NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA

SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

COURSE CODE: CSS 131

COURSE TITLE: INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL SCIENCE

COURSE GUIDE

CSS 131
INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL SCIENCE

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NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA

CONTENTS   **PAGE**

INTRODUCTION

Welcome to CSS131: Introduction to Political Science

This Course Guide provides you with the various topics on the introductory course in Political Science. It is prepared for students in the first year study in Criminology and Security Studies, and Law in the National Open University of Nigeria (NOUN).

Political Science is the modern discipline for the study of politics and political processes and the organisation of the state. Traditionally, Political Science has often been studied by means of volume and very large textbooks; this guide provides the student with concise understanding of the basic principles and focuses on views that are germane in the study of Political Science.

To study this course, and the various units, you need to be ready to think critically and analytically. You need to develop a constructive minds to be able to weigh different arguments carefully, trying to determine which arguments you find most plausible, convincing and why. This is to enable you decipher properly which positions you would like to take without being a "copy-cat" student. If it is by understanding different positions that one can develop one's ability, do the same.

In this introductory section, aims and objectives will be explained. The module provides some useful advice on the reading system, the role in using the course guide, the structure of the module, and guidance and preparing for the assessment. It is important that one understands all these at the beginning, to ensure that one is able to get the most out of the course and do the best one can.

COURSE AIMS

a) To be able to demonstrate an understanding and knowledge of political processes in modern states.
b) To outline and critically analyse viewpoints in political science.
c) To apply the main theories, and concepts used in the study of politics to the analysis of key institutions of the modern state.
d) To critically evaluate different concepts, principles, theories, ideologies, etc.

COURSE OBJECTIVES

(i) To introduce you to what politics and political science are all about.

(ii)   To put you through the various methods political scientist uses to make decisions and to make projections covering political events or phenomenon.

(iii)   To highlight the major areas within Political Science as a field of study and show how these relates to other subjects in the Social Sciences.

(iv)   To show you that all activities of government affect our lives and that politics is very important in every society.

WORKING THROUGH THIS COURSE

To complete this course, you are advised to check the study units, read the recommended books as well as other course materials provided by NOUN. Each unit contains Self Assessment Exercises (SAE) and Tutor-Marked Assignments (TMAS) for assessment purposes. There will be a written examination at the end of the course. The course should take you about 14 weeks to complete. You will find all the components of the course listed below. You need to allocate time to each unit so as to finish the course successfully and on time.

COURSE MATERIALS

For this course, you will require the following materials:

1)   The course guide;
2)   Study units which are fifteen (15) in all;
3)   Textbooks recommended at the end of the units; and
4)   Assignment file where all the unit assignments are kept.
5)   Presentation Schedule

STUDY UNITS

There are fifteen study units in this course broken into 3 modules of 5 units each. They are as follows:

Module 1

Unit 1   The Nature and Scope of Political Science
Unit 2   The Subject Matter of Political Science
Unit 3   Approaches to the Study of Political Science: The Legalistic Approach
Unit 4   The Behavioural Approach to the Study of Politics
Unit 5   The Nature, Purpose and Functions of the Modern State

Module 2

Unit 1   The Concept of Sovereignty
Unit 2   Power and Authority
Unit 3   Legitimacy and Influence
Unit 4   Political Ideas and Movements
Unit 5   Constitution

Module 3

Unit 1   Constitutionalism
Unit 2   Politics and Social Change: Reforms, Revolutions and
                Military Coups
Unit 3   The Nature of African Armies
Unit 4   Public Administration
Unit 5   International Relations and Organisations

Each unit contains some exercises on the topic covered, and you will be required to attempt the exercises. These will enable you evaluate your progress as well as reinforce what you have learned so far. The exercises, together with the tutor marked assignments will help you in achieving the stated learning objectives of the individual units, and the course.

TEXTBOOKS AND REFERENCES

You may wish to consult the references and other books suggested at the end of each unit, to enhance your understanding of the material. This will enhance your understanding of the material.

