NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

COURSE TITLE:

International Politics in the Post-Cold War Era

COURSE CODE	CREDIT UNITS
INR 392	3

**COURSE
GUIDE**

**INR 392
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS IN THE POST COLD WAR ERA**

Course Writer: Mercy Kwabe
Department of International Relations and Diplomacy
Baze University, Abuja, Nigeria.

Programme Leader: Dr. Ebele Angela Udeoji
Associate Professor of International Relations,
National Open University of Nigeria,
Jabi, Abuja.

NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA

CONTENTS **PAGE**

INTRODUCTION

This course will introduce students to the events that led to the end of the cold war. Students will also be taught the effects of the end of the cold war and how influential these factors have been in developing and farming the new world order. The post-cold war international system has to deal with a variety of issues such as wars, climate change, nuclear proliferation and so on. This course will introduce students to these concepts as well as provide theoretical dynamics to understanding these issues.

COURSE AIM AND OBJECTIVES

1. Expose students to current debates on issues of international politics.

2. To provide students with the capacity to analyse and critically examine the issues faced by the international system and how those issues are being resolved.

3. Another major aim of this course is the help students understand that the international system is continuously evolving in ways that must be acceptable and adaptable to all nations.

4. To examine what role leaders play in dealing with pressing issues of the post-Cold War era.

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.

THE COURSE MATERIAL

In all of the courses, you will find the major components thus:
1) Course Guide
2) Study Units
3) Textbooks
4) Assignments

STUDY UNITS

There are 20 study units in this course. They are:

MODULE 1: THE NEW WORLD ORDER

Unit 1 - The End of the Cold War

Unit 2 - Clash of the Civilisation

Unit 3 - Ideologies of the Post-Cold War Era

MODULE 2 - WARS AND WEAPONS IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA

Unit 1 - The Changing Character of War

Unit 2 - Arms Race and Arms Build-up

Unit 3 - Small and Light Weapons

Unit 4 - The link between Arms Race and Wars

MODULE 3 - INTERNATIONAL ISSUES IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA

Unit 1- Nuclear Proliferation

Unit 2 - Terrorism

Unit 3 - Human Rights Violations

Unit 4 - Climate Change

Unit 5 - Globalisation and Global Health

MODULE 4 - CHANGES AND COOPERATION IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA

Unit 1 - The Media and Communication

Unit 2 - International Regimes

Unit 3- International Laws

Unit 4 - International Organisations

As you can observe, the course begins with the basics and expands into a more elaborate, complex and detailed form. All you need to do is to follow the instructions as provided in each

unit. In addition, some self-assessment exercises have been provided with which you can test your progress with the text and determine if your study is fulfilling the stated objectives.

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 third 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.

COURSE OVERVIEW PRESENTATION SCHEME

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

All the units have similar features. Each unit begins with the introduction and ends with references/suggestions for further readings.

Units	Title of Work	Week Activity	Assignment (End-of-Unit)
Course Guide			
Module 1	**The New World Order**		
Unit 1	The End of the Cold War	Week 1	Assignment 1
Unit 2	Clash of Civilizations	Week 2	Assignment 1
Unit 3	Ideologies of the Post-Cold War Era	Week 3	Assignment 1
Module 2	**Wars and Weapons in the Post-Cold War Era**		
Unit 1	The Changing Character of War	Week 4	Assignment 1
Unit 2	Arms Race and Arms Build-up	Week 5	Assignment 1
Unit 3	Small Arms and Light Weapons	Week 6	
Unit 4	The Link between Arms Race and Wars	Week 7	Assignment 1
Module 3	**Issues in the Post-Cold War Era**		
Unit 1	Nuclear Proliferation	Week 8	Assignment 1
Unit 2	Terrorism	Week 9	Assignment 1
Unit 3	Human Rights Violation	Week 10	Assignment 1

Unit 4	Climate Change	Week 11	Assignment 1
Unit 5	Globalisation and Global Health	Week 12	Assignment 1
Module 4	**Changes and Cooperation in the Post-Cold War Era**		
Unit 1	The Media and Communication	Week 13	Assignment 1
Unit 2	International Regimes	Week 14	Assignment 1
Unit 3	International Laws	Week 15	Assignment 1
Unit 4	International Organisations	Week 16	Assignment 1
	Revision	Week 17 &18	
	Examination	Week 19 & 20	
	Total	20 Weeks	

WHAT YOU WILL NEED IN THE COURSE

There will be some recommended texts at the end of each module that you are expected to purchase. Some of these texts will be available to you in libraries across the country. In addition, your computer proficiency skill will be useful to you in accessing internet materials that pertain to this course. It is crucial that you create time to study these texts diligently and religiously.

TUTORS AND TUTORIALS

The course provides fifteen (20) hours of tutorials in support of the course. You will be notified of the dates and locations 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 watch you as you progress in the course. Send in your tutor-marked assignments promptly, and ensure you contact your tutor on any difficulty with your self-assessment exercise, tutor-marked assignment, and the grading of an assignment. Kindly note that your attendance and contributions to discussions as well as sample questions are to be taken seriously by you as they will aid your overall performance in the course.

ASSESSMENT EXERCISES

There are two aspects to the assessment of this course. The first is the Tutor-Marked Assignments; the second is a written examination. In handling these assignments, you are expected to apply the information, knowledge and experience acquired during the course. The tutor-marked assignments are now being done online. Ensure that you register for all your courses so that you can have easy access to the online assignments. Your score in the online assignments will account for 30 per cent of your total coursework. At the end of the course, you will need to sit for a final examination. This examination will account for the other 70 per cent of your total course mark.

TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS (TMAs)

Usually, there are four online tutor-marked assignments in this course. Each assignment will be marked over ten per cent. The best three (that is the highest three of the 10 marks) will be counted. This implies that the total mark for the best three assignments will constitute 30% of your total course work. You will be able to complete your online assignments successfully from the information and materials contained in your references, reading and study units.

FINAL EXAMINATION AND GRADING

The final examination for IRD 392 International Politics in the Post-Cold War Era will be two hours duration and have a value of 70% of the total course grade. The examination will consist of multiple choice and fill-in-the-gaps questions which will reflect the practice exercises and tutor-marked assignments you have previously encountered. All areas of the course will be assessed. It is important that you use the adequate time to revise the entire course. You may find it useful to review your tutor-marked assignments before the examination. The final examination covers information from all aspects of the course.

HOW TO GET THE MOST FROM THIS COURSE

1. There are 15 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 in 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).

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 Gender mainstreaming efforts across the globe. Students are advised to access international news, documentaries and reports on gender issues.

SUMMARY

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

I wish you all the best in IRD 392 and in the entire programme!

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER READINGS

- Cassani, A., & Tomini, L. (2018). Autocratization in post-cold war political regimes. Springer.

- Bandyopadhyay, S., & Wall, H. J. (2006). The determinants of aid in the post-cold war era. In Theory and practice of foreign aid. Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

- Hoffmann, S. (1998). World disorders: Troubled peace in the post-Cold War era. Rowman & Littlefield.

- Mingst, K. A., McKibben, H. E., & Arreguin-Toft, I. M. (2018). Essentials of international relations. WW Norton & Company.

- Hill, C., Smith, M., & Vanhoonacker, S. (Eds.). (2017). International relations and the European Union. Oxford University Press.

- Ravndal, E. J. (2021). International Organisations in Historical Perspective. In Rutledge Handbook of Historical International Relations (pp. 330-340). Rutledge.

- Michaelowa, K. (2017). Resourcing international organisations: so what?. Global Policy, 8, 113-123.

- Wohlforth, W. C. (1994). Realism and the End of the Cold War. International Security, 19(3), 91-129.

- Baldwin, D. A. (1995). Security studies and the end of the Cold War. World politics, 48(1), 117-141.

- Gray, C. S. (2005). How has war changed since the end of the Cold War?. The US Army War College Quarterly: Parameters, 35(1), 7.

- Pons, S., & Romero, F. (2005). Reinterpreting the end of the Cold War. Issues, Interpretations, Periodization.

- Huntington, S. P. (2000). The clash of civilizations?. In Culture and politics (pp. 99-118). Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

- Berman, P. (2004). Terror and liberalism. WW Norton & Company.

- Chomsky, N., & Weinstein, A. (2002). An Interview with Noam Chomsky. The Harvard Review of Philosophy, 10(1), 41-47.

- Harari, Y. N. (2018). 21 Lessons for the 21st Century. Random House.

- Claudio, L. E. (2017). Liberalism and the post colony: Thinking the state in 20th-century Philippines (Vol. 19). NUS Press.

- Mudde, C. (2018). How populism became the concept that defines our age. The Guardian, 22(11).

- Berberoglu, B. (1995). The national question: nationalism, ethnic conflict, and self-determination in the 20th century. Temple University Press.

- Popa, I. (2018). Translation and communism in Eastern Europe. In The Rutledge Handbook of Translation and Politics (pp. 424-441). Rutledge.

- Way, C., & Weeks, J. (2015). Making it personal: regime type and nuclear proliferation. In Non-proliferation Policy and Nuclear Posture (pp. 165-188). Rutledge.

- Bas, M. A., & Coe, A. J. (2016). A dynamic theory of nuclear proliferation and preventive war. International Organization, 70(4), 655-685.

- Sagan, S. D. (2022). 5. Nuclear Latency and Nuclear Proliferation. In Forecasting Nuclear Proliferation in the 21st Century (pp. 80-101). Stanford University Press.

- Lanoszka, A. (2018). Alliances and nuclear proliferation in the Trump era. The Washington Quarterly, 41(4), 85-101.

MODULE 1: THE NEW WORLD ORDER

It is important that students of this course understand the events and ideologies that have influenced the post-cold war era. Scholars of international history argue that the end of the cold war ushered the international system into a new phase. One characterised by transparency and democracy. A system that has rising issues that affect the progress of nations and states collectively. This model will look into the new world order, how we got here, the clash of civilisations that will overwhelm the new international political system and the ideologies that dominate it.

Unit 1 - The End of the Cold War

Unit 2 - Clash of the Civilisation

Unit 3 - Ideologies of the Post-Cold War Era

Unit 4 - Liberalism and Capitalism

Unit 5 - Nationalism and Populism

UNIT 1: The End of the Cold War

Unit Structure

1.1. Introduction

1.2. Learning Outcomes

1.3. History of the Cold War

1.4. The end of the Cold War

1.5. Summary

1.6. Reference and Further Readings

1.7.Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content

1.1 Introduction

In this unit, students will be exposed to and guided on the ideologies that have dominated the international scene since the end of the cold. In other to understand the progress, functionality and new world order of the post-cold war international system, students must be able to grasp the ideologies that shape decision-making at a national and international level, state relations and diplomacy in contemporary times.

1.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Explain the history and events of the cold war.

- How the cold war ended.

- The effects of the end of the cold war.

1.3 History of the Cold War

The end of World War II (WW II) marked the beginning of a new international system. This was solidified with the creation of the United Nations (UN) in 1945. However, the unification of the states in the international system proved more difficult as tensions of ideologies began to rise. The official start and end date of the cold war is one that scholars of international relations have not been able to agree on. Some scholars believe that the cold war started just as WWII ended while others maintain that the Truman Doctrine (an American Foreign Policy that was aimed at restraining the expansion of the Soviet Union in the region) which was signed on the 12th of March, 1947 marks the start of the cold war. The end of the cold war faces the same debate as some scholars believe

that the historical fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, which divided Eastern and Western Germany, marks the end of the cold war. While others claim that the dissolution of the Soviet Union (USSR) which happened on 26th December 1991 marks the end of the cold war. However measured, the events of the cold war have vastly laid a foundation for the new world order practices in contemporary times.

The cold war, which was a term coined by the English writer George Orwell, is characterised as an ideological and geopolitical war that was mainly between two actors; The United States of America and the Soviet Union and their allies who were grouped into the Western and Eastern Blocs. The dominant ideologies of each bloc were liberal democracy and communism respectively. With the aim of stopping the encroachment of the Soviet Union into new states and across Europe, the United States of America (USA) supported anti-communist governments and groups worldwide.

It is important to note at this point that many states were considered new states. This includes countries that had just come out of colonial rule (like most African States) and states who were now recognised by the UN. One of the major tactics employed by the two blocs was to garner support and alliance from new states so as to add validity and domination to their respective Ideologies.

There are five major features that came with the cold war; Superpowers, Proxy Wars, Nuclear Arsenal Development, Space Race and Alignment of New States.

1.3.1 Superpowers

Through the various dynamics of the international system, the cold war was characterised as the first time in international history where two countries were classified as superpowers.

What then is a superpower? As a term first coined by William T.R. in 1944, a superpower in any country or state that has the ability to influence, dominate, and project power in world politics. A superpower is characterised by having political, economic, technological, cultural and military might. The term was crafted to highlight the dichotomy between great powers, which include states like Britain,

France, Germany etc, who were not so powerful, especially after the devastation of the Second World War, and stronger nations such as the USA and the USSR. This is not to say that countries that suffered from the devastation of WWII are classified as developing countries, they were not just strong enough to be classified as Superpowers. A superpower is assumed to have full control of seven (7) dimensions of state power. These are:

- Geography- Geopolitics.

- Population.

- Economy.

- Resources.

- Military.

- Diplomacy.

- National identity.

On the brink of the cold war, two countries, The United States of America and The Soviet Union, emerged as the leading countries in the international system. As stated earlier, they headed the two main ideological blocs that basically crafted the international political system that we live in today. This was the first time in history that the world was witnessing two dominating powers, with almost equal abilities and strength.

The two superpowers also did a lot of politicking in garnering support and alliances from the new states that entered the international system. Although, most new states, states that we created and became independent after WWII, aligned either with their former colonial masters or chose a non-alliance stance.

1.3.2 Proxy Wars

Another major feature of the cold war is proxy wars. According to Edmund (2002) proxy wars are wars fought by two states or between two actors (State and Non-State

Actors) which act on external instigation of other parties that are not directly involved in the warfare. In more simple terms, when two countries or parties fight based on tensions from external parties, it is known as a proxy war.

It is a known fact that the USSR and the USA did not engage in a physical war, however, the cold war was characterised by a couple of proxy wars fought outside the major superpowers. There were fifty-eight (58) proxy wars recorded which were tied to the Cold War. This is not to say that the tensions between the USA and the USSR were solely responsible for these wars but they contributed to the already brewing tension in these regions respectively.

Most notable is the Korean War of 1950 which had the Northern region backed by the Soviet Union and China and the Southern region was backed by the United States of America. This war inevitably led to the division of the country into North and South Korea. Another good example of proxy wars is the war in Former Yugoslavia that eventually led to the division of the country into five (5) states. Although, there were other tensions brewing in the nation, spoke of the long-lasting effects are said to be by-products of the cold war. Another notable example is the Ogaden War of 1977-1978. The lack of intervention initially from the USA in the Somali regime caused tension between the two blocs as the communist movement was hindered from progression by USA forces.

1.3.3 Nuclear Arsenal Development

One of the major features of the cold war was the development of nuclear weapons. One of the events that marked the end of WWII was the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan. Nuclear weapons were birthed by the Manhattan Project (1942 - 1946) which was supported by the United Kingdom and Canada. This project produced the first Uranium and Plutonium based bombs that were used in Japan.

Although the USA held nuclear superiority until 1949, the USSR shortly developed its own nuclear arsenal as well. This one one of the major factors that made both countries to be classified as superpowers. Eventually, due to the rapid spread of nuclear weapons (Nuclear Proliferation), U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower

launched his Atoms for Peace program in 1953, which eventually provided non-military nuclear technology to countries that renounced nuclear weapons. By 1957 the Atoms for Peace program led to the creation of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), a United Nations organization promoting the safe and peaceful use of nuclear technology. It was later decided and spelt out in the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) of 1968 that only five (5) states were allowed to own nuclear weapons. These states are the USA, USSR (now Russia), United Kingdom, France, and China. However, the NPT also states that these states must disarm their nuclear weapons as well as use nuclear materials only for technological purposes. It is fair to state that despite these provisions, the NPT has failed to ensure the five (5) states obey these stipulations.

1.3.4 Space Race

This connotes the competition between the two superpowers or cold war adversaries as you may, to achieve ultimate superiority in spacecraft technology and capability. This was preceded by the arms races that included nuclear weapons. The initial arguments for the space race by both superpowers were based on National Security which was tied to the ideology war of the time. The space race led to the creation of space robots, satellites, space missions and props to the moon and into the earth's orbit.

The race is said to have begun in the 1950s when the US public made its intention to go to space known in 1955. Yuri Gagarin was the first human sent into space by the USSR in 1961. This urged the then US president, John F. Kennedy to propose to the US congress a strong argument that was significantly known for the common phrase "Landing a man on the Moon and returning him safely to Earth." With this in view, both countries started developing their Launch and in 1969, with Apollo 11, a man was sent to the moon by the US and eventually other landings were recorded. This gave the US the upper hand in the space race while USSR had to concede its defeat and focus more on building a space station.

Eventually, a period of calm, also known as a Détente (a relaxation of strained relations) followed between both superpowers. This led to a joint mission around earth's orbit with astronauts from the US and USSR. This was recorded as the final act of the space race and further relations have been a cooperative action.

1.3.5 Alignment of New States

The end of WWII was significant for a lot of reasons. One of them is the ushering of new states into the international political system.

What are new states? Like most social science concepts, new states have been theorised and classified by different scholars from different schools of thought. Prachi (2013) maintains that new states that the end of WWII brought into existence and most of them are 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 the urge for nationalism on the part of the colonized countries (Prachi, 2013).

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 (Slater, 2004; Brewer, 1990; Kiernan, 1995; Ake, 1981; Frank, 1969; Mommsen, 1980). Marxian scholars (as earlier noted) have attempted to explain the problems of new states from the standpoint of dependency and imperialism (Offiong, 1980; Mommsen, 1980; Kiernan, 1995, 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 the global system either in terms of age or levels of development.

In this sense, new states are states that are less than 70 years of age, and whose entrance into the international system was during the dwindling stage of colonialism. Most new states adopted the systems of their colonial heritage while some remained non-aligned during the cold war. This was mostly due to the fact that individually, these new states were struggling to manage and maintain their political balance in their new territories to being bothered by what looked like European issues at that

point. Till date, except for the new states that suffered proxy wars, many new states still maintain that the cold war had nothing to do with them thereby abstaining from discussions and debates about ideology.

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

Explain the history and events of the cold war?

1.4 The End of the Cold War

The end of the cold war came as no surprise because both US and USSR suffered some losses on both sides. On the US front, the Iran Hostage Crisis had a vast effect on US foreign relations. On November 4th, 1979, fifty-two (52) US diplomats and citizens were held hostage in the embassy by militarised Iranian students in Tehran. This led to a diplomatic standoff that held out for 444 days, which is more than a year. The rationale behind the attack which was carried out by Muslim student followers of Imam's Line maintained that the US interference in the internal political affairs of Iran was disruptive. A demand was also made by the group to the US to return Shah Reza Pahlavi for trial and execution on Iran's soil. A demand that was met with a stern refusal.

On the USSR front, their invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 was met with some unprecedented issues. USSR as a power bloc for communism intervened and sent 30,000 troops to support the pro-communist Afghans against the anti-communist Muslim Afghans. The aim of this invasion was to successfully add Afghanistan to the list of countries on the Soviet-led bloc. On the other hand, the rebellion was back by the US who supported them with arms and materials for the re-education of their populace. Eventually, 100,000 Soviet troops were present in Afghan, controlling the cities and moving with impunity. This war displaced over 4 million Afghans across the region. The Afghan War was credited to be one of the major factors that led to the disintegration of the USSR as it caused an internal dispute which eventually weakened the stance of the USSR. Later on, an agreement was signed and after suffering defeat in some regions, the Soviet Union withdrew its troops.

There were many other factors that aided the end of the cold war. Some are:

- **The fall of the Berlin Wall** - The Soviet Union's demise and the end of the Cold War were both precipitated by the fall of the Berlin Wall on the evening of November 9, 1989. In order to determine whether the conflict between the Western and Eastern Blocs might have been resolved under conditions that were predictable, eminent realist scholars have created a variety of ideas on the causes behind and predictability of the conclusion of the Cold War. A "huge surprise" in history and politics, maybe too enormous to be anticipated, was the fall of the Berlin Wall, the dissolution of the Soviet Union, and the end of the Cold War. Morgenthau, Aron, and Waltz, realist scholars, have not predicted how the

- **The Reunification of Germany** - The Cold War and, finally, the Soviet Union, began to end with the collapse of the Berlin Wall on November 9, 1989. On October 3, 1990, West Germany and Soviet-occupied East Germany, also known as the German Democratic Republic, were reunited. A year later, the Soviet Union fell apart. The then Ambassador of Germany to the United States Emily Haber called the fall of the Berlin Wall a "sudden gift out of the blue."

- **The dissolution of the USSR** - At roughly one-sixth of the Earth's land area, or 8,650,000 square miles (22,400,000 square km), the Soviet Union was the largest nation on the planet on January 1, 1991. More than 290 million people called it home, and there were 100 different ethnicities represented. It also claimed tens of thousands of nuclear weapons, and through the Warsaw Pact and other institutions, it had considerable sway over Eastern Europe. The Soviet Union disintegrated and further split into 15 states within a year. Despite the fact that it is practically difficult to identify a single explanation for a situation as complicated and extensive as the collapse of a superpower.

- **Non-Aligned Movement** - The non-aligned movements arose towards the end of the cold war. This was preceded by the number of states who newly gained independence and states who were less interested in the conflict between the two superpowers. The reason for the uprising of the non-aligned state differs. Morgenthau believes that most

new states were burdened with internal national problems and hence could not be moved by the on-going ideological conflict between the USA and USSR. The non-aligned movement ushered in a new wave and dynamics to the international system. One that had never happened in the past.

According to Gary (2005) some of the effects of the end of the cold war as we can see today are:

- Open Diplomacy - Diplomacy, which was often done in secret with espionage as a major tool started to decline even more after the cold war. To rebuild the trust between states in the international system, it became essential for countries to openly communicate their intentions.

- Decline of communism - The decline of communism was a major outcome of the end of the cold war. With this, states started to align more with the western bloc. States that remained communist states began to introduce liberal policies. A clear example of this is China. China, although practising communism, has a liberalised economy that allows for the state to conduct economic practices at the international level.

- A conflict-ridden world - Another major outcome of the end of the cold war is the level of conflicts that plagues countries across the world. Many nations, like Ukraine, still suffer violent altercations from Russia despite the agreements that were signed after the cold war.

- New wars (intra-state wars) - Wars began to change after the cold war. Instead of the more popularised wars of the former international system which were inter-state wars (wars fought between two or more legitimate state forces), wars since the end of the cold war have become more intra-state (wars fought between a legitimate force and non-state actors within a state's territory).

<div align="center">Self-Assessment Exercise 2</div>

How did the cold war end? And what are the major effects of the cold war?

1.5 Summary

In summary, this unit highlights the events that eventually lead to the end of the cold war and the outcomes of these events. The end of the cold war obviously ushered the international system into a new era. One that is healing from the longstanding face-off between the superpowers and one that will have an adverse effect on international politics going forward.

1.6 Reference and Further Readings

1. Wohlforth, W. C. (1994). Realism and the End of the Cold War. International Security, 19(3), 91-129.

2. Baldwin, D. A. (1995). Security studies and the end of the Cold War. World politics, 48(1), 117-141.

3. Gray, C. S. (2005). How has war changed since the end of the Cold War?. The US Army War College Quarterly: Parameters, 35(1), 7.

4. Pons, S., & Romero, F. (2005). Reinterpreting the end of the Cold War. Issues, Interpretations, Periodization.

1.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content

1. Answers should be but are not limited to: an explanation of what the cold war is, how it started, and the major players and alliances that occurred during the cold war. To understand the changes that occurred after the cold war, having a clear understanding of the cold war is paramount.

2. Answers should be but are not limited to: the effects of the cold war on the global system, the major events that led to the end of the cold war and the effects of those changes on contemporary politics. For instance, students should be able to explain the spread of democracy as an effect of the cold war.

Unit 2 - Clash of the Civilization

Unit Structure

2.1 Introduction

2.2 Learning Outcomes

2.3 Why would civilisations clash?

2.4 Criticisms of the Clash of Civilizations

2.5 Summary

2.6 Reference and Further Readings

2.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content

2.1 Introduction

Samuel Phillips Huntington who was an American Scientist was among many realist scholars of international relations that made an attempt to understand the nature of the international system at the end of the cold war. He was concerned about how wars would change and how the patterns of war will affect the new world order. His concerns were valid as the essence of his argument was based on the fact that if wars change, the international system, alongside states and other interested stakeholders would also have to change and adapt. Therefore, the study of the new causal factors that will influence wars has become important to international politics. The aim of his book titled "The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order" was not only to note new trends in war but to point out the causal factors so they can be mitigated to avoid tensions that can affect the stability of the new international system.

2.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Explain why civilizations will clash.

