others to treat Nazism as a throwback to the premodern (Bendix, 1964) rather than a problem of modernity (Alter, 1989). Indeed, this phenomenon of claiming state-centered political rights on the basis of nationhood is arguably one of the defining phenomena of modernity.

#### **Self-Assessment Exercise 4**

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.*

- 1. “Nationalism” and corollary terms like “nation” have proved notoriously hard concepts to define. True or False.*
- 2. Modernization theorists and others do not treat Nazism as a throwback to the premodern. True or False.*
- 3. Indeed, this phenomenon of claiming state-centered political rights on the basis of nationhood is arguably one of the defining phenomena of.....*

#### **1.7 SUMMARY**

Nationalism is a sense of identity with the nation. It is similar to tribalism, and like the family, it is held together by a sense of kinship. Liah Greenfeld (1991), Professor of Sociology at Boston University has defined nationalism as "an image of a social order, which involves the

people as a sovereign elite and a community of equals". The original use of the term nationalism refers to elite groups, but in modern usage it usually refers to a very large group, sometimes as large as an empire. A nation differs from a tribe in that it is larger. The greater literacy and the improved communications and transportation rendered by industrialization make the nation possible. The nation is unlike an empire, which is held together by military force, by police and sometimes by religion as with a god-king. The relationship between the members of an empire is an unequal relationship between the ruler and the subject. The relationship of the members of a nation is theoretically, an equal relationship between citizens. It develops differently in different national communities under different historical circumstances.

Nationalism is a shared group feeling in the significance of a geographical and sometimes demographic region seeking independence for its culture and/or ethnicity that holds that group together. This can be expressed as a belief or political ideology that involves an individual identifying with or becoming attached to one's nation. Nationalism involves national identity, by contrast with the related concept of patriotism, which involves the social conditioning and personal behaviors that support a state's decisions and actions. From a political or sociological perspective, there are two main perspectives on the origins and basis of nationalism. One is the primordialist perspective that describes nationalism as a reflection of the ancient and perceived evolutionary tendency of humans to organize into distinct groupings based on an affinity of birth. The other is the modernist perspective that describes nationalism as a recent phenomenon that requires the structural conditions of modern society in order to exist.

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## 1.9 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

### Answers to SAE1

1. *Nationalism*
2. *Territory*
3. *Elites*

### Answers to SAE2

1. *A- Revolution*
2. *B- Africa*

### 3. C- Integration

#### Answers to SAE3

1. *seventeenth*
2. *1789*
3. *Herder*
4. *communism's*
5. *Arab*

#### Answers to SAE4

1. *True*
2. *False*
3. *Modernity*

## Unit 2: Nationalism of New States

### Unit Structure

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcomes
- 2.3 Nationalism and Anti-Colonial Struggle
  - 2.3.1 Nationalism and Anti-Colonial Struggle
  - 2.3.2 Anti-Colonial Struggle
- 2.4 Decolonization in the Developing World.
  - 2.4.1 Decolonization of Asia and Africa, 1945–1960
  - 2.4.2 The Causes for the Emergence of Independent Nations in Asia and Africa.
- 2.5 Colonial Policies and Nationalism
  - 2.5.1 British Policy of Association and Encouraging Settlement
  - 2.5.2 French Principle of Assimilation
- 2.6 Summary
- 2.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 2.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

### 2.1 Introduction

World politics, also called global or international politics, is a theatre of competing state forces where both the old and new states are engaged in the exploitation of world mineral resources in yet another conflicting situation. This competitive process renews the anarchy of the international system and permeates master-slave relationship between and among states. The geopolitical entity called state (whether old or new) has continued to acquire considerable importance both in theory and practice especially as it remains an indispensable unit of analysis in the global political terrain.



The end of the Second World War brought into existence a number of new states in Asia and Africa. These states came into being as a result of the politics of decolonization on the part of the imperialist powers and urge for nationalism on the part of the colonized countries. The First World War (1914-1918) which was fought to save the world for democracy had added to the urge for political independence and autonomy in the subjugated and colonized countries, and by the end of the outbreak of the Second World War (1939-1945), political scene in the whole of Africa was agitating to throw away the yoke of colonialism with the belief that the moment colonialism is defeated, imperialism would die a natural death. (Cold war 1947-1991)

## **2.2 Learning Outcomes**

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

- Introduce you to the central concepts of Nationalism and Anti-colonial Struggle.
- Develop your comparative skills of analysis of differing Nationalist struggles
- Enable you to demonstrate better understanding of anti-colonial struggle in Africa and Asia.

## **2.3 Nationalism and Anti-Colonial Struggle**

### **2.3.1 Nationalism and Anti-Colonial Struggle**

The existence of a nation is difficult to define and even harder to prove. Rustow has offered a conveniently comprehensive definition of a number of related ideas: ‘A nation is a self-contained group of human beings who place the loyalty to the group as a whole above competing loyalties. A nation-state is an independent state whose membership coincides with that of a nation. And nationalism is the desire to create, strengthen and maintain such a nation-state.’ The emphasis on loyalty and on the connection with the state is important as it brings into correct perspective such factors as common language or culture which are clearly not part of the definition of nationalism but only some of the signs by which some nations may be recognized.

One of the key differences between nationalism as it was manifested in Europe after the collapse of medieval feudalism and nationalism in modern Asia and Africa is that many European nations existed before the creation of the nation-state: their struggle was to bring into existence a state to enclose them as a self-contained group. In Asia and Africa, the state often preceded the nation in the sense that the boundaries of the territory were delineated by the colonial authorities and then passed into the control of indigenous elite before the inhabitants of the territory had developed that sense of over-riding loyalty which defines a nation. This means that nationalism in Asia and Africa can be analysed in two distinct phases, the first ‘anti-colonial’ phase being concerned with

the creation of an independent state and the second 'integrative' phase being concerned with the more testing problems of transforming the inhabitants of that state into a nation.

In many ways, the first phase is more easily described and posed fewer difficulties for the leaders of the new states. By the end of the Second World War in 1945, colonial rule was no longer regarded as being part of the natural order of things and morally good for all concerned. The nineteenth-century principles of liberal thought, with their emphasis on individual freedom, had been translated into a general support for political democracy throughout most of the non-Communist world. And, after 1945, socialist parties and socialist governments in Western Europe sought to extend this democracy to the colonial areas. The first stages in 'democratization' were the creation of parliamentary structures and then the removal of external political controls. Originally it was intended that the pace of this process would be slow enough for each new country to develop strong democratic traditions modeled upon those in Europe. In practice, things happened much more quickly than anyone expected.

One reason for this was the change in the world situation following the world war. Western Europe had ceased to be the focus of world power; the colonial powers no longer controlled events. Their place had been taken by Russia and America, competing fiercely with each other in every sphere, including the search for allies outside Europe, so that they tried to out-do each other in establishing their anti-colonial credentials. China, and later Japan, were able to exercise independent influence in an Asia no longer dominated by European policy considerations. The United Nations Organization, which had started life as a wartime alliance against the Germans and Japanese was transformed into a body which gave vociferous support to demands for decolonization.

So, for the colonial powers, colonies were losing their attractiveness. Once they had been a source of economic advantage, with their raw materials and protected markets; of strategic advantage, with the provision of defence outposts and wartime manpower; and of prestige in the self-conscious confirmation of the superiority of European civilization. After 1945, these advantages were declining: colonies were now a source of embarrassment instead of universal prestige; with the growth of a sense of social responsibility and the need for development of their local resources, they were also starting to cost the taxpayers a lot of money; and their strategic value counted for less with European countries no longer capable or willing to undertake a leading role in international affairs outside Europe.

### **2.3.2 Anti-Colonial Struggle**

The creation of a political organization which sought to take over after the colonial power withdrew- tended to alter its character as events moved closer towards independence. James Coleman had noted several stages in the evolution of nationalist political movements during the colonial regime. In the earliest period, in most cases before the Second World War, a period of

accommodation and petition existed in which the small educated elite sought equality of treatment with Europeans and limited representation for their views. Later, this demand widened as the educated base of the movement's supporters widened and a period of agitation followed which sought wider political reforms and ultimately the creation of an independent state. This involved a demonstration of wide national support to give credence to the claims of the leaders to represent the whole population and existing interest groups such as trade unions, co-operative associations and even social organizations such as old boys' clubs were incorporated into a mass movement. Communal and ethnic groupings were mobilized so that political involvement ceased to be exclusively the concern of urban elite.

Once this nationalist movement had won its basic demand - a commitment from the colonial government that independence would come within a fixed time- some of the contradictions and inherent conflicts of interest became more important. The final stage of political evolution before independence was marked by a period of manoeuvring and adjustment as each group under the umbrella of nationalism sought to secure their own position and erect safeguards for their special interests in the forthcoming period of independent rule. The degree of cohesion varied greatly between territories: in some areas where a heroic figure had emerged as a unifying influence or where there were relatively few areas of disagreement within a homogenous community, the movement held together and moved to independence as a solid bloc; in many others areas, the movement was a facade disguising deep divisions which held together only for as long as there was common advantage in collaborating to remove the external authority of the colonial power. In either case, the real test of leadership came in the period immediately after independence.

#### Self-Assessment Exercises 1

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.*

- 1. In Asia and Africa, the state often preceded the nation in the sense that the boundaries of the territory were delineated by the .....authorities*
- 2. Nationalism as it was manifested in .....after the collapse of medieval feudalism*
- 3. By the end of the Second World War in..... colonial rule was no longer regarded as being part of the natural order of things and morally good for all concerned.*
- 4. James .....had noted several stages in the evolution of nationalist political movements during the colonial regime.*
- 5. Once this nationalist movement had won its basic demand - a commitment from the colonial government that .....would come within a fixed time- some of the contradictions and inherent conflicts of interest became more important.*

## **2.4 Decolonization in the Developing World.**

### **2.4.1 Decolonization of Asia and Africa, 1945–1960**

Between 1945 and 1960, three dozen new states in Asia and Africa achieved autonomy or outright independence from their European colonial rulers. There was no one process of decolonization. In some areas, it was peaceful, and orderly. In many others, independence was achieved only after a protracted revolution. A few newly independent countries acquired stable governments almost immediately; others were ruled by dictators or military juntas for decades, or endured long civil wars. Some European governments welcomed a new relationship with their former colonies; others contested decolonization militarily. The process of decolonization coincided with the new Cold War between the Soviet Union and the United States, and with the early development of the new United Nations. Decolonization was often affected by superpower competition, and had a definite impact on the evolution of that competition. It also significantly changed the pattern of international relations in a more general sense.

The creation of so many new countries, some of which occupied strategic locations, others of which possessed significant natural resources, and most of which were desperately poor, altered the composition of the United Nations and political complexity of every region of the globe. In the mid to late 19th Century, the European powers colonized much of Africa and Southeast Asia. During the decades of imperialism, the industrializing powers of Europe viewed the African and Asian continents as reservoirs of raw materials, labour, and territory for future settlement. In most cases, however, significant development and European settlement in these colonies was sporadic. However, the colonies were exploited, sometimes brutally, for natural and labour resources, and sometimes even for military conscripts. In addition, the introduction of colonial rule drew arbitrary natural boundaries where none had existed before, dividing ethnic and linguistic groups and natural features, and laying the foundation for the creation of numerous states lacking geographic, linguistic, ethnic, or political affinity/empathy. During World War II Japan, itself a significant imperial power, drove the European powers out of Asia. After the Japanese surrender in 1945, local nationalist movements in the former Asian colonies campaigned for independence rather than a return to European colonial rule. In many cases, as in Indonesia and French Indochina, these nationalists had been guerrillas fighting the Japanese after European surrenders, or were former members of colonial military establishments. These independence movements often appealed to the United States Government for support.

### **Warfare**

While the United States generally supported the concept of national self-determination, it also had strong ties to its European allies, who had imperial claims on their former colonies. The Cold War only served to complicate the U.S. position, as U.S. support for decolonization was offset by

American concern over communist expansion and Soviet strategic ambitions in Europe. Several of the NATO allies asserted that their colonial possessions provided them with economic and military strength that would otherwise be lost to the alliance. Nearly all of the United States' European allies believed that after their recovery from World War II their colonies would finally provide the combination of raw materials and protected markets for finished goods that would cement the colonies to Europe. Whether or not this was the case, the alternative of allowing the colonies to slip away, perhaps into the United States' economic sphere or that of another power, was unappealing to every European government interested in postwar stability. Although the U.S. Government did not force the issue, it encouraged the European imperial powers to negotiate an early withdrawal from their overseas colonies. The United States granted independence to the Philippines in 1946.

However, as the Cold War competition with the Soviet Union came to dominate U.S. foreign policy concerns in the late 1940s and 1950s, the Truman and Eisenhower Administrations grew increasingly concerned that as the European powers lost their colonies or granted them independence, Soviet-supported communist parties might achieve power in the new states. This might serve to shift the international balance of power in favour of the Soviet Union and remove access to economic resources from U.S. allies. Events such as the Indonesian struggle for independence from the Netherlands (1945–50), the Vietnamese war against France (1945–54), and the nationalist and professed socialist takeovers of Egypt (1952) and Iran (1951) served to reinforce such fears, even if new governments did not directly link themselves to the Soviet Union. Thus, the United States used aid packages, technical assistance and sometimes even military intervention to encourage newly independent nations in the ThINR World to adopt governments that aligned with the West. The Soviet Union deployed similar tactics in an effort to encourage new nations to join the communist bloc, and attempted to convince newly decolonized countries that communism was basically non-imperialist economic and political ideology. Many of the new nations resisted the pressure to be drawn into the Cold War, joined in the “nonaligned movement,” which formed after the Bandung conference of 1955, and focused on internal development.