Anifowoshe, R. and Francis Enemuo, (ed.) (1999). *Elements of Politics*. Lagos: Malthouse Press Ltd.

Ologbenla, D. K. (1996). *Introduction to Political Science*. Lagos: Olucity Press Ltd.

Nnoli, O. (1986). *Introduction to Politics*. Lagos: Longman Nigeria Ltd.

ASSESSMENT

Your assessment for this course is in two parts. First, are the tutor-marked assignments, and second is a written examination. You will be required to apply the information and knowledge gained from this course in completing your assignments. You must submit your assignments to your tutor in line with submission deadlines as stated in

the assignment file. The work that you submit for your tutor-marked assignment for assessment will count for 30% of your total score.

TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

In this course, you will be required to study fifteen (15) units, and complete Tutor-Marked Assignment, provided at the end of each unit. The assignments carry 10% marks each. The best four of your assignments will constitute 30% of your final mark. At the end of the course, you will be required to write a final examination, which counts for 70% of your final mark.

The assignments for each unit in this course are contained in your assignment file. You may wish to consult other related materials apart from your course material to complete your assignments. When you complete each assignment, send it together with a Tutor Marked Assignment (TMA) form to your tutor. Ensure that each assignment reaches your tutor on or before the deadline stipulated in the assignment file. If, for any reason you are unable to complete your assignment in time, contact your tutor before the due date to discuss the possibility of an extension. Note that extensions will not be granted after the due date for submission unless under exceptional circumstances.

FINAL EXAMINATION AND GRADING

The final examination for this course will be for duration of two hours, and count for 70% of your total mark. The examination will consist of questions, which reflect the information in your course material, exercises, and tutor marked assignments. All aspects of the course will be examined. Use the time between the completion of the last unit, and examination date to revise the entire course. You may also find it useful to review your tutor-marked assignments before the examination.

COURSE MARKING SCHEME

ASSESSMENT	MARKS
Assignments	Four assignments, best three marks of the four count at 30% of course marks
Final Examination	70% of total course mark
Total	**100% of course marks**

COURSE OVERVIEW

Your assignment file consists of all the details of the assignments you are required to submit to your tutor for marking. The marks obtained for

these assignments will count towards the final mark you obtain for this course. More information on the assignments can be found in the assignment file.

COURSE OVERVIEW AND PRESENTATION SCHEDULE

Units	Title of Work	Weeks Activity	Assessment (End of Unit)
Module 1			
1	The Nature and Scope of Political Science	Week 1	
2	The Subject Matter of Political Science	Week 2	
3	Approaches to the Study of Political Science: The Legalistic Approach	Week 3	Assignment 1
4	The Behavioural Approach to the Study of Politics	Week 4	
5	The Nature, Purpose and Functions of the Modern State	Week 5	
Module 2			
1	The Concept of Sovereignty	Week 6	Assignment 2
2	Power and Authority	Week 7	
3	Legitimacy and Influence	Week 8	
4	Political Ideas and Movements	Week 9	
5	Constitution	Week 10	
Module 3			
1	Constitutionalism	Week 11	Assignment 3
2	Politics and Social Change: Reforms, Revolutions and Military	Week 12	

	Coups		
3	The Nature of African Armies	Week 13	
4	Public Administration	Week 14	
5	International Relations and Organisations	Week 15	Assignment 4
	Revision	Week 16	
	Examinations	Week 17	
	Total	**17 weeks**	

HOW TO GET THE MOST FROM THIS COURSE

In distance learning, your course material replaces the lecturer. The course material has been designed in such a way that you can study on your own with little or no assistance at all. This allows you to work, and study at your pace, and at a time and place that best suits you. Think of reading your course material in the same way as listening to the lecturer. However, you are advised to study with your course mates. In the same way a lecturer might give you some reading to do, the study units give you information on what to read, and these form your text materials. You are provided exercises to do at appropriate points, just as a lecturer might give you an in-class exercise.