- Give examples of civilizations clashing.

- Criticise the work of Samuel P. Huntington.

2.3 Why Would Civilizations Clash?

First, it is important to understand what civilizations are in the terms that Samuel Huntington intended. According to Huntington, Civilizations are a group of people who share a common similarity either in history, culture, language and origin. In the literal sense, a civilization can cut across borders as long as the commonality between the people exists. For instance, Islam and Christianity can be considered civilizations.

According to Huntington, before understanding why civilizations would clash, it is important to note that one of the major implications of the cold war was the cultural and national movements that arose after WWII. Internationally, nations across the world we're witnessing the largest national movements happen in developed and developing countries. It is for this reason that Huntington maintained that cultural identities, as well as religion, would shape politics going forward. Despite the fact that his assumptions were made in the early 1990s, the relevance of this assumption exceeds his death. All over the world, emphasis on culture and religion has gained more ground as most of the conflicts that succeeded in the cold war have either been shaped by culture or religion and in some cases both.

Another major assumption made in this paper which has become an international norm is wars. Huntington predicted that wars would change. By this, he meant that wars would not be fought as they used to in the past. He predicted that wars would no longer be between two parties i.e. the western bloc and the eastern bloc; the Allied Powers and the Axis Power; and so on. Instead, he posited that wars would now be fought between different groups within the territory of a state. Thereby introducing us to what we now

know as Intra-State wars. This simply means that wars would not be fought between nation states but between different cultures and religions. For instance, Nigeria has had different cases of religious clashes in Kaduna and Plateau States. The major hypothesis of this paper is that culture and religion would be the major driving force behind every conflict in the post-cold war era. This is not to say that Huntington was the first to make this projection but he went a step further to explain what will foster these wars.

By so doing, the author proposes 6 reasons why civilizations will clash. These reasons are:

- Differences in culture, religion and language;

- Globalization;

- Social change;

- The increase in economic regionalism;

- Cultural differences and;

- Westernization and its hold on power.

It is his belief that the constant interactions of humans, fostered by globalisation would inevitably bring about the clash of civilizations. From the aforementioned, the author believes that generally, people would not be able to accept the differences and diversity of cultures religions and languages as civilizations would continuously grow wary of their survival. For instance, the existence and longevity of groups like the Ku Klux Klan also known as the KKK in the USA prove that civilizations feel constantly threatened by the existence of other civilizations that may seem domineering and for this reason choose to fight to protect their identity. Another good example is the Hutu and Tutsi crisis that eventually led to the genocide in Rwanda. To Huntington, these are all examples of civilizations clashing simply because of their cultural, religious and language differences.

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

Why would civilizations clash?

In the case of globalisation, some scholars believe that the growing interdependence of the world and the constant interaction would eventually lead to peace. However, Huntington connotes that these interactions will only lead to further problems of intolerance as we can see today. He also posited that globalisation has the tendency to spread harmful ideologies and ideas faster than any other international phenomenon. For instance, the wide spread of fake news and terrorism are negative effects of globalisation. The recent pandemic, which cause a lot of political and economic challenges can be said to also be a negative effect of globalisation as a disease that started in China ended up weakening the international system as we know it today.

According to Huntington, the East Asian Sinic civilisation is rapidly expanding economically, which is allowing it to assert its culture and values in relation to the West. He specifically thinks that China wants to regain its dominance in the region and that other nations will 'bandwagon' with China because of the Confucian Sinic civilization's tradition of hierarchical command systems, which contrasts with the individuality and pluralism cherished in the West. Regional powers like the two Koreas and Vietnam will give in to Chinese demands and start to support China more instead of seeking to stand in its way. Because Chinese cultural assertion conflicts with American ambition for no regional hegemony in East Asia, Huntington sees the emergence of China as one of the biggest issues and the greatest long-term threat to the West.

According to Huntington, the Islamic civilization has seen a large population boom that is causing instability within Islam as well as on its borders, where fundamentalist movements are gaining ground. The Iranian Revolution of 1979 and the First Gulf War are examples of what he refers to as the "Islamic Resurgence." Huntington's claim that "Islam has bloody boundaries" in the Foreign Affairs essay may have generated the greatest debate. Given the proximity of Islam to numerous civilizations, such as Sinic, Orthodox, Western, and African, as well as population expansion and the aforementioned Muslim youth bulge, Huntington thinks this to be a real result of a number of causes.

According to Huntington, the confrontation between Western and non-Western civilizations, or, in Stuart Hall's words, the West and the Rest, tends to be the main axis

of international politics in the future. He suggests three broad, essential responses that non-Western civilizations can make to Western nations.

1. To maintain their own ideals and shield themselves against Western invasion, non-Western nations can try to attain isolation. Huntington contends that only a few states can take this approach because of its enormous expenditures.

2. The bandwagoning theory holds that non-Western nations can join and embrace Western principles.

3. Through modernization, non-Western nations can work to counterbalance Western power. While still upholding their own institutions and ideals, they can grow their economic and military might and collaborate with other non-Western nations to work against the West. According to Huntington, as non-Western civilizations gain influence in global culture, the West will start to comprehend the fundamental cultural principles that underlie other civilizations. As a result, Western culture will no longer be seen as "universal," but rather, other civilizations will learn to live and work together to create the world of the future.

2.4 Criticisms of the Clash of Civilizations

Paul Berman contends that different cultural barriers are non-existent today in his 2003 book "Terror and Liberalism". He contends that there is neither an Islamic civilisation nor a Western civilization and that the evidence for a clash of civilizations is weak, particularly in light of partnerships like the one between the United States and Saudi Arabia. He also points out that many Islamic extremists resided or attended school in the West for protracted periods of time. Regardless of a group's cultural or religious identity, conflict, in Berman's view, results from philosophical views that different groups hold (or do not hold).

According to Noam Chomsky, the idea of a clash of civilizations is only a cover for the United States to do whatever crimes that they wanted to commit, which was necessary after the Cold War because the Soviet Union was no longer a serious threat.

The clash of civilizations has been dubbed a false notion by Yuval Noah Harari in his book "21 Lessons for the 21st Century". He claimed that rather than posing a challenge to Western culture, Islamic fundamentalism is more of a threat to global civilization. He further contended that it is incorrect to compare civilizations to organisms through the lens of evolutionary biology.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

Do you believe that Samuel Huntington is right about the factors that will aid civilizations' clash?

2.5 Summary

In summary, it can be agreed that the position of Samuel Huntington is flawed on many levels. However, despite being flawed, he was significantly correct in his assumptions of the new patterns of wars in the post-cold war era and the causal factors of these wars.

2.6 Reference and Further Readings

1. Huntington, S. P. (2000). The clash of civilizations?. In Culture and politics (pp. 99-118). Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

2. Berman, P. (2004). Terror and liberalism. WW Norton & Company.

3. Chomsky, N., & Weinstein, A. (2002). An Interview with Noam Chomsky. The Harvard Review of Philosophy, 10(1), 41-47.

4. Harari, Y. N. (2018). 21 Lessons for the 21st Century. Random House.

2.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content

1. Answers should be but are not limited to: the several reasons why civilisations clash in the post-cold war era as stated by Samuel Huntington and made relevant to the post-cold war era. Students should also feel free to criticise the author.
2. Answers should be but are not be limited to: making a case for the reasons why civilisations would clash. Here students can either agree or disagree with the author.

Unit 3 - Ideologies of the Post-Cold War Era

3.1 Introduction

3.2 Learning Outcomes

3.3 Communism

3.4 Liberalism

3.5 Nationalism

3.6 Populism

3.7 Feminism

3.7 Effects of the Ideologies on World Politics

3.1 Introduction

As students of international relations, it is relevant to know the ideologies that continuously affect the politics of the international system. In this unit, ideologies such as communism, liberalism and capitalism, nationalism, populism and feminism would be discussed alongside the role they play in shaping world ideas and views. Ideology in international relations is very important to foreign policy and state relations. Therefore, to understand why states behave the way they do would mean that the ideologies of these states must be adobe understood.

3.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Explain the basic tenets and characteristics of the ideologies.

- Understand the notable contributions of these ideologies to the post-cold war era.

- Examine the challenges posed by these ideologies in the contemporary international system.

3.3 Communism

The name communism, which derives from the Latin "communis," which means "shared" or "common," did not come into usage until the 1840s, but ideas of a society that could be described as communist date back to the 4th century BCE. Early communist ideologies were influenced by religion. Acts 4:32–37, for instance, describes how the earliest Christians engaged in a straightforward kind of communism as a form of solidarity and a means of renunciation of worldly things. Later, similar motivations led to the establishment of monastic organizations, whose members swore vows of poverty and made promises to share their meagre worldly possessions with one another and the needy.

Public ownership and social management over at least the main means of production (such as mines, mills, and factories) and the natural resources of a society are the goals of communism, a political and economic theory. Thus, communism is a kind of socialism—a better and more developed form, in the opinion of its proponents. While the exact differences between socialism and communism have long been debated, the communists' dedication to Karl Marx's revolutionary socialism is a major factor in making this distinction. Marx, like the majority of authors from the 19th century, frequently used the terms socialism and communism interchangeably.

Marx, however, predicted two stages of communism that would come after the predicted fall of capitalism in his Critique of the Gotha Programme (1875). The first would be a transitional system in which the working class would control the government and economy but still feel the need to pay people according to how long, hard, or well they worked, and the second would be fully realized communism—a society without class divisions or government, in which the production of goods and services would be regulated by market forces. This distinction was adopted by Marx's adherents, particularly the Russian revolutionary Vladimir Ilich Lenin.

Lenin claimed that socialism relates to Marx's first phase of a communist society and communism proper to the second in State and Revolution (1917). In 1918, the year after

gaining control of Russia, Lenin and the Bolshevik faction of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party emphasized this distinction by adopting the name All-Russian Communist Party. Since that time, the Soviet Union's system of political and economic organization—which was later adopted by the People's Republic of China and other nations ruled by communist parties—has been primarily, if not entirely, associated with communism.

In fact, during much of the 20th century, communist governments ruled over nearly one-third of the global population. These regimes were distinguished by the dominance of a single party that allowed no room for dissent or protest. Party leaders also developed a command economy in which the state-owned property and its bureaucrats set wages, prices, and output targets in place of a capitalist economy, in which people compete for profits. The Soviet Union's collapse in 1991 was largely attributed to the inefficiencies of these economies, and the remaining communist nations (with the exception of North Korea) are now permitting more economic competition while clinging to one-party authority. It remains to be seen if they will be successful in their endeavour. Whether it succeeds or fails, communism is clearly not the world-shaking force it was in the 20th century.

Marx thought that capitalism was a highly unstable economic system that would experience a succession of ever-worsening crises—recessions and depressions—that would result in higher unemployment, lower wages, and growing misery among the industrial proletariat. The proletariat will be persuaded by these crises that the interests of its class are inimical to those of the bourgeoisie in power. Armed with revolutionary class consciousness, the proletariat will take control of the main means of production as well as the institutions of state power, such as the police, courts, and prisons, and create what Marx called "the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat." Thus, in order to stop the displaced bourgeoisie from staging a counterrevolution, the proletariat will rule in the interests of its own class, just as the bourgeoisie did previously.

After Marx's death, Engels became the principal exponent of Marxist theory, which he clarified and modified in a number of ways. The Marxist theory became more rigid and deterministic under his interpretation of it, which he called "scientific socialism," than

Marx had intended. Following Engels' passing in 1895, Marx's supporters were divided into two main groups: "revisionist" Marxists, who supported a smooth transition to socialism, and "revolutionary" Marxists, who included the leaders of the 1917 communist revolution in Russia. A second, related change can be found in Lenin's Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism (1916), where he made the suggestion that workers in advanced capitalist nations like Germany and Britain were imbued with reform-minded "trade-union consciousness" rather than revolutionary class consciousness, which would prevent the communist revolution from starting there.

Nobody, not even Lenin, could have foretold how the Russian Revolution of 1917 would unfold. Its immediate cause was World War I, which was having a negative impact on both Russian peasants and troops at the front lines. Numerous Russian cities saw riots. They refused to be put down when Tsar Nicholas II ordered soldiers to do so. Nicholas abdicated, and Aleksandr Kerensky became the new head of state.

Nobody, not even Lenin, predicted how the 1917 Russian Revolution would unfold. World War I, which was devastating Russian soldiers at the front and peasants at home, served as its immediate impetus. Numerous Russian cities saw riots. They resisted when Tsar Nicholas II ordered soldiers to put them down. Aleksandr Kerensky's administration took control after Nicholas abdicated.

Although Marx is still the leading communist theorist, there are many different non-Marxist forms of communism. One of the most popular ideologies is anarchism, or anarcho-communism, which supports both the abolition of the state and communal ownership of property. Historically significant anarcho-communists have included Peter Hedges, Mikhail Bakunin, and William Godwin in England.

Despite the challenges and disruptions caused by the shift to a capitalist market economy, communist authority is unlikely to be restored in Russia and the former Soviet republics. Some people support the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, which replaced the CPSU, but its ideology is reformist rather than revolutionary. The Marxist-Leninist ideology of Mao is still prevalent but ambiguous in other parts of Asia, most notably in Nepal. Maoist insurgents there decided to give up their weapons and take part in national

elections to select an assembly to rewrite the Nepalese constitution in 2006 after a decade of armed conflict. Cuba and Vietnam have been reaching out diplomatically and looking for outside investment in their increasingly market-oriented economies, but both countries remain single-party systems domestically.

3.4 Liberalism

Liberalism is a political philosophy that views preserving and advancing individual freedom as the primary issue facing politics. Liberals frequently hold that government is important to shield people from damage by others, but they also understand that government can be a threat to freedom in and of itself. Government is, at best, an unavoidable evil, as American Revolutionary pamphleteer Thomas Paine put it in Common Sense (1776). Although laws, judges, and the police are necessary to protect a person's life and freedom, they can also be used against them. Therefore, the challenge is to create a system that grants the government the authority required to safeguard individual liberties while simultaneously preventing those in charge from misusing that authority.

The roots of liberalism can be found in two aspects of Western society. The first is that the West places more premiums on individualism than other civilizations do on position, caste, and tradition. People have been enmeshed and subject to their clan, tribe, ethnic group, or monarchy for a large portion of history. Liberalism is the result of changes in Western culture that led to recognition of the value of human individuality, a release from total subordination to the community, and a loosening of the strict control of tradition, law, and authority. Liberalism promotes the emancipation of the individual in this regard.

Liberalism over time has had different interpretations and forms. Liberal ideas are attributed to Enlightenment philosophers. The English philosopher John Locke, widely recognised as the father of modern liberalism, was the first to collect and organise these concepts into a separate philosophy. [46][47] In post-Civil War England, Thomas Hobbes made an effort to ascertain the goal and justification of ruling authority. He developed the idea of a social contract that people enter into to guarantee their security and in doing so create the State, using the concept of a state of nature—a hypothetical war-like scenario

prior to the state—and came to the conclusion that only an absolute sovereign would be fully able to sustain such security. The liberal philosophers and groups that have added to the term "liberalism" itself, such as classical, egalitarian, economic, social, the welfare state, ethical, humanist, deontological, perfectionist, democratic, and institutional, to mention a few, reveal the diversity of liberalism.

The basic assumptions of the liberal school of thought are:

- Liberalism rejects the idea of hegemonic stability theory. One of the most foundational thoughts of the liberal school is that the international system; state gents, state actors, non-state actors, and multinational corporations; can function without a hegemon or a leading state or institution.

- Another basic assumption that liberalism makes is that states always share a sense of mutual cooperation and benefit. This simply means that if states are allowed to explore their national interest with willing partners, a mutual benefit would be guaranteed.

- The liberal school also emphasizes the role international organisations and non-state actors play in international politics and state output.

- This school also believes that peace at the international level is attainable; however, this would only be possible in a world where all states are democratic.

The strongest contribution liberalism brings to IR theory is perhaps the Democratic Peace Theory. It says that war between democratic states is extremely unlikely. This occurrence can be explained in two ways. First, internal limits on authority, as previously said, are characteristics of democratic states. Second, democracies have a better potential for collaboration among themselves than they do with non-democracies because they typically view one another as genuine and unthreatening. The democratic peace theory is well supported by statistical analysis and historical case studies; however, there are still certain questions that need to be resolved. First, in terms of human history, democracy is a very young phenomenon. This indicates that democracies rarely have the chance to engage in conflict with one another. Second, it's unclear whether the peace is actually

"democratic" or if other elements associated with democracy such as politics, alliances, culture, economy, and so on, are to blame. Thirdly, while research reveals that democracies are unlikely to wage war on one another, they are more likely to wage war on non-democracies, as was the case in 2003 when the United States invaded Iraq.

Liberals frequently make the case that concentrations of unchecked, aggressive power pose the greatest danger to individual liberties and must be curbed. Institutions and norms, both domestic and international, are the main tools for limiting power. Institutions and organisations that promote collaboration and give nations a way to pay a price for breaking international accords serve to limit state authority at the international level. Because of the significant advantages that can be obtained through economic interdependence, economic institutions are particularly successful at promoting collaboration. Finally, by influencing our perceptions of proper behaviour, liberal standards place another restriction on the use of power. Today, it is evident that liberalism is not a "utopian" doctrine that envisions a utopian existence filled with peace and happiness, as it was originally charged. It offers a cogent rebuttal to realism that is strongly grounded in data and a long theoretical tradition.

3.5 Nationalism

The concept of nationalism is founded on the idea that a person's commitment to and allegiance to their nation-state come before their own or other people's interests. Modern nationalism is a trend. People have been loyal to their home countries, their parents' traditions, and established territorial governments throughout history. However, it wasn't until the end of the 18th century that nationalism became a widely accepted sentiment that shaped public and private life and was one of the major, if not the major, single determining factors of modern history. Due to its dynamic vigour and pervasive nature, nationalism is frequently wrongly believed to be very old and to always play a role in political behaviour.

When nationalism is applied to international politics, it suggests that the state or nation is identified with the people, or at the very least that it is desirable to gauge the size of the state using ethnographic criteria. The idea that each nation should create its own state,

one that includes all people of that nation, was widely accepted during the period of nationalism, but only during that era. Previously, nationality was not used to define nations or regions that were under one administration. The city-state, the feudal fief and its lord, the dynastic state, the religious group, or the sect were among the several diverse political organisations to which people pledged their loyalty rather than the nation-state.

For the majority of history, there was no such thing as a nation-state, and for a very long time, it was not even viewed as ideal. The universal world-state was the ideal during the first fifteen centuries of the Common Era, not allegiance to any particular political group. The Holy Roman Empire of the middle Ages followed the Roman Empire's magnificent example, which also persisted in the idea of the *Res Publica Christiana* (Christian republic or society) and in its later secularised version of a single global civilisation.

The Puritan revolution in 17th-century England marked the beginning of modern nationalism in its entirety. In terms of commercial industry, political thought and activity, and scientific spirit, England had overtaken all other countries. The English people felt that history was on their shoulders and that they were at a major turning point that would mark the beginning of a new true reformation and a new era of liberty. They were overcome by a tremendous amount of optimism for the future. Optimistic humanism and Calvinist ideals were combined in the English revolution, and the Bible's influence helped to shape the new nationality by associating the English with ancient Israel.

More than that, the nationalism of the French Revolution was the victorious expression of a reasoned belief in human equality and liberal progress. The iconic motto "Liberty, equality, fraternity," as well as the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, were believed to be applicable to all peoples, not just the French. All liberal and democratic nationalism have these three tenets as its core values: individual liberty, human equality, and inter-group brotherhood. They provided the idea for the creation of new rituals, such as festivals and flags, music and poetry, national holidays and patriotic sermons that partially replaced the previous religious feast days, rites, and ceremonies. Nationalism penetrated all facets of society in the widest range of manifestations.

After World War I, nationalism started to emerge in Asia and Africa. It gave birth to figures like Mahatma Gandhi in India, Sun Yat-sen in China, Sad Pasha Zaghl in Egypt, Ibn Saud in the Arabian Peninsula, and Kemal Atatürk in Turkey. In 1923, Atatürk was able to replace the Islamic monarchy's antiquated organisational framework with a modernised and reinvigorated secular republic. African and Asian imperialism, as well as French imperialism, all resisted calls for Arab unity. However, by assisting in the creation of independent Egypt (1922; fully, 1936) and Iraq (1932), as well as by exhibiting a similar spirit in India, where the Indian National Congress, established in 1885 to advance a liberal nationalism modelled after the British model, became more radical after 1918, Britain may have demonstrated a talent for accommodation with the new forces. Germany's impact on Japan led to the application of contemporary industrial processes in support of more authoritarian nationalism.

3.6 Populism

Movements that are democratic or dictatorial can both be referred to as populism. Populism often criticises political representation and anything that serves as a middleman between the public and a leader or authority figure. In its most democratic manifestation, populism aspires to uphold the rights of common people and increase their influence through reform as opposed to revolution. The fundamental belief here is that revolutions often affect the common people more than the elite, hence being futile as the main aim is for the advantage of the common people. To counter this, populists believe that there are other measures that can be used to cause change instead of employing violent revolutions.

However, populism is most frequently associated with an authoritarian style of politics in today's meaning of the term. According to this description, populist politics are centred on charismatic leaders who appeal to and claim to represent the will of the people in order to strengthen their own power. Political parties are less significant in this type of politics, and elections are used to affirm the authority of the leader rather than to show the various political allegiances of the populace.

Populism became synonymous with the political philosophy and methods of Latin American presidents like Juan Perón, Getlio Vargas, and Hugo Chavez in the latter half

of the 20th century. Populist authoritarian governments came to power in a number of nations in the early 21st century, including Turkey, Poland, and Hungary. According to certain historians and political experts, Republican President Donald Trump's administration in the United States (2017–21) also exhibited some elements of authoritarian populism. Conspiracy theories, prejudice towards African Americans and non-white immigrants, mistrust of democratic institutions among Trump's core supporters, and the Republican Party's national leadership were a few among them. Trump's inciting of a mob of his fans to storm the U.S. Capitol in an attempt to reverse his loss in the 2020 presidential election was perhaps the most potent indication of the existence of authoritarian populism under his administration.

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

How influential are these ideologies on international relations?

3.7 Effects of the Ideologies on World Politics

Despite the fact that communism has dwindled across the international system since the end of the cold war, it can be noted that communism is still practised in countries like China, Cuba, Laos, and Vietnam which are all major players in the international system. It is also fair to note that these communist states have in some way imbibed liberal structures and principles into their economy. This is to enable them to participate in global economic trends as well as benefit from the inflow of capital that comes with the demand and supply of resources.

Liberalism can arguably be the ideology that has had the most impact on the post-cold war international system. Liberalism, which has spread to more than 80% of the countries of the world, has proven to be the most accepted ideology that has existed in IR. However, it is pertinent to note that daily, liberalism is threatened by state structures, crumbling economies, violations of human rights, growing poverty rate, climate change and so on. The extent of freedom that comes with liberalism has also opened the international system to new forms of threats such as disinformation, misinformation, cyber-attacks, and espionage and so on.

Nationalism, just like liberalism, seems to be growing more each day. it is important to note that most nationalist movements originate from exclusion and marginalisation. For instance, the IPOB movement in Nigeria, which is a movement that carries most of the tenants from the Nigerian Civil War, is a typical example. So, therefore, it is almost inevitable that when a certain group of people feel marginalised by the central government, they begin to demand control over their affairs as they feel unequally represented.

Populism, on the other hand, is a fast-growing ideology in the post-cold war era, that comes with a strong sense of belonging and responsibility. As an ideology, populism aims to dismantle elitist ideologies and systems, to create a common ground for all citizens where everyone's input and output are regarded. Every day, it is evident with the level and intensity of protests we see all over the world that populism is gaining more popularity and ground in international relations. However, some scholars argue that this movement and ideology will only result in what John Stuart Mills referred to as the *"Tyranny of the Majority."*

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

What effect do the aforementioned ideologies have on the post-cold war system?

3.8 Summary

In summary, this unit explored four major ideologies that have become more prominent and are topics of discussion in the international system. The major reason why these ideologies have been chosen is that they hold the most impact on the future of the international system. Therefore, by examining the major tenant and characteristics of these ideologies, students can make predictions of how international issues would arise and how they can be resolved.

3.9 Reference and Further Readings

1. Claudio, L. E. (2017). Liberalism and the post colony: Thinking the state in 20th-century Philippines (Vol. 19). NUS Press.

2. Mudde, C. (2018). How populism became the concept that defines our age. The Guardian, 22(11).

3. Berberoglu, B. (1995). The national question: nationalism, ethnic conflict, and self-determination in the 20th century. Temple University Press.

4. Popa, I. (2018). Translation and communism in Eastern Europe. In The Routledge Handbook of Translation and Politics (pp. 424-441). Routledge.

3.10 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content

1. Answers should be but are not limited to: Students should be able to analyse the ideologies and the basic assumptions of these ideologies while making linkages to the post-cold war era.
2. Students should be able to analyse the diverse effects and cite examples of how these ideologies affect the international political system.