The newly independent nations that emerged in the 1950s and the 1960s became an important factor in changing the balance of power within the United Nations. In 1946, there were 35 member states in the United Nations; as the newly independent nations of the “thINR world” joined the organization, by 1970 membership had swelled to 127. These new member states had a few characteristics in common; they were non-white, with developing economies, facing internal problems that were the result of their colonial past, which sometimes put them at odds with European countries and made them suspicious of European-style governmental structures, political ideas, and economic institutions. These countries also became vocal advocates of continuing decolonization, with the result that the UN Assembly was often ahead of the Security Council on issues of self-governance and decolonization. The new nations pushed the UN toward accepting resolutions for independence for colonial states and creating a special committee on

colonialism, demonstrating that even though some nations continued to struggle for independence, in the eyes of the international community, the colonial era was ending.

#### **2.4.2 The Causes for the Emergence of Independent Nations in Asia and Africa.**

Within about 25 years of the end of the Second World War, most countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America which had been under imperialist rule won their freedom. Most of the others that remained became free during the next few years. In the year 1995, with the exception of small pockets in different parts of the world, every country in the world is free from the direct political control of another country.

#### **Weakening of Imperialism:**

Many other factors helped in speeding up the collapse of imperialism after the war. The Second World War had, besides destroying fascism, weakened the imperialist countries of Europe. Many of these countries were themselves victims of fascist aggressions. For example, three imperialist countries of Europe—France, Belgium and Holland (the Netherlands)—themselves had been under German occupation during the war. Their military power as well as economies had been shattered during the war. Britain, which had the biggest empire, had also emerged from the war with a shattered economy. None of these countries was a great power any more. In their place the greatest powers in the world now were USA and the Soviet Union then. The setting up of socialist governments in Eastern Europe under the rule of the communist parties also was a factor which weakened the power of the imperialist countries. They were no longer in a position to sustain a protracted colonial war. The countries which carried long colonial wars faced serious internal problems. For example, France's colonial war in Indo-China and Algeria created serious political crises in France which at one time threatened her political system. The colonial wars waged by Portugal in Africa were a major factor in the downfall of the Portuguese dictatorship.

In the changed political climate, imperialism was no longer considered a mark of a 'superior' civilisation. On the contrary, it was now associated in the minds of the people everywhere, including the colonial countries, with brute force, injustice and exploitation, and was considered inhuman and immoral. The dominant ideas in the world after 1945 were ideas of self-determination, national sovereignty, equality and cooperation between states. Thus, the efforts to maintain colonial rule were no longer popular with the people even of the imperialist countries. The colonial wars waged by France were opposed by vast sections of the French people. Some of the biggest anti-government demonstrations in Britain were seen in 1956 when Britain, along with France and Israel, invaded Egypt. The imperialists now put forward other reasons for holding on to their colonies. They started saying that their control on the colonies is important in order to prepare the people in the colonies for peaceful transition to independence, prevent fratricidal and tribal wars, safeguard the interests of the minorities, resist terrorism and communism, educate the people of the colonies for a democratic system of governance, etc. Most scholars also hold the view that the cost of maintaining their control over the colonies had

become too high for the colonial countries to afford. It was also no longer necessary to establish direct political control over a country in order to exploit its economy.

### **Solidarity of the Anti-Imperialist Movements:**

An important factor which strengthened movements for freedom was the growth of solidarity among the freedom movements of different countries. Each country's freedom movement supported the freedom struggles in other countries. In India, for example, mass demonstrations were held in 1946 in support of the independence of Indonesia and Indo-China, and against the Indian troops who were being sent by British colonial rulers of India to restore the Dutch and the French rule in Indonesia and Indo-China respectively. This solidarity played a crucial role as countries gained independence. As a country became independent, she actively aided the independence movements in other countries. The forums of the Commonwealth and, much more importantly, of the United Nations, were used by the newly independent countries to support the cause of the countries still under foreign rule. Anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism were among the most important objectives of the Non-Aligned Movement. It pursued these objectives by extending support to the movements of national independence in the colonies.

It is not surprising that the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) which led Namibia's struggle for independence was a member of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) since long before Namibia became independent in 1990. The Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) became a member of the Non-Aligned Movement in 1976. The independent states of Africa have played a crucial role in strengthening the struggles for freedom in Africa. In 1963, they set up the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) with "the eradication of all forms of colonialism from the continent of Africa" as one of its purposes. The freedom movements also received the support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

### **Role of the United Nations:**

The United Nations also has been a major force in promoting the process which has brought about the ending of colonialism. The United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UNDHR) symbolise the universal aspirations of the international community. The question of colonies was taken up by the United Nations from the very beginning of its foundation. As the number of former colonies joining the United Nations, the question of ending colonialism received great importance in the United Nations and it played an increasingly active role in facilitating the achievement of independence by the colonies. Its role was crucial in bringing about the independence of Namibia.

### **India's Role:**

One of the first countries to achieve independence after the Second World War was India in 15 August 1947. Though the British rulers had succeeded in partitioning the country, India's independence was of great historic importance. India's freedom movement had been a source of

inspiration to freedom movements in all colonial countries of Asia and Africa. Even before independence, the leaders of India's freedom movement had brought together the leaders of many Asian countries on a common platform at the Asian Relations Conference which took place in New Delhi in March-April 1947. This conference symbolised the emergence of Asia as a new factor in the world. Independent India became a source of strength to all peoples fighting for their independence.

### **Self-Assessment Exercises 2**

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.*

- 1. Between 1945 and....., three dozen new states in Asia and Africa achieved autonomy or outright independence from their European colonial rulers*
  - A. 1960*
  - B. 1990*
  - C. 1995*
  
- 2. There was no one process of decolonization. In some areas, it was peaceful, and orderly. In many others, independence was achieved only after a protracted .....*
  - A. Peace*
  - B. Revolution*
  - C. Mediation*
  
- 3. The United States generally supported the concept of national self-determination, it also had strong ties to its .....allies, who had imperial claims on their former colonies.*
  - A. Asia*
  - B. Oceania*
  - C. European*
  
- 4. One of the first countries to achieve independence after the Second World War was .....in 15 August 1947*
  - A. Malaysia*
  - B. India*
  - C. China*

## **2.5 Colonial Policies and Nationalism**

### **2.5.1 British Policy of Association and Encouraging Settlement**

The major problem for Britain was that she had actively encouraged European settlement in areas such as southern and eastern Africa without making it at all clear whether settler interests were always to take precedence over the interests of the indigenous majority. This indecision,



sowed the seeds of discontent in Kenya during the 1950s and the continuing crisis in Rhodesia. Elsewhere, the general position was that the colonial authorities were predisposed towards some form of political arrangement with indigenous leaders which would free them of their political responsibilities. The colonial revolution may be an apt description of the effect of decolonization on existing social and political relationship but, apart from places like Kenya, Algeria and Vietnam, this revolution did not involve violence on the scale sometimes alluded to by present-day leaders of the new states. In most places, the colonial withdrawal was a peaceful process - in some cases, ironically pompous and placid compared to the myth of violent overthrow which surrounded it. The absence of a genuine struggle had the unforeseen effect of weakening the solidarity of the leadership of new states because no bonds of common interest were built up during the colonial period.

### 2.5.2 French Principle of Assimilation

The new situation was not immediately obvious to those most closely involved. First the Dutch, and then the French, tried to re-establish their old systems of control over possessions taken from them by the Japanese and passed over to local leaders when the war was beginning to run against Japan. But the Japanese had firmly destroyed the myth of automatic European superiority with their startling success earlier in the war, and the position of the returning colonial powers ultimately proved untenable. The French were slowest to learn the virtue of acquiescence, needing a shattering defeat in Vietnam and a bloody, unsuccessful struggle in Algeria before de Gaulle was able to lead them into new and more profitable arrangements based upon economic dominance. For the British, the main problem was controlling the pace of change once the dam had been breached with the recognition of Indian independence. India had been better prepared for independence than anywhere else, at least in terms of possessing an educated and highly trained indigenous bureaucracy, but demands from other areas for self-rule were morally difficult to resist, once the principle had been conceded.

### Self-Assessment Exercises 3

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.*

- 1. The major problem for Britain was that she had actively encouraged European settlement in areas such as ..... and eastern Africa.*
- 2. British indecision sowed the seeds of discontent in .....during the 1950s*
- 3. First the....., and then the French, tried to re-establish their old systems of control over possessions taken from them by the Japanese*

## 2.6 Summary

The unit examines the role of nationalism in anti-colonial struggle in Africa and Asia. It started as resentment to the colonial authority and was followed up with The creation of a political organization which sought to take over after the colonial power withdrew- tended to alter its character as events moved closer towards independence. After the Japanese surrender in 1945, local nationalist movements in the former Asian colonies campaigned for independence rather than a return to European colonial rule. Factors that contributed to the emergence of newly independent states in Africa and Asia, includes; weakening imperialism, Solidarity of the Anti-Imperialist Movements, Role of the United Nations, India’s Role, colonial policies such as policy of association by British and policy of assimilation by French

## 2.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources

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## 2.8 Possible Answers to SAEs

### Answers to SAE1

1. Colonial
2. Europe
3. 1945
4. Coleman
5. Independence

### Answers to SAE2

1. A- 1960
2. B- Revolution
3. C- European
4. B-India

### Answers to SAE3

1. *Southern*
2. *Kenya*
3. *Dutch*

## **UNIT 3: POLITICS OF NEW STATES**

### **Unit Structure**

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 Political Parties
  - 3.3.1 Political Parties after Colonial Rule
  - 3.3.2 Factors behind the Rise of Single Party System in New States
- 3.4 The Army and Politics in New States
  - 3.4.1 Army in Politics
  - 3.4.2 Army and Political Crises in the New States
- 3.5 Summary
- 3.6 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 3.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

### **3.1 Introduction**

After independence, majority of the new states were faced with the challenges of governance and politics. In most areas, the constitutions devised under the supervision of the departing colonial power were based upon the assumption of a two-party or multi-party parliamentary system. Very little of this competitiveness now survives. The inability of the new political leaders to manage their differences and attempts at stifling opposition political parties lead to military intervention in the politics of the new states, particularly in Africa and Asia. The military intervention can be categorized into three types; the first and most common type is the post-colonial administrative army, The second type might be termed the revolutionary citizen army, The thINR type is the executive army. The intervention lead to the disruption of democratic institutions and this has affected political and development trajectory of the new states till date.

### **3.2 Learning Outcomes**

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

- a. Describe the characteristic politics in New States.
- b. State clearly the functions and role of military in the politics of New States assembly.
- c. highlight and briefly discuss the contributions of Military to political crises in Africa.

### **3.3 Political Parties**

### 3.3.1 Political Parties after Colonial Rule

In most areas, the constitutions devised under the supervision of the departing colonial power were based upon the assumption of a **two-party or multi-party parliamentary system**. This was regarded as the best method of safeguarding the rights of individuals and minority groups, since the element of competition was likely to preclude drastic abuses of power and dispose the leadership towards compromise. And in a few areas, the party system as a whole has encouraged integration in the sense that several different groups participate in national politics through separate institutions. Lebanon is perhaps the classic case of complex ethnic arithmetic leading to a proportionate distribution of senior political posts among the representatives of the two major communities, one Christian and the other Arab. Philippines and Ceylon still have genuinely competitive party systems; India may be moving in this direction and Malaya's ruling party is a loose coalition of distinct communal groups. In an earlier period, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Uganda were all ruled by coalitions, representing distinct groups in the community in separate parties which could agree to differ with each other in some areas of policy.

Very little of this competitiveness now survives. The very great majority of states in Africa and Asia are now controlled by a single political organization. In many areas, competitors just did not emerge; where they did, they have not survived a period of independent rule. Most countries either have only one party or have no parties at all, with control exercised by bureaucratic elite which is not subjected to the sanction of electoral recall.

### 3.3.2 Factors behind the Rise of Single Party System in New States

- I. **The first is that a formal system of elective and parliamentary democracy has no roots in the traditional way of life of most states:** This does not mean that authority was exercised without a sense of responsibility or without channels of communication between governor and governed; it does mean that the inhabitants and the leaders regarded the notion of institutionalized opposition as essentially foreign to their way of conducting the business of government. Whether the high offices of state were inherited or achieved through merit under the traditional system, once the leaders were in office they did not expect to have their rulings challenged systematically and regularly by any other group.
- II. **Nor did colonial rule contribute much to an appreciation of democracy in the new states.** At a very late stage, institutions in parliamentary democracy were introduced but most leaders in new states had little experience in working within them – ironically, those leaders who gained the most experience were those representing the French Union in Paris, where they learnt many of the bad habits which ultimately wrecked the thIR and fourth republican regimes in metropolitan France. But, for the most part, colonial rule was authoritarian and bureaucratic, in the sense that all major policy decisions were taken externally or with regard to external limitations. The local inhabitants did not participate

in these decisions and were required to conform to them by an administrative machine which was not concerned primarily with their interests. By the time that parliamentary institutions had been introduced, the political attitudes of many of the future leaders had already been shaped in favour of the efficiency, simplicity and sometimes ruthless power which could be demonstrated by colonial governments. This helps to explain the frequent observation that the leaders of new states, after criticizing colonial governments, tend consciously to shape the administration of their new states along the same lines as the much-reviled colonialists.