Each of the study units follow a common format. The first item is an **introduction** to the subject matter of the unit, and how a particular unit is integrated with the other units and the course as a whole. Next to this, is a set of learning **objectives**. These objectives let you know what you are required to know 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 you make this a habit, it will improve your chances of passing the course significantly.

The main body of the unit guides you through the required reading from other sources. This will usually be either from the reference books or from a Reading section.

The following is a practical strategy for working through the course. If you run into any difficulties, telephone your tutor. Remember that your tutor's job is to help you. When you need assistance, do not hesitate to call and ask your tutor for help or visit the study centre.

Read this Course Guide thoroughly, it is your first assignment.

1.   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. You need to gather all the information into one place, such as your diary or a wall calendar. Whatever method you choose to use, you should decide and write in your own dates and schedule of work for each unit.

2.   Once you have created your own study schedule, do everything to be faithful to it. The major reason students fail is that they get behind with their course work. If you get into difficulties with your schedule, please, let your tutor know before it is too late for help.

3.   Turn to Unit 1, and read the introduction and the objectives for the unit.

4.   Assemble the study materials. You will need the reference books in the unit you are studying at any point in time.

5.   Work through the unit. As you work through the unit, you will know what sources to consult for further information.

6.   Before the relevant due dates (about 4 weeks before due dates), access the Assignment File. 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. Submit all assignments not later than the due date.

7.   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.

8.   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 pace your study so that you keep yourself on schedule.

9.   When you have submitted an assignment to your tutor for marking, do not wait for its return before starting on the next unit. Keep to your schedule. When the Assignment is returned, pay particular attention to your tutor's comments, both on the tutor-marked assignment form and also the written comments on the ordinary assignments.

10.   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).

FACILITATORS/TUTORS AND TUTORIALS

There are 15 hours of tutorials provided to support this course. Tutorials are for problem solving, and they are optional. You need to get in touch with your tutor to arrange date and time for tutorials if needed. Your tutor will mark and comment on your assignments, keep a close watch on your progress and on any difficulties you might encounter and provide assistance to you during the course. You must submit your tutor-marked assignments to your tutor well before the due date (at least two working days are required). They will be marked by your tutor and returned to you as soon as possible.

Do not hesitate to contact your tutor by telephone, e-mail, or discussion board. The following might be circumstances in which you will find help necessary. Contact your tutor if:

- You do not understand any part of the study units or the assigned readings.
- You have difficulties with the exercises.
- You have a question or problem with an assignment, with your tutor's comments on an assignment or with the grading of an assignment.

To gain the maximum benefits from course tutorials, prepare a question list before attending them. You will learn quite a lot from participating in the discussions.

SUMMARY

The course guide has introduced you to what to expect in Introduction to Political Science. It examines the nature and scope of political science, approaches to the study of political science, concept of a modern state, sovereignty, power and authority, legitimacy and influence. The course also discusses the constitution and constitutionalism, the role of politics in social change, nature of African armies, public administration, and international relations. Upon completion you should be equipped with the foundation for analysing and researching political issues.

We wish you success with the course and hope you will find it both engaging and practical.

CONTENTS   PAGE

MODULE 1

UNIT 1   THE NATURE AND SCOPE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objectives
3.0   Main Content
        3.1   Definitions/Explanations of Politics
        3.2   The Development of Political Science as a Field of Study
        3.3   What is Science? What makes Political Science a Science?
        3.4   The Meaning of Verifiability
        3.5   The Meaning of Systematic
        3.6   The Meaning of Generality or Universality
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0   References/Further Reading

1.0   INTRODUCTION

In this unit, you will be introduced to what Politics is all about. In your day to day activities, you must have heard of the word Politics without actually understanding its meaning. What do you think is Politics? This question has been asked many times in every age before the birth of Jesus Christ – when the Greeks first introduced the