MODULE 2 - WARS AND WEAPONS IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA

It was clear from the preceding module that most scholars of international relations have been concerned with how wars and weapons will affect the politics of the post-cold war era. Needless to say that these valid concerns such as wars, conflicts and violence are all part of human history. The Second World War had witnessed a number of casualties and the cold war was characterised by proxy wars. The fascination with wars is indeed logical at this juncture. This module will address wars, the changing characters of wars, why wars are fought, the role arms race plays in wars and the issues faced by the international society to limit the impact of weapons in the post-cold war international system.

Unit 1 - The Changing Character of War

Unit 2 - Arms Race and Arms Build-up

Unit 3 - Small and Light Weapons

Unit 4 - The link between Arms Race and Wars

UNIT 1: The Changing Character of War

Unit Structure

1.1 Introduction

War is always caused by factors such as politics, economics, religion, and ethnicity. However, predicting how, why, and where possible opponents will wage war is difficult. The nature of conflict is constantly evolving as a result of the ongoing changes in power and society at large. World War I and World War II are very different from one another. It's critical to comprehend what war is in order to determine whether it is, in fact, changing. The definition of war is always influenced by the environment, just like any other social science topic. Mary Kaldor asserts that there are old wars (WWI, WWII, and the Cold War) and new conflicts (War on Terror, Iraq War, Arab spring etc).

1.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Define wars.

- Explain how wars have changed over time with theoretical understanding.

- Debate on the differences between old and new wars.

1.3 What is War?

These conventional definitions of war hold that it is restrained for logical and political considerations. Armed forces rely on hierarchy and discipline, and they employ force with intention and care. States have a moral obligation to look for ways to manage and restrict the use of violence in their interactions with one another. Fear, consistency, and the bravery of those who fight in this conflict are the things that wars have in common the most.

A condition of armed conflict between nations or among communities living in one nation is referred to as war. Tensions frequently precede war and can have a wide range of causes. Water, energy, and food shortages can all lead to tensions. As Torreon Creekmore of the Intelligence Advanced Research Projects Activity in the United States noted, for instance, "when crops or agriculture fails and prices rise, people don't have the money to buy food, which can lead to thieving, then riots, social upheaval, and mass migrations."

In the common definition, war is a conflict between political parties that involves hostilities that last for a long time and are significant in scope. There are several additional criteria while using social science. Sociologists typically only use the term to describe these conflicts when they start and are handled in accordance with socially acceptable forms. They view war as a legitimate institution that is sanctioned by law or custom.

The emergence of insurgents and non-state actors in the conflict, as well as their willingness to employ terrorism and other unconventional tactics of warfare, have prompted observers to refer to "new wars" over the past ten years (and, in fact, ever since the end of the Cold War).

They have claimed that because the "ancient wars" were fought only between nations, the armed forces involved were equivalent and symmetrical. Most of this discussion has been uninformed or simplistic. More so than the complexity of reality, it has been constrained by standards and theories.

It was fuelled by the fallout from the 9/11 attacks and has given some wars and movements precedence over others. It has clearly been historically ignorant. But many other factors, including the legal, ethical, religious, and societal ones that help us define what war is have also been overlooked. As a natural by-product of its own era, each war's character inevitably evolves through time. War's character may change, but its fundamental nature has its own internal coherence. Each battle is an aggressive enterprise capable of creating its own dynamic and, as a result, spiralling in unpredictable directions. War is a dysfunctional and utilitarian weapon of government.

Some of the basic characteristics of war are but are not limited to:

- The use of legitimate force.

- Between two parties.

- War rests of contention. Meaning that war is an act of defence and not attack.

- War assumes a degree of intensity and duration to the fighting.

- War is not fighting for its own sake: it has an aim, often normatively defined in political terms, but perfectly capable of being more narrowly and militarily defined, for example as the pursuit of victory.

1.4 Causes of War

Since 1950, there have been more wars, with most of them starting within states. Wars frequently have underlying:

- Economic factors,

- In addition to cultural aspects relating to ethnicity or religion,

- Political, economic, and social inequality,

- Extreme poverty,

- Economic stagnation,

- Inadequate government services,

- High unemployment,

- Environmental degradation and,

- Personal (economic) motivations to fight are some of the main core causes.

1.5 What is the Changing Character of War?

The character and form in which wars are fought are said to be changing. This implies that over time, wars have assumed new natures that sometimes cannot be foreseen. It was evident that wars had changed soon after the terrorist attacks on the United States on 9/11 in 2001, and there was considerable speculation that perhaps the battle itself had been replaced. It appeared like conventional conflicts were a thing of the past. It appeared that acts of terrorism or insurgency would rule the future. Despite the existence of new actors, contexts, technology, drivers, and dynamics, it has become widely accepted during the course of our research that the character of war (or, more specifically, its core) has not altered. There are numerous continuities that must not be disregarded, including the impact of ideas, the dynamic character of conflict, the methods of war, and the dynamic nature of warfare itself.

War was fought in the 19th century using tactics and techniques. War in the 20th century was marked by the development of weapons quickly, and the development of aircraft and tanks. Even NATO continued to operate on the assumption that technology was the primary factor in the evolution of war.

There is a greater connectedness through information technology has provided opportunities, advantages, and costs in stealth, influence, and monitoring, which have an impact on how

conflict is changing. New technology use and its effects (including remotely piloted air systems, cyber, artificial intelligence, robotics and automated systems)

This is to say that wars evolve as human societies evolve. With more actors in the international system today, wars have moved from being between two legitimate forces to now consisting of both state and non-state actors like in the case of terrorism and insurgency.

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

How have wars changed?

1.6 Theories of the Changing Character of War

There are two major theories of IR that explain the reason for the constant change in the character of war. These theories are Realism and Liberalism.

Realism - According to experts like Kaldon and Strachan, the evolution of weapons in the 21st century has little to no bearing on the changing nature of war. They contend that political and social transformation, not technological advancement, is what will cause the greatest change. The phrase "Transformation in the power of the State" is used to describe this. The key factors that have shaped modern wars are social and political change. The conflict in Iraq and Afghanistan was not determined by the superior firepower of those nations; if it had been, they would have prevailed. But the political interests of the USA and Britain influenced the course of the war.

This is to say that realists believe that constant interaction in society can lead to various tensions that can eventually spark a war. Unlike the liberals, realists believe that war is as old as mankind and with or without the advancement of weaponry; wars will still be fought by states and groups.

Liberalism - On the other hand, liberal scholars hold the view that wars have only changed in character due to the advancement of weapons. They maintain that sharpened rocks and sticks have given way to automatic weapons and predator missiles as the tools of battle. The way people fight and the techniques used vary with each new piece of military equipment. Understanding the developments in military technology is essential if you want to understand

how wars evolve through time. The last 200 years have seen a significant change in warfare due to the introduction of new technology and advances in armament. The military prowess of the United States has increased dramatically from muskets to drones.

The major argument by the liberal school is that the advancement of weapons has made wars more dreadful as there are more propensities to attack a larger group of people. This thereby brings the distinction between old and new wars.

1.7 Differences and Similarities between Old and New Wars

From the liberal perspective, which hammers on the advancement of weaponry, it is evident that wars have changed over time. However, there still remain some similarities between old and new wars. Some of these similarities include:

- Wars are fought between two opposing parties.

- Wars are majorly political.

- Wars will always have casualties.

- Wars are violent.

- Wars affect the international political and economic systems.

- Wars are expensive.

- Wars are rational.

Despite there being these many similarities between old and new wars, there is also some differences that can be seen. For instance, there is a big difference between World War II and the Russian/Ukraine war. Some of these differences are:

- Old wars were fought only by state actors, whereas new wars are A mixture of State Actors, Rebels, Mercenaries, Militias, Warlords, Non-State Actors, and International Organisations.

- Old wars used to have very strong ideological backing as well as traits of self-determination, whereas new wars are more on Identity Politics (Personal interests or perspectives of groups).

- Old wars were fought in defined spaces and territories, whereas new wars can happen anywhere and at any time.

- With old wars, states were mandated to obey the international order such as the Laws of Armed Conflict and the Geneva Convention, whereas new wars take guerrilla patterns and non-state actors do not respect international orders.

- Old wars were financed solely by the state, whereas with new wars, it is not made public who the financers of a rebel, and terrorist groups are.

- Old wars were characterised by the low levels of technology, whereas new wars have a higher advancement in technology.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

What are the theoretical arguments on the changing character of war?

1.8 Summary

In summary, this unit has addressed the meaning of wars and how wars have changed since the end of the cold war. Wars are part of human society, however, how these wars are managed is also important to the outcome of the war.

1.9 Reference and Further Readings

1. Marsili, M. (2021). The 21st Century Conflicts Understanding the Changing Nature and Character of War (Doctoral dissertation, ISCTE-IUL).

2. Ulgen, O. (2019). Technological Innovations and the Changing Character of Warfare. Humanitäres Völkerrecht: Journal of International Law of Peace and Armed Conflict, 2(3/4), 215-228.

3. Strachan, H., & Scheipers, S. (Eds.). (2011). The changing character of war. OUP Oxford.

1.10 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content

1. Students should be able to define wars and the meaning of the changing character of work.
2. Students should be able to discuss the theoretical explanations as to why wars have changed and the major difference between old and new wars.

UNIT 2: Arms Race and Arms Build-up (private military companies)

Unit Structure

2.1 Introduction

2.2 Learning Outcomes

2.3 Arms Race and Arms Build-up

2.4 Reasons for Arms Race and Arms Build-up

2.5 Challenges Controlling Arms Race and Arms Build-up

2.6 Dangers of Arms Race and Arms Build-up

2.7 Summary

2.8 Reference and Further Readings

2.9 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content

2.1 Introduction

Since the end of the cold war, nations have struggled with the new world order. One of the most notable challenges, especially for new states, is positioning themselves in a place of power. One of the fastest ways to amass power is through the development and stockpiling of arms. It is for this reason that smaller nations, who are non-nuclear states, try to possess nuclear power. This unit will look into the definition of arms race and arms build-up, the reasons why states choose to build their arms, the challenges with arms build-up and the dangers arms race has on the international system.

2.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Discuss the meaning of arms race and arms build-up.

- Understand why states choose to build arms.

- The dangers of arms build-up.

- The challenges faced by the international system to regulate arms.

2.3 Arms Race and Arms Build-up

When two or more groups fight for increases in military manpower and equipment, an arms race emerges. The term is also used to describe any long-term escalating competitive situation where each competitor or competitive group focuses on outdoing others. It refers to a competition between two or more states to have superior armed forces; a competition concerning the production of weapons, the growth of a military, and the aim of superior military technology. Arms races are spiralling systems of on-going and perhaps unending action, as opposed to sporting events, which are unique events with winning interpreted as the result of a single endeavour.

The "dreadnought" armaments race between Germany and Britain before World War I is one instance of an arms race. Early in the 20th century, a rising force in Germany tried to overthrow the United Kingdom's long-standing naval hegemony. A naval arms race was started in 1906 when Britain unveiled the HMS Dreadnought, a new and more technologically superior cruiser. Britain launched 19 additional dreadnoughts (i.e., turbine-powered all-big-gun battleships) and nine additional battle cruisers between 1909 and the start of World War I in 1914, whereas Germany launched 13 dreadnoughts and five battle cruisers. One of the reasons behind World War I is frequently attributed to this armaments race.

Although the Cold War weapons race between the United States and the Soviet Union was possibly the biggest and most expensive in history, others have taken place, frequently with

disastrous results. Some commentators concur with Sir Edward Grey, Britain's foreign minister at the outset of World War I, who said: "The moral is apparent; it is that huge weapons lead inevitably to war." However, it is still controversial whether an arms race increases or lessens the likelihood of war.

Arms races may involve the accumulation of military capabilities on a more widespread, competitive basis. Although there is frequently no correlation between military spending and capacity, this is sometimes judged by it. These broader arms races are frequently seen among nations engaged in protracted rivalries, and they sometimes seem to mirror each other's levels of military spending, especially during times of increased tension. India-Pakistan, Israel-Arab nations, Greece-Turkey, and Armenia-Azerbaijan are a few examples of such arms races.

2.4 Reasons for Arms Race and Arms Build-up

There are various reasons why nations choose to acquire arms in a competitive manner. for the sake of this class, those reasons will be divided into three (3) thematic areas. These are External reasons, internal reasons and theoretical reasons.

External Reasons

One of the foremost external reasons why nations acquire arms is ***Rational Behaviour.*** Glaser (2019) argues that most states acquire arms just because they are rational and they can also see neighbouring states doing the same. According to the prevailing theory in the literature on arms races, external factors account for arms races in which nations are responding to the threat posed by an adversary's arming up. For instance, some academics contend that the core tenet of the action-reaction model is that governments build up their militaries in response to perceived threats from other states. According to the theory underlying the model, factors outside of the state are principally responsible for the arms dynamic.

Another external reason for nations building their arms is ***Action-Reaction.*** This external reason connotes that states acquire arms rapidly because they are acting and reacting to the nature of the international system. Mohammed (2019) maintains that in the post-cold war era, states are forced to mirror the activities of other states if they intend to survive. To his end,

when other states start to acquire some form of an arsenal, it is only natural that other states will also want to do the same. Although action-reaction and threat-based theories are undoubtedly significant, another factor that could be equally significant in explaining rational arms race behaviour exists. A state may increase its military spending and militarization because it wishes to grow for purposes unrelated to security, i.e., because it is selfish rather than because it feels threatened. Although it may appear that these nations are reacting to one another by arming, the security that is at the heart of the action-reaction theory is not what motivates this rivalry. The other state reacts to protect its security in the face of a growing threat, but the greedy state seeks to gain the military power required to force its opponent to make concessions or to win a war if its demands cannot be met peacefully. Even if its security-seeking adversary stops, the avaricious state will continue to develop its armaments.

Internal Reasons

Arms races' internal causes are found in the activities and operations of states, according to explanations that place an emphasis on them. These explanations concentrate on how the structure of the state, its political systems, institutions, and interest groups, contribute to arms races, in contrast to explanations that emphasise external reasons, which picture the state as a unitary actor.

States are regarded as rational actors and will take every measure to sustain their survival. This means that to maintain peace and order, states have to gather arms to protect themselves from internal disputes that may occur within their territory. For instance, the security budget of the Nigerian government has been the most expensive budget for the 10th year in a row. This is due to the level of internal insecurity in the nation. It now biomes the obligation of the Nigerian government to protect its territory from internal threats as part of the social contract established with the citizen of Nigeria.

Defensive Realism

Defensive realism prioritises nations that are exclusively concerned with security, and it makes the assumption that states can only infer information about the intentions of other states from the messages that their international actions convey. The security dilemma is crucial in explaining how states with basically similar objectives can nonetheless find

themselves in conflict. Power and the factors that determine the nature and scope of the security dilemma, the offence-defence balance and offence-defence differentiation, are the fundamental factors that determine whether a state can attain a high level of security and whether it will have to rely on competitive policies to do so.

The more well-developed arguments centre on the connection between arms races and security-dilemma factors. A state can deploy troops that will raise its security more than it will reduce the security of the adversary when the defence has the upper hand. There may be a need for an arms build up to produce forces large enough for defence and deterrence, but as the state's security improves via repeated cycles of action and reaction, arms races should eventually come to an end.

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

Is it necessary for nations to gather arms?

2.5 Challenges Controlling Arms Race and Arms Build-up

The "International Commission on Security and Disarmament Issues" introduced the concept of common security and took issues with nations trying to acquire security for unilateral purposes; pointing out that the advantages were short-lived. The agenda here was to push for cooperative security, where nations could be engaged in a win-win situation. The idea of cooperative security gained admirable acceptance in Europe and other parts of the world but in the new global order, many states seem to be withdrawing back to unilateral security measures.

The concept of arms control was introduced in the 1960s. This rested on the notion that powerful nations were no longer interested in any form of conflict but they were instead interested in a mutually beneficial relationship to avoid war. This led to the creation of many international agreements such as; the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, the Conventional Armed Forces in Europe Treaty (CFE), the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) and the Presidential Nuclear Initiatives (PNIs), Strategic Offensive Reductions Treaty (SORT) and the New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (New START).

The New START, which was signed by 122 states (all non-nuclear states) in 2010 aimed to stigmatise nuclear weapons and hold up great powers responsible and accountable for their disregard for disarming their nuclear weapons. On the other hand, the world faces new threats posed by military technologies such as cyber-attacks and environmental disasters and the non-cooperative nature of nations to attend to these new threats creates a gap in the new world order.

There is a decline in the seriousness in which nations are taking the commitment to the disarming of Nuclear weapons. The last attempt which was the New START would end in 2012, with no renewal foreseen. Meaning that nations' would go back to the anarchical state, which existed in the early years after the Second World War. What then remains is the NPT, which seems to be the most resilient nuclear disarmament treaty.

There are different factors that allow for the decreasing control of arms all over the world:

- Change in Political order - new orders have always been formed after a major war (Treaty of Westphalia, Napoleonic Wars, the two world wars, etc)
- Global governance - challenges and problems promoted by liberalism
- International Law - The paradox of international and how nations constantly ignore international proceedings.
- Multilateralism - It doesn't have the same appeal as it used to. Nations are pulling out of relations that have been built over the years.
- Geopolitics - bigger nations are disregarding previous agreements and the interest of smaller nations.
- Sanctions - Sanctions don't work as they used to as nations now stand up to the pressure. In the case of North Korea, it was a vicious circle.
- Hidden warfare - From covert operations run by the CIA to Cyber warfare.

2.6 Dangers of Arms Race and Arms Build-up

Realists argue that the arms race cannot be restricted due to the balance of power. As long as nations acquire power, the length of the arms race is bound to continue. So, therefore, as

nations continue to build their arms, what then are some of the dangers that can be foreseen or have already happened?

- Nuclear Arms Race - One of the foremost dangers of the arms race is that it always leads to the illegal acquisition of nuclear materials despite the existence of international regulations to stop and control the spread of nuclear weapons globally.
- Missile Crisis - Just like the Cuban missile crisis, arms race is assumed to cause tensions between nations and can result in an international standoff where other smaller nations stand the risk of being endangered.
- Proliferation of arms - the proliferation of arms, as would be pointed out in the next section is also a key issue. All over the world, there is a free flow of arms that allow for non-state actors to threaten the survival of legitimate state agents and institution. A good example is the case of the United States of America, where the second amendment gives each citizen the right to bear arms. With the war on terror and the free flow of arms in the USA; the USA has recorded hundreds of deaths every year as a result of gun violence.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

What are the challenges and dangers of arms race and arms build-up?

2.7 Summary

Arms race and arms build-up are an issue of contention in the current international system. International politics has been saddled with the responsibility of controlling arms but has failed even with numerous agreements, treaties and international laws. So the big question now lies in the propensity for a better agreement or for the international system to adapt to the changes that have come with the arms race and arms build-up.

2.8 Reference and Further Readings

1. Sample, S. G. (2021). Arms Races. What Do We Know about War?, 63.
2. Abbink, K., Dong, L., & Huang, L. (2021). Arms races and conflict: Experimental evidence. The Economic Journal, 131(637), 1883-1904.

3. Landgren-Bäckström, S. (2021). Arms Trade and Transfer of Military to Technology to Third World Countries. In Problems of Contemporary Militarism (pp. 230-247). Routledge.

4. Glaser, C. L. (2000). The causes and consequences of arms races. Annual Review of Political Science, 3(1), 251-276.

2.9 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content

1. Based on the earlier discussion, students should be able to give a brief background of arms race and why nations build their arms. Students should also be able to give a concise argument for the necessity of arms race in the post-cold war era.

2. Students should be able to make a rational argument for the possible dangers arms race and arms build-up can lead to while citing relevant examples.

UNIT 3: Small Arms and Light Weapons

Unit Structure

3.1 Introduction

Small arms and light weapons (SALW) are a major problem in developing and new states in the international system. The cold war era witnessed the entry of many new states who had been decolonised and given entry into the international system. As earlier stated, wars have always been a part of human society and in fighting those wars, SALW are very detrimental. In this unit, students will be exposed to the meaning of SALW as well as the measures taken by the United Nations (UN) to counter them. However, it is pertinent to note that because most SALWs are made with undetectable materials, they tend to pose a grave threat in the post-cold war era.

3.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Discuss the meaning of small arms and light weapons.

- Understand the measures taken by the UN to counter SALW.

- The role SALWs play in Africa.

3.3 Understanding Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW)

The United Nations General Assembly on 8 December 2005 defines small arms and light weapons as:

> any man-portable lethal weapon that expels or launches, is designed to expel or launch, or may be readily converted to expel or launch a shot, bullet or projectile by the action of an explosive, excluding antique small arms and light weapons or their replicas. Antique small arms and light weapons and their replicas will be defined in accordance with domestic law. In no case will antique small arms and light weapons include those manufactured after 1899:

(a) "Small arms" are, broadly speaking, weapons designed for individual use. They include, inter alia, revolvers and self-loading pistols, rifles and carbines, sub-machine guns, assault rifles and light machine guns;

(b) "Light weapons" are, broadly speaking, weapons designed for use by two or three persons serving as a crew, although some may be carried and used by a single person. They include, inter alia, general purpose or universal machine guns, medium machine guns, heavy machine guns, rifle grenades, under-barrel grenade launchers and mounted grenade launchers, portable anti-aircraft guns, portable anti-tank guns, recoilless rifles, man portable launchers of anti-tank missile and rocket systems, man portable launchers of anti-aircraft missile systems, and mortars of a calibre of less than 100 millimetres.

Armed warfare, terrorism, and crime are all made possible and made easier by small arms and light weapons (SALW). They continue to be some of the most affordable and accessible tools for engaging in violence today. Despite the fact that we recognise the threat that SALW pose to development, human rights, and peace and security, there are still significant gaps in our understanding of how to effectively address these problems, particularly the

flow of weapons from the legal to the illegal markets. Even the domestic transfer of SALW to the black market has the potential to have global repercussions by promoting terrorism, crime, and conflict. It is challenging to regulate SALW on a global scale. SALW are simple to manufacture, hide, and transport. And with at least 875 million SALW presently in use, they are already numerous and widely dispersed.

Small arms and light weapons (SALW) are still inexpensive and convenient tools for engaging in armed conflict, terrorism, and criminal activity. The spread of SALW threatens peace and security, development, and the exercise of human rights, as is now well-documented. A troubling development in the employment of SALW has been the growing victimisation of civilian populations, particularly children. SALW are "weapons of mass destruction in slow motion," in the words of Kofi Annan, due to their long-term and indiscriminate effects.

One of the biggest threats to successful SALW regulation is the flow of SALW from the legal to the illegal world. Even while only 10 to 20 per cent of all small-arms traffic goes into the illicit market, research from the Small Arms Survey indicates that these weapons are mostly to blame for the rise in crime and civil unrest. In nations as politically, economically, and socially diverse as India, Russia, and Afghanistan—each of which has had terrorist attacks utilising small arms in the past year—the illicit movement of firearms to non-state actors is emerging as one of the most significant contemporary concerns. Lack of standards and guidelines for manufacture, private ownership, and stockpile management at the global, regional, national, and even local levels makes it easier for weapons to be transferred illegally, which worsens the security situation. Unsettlingly, even domestic transfers of SALW to the black market can eventually have global consequences.

SALW continue to be the weapons that are most commonly employed in armed conflicts, making them essential to the conflict-control agenda. SALW are readily available, portable, and simple to use—and re-use—in conflict settings, which encourages their indiscriminate use, aggravating human rights abuses and lengthening the severity and duration of armed conflicts. According to recent estimates by the Small Arms Survey, the use and abuse of SALW are thought to be responsible for 60 to 90% of direct fatalities during armed conflict.

Given the large number of SALW producers and owners, the low acquisition costs, the ease with which they can be transferred (especially given lax border controls and easy access to air transport and sea vessels), and the existing massive proliferation (with at least 875 million SALW already in existence, of which 74% are owned by non-state actors or civilians), it is naturally challenging to implement effective SALW control on a global scale.

3.4 The United Nations and SALW

The first UN resolution to address small weapons control was A/RES/46/36 (December 1991), and A/RES/50/70 expanded on that (January 1996). This latter resolution required a panel of experts to conduct research on the types of light and small guns being used in conflicts throughout the world and to determine which weapons would be eligible to be covered by an arms control system. A/52/298 (1997) and A/54/258 (1999) expert reports submitted to the General Assembly with recommendations prompted a July 2001 United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms, which was followed up in July 2006. Resolution 2117, adopted by the UN Security Council on September 26, 2013, urged countries to uphold small arms embargoes and SALW control measures.

The Office for Disarmament Affairs (UNODA), which is one of 21 UN departments and agencies working on various areas of small arms and light weapons control, coordinates work on SALW via the UN through the UN Coordinating Action on Small Arms (CASA) system. The United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR) conducts research on issues relating to arms control and has written numerous books and articles about small arms and light weapons.