- III. **In addition, the need for unified support for anti-colonial nationalism made it difficult for opposition groups to challenge the monopoly of the organization which sought and ultimately won independence.** During the terminal period of colonial control, the need for unity to speed the colonial departure meant that all groups accepted the basic premises of nationalism and thus the leadership of small elite – Nigeria’s relatively slow progress to independence was a direct result of the absence of such unity. And, once independence had arrived, the elite in power could dismiss the claims of their opponents as unpatriotic and verging on treasonable because they challenged the basic unity of the nationalist movement. So it was difficult to organize a challenger to the dominant party before independence and even harder when that party’s leaders had gained control of the government afterwards.
- IV. **The emphasis upon national unity – in particular, the denigration of any political organization based upon communal or sectional appeal – is related to the considerable problems which confront leaders of newly-independent states.** Reference is frequently made to a ‘revolution of rising expectations’, the demand for a wider range of goods and services accompanying the transition of a previously undeveloped society to a more modern one. Leaders must seek to satisfy at least some of these economic demands since they are associated in the public mind with the political changes inspiring anti-colonial nationalism. Few new states are wealthy and few have a developed private enterprise sector of their economies, so the brunt of the task of economic modernization falls upon the state. This fits conveniently into the ideological framework which rejects capitalism because of its colonial associations, even though colonial administrations were generally suspicious of free enterprise themselves, drawing on Marxism and on Russian or Chinese models of economic organization hard work and restraint in consumption and to emphasize, in political affairs, the virtues of organization and central direction instead of political competition and individual freedom.
- V. **Given this ideological justification of anon-competitive party organization, the leaders of many new states have been able to pursue a process of consolidation of control.** The opposition groups can either be eliminated by the suppression of their political activities or even detention in prison or they can be won over by allowing them a share in the rewards of operating an independent government. These rewards extend beyond the offer of jobs; they can include the direction of government spending in areas

of concern to the opposition and the protection of special arrangements or policies benefiting particular sections of the community. In Kenya, the desirability of joining the government side was sufficient to cause opposition party to disband voluntarily and 'cross the floor of parliament' in a mass; elsewhere, there has been a steady trickle of politicians wishing to join in the benefits of being on the winning side rather than maintaining the abstract advantages of forming the official opposition.

- VI. **A second process of consolidation tends to occur with respect to other organizations in the state which are not normally directly involved in politics. Groups such as trade unions, co-operatives and social clubs of various kinds are often swept into the broad nationalist movement before independence because such participation seems the best method of protecting their long-term interests.** After independence, there is a tendency for all such groups to become integrated into the bureaucratic machinery for the party. This means that many of the bodies which form a buffer between the individual and the state in modern European political systems cannot fulfil this function in new states – a situation comparable to that in countries controlled by Communist parties.
- VII. **It has been noted by a number of studies of post-independence political developments in new states that this process of consolidation can sometimes operate in the other direction weakening rather than strengthening the party apparatus.** This happens because the party stalwarts who previously held the organization together with their enthusiasm and hard work are distracted by their involvement in running the business of governing the country. While the actual administration remained under the control of the colonial power and their European civil servants, party secretaries were free to pursue their search for efficiency within the party itself. After independence, these key figures naturally received the fruits of their labours in the form of appointment to top jobs in ministries or public corporations, the major decision-making posts within the state administration. This meant that the party tended to languish as a separate organization and to perform its functions less effectively, especially the important function of acting as a channel of communications between the mass of the people and their newly-installed leaders. Professor Beinen has described this process with respect to Tanzania and the way in which Nyerere tried to overcome the problem by resigning his government responsibilities. In these sorts of cases, consolidation was occurring outside rather than inside the party.
- VIII. **Mobilization vs Reconciliation party systems:** The extent of this consolidation varies greatly between states. With regard to Africa, a number of scholars have developed the terminology of calling one group 'mobilization' systems, where consolidation under the dominant party has advanced very far, and calling the other group 'reconciliation' systems where there has been relatively little consolidation and sub-national organizations continue to enjoy a level of independence from national political control. Tanzania, or Ghana at the height of Nkrumah's power (or North Vietnam), typify the former; Sierra Leone or Ivory Coast (or India) the latter. The distinction cannot be

pushed too far – no mobilization system approaches the monolithic and totalitarian character of the Russian brand of Communism and no state is static, but moving towards one pole or the other according to circumstances.

- IX. **And, more important than party labels at all, is the fact that parties have disappeared entirely in an increasing number of new states as the armed forces seize control and institute direct bureaucratic rule.** For the civilian rulers of the new states, this action represents the ultimate in treasonable intervention but, for the majority of the inhabitants, support for the army may be the only means available of opposing a regime which has effectively removed all other forms of political opposition. Where the mass of the people have become apathetic towards the entrenched leadership, the men behind the guns can forcibly offer the novelty of change.

### Self-Assessment Exercises 1

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.*

- 1. In most areas, the constitutions devised under the supervision of the departing colonial power were based upon the assumption of a .....or multi-party parliamentary system*
- 2. ....is perhaps the classic case of complex ethnic arithmetic leading to a proportionate distribution of senior political posts among the representatives of the two major communities, one Christian and the other Arab*
- 3. In an earlier period, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Uganda were all ruled by....., representing distinct groups in the community in separate parties.*

## 3.4 Army in Politics in New States

### 3.4.1 Army in Politics

Broadly, there are three different types of armies in the new state of Africa and Asia, differences which relate to their origins and which condition the degree to which the army becomes involved in politics.

**The first and most common type is the post-colonial administrative army:** This was created by the colonial powers largely for purposes of supporting the colonial civil administration and the police in the preservation of internal order and frontier security. In some cases, active service was seen during the Second World War and against guerrilla forces but, especially in Africa; the main reason for the creation of the army was to assist administration. The recruitment policies of the colonial powers were important for the future attitudes of the army towards politicians and

towards separatism. A deliberate attempt was made to weaken the power of the 'primordial sentiments' discussed earlier by posting recruits away from their own areas and mixing up rather than allowing military groupings to reflect traditional groupings, by tribe or area or religion. In some cases, the members of the most educated elite were deliberately excluded in preference to 'raw recruits' from more backward areas who appeared more suited to military discipline. Officer training was conducted in the insulated atmosphere of European training centres. The length of this traditions of the Indian Army to the chaos of the Congolese Force Publique, abandoned by the Belgians with no African holding a rank higher than corporal.

**The second type might be termed the revolutionary citizen army:** created in the course of armed resistance to colonialism and consequently much more sympathetic to the aspirations of the political leadership of the new states than in the case of the post-colonial army leadership. As noted earlier, military force played a part in very few colonial 'revolutionary struggles' – in most areas the colonial authority abdicated peacefully. The exceptions are areas like Algeria, Indonesia or Vietnam, where the army is more likely to interpret its role as a positive commitment to a defence of nationalist ideology and policies. A variant of this type is the situation where, because of post-colonial disputes with other independent leaders, armies have been mobilized with widespread of the activities of Somalia against both Kenya and Ethiopia and, more tragically, of Biafra against the rest of Nigeria.

**The thINR type is the executive army:** Here the army effectively controls the political process, either openly, by holding all the key civil-political posts (Indonesia, South Vietnam and numerous African states), or tacitly, by limiting the discretion of the civilian leaders and throwing their support behind a particular leader or set of leaders. Traditional leaders in old states may continue in office under this arrangement – in Thailand, Ethiopia and Morocco, for example – or new leaders may rest their ultimate control upon army support against any potential coalition of opponents, as did Sukarno and Ayub Khan.

All types of armies in new states share some common characteristics which predispose them to **intervene in politics**. The army is perhaps the most successfully transplanted western institution to be created by the colonial powers. It is a modern institution in the most fundamental sense that it is organized on secular, professional principles and integrates highly specialized technological functions into a coherent hierarchy. Its officers are generally better trained than their civilian counterparts in business or politics and it has been able to command a generous share of the scarce national resources in the period after independence. The result is that the army is often the most advanced section of the community and conscious of the lack of comparable progress elsewhere.

The result is that the army officer and his subordinates – whether in Pakistan, Mali or New Guinea – are prepared to criticize civilian leadership on a number of rounds. In particular, they are conscious of the relative backwardness and incompetence of the civilian administration –  
CXX



many officers have served or been trained outside their own country, often in Europe, and their observations there underlie the gap in competence. In addition, the army everywhere places great emphasis on martial virtues such as discipline, order and unity; it tends to be impatient with compromise dictated by political considerations. So the officer corps in new states often tends to regard politicians as weak, self-seeking and lacking in a wider national vision.

From these sorts of attitudes develops a potential for political intervention by the army, intervention aimed at shaping society as a whole in the efficient, disciplined and unified image of the army. This potential is realized when the civilian government reveals its weakness; the strength of the army itself is irrelevant. The weakest armies in the world are in Africa because colonial Africa was a peaceful continent, yet platoons with a few machine guns have frequently proved sufficient to overthrow civilian regimes there; by contrast, India moved to independence with a large and well-tried army but has rarely been overshadowed by the prospect of military intervention in civil affairs.

### 3.4.2 Army and Crises in the New States

In the new states, there seem to be two key periods of crisis.

- I. **The first is usually the point of independence**, when the new civilian leaders have not been able to win the conditional support of the army and do not enjoy popular confidence. A challenge may come at this early date. This was the case in the Congo, where the army mutinied against their Belgian officers within a week of independence and the fragile fabric of the hastily constructed state fell apart at the seams. The United Nations intervention helped pull the state back into some sort of unit but civilian rule was permanently discredited and corporals became generals and executive presidents.
- II. **The second period of crisis occurs and continues to occur when the civilian leaders have had sufficient time in office to demonstrate their incapacity to rule, as measured by the army's own criteria.** The rising expectations generated by the nationalism remain unfulfilled. The main source of discontent is the frustration produced when many of the problems which seemed to be the fault of colonial misgovernment do not disappear after independence and many of the promises made in the campaign to win support for nationalism cannot be honoured. Economically, life becomes harder rather than easier when the colonial cushion is removed to reveal the hard facts of a poverty of natural resources or a lack of skills. In politics, the tensions of plural societies become more obvious when leadership becomes competitive and local rather than authoritarian and external. And, in most new states, civilian leadership is inexperienced and responsive to demands for special treatment from particular groups in the community, so that it appears both inefficient and corrupt to army leaders accepting western standards of judgment.

Some writers even detect a fixed time span for this disillusionment with civilian leadership by the army and by the population as a whole – five years before military intervention in the Middle East and Africa, ten years in Asia. This fits many of the facts, but might lend a spurious air of inevitability to the process. Some states still have civilian rulers because they have pursued various policies designed to eliminate the danger. The obvious way – but the most difficult – is to run the state so impartially and so efficiently that the army is not critical and does not believe that it can do better or can persuade the people that it can do better. But, in addition to this counsel of perfection, other tactics have been followed – notably the creation of a powerful party apparatus and ideology which involved large and influential sections of the community in participating in decisions or feeling that they participate; the playing off of one section of the military against another (e.g. ‘the army against the air-force, as in Tanzania, where their cadets trained in different parts of the world); the building up of other centres of power, such as the civilian police force or party auxiliaries like youth wings, under direction of civilians; even the promotion of officers closely linked with the ruling civilian elite by family or communal ties. Not all these tactics succeed but it seems possible that some states will avoid altogether the experience of direct military participation in political life.

Even among states where the military are the key political factor, the degree of involvement varies considerably. The situation has already been mentioned where the army remains in the background but is able to determine policy because the nominal leaders owe their continuing possession of power to army support. More frequently, the army take power but proclaims that it does not wish to abolish the existing constitutional arrangements for civilian democratic government. It justifies its action on the grounds that the existing politicians have become corrupted and are not operating the constitutional machinery in accordance with the wishes of the people or on the grounds that the nation needs strong and uncompromising leadership to overcome particular economic or political crises. In some cases, the claim is genuine and the army really does behave like ‘caretakers’, pushing on with reforms and changes that it considers necessary and then allowing competitive political life to resume. This was the case, for example, in Burma in 1958 when General Ne Win removed the government of U Nu and later allowed free elections to enable the people to choose his civilian successor. In the Sudan, the same promise was given the same year, but it was nearly a decade before the army honoured its pledge and then only because it was failing to resolve the same secessionist problem which had plagued the civilian regimes before it.

In practice, most ‘caretaker’ military governments last until the experience of being in power without making much headway on basic problems sickens the military or they are forced out because of public pressure, having failed as an alternative to civilian politicians. Once drawn into the political arena, it is often difficult for the army to withdraw again without rendering the whole exercise meaningless. The conditions which caused the initial move are unlikely to be resolved by the anticipated short-term regime – a lesson learnt by Ne Win in Burma, who felt obliged to take control again in 1962. The army has certain advantages in civil politics; the

freedom from regional pressures and the need to win votes; access to administrative skills and an appreciation of modern techniques; a certain realism and absence of doctrinaire anti-colonialism in dealing with the major economic powers. But the military leaders in control of civilian affairs find that there are no easy solutions or automatic responses to commands so that they often become enmeshed in the same web of compromises which ensnared their predecessors.

The most complete involvement occurs in the situation when the army makes no pretence about preserving the existing civilian constitution and sets about creating its own ideology and administrative organization. This occurs most frequently where the army has been deeply committed to the nationalist movement, so that army leaders enjoy popular support rivalling that of civilians. This is true of Egypt, Algeria and of the present regime in Indonesia. The chief posts in government are filled with army officers and the public are persuaded that these represent the best available defenders of the public interest and the most efficient agents of modernization and social revolution. Military rule is treated as a permanent fixture and the whole political system is remodelled on this basis. Unless the officers who have seized power can accomplish this sort of transformation, military rule is an inherently unstable form of government. While its justification is merely to correct abuses of the civilian constitutional arrangements and its sanction the monopoly of the instruments of physical coercion, it cannot expect to be expected as a constant feature of political organization. As with all dictatorships, there is recurrent problem of what will happen when the present leaders inevitably go the way of all flesh. This raises the much broader question of the stability and legitimacy of any form of government in new states.