However, the obstacles to successful SALW control are not insurmountable. The international community made significant strides in the early to mid-1990s in articulating the SALW issue, with a special focus on its connections to human rights and development. An initial call for action from civil society evolved into a more extensive state commitment to norm-setting and policymaking. The 2001 Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat, and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in SALW in all its Aspects is the UN's main initiative for SALW management. This created a comprehensive framework based on accepted principles,

particularly in regard to the development of capacity and more stringent licencing and transparency regulations at the global, regional, and national levels.

Furthermore, the current political rifts make SALW control even more challenging. States are sharply split on which aspects of SALW proliferation to address and how to address them, as the squabbling at the conclusion of the 2006 BMS showed. International initiatives to control SALW are seen as a challenge to the state's monopoly on legal violence, much as how multilateral efforts to combat transnational organised crime are seen by some to infringe on state sovereignty. The execution of small weapons control measures is nevertheless unequal, even when existing standards and regulatory frameworks are agreed upon. This is because states hold significantly divergent views on the extent to which international cooperation helps them exercise their monopoly within their own borders.

Due to this, multilateral institutions are compelled to deal with the indirect costs of the spread of SALW while also having to deal with the two quite different mindsets of governments. Some states prefer to keep future initiatives to better the current frameworks' execution; others prefer to see that framework expanded to include new thematic and geographical areas. Therefore, the main problem for the international community is to develop ways to strengthen the multilateral system's ability to regulate the negative impacts of SALW, despite the fact that states have differing views on how extensive SALW control measures should be.

This gives rise to two main ideas about where multilateral efforts—and in particular, those of the UN—should be concentrated. According to a more conservative viewpoint, UN activities should be restricted to offering frameworks and the ability to support states in putting their own decisions into practice in order to exercise their sovereign right to control SALW locally. This strategy would advocate unifying SALW control norms by giving states the authority to create control standards and stepping in to offer assistance in regions where states lack the capacity to do so (such as post-conflict zones) or where additional international assistance is required to create control mechanisms (such as through regional information-sharing agreements or INTERPOL databases).

The second, more comprehensive strategy envisions the UN as a venue for raising standards of national SALW control, such as through mandatory review procedures that, in the case of

the PoA, would allow for tracking progress on its implementation, and not just as a venue for coordination on a lowest-common-denominator basis. States that hold this opinion frequently claim that unless the PoA is more consistently applied and current voluntary norms, like the International Tracing Instrument, become required, there would be no effective global SALW control.

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

Has the United Nations been successful in responding to SALW?

3.5 SALW in Africa

Small arms and light weapons (SALW) regulations that are ill-conceived or ineffectively implemented have a negative impact on crime, war, and development in sub-Saharan Africa. African nations continue to draw attention abroad to these issues through initiatives like the African Union's Silencing the Guns programme. Aiming to end the illicit trade in SALW through improved stockpile management, Sierra Leone used its presidency of the seventh conference of state parties to the 2013 Arms Trade Treaty (ATT) in August 2021. Kenya used its one-month term as UN Security Council president in October 2021 to plan a theme discussion on the spread of illicit SALW and the dangers it poses to peacekeeping operations.

There are several different programmes in place to help states in sub-Saharan Africa with technical, financial, and material support to enhance regulations on the production, ownership, and trading of SALW. States have the ability to ask for and receive assistance under the UN Programme of Action on SALW (UNPOA), the ATT, and the 2001 UN Firearms Protocol. But it has historically been difficult to make sure that aid programmes actually meet the requirements of the states.

In order to map help given to states in SALW and arms transfer restrictions, SIPRI has maintained the Mapping ATT-relevant Cooperation and Assistance Activities database since 2015. The database was updated in 2021 to give a more current and accurate picture of the help given to nations in sub-Saharan Africa with SALW controls. This SIPRI Topical Backgrounder aims to evaluate how well this assistance is meeting the requirements and priorities of nations in the region in light of this update. In order to achieve this, it contrasts

the information gathered in the SIPRI database on the forms of assistance supplied with the sorts of help that governments have requested via their reports on the implementation of the UNPOA.

Many of the opt-in control and collaboration frameworks that have been formed by various states, international organisations, and nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) provide second-generation approaches to reduce violence in general and limit the demand for SALW. States are also collaborating to implement the PoA in regional organisations (such as the Andean Community, the OSCE, the Southern African Development Community, the Nairobi Protocol, and the Pacific Islands Forum). A majority of the UN General Assembly also decided to start looking into the viability of an enforceable Arms Trade Treaty.

It is heartening to note that voluntary collaboration has been especially effective in fostering a bottom-up strategy for non-proliferation and disarmament, avoiding the lowest common denominator issue that had often surfaced as a worry in multilateral and intergovernmental negotiations. However, there is a chance that non-universal, voluntary initiatives will lead to patchwork solutions as well as normative and practical fragmentation in the global SALW endeavour.

A new strategic approach with more clearly defined goals and increased agreement throughout the multilateral system will be necessary to reduce the misuse of SALW and the illicit flow of weapons to combatants, criminals, and terrorists. Even though SALW proliferation poses one of the greatest security risks in the modern era, standards and frameworks like the Programme of Action and the International Tracing Instrument have been put into practice with varying degrees of effectiveness.

Although there have been coordinated efforts to address the many issues with SALW, patchwork solutions and poor adherence to international norms continue to exist. Effective global action is needed to address the negative effects of SALW, expanding the leadership role of multilateral institutions beyond that of norm-setters to include that of facilitators, matching needs with resources and facilitating the creation of regional agreements. Additionally, there is a critical need to improve communication with outside parties including INTERPOL, arms dealers, brokers, and NGOs. Increased awareness of weapon

users and the circumstances that contribute to their misuse and abuse comes from improved contact with private actors and civil society.

Last but not least, further research and baseline studies that examine the interactions and systemic relations between small arms and various forms of violence are required due to the complex set of connections that small arms have with various forms of violence (conflict, organised crime, terrorism). The development of effective small-arms control systems and policymaking can be made easier by expanding the body of information on these relationships.

<div align="center">Self-Assessment Exercise 2</div>

<div align="center">How have SALWs affected the security of Africa in the post-cold war era?</div>

3.6 Summary

From the above, it can be noted that the proliferation of SALW is a serious issue for developing and new states. Despite international regulations, states still struggle on controlling SALW. To this end, most developing nations have a very strict weapons rule that does not allow civilians to own any firearm. However, the dwindling security architecture of the post-cold war era has given room for discussions centred on allowing citizens to own arms. For instance, the Governor of Zamfara State, which is one of the states plagued with high-security threats in Nigeria, has been pushing for discussions to allow citizens to bear arms to protect themselves. In as much as the intention of these talks is to bring about peace and security, the proliferation of SALWs points out that this would be a problem in the end if such an idea is allowed to thrive.

3.7 Reference and Further Readings

1. Dieng, M. (2019). The Multi-National Joint Task Force and the G5 Sahel Joint force: The limits of military capacity-building efforts. Contemporary Security Policy, 40(4), 481-501.

2. James, F. A. (2020). Small arms and light weapons (SALW) and transnational crime in Africa. Вестник Российского университета дружбы народов. Серия: Международные отношения, 20(1), 158-169.

3. Lung'ung'u, S. (2021). Implications of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) Proliferation on Personal Security in the Horn of Africa Region: a Case Study of Garissa County, Kenya (Doctoral dissertation, UON).

3.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content

1. Students should be able to define or conceptualise SALW, while stating the role it plays in international politics and security. Students should then make a case for the United Nations while citing the relevant policies it has set in place to tackle the phenomenon. It would be beneficial for students, through critical analysis to make a case for or against the United Nations' ability to respond to SALW.

2. Students should be able to critically analyse, while citing examples, the impacts that SALWs have on the security of African nations in the post-cold war ear and how nations are responding to the growing challenges associated with SALWs.

UNIT 4: The link between Arms Race and Wars

Unit Structure

4.1 Introduction

4.2 Learning Outcomes

4.3 Implications of the Dwindling Arms Control

4.5 Arguments on the link between Arms Race and Wars

4.6 Summary

4.7 Reference and Further Readings

4.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content

4.1 Introduction

As discussed in previous units, wars, arms and SALWs are very key phenomenon in the post-cold war era. International political discussions have dwelt on the essence of wars and trying to avoid them. It is for this reason that there are a lot of international organisations existing to counter or deter violence. However, this unit chooses to focus on the link between the arms race and wars. Scholars differ on the likelihood of an arms race leading to war.

4.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Understand the implications of the Dwindling Arms Control

- Understand the debate that exists on the linkages of arms build-up and war.

4.3 Implications of the Dwindling Arms Control

All the changes in the current world order affect the architecture and the prospects of arms control. For instance, the world order which used to be based on liberalism took a huge turn under the rule of Donald Trump in the United States of America. The United States of America is gradually moving into isolationism which decreases transparency which is at the core of liberalism.

Growing integration and interdependency have been the trend for cooperation in international relations. However, this doesn't ultimately guarantee or provide assurance against armed conflicts. Nevertheless, it is the goal of all nations to avoid a nuclear war. The author argues that one of the major reasons why the cold war didn't turn into a nuclear war was because it wasn't a territorial conflict. This means that territorial conflicts are more prone to becoming nuclear wars.

It is unrealistic to abolish wars between nuclear weapons states. However, it is far more feasible to build confidence between these states by promoting Transparency and cooperation. Lack of transparency breed unpredictability which in turn breeds panic and promoted the acquisition of nuclear weapons

Moving forward, there needs to be a new agreement between states as the only strong agreement now is the NPT. He believes that John Gower's Nuclear Strategic Stability (NSS) can be a good start. The NSS requires transparency, national control bodies, disarmament and arms control and so on.

But the reality of this happening is very slim. First, we ask, are states willing to cooperate? Does the new world order encourage arms control? If they are, who will monitor this process? What effect would arms control have on powerful nations? What would be the implication for weaker nations?

4.5 Arguments on the link between Arms Race and Wars

Some authors believe that arms build-up will inevitably lead to war. This is demonstrated by the League of Nations' push for disarmament in the 1920s. However, this failed because of the territorial and political disagreements between Germany and France. Some scholars also believe that the arms race and build-ups played a significant role in the two world wars. A build-up by one state is seen and perceived as a hostile rivalry move and not a defensive move.

The Rivalry Framework suggests that states enter into armed conflict with one another partly because of their shared history of past conflict. So when states see their former enemies acquire weapons, they do the same with mistrust and fear. However, the relationship between the arms race and rivalry is not really clear.

Samuel Huntington proposes that there is a relationship between the length of the arms race and the probability of war. He assumes that if the arms race has been going on for a long, there is a lesser probability of an actual war. Meaning that a relative balance would ensue. He goes further to distinguish between two forms of an arms race. Qualitative (this involves the development of weapons and technological innovations) and Quantitative (this involves the increase in the number of soldiers and weapons at the state's disposal).

Richardson also believed that the increase in the arms race would not cause states to go to war. He argues that the balance that comes with the arms race will ultimately encourage peace between nations. The only exception to this is the Korean War which started because the United States of America had engaged in a unilateral disarmament program.

Wallace and Sample argue that there are other factors such as time and period, territorial disputes, presence of nuclear weapons, power politics and so on; that influence nations to go to war. However, Sample maintains that this is less likely to cause a nuclear war than a Military Interstate Dispute (MIDs).

Gible, Rider, and Hutchison, on the other hand, argue that the arms race does increase the probability of war. But they also maintain that if both nations in question obtain nuclear weapons, it is less likely to develop into a nuclear war but rather a MID. They claim that

nuclear weapons have caused disputes since the NPT was signed, yet all of these disputes have not resulted in a nuclear attack.

Self-Assessments Exercise 1

Why is it hard for the international system to fight the spread of illegal arms in the international system?

4.6 Summary

It is evident that scholars are divided on if states would go to war because of arms race and arms build-up. This unit has been able to highlight the kinetic and non-kinetic understandings of arms race. One key factor that must be emphasised is that wars are not singular. In the sense that arms build-up cannot be the only reason why nations go to war. There must be other deciding factors.

4.7 Reference and Further Readings

1. Long, S. B., & Pickering, J. (2022). Disparity and Diversion: Domestic Economic Inequality and MID Initiation. Foreign Policy Analysis, 18(1), orab032.
2. Kisangani, E. F., & Pickering, J. (2021). African Interventions. Cambridge University Press.
3. Dodge, M. (2021). Arms racing, arms control, and Professor Colin S. Gray's Legacy. Comparative Strategy, 40(2), 138-141.

4.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content

1. Students should be able to highlight the implications of the dwindling arms control architecture in the world while also citing the role and failures of international bodies to successfully manage the spread of arms in the international system.

MODULE 3 - INTERNATIONAL ISSUES IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA

International Politics in recent times have had to deal with many rising challenges. This cuts across different sectors such as economic, political and social issues. In this module, students will be introduced to five (5) concepts that have and continue to remain issues that the international system cannot seem to contend with or have a laconic view on. It is important to note that these five (5) issues are not the only issues faced by the post-cold war era but they remain very paramount and extensive in ways that all states suffer from them.

Unit 1 - Nuclear Proliferation

Unit 2 - Terrorism

Unit 3 - Human Rights Violations

Unit 4 - Climate Change

Unit 5 - Globalisation and Global Health

UNIT 1: Nuclear Proliferation

Unit Structure

1.1 Introduction

As students of international relations, it will not be new to discover that nuclear weapons and materials are highly guided resources in the international system. After the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, it became very clear to world leaders that a nuclear weapon in the hand of the wrong person can mean an international disaster that will have severe and diverse impacts. In this unit, students will be exposed to what nuclear proliferation is, how the international system attempts to stop the spread of nuclear weapons, the challenges faced and the theoretical understanding of why nations seek to acquire nuclear weapons and materials.

1.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Understand what nuclear proliferation is.

- Provide theoretical reasons why states choose to own nuclear weapons.

- State the measure employed by states to deal with the spread of nuclear weapons.

- Examine the challenge faced by the international system in dealing with nuclear weapons.

1.3 Nuclear Proliferation

The term "nuclear proliferation" refers to the transfer of nuclear technology and information, as well as nuclear weapons, to countries that are not designated as "Nuclear Weapon States" under the Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, often known as the NPT. The NPT has drawn criticism for being discriminatory in that it only recognises as nuclear weapon states those nations that conducted nuclear tests prior to 1968 and requires all other states that sign the pact to abstain from developing nuclear weapons. India, Pakistan, North Korea, Iran, and Israel are the other five nations—outside of the five states with nuclear weapons—that has nuclear weapons or are thought to have nuclear weapons. None of these five are NPT members, despite the fact that North Korea joined in 1985, withdrew in 2003, and carried out public nuclear tests in 2006, 2009, 2013, 2016, and 2017.

Nuclear proliferation is the transfer of fissile material, nuclear weapons technology, or nuclear weapons to nations that do not already have them. The phrase is also used to describe the prospect of terrorist organisations or other armed groups acquiring nuclear weapons. The possibility of a Nazi Germany with nuclear weapons prompted the United States to step up its efforts to develop a nuclear weapons during World War II.

The first atomic weapon was created by the American programme known as the Manhattan Project in July 1945. A nuclear bomb built of uranium was dropped on Hiroshima, Japan, only three weeks after the first atomic bomb was tested in the American state of New Mexico; a second bomb built of plutonium was dropped on Nagasaki three days later. Until the Soviet Union detonated its first atomic bomb, code-

named First Lightning, in a remote region of Kazakhstan in 1949, the United States was the only nuclear power.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower of the United States began his Atoms for Peace initiative in 1953 in response to the growing threat of nuclear proliferation. This programme finally delivered non-military nuclear technology to nations who gave up nuclear weapons. The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), a United Nations institution supporting the safe and peaceful use of nuclear technology, was founded in 1957 as a result of the Atoms for Peace programme.

The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), also known as the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, was signed in 1968 by the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, France, and China in response to the growing danger of nuclear war. The treaty requires nuclear-armed governments to disarm their own weapons systems and to make non-military nuclear technologies available to other nations. States without nuclear weapons agreed to comply with IAEA rules and promise not to transfer or acquire military nuclear technology in exchange.

1.4 Treaties on Nuclear Proliferation

Since the creation of the United Nations in 1945, there have been various attempts by the UN to stop the spread of nuclear weapons. These treaties are:

- 1959 Antarctic Treaty
- 1963 Hot Line Agreement
- 1963 Limited Test Ban Treaty
- 1967 Outer Space Treaty
- 1967 Latin America Nuclear Free Zone Treaty
- 1968 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
- 1971 Seabed Treaty
- 1972 Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty I (Interim Agreement)
- 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty
- 1974 Threshold Test Ban Treaty

- 1974 Vladivostok Agreement
- 1976 Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty
- 1977 Environmental Modification Convention
- 1979 Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty II
- 1985 South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty
- 1987 Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty - INF
- 1988 Ballistic Missile Launch Notification Agreement
- 1991 Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty
- 1993 Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty II
- 1996 Treaty of Pelindaba
- 1996 Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
- 2002 Strategic Offensive Reductions Treaty
- 2005 International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism
- 2010 New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (New START)
- Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons.

However, the most effective and popular one is the Nuclear Non-Proliferation treaty of 1968. The NPT is an important international treaty whose goals are to promote cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and weapons technology, and advance the pursuit of general and complete disarmament. The Treaty is the only multilateral agreement that makes a legally binding commitment to the nuclear-weapon states' disarmament as a goal. The Treaty was made available for signing in 1968, and it became operative in 1970. The Treaty has 187 parties in all, including the five nuclear-armed States. The NPT has been ratified by more nations than any other arms control and disarmament agreement, which is evidence of the Treaty's importance.

The Treaty established a safeguards system under the control of the International Atomic Energy Agency in order to advance the goal of non-proliferation and as a confidence-boosting measure between States parties (IAEA). The IAEA conducts inspections to see whether the Treaty is being complied with using safeguards. While safeguards prevent the diversion of fissile material for use in weapons, the Treaty fosters cooperation in the

field of peaceful nuclear technology and equal access to this technology for all States parties. The 1995 NPT Review and Extension Conference confirmed the terms of the Treaty, particularly article VIII, paragraph 3, which calls for a review of the Treaty's operation every five years.

From 24 April to 19 May 2000, the Parties to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) convened at the United Nations in New York for its 2000 Review Conference. Following the Treaty's indefinite extension at the 1995 Conference, the Conference convened for the first time. States parties assessed how the Treaty's provisions had been put into practise since 1995, taking into account choices made regarding the fundamentals and goals of nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament as well as the bolstering of the Treaty's review process.

The objectives of the NPT were thus twofold: to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons without impeding the development of peaceful uses of nuclear technology and to promote global disarmament.

The two objectives proved difficult to achieve, however, because non-military nuclear technology could sometimes be redirected to military use and because the possession of nuclear weapons provided a powerful deterrent against attack, which the nuclear-armed states were reluctant to give up.

The acquisition of nuclear weapons by developing countries such as India (1974), Pakistan (1998), and North Korea (2006) raised new challenges. While developing countries can acquire nuclear weapons, they lack an elaborate system of command and control that limited the risk of nuclear accidents and conflict escalation in countries like the United States and the Soviet Union. Similar concerns were raised following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 when some former Soviet republics inherited a portion of the Soviet nuclear arsenal.

1.5 Theoretical debates on Nuclear Proliferation

There are three major theoretical debates on why states choose to possess nuclear weapons, despite all the regulations that exist. The ideas that we will be looking at

provide an explanation for why some regimes seek nuclear proliferation while others do not. The notion that nuclear proliferation inevitably raises the danger of nuclear conflict has been disputed by several theories of international relations. For instance, according to American researcher Kenneth Waltz, the proliferation of nuclear weapons can actually promote stability and peace since it will dissuade nuclear countries from attacking one another.

However, other academics contend that nuclear proliferation inherently raises the possibility of a catastrophic nuclear explosion, whether it is intentional or not. These theories are; the State Survival theory, Nuclear Prestige Theory and Great Power Theory.

State Survival

The Cold War began when the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) expanded its nuclear programme to acquire nuclear weapons in order to ensure its survival after World War Two. A compelling argument for understanding a state's desire for nuclear weapons is the idea of "survival" in an anarchic society.

Due to their belief that the world is anarchic, realists typically hold that states must contend for their own survival. According to Carranza (2006, 502), employing nuclear weapons to defend a state can be advantageous since other states are less inclined to act aggressively toward a state that possesses nuclear weapons. India began advancing nuclear development following China's initial nuclear tests in 1964, with their programme beginning in 1967 and their first test occurring in 1974. (Perkovich 1999, 15). There are numerous justifications for India's desire for nuclear weapons, most of which centre on the idea of state survival.

Nuclear Prestige

Many authoritarian regimes, it has been said, covet nuclear weapons to boost their national status and position themselves as major players on the world stage. For instance, some people think that North Korea is testing and proliferating nuclear weapons in order to boost its reputation both domestically and internationally. Kim contends that Kim Jong-un uses the domestic issue in North Korea's case to demonstrate his leadership to

the country's military and populace. It is possible to understand how the survival of his government includes increasing national esteem through persistence.

The national prestige theory, however, is not widely accepted as an explanation for North Korea's desire to develop nuclear weapons. Faulkner (2010), for instance, makes the case that North Korea's nuclear development is driven by their Military First Policy and rewarding obedient military officials with the funds and resources required to produce nuclear weapons. This would suggest that Kim Jong-Il/Kim Jong-un wanted nuclear weapons in order to protect his position of power by appeasing the military establishment. It might be claimed that the national reputation for North Korea may be an internal prestige centred on maintaining the regime in power.

Great Power

According to Gowing (1974), the 'great power' status thesis motivated the UK and France to start their separate nuclear projects. According to Gowing (1974), the phenomenon of former great powers seeking to reclaim or keep at least a small portion of their former or present authority is what is meant by the term "great power" status. Both France and the UK's former status as "great powers" came to an end as a result of the two world wars, and it is suggested that each saw nuclear weapons to be a necessary component of present-day and emerging great powers.

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

Why do nations own nuclear weapons?

1.6 Challenges of Nuclear Proliferation

Although it has been limited, past efforts to achieve nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament have met with some success. South Africa now has no nuclear weapons. Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine all agreed to give up their nuclear weapons programmes.

The threat from Soviet and Soviet-backed states was South Africa's justification for possessing nuclear weapons. They disarmed when this threat subsided, such as in the late

1980s and early 1990s when the Cuban military in Angola ceased to pose a threat (Pabian 1995).

This demonstrates that South Africa's ambition to acquire nuclear weapons was motivated by its need to survive, with disarmament taking place once their survival was no longer threatened.

Numerous obstacles stand in the way of the Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. The Treaty has long been in serious jeopardy, largely because of the on-going conflict between nuclear weapon nations and non-nuclear weapon states. Disarmament and non-proliferation are the NPT's two biggest obstacles. Although the number of nuclear weapons has drastically decreased since the peak of the Cold War in the middle of the 1980s, many non-nuclear weapon states contend that disarmament is not progressing quickly enough. Efforts to prevent nuclear proliferation will likely be significantly impacted by this tension.

Other difficulties for the NPT might be seen as a result of the Treaty's antiquity and the vagueness of certain of its articles. The NPT's creators were unable to foresee current world trends and, as a result, were unable to write a Treaty that could change with the times. The Treaty's current interpretations have made the NPT's implementation extremely difficult.

Many Third World nations now view the NPT as "a conspiracy of the nuclear 'haves' to keep the nuclear 'have-nots' in their place," as many have over the years.

As stated in Article VI of the NPT, some contend that the NWS has not completely fulfilled their disarmament commitments. Iran and many Arab states have attacked Israel for not signing the NPT, while some nations, like India, have denounced the NPT because it discriminated against states not possessing nuclear weapons on January 1, 1967.

Critics assert that the governments that have nuclear weapons but aren't allowed to under the NPT haven't paid a major price for their pursuit of weaponry.

The NPT, according to its detractors, is powerless to halt the spread of nuclear weapons or the desire to obtain them. They express dissatisfaction with the slow pace of nuclear disarmament, noting that the five states that are authorised to possess nuclear weapons still possess a total of 22,000 warheads.

Self-Assessments Exercise 2

What are the challenges posed by Nuclear Weapons?

1.7 Summary

In summary, it can be understood that controlling nuclear weapons only seems to be one-sided as the five (5) states who have been granted the ability to possess nuclear weapons have failed to keep up to the international standard. This has led to a lot of international debates on whether it is time to let all nations possess nuclear power if they meet some necessary criteria. Although this seems like the most logical and just thing to do, there are dangers in the proliferation of nuclear weapons now that the post-cold war era is witnessing the rise of terrorism, fundamentalism, nationalism, populism and insurgency.

1.8 Reference and Further Readings

1. Way, C., & Weeks, J. (2015). Making it personal: regime type and nuclear proliferation. In Non-proliferation Policy and Nuclear Posture (pp. 165-188). Routledge.
2. Bas, M. A., & Coe, A. J. (2016). A dynamic theory of nuclear proliferation and preventive war. International Organization, 70(4), 655-685.
3. Sagan, S. D. (2022). 5. Nuclear Latency and Nuclear Proliferation. In Forecasting Nuclear Proliferation in the 21st Century (pp. 80-101). Stanford University Press.
4. Lanoszka, A. (2018). Alliances and nuclear proliferation in the Trump era. The Washington Quarterly, 41(4), 85-101.

1.9 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content

1. Students should be able to give a brief background of nuclear proliferation. To answer the question, students can either use the reason states as to why nations own nuclear weapons or choose to make their arguments using the theoretical perspective.

2. Students are advised to use examples such as North Korea to answer this question. Students should be able to make a case for the tensions the possession of nuclear weapons by a non-nuclear state can cause to the peace and stability of the post-cold war era.

UNIT 2: Terrorism

Unit Structure

2.1 Introduction

Human security is at the core of international relations. Terrorism is one of the most serious threats to human survival in the post-cold war era. This is not to say that terrorism only started after the cold war, however, the wave of terrorism began to change towards the end of the cold war when the United States of America utilised a small group in Afghanistan to oust the communist regime and in turn birthed what we know today as the

Taliban. This unit will further discuss the definitions of terrorism, the major thematic causes of terrorism, the waves of terrorism over time, its transnational nature, the war on terror and the counter-terrorism approaches used by nations in international politics.

2.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Understand the meaning of terrorism.

- Know the causal factors associated with terrorism.

- Examine the extent to which terrorism can affect the international system.

- Explore different counter-terrorism approaches used by various nations.

2.3 Terrorism (Definition and Epistemology)

The modern definition of terrorism is inherently debatable since it requires agreement on a foundation for when the use of violence (directed against whom, by whom, for what objectives) is acceptable. State and non-state organisations frequently utilise violence to further their political objectives. The majority of definitions currently in use were created by organisations with a direct connection to the government and are purposefully slanted to remove governments from the definition.

The term "terrorist" today is quite derogatory; it implies a lack of morals and legality. Practically speaking, so-called acts of "terrorism" or terrorism are frequently used as a tool by the perpetrators to further their own military or geopolitical objectives.

Terrorism is defined as "crimes intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons, or particular persons for political purposes, regardless of the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious, or any other nature that may be invoked to justify them," as stated in UN General Assembly Resolution 49/60 (adopted on December 9, 1994).

The Council of Arab Ministers of Interior and the Council of Arab Ministers of Justice adopted the Arab Convention for the Suppression of Terrorism in Cairo, Egypt in 1998. The convention defined terrorism as "any act or threat of violence, whatever its motives or purposes, that occurs in furtherance of an individual or collective criminal agenda and seeks to incite fear among people by endangering them, placing their lives, liberty, or security in danger, or seeking to cause damage to the environment or to public or private installations or property, or seeking to occupy or seize them, or seeking to jeopardise national security."

In accordance with UN Security Council Resolution 1566 (2004), terrorism is defined as "crimes, including against civilians, committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily harm, or taking hostages, with the purpose of inciting a state of terror in the general public or in a specific group of people, intimidating a population, or compelling a government or an international organisation to do or to refrain from doing any act."

According to the US Patriot Act of 2001, terrorist actions include attempting to hijack aeroplanes, boats, buses, or other vehicles or threatening to do so. It states that:

> any crime committed with the use of any weapon or dangerous device, when the intent of the crime is determined to be the endangerment of public safety or substantial property damage rather than for "mere personal monetary gain," or threatening, planning, or attempting to commit acts of violence against any protected persons, such as government officials.

The term "state terrorism" refers to acts of terrorism committed by governments, as well as acts of terrorism that are perpetrated directly by, or supported and encouraged by, an established government of a state (country), as well as acts of terrorism committed by a government against its own citizens or in support of international terrorism.

After the French Revolution, modern terrorism first appeared in the late 18th century. The word "terror" was first used in France in 1795 to describe a methodical strategy employed to defend the fledgling French Republic against revolutionaries. It was used to define the unlawful use of politically motivated violence by non-state actors, who in a state-centric era were by definition solely motivated by unlawful goals. Thus, terrorism

and terrorist operations can be traced back to the first century B.C., even if the name only became popular after the French Revolution.

2.4 Causes of Terrorism

Based on the different schools of thought there are different causes of terrorism. However, these causes can be tagged majorly under three perspectives: Psychological, Ideological and Strategic.

Psychological Perspective

Terrorists may act out of pure personal motivations, depending on their psychological states of mind. They might only be driven by hatred or a thirst for power. Auguste Vaillant, for instance, bombed the French Chamber of Deputies in 1893. Vaillant's explanation of his motivation, given prior to his trial and execution, focused on his hatred of the middle class. Vaillant wished to contaminate the feeling of social and economic achievement with his cruelty. In many ways, this terrorist is more concerned in drawing attention to himself or herself than with achieving some lofty ideological or strategic objective.

Ideological Perspective

The views, values, and/or principles that a group uses to define its specific aims and objectives are referred to as its ideology. Religion or political views and plans can be considered ideologies. The Irish Republican Army (IRA), the Liberation Tigers of Tamal Eelam (LTTE), in Sri Lanka, and the Bader Meinhoff in Germany are a few examples of terrorist organisations driven by ideology. A political agenda to drive out the United Kingdom from Ireland and unify Ireland under one banner drives the IRA. Similar to this, the LTTE wants to create a Tamal state in Sri Lanka for their own people. The Bader Meinhoff, a terrorist organisation composed of middle-class individuals, fought capitalism and aimed to demolish the capitalist system in Germany.

Strategic Perspective

Sometimes people think of terrorism as the logical result of politics gone wrong. When individuals try to get their complaints addressed by the government but are unsuccessful, they may turn to violence. According to this perspective, terrorism is the outcome of a logical study of a group's goals and objectives and their assessment of the possibility that they would succeed. One might determine that terrorism is a better alternative if success through more conventional tactics of opposition appears implausible. For instance, the African National Congress in South Africa didn't start using terrorism until all political options had been tried and failed. Of course, people aren't the only ones who could feel disappointed by the political system.

Terrorists may be used by states to further their own strategic objectives. When the goals of the state and the terrorist group are the same, states may sponsor terrorist organisations. For instance, in 1988, Libya allegedly recruited terrorists to blow up a bomb on Pan Am 103 while it was heading from London to New York in retaliation for the American and British bombing of Libya.

2.5 Waves of Terrorism

In 2001, David Rapoport, while studying violence across the world came up with a dichotomy that proves that just like wars, the understanding of terrorism has shifted over time. This means that some groups who were considered terrorist organisations in the past, will not be regarded as terrorist organisations in today's world. Rapoport explained that terrorism has had four (4) different waves that have existed over time. Each, with its own goals and objectives.

The Anarchist Wave

The anarchist movement in Russia during the Czarist Monarchy's rule in the late 19th century can be linked to Rapoport's first wave of contemporary terrorism. Later, the anarchist philosophy made its way into the Balkan states and other regions of Europe. The early anarchist wave, which spanned the 1880s and 1890s, is referred to as the "Golden Age of Assassination" because of the high frequency of assassinations

committed against politicians, government officials, and other powerful people as a form of protest. The most catastrophic incident in US history occurred during this time period when US President William Mckinley was assassinated by Leon Czolgosz, an unrepentant supporter of the anarchist movement.

According to Rapoport, the anarchist ideology was based on four key tenets:

- Large pools of latent ambivalence and antagonism exist in contemporary society.
- Society muffles and diffuses them by creating moral rules that cause shame, offer avenues for resolving some grievances, and guarantee access to personal comforts.
- Conventions, however, may be traced back in time, thus actions we now view as unethical will be praised by future generations as valiant attempts to liberate humanity. The easiest and most efficient way to end conventions is through terror.

The assassinations of key government officials, which the anarchists masterminded, have been remembered as significant events in history. For instance, the Black Hand, a Serbian anarchist organisation, killed the Austro-Hungarian Archduke Franz Ferdinand in 1914. The objective was to free Serbian territory from Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian rule. The Black Handmade unsuccessful attempts to kill Oskar Potiorek, the military governor of Herzegovina, and Franz Joseph I of Austria in 1911.

The Anti-Colonial Wave

With the start of the First World War, the anarchist surge subsided. New states started to emerge soon after the war, which was put an end to by the 1919 Versailles Peace Treaty. The Austro-Hungarian empires of the victorious European state were divided under the concept of self-determination, and new independent territories were founded (Rapoport 2004: 53). Where independence was not deemed immediately practicable, such areas were viewed as "mandates" that would eventually gain independence and would be directly controlled by the winning nations until those areas were deemed capable of self-government (Walls, 2017). They had the effect of preserving colonial control even though they were not intended to become permanent colonies (Kaplan 2016).

Terrorism was practised during the Anti-Colonial Wave in areas where the local population had different views on who should lead them. Because independence was the more desirable alternative, the European countries found it extraordinarily difficult to withdraw from some colonial territories. The colonisers in some cases thought they could not give up power without seriously disrupting the territory. Some instances of these fears include the conflicting expectations of the outcome of British control between the Jews and Arabs in Palestine.

The anti-colonial causes were legitimate to a far larger number of parties than the causes stated in the first wave, which led to a definitional issue. Due to the term "terrorist" being open to both maximalist and minimalist meanings, one person's terrorist was seen as another person's freedom warrior. All attempts to define terrorism were unsuccessful even when the issue of self-determination first came up before the United Nations. This has a plausible explanation. In order to obtain their independence from the colonial powers, the majority of people had to use violence; therefore self-determination could not be guaranteed on a platter of gold. When the Second World War ended, this wave achieved a great deal of success.

The New Left Wave

Because of the mass media, other information-dissemination channels, and technological advancement in this era, the ideology of the New Left was able to disseminate quickly to specific locations. It's also vital to remember that nationalism and radicalism were mixed throughout the New Left movement. For instance, radicalism and acts of nationalism were displayed by the Basque Nation and Liberty, the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia, the Corsican National Liberation Front, and the IRA (Rapoport, 2001, p.57).

The New Left frequently used kidnapping and hijacking of aircraft, particularly in Italy, Spain, and the countries of Latin America (Kaplan, 2016, p.7). Some New Left groups attacked their targets within their own nations; they were typically targeted with global significance and ties to the US. Other organisations employed various nationals to launch and organise assaults abroad. The 1972 Munich Olympic Games 11 assaults and the 1975

Vienna kidnapping of OPEC ministers amply prove the aforementioned concept. The Sadinistas held Nicaragua's congress captive in 1978, sparking an uprising that led to Samoza's regime being overthrown a year later (Rapoport, 2001, p.57).

Some individuals kidnapped and killed notable government officials. This was a first-wave approach that was carried over into the third wave. The most memorable instance of the third wave of assassinations was the Red Brigades' 1979 kidnapping of Italian Prime Minister Aldo Moro, who was eventually murdered because the Italian Government refused to compromise and accept their demands. King Hussein I of Jordan, Margaret Thatcher, and the British ambassador to Ireland were all equally targeted (Walls 2017, p.33).

When the Cold War tensions subsided in the 1980s, the third wave also significantly dissipated. Numerous nations around the world saw the downfall of terrorist organisations. As an illustration, the 1982 U.S. invasion of Lebanon. For example, as international counterterrorism became more integrated and states' reluctance to cooperate with terrorists grew, Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982 resulted in the PLO's demise.

Religious Wave

Violence committed in the name of religion is nothing new (Martinez, 2016). The widespread phenomenon of terrorism motivated by religion nowadays demonstrates the strong influence of religion on the human mind. The integration of terrorist ideology with religious beliefs has become crucial in explaining the motives of the new groups. This time period has been loosely referred to as the "Jihad age," indicating the tendency of terrorist groups to connect with Islam. Jihad has been translated into Islam in a variety of ways, but ultimately it refers to a conflict between right and bad. There are two types of jihad: the internal fight known as the larger jihad and the obligation Muslims have to uphold their faith whenever it is attacked (Martinez, 2016). The fourth wave of terrorists justifies their terroristic crimes by claiming to be practising smaller jihad.

Al Qaeda was founded during the religious wave, and more recently, the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS), Boko Haram in Nigeria, al-Shabaab in Kenya, and Somalia, to name a few, have all seen significant growth. Consequently, one conclusion that can be

formed from the aforementioned is that religiously driven violence and fundamentalism have assumed a central role in world events and may do so for some time to come.

Other lethal terrorist organisations with radical ideologies proliferated at the same time period.

Terrorist actions engulfed human communities around the world as the wave began to emerge in the 1980s and early 1990s. The Hebron Mosque massacre of 1994, in which a Jewish settler killed at least 29 Palestinians inside the Muslim mosque built on top of the Cave of the Patriarchs, the Tamil Tiger attack of 1983, the assassination of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzak Rabin in 1995 for attempting to broker peace with the Palestinians, and the Japanese Buddhist group Aum Shinrikyo's release of nerve gas in a crowded Tokyo subway station in March 1995 all come to mind. The Lord Resistance Army in Uganda, Al Shabaab in Kenya and Somalia, and Boko Haram in Nigeria are just a handful of the deadly terrorist organisations that emerged in Africa during this time.

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

Is terrorism a serious threat to global security?

2.6 Transnational Terrorism

As a result, the cause, mode of operation, and outcome of modern terrorism are all global. Its fundamental characteristics ensure its significance in international relations since it raises a brand-new security issue for nations: the threat of attack now comes from mobile criminal gangs spread internationally rather than only by other states (as in war) (transnational terrorism). States believe that the ability, legitimacy, and autonomy within a given jurisdiction are all under threat from this new wave of terrorism.

As a result of terrorism functioning on a global scale, authorities are now faced with a multitude of interconnected decision points regarding when and how to interfere. Where to intervene is the initial set of choices. In an effort to stop new terrorist organisations from sprouting up or to reduce the effectiveness of terrorist organisations that already exist in "frontline" states, certain Western states have been tempted to act on a global

scale. Such intervention takes the shape of foreign assistance, military guidance and training, and monetary and armed assistance to governments.

What then qualifies as a multinational terrorist organisation? Any terrorist group that bases its activities for recruitment, training, and finance rising in one state in order to carry out attacks in another is considered a transnational terrorist organisation. The terrorist organization's operations are considered transnational because the organization's formation, recruiting, training, planning, and attack all take place across international borders.

While there may be active cells inside transnational terrorist organisations, they frequently operate primarily in one or two states out of a possible number of states in order to develop the ability to carry out attacks in another state. These organisational hubs are known as "bases of operations."

The majority of the times, people talk about terrorists as if they were one homogeneous group, but the truth is much more nuanced. Since al-Qaeda carried out the 9/11 attacks, there have been an increasing number of terrorist groups, including Boko Haram in Nigeria, al-Shabab in Somalia, al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, and the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). Although these groups may use similar rhetoric and symbols, each has its own history, operating system, and ultimate goal. Islamist terrorism is diverse, which serves as a reminder that no single strategy will work to defeat it; instead, we must develop tactics that are specific to the environments in which different terrorist organisations operate. There have never been so many foreign fighters going to Syria and Iraq. More foreign fighters than ever before have joined ISIS or other extremist organisations, exceeding the number that went to Afghanistan in the 1980s to fight the Soviet Union.

2.7 War on Terror

Political theorist Richard Jackson contends that the "war on terrorism" is simultaneously a set of actual practises - wars, covert operations, agencies, and institutions - and an accompanying series of assumptions, beliefs, justifications, and narratives - it is an entire

language or discourse - because the actions involved are nebulous and the criteria for inclusion are unclear (Jackson, 2005: 8).

The word has been criticised for being used to legitimise unilateral preventative war, violations of human rights, and other transgressions of international law (Borhan and Muhammad, 2008: 379–397).

To overthrow the Taliban government, US forces invaded Afghanistan in October 2001 together with allies from the UK and the coalition. The official invasion started on October 7, 2001, when US and British forces launched airstrike operations over hostile sites. By the middle of November, Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan, had fallen. The last of the Taliban and al-Qaeda's withdrew to eastern Afghanistan's rocky highlands, primarily Tora Bora.

Following 9/11, the Bush Administration boosted domestic measures to stop further attacks in addition to military efforts abroad. The military and security bureaucracies inside the government were reorganised.

The USA PATRIOT Act of October 2001 significantly eases restrictions on law enforcement agencies ability to search the phone, email, medical, financial, and other records; it also loosens restrictions on foreign intelligence gathering inside the United States; it increases the Secretary of the Treasury's authority to regulate financial transactions, particularly those involving foreign people and entities; and it broadens the discretion of law enforcement and immigration officials.

The act also increased the number of acts to which the USA PATRIOT Act's additional law enforcement capabilities may be employed by extending the definition of terrorism to include domestic terrorism.

2.8 Counter-Terrorism Approaches

It is important to note at this juncture that there is no singular approach to countering terrorism. Most countries have used all measures at different points and a mixture of many approaches to counter-terrorism. There are four (4) major counter-terrorism approaches; these are; Coercive, Proactive, Persuasive, and Defensive.

Coercive Counter-Terrorism Approach

Coercive counterterrorism relies on the government's exclusive right to use force, or "hard power." There are strict restrictions on who may be the target of governmental violence. The legitimacy granted to the state by the rule of law, whether national or international, is based on these limitations.

When state agents acting in the name of counterterrorism repeatedly break the law or the laws of war with impunity, using their coercive powers in ways that produce a reign of terror that is approved by the state, then they have transformed into state terrorists and are acting in a manner that is similar to the terrorists they are battling. Two models fall under this method, and they are as follows:

- The Model of Criminal Justice (Terrorism is treated like any other crime).
- Conflict Model (Terrorism is treated as an act of war between the legitimate state and terrorist group, which in this case is considered as a state)

Proactive Counter-Terrorism Approach

Preventing terrorism before it occurs is the goal of proactive counterterrorism. The goals of domestic police, security intelligence organisations, and border and customs authorities have all converged on the challenge of tracing the flow of people, products, and money as a result of the fusion of internal and exterior security. Agents of all kinds have focused more and more on preventing terrorists from acting and foiling terrorist schemes before they go too far by using intrusive measures including surveillance, wiretapping, eavesdropping, and other forms of spy craft.

- The Intelligence Model is the main model used in this strategy. Any counterterrorism operation must include the intelligence function as a key component. It takes on a prominent role in a proactive strategy. Information is obtained for intelligence purposes rather than for evidential ones in proactive police and security intelligence.

Persuasive Counter-Terrorism Approach

Understanding and combating the ideologies that support the use of terrorism in social and political life are essential components of counterterrorism. This has elements of ideology, politics, society, culture, and religion. Followers, sympathisers, potential recruiters, active or passive supporters, and state sponsors are some examples of the constituencies that terrorists have. In addition to non-state actors within civil society and the private sector, such as victims' groups, citizens, mass audiences, and the media, both domestic and international, counter terrorists also have constituencies that include employers and employees within industries, private companies, and corporations. These constituencies include state actors within government ministries, agencies, and bureaucracies, including those of allies. These broader audiences must be considered in counterterrorism.

- The Communication Model is the only model used in this strategy. Persuasive counterterrorism might attempt to advance desired perceptions within specific terrorist organisation members, their sympathisers, and their outside backers, such as the idea that using terrorism is counterproductive and that alternative methods are more effective for achieving their objectives.

Defensive Counter-Terrorism Approach

Defensive counterterrorism anticipates the likelihood of a terrorist attack and gets ready for it by modifying the factors that decide the assault's characteristics and who the target will be. There are two fundamental strategies: minimising attacks and preventing attacks. The goal of prevention is to reduce the possibility of a terrorist attack in certain locations and at specific times. The second strategy is to lessen the effects of strikes that are successful.

This strategy uses two models:

- Target hardening, critical infrastructure protection (CIP), and monitoring and controlling the movement of people, money, products, and services the three main methods of prevention (before an attack).
- Response to an attack: mitigation using natural disaster, public health, and psychosocial models.

Which of these counter-terrorism approaches is the most effective and why?

2.9 Summary

In summary, this unit has highlighted the origin of terrorism and its meaning. The unit also clearly outlined that in many cases a state can be a terrorist state in nature. The definition of terrorism differs from country to country. It is for this reason that some countries recognise the Taliban as a terrorist group and others do not. The wave of terrorism as outlined by David Rapoport also ignites some form of debate as to the nature of terrorism. Some scholars hold the view that since most terrorists from the Anti-Colonial wave are not regarded as terrorists in the post-cold war era, does this imply that someday religious terrorists would be regarded as freedom fighters as well? Food for thought.

This is not to undermine the impact terrorism has on the international system and the level of causalities and displacement it has caused especially in developing states.

2.10 Reference and Further Readings

1. Hoffman, B.(2006), Inside Terrorism. New York: Columbia University Press 40
2. Rapoport, D. (2001), 'The Fourth Wave: September 11 and the History of Terrorism'Current History 100 (650)419-24
3. Rapoport, D. (2013), "The Four Waves of Modern Terror: International Dimensions and Consequences, "inHanhimaki J.M. and Bernhard Blumenau (ed), An International History of Terrorism: Western and Non-Western Experiences. New York: Routledge, 300.

2.11 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content

1. Students should be able to define terrorism and its tenants before asking a case if terrorism is a serious threat to global security. If a student is arguing that terrorism is not a serious threat to global security, the student must be able to give factual reasons for other issues that is more of a threat than terrorism. If the student is arguing that

terrorism is indeed a serious threat to global security, the student must make a case highlighting the dangers and humanitarian crisis that has ensued as a result of terrorism.

2. Students should be able to pick one approach they believe would be more effective in fight terrorism and why. The students are also allowed to pick a country case study to drive home their points.

UNIT 3: Human Rights Violations

Unit Structure

3.1 Introduction

3.2 Learning Outcome

3.3 Definitions of Human Rights

3.4 Origins of Human Rights

3.5 Human Rights Violations

3.6 Agencies Responsible for Safeguarding Human Rights

3.7 Summary

3.8 Reference and Further Readings

3.9 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content

3.1 Introduction

Globally, there have been rising threats against human rights in the international system. Human rights are essential to maintaining peace and security in the international system, therefore it is a core issue that must be studied across all levels. In this unit, students will be exposed to the meaning of human rights, what human rights violations are and the agencies responsible for human rights and the challenges they face in today's climate.

3.2 Learning Outcome

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

● Define Human Rights.

● Know notable organisations that promote human rights.

● Analyse the challenges faced by states in dealing with Human Rights.

3.3 Definitions of Human Rights

Cranston (2018) claims that human rights are standards that aim to shield all people from serious political, judicial, and social violations. Human rights include things like the freedom to practise one's religion, the opportunity for a fair trial if accused of a crime, the prohibition against torture, and the right to education.

The majority of human rights, if not all of them, are claim rights that impose obligations or liabilities on their addressees or responsibility bearers. The focus of rights is on the freedom, security, standing, or advantage of the right holders (Beitz 2009). Human rights obligations frequently call for activities that involve respect, protection, facilitation, and provision.

According to the United Nations, Human rights are moral principles or norms that describe certain standards of human behaviour and are regularly protected in municipal and International Law. They are commonly understood as inalienable, fundamental rights "to which a person is inherently entitled simply because she or he is a human being" and which are "inherent in all human beings" regardless of their age, ethnic origin, location, language, religion, ethnicity, or any other status.

According to the Equality and Human Rights Commission (2019), Human rights are the basic rights and freedoms that belong to every person in the world, from birth until death. They apply regardless of where you are from, what you believe or how you choose to live your life.

They can never be taken away, although they can sometimes be restricted – for example, if a person breaks the law, or in the interests of national security. These basic rights are based on shared values like dignity, fairness, equality, respect and independence. These values are defined and protected by law.

According to legal scholar Michael Perry, there are some acts that should never be done to individuals and other things that should be done, that capture the core of human rights (Perry 1998). These "things" are human rights, and the easiest way to understand them is

to refer to a variety of international human rights documents, including what is sometimes referred to as the "International Bill of Human Rights."

The existence, nature, universality, justification, and legal standing of human rights are all addressed in the philosophy of human rights. Strong assertions that human rights are universal, inalienable, or exist as moral standards that are justified even in the absence of legal protection have frequently sparked scepticism and philosophical defences (on these critiques see Lacrois and Pranchere 2016, Mutua 2008, and Waldron 1988).

3.4 Origins of Human Rights

The notable origin of human rights began in 539 BC., when Cyrus the Great's armies seized control of Babylon. Cyrus introduced racial equality, emancipated the slaves, and said everyone had the right to practise any religion they pleased. The Cyrus Cylinder, made of baked clay and containing these and other concepts, served as the model for the first four articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The Magna Carta, which was enacted in 1215, is another important turning point in the history of human rights. It created the concept of "Rule of Law" and the fundamental notion that everyone has certain rights and liberties that protect them against unjust arrest and imprisonment. Before the Magna Carta, the rule of law was viewed as a divine justice that could only be administered by the monarch or king, in this case, King John of England. Today, it is recognised as a fundamental principle for successful administration in every modern democratic society.