## Self-Assessment Exercises 2

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.*

1. *The first and most common type is the post-colonial .....army*
  - A. *Administrative*
  - B. *Political*
  - C. *Revolutionized*
  
2. *Congolese Force Publique, abandoned by..... the with no African holding a rank higher than corporal.*
  - A. *Americans*
  - B. *Belgian*
  - C. *French*
  
3. *Algeria, Indonesia or .....are exceptions, where the army is more likely to interpret its role as a positive commitment to a defence of nationalist ideology*
  - A. *Malaysia*

- B. Nigeria  
C. Vietnam
4. In ..... General Ne Win removed the government of U Nu and later allowed free elections to enable the people to choose his civilian successor.
- A. 1950  
B. 1958  
C. 1991
5. In countries where the army has been deeply committed to the nationalist movement, so that army leaders enjoy popular support rivalling that of civilians in countries such as .....
- A. Egypt  
B. Sri Lanka  
C. Laos

### 3.5 Summary

In most areas, the constitutions devised under the supervision of the departing colonial power were based upon the assumption of a two-party or multi-party parliamentary system. This was regarded as the best method of safeguarding the rights of individuals and minority groups, since the element of competition was likely to preclude drastic abuses of power and dispose the leadership towards compromise. Very little of this competitiveness now survives. The very great majority of states in Africa and Asia are now controlled by a single political organization. In many areas, competitors just did not emerge; where they did, they have not survived a period of independent rule. Most countries either have only one party or have no parties at all, with control exercised by bureaucratic elite which is not subjected to the sanction of electoral recall. This has led to military intervention. More frequently, the army take power but proclaims that it does not wish to abolish the existing constitutional arrangements for civilian democratic government. It justifies its action on the grounds that the existing politicians have become corrupted and are not operating the constitutional machinery in accordance with the wishes of the people or on the grounds that the nation needs strong and uncompromising leadership to overcome particular economic or political crises.

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### 3.7 Possible Answers to SAEs

Answers to SAE1

1. *Two-party*
2. *Lebanon*
3. *Coalitions*

Answers to SAE2

1. *A- Administrative*
2. *B- Belgians*
3. *C- Vietnam*
4. *B-1958*
5. *A- Egypt*

## Unit 4: States and International Order

### Unit Structure

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Learning Outcomes
- 4.3 International Order I
  - 4.3.1 What does International Order mean?
  - 4.3.2 The Importance of International Order
- 4.4 International Order II
  - 4.4.1 Historical International Orders
  - 4.4.2 Challenges facing international order
- 4.5 International Order III
  - 4.5.1 1 Rules are been contested
- 4.6 Summary
- 4.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 4.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

### 4.1 Introduction

In international relations, the international order describes the notion that contemporary international relations are organized around principles of international cooperation through multilateral institutions like the United Nations and World Trade Organization, open markets, security cooperation, promotion of liberal democracy, and leadership by the United States and its allies. The order was established in the aftermath of World War II, led in large part by the United

States. The international order formed after World War II provides important benefits to the United States as well as other countries. The United Nations, NATO, the World Trade Organization, the European Union, and other postwar institutions all help to provide economic stability and international security, contributing to unprecedented levels of prosperity and the longest period in modern history without war between major powers. And the U.S. leadership helped to create this system, and U.S. leadership has long been critical for its success. Although the United States has paid a significant share of the costs of this order since its inception, it has greatly benefited from its rewards. Indeed, the United States has gained disproportionate influence on setting the rules of international exchange and security cooperation in ways that reflect its interests around the globe.

## 4.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- what does international order mean?
  - the importance of international order
  - historical international orders
  - challenges facing international order and how this order and rules are been contested

## 4.3 International Order I

### 4.3.1 What does International Order mean?

The **International Order** is defined as the body of rules, norms, and institutions that govern relations between the key players on the **international** stage.

#### Note the Key Points

- International orders are regularized practices of exchange among discrete political units that recognize each other to be independent.
- It is possible to speak of multiple international orders in world history, perhaps even as far back as ancient Sumer.
- In International Relations (IR), the 1648 Peace of Westphalia is often considered to be the benchmarks date from which ‘modern’ international order emerged.
- More recently, scholars have viewed the emergence of modern international order as the product of the last two centuries, as this is when various regional systems were forged into a deeply interdependent, global international order.

### 4.3.2 The Importance of International Order

No one among the most powerful nations will ever choose to truly respect another country's sovereignty, especially the small ones. ... So, **what is necessary for the development of an international order** is respect between nations, which is nice to hear but is really unachievable

- It conceived or considered of global organizations to promote collective problem-solving that is a situation whereby disputes resolved peacefully and free of coercion.
- It averts or prevents protectionist impulses
- It stabilizes the world economy base on free and open markets.
- It promote share of values” featuring “respect for human rights,” “freedom,” and “democracy” as well as
- It enable large countries, small countries, all have to abide by what [are] considered just and fair” rules, essentially the opposite of a regional order based primarily on power.
- Respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity.
- high trade and investment standards

### Self-Assessment Exercises 1

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.*

1. ....is defined as the body of rules, norms, and institutions that govern relations between the key players on the **international** stage.
2. The 1648 Peace of .....is often considered to be the benchmarks date from which ‘modern’ international order emerged
3. One of the importance of international order is the Respect for .....and territorial integrity.

## 4.4 International Order II

### 4.4.1 Historical International Orders

When should we start thinking about the emergence of ‘international orders’? Although the term ‘international order’ is a relatively recent innovation, some accounts trace the historical origins of international orders to the period when nomadic groups first settled and became sedentary/inactive communities (Buzan and Little, 2000). The earliest recorded example of this process took place around 3-4,000 years ago in Sumer–modern day Iraq. Sedentary/inactive communities in Sumerac cumulated agricultural surpluses that allowed for year round subsistence. These surpluses generated two dynamics: first, they fostered trade between groups; and second, they put groups at risk of attack. The response of sedentary communities was to increase their capabilities: they got bigger, they developed specializations (such as dividing people into distinct ranks of soldiers and cultivators), and they developed political hierarchies, establishing order through the command of a leader or group of leaders (Buzan and Little 2000).

These leaders increasingly interacted with their counterparts in other groups, establishing rituals that we now know as diplomacy. In the process, these communities generated regularized practices of exchange among discrete political units that recognize each other to be independent—the definition of international orders.

The international order established by the victorious allies after the Second World War has been remarkably enduring. The framework of liberal political and economic rules, embodied in a network of international organizations and regulations, and shaped and enforced by the most powerful nations, both fixed the problems that had caused the war and proved resilient enough to guide the world into an entirely new era.

#### 4.4.2 Challenges facing international order

Many Chinese scholars also point to numerous instances in which the United States has violated or opted out of supposedly constraining forms of order—such as the 2003 invasion of Iraq or Washington’s non-ratification of the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS)—to argue that hegemons have the privilege of hypocrisy.

There is one clear exception to this characterization: China engages in systematic efforts to undermine the international human rights regime—an example of liberal democratic global governance that it sees as fundamentally threatening to its regime. This reality is all the more troubling given recent developments in China, most notably the detention of approximately 1.5 million Muslims in what have been termed transformation through re-education centers in Xinjiang, a subject that has been receiving growing international attention over the past year. The Chinese government justifies its actions as necessary for maintaining national security, but international human rights advocates have sharply criticized the detention centers.

On the regional level, China has sought to change or directly challenged existing forms of order more assertively. By unveiling new institutions like the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), Beijing has revealed itself as a regional economic and development entrepreneur. Despite early international angst, it now seems that the AIIB may proceed with a governance model that is basically consistent with existing international standards. This is less true of the BRI, whose unsustainable debt may provide China with systematic, coercive political leverage. If Beijing proceeds with early plans to set up a tribunal system to adjudicate BRI disputes, this essentially extralegal form of regional institution building would raise the chance of rules-based regional rivalry.

Some see China as a potential challenger to the liberal order, as its initiatives such as the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and One Belt One Road Initiative appear to compete with existing international institutions



## Self-Assessment Exercises 2

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.*

- 1. The term 'international order' is a relatively recent innovation, some accounts trace the historical origins of international orders to the period when .....groups first settled*
- 2. The earliest recorded example of this process took place around 3-4,000 years ago in Sumer–modern day .....*
- 3. The full meaning of BRI is?*
  - A. Belt and Road Initiative*
  - B. Bolt and Road Innovation*
  - C. Belt and Road Inventiveness*

### 4.5 International Order III

#### 4.5.1 Rules are been contested

The international order is also being contested in other ways. Some states have increased their use of 'measures short of war' to pursue political and security objectives. Such measures include the use of non-state actors and other proxies, covert and paramilitary operations, economic coercion, cyber-attacks, misinformation and media manipulation. In the United Nations, we have seen coordinated efforts to dilute universal human rights standards. Some states are active in asserting authoritarian models in opposition to open, democratic governance.

International rules designed to help maintain peace and minimise the use of coercion are also being challenged. For instance, Russia's coercive and aggressive actions in Ukraine, Syria's use of chemical weapons, and North Korea's missile and nuclear programs, weaken global security. Forging rules on a range of new issues, such as cooperation in outer space and governance of the internet, will also remain difficult because of differences in political systems, interests and values.

In conclusion, the refusal to act in ways consistent with international law and these norms will continue to undermine the applicability of international order. According to Helen V. Milner, the international institutions are under attack by President Donald J. Trump. As scholars of international relations, we are alarmed by these attacks. We should reform, but not destroy the system that has served the United States and its allies well for more than seven decades. The global order is certainly in need of major changes, but absolutely not the reckless ones President Trump is pursuing. Institutions are much harder to build up than they are to destroy. Almost

nobody benefits from a descent into the chaos of a world without effective institutions that encourage and organize cooperation.

### Self-Assessment Exercises 3

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.*

- 1. Some states have increased their use of 'measures short of war' to pursue political and .....objectives as part of International order.*
- 2. In the United Nations, we have seen coordinated efforts to dilute universal .....Standards.*
- 3. International rules designed to help maintain peace and minimise the use of .....are also being challenged.*
- 4. According to Helen V. Milner, the international institutions are under attack by .....*
- 5. For instance, Russia's coercive and aggressive actions in Ukraine, Syria's use of chemical weapons, and North Korea's missile and nuclear programs, weaken global .....*

### 4.6 Summary

International orders have existed ever since political units began to interact with each other on a regular basis, whether through trade, diplomacy or the exchange of ideas. In this sense, world history has seen a great many regional international orders. However, it is only over the past two centuries or so that we can speak of a distinctly modern international order in the sense of the construction of a global economy, a global system of states, and the global circulation of ideas. This unit discussed what does international order mean? The importance of international order historical international orders challenges facing international order and how this order and rules are been contested

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#### 4.8 Possible Answers to SAEs

##### Answers to SAE1

1. *International Order*
2. *Westphalia*
3. *Sovereignty*

##### Answers to SAE2

1. *Nomadic*
2. *Iraq*
3. *A-Initiative*

##### Answers to SAE3

1. *Security*
2. *Human Rights*
3. *Coercion*
4. *President Donald J. Trump*
5. *Security*

## **MODULE 4: TERRORISM, STATE SPONSORED TERRORISM AND THE NEW STATES**

Unit 1: Understanding Terrorism

Unit 2: Concept, Indicators, Forms of State Sponsored Terrorism

Unit 3: Iran, Pakistan and State Sponsored Terrorism

Unit 4: Boko Haram Terrorism and the Nigerian State

## **Unit 1: Understanding Terrorism**

### **Unit Structure**

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcomes
- 1.3 Understanding Terrorism
  - 1.3.1 Meaning of Terrorism
  - 1.3.2 Characteristics/Features of Terrorism
- 1.4 The War against Terrorism
  - 1.4.1 The roots of the war on terrorism
  - 1.4.2 The nature of the war on terrorism
  - 1.4.3 The war on terrorism as a form of counter-terrorism
- 1.6 Summary
- 1.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 1.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

### **1.1 Introduction**

Of the current most potential, or actual, global threat to humanity, terrorism, or the threat of it, marks a significant challenge to world peace and harmony. The concept of terrorism, however, like most other concepts in the study of international relations has different meanings to different scholars. By way of consensus, however, the act of terrorism suggests imminent destruction of life and properties by aggrieved individuals, acting for themselves or on behalf of their organizations, groups, sects or states. This unit is the last of the subjects on the conditions of an archaic international system. Terrorism as a global phenomenon is comprehensively treated in order to allow for a deep understanding of the phenomenon.

### **1.2 Learning Outcomes**

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

- deduce the terms with the various meanings of terrorism
- derive who the real terrorists are
- explain why terrorism is as a result of global inequality.

### **1.3 Understanding Terrorism**

### **1.3.1 Meaning of Terrorism**

Scholars of international relations and security studies have tried over the years to explain what is meant by the concept of terrorism. In view of this, divergent explanations have emerged to provide for the explications of the term. Here, terrorism is seen as consisting of deliberate acts of a physical or psychological nature perpetrated on select groups of victims. Its intent is to mould the thinking and behaviour not only of these targeted groups, but more importantly, of a larger section of society that identify or share the views and aspirations of the targeted groups or who might easily be led to do so. The intent of the terrorists is to intimidate or coerce both groups by causing them intense fear, anxiety, apprehension, panic, and/or horror.

Obviously, the groups that have been directly targeted experience these emotions to a much higher degree than the larger sections of society that the terrorist act is also intended to intimidate and coerce. The overall purpose of terrorism is to intimidate and coerce, not to eliminate a group physically or socially. The latter is called genocide. Terrorism refers more to unleashing terror against perceived enemies and their symbols. It is a violent way of showing grievances by aggrieved persons believed to have been deprived of their right to exist, survive economically or practice their belief. It presupposes, therefore, a reactionary application of tact to call attention to a particular peoples' course.