The English Bill of Rights is a development of the ideas outlined in the Magna Carta. Following the overthrow of King James II, William III and Mary II took over as co-rulers of England. The statute detailed particular constitutional and civil rights and ultimately granted Parliament control over the monarchy. Many analysts believe that the English Bill of Rights was the key piece of legislation that created England's constitutional monarchy. It is also acknowledged for inspiring the United States Bill of Rights (1791).

One of the fundamental charters of human liberty and the source of the ideas that propelled the French Revolution is the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, which was approved by France's National Assembly in 1789.

All "men are born and remain free and equal in rights," which were defined as the rights to liberty, private property, the inviolability of the person, and resistance to oppression, was the fundamental principle presented by the Declaration. No one was to be detained without a court order since everyone was to be treated equally before the law and to have the freedom to directly or indirectly participate in the legislative process. Within the confines of public "order" and "law," freedom of religion and freedom of expression were protected. Private property was given the status of an unalienable right that the state could only violate with the provision of an indemnity and the opening of all positions to all citizens.

The idea of civil and political rights—which was mostly founded on political concerns—was established during this historical era These rights, also referred to as first-generation rights, acknowledge that there are some things that the all-powerful rulers ought to be unable to accomplish and that people ought to have some say in the decisions that affect them. The two main concepts were the protection of individuals from State violations and personal liberty. They act counterproductively to shield the person from State excesses.

Although there have been significant advancements since Cyrus' time, many of these ideas still excluded women, people of colour, and members of specific social, religious, economic, and political groups when they were first implemented as laws. The efforts made in the 19th and early 20th centuries to outlaw slavery and reduce the atrocities of war serve as prime examples of how to deal with this issue.

The first three Geneva Conventions and the Hague Conventions, which laid the groundwork for contemporary international humanitarian law, are significant because they demonstrate the public's great concern for promoting a basic level of regard for human dignity even in times of war. A more positive attitude toward the importance of human rights as we know them today can be seen in the League of Nations' concerns about the protection of specific minority groups after World War One and the creation of

the International Labor Organization (ILO) to oversee labour treaties protecting workers' rights, including their health and safety.

With the coming of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was developed in 1964. The declaration has been able to birth the following international laws and conventions.

- 1945 UN Charter 1945–6 Nuremberg Trials
- 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights
- 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide
- 1949 Geneva Conventions
- 1950 European Convention on Human Rights (entered into force 1953)
- 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (entered into force 1954)
- 1965 International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (entered into force 1969)
- 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (entered into force 1976)
- 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (entered into force 1976)
- 1969 American Convention on Human Rights (entered into force 1978)
- 1976 African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (entered into force 1986)
- 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (entered into force 1981)
- 1984 UN Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (entered into force 1987)
- 1990 UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (entered into force 1990)
- 1990 UN Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (entered into force 2003)
- 2006 UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (entered into force 2008)

Chronological Identification of Human Rights

The first sets of attempts were in the ancient period comprising:

- Code of Hammurabi, Babylonia (1750 B. C. E)
- Old Testament (1200-300 B. C. E)
- Analects of Confucius (551-479 B. C. E)
- New Testament (40-100 C. E)
- Koran (644-656 C.E)

The second historical period in the development of human rights was the mediaeval period, between 5th and 15th Century.

- This trajectory can be said to have begun with the English Magna Carta of 1215, which for the first time granted the right to oppose unlawful imprisonment. It includes Sir Thomas Aquinas' theory of natural rights (13th Century).

The third period was the Enlightenment, 18th Century. This period shaped our contemporary understanding of human rights with its efforts in the development of democracy.

The events include:

- The Petition of Rights on the 13th of February 1628;
- The English Revolution ("Civil War") of 1640 under Oliver Cromwell;
- Habeas Corpus Act on the 26th of May 1679;
- English Declaration of the Rights of Man (February 13th, 1689) (It was through these enactments that the parliamentary system of Great Britain granted the right to free elections, the freedom of word, the right of release on bail, the prohibition of cruel punishments, the right to be judged by an independent court were founded;
- The United States Declaration of Independence of 1776, which significantly affected Europe;
- The French Revolution of 1789 and French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (1789);
- United States Constitution and Bill of Rights (1789).
- The revolutions of 1848 across Europe, which promoted increased political and civic participation.

- These developments helped create space for freedom of expression, freedom of assembly, freedom of association and the right to vote.
- This era also benefitted from the political writings of John Locke, Baron de Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Jean Jacques Rousseau.
- In 1689-90, just after the Glorious Revolution of 1688, the English philosopher John Locke (1632-1704) wrote his Two Treatises on Government, which contained the first classical formulation of human rights (then still called `natural rights').

The fourth period was the 19th century which witnessed the expansion of the rights of the minorities.

- An early turning point in this development was the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, which granted religious freedoms and ended three decades of religious wars and minority conflicts.
- Minority rights also encompass the prohibition of discrimination based on race and ethnicity, including the right to seek asylum due to persecution stemming from racial prejudices and ethnic conflict.
- Early Developments include:
- International Committee for the Red Cross (1863)
- Emancipation Proclamation, United States (1863)
- Geneva Convention (1864)
- Hague Conventions (1899 and 1907);
- 1919: League of Nations Covenant, International Labor Organization (ILO) Created
- 1920: Granting of electoral rights to Women in the U.S. (ie, women gained the right to vote)
- 1926: Slavery Convention.

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

Should all persons be entitled to human rights?

3.5 Human Rights Violations

As stated above, there are rights that must be given to everyone. These rights have been spelt out in numerous international and national laws and conventions. When those rights are impeded, that can be classified as a violation of human rights. Nowel (2021) claims that the highest level of human right violation was witnessed during the pandemic. This is to say that in the protection of human rights, political and economic stability matters. It is for this reason that Nowel (2021) noted that the pandemic led to high violations of human rights in developing nations.

Different groups of people, women, children, minorities and so on face a higher risk of human rights violations. Some notable human rights violations that have occurred in history are:

- Slavery
- Trafficking
- Forced marriages.
- Child soldiers.
- Child labour.
- Terrorism.
- Racism.

3.6 Agencies Responsible for Safeguarding Human Rights

The Human Rights Commission/Council

Arguably, the principal UN organ dealing with human rights is the Human Rights Commission, which was replaced by the Human Rights Council in 2006. The Commission's contribution to human rights cannot be overstated. It was, after all, the Human Rights Commission that did the vital and painstaking work of initiating the drafting of nearly every one of the international human rights treaties, including the International Bill of Rights.

The UN Human Rights Council came into existence in 2006 as a replacement for the Commission. It is made up of forty-seven member states (and not independent experts as are the treaty bodies described below) that are elected annually by majority vote. The rationale behind the change is that the Commission had become too 'politicized', and, more particularly, that countries that were some of the worst violators of human rights were being elected to serve on the Commission – and the United States was not (Alston 2006).

The High Commissioner for Human Rights

This position was created following the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna, with the idea of having a single office serving as a focal point for human rights activists in the UN system. To a certain extent, this has been the case, although the power of the position has seemingly waxed and waned depending on the political skills and also the visibility of the High Commissioner.

The Human Rights Treaty Bodies

The UN has established treaty bodies to monitor and administer the major international human rights treaties. With the exception of the Political Covenant (which is monitored and implemented by the Human Rights Committee, not to be confused with the Human Rights Commission/Council), the name of each treaty body is virtually the same as the treaty itself. Thus the Committee Against Torture (CAT) is responsible for administering the Torture Convention, the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights is responsible for the Economic Covenant, and so on. Unlike the Human Rights Commission/Council whose membership is made up of state representatives, each of the treaty bodies comprises 'independent experts'.

The Security Council

The UN Security Council has primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. It is the only UN body that can authorize the use of force, and in that way, it can be instrumental in the protection of human rights, although, the Council has often been accused of shirking this duty, its non-response to the Rwandan genocide in 1994

and its present non-response to gross and systematic human rights violations in the Darfur region of Sudan serving as two of the more glaring examples.

The Secretary-General

The Secretary-General of the United Nations is the head of the Secretariat (one of the principal organs of the organization) and acts as the leader and spokesperson of the United Nations. Article 97 of the UN Charter defines the Secretary-General as the 'chief administrative officer', but the role of the Secretary-General goes far beyond this, particularly the Secretary-General's ability to direct the spotlight on to the world's troubled areas.

The General Assembly

The General Assembly's competence is unlimited, and under Article 13 it can 'initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of 'Assisting in the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion. The most direct role that the General Assembly has played in the protection of human rights is by means of a number of declarations passed by the General Assembly that have eventually become binding international human rights treaties.

The International Court of Justice

The International Court of Justice (ICJ) is the principal judicial body of the United Nations and it is housed in The Hague, Netherlands. Not to be confused with the International Criminal Court (ICC), the ICJ attempts to settle legal disputes submitted to it by UN member states, and it also gives advisory opinions on legal questions submitted by authorized international organs and the General Assembly.

The International Criminal Court

The International Criminal Court (ICC) is a permanent tribunal established in 2002 by the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, and it also is based in The Hague. The ICC prosecutes individuals while the ICJ deals with state–state disputes. The ICC's authority is derived from Article 5 of the Rome Statute and it grants jurisdiction over four

types of crime: genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes and crimes of aggression (although it should be noted that the Statute does not explicitly define the crime of aggression, and therefore the ICC cannot prosecute it until states parties to the Statute agree on a definition).

Regional and country-specific international tribunals

Prior to the establishment of the ICC, the United Nations created two regional bodies to prosecute war criminals in two particular conflicts: the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), which also is housed in The Hague, and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), which is based in Arusha, Tanzania. In addition to this, the United Nations helped establish the so-called 'hybrid' tribunal in Sierra Leone, the Special Court for Sierra Leone hybrid because it had both international and domestic (Sierra Leone) judges. Finally, in early 2009 an UN-backed court the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia brought its first criminal proceedings against Khmer Rouge leaders who had carried out genocide in that country more than three decades previously.

The African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights

Also known as the Banjul Charter, the African Charter was created by the Organization of African Unity (since replaced by the African Union). In a 1979 Assembly of Heads of State and Government, a resolution was adopted for a committee to draft a continent-wide human rights instrument like those existing in Europe and the Americas. In 1986 the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights was created as a judicial body to enforce the provisions of the Banjul Charter. However, unlike its American and European counterparts, the African human rights court has not accomplished much.

The American Convention on Human Rights

The American Convention was adopted in San José, Costa Rica, in 1969 and came into force in 1978. The purpose of the Convention is 'to consolidate in this hemisphere, within the framework of democratic institutions, a system of personal liberty and social justice based on respect for the essential rights of man. The American Convention is

implemented at the first level by the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, which then determines what cases are to be brought before the Inter-American Court of Human Rights.

The European Convention on Human Rights

The European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) was adopted under the aegis of the Council of Europe in 1950 to protect human rights and fundamental freedoms. Notably, the Convention established the European Court of Human Rights, which many consider being the single most important human rights adjudicatory body in the world. We analyze several of the ECHR rulings.

Non-Governmental Organizations

Finally, some of the most important players regarding human rights are the non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that push and prod states, the United Nations, international financial institutions, the media and so on, in the cause of human rights. There are literally thousands of NGOs, and thus it is only possible to list a very few of the better-known ones: Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, Doctors without Borders, Oxfam and so forth.

Challenges Fighting Human Rights Globally

Despite the fact that there are various agencies whose fundament role is to protect and ensure human rights globally, there is still a high level of violations that occur. Some of the challenges include but are not limited to:

- Poverty and Global Inequality - The most affected places in the world, where human rights violations are at their peak, are developing nations. There is every tendency that poverty will lead to a spike in crime rates which will in turn translate to the abuse

of human rights. Global inequality seems to be rising each day. The rich keep getting richer and the poor keep getting poorer. Many people can't afford health care or even basic amenities. The international system, i.e United Nations, Amnesty International and other humanitarian organisations find it hard to fight human rights violations in these countries.

- Discrimination - This is also a major challenge in human rights globally. Discrimination, which Hazel (2016) argues is an offset of nationalism, is very prominent in both developed and developing societies. People are discriminated against based on their religion, culture, race, gender and other factors. The United Nations through various treaties have tried to address this problem. However, Hazel (2016) argues that as long as nationalism continues to gain graeter ground in the post cold war era, it will be impossible to eradicate discrimination.

- Armed conflict and violence - Several armed conflicts, including those involving armed forces from two or more nations as well as those involving fighting parties within a single state (non-international armed conflicts), are now occurring throughout the world (international armed conflicts). More than 100,000 individuals were killed in violent conflicts in 2016, while countless survivors suffered severe maltreatment including being wounded, tortured, raped, and forced to flee their homes. The biggest number of people ever recorded—65 million were still displaced by armed conflict as of the end of 2016.

- Impunity - Impunity, as defined by international human rights law, is the inability to hold those who violate human rights accountable and, as such, is a denial of the victim's right to justice and reparation. Many human rights advocates fight against impunity and for the rights of victims all around the world, but especially in nations where the state or armed forces of a nation have committed major crimes against civilians.

- Democracy deficits - A theoretical ideal of a democratic government is insufficiently reflected in political structures and practises, resulting in a democratic deficit. Despite the fact that democracy has spread to almost all parts of the world, and contrary to liberal belief, democracy if not practised right can have adverse effects on human rights. In many "democratic" governments in Africa, people still face economic

hardship, inaccessible and unavailable infrastructure, police brutality, bad leadership, poor housing conditions and so on.

● Weak institutions - Bad governance can lead to weak institutions and a country whose institutions are weak will definitely not be able to fulfil the social contract by the state. This gives room for manipulation of the system, which tends to favour only the elite. Thereby bringing a divide in society by discriminating against the poor and majority.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

With the existence of all these organisations, why are human rights issues escalating in the post-cold war era?

3.7 Summary

It is clear from the above that human rights violations are raising issues in the post-cold war era. The development of technology and social media has made the post-cold war era the most transparent era in international history. This is to say that the issue of human rights violations is not new but has become more glaring in the age of social media. Institutions may exist to combat this crisis, however, the sovereignty that each state possesses makes it difficult for international institutions to have any binding say, thereby bringing impunity and anarchy to the international system.

3.8 Reference and Further Readings

1. Hannum, H. (1998). The UDHR in national and international law. Health and Human rights, 144-158.
2. Kaleck, W., & Saage-Maaß, M. (2010). Corporate accountability for human rights violations amounting to international crimes: The status quo and its challenges. Journal of International Criminal Justice, 8(3), 699-724.
3. Musila, G. M. (2005). Challenges in establishing the accountability of child soldiers for human rights violations: Restorative justice as an option. African human rights law journal, 5(2), 321-334.

4. Ullah, S., Adams, K., Adams, D., & Attah-Boakye, R. (2021). Multinational corporations and human rights violations in emerging economies: Does commitment to social and environmental responsibility matter?. Journal of Environmental Management, 280, 111689.

3.9 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content

1. This question is asked to test the student's capacity for critical thinking. At first glance, the answer to the question is yes. However, in a case where a person has abused the rights of other citizens and needs to be sent to jail, then his/her rights have been restricted as the person is now a criminal offender.

2. With these questions, students are advised to refer back to the challenges of dealing with human rights in the global context. The section on international organisations and the challenges they face (See Module Five) will also be beneficial in responding to this question.

UNIT 4: Climate Change

Unit Structure

4.1 Introduction

What started as a purely a scientific concern has now progressed to an international relations issue. This unit will discuss the meaning of climate change and the dangers that come with climate change. This unit will also show the relevance of climate change to international relations and the protocols that have been signed to regulate climate change.

4.2 Learning outcomes

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

● Discuss the meaning of climate change and the dangers it poses to the international system.

● Relate climate change and international relations.

● Understand the agreements on climate change and the challenges of these agreements.

4.3 What is Climate Change?

When a change in the statistical distribution of weather patterns lasts for a long time, it is referred to be climate change (i.e., decades to millions of years). A change in average weather conditions or in the seasonal variance of weather within the framework of longer-term average circumstances are both examples of climate change. Biotic processes, variations in the amount of solar energy that Earth receives, plate tectonics, and volcanic eruptions are some of the elements that contribute to climate change. It has been determined that specific human activities are the main contributors to the current climate change, also known as global warming.

NASA's definition of climate change says it is:

> "a broad range of global phenomena created predominantly by burning fossil fuels, which add heat-trapping gases to Earth's atmosphere. These phenomena include the increased temperature trends described by global warming, but also encompass changes such as sea-level rise; ice mass loss in Greenland, Antarctica, the Arctic and mountain glaciers worldwide; shifts in flower/plant blooming; and extreme weather events."

Discussions of climate change in legal scholarship presuppose that the problem is primarily one of the engineering incentives and that "environmental values" are too strong, nebulous, or both to motivate political action to solve the crisis as it is developing. The major environmental and natural resource laws, such as those establishing national

parks, forests, and forests, as well as the Clean Air and Clean Water Acts, were born out of precisely the activity that discussions of climate change neglect: the democratic debate over the worth of the natural world and its significance in conflicting notions of citizenship, national purpose, and the scope and role of government.

One of the challenges that will define the 21st century is climate change. What was a topic of scientific study in the nineteenth century and a site of intense international debates in the 1990s is now woven into the fabric of the modern social and political landscape. The focus of the course shifts from analysing climate change as a single issue to viewing it as a "condition" that affects how various economies and social relations arise.

4.4 What is the Politics of Environment?

Neil Carter, in his foundational text Politics of the Environment (2009), suggests that environmental politics is distinct in at least two ways:

"it has a primary concern with the relationship between human society and the natural world" (page 3); and

"Unlike most other single issues, it comes replete with its own ideology and political movement" (page 5, drawing on Michael Jacobs, ed., Greening the Millennium? 1997).

Further, he distinguishes between modern and earlier forms of environmental politics, in particular conservationism and preservationism.

The extensive social changes that occurred in the United States after World War II were the origin of environmental concerns. Although the concept of environmentalism existed before the war, it wasn't until then that it gained social acceptance as a top priority. Initiated in the 1950s with outdoor leisure, it expanded into a broader area of environmental conservation before becoming infused with efforts to address air and water pollution and, later, harmful chemical pollutants.

Politics related to the environment gained significant public attention after World War II. Following the Torrey Canyon oil disaster in 1967 and the severe London smog of 1952, environmentalism began to flourish in the United Kingdom during this time. The rise of Green politics in the Western world starting in the 1970s is indicative of this.

4.5 Why is Climate Change an International Relations Issue?

Global issues include climate change. Its causes—man-made greenhouse gas emissions—and effects are dispersed and felt (albeit not evenly) throughout the global system, going beyond the conventional borders and spheres of influence of the states that make up the international political system. Therefore, causation is particularly challenging to establish in terms of objectivity. The terms "historical duty" and "right to development" are frequently used in discussions about climate change, but their saturating influence is minimal. These claims, which attribute these ideas to individual states while ignoring the multitude of non-state actors that operate within and across state lines and all of whom bear some of this responsibility, can be especially troublesome.

Knowing that governments are not monolithic entities but rather complex organisations made up of tiny, linked systems and units that go beyond the scope of international politics is crucial given the significance of these actors to the tale of climate change. Investigating the connection between climate change and international relations requires an understanding of this complexity.

Environmental issues have frequently been conceptualised by security studies academics as a global security challenge, with a growing focus on climate change (see Westing, 1986; Homer-Dixon, 1994; Barnett, 2000). Others have considered addressing concerns related to global commons (such ozone depletion and global warming) in multilateral accords (see Haas et al., 1993; Yamin and Depledge, 2004). The need for international action has been discussed from a variety of angles, both in favour of and against. Social Darwinists have hypothesised a close relationship between nature and all of humanity (Hofstadter, 1944), which would offer biological reasons for a laissez-faire economy under a regime of climate change (Leonard, 2009: 38, 40).

In other words, it can help promote collective responses to issues that affect us all and for which there is no solution unless the international community joins forces because the study of international relations examines the diplomatic and strategic relations between or among states, cross-border transactions of all kinds, and the many dimensions of contemporary globalisation.

In order to adapt to these new circumstances, prevent conflicts, and take advantage of the fact that there are common issues, we need to understand how what happens inside a state affects what happens globally and how what happens globally affects what happens domestically. This will help us to promote a cooperative and concerted international system.

According to the United Nations, climate change can lead to the following problems:

● Hotter temperatures - As greenhouse gas concentrations rise, so does the global surface temperature. The last decade, 2011-2020, is the warmest on record. S

● More severe storms - Destructive storms have become more intense and more frequent in many regions. As temperatures rise, more moisture evaporates, which exacerbates extreme rainfall and flooding, causing more destructive storms.

● Increased drought - Climate change is changing water availability, making it scarcer in more regions. Global warming exacerbates water shortages in already water-stressed regions and is leading to an increased risk of agricultural droughts affecting crops, and ecological droughts increasing the vulnerability of ecosystems.

● A warming, rising ocean - The ocean soaks up most of the heat from global warming. The rate at which the ocean is warming has strongly increased over the past two decades, across all depths of the ocean.

● Loss of species - Climate change poses risks to the survival of species on land and in the ocean. These risks increase as temperatures climb. Exacerbated by climate change, the world is losing species at a rate 1,000 times greater than at any other time in recorded human history.

● Not enough food - Changes in the climate and increases in extreme weather events are among the reasons behind a global rise in hunger and poor nutrition. Fisheries, crops, and livestock may be destroyed or become less productive.

- More health risks - Climate change is the single biggest health threat facing humanity. Climate impacts are already harming health, through air pollution, disease, extreme weather events, forced displacement, pressures on mental health, and increased hunger and poor nutrition in places where people cannot grow or find sufficient food.

- Poverty and displacement - Climate change increases the factors that put and keep people in poverty. Floods may sweep away urban slums, destroying homes and livelihoods. Heat can make it difficult to work in outdoor jobs. Water scarcity may affect crops. Over the past decade (2010–2019), weather-related events displaced an estimated 23.1 million people on average each year, leaving them much more vulnerable to poverty.

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

Should climate change be an international relations issue?

4.6 International Agreements on Climate Change

The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), which came into existence in 1992, is the foremost organisation saddled with the responsibility of responding to climate change globally. It is the responsibility of every country, which is a member of the UN to ensure that their state has an institution that responds to climate change on a national level.

According to Hagerman and Pelai (2018) there are over 3,000 agreements, treaties and cooperative measures have been taken, some of which predate the UN, to combat climate change. However, the most notable ones are the Kyoto Protocol and Paris Agreement.

Kyoto Protocol

The Kyoto Protocol was an international treaty that extended the 1992 United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). It commits state parties to reducing greenhouse gas emissions. The Kyoto Protocol was ratified on 16 February 2005 after being adopted on 11 December 1997 in Kyoto, Japan. In 2020, there were 192 parties to the Protocol (Canada withdrew from it with effect from December 2012).

By lowering greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere to "a level that would prevent dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system," the Kyoto Protocol carried out the UNFCCC's goal to delay the onset of global warming. The Protocol's first commitment period ran from 2008 to 2012. The Protocol was followed by all 36 nations that participated completely in the first commitment period. However, nine nations' national emissions were just a little bit higher than their targets, necessitating the employment of flexibility mechanisms to finance carbon reductions in other nations.

The Kyoto Protocol faced a lot of backlash for being weak and not inclusive of developing nations. Because developing countries receive a free pass, the Kyoto Protocol does not significantly benefit the environment, stabilise greenhouse gas concentrations, or cut greenhouse gas emissions. The protocol solely sanctions advanced nations.

Although, Krampe and Mobjork (2018) maintain that developing countries have more pressing issues than climate change. Most of them still struggle with poverty, providing infrastructure and economic growth. Therefore, to them, climate change only comes off as an extra cost to their budget.

Paris Agreement

The Paris Agreement was signed and adopted in 2015. It encompasses financing, adaptation, and mitigating climate change. At the 2015 United Nations Climate Change Conference in Paris, France, the Agreement was negotiated by 196 parties.

The agreement has been ratified by 195 UNFCCC members as of February 2018, and 175 more have joined as parties. By limiting the global temperature rise this century to well below 2 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels and pursuing efforts to further limit the temperature increase to 1.5 degrees Celsius, the Agreement seeks to address the problem of global climate change.

According to the Paris Agreement, each nation decides, plans, and periodically reports the contribution it should make to slow global warming. Although there is no mechanism to compel a nation to set a particular goal by a given deadline, every goal should surpass earlier ones. By lowering greenhouse gas emissions, the Agreement's principal goal is to

keep the rise in the world's average temperature to well below 2 °C above pre-industrial levels.

The Paris Accord has three main objectives, which are as follows:

- Holding the increase in the global average temperature to well below 2 °C above pre-industrial levels and pursue efforts to limit the temperature increase to 1.5 °C above pre-industrial levels, recognisably reducing the risks and impacts of climate change;
- Fostering climate resilience and low greenhouse gas emissions development while improving the ability to respond to the negative effects of climate change in a way that does not jeopardise food production;
- Aligning financial flows with a strategy for achieving low greenhouse gas emissions and development that is climate resilient.