### **1.3.2 Characteristics/Features of Terrorism**

Terrorist acts are manifested in various forms, driven by the intentions and capabilities of the terrorists. Essentially, the goal of the terrorist is fundamental to the terrorist act being perpetrated. Thus, individuals, groups and even states have been found engaging in terrorist activities. All of these shall be treated below.

#### **Individual terrorist act**

In most cases, the act of terrorism is carried out individually. It takes an individual to take the difficult decision of committing suicide before an act of terrorism become visible on a world scale. Most local and international terrorist groups do not exist without leaders, with international clout. Al Qaeda, for instance, have suffered a major set-back since the demise of its leader, Osama bin Laden. Before now, two Libyans were arrested for their complicity in the December 21, 1988 Lockerbie bombing. Also, Ahmed Khalfan Ghailani, a Tanzanian, was arrested in Pakistan in connection with the Al-Qaeda's bombing of the U.S. embassies in East Africa in 1998, and Nigerian Muhammad Abdul Mutalab was sentenced recently to a life imprisonment in a U.S. court for attempting to bomb a US Airplane in December 2009. All of these individuals have engaged in individual terrorism. But, certainly they did not operate in isolation but rather in connection with a highly organised hierarchical group of individuals.

#### **Group terrorism**

This is also known as organisational terrorism. It refers to the increasing capacity of global terrorists to acquire more members, greater geographic reach, high level of ideological sophistication and wider influence and impacts. Al-Qaeda, for example, has as its major goal: “the unification of other militant Islamist groups under its strategic leadership. Thus, after fleeing Afghanistan to Pakistan in 2001, the group founded a regional branch in the Arabian Peninsula and acquired franchises in Iraq and the Maghreb” (Farrall, 2001). This explains why even if we conceive that the group is losing grasp on its subjects, as a result of the big blow recently dealt on it by the United States Marine Corps, we cannot afford to underestimate the possibility of recuperation through its various subsidiaries.

Farrall (2001) argues that such treatment of the central al Qaeda separately from its subsidiaries overlooks its success in expanding its power through them. He, therefore, warned that the sub-groups should not be ignored because all have attacked western interests in their regions of operations. For emphasis, al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) has long targeted the United States, but its efforts have moved beyond the execution stage only in the last two years, most recently with the foiled plot to bomb cargo planes in October 2010. Also, even though al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) has not yet attacked outside its own region, al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) was reportedly involved in the June 2007 London and Glasgow bomb plots. All these, notwithstanding, some states have also been accused of terrorist acts as we explain briefly below.

### **State terrorism**

Oftentimes, the vanity of conceptualization of individual and group terrorism is defeated by the understanding that the terror of the state is often historically antecedent to revolutionary terrorism masterminded by individuals or groups. Washington publishes an annual list of governments that it alleges aid terrorists. Typically, this list contains a majority of governments of Arab states plus Iran, Cuba and North Korea. This highlights the importance of how terrorism is defined. But according to Frederick Gareau (2004), if state terrorism were included in the definition, Washington would have to include itself on the list

### **Self-Assessment Exercises 1**

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.*

- 1. ....is seen as consisting of deliberate acts of a physical or psychological nature perpetrated on select groups of victims*
  
- 2. One of the following countries is not listed by United States as a State Sponsor of Terrorism*
  - A. Somalia*
  - B. Iran*

*C. Cuba*

3. *The overall purpose of terrorism is to intimidate and.....*
4. *Group terrorism is also referred to as .....*
5. *Lockerbie bombing took place in December 21 .....*
  - A. 1987
  - B. 1988
  - C. 1996

## 1.4 The War against Terrorism

### 1.4.1 The roots of the war on terrorism

The purpose of examining the roots of the war on terrorism is to expose how the present war on terrorism began as Washington's counterinsurgencies in the Middle East. The United States of America, in the past, supported the Shah of Iran and Saddam Hussein of Iraq, who after the Iranian revolution invaded Iran and fought a bloody war with it for eight years; and for Israel that has fought and terrorized Palestinians for over a century. It is a common knowledge that during the Cold War- counterinsurgency period, Washington viewed its enemies as communist-inspired insurgencies- as well as political movements charged as being so inspired or simply leftist movements.

### 1.4.2 The nature of the war on terrorism

Contemporary war on terrorism is a messianic, apocalyptic struggle of blameless good against consummative evil, tagged "axis of evil nations". The primary enemy seems to be religious bigotry and terror, and not atheist as the previous enemy was. It is needless to mention that accusing fingers are often pointed at Israel as state that practices state terrorism and by supplying military and economic aid, Washington is an accomplice.

### 1.4.3 The war on terrorism as a form of counter-terrorism

It is believed in certain quarters that the aid and support that Washington currently gives to states to wage the war on terrorism has features in common with the aid and support previously provided to states that practiced state terrorism during the Cold War. "This parallel is scary". The act of the U.S. special forces and that of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) have been described as counterterrorism, the re-baptized version of counter- insurgency.

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.*

1. *The present war on terrorism began as Washington's counterinsurgencies in the.....*
  - A. Africa



- B. *Oceania*
- C. *Middle East*

2. *The United States of America, in the past, supported the Shah of .....and Saddam Hussein of Iraq.*
  - A. *Afghanistan*
  - B. *Iran*
  - C. *Romania*
3. *Israel has been accused of fighting and terrorizing .....for over a century.*
  - A. *United States of America*
  - B. *Morocco*
  - C. *Palestine*
4. *It is a common knowledge that during the Cold War- counterinsurgency period, Washington viewed its enemies as .....-inspired insurgencies*
5. *United States of America has also been accused as a State Sponsor of Terrorism. True or False.*

## 1.6 Summary

It is now well known to us that the act of terrorism is not an end in itself but a means to an end. Those who engage in the terrorist activities often do so to react to certain actions of their victims or their governments in the past. It is also very obvious that many of the fight against terrorism have actually succeeded in promoting it, since those championing the fight are now guilty of counter-terrorist activities. The course has therefore showed us that the war against terrorism will become more meaningful and more justifiable only if those in charge champion the course of equity, probity and justice.

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## 1.8 Possible Answers to SAEs

### Answers to SAE1

1. *Terrorism*
2. *A- Somalia*
3. *Coerce*
4. *Organizational*
5. *B- 1988*

### Answers to SAE2

1. *C- Middle East*
2. *B- Iran*
3. *C- Palestine*
4. *communist*
5. *True*

## Unit 2: Concept, Indicators, Forms of State Sponsored Terrorism

### Unit Structure

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcomes
- 2.3 Understanding of State-Sponsored Terrorism
- 2.4 Indicators for State Terrorism
  - 2.4.1 State terrorism is substantive
  - 2.4.2 The act of state terrorism must be perpetrated by actors
  - 2.4.3 State terrorism is usually planned and implemented in secret
- 2.5 Forms of State Terrorism
  - 2.5.1 Sponsorship
  - 2.5.2 Changes to Legal Code
- 2.6 Summary
- 2.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources

## 2.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

### 2.1 Introduction

By all accounts, state terrorism is one of the greatest sources of human suffering and destruction and the single greatest challenge to societal security today state terrorism as the intentional use or threat of violence by state agents or their proxies against individuals or groups who are victimized for the purpose of intimidating or frightening a broader audience'. The direct victims of the violence are therefore not the main targets, but are merely instrumental to the primary goal of frightening people who are intimidated by the communicative power of violence. The final goal of the violence is specific political or political-economic achievements, as opposed to religious or criminal goals.

### 2.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- deduce the terms with the various meanings of state sponsored terrorism
- derive why state engage in sponsoring terrorism the
- explain the indicators of state sponsored terrorism.

### 2.3 State Sponsored Terrorism

Oftentimes, the vanity of conceptualization of individual and group terrorism is defeated by the understanding that the terror of the state is often historically antecedent to revolutionary terrorism masterminded by individuals or groups. Washington publishes an annual list of governments that it alleges aid terrorists. Typically, this list contains a majority of governments of Arab states plus Iran, Cuba and North Korea. This highlights the importance of how terrorism is defined. But if state terrorism were included in the definition, Washington would have to include itself on the list.

From the universe of presumed norm breakers, I chose states that have been labeled “rogue states” by the USA. These constitute least-likely cases for norm entrepreneur-ship because most existing norm studies presume norm entrepreneurs to be liberal actors. Even though there are several official criteria that are used to justify labeling country a “rogue state” the label is generally used in an arbitrary manner. Hoyt (2000) and O’Reilly (2007) identify particularly Iraq, Iran, Libya, Cuba, and North Korea as repeatedly having been designated “rogues” over longer periods of time. While Cuba’s place in the rogues’ gallery has primarily been attributed to Cuban exiles’ influence on the American decision-making process Iraq disappeared from the list of terrorism-supporting states and thus from the “rogue radar” of the US government after the Bush administration forced regime change in 2003. Libya followed Iraq in 2006 when it voluntarily abandoned its WMD program. North Korea was removed from the list of state sponsors of terrorism in 2008 in exchange for its readiness to enter negotiations on its nuclear

program, only to be redesigned in late 2017. While President Obama changed policy course and officially dropped the “rogue” rhetoric, he referred to Iran and North Korea as “nuclear outlier states.” Since the period of investigation for this study ended in spring 2015, the recent revival of the “rogue state” rhetoric in the discourse by the Trump administration is not taken into account here. Thus, at the time of writing, Iran was the only consistent (and remaining) “rogue state” on the list of state sponsors of terrorism. Iran’s central organization for providing technical, logistical, financial, and personnel support to terrorist groups abroad.

### **Self-Assessment Exercises 1**

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.*

1. *One of the following countries in Asia has been named State Sponsor of Terrorism by United States of America.*
  - A. *Algeria*
  - B. *North Korea*
  - C. *Canada*
  
2. *Norm breakers in the international society have also been named..... State.*
  
3. *.....terrorism as the intentional use or threat of violence by state agents or their proxies against individuals or groups who are victimized for the purpose of intimidating.*
  
4. *.....was removed from the list of state sponsors of terrorism in 2008 in exchange for its readiness to enter negotiations on its nuclear program, only to be redesigned in late 2017.*
  
5. *Libya followed Iraq in 2006 when it voluntarily abandoned its .....program*

## **2.4 Indicators of State Sponsored Terrorism**

Despite the fact that there is no consensus on what defines state terrorism, several experts identify some key characteristics/indicators for state terrorism:

### **2.4.1 State terrorism is substantive**

This means there must be the threat of violence or the actual use of violence (McAllister & Schmid, 2011) and implies an explicit connection between the state and the terrorist attack. More concretely, there must be a deliberate act of violence against the individuals that the state must

protect or a threat of such an action if an environment of fear has already been established through preceding acts of violence (Blakeley, 2009)

#### 2.4.2 The act of state terrorism must be perpetrated by actors on behalf of the state

This means that state terrorism is committed by agents (official representatives) of the state, or by proxies (principals) who operate with the resources of the state. In other words, perpetrators of state terrorism can be from inside (especially military, intelligence services, policy and other security personnel) as well as outside the state apparatus (Jackson et al., 2011). Basically, agents and principals are acting as either one of the behalf of the state or with the state's approval, either tacitly or explicitly (Jackson et al., 2011). In this context, actions by state employees (usually security sector agents and the judiciary) in an unofficial capacity (personnel off-duty or on leave) but with tacit approval (Terrorism-Research, n.d.) are included in the scope of state terrorism. Subsequently, principals as well as agents can be involved in a variety of private non-state groups or operate as individuals carrying out acts of terrorism. These include private security actors (PSAs) subcontracted by the private military companies (PMCs), private security companies (PSCs), private militias, death squads, vigilantes, paramilitary organizations, mobs, gangs, on-state terrorist groups and other informal actors like lone assassins (Blakeley, 2009, p. 30; Jackson et al., 2011)

#### 2.4.3 State terrorism is usually planned and implemented in secret

This is also known as clandestine state terrorism'), especially in nations where the government uses terror to maintain power and control. Clandestine (secret) state terrorism is a form of covert action that consists of direct participation by state agents in acts of terrorism. However, state terror also takes overt forms. Secrecy, which is naturally accompanied by unpredictability, offers governments the opportunity to deny involvement or responsibility and ignorance of or downplaying of state terrorism. Furthermore, secrecy offers governments and their agencies the option to disguise their participation in terrorism which exonerates them from having to change constitutional, legal and judicial processes justifying these activities. However, in some cases perpetrators of state terrorism do not act in complete secrecy; this quasi-secrecy is deliberate and ensures a high degree of unpredictability of state terrorism as to generate even more fear (Kushner, 2003: 345).