According to Bostrom and Davidson (2018), the challenges of the Paris Agreement are as follows:

- It is voluntary
- Imposes more on richer countries
- Lack of binding enforcement mechanisms
- High financial commitment
- Limited governmental role
- Considering carbon footprint.

4.7 Challenges in Responding to Climate Change

At the concluded COP26 conference held in Glasgow in 2021, it was noted by world leaders that climate change is a growing international concern. It was also noted that all efforts to regulate climate change have seemed futile for a number of reasons One of which was the withdrawal if the United States of America from the Paris Accord under the presidency of Donald trump.

Donald Trump, the president of the United States, declared on June 1 that the country would no longer take part in the 2015 Paris Climate Agreement. The Paris Agreement, according to Trump, "puts (the U.S.) at a permanent disadvantage" and "will damage (the

U.S.) economy," he claimed. During the presidential campaign, Trump had threatened to withdraw from the pact, claiming a withdrawal would benefit American firms and workers. Trump claimed that his America First policy would guide the pull-out.

According to Article 28 of the Paris Agreement, the United States cannot withdraw from the agreement before November 4, 2020, which is one day after the 2020 U.S. presidential election and four years after the Agreement became operative in the country. The U.S. will follow the four-year withdrawal process, the White House later stated. The United States may be required to uphold its obligations under the Agreement up until the withdrawal takes effect, such as the necessity to continue disclosing its emissions to the UN.

The implications of this withdrawal were two-fold: first, the hegemonic status of the United States of America puts the nation in a leadership position. By pulling out of the Paris Agreement, it weakened efforts to resolve climate change issues. The second implication of the US withdrawal was the slow pace at which the agreement progressed.

The US, as the hegemon, still has trouble negotiating the obligations of states even after re-joining the Paris Accord in 2021. Several of the issues were brought up at the 2021 Climate Change Conference. The following problems were brought up during the 12-day event:

- State Situation.
- Calculator for the carbon footprint.
- Immediate reaction to sea level rise
- States' financial obligation.
- Domestication and adaptation strategies by all partisan nations.

<div align="center">Self-Assessment Exercise 2</div>

In an industrialised world, how can world leaders manage climate change?

4.8 Summary

Evidently, this unit has been able to show the link between climate change and international relations and the pressing issues that exist from the aforementioned problem. In reality, if nothing is done about the environment, ecosystem and balance; many issues can arise which will lead to the loss of life, animals, dry lands, famine etc.

4.9 Reference and Further Readings

1. Hagerman, S. M., & Pelai, R. (2018). Responding to climate change in forest management: two decades of recommendations. Frontiers in Ecology and the Environment, 16(10), 579-587.
2. Krampe, F., & Mobjörk, M. (2018). Responding to climate-related security risks: reviewing regional organizations in Asia and Africa. Current Climate Change Reports, 4(4), 330-337.
3. Boström, M., & Davidson, D. J. (Eds.). (2018). Environment and society: concepts and challenges. Springer.

4.10 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content

1. Here, students should be able to conceptualise climate change and draw the links between climate change, the environment and the essence of protecting the environment.
2. One of the major requirements of the Paris Accord is to reduce global temperatures which are generally heightened by the burning of fossil fuel and industrialization. With this, students should take initiative based on the Paris Agreement to advice world leaders on how to tackle the problem of climate change.

UNIT 5: Globalisation and Global Health

Unit Structure

5.1 Introduction

5.2 Learning Outcome

5.3 Globalisation

5.4 Is Globalisation a friend or a foe?

5.5 Global Health

5.6 Summary

5.7 Reference and Further Readings

5.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content

5.1 Introduction

Globalisation is one of the fasted growing concepts of international relations. All over the world, things have been made easier through globalisation. However, everything that is good can also equally be bad as well. In this unit, students will be introduced to globalisation as a concept, the aspects of globalisation, the arguments that exist on the good and bad nature of globalisation and the impact global health has on the international political system while drawing examples from the COVID-19 Pandemic.

5.2 Learning Outcome

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

- Discuss the meaning of globalisation.

- Argue on the benefits and dangers of globalisation.

● Understand the issues global health can pose to the international system.

5.3 Globalisation

In its general definition, globalization can be defined as an extensive network of economic, cultural, social and political interconnections and processes which goes beyond national boundaries' (Yeates 2001).

Today's globalisation is a factor in how political power is distributed. It is crucial to remember that the term "globalisation" describes the increased economic interconnection and integration of nations through free commerce, market economies, investments, and capital flows. Massive multinational corporations (MNCs) and economic institutions like the International Monetary Fund, World Bank, and World Trade Organization now control most of the world's trade.

The term "globalisation" refers to the increasing interdependence of the economies, cultures, and populations throughout the world as a result of technology, cross-border trade in goods and services, and flows of capital, labour, and information. Over many years, nations have developed economic alliances to support these movements.

For the purposes of our working definition in this section, globalisation can be defined as the process of global integration resulting from the exchange of ideas, products, and other cultural elements.

It can also be used to describe the spatial-temporal processes of change that support changes in the way human affairs are organised by connecting and extending human activity across continents.

Major contributors to globalisation and the subsequent interdependence of economic and cultural activities are improvements in transportation and telecommunications infrastructure, such as the development of the telegraph and the Internet that followed it.

Characteristics of Globalisation

The characteristics of globalisation include but are not limited to:

- Global trade
- Global brands
- Transfer of capital
- Spatial division of labour (outsourcing)
- Labour migration
- Shift in the balance of economic and financial power
- Free Trade.
- Liberalization.
- Connectivity.
- Opportunity.
- Learning.

Major Types of Globalisation

Some of the major aspects of globalisation are:

- Financial Globalization.
- Economic Globalization.
- Technological Globalization.
- Political Globalization.
- Cultural Globalization.
- Ecological Globalization.
- Sociological Globalization.

However, the four aspects of globalisation that are concerned with international politics since the cold war are four, namely: Economic Globalisation, Global natural Environment, Global Workforce and Global Health.

5.4 Is Globalisation a friend or a foe?

Globalization has wide-ranging, intricate, and politically fraught repercussions. Similar to significant technological advancements, globalisation is good for society as a whole while being bad for some groups. Recognizing the relative costs and benefits can help solve issues while maintaining larger benefits. However, the phrase became more

common after the Cold War in the early 1990s because of how these cooperative arrangements influenced contemporary daily life.

Proponents of globalisation perceive beneficial effects on the state-to-state power dynamic when they consider all of modern politics. According to Thomas Freidman, who wrote The Lexus and the Olive Tree in 1999, due to the demands of global capitalism, globalisation has rendered traditional power politics obsolete. According to him, globalisation results in a more democratic world, lower levels of poverty, higher living standards in less developed nations, less international war, greater unanimity, and greater regional integration.

Some analysts think that power dynamics are badly impacted by globalisation. For one thing, globalisation is seen as a new form of western cultural imperialism in many parts of the less developed world. Instead of creating riches for all people, competition has maintained the dominance of the economic elite, Exploiting both the environment and workers.

John World Lewis Gadelis points out that the 9/11/2001 attack on the World Trade Center exemplifies the negative effects of globalisation and interdependence. He contends that these effects have resulted in deep-seated animosities toward the United States in particular as well as the ability and means to attack it, as evidenced by the use of civilian aircraft for suicide bombers.

Major supporters of globalisation believe that it has been good for the international system in the following ways:

- Free trade.
- Remote jobs and employment.
- Competition between states.
- Infusion of foreign capital to developing states. E.g. India and China.
- The spread of democracy.
- Information technology.
- Technological advancement.
- Transnational companies.

While the benefits are taken into account, major opponents of globalisation maintain that globalisation is damaging in the following ways:

- Widening gap between rich and poor countries.
- Backlash from global health.
- Economic downturn that might not have originated from most nations.
- Brain drain.
- Exploitative labour.
- Abuse by multinational cooperation's.
- Global terrorism.
- Cybercrime.
- Fake news. Misinformation and disinformation.
- the spread of substandard products.

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

Is globalisation essential in the post-cold war era?

5.5 Global Health

Population health in a global framework that goes beyond the viewpoints and issues of specific countries is referred to as global health. The importance of health issues that cross national boundaries or have a global political and economic influence is highlighted. According to its definition, global health is "the field of study, research, and practise that prioritises achieving fairness in health for all people worldwide" (Koplan, 2009: 373). Global health thus focuses on enhancing overall health, minimising inequities, and defending against external hazards that transcend national boundaries.

The rapid ageing of the population, rising disability from no communicable diseases (NCDs) and multimorbidity of NCDs, antimicrobial resistance, and the rapid spread of pathogens through travel and migration that have the potential to cause pandemics (such as the coronavirus disease COVID-19 pandemic), climate change, and natural disasters are just a few of the new and complex challenges that face health systems in the twenty-first century.

Global health is one of the major challenges the international political system struggles with. There have been various global health threats such as Ebola, Bird Flu, Monkey Pox, COVID-19, and Lassa Fever to name a few. These challenges have health, political, economic and social implications. The world is still adapting to the COVID 19 pandemic that led the world into a lockdown for most of 2020. The implication here is that most countries found it hard to adapt and it became very obvious that the international system, despite having the World Health Organisation (WHO), was unfit and unprepared for the effect of the pandemic. Since then, the economies of many nations have entered recessions, the rate of poverty keeps rising and the cost of living is in a surge.

During the pandemic, developed nations also struggled to meet the health demands created by COVID-19. This further exposed the brewing health care crisis that developed countries deal with.

There was also a surge in sexual and domestic violence cases globally. In places like Nigeria, a nationwide protest was held which led the Senate to declare a state of emergency so that crimes of sexual and domestic violence can be addressed adequately.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

Could the pandemic have been avoided?

5.6 Summary

In summary, globalisation is not a concept that can be repealed. It has come to stay. However, the various challenges brought on by globalisation cannot also be ignored. With the growing threats of globalisation, it would be beneficial for world leaders to discuss and resolve measures to deal with the growing threats.

5.7 Reference and Further Readings

1. Burlacu, S., Gutu, C., & Matei, F. O. (2018). Globalization–pros and cons. Calitatea, 19(S1), 122-125.
2. Drew, C. (2022). Economic globalization pros and cons (with examples). HelpfulProfessor. com. January, 29.

3. Shittu, W. O., Yusuf, H. A., El Houssein, A. E. M., & Hassan, S. (2020). The impacts of foreign direct investment and globalisation on economic growth in West Africa: examining the role of political governance. Journal of Economic Studies, 47(7), 1733-1755.

5.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content

1. Students should be able to make a case for globalisation. Does the good outweigh the bad? or vis versa. Students are also encouraged to make a case using relevant examples, stating the pros and cons of globalisation while testing its validity.

2. This practical question should allow student not only point out the importance of global health but also the challenges that would exist in a world where global health is being ignore. The aim of this question is to tests students' ability to criticise or praise the international system for how the COVID-19 pandemic was handled.

MODULE 4 - CHANGES AND COOPERATION IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA

The aim of this model is to examine four (4) major aspects of international relations, the changes that have come in the post-cold war era and how they either damage or strengthen international relations in the post-cold war era.

Unit 1 - The Media and Communication

Unit 2 - International Regimes

Unit 3 - International Laws

Unit 4 - International Organisations

UNIT 1: The Media and Communication

Unit Structure

1.1 Introduction

1.2 Learning Outcomes

1.3 The Media and Communication in contemporary times.

1.4 Communication and Information in the Post-Cold War Era

1.5 Effects of the Media in International Politics

1.6 Models of Diplomacy in the Post-Cold War Era

1.7 Summary

1.8 Reference and Further Readings

1.1 Introduction

The media, whose role it is to shine a guiding light for citizens and to serve as a watchdog for society has a major role in international relations. Due to the growing and improving rate of technology, the media has become more essential than before. In this unit, students will be introduced to the media and the different forms of media that exist. Students will also be exposed to how communication and information are vital to international politics as well as the effects of the media. Lastly, the models of diplomacy that have been affected by the change in the medium in the post-cold war era will be examined.

1.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Discuss the role of the media in international politics.

- Examine the challenges the media faces in the post cold war when trying to pass information.

- Understand the power of the media in framing ideologies.

1.3 The Media and Communication in contemporary times.

Following the end of the cold war, a new era of communication and information exchange emerged. However, the United Nations' efforts have forced greater transparency in the diplomatic scene, and the media has played a vital role in ensuring that information is maintained and shared openly. Communication between nation-states has become more restricted.

The word "medium" is pluralized to "media," which (generally speaking) refers to any route of communication. This covers everything from printed paper to digital data and covers information in the forms of art, news, education, and a wide range of other things. Fibre optic cable and computer networks are just two examples of the physical and virtual media that are used to convey the elaborately encoded signals that make up digital media, which represents an ever-growing fraction of modern communications.

Classes of Media

The media are classified into two groups; Old (Traditional) Media and New (Contemporary) Media. Print Media (Newspapers), Telegrams, Fax, and Broadcast Media (News, Entertainment shows) are classified as old/traditional media. While, Outdoor or Out of Home Media (Cinema, Billboards etc) and the Internet (Social Media) are classified as new/contemporary media

Role of the Media

- The media is essential to political life in democracies.
- It offers information so we can learn more about the topics that are important to us.
- It offers critique and discussion to make sure that the material is put to the test and investigated from all angles.
- Additionally, it offers research and analysis to make sure that authority is restrained and decision-makers are held accountable.

The media has a huge impact on society. The mass media is what enables the general public to learn a great deal, form views, and pass judgement on a range of topics. The media is what keeps people informed about what is occurring in the world and around them, and everyone learns something from it.

Contemporary Challenges of the Media

The media in contemporary times face a lot of challenges, some of which are;

- Fake news.
- Threat to like. For instance in the case of Jamal Khashoggi.

- Threats and closure of media channels.

- Data Privacy.

- Propaganda

- Shaping narratives that distract from the main issue.

- They can be bought by the Elite

- Spread of harmful ideologies

- Cyber Bullying

- Can be subjective (Cancelling culture).

- Taking the side of democracy.

1.4 Communication and Information in the Post-Cold War Era

Communication and the spread of information have changed since the end of the cold war. Communication has always been key, hence the lack of information that existed in earlier international systems. This is why the post-cold war era can be classified as an era where information flowed freely, through the means of social media. There are some notable changes that have occurred alongside the growth in communication in the international system. These are:

- High-tech electronics.

- The rise of Japan to a major status

- The growth of service sectors

- Integration of personal computers and laptops

- The global proliferation of computer networks.

- The increasing importance and impacts of terrorism

- Interdependence

- Viewing glaring social issues

- Using political correct terms

Global News after the Cold War

- News was centred on westernization to change the narrative.

- There was more freedom for the media and less abuse on the international scene

- More transparency in global politics.
- Influential social complex (The Hollywood Complex)
- The trend of democracy.
- International coverage for journalists.

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

How has communication changed since the end of the cold war?

1.5 Effects of the Media in International Politics

In international relations, the media reigns supreme and dominance in this area offers one an advantage over others. With current media technologies playing a significant part in perceptions and image-making, the home population has changed from being a tool of allies to an enemy weapon on the battlefield of international politics, which has moved from geographical and physical levels to communication levels.

The relationship between TV news coverage and subsequent humanitarian intervention decisions has been the subject of much scholarly discussion and political controversy for more than 30 years. All electronic channels, including Al-Jazeera, the BBC, and others were included in what was then referred to as "the CNN effect."

A large portion of the world's population now has access to events taking place around the world practically in real-time thanks to the proliferation of new communication technology, including portable satellite broadcasting equipment, the development of digital cameras built into mobile phones, the Internet of Things, and the World Wide Web. Any occurrence can be "caught on camera," and the information is then instantly transmitted around the globe via the internet or other global media. The channels discovered that they could effectively project their stories. For the channels and social media, there was less reliance on official sources. At the same time, social media sites started to have a significant impact on public diplomacy. Governments and diplomats started utilising social media for outreach. National governments utilise social media to promote trade, cultural ties, and the perception of their country.

Realizing the influence of the media, governments and terrorist groups started using the media to defend their actions. Despite scant proof, the US predicted in 2002–2003 that Saddam Hussein possessed WMD and could use them in 45 minutes. In a coordinated effort, the UK JIC released its very preliminary intelligence analysis on this subject, which did not suggest that Iraq at the time had WMD. But the purpose of this exercise was to project a viewpoint in order to alter how people feel about the world in order to support US and ally activities in Iraq. Controlling the area's oil was undoubtedly the goal. One of the most significant ways to project a predetermined goal through the use of information channels was in this case. The Internet of Things was also used by terrorists to spread their violent beliefs.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

What are the positive and negative effects of the media on international politics?

1.6 Models of Diplomacy in the Post-Cold War Era

The media has also had a great impact on diplomacy in international relations. Public diplomacy's central tenet is to engage in direct dialogue with foreign nationals in an effort to influence their perspectives and, ultimately, those of their governments. Public diplomacy and media diplomacy are widely misunderstood terms. Van Dinh argued that public diplomacy is propaganda and that it has "become synonymous with TV diplomacy" after characterising it as such. Television is used by politicians and diplomats to spread internal and worldwide propaganda.

Journalists as Media-Broker Diplomats - Third parties are frequently required to help enemies start negotiations; these can be official representatives of superpowers, neutral states, international and global organisations, or regular people who facilitate negotiations by speaking with parties in conflict and persuading them to consider negotiation as a viable option.

1.7 Summary

In summary, it can be noted that the media has a lot of power when it comes to controlling and changing narratives. This is why every state has an institution whose role is to monitor and guide the media. This brings about regulations and guidelines that mediums must adhere to. Without these measures being put in place, communication can be tainted and misinformation and disinformation will take over the media spaces.

1.8 Reference and Further Readings

1. Kotilainen, N. (2018). Investigating and understanding Social Media Image Flows. Framings of the Ghouta attack in Mainstream Media and International Politics. h&k, 23
2. Plantin, J. C., & Punathambekar, A. (2019). Digital media infrastructures: pipes, platforms, and politics. Media, culture & society, 41(2), 163-174.3.
3. Bradshaw, S., & Howard, P. N. (2018). The global organization of social media disinformation campaigns. Journal of International Affairs, 71(1.5), 23-32.

1.9 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content

1. Students should be able to differentiate between old and new media while giving detailed answers on what in which the media has changed since the fall of the Berlin wall.
2. Like every other concept of international relations, the media has tits possitive and negative aspects. With this question, students should be able to critically analyse both angles and make concluding thoughts on if the media has more positive or negative impacts on international politics. Case studies of popular political events and issues can be cited as examples.

UNIT 2: International Regimes

Unit Structure

2.1 Introduction

International regimes are bodies created for specific purposes. They can be found either on a regional or global scale. One of their major functions is to foster the relationship between nations. In this unit, students will explore the meaning of international regimes, their functions, and theories supporting international regimes and what they contribute to cooperation in the post-cold war era.

2.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Differentiate an international regime from an international organisation.

- Discuss the theoretical approaches to understanding the need for international regimes.

- Understand the effects of international regimes in the post-cold war era.

2.3 International Regimes

One important category of international institutions is international regimes. Regimes are created on purpose, with only a small number of international orders. Which aim to exclude particular international political issue areas from the purview of self-help behaviour on a regional or global scale?

Stephen D. Krasner defined International Regimes (International Institutions) as "Implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules and decision-making procedures around which actors' expectations converge in a given area of international relations"

Simply meaning that International Regimes are institutions in the international system International regimes have four main regime components, these are;

- Principles.
- Norms.
- Rules.
- Decision making.

International regimes frequently emerge in response to the requirement to coordinate international action on a given issue. For instance, telecommunications between nations would need to be managed by several bilateral agreements, which would become impossible to administrate globally in the absence of an overall system. A system like the ITU functions as a platform, a multilateral agreement, and a regulatory organisation all at once to effectively standardise telecommunications between nations. Other examples of multinational regimes are the Kyoto Protocol, the Biological Weapons Convention, and the International Monetary Fund.

Since the Second World War, there have been a significant number of international regimes that now cover nearly all facets of international relations that might call for cooperation between nations, including trade, finance, and investment, information and

communication, human rights, the environment, and management of outer space, to name a few.

2.4 Theories of International Regimes

To understand the theories of international regimes, students must first understand the arguments that exist on the necessity of international regimes. International regimes go a long way toward demonstrating the viability of international cooperation. The reason why we require international regimes is now in doubt.

International regimes are one of the most efficient ways for countries to resolve disputes involving shared airspace and territorial boundaries. This suggests that there are (at least) two potential options, namely a sub-optimal and an optimal one when there is a problem involving two nations. The former will require actors to change their behaviour in order to attain the latter. They must act in concert, and the "adjustment" in their behaviour will show that there has been a noticeable change.

There are three major theories of international regimes. These are: Liberal Approach, Realist Approach and the Cognitivist Approach.

The Liberal Approach

The liberal approach is predicated on the premise that states (nations) may coexist without a hegemon (A Supreme leader). They contend that collaboration is inevitable when states look to one another for assistance, indicating that there is also a likelihood of continuing this partnership. They hold that states must constantly collaborate because doing so serves our common national interests. Additionally, when states don't work together, they provide space for isolation.

According to liberals, collaboration between parties is logical since the total of relatively tiny cooperative gains over time can be greater than the gain from a single attempt to take advantage of an adversary followed by an endless string of defections from both parties (Robert Axelrod 1984), typically, doing so helps to avoid "tit for tat" reprisal.

It is for this reason that the Liberal school believe that states in the international system will apply a form of games theory (iterated prisoners dilemma) in their relationship with other states.

The Iterated Prisoners Dilemma: What Is It?

A common illustration of a game explored in game theory that demonstrates why two reasonable individuals might or might not cooperate even when it appears to be in their best interests to do so is the prisoner's dilemma. Merrill Flood and Melvin Dresher were responsible for first framing this analogy.

What does this indicate for interstate collaboration?

The prisoner's dilemma is not a one-time event; there are long-term repercussions for current decisions. Therefore, cooperation amongst states is in their best interests now because otherwise, other states will turn against them in the future (tit-for-tat strategy). Thus;

The theory assumes that states are only interested in absolute gains, meaning they do not take into account the profits or losses of other states while analysing their own utility.

The Realist Approach

Realists that subscribe to the hegemonic stability hypothesis, like Joseph Grieco, advocate power-based explanations of regimes; briefly stated, liberals and realists disagree on two points within regime theory:

- the type of global collaboration and
- the function of global organisations.

Liberals hold that international institutions, at the very least, allow collaboration that could not have been possible in anarchy by creating a climate that is favourable to the convergence of state interests, which facilitates regime cooperation.

Realists, on the other hand, hold that any collaboration that takes place under a regime would have happened anyway and that regime simply reflect the allocation of power in

the international system. Regimes are the only intervening factors between power, the true independent variable, and cooperation, the dependent variable (powerful states build regimes to serve their security and economic interests; regimes have no independent authority over states, especially big powers). For instance, realist Susan Strange contends that organisations founded after World War II, such as the World Bank, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), IMF, and others, are nothing more than instruments of American grand strategy.

On the other hand, neorealist contend that states are focused on relative gains, in contrast to the liberal school of thought. In the anarchic system, nations are preoccupied with their own advantages compared to those of other states. This lessens the possibility of miscommunication and lessens the worry that other regime members may take advantage of the state. Sanctions limit the motivation to secretly defect. Monitoring member behaviour and reporting on compliance allows for the provision of information regarding other people's behaviour.

There will probably be more cooperation if there are consequences for defecting. Regimes can lower the cost of upcoming agreements by institutionalising cooperation. Regimes elevate the significance of reputation and enable the use of sophisticated methods by fostering iteration and the conviction that engagement will last for the foreseeable future.

The Cognitive Approach

The rationalist theories are criticised by cognitivism on the grounds that both liberals and realists make false assumptions, such as the notion that nation-states are always and forever rational actors; that interests remain static; and that it is impossible to have multiple interpretations of interests and power.

The cognitivist also contend that, despite the rationalist theories' use of iterated game theories, which let future outcomes influence present-day choices, they overlook learning, a key result of such repetition. Consequences from an iterated game look both backward in time and forward in time.

Decisions made now are therefore different from those made tomorrow since both the actor and the individual are considering the past in addition to the future. Last but not least, cognitivist employ a post-positivist paradigm that rejects the idea that social institutions or actors can be isolated from the socio-political context in which they operate for analytical reasons. So, rather than being rationalist, the cognitivist perspective is sociological or post-positivist. In conclusion, cognitivist argues that perceptions and the environment are just as important as interests or power.

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

What are the three (3) theoretical approaches to understanding the necessity of international regimes?