#### Self-Assessment Exercises 2

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.*

- 1. State terrorism is ..... This means there must be the threat of violence or the actual use of violence*
- 2. State terrorism can be committed by agents (official representatives) of the state. True or False.*

3. *State terrorism is usually planned and implemented in secret. This is also known as .....state terrorism'*
4. *State terror also takes overt forms. Secrecy, which is naturally accompanied by .....*
5. *What is the full meaning of PMC?*
  - A. *Private Militia Corporation*
  - B. *Private Military Company*
  - C. *Private Military Corporation*

## **2.5 Forms of State Terrorism**

### **2.5.1 Sponsorship**

Basically, the range of state terrorism (including sponsorship) covers the following broad types: hosting, military support, financial assistance, endorsement, repression, and intimidation and human rights abuses. These types can be found in activities such as providing financial and material (arms and explosives) supplies and services (transactions and purchases), training facilities and expertise, safe havens (bases for operations), providing falsified documents (like for personal identification—passports, internal identification documents), extension of diplomatic protection and services (diplomatic passports, the use of embassies and other protected grounds and diplomatic pouches to transport weapons or explosives), immunity from extradition, intelligence-gathering/sharing and lending ideological support to perpetrators of terrorism (Jackson et al., 2011: 5; Kushner, 2003: 346; McAllister & Schmid, 2011)

### **2.5.2 Changes to Legal Code**

Other state terrorist-related activities are changes to legal codes ('constitutional engineering') in order to permit or encourage terrorist activities, the use of extra-legal powers such as martial law, state of emergency, destruction of private property, suppression of the media, suppression of political parties, excessive use of force during arrests, orchestrated physical attacks during opposition party rallies, beatings and physical assaults directed towards individual opponents, threats and reprisals against the families of political opponents, arbitrary arrests and incarceration without trial, police raids without warrant, forced exile or domestic house arrest, extrajudicial killing (like targeted killings of political opponents), kidnapping, hijacking, execution of prisoners without trial or after fake show trial, disappearances (secret individual abductions followed by torture and murder) and premeditated massacres of opposition group. For example, mobs were led by paid provocateurs or mass terror for the purpose of 'ethnic cleansing' (such as genocide and the use of concentration camps).

## **Self-Assessment Exercises 3**

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.*

- 1. ....covers the following broad types: hosting, military support, financial assistance, endorsement, repression, intimidation and human rights abuses.*
- 2. State Sponsors of terrorism usually provides diplomatic passports to terrorist. True or False*
- 3. State Sponsors of terrorism usually permits terrorist to use its embassy and protected grounds. True or False.*
- 4. Constitutional engineering is also known as .....*
- 5. Constitutional engineering is done in order to permit or encourage .....activities*

## **2.6 Summary**

Terrorism can be defined as a political strategy that can be utilized by any actor, whether individuals, organized groups or loose networks, domestic and international organizations, strong and weak states, theocratic authoritarian states as well as liberal ones. While state sponsored terrorism is defined as government security sector agents can use acts of terror 'to aid in repressing dissent and intelligence or military organizations perform acts of terror designed to further a state's policy or diplomatic efforts abroad. State sponsored terrorism has the following indicators substantive, perpetrated by actors on behalf of the state, planned and implemented in secret. While the forms are sponsorship and changes to legal code

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## 2.8 Possible Answers to SAEs

### Answers to SAE1

1. *B-North Korea*
2. *Rogue*
3. *State Sponsored*
4. *North Korea*
5. *Weapons of Mass Destruction*

### Answers to SAE2

1. *Substantive*
2. *True*
3. *Clandestine*
4. *Unpredictability*
5. *B- Private Military Company*

### Answers to SAE3

1. *Sponsorship*
2. *True*
3. *True*
4. *Changes To Legal Code*
5. *Terrorist*

## Unit 3: Iran, Pakistan and State Sponsored Terrorism

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 Iran and State Sponsored Terrorism
  - 3.3.1 Iran
  - 3.3.2 Case Study of Iran as State Sponsor of Terror: Iran & Al Qaeda Nexus
- 3.4 Pakistan and State Sponsored terrorism
  - 3.4.1 Pakistan
  - 3.4.2 Case Study of Pakistani State Sponsored Terrorism
- 3.5 Summary
- 3.6 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 3.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

### 3.1 Introduction



This unit argues that the notion that only non-state actors engage in terrorist activities is false. Iran and Pakistan through various instrument have been engaged in both overt and covert act of terrorism with the purpose of achieving their national interest. Iran and Pakistan have directly provide support for terror group like Taliban and Al Qaeda in the past and present. As such, government security sector agents in both countries use acts of terror ‘to aid in repressing dissent and intelligence or military organizations perform acts of terror designed to further a state’s policy or diplomatic efforts abroad

### **3.2 Learning Outcomes**

#### **3.3 Iran and State Sponsored Terrorism**

##### **3.3.1 Iran**

The US State Department first added Iran to its list State Sponsor of terrorism in 1984. Iran remains there until today—the latest (2016) version states that “Iran’s state sponsorship of terrorism worldwide remained undiminished” .In addition to direct support for terrorist groups, Iran has repeatedly been accused of wanting to undermine regional stability in the Middle East, for example, through directed appeals to Arab countries (e.g., Saudi Arabia or Iraq) to rebel against the ruling regimes (allied with the West). In the 1980s and1990s, Iran made headlines through the murder of Iranian dissidents abroad (e.g. The so-called Mykonos assassination in Berlin in 1992), through bomb attacks on US embassies (e.g., Beirut in 1983 and Kuwait in 1983) or through its involvement in the kidnapping of Westerners in Lebanon. Even though Iran’s revolutionary eagerness has diminished over the years and the policy of export of the revolution has declined, Nincic concludes that “few regimes have been as guilty as Iran”. It might thus come as a surprise that Iran did support the “fight against terrorism” after the attacks of September 11. The Islamic Republic took an active role in the fight against the Taliban in Afghanistan and vehemently opposed (Sunni) terrorism. Nevertheless, in the 2016 Country Report on Terrorism, the USA in particular accused Iran of supporting Palestinian groups and the Lebanese Hezbollah (US State Department 2016: 300). This assistance should be seen in the context of the export of the revolution. Moreover, Iran is accused of supporting Syria’s Assad regime, the Houthi rebels in Yemen and Shiite opposition groups in Bahrain and Iraq—practices that also bear witness to aggressive external behavior. The Revolutionary Guards, in particular the Quds Force, are considered to carry out most of this activities on behalf of the government of Iran.

##### **2.3.2 Case Study of Iran as State Sponsor of Terror: Iran & Al Qaeda Nexus**

Cooperation between the Islamic Republic of Iran and Al-Qaeda dates back to the early 1990s, when operatives from both sides met on several occasions in Khartoum during the “Popular Arab and Islamic Conference”. The conference was hosted by Sudanese political leader of the

National Islamic Front, Hassan al Turabi, whose main impetus was to achieve Shia-Sunni reconciliation in order to generate one Islamic front to target the interests of the United States and its allies (The 9/11 Commission, 2004, p. 61) and was attended by various Islamist extremist groups, including the Lebanese Hezbollah. Osama Bin Laden, who was particularly moved by Imad Mughniyeh's work (the 1983 Beirut bombings mastermind), was poised to facilitate an environment for his operatives to acquire the necessary skills of simultaneously utilizing powerful suicide truck bombs in future terrorist operations, similar to those that killed 241 US servicemen and 58 French paratroopers in Beirut. Turabi's efforts proved to be productive, and Bin Laden's wishes were granted, as the initiative of the most notorious Islamist extremists assembly in Khartoum solidified an informal agreement between Al-Qaeda and Iran that ultimately enabled top Al-Qaeda operatives and trainers to travel to the Islamic Republic for training in high explosives (The 9/11 Commission, 2004, p. 61).

In 1991, Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, then president of Iran, additionally pledged to deliver \$300 million in weapons to Sudan, dubbing the country "the vanguard of the Islamic revolution in the African continent" and ultimately sent hundreds of IRGC-Qods Force operatives to the African state in order to provide training to members of Al-Qaeda (Vidino, 2006, p. 4). Furthermore, in 1993, Al-Qaeda operatives travelled to Bekaa Valley in Lebanon in order to receive training in explosives and direct assistance from Hezbollah, setting the stage for the deadly 1998 suicide bombings targeting the US embassies in Dar es Salaam and Nairobi (Bates, 2011). Both bombings utilized trucks loaded with high explosives as a delivery mechanism and were carried out simultaneously, resulting in the deaths of 224 people. The attacks evidently demonstrated that training provided by the Islamic Republic and Hezbollah to Bin Laden's operatives was highly effective and that without the material aid and support from Tehran, Al-Qaeda would not have been able to effectively carry out its suicide operations in Africa. The Iran-Al-Qaeda alliance would only intensify in subsequent years and ultimately generate one of the deadliest terrorist attacks on American soil in US history, when on 11 September 2001 nineteen Al-Qaeda operatives struck in New York City and Washington, DC, using passenger airliners and killing 2974 people.

Iran's involvement was pivotal in materializing these deadly terrorist attacks which brought down the Twin Towers, damaged the Pentagon building and caused one. Subsequent to the US invasion of Afghanistan in 2001, Iran became a safe haven for senior Al-Qaeda leaders and its notorious operatives. Long before Judge Daniel's ruling, German intelligence had already comprehensively documented Abu Musab al-Zarqawi's activities and movements in Iran, the future chief of Al-Qaeda in Iraq, thereby revealing Iran's extensive support for Al-Qaeda. Those intelligence reports were ultimately leaked and in late 2005 published by the German magazine Cicero, disclosing how Al-Qaeda uses Iran as a base for its operations and revealing the Islamic Republic's commitment to the group's objectives. According to this crucial dossier, al-Zarqawi spent months inside Iran where he established his terrorist network under the wings of the

IRGC–Qods Force, using real Iranian passports with various aliases in order to be able to travel freely (Joscelyn, 2007, p. 62). Moreover, Al-Zarqawi was able to set up training camps and safe houses in the Iranian cities of Zahedan, Isfahan and Tehran where he and his adherents orchestrated future terrorist operations in Iraq, which would target civilians and coalition forces with unprecedented brutality (Joscelyn, 2007, p. 63). The Iran–Al-Qaeda conundrum more recently surfaced in the media again after US intelligence agencies declassified 113 handwritten messages by Osama Bin Laden in which he revealed that Iran is “the chief pathway for our money, men, communique, and hostages” (Al Arabiya, 2016). This revelation defies previous statements of some analysts and officials within the intelligence community, who alleged that Iran does not support Al-Qaeda operatives on its own soil.

### Self-Assessment Exercises 1

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.*

1. *The US State Department first added Iran to its list State Sponsor of terrorism in .....*
  - A. 1981
  - B. 1984
  - C. 1991
  
2. *In addition to direct support for terrorist groups, Iran has repeatedly been accused of wanting to undermine regional stability in the.....*
  - A. Middle East
  - B. Africa
  - C. Pacific
  
3. *The Mykonos assassination took place in ..... in 1992.*
  - A. Lagos
  - B. London
  - C. Berlin
  
4. *Cooperation between the Islamic Republic of Iran and Al-Qaeda dates back to the early 1990s, when operatives from both sides met on several occasions in .....during the “Popular Arab and Islamic Conference.*
  - A. Khartoum
  - B. Juba
  - C. Entebbe
  
5. *Al-Zarqawi was able to set up training camps and safe houses in the Iranian cities of Zahedan, Isfahan and .....*
  - A. Riyadh

### **3.4 Pakistan and State Sponsored Terrorism**

#### **3.4.1 Pakistan**

Since the 9/11 attacks on the USA, Pakistan has come to be perceived as the world's epicentre of jihadist activities. As articulated by Ayesha Jalal: 'while not all Pakistanis are terrorists, most acts of terrorism in the contemporary world carry the Pakistani paw print'. Greig (2016: 23) states that virtually every terrorist incident since the attack on the twin towers in New York has some connection with Pakistan. Either the terrorist is a Pakistani citizen, of Pakistani origin, or has supporters and contacts in Pakistan. Therefore, it should not come as a surprise that targets of US drone strikes in Pakistan include Arabs, Uzbeks, Uighurs, Chechens, and many other ethnic groups and nationalities from outside the AfPak region. Pakistan is not on the US list of governments involved in state-sponsored terrorism, but the 'charge sheet' against the South Asian country is a long one. Along with Iran, Pakistan is one of the most active sponsors of terrorism worldwide (Byman, 2005). International experts confirm that the country is not only flirting with (militant) Jihadism but has also been using terrorism as an instrument of state policy for decades (Greig, 2016: 22). Moreover, these claims are backed by Pakistani elites themselves. For example, former President Asif Zardari publicly admitted that the country deliberately created and nurtured terrorist groups, such as Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) and Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM), as a policy to achieve short-term tactical objectives (Nelson, 2009).

#### **3.4.2 Case Study of Pakistani State Sponsored Terrorism**

##### **Intentional Target Killings of Civilians**

The primary aim of terrorist activities by the government of West Pakistan was to eliminate the leadership of the Bengali independence movement and to terrorize its population in order to beat them into submission. The most crucial element of this campaign was the targeted killing of Bengali intellectuals that formed the organizational backbone of the movement, including regular(Bengali) soldiers of the East Bengal Regiment, the East Pakistan Rifles, police and paramilitary Ansars and mujahids; religious (non-Muslim) minorities, especially Hindus; members and volunteers/supporters of the Awami League, down to the lowest rank; university and college students; and intelligentsia, academics, professors, writers and independent thinkers.

Systematically Organized: The use of violence by West Pakistan in East Pakistan was without a doubt well-organized and prepared. This is evident from various military campaigns carried out by West Pakistan's army, namely, Operation Blitz, Operation Searchlight and Operation Search and Destroy (Murphy, 2013: 71–73). In the words of Bass: 'Pakistan's crackdown on the

Bengalis was not routine or small-scale killing, not something that could be dismissed as business as usual, but a colossal and systematic onslaught' (Bass,2013: 11).

Political Motive: There are concrete political motives that underpin terrorist activities, such as the will to maintain power over East Pakistan, to ensure the territorial integrity of the country and to maintain control of a hostile civilian population of 75 million Bengalis (Murphy,2013: 72). In this context, other concrete-operational goals were the eradication of Bengali language and culture, termination of current and future opposition elements and expulsion of those who were anti-Islam and pro-India.

On Behalf of or in Conjunction with the State: There is no doubt that the terrorist actions by Pakistan security forces and local collaborators were taken on behalf of West Pakistan.