2.5 Effects of International Regimes on Cooperation in the Post-Cold War Era

In international relations, regimes fulfil essential functional needs. Some academics believe that strong regimes are autonomous players in world politics. Regimes are ultimately established and maintained by nations, but once institutionalised; they have the ability to affect international politics almost independently of state sovereignty. For instance, governments have granted the International Atomic Energy Agency specific authority to oversee national nuclear energy policies. Regimes are a significant source of formal international law insofar as they are governed by agreements between nations.

International law may also apply to entire regimes. The most powerful regimes have the potential to influence international law insofar as they influence state behaviour. Accordingly, some liberal thinkers believe such regimes are the first signs of a peaceful global order, similar to Immanuel Kant's theory of a federation of world nations ensuring world peace in perpetuity.

Regime critics bemoan their impact on international politics as a source of more strife or inefficiency. It is sometimes used as an example of the security system built around the United Nations Security Council. That regimes erode democratic control worries some other academics as well. Although they control significant parts of society, they are not directly involved in domestic democratic politics because they are centred on a

legislature. Some detractors contend that rather than being subject to transparency and democratic popular representation, most regimes end up becoming the technocratic views of international civil officials, with agreements negotiated behind closed doors.

By creating civilian affairs departments, which are meant to serve as a conduit to the popular will, certain regimes, like the World Trade Organization (WTO), have attempted to remedy this "democratic gap." The majority of governments continue to be shielded from the direct democratic politics that take place within nations. Some, however, believe that this isolation is vital since technocrats are best suited to provide the specific knowledge needed for international coordination.

2.6 Summary

Evidently, international regimes play a major role in the cooperation of nations in the international system. Despite the fact that the international regime has been criticised for being biased, they have also been of major impact in fostering cooperation in developing countries. The question of if international regimes should remain as powerful as they are is still a major source of debate in international relations.

2.7 Reference and Further Readings

1. Hasenclever, A., Mayer, P., & Rittberger, V. (2000). Integrating theories of international regimes. Review of international studies, 26(1), 3-33.
2. Krasner, S. D. (Ed.). (1983). International regimes. Cornell University Press.
3. Young, O. R. (2018). The effectiveness of international regimes. In Governance in World Affairs (pp. 108-132). Cornell University Press.

2.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content

1. Students are advised to study the three theoretical approaches and give the basic arguments they have international regimes and the necessity of having them in international politics.

UNIT 3: International Laws

Unit Structure

3.1 Introduction

The international system has always been anarchical. As a measure to provide some sanity, order and cooperation between states, international laws have been the most essential and efficient tool. International laws exist to protect nations' interests as well as promote their interest on an international scale. in this unit, students will be introduced to the meaning and essence of international laws, the role it plays in international politics and the paradox of international laws.

3.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Define international laws.

- Explain the role of international laws in international politics.

- Understand the challenges and shortcomings of international laws.

3.3 International Laws

According to Jeremy Bentham's classic definition, international law is a collection of rules governing relations between states. International law can be defined as a body of rules developed and used as a binding set of laws to facilitate relations between national governments. This is a crucial component of international relations since there must be rules and laws governing interactions between nations in the global society.

The Peace Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 is considered the founding event of international law. This pact was signed to put an end to the continuous, thirty-year-old religious conflicts throughout Europe.

The origins of international law are treaties, broad legal concepts accepted by most national legal systems, and international custom (common state practice recognised as law). International comity, the norms and practices followed by governments to sustain friendly ties and mutual recognition, such as saluting the flag of a foreign ship or upholding a foreign court decision, may also reflect international law.

International laws exist outside of specific sovereign legal systems. In several ways, it differs from domestic legal systems. For instance, although appearing to be a legislature and consisting of representatives from almost 190 nations, the United Nations (UN) General Assembly lacks the authority to enact legally enforceable regulations. Except in certain circumstances and for specific purposes within the UN system, such as determining the UN budget, admitting new members to the UN, and, with the help of the Security Council, electing new judges to the International Court of Justice, its resolutions merely serve as recommendations (ICJ). Additionally, international law lacks a system of tribunals with broad jurisdiction. The agreement of the specific governments involved is the basis for the ICJ's jurisdiction in contested cases. There is no ultimate executive power, no global police force, and no complete system of law enforcement.

International laws can come from treaties, general agreements, conventions, and international customs.

Examples of International Laws

- The Geneva Conventions
- The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea
- Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
- The Chemical Warfare Convention
- The Biological Warfare Convention

3.4 The role of International Laws in International Politics

International law's primary objective is to advance world peace and prosperity. In theory, international law and the institutions that support it serve as a salve to reconcile potentially conflicting national interests.

International laws pave a way for nations to cooperate cordially. Some of the crucial roles played by international law are:

- To safeguard the peace and security of the world.
- To uphold human rights and fundamental freedoms.
- To abstain from using force or threatening to use it against another state's political independence or territorial integrity.
- To grant people the ability to make their own decisions.
- To establish global collaboration in the resolution of global issues of an economic, social, cultural, and humanitarian nature.
- To utilise peaceful measures to resolve international conflicts.

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

Can the international system function without international laws?

3.5 Paradox of International Laws

Countries frequently use international law as a weapon against one another while also breaking it themselves. Take the invasion of Iraq as an example and the Chilcot Report.

This is mostly due to the lack of enforcement authority among international institutions and the general public.

> Condoleezza Rice, wrote in 2000, "foreign policy in a Republican Administration … will … proceed from the firm ground of the national 2 interest, not from the interest of an illusory international community…American values are universal; people want to say what they think, worship as they wish, and elect those who govern them; the triumph of these values is assuredly easier when the balance of power favours those who believe in them."

The assumptions underlying international law, which calls for a society whose law it is, are incompatible with Rice's viewpoints.

In essence, there are three paradoxical sources that might affect international law:

- First, it creates a utopia by treating fictitious characters with greater respect than real people;
- Second, it makes an effort to extrapolate rules from the chaotic behaviour of such artificial people;
- Third, it lacks the resources to support the assertion that humans have this dignity or to understand what it means when, despite its bias in favour of States, it upholds the dignity and unviability of natural beings.

The cause of these inconsistencies is that international law prioritises group conflict over individual conflict, and treats genocide as a crime rather than murder even when it discusses individual rights and obligations or acknowledges organisations other than traditional States.

<center>Self-Assessment Exercise 2</center>

<center>How can developing nations benefit from international laws?</center>

3.6 Summary

In summary, international laws are essential for state relations. However, they can be tricky to navigate. The fact that there is no enforcement body for international laws is a major issue. This leads to the impunity of states on an international scale.

3.7 Reference and Further Readings

1. Cusato, E. (2020). International law, the paradox of plenty and the making of resource-driven conflict. Leiden Journal of International Law, 33(3), 649-666.
2. Lee, M. (2022). The Importance of the Legislature: International Law, Foreign Policy, and Article One Powers. Harv. JL & Pub. Pol'y, 45, 1.
3. Galbraith, J. (2019). Contemporary Practice of the United States Relating to International Law. AM. J. INT'L L., 113, 131-170.

3.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content

1. Students should be able to define international laws and the role that they play in the post-cold war international system. Students should then be able to highlight the importance of international law and make concluding thoughts on if the international system can survive in total anarchy. Students are free to compare the post-cold war era to previous international systems to make their case.

2. With this practical question, students should be able to examine the paradox of international laws to developing and non-western countries and give innovative solutions as to how these nations can get international laws to favour them.

UNIT 4: International Organisations

Unit Structure

4.1 Introduction

4.2 Learning Outcomes

4.3 International Organisations

4.4 The Role of International Organisations in International Politics

4.5 Challenges and Criticisms of International Organisations

4.6 Summary

4.7 Reference and Further Readings

4.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content

4.1 Introduction

As addressed in different modules of this course, international organisations are a vital part of the international system. Since the 1900s, the growing role of international organisations has transcended in such a way that these organisations have a major influence on international politics in the post-cold war era. In this unit, definitions, roles and challenges international organisations face will be examined.

4.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Define international organisations.

- Have a better understanding of the roles played by international organisations in international politics.

- Understand the challenges faced by various international organisations.

4.3 International Organisations

An international organisation is a dependable framework of standards and guidelines designed to control how states and other players in the international system should behave. Organizations like the United Nations, the World Health Organization, and NATO, may be created by a treaty or be a tool governed by international law and endowed with its own legal personality. Although other entities, such as other international organisations, may be present, member nations make up the majority of international organisations. States and other bodies may also have observer status.

International organisations can come in different forms such as:

- Inter-Governmental Organisations.
- Non-Governmental Organisations.
- Continental Organisations.
- Regional Organisations.
- Economic Organisations.
- Non-Profit Organisations.

Example of International Organisations

- United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC)
- United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF)
- United Nations Development Programme
- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)
- United Nations Environment Programme
- United Nations Human Settlements Programme
- United Nations Industrial Development Organization
- United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction (UNISDR)
- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
- Universal Postal Union
- World Health Organization (WHO)

- World Intellectual Property Organization
- World Food Programme

4.4 The Role of International Organisations in International Politics

International organisations perform a wide range of diverse tasks, such as gathering data and tracking trends (e.g., the World Meteorological Organization), providing services and aid (e.g., the World Health Organization), and serving as forums for negotiation and dispute resolution (e.g., the European Union) (e.g., the World Trade Organization). International organisations can promote cooperative behaviour by offering political mechanisms through which governments might cooperate to achieve shared goals. IGOs are beneficial for individual governments as well, who frequently employ them as tools of foreign policy to defend their acts and control the behaviour of other states.

Although specialised international bureaucracies oversee the majority of international organisations' day-to-day activities, state members retain ultimate control. IGOs frequently collaborate with NGOs (such as Greenpeace and Amnesty International), who carry out many of the same tasks as their IGO counterparts and are particularly helpful for rallying public support, assessing the efficacy of international aid, and disseminating knowledge and experience. The majority of these organisations are based in industrialised nations with pluralist political systems, despite the fact that many of the thousands of NGOs focus their efforts on less developed nations in Asia and Africa, some of which have authoritarian systems of governance. Even though they have become more significant in international relations, few NGOs have an international focus.

International organisations are extremely effective at assisting nations in achieving a variety of noble goals, such as enhancing economic prosperity, fostering social development, raising standards of wellbeing, upholding human rights, delivering humanitarian aid, preserving the environment, and maintaining peace.

Decisive 20th-century events, like the two world wars, underscored the necessity of building international organisations that may serve as a forum for friendly communication between states. For instance, the UN, the World Bank, the IMF, the

WTO, and other post-war institutions have made significant contributions to enhancing economic and fiscal stability, averting or resolving conflicts, and generating previously unheard-of levels of wealth for global societies.

International organisations play a critical role in advocacy by bringing attention to contemporary issues that demand consideration and action from a variety of stakeholders. Numerous international groups have fought for a number of important causes in recent years. For instance, the UN was instrumental in advancing the historic Paris Agreement, a global climate accord that entered into force in 2016. 192 parties agreed to support efforts to significantly reduce greenhouse gas emissions globally and keep global temperature increases to under 2 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels.

International organisations' distinctive features give countries the chance to involve a wide range of stakeholders, identify important global concerns, draw on knowledge and experience, exchange tools for policy and regulation, come to decisions in unison, and have an impact on the ground.

Peacekeeping, child development and protection, gender equality, and managing emergent health outbreaks have all benefited from global initiatives. For instance, the WHO-led the campaign to eradicate smallpox, which was proclaimed eradicated in 1980 following two decades of coordinated worldwide efforts.

After the Second World War, UNICEF, the Children's Fund of the UN, was founded with the mission of empowering and defending underprivileged children and adolescents. Since it was founded 75 years ago, it has given financial support to initiatives that focus on maternal and new-born care, child health and nutrition, vaccination distribution, education and skill development, and water sanitation.

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

What are the benefits of having international organisations?

4.5 Challenges and Criticisms of International Organisations

When trying to resolve national issues, international organisations often come off as toothless dogs. This is partly because the existence of international laws doesn't connote the cooperation of states and despite the existence of these organisations, their power to influence national politics is limited due to sovereignty.

International organisations also struggle to maintain international laws and standard practices because of the diversity of states. For instance, when promoting human rights in the international arena, the United Nations has struggled with getting developing and Arab nations to comply. There are underlying factors such as poverty, and weak institutions that make it impossible to uphold international standards in these countries and international organisations have no way of mitigating them.

Globalisation also threatens the functionality of international organisations. Globalisation, which has good aspects, also has bad aspects that become the responsibility of international organisations. Globalisation has opened the world to a number of threats that international organisations have to respond to. However, this can be overwhelming for international organisations to adapt to.

The rapidity at which geopolitical change is taking place makes it difficult for international institutions to respond. The gap between economic reality and political structure is widening. The political architecture of the multilateral system is based on the economic situation in the world at the end of the Second World War and in the decades that followed until the 1990s, whether in terms of the institutionalised distribution of power, definitions of political groupings, or location on the scale of development. The system is undergoing change, but it has not yet reached its full institutional form.

A major criticism of international organisations stems from the realist school of thought. The school maintains that international organisations are a tool used by developed countries to pave their way in international politics. It is for this reason that developed countries seem to never face ridicule from international organisations even when they have broken international law. For instance, the Invasion of Afghanistan and later Iran

was a breach of international agreement and a total disregard for sovereignty. Although the argument for war on terror was used to justify the action, it still remains a crime. Till date, no one or country has been sanctioned for that act of defiance.

4.6 Summary

International organisations are vital to the relationship between states in international politics. To a large extent, organisations like the UN have been very successful in achieving their aims and objectives. However, there are still arguments from the liberal school that state that international organisations are west-centric and will therefore discourage diversity in the international system.

4.7 Reference and Further Readings

1. Kucchal, T., Pigeolet, M., Rolle, M., Johnson, W. D., & Park, K. B. (2020). International organisations in global surgery: challenges and opportunities. Journal of Public Health and Emergency, 4(35), 10-21037.
2. Berten, J., & Kranke, M. (2022). Anticipatory Global Governance: International Organisations and the Politics of the Future. Global Society, 36(2), 155-169.
3. Bjola, C., & Zaiotti, R. (2020). Going Digital: Choices and challenges for international organisations. In Digital Diplomacy and International Organisations (pp. 1-18). Routledge.

4.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content

1. International organisations now how more responsibilities stemming from the various issues arising each day in the world. Students should be able to define international organisations, and give examples of some international organisations and the role they play while highlighting the benefits (with examples) of these organisations.

Reference List

Abbink, K., Dong, L., & Huang, L. (2021) Arms races and conflict: Experimental evidence. The Economic Journal, 131(637), 1883-1904.

Ake, Claude (1981). Political Economy of Africa. Nigeria: Longman Nigeria Plc Brewer, Anthony (1990). Marxist Theories of Imperialism: A Critical Survey. London: Routledge

Baldwin, D. A. (1995). Security studies and the end of the Cold War. World politics, 48(1), 117-141

Bandyopadhyay, S., & Wall, H. J. (2006). The determinants of aid in the post-cold war era. In Theory and practice of foreign aid. Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

Bas, M. A., & Coe, A. J. (2016). A dynamic theory of nuclear proliferation and preventive war. International Organization, 70(4), 655-685.

Bas, M. A., & Coe, A. J. (2016) A dynamic theory of nuclear proliferation and preventive war. International Organization, 70(4), 655-685.

Berberoglu, B. (1995). The national question: nationalism, ethnic conflict, and self-determination in the 20th century. Temple University Press

Berman, P. (2004). Terror and liberalism. WW Norton & Company.

Berten, J., & Kranke, M. (2022) Anticipatory Global Governance: International Organisations and the Politics of the Future. Global Society, 36(2), 155-169.

Bjola, C., & Zaiotti, R. (2020) Going Digital: Choices and challenges for international organisations. In Digital Diplomacy and International Organisations (pp. 1-18). Routledge.

Boström, M., & Davidson, D. J. (Eds.). (2018). Environment and society: concepts and challenges. Springer.

Bradshaw, S., & Howard, P. N. (2018). The global organization of social media disinformation campaigns. Journal of International Affairs, 71(1.5), 23-32.

Burlacu, S., Gutu, C., & Matei, F. O. (2018). Globalization–pros and cons. Calitatea, 19(S1), 122-125.

Cassani, A., & Tomini, L. (2018). Autocratization in post-cold war political regimes. Springer.

Chomsky, N., & Weinstein, A. (2002). An Interview with Noam Chomsky. The Harvard Review of Philosophy, 10(1), 41-47.

Claudio, L. E. (2017). Liberalism and the post colony: Thinking the state in 20th-century Philippines (Vol. 19). NUS Press.

Cusato, E. (2020). International law, the paradox of plenty and the making of resource-driven conflict. Leiden Journal of International Law, 33(3), 649-666.

Dieng, M. (2019). The Multi-National Joint Task Force and the G5 Sahel Joint force: The limits of military capacity-building efforts. Contemporary Security Policy, 40(4), 481-501.

Dodge, M. (2021). Arms racing, arms control, and Professor Colin S. Gray's Legacy. Comparative Strategy, 40(2), 138-141.

Drew, C. (2022). Economic globalization pros and cons (with examples). HelpfulProfessor. com. January, 29.

Edmunds, W., & Tyler, S. (2002). Unsaturated zones as archives of past climates: toward a new proxy for continental regions. Hydrogeology Journal, 10(1), 216-228.

Frank, Andre Gunder (1969). Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America. New York: Modern Reader Paerbacks

Galbraith, J. (2019). Contemporary Practice of the United States Relating to International Law. AM. J. INT'L L., 113, 131-170.

Gary, T. (2005). Cold War, cool medium: television, McCarthyism, and American culture. Columbia University Press.

Glaser, C. L. (2000). The causes and consequences of arms races. Annual Review of Political Science, 3(1), 251-276.

Gray, C. S. (2005). How has war changed since the end of the Cold War? The US Army War College Quarterly: Parameters, 35(1), 7.

Hagerman, S. M., & Pelai, R. (2018). Responding to climate change in forest management: two decades of recommendations. Frontiers in Ecology and the Environment, 16(10), 579-587.

Hannum, H. (1998). The UDHR in national and international law. Health and Human rights, 144-158.

Harari, Y. N. (2018). 21 Lessons for the 21st Century. Random House.

Harari, Y. N. (2018). 21 Lessons for the 21st Century. Random House.

Hasenclever, A., Mayer, P., & Rittberger, V. (2000). Integrating theories of international regimes. Review of international studies, 26(1), 3-33.

Hill, C., Smith, M., & Vanhoonacker, S. (Eds.). (2017). International relations and the European Union. Oxford University Press.

Hoffman, B.(2006), Inside Terrorism. New York: Columbia University Press 40

Hoffmann, S. (1998). World disorders: Troubled peace in the post-Cold War era. Rowman & Littlefield.

Huntington, S. P. (2000). The clash of civilizations?. In Culture and politics (pp. 99-118). Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

Kaleck, W., & Saage-Maaß, M. (2010). Corporate accountability for human rights violations amounting to international crimes: The status quo and its challenges. Journal of International Criminal Justice, 8(3), 699-724.

Kiernan, Victor G. (1995). Imperialism and its Contradictions. Great Britain: Routledge, Inc.

Kisangani, E. F., & Pickering, J. (2021). African Interventions. Cambridge University Press.

Kotilainen, N. (2018). Investigating and understanding Social Media Image Flows. Framings of the Ghouta attack in Mainstream Media and International Politics. h&k, 23

Krampe, F., & Mobjörk, M. (2018). Responding to climate-related security risks: reviewing regional organizations in Asia and Africa. Current Climate Change Reports, 4(4), 330-337.

Krasner, S. D. (Ed.). (1983). International regimes. Cornell University Press.

Kucchal, T., Pigeolet, M., Rolle, M., Johnson, W. D., & Park, K. B. (2020). International organisations in global surgery: challenges and opportunities. Journal of Public Health and Emergency, 4(35), 10-21037.

Landgren-Bäckström, S. (2021). Arms Trade and Transfer of Military to Technology to Third World Countries. In Problems of Contemporary Militarism (pp. 230-247). Routledge.

Lanoszka, A. (2018). Alliances and nuclear proliferation in the Trump era. The Washington Quarterly, 41(4), 85-101.

Lanoszka, A. (2018). Alliances and nuclear proliferation in the Trump era. The Washington Quarterly, 41(4), 85-101.

Lee, M. (2022). The Importance of the Legislature: International Law, Foreign Policy, and Article One Powers. Harv. JL & Pub. Pol'y, 45, 1.

Long, S. B., & Pickering, J. (2022). Disparity and Diversion: Domestic Economic Inequality and MID Initiation. Foreign Policy Analysis, 18(1), orab032.

Lung'ung'u, S. (2021). Implications of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) Proliferation on Personal Security in the Horn of Africa Region: a Case Study of Garissa County, Kenya (Doctoral dissertation, UON).

Marsili, M. (2021). The 21st Century Conflicts Understanding the Changing Nature and Character of War (Doctoral dissertation, ISCTE-IUL).

Michaelowa, K. (2017). Resourcing international organisations: so what?. Global Policy, 8, 113-123.

Mingst, K. A., McKibben, H. E., & Arreguin-Toft, I. M. (2018). Essentials of international relations. WW Norton & Company.

Mohammed, A. I., Oyeneyin, B., Atchison, B., & Njuguna, J. (2019) Arms and Aggression in the Horn of Africa. Journal of natural gas science and engineering, 68, 102898

Mommsen, Wolfgang J. (1980). Theories of Imperialism. New York: Random House.

Mudde, C. (2018). How populism became the concept that defines our age. The Guardian, 22(11).

Musila, G. M. (2005). Challenges in establishing the accountability of child soldiers for human rights violations: Restorative justice as an option. African human rights law journal, 5(2), 321-334.

Offiong, Daniel (1980). Imperialism and Dependency: Obstacles to African Development. Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishers.

Plantin, J. C., & Punathambekar, A. (2019) Digital media infrastructures: pipes, platforms, and politics. Media, culture & society, 41(2), 163-174.3.

Pons, S., & Romero, F. (2005). Reinterpreting the end of the Cold War. Issues, Interpretations, Periodizations.

Popa, I. (2018). Translation and communism in Eastern Europe. In The Routledge Handbook of Translation and Politics (pp. 424-441) Routledge.

Prachi, P. (2013). Characterization of New State since the end of the Second World War

Rapoport, D. (2001), 'The Fourth Wave: September 11 and the History of Terrorism 'Current History 100 (650)419-24

Rapoport, D. (2013), "The Four Waves of Modern Terror: International Dimensions and Consequences, "inHanhimaki J.M. and Bernhard Blumenau (ed), An International History of Terrorism: Western and Non-Western Experiences. New York: Routledge, 300.

Ravndal, E. J. (2021). International Organisations in Historical Perspective. In Routledge Handbook of Historical International Relations (pp. 330-340). Routledge.

Sagan, S. D. (2022). 5. Nuclear Latency and Nuclear Proliferation. In Forecasting Nuclear Proliferation in the 21st Century (pp. 80-101) Stanford University Press

Sagan, S. D. (2022). 5. Nuclear Latency and Nuclear Proliferation. In Forecasting Nuclear Proliferation in the 21st Century (pp. 80-101). Stanford University Press

Sample, S. G. (2021). Arms Races What Do We Know about War?, 63.

Scott, Roger (n.d). "The Politics of New States". http://www.vanuatu.usp.ac.fj/courses/LA332_Jurisprudence/Articles/Scott.htm. Retrieved 3rd October, 2013.

Shittu, W. O., Yusuf, H. A., El Houssein, A. E. M., & Hassan, S. (2020). The impacts of foreign direct investment and globalisation on economic growth in West Africa: examining the role of political governance. Journal of Economic Studies, 47(7), 1733-1755.

Slater, David (2004). Geopolitics and the Post-Colonial: Rethinking North-South Relations. USA: Blackwell Publisher.

Strachan, H., & Scheipers, S. (Eds.). (2011). The changing character of war. OUP Oxford.

Ulgen, O. (2019). Technological Innovations and the Changing Character of Warfare. Humanitäres Völkerrecht: Journal of International Law of Peace and Armed Conflict, 2(3/4), 215-228.

Ullah, S., Adams, K., Adams, D., & Attah-Boakye, R. (2021). Multinational corporations and human rights violations in emerging economies: Does commitment to social and environmental responsibility matter? Journal of Environmental Management, 280, 111689.

Way, C., & Weeks, J. (2015). Making it personal: regime type and nuclear proliferation. In Nonproliferation Policy and Nuclear Posture (pp. 165-188). Routledge.

Way, C., & Weeks, J. (2015). Making it personal: regime type and nuclear proliferation. In Non-proliferation Policy and Nuclear Posture (pp. 165-188). Routledge.

William, T. R. (1944). FOX, The Super Powers: The United State, Britain, and the Soviet Union: Their Responsibility for Peace.

Wohlforth, W. C. (1994). Realism and the End of the Cold War. International Security, 19(3), 91-129.

Young, O. R. (2018). The effectiveness of international regimes. In Governance in World Affairs (pp. 108-132). Cornell University Press.