Secrecy: Evidently, major military campaigns like Operation Search light or Operation Search and Destroy were overt actions resulting in large-scale destruction of property, massacres and genocide, which could not have been carried out in secret. However, the government of West Pakistan made substantial efforts to block or at least control the flow of information on the atrocities and war crimes committed by its military forces and supporters. For example, there was very little information available in West Pakistan on their government's military action in East Pakistan. Furthermore, there are serious indications that Pakistan, through its western allies (first and foremost the USA), put pressure international observers 'not to report the full story' of the Bengali genocide. US Consul General Archer Blood reported on these alarming and dramatic events (Bass, 2013). In his last cable on 6 April 1971, the so-called Blood Telegram, he denounced the complicity of US President Nixon and Henry Kissinger in the mass murder of Bengalis; Islamabad had successfully negotiated the US silence, leading them to ignore the horrifying events in East Pakistan. As a result of these revelations, he was recalled from his post immediately (Bass, 2013; Wolf, 2013). Secrecy was meant to hide actions of state terrorism, to create a myth of Indian guided Bengali separatism in an attempt to destabilize Pakistan and to portray the Bengalis as the initial perpetrators of terrorism. Islamabad emphasized that West Pakistan's military actions were merely a response to attacks on non-Bengalis and West Pakistani security forces and facilities (Bass, 2013; Wolf, 2013).

## Self-Assessment Exercises 2

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.*

- 1. Along with Iran, .....is one of the most active sponsors of terrorism worldwide*
- 2. Former Pakistani President Asif Zardari publicly admitted that the country deliberately created and nurtured terrorist groups, such as Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT)*

and .....(JeM)

3. *The primary aim of terrorist activities by the government of West Pakistan was to eliminate the leadership of the .....independence movement.*
4. *The following operations Operation Blitz, Operation Searchlight and Operation Search and Destroy took place in .....*
5. *Since the 9/11 attacks on the....., Pakistan has come to be perceived as the world's epicenter of jihadist activities*

### **3.5 Summary**

The phenomenon of state terrorism in Pakistan stems from severe defects in the country's political-administrative system in general and the unhealthy civil military relations in particular. These structural issues prevent the consolidation of any type of democratic reform or governance. More so, they pave the way for an uncontrolled (illegitimate) use of force and many types/forms of state terrorism. For Iran, The Islamic Republic took an active role in the fight against the Taliban in Afghanistan and vehemently opposed (Sunni) terrorism. Nevertheless, in the 2016 Country Report on Terrorism, the USA in particular accused Iran of supporting Palestinian groups and the Lebanese Hezbollah. This assistance should be seen in the context of the export of the revolution. Moreover, Iran is accused of supporting Syria's Assad regime, the Houthi rebels in Yemen and Shiite opposition groups in Bahrain and Iraq—practices that also bear witness to aggressive external behavior. The Revolutionary Guards, in particular the Quds Force, are considered to carry out most of this activity on behalf of the government of Iran.

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### 3.7 Possible Answers to SAEs

#### Answers to SAE1

1. *B-1984*
2. *A- Middle East*
3. *C- Berlin*
4. *A- Khartoum*
5. *B- Tehran*

#### Answers to SAE2

1. *Pakistan*
2. *Jaish-e-Mohammed*
3. *Bengali*
4. *Pakistan*
5. *United States of America*

## Unit 4: Nigerian State and Boko Haram Terrorism

### Unit Structure

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Learning Outcomes
- 4.3 Boko Haram
  - 4.3.1 Origin of Boko Haram
  - 4.3.2 Transformation into Terror Organization
- 4.4 Boko Haram Internationalization
  - 4.4.1 Affiliation and Allegiance to Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS)
  - 4.4.2 Internationalization across West Africa Sub Region
- 4.5 Implication of Boko Haram Terrorism on the Nigerian State
  - 4.5.1 Political Implication of Boko Haram Terrorism in Nigeria
  - 4.5.2 Economic Implication of Boko Haram Terrorism in Nigeria
- 4.6 Summary
- 4.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 4.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

### 4.1 Introduction

Boko Haram officially known as Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati Wal-Jihad (People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad) have over time risen from a relatively low profile Islamic group in Maiduguri the capital of the North-eastern state of Borno to an International terrorist organisation. The findings of the research show that from a relatively

low profile Islamic group in Nigeria with radical ideas of how society should be governed according to Islamic law, the group has emerged to become one of the deadliest terrorist organisation in the world. In 2015 alone, Boko Haram was reported to have killed about 6,664 deaths making it the most dangerous terrorist organisation in the world in 2015. Compared to deaths from ISIS which was 6,073 The group soon got notoriety for a violent confrontation with the Nigeria government institutions especially the police. The confrontation got more violent in 2009 which led to the death of their leader Muhammad Yusuf and over 1,000 members of the group. Yusuf successor and Deputy Abubakar Shekau assumed leadership of the group and took a more violent approach towards the achievement of the group's agenda (Bello & Dutse, 2017). After it violent approach in Nigeria, the group action soon became transnational spreading to neighbouring countries of Chad, Cameroon, Niger, and Mali among other Africa countries. This internalization was capped with allegiance to ISIS making Boko Haram; Islamic State of West Africa.

## **4.2 Learning Outcomes**

At the end of this unit, you are expected to:

- describe the origins and evolution of Boko Haram terror organization
- explain the internalization of Boko Haram in West Africa.
- analyse and appraise political and economic impact of Boko Haram terrorism on the Nigerian State.

## **4.3 Boko Haram**

### **4.3.1 Origin of Boko Haram**

The history of Boko Haram as a local Islamic group is traced to 2002, when Muhammad Yusuf formed a small group of Muslims. Muhammad Yusuf was from Na'iyyah village in Gashua local government of Yobe state Nigeria. Before his formation of the small group of Muslims he had at the various time belonged to many Muslim groups. In 1980, he joined the Muslim Brotherhood under the leadership of Ibrahim Az-Zakzaky. This group was known for its emotional rhetorics and campaign for the strict adherence to Islam especially the Shia version, the group is known to be inclined to Iran which serves as spiritual head for the promotion of Shia's interest in the global world. The Muslim Brotherhood (Shia) later fractured into groups and some inclining towards Salafiyyah. After the split of the Muslim Brotherhood, Muhammad Yusuf became one of the leaders; this leadership position provided an opportunity for Yusuf to provide teaching and guidance to the members. After that division Muhammad Yusuf was a key figure in *Jama'at izalat al-bid'a wa iqamat al Sunna* (Group of Removing Religious Innovation and Establishing Sunna). His bases were his native state of Yobe and neighbouring Borno state which also became the epicentre of the Boko Haram insurgency. Under JIBWIS Muhammad Yusuf continue to make da'wah (call to Islam) based on Quran and prophetic teachings (Murtada, 2013).

It is pertinent to note that there are lot of Islamic groups in Nigeria among which are *Jama'at izalat al-bid'a wa iqamat al Sunna* (Group of Removing Religious Innovation and Establishing



Sunna), Tijaniyyah and Qadriyyah Sufi brotherhood, Islamic Movement of Nigeria(Shia's), *Jama'atul Tajdid Islam* (Movement for the Revival of Islam) (Kassim, 2015). Like all these groups, Boko Haram started on a non-violent note. It's preaching focus on strict adherence to Islamic law such as Sharia. In JIBWIS there was a division which led to the separation of places of worship. Yusuf continued with his students under the auspices of JIBWIS before he formally established Jam'at Ahl us-Sunnah li'd-Da'wah wa-Jihad" (The Group of the People of Sunnah for Preaching and Struggle) in 2002. Which birthed violence confrontation with Nigerian police authorities in 2003 The group soon gain negative publicity for its difference in the interpretation of issues in Islam, among which is the issue of western education and secular democracy and the permissibility of Muslims to participate in both issues. The group led by Muhammad Yusuf openly disagreed with Muslim scholar prominent among which are late Sheikh Ja'afar Adam, late Sheikh Muhammad Auwal Albani among others. Especially with regards to the permissibility of Muslim to participate in western education which gave birth to the group nickname (Boko Haram- Western Education is Sin).

#### **4.3.2 Transformation into Terror Organization**

The disagreement with local Islamic scholars in Nigeria exposed the group to jihadi-Salafi groups in other West African countries. This exposure birthed the Jihadi ideology as a means of achieving the groups of strict adherences to Shariah law in Nigeria. Kassim (2015) stated that Muhammad Yusuf began to preach to his followers on the need to avoid democratic institutions and the need to make hijra (migration) from the land of disbelief in preparation to wage Jihad against political office holders who were termed infidels because of their participation in a democratic setting. Muhammad Yusuf was reported to have said

*“Our Religion is Islam, our creed is the creed of the al-Salaf al-Salih Ahul Sunnah wal Jama'ah, and our Manhaj is Jihad. We believe that the shariah is the only truth. The constitution is a lie and its kufr. Democracy is lie; it is kufr. Working with the government that does not rule by Shariah is a lie; it is kufr. Working with security agencies is a lie; it is kufr. For those who are ignorant, let them be aware that it is important for a Muslim to make Hijrah from the institution established by tawaghut” (Kassim, 2015, p. 189)*

In the follow-up to this statement, there were several skirmishes between the Nigeria government and the followers of Muhammad Yusuf. However, things took a drastic turn in 2009, when the clashes turned violent leading to the death of Muhammad Yusuf himself and thousands of his followers. Following Yusuf death, the group receded to the background only to resurface as a more violent group and full-fledged terrorist group under the leadership of former Muhammad Yusuf deputy, Abubakar Shekau. Under Shekau, Boko Haram gained international prominence when it attacked Nigeria Police Headquarters and UN headquarters in Abuja Nigeria in 2011 (Bello & Dutse, 2017). Since then the group has gained notoriety of terrorism. With attacks on government institutions such as offices, military barracks, police stations, among

others. The negative impact of the group as a terror body was also brought to front burner with the kidnap of 276 secondary school girls at government secondary school Chibok, Borno State. So far 163 girls have been freed by the government while others have escaped from their captors, while 113 girls are still held captive by the group (Osasumwen, Adekunle, Roland, Segun, 2017; Nwankpa, 2015). This action brought disgrace to the government and calls by various international state and non-state actors for more to be done to curtail the activities of Boko Haram. Since 2011, the group have sustained attacks on Nigeria. In 2014, Boko Haram was ranked the deadliest group in the world, even toppling ISIS. Boko Haram was said to have been responsible for 6,664 deaths in 2014 alone while ISIS was said to have been responsible for 6,073 (Searcey & Santira, 2015). Also, it is pertinent to note that between 2011 and 2016 Nigeria moved from seventh in the world to thINRs in the world on the global country ranking in terrorism. The numbers were mainly attributed to the action of Boko Haram.

**Table 1: Global country ranking in terrorism for the year 2011 and 2016**

	2011		2016		
RANK	COUNTRY	SCORE	RANK	COUNTRY	SCORE
1	Iraq	9.556	1	Iraq	9.96
2	Pakistan	9.049	2	Afghanistan	9.444
3	Afghanistan	8.669	<b>3</b>	<b>Nigeria</b>	<b>9.314</b>
4	India	8.147	4	Pakistan	8.613
5	Yemen	7.305	5	Syria	8.587
6	Somalia	7.244	6	Yemen	8.076
<b>7</b>	<b>Nigeria</b>	<b>7.242</b>	7	Somalia	7.548
8	Thailand	7.086	8	India	7.484
9	Russia	7.068	9	Egypt	7.328
10	Philippines	6.801	10	Libya	7.283

**Source: Compiled by Author from Various Year Report by <http://economicsandpeace.org>**

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.*

1. *The history of Boko Haram as a local Islamic group is traced to .....*
  - A. 2002
  - B. 2004
  - C. 2015
  
2. *The founder of Boko haram was from Na'iyyah village in .....local government of Yobe state Nigeria.*
  - A. Potiskum
  - B. Gashua
  - C. Biliri
  
3. *Boko Haram was founded by .....*

- A. Muhammad Sani
  - B. Osama Bin Laden
  - C. Muhammad Yusuf
4. Under the administration....., Boko Haram gained international prominence when it attacked Nigeria Police Headquarters and UN headquarters in Abuja Nigeria in 2011
- A. Shekau
  - B. Barnawi
  - C. Yazid
5. The kidnapping of school girls took place in .....
- A. Biu
  - B. Chibok
  - C. Samaru

#### **4.4 Boko Haram Internationalization**

##### **4.4.1 Affiliation and Allegiance to Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS)**

As part of the group’s expansionist and internationalisation agenda The group leader, Abubakar Shekau in an audio message pledged allegiance to ISIS. The group claimed its decision to pledge allegiance to ISIS leader Abubakar Al-Quraishi was based on Holy Quran and Prophet tradition. Shekau said in the audio

*“In submission to the order of Allah “Azzawa Jal”, and submission to the order of the prophet peace be upon him to not separate from each other and to stay united as ummah as Jamaa’ah, we announce our allegiance to the caliph of the Muslims, Ibrahim ibn Awad ibn Ibrahim al-Husseini al-Qurashi and will hear and obey in times of difficulty and prosperity, in hardship and ease, and to endure being discriminated against, and not to dispute about rule with those in power, except in case of evident infidelity regarding that which there is a proof from Allah. We call on Muslims everywhere to pledge allegiance to the caliph and support him, as obedience to Allah and as their application of the absent duty of the era. We pledge allegiance to the caliph because of the interest of the Ummah in their religion, and their Dunya is to have an Imam that looks after them according to Allah’s Rule and fights the enemies of Islam and those who fight the Rule of Allah and this is the completeness of the religion with the book that guides and the sword that favours”* (Tukur, 2015).

In their response ISIS spokesman Abu Mohammad, al-Adnani accepted and welcomed Boko Haram allegiance to the ISIS In an audio tape released he stated that

*“We announce to you to the good news of the expansion of the caliphate to West Africa because the caliph ... has accepted the allegiance of our brothers of the Sunni group for preaching and the jihad.”*

This allegiance implied that Boko Haram can now take orders from global terror organisations

and group. The group was also opened to advanced training and funding which could be detrimental to the stability of the Nigerian state and by extension the West Africa sub region. The group name was also changed to reflect its new status as ISIS in West Africa “*Wilayat Gharb Afriqiya*”. It is important to state that because of government instability in the region especially the removal of Muammar Gaddafi in Libya because of NATO intervention, Boko Haram is said to have moved to Mali, Libya to fight alongside other affiliates of the ISIS and also receive weapons and other logistical support from Jihadist group in Libya (Alozieuwa, 2017; Igwe, Abdullah, Kirmanj, Fage, Bello, 2017).

#### **4.4.2 Internationalization Across West Africa Sub Region**

After the United States successfully captured Osama bin Laden, letters written by Boko Haram were found in Osama residence. The former spokesman of Boko Haram in November 2012 confirmed the group's connection to al-Qaeda. Al-Qaeda is said to have provided training for Boko Haram members. After the initial training and support offered by AQIM to Boko Haram. The actives of the group have over time grew more sophisticated as result of training (Bello & Dutse, 2017, Brock, 2012). It is worthy to note that due to internalisation agenda of Boko Haram, the government in Nigeria especially president Buhari have made it the core of his foreign policy to counter the growing transnational nature of Boko Haram. The President shuttle diplomacy to neighboring countries of Nigeria which include Niger, Chad and Cameroon on his assumption of office to garner a West Africa coalition against Boko Haram (Bello & Dutse, 2017). The coalition with the West African countries is because Boko Haram has set foot and established a strong hold in this West Africa countries of Chad, Cameroon and Niger. The internalisation agenda was further cemented with the pledge of allegiance to ISIS in March 2015 by the leader Abubakar Shekau.

#### **Chad**

The internalisation agenda of the group is reflective of the organization's leadership structure, one the deputies to Abubakar Shekau, Mamman Nur is believed to have come from Chad. The group have also carried out suicide attacks on N’Djamena the capital of Chad. In June 2015, the group carried out two suicide bombings on police outpost. This was followed up by another suicide bombing in July 2015 on one of the main markets in the Chadian capital which resulted in the death of fifteen people leaving 80 people injured. After these attacks, Boko Haram claimed responsibility for these attacks signing as Islamic State West Africa Province (Duta, 2016).

#### **Cameroon**

Cameroon has for a long time become a fortress of a sort for Boko Haram members. Due to the porosity of the border between Nigeria and Cameroon Boko Haram had set up training camps and bases in Cameroons forested and desert areas of Northern Cameroon which shares a border with Nigeria. Even Boko Haram leader Abubakar Shekau has reportedly used Mandara mountains in Cameroon as safe heavens and even send our recorded videos from his base in

Cameroon. In one its first kidnapping incidence outside Nigeria, Boko Haram in February 2013 kidnapped seven French nationals in Cameroon. The group attributed these actions to the intervention of France in Malian crises. A statement released by the group states that “Let the French president know that he has launched a war against Islam and we are fighting him everywhere let him know that we are spread everywhere to save our brothers” (Karmon, 2015). This gives credence to the transnational nature of Boko Haram. In a daring move, Boko Haram members numbering over 200 in July 2014 attacked the village of Cameroon deputy prime minister, during this attack about fifteen individuals which include police and soldiers were killed. Eventually, the group kidnapped the deputy prime ministers’ wife, the sultan of kolofata and his family. The group also seized ten Chinese workers on a construction site carting away explosives and vehicles killing a Cameroonian soldier. These bombs were said to have been used to plain Improvised Explosive Device (IED) attacks in Nigeria (Funteh & Azieh, 2016). In furtherance of using Cameroon as a launching pad on Nigeria, Boko Haram members on 19 December 2013, crossed from Cameroon into Banki area in Nigeria and attacked a barrack in Bama. This attack came after another attack on a Nigerian air force base where Boko Haram overran an air force in Maiduguri. To curtail these attacks from Cameroon into Nigeria. The government negotiated an agreement which permitted Nigeria military to carry out hot pursuit against Boko Haram members who cross over from Cameroon into Nigeria without Nigeria been accused of violating Cameroon sovereignty. The Cameroonian government has also shown commitment to the Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) among another mechanism such as stepping up border patrols to curtail the influx of Boko Haram members into Cameroon (Zenn, 2014).

### **Niger**

Boko Haram at first used Niger as a safe sanctuary from Nigeria military, as they usually carry out attacks on Nigeria soil and recede to Niger for safe hiding, however after complaints from Nigeria government, The Niger government committed to helping in tackling the issue of Boko Haram. In 2012, fifteen suspected Boko Haram members were arrested by Niger authorities in Diffa area of the country and grenades and homemade explosives were seized. In September 2012 Boko Haram members were also detained in Zinder region of the country. With a continuous clamp down on its members, Boko Haram members in Niger with the help of their counterparts from Nigeria, an attack was launched on a prison in Niamey the capital of Niger with the hope of freeing its imprisoned members. The group organisation structure and line of authority are reflective of its transnational nature, Abubakar Shekau deputies Ali Jalingo and Abubakar Kilakam are said to citizens of Niger Republic (Karmon, 2014).

### **Mali**

With the coup in Mali which brought about instability in the country especially in the northern area of the country which saw jihadist groups such as MUJAO (Movement for Oneness and

Jihad in West Africa), AQIM (Al-Qaeda in Maghrib) and Ansar al-dine took control of these part of Mali. Boko Haram member travelled to Mali to establish closer ties and collaboration.

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.*

- 1. Boko Haram leader Abubakar Shekau in an audio message pledged allegiance to .....*
- 2. Government instability in the region especially the removal of .....in Libya because of NATO intervention, Boko Haram is said to have moved to Mali, Libya*
- 3. At its inception ....is said to have provided training for Boko Haram members.*
- 4. Mamman Nur, the deputy leader of Boko Haram is believed to have come from .....*
- 5. In September 2012, Boko Haram members were also detained in .....region of the Niger.*

#### **4.5 Implication of Boko Haram Terrorism on the Nigerian State**

##### **4.5.1 Political Implication of Boko Haram Terrorism in Nigeria**

The Nigerian ruling political class especially 2011-2015, viewed the BH insurgency as an avenue to make the country uncomfortable and ungovernable for the admiration of former president Goodluck Jonathan, especially by some northern elites who were not pleased with Jonathan contesting the 2011 election especially after the demise of the former President Umar Musa Yar'Adua who was from the north. This allegation was never proven, however, the government allowed the insurgency to grow out of hand until it went out of hand. Enobi, and Johnson-Rokosu, (2016) argues that the declaration of a state of emergency in three state in the North Eastern part of the country, shows that the political leadership was ineffective, the state of emergency was necessitated due to unprecedented attacks on government infrastructure in the country. In the cause of the terrorism, the Nigeria government was accused of violating human rights of the populace especially resident of the Northern Nigeria, this included extrajudicial killings, public execution, intimidation, arrest of civilians without ties with BH, starvation of prisoners, lack of medical care while in detention, suffocation in government facilities. Several governments and international bodies such as United States (which stopped the sale of weapons due to human right concern) and Amnesty International (documented several cases of extrajudicial killings of both combatant and non-combatant during the war). This action brought credibility issue for the political leadership in the country, which led to the leadership looking towards non-conventional means such as the hiring of mercenaries from South Africa to fight the war due to the incapacity of the military which was heavily politicized and also due to weapon sanction placed on the country.

Due to the Boko Haram insurgency, the Jonathan-led administration postponed the 2015 election by six weeks, with claims that election cannot hold due to the terrorist activities, however, most spectators view the postponement of the election as an avenue to campaign more especially with the fact that the government had low popularity ratings. The opposition stated that the Jonathan administration was benefitting from the terrorist actions. The failure to get reelected by Goodluck Jonathan during the 2015 election and election of Muhammed Buhari during the 2015 election was largely influenced by the activities of BH, Goodluck Jonathan lost the election because of his insensitivity and lackluster attitude to handling the Boko Haram insurgency, while Muhammed Buhari campaign promises were hinged on the fact that he will tackle the BH terrorist heads on when elected (Owen and Usman, 2015).

Another form of political implication is that BH frequently questions the state of Nigeria and the political structure, accusing the government of corruption, poor governance and inequality among the governed. To sum it up, the emergence of Boko Haram escalation could be traced to a lack of proper government support for armed forces coupled with low moral, political interest, lack of political will to fight the insurgency.

#### **4.5.2 Economic Implication of Boko Haram Terrorism in Nigeria**

As evident in the actions of terrorist organization around the world, destruction of human lives is closely followed by economic destruction which is usually aimed at bringing the populace and by extension the country down economically. Such attacks which have signs of economic sabotage includes attacks on business, tourist attractions, transportation network (such as blowing up bridges, attacks on bus stations, destroying link roads and at times attack on airports), attacks on financial institutions, popular markets, such attacks have no doubts have disastrous impact on the country's economy. The action of BH is not different especially attacks aimed at economically negatively affecting the citizens. Shehu (2015) states that as a result of attacks on government agencies, international bodies, banks, bus stations, and markets in northern Nigeria, there was a decline in capital investments in the region which in turn increase the region's rate of unemployment, malnutrition, poverty, illiteracy, and to cap it all decline in Human Development Index (HDI) of the region and by extension the country at large. A succinct example of this was painted by the former information minister, who states that as result of continuous attacks on Kano state, which serves as commercial nerve center of Northern Nigeria and by extension neighboring countries such as Niger, Benin, Cameroon, Chad and even Sudan, there was decline in inflow and outflow of business to the state which have to a great extent contributed to the state and by extension the country's economic underdevelopment.

As a result of these attacks also there has been economic migration, these were succinctly captured by Shikalm (2012) who states that:

*“The Maiduguri Monday Market said to be the biggest market in the city is reported to have been seriously affected as hundreds of shop owners, especially Southerners are said to have*

*closed their businesses and left the troubled city. About half of the 10,000 shops and stalls in the market were said to have been abandoned by traders who have fled the city.”*

Also, it is pertinent to note that, most commercial banks in the region were closed down while some offered skeletal services during the height of the insurgency; this was attributed to the fact that in some instances BH attacked banks and even cart away money which was in turn used to finance their terrorism. Also, bank staffs were insecure as they could be attacked while at work or even en route workplace. Furthermore, it was observed that Borno state which was the epicenter of BH was severely affected, due suicide bombings and clashes between the sect members and Nigerian armed forces, which in turn affected commercial business activities in the state, as many businesses was forced to close down due to the clashes and ultimately the state of emergency which was declared in the three states of Adamawa, Borno, and Yobe states respectively, meant movement were curtailed. Some of such businesses were telecommunication companies who shut down the services due to frequent attacks on their service mask by BH, this greatly affected individuals and companies who depend on telecommunications business as source of livelihood (Awojobi, 2014).

Joseph, Barikui, Solomon, and Felix, (2015), posits that insecurity in Nigeria as a result of Boko Haram has seriously hindered the countries growth especially from the perspective of Foreign Direct Investments (FDI). They argued that FDI into Nigeria was at its peak in 2006, however between 2007- 2013 there was continuous decline in the countries FDI due to the fact that foreign investors lost confidence in the system and in the capacity of state to protect them from physical harm and guaranty for protection of their investments in the country, the state was viewed as a failed one who could not protect the lives and property of its populace talk less of the foreigners. FDI inflow dropped by 21.3 percent in 2012 from \$8.9 billion in 2011 to \$7 billion in 2012 as result of increasing terrorist activities

*Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.*

- 1. FDI inflow dropped by 21.3 percent in 2012 from \$8.9 billion in 2011 to .....in 2012 as result of increasing terrorist activities*
- 2. State of emergency was declared in the three states of Adamawa, Borno, and states respectively.*
- 3. The Maiduguri .....Market said to be the biggest market in the city is reported to have been seriously affected as hundreds of shop owners.*
- 4. As a result of terrorist attack there was a decline in capital investments in the Northern region which in turn increase the region's rate of unemployment, malnutrition, poverty, illiteracy, and to cap it all decline in.....*



5. Due to the Boko Haram insurgency, the Jonathan-led administration postponed the 2015 election by .....

#### 4.6 Summary

The unit provides a historical overview of Boko Haram transformation from a relatively unknown local Islamic group, domestic terrorism in Nigeria to an international terrorist organisation. Carrying out sophisticated attacks on Nigeria state which includes, attacks on UN building, Police headquarters, military bases across the countries, suicide bombings on soft target especially at markets, and other places of worshipping to the kidnapping of Chibok girls which gave the group more spotlight. From this local terrorist to an international terror organisation coordinating attacks in neighbouring Chad, Niger, Cameroon, and Mali with its recent pledge of allegiance to ISIS which has made it a global franchise. The implication of this is that Boko Haram has not only become a threat to Nigeria national stability but regional and international security. The study at this moment concludes that there is a need for a coordinated and comprehensive action plan to curtail the continuous expansion of Boko Haram, and this can be achieved with the coming together of the national government in the West Africa sub-region and the international community.

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#### **4.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises**

##### **Answers to SAE1**

1. A-2022
2. B- Gashua
3. C-Muhammad Yusuf
4. A-Shekau

5. *B-Chibok*

**Answers to SAE2**

1. *ISIS*
2. *Muammar Gaddafi*
3. *Al-Qaeda*
4. *Chad*
5. *Zinder*

**Answers to SAE3**

1. *\$7 billion*
2. *Yobe*
3. *Monday*
4. *Human Development Index (HDI)*
5. *Six weeks*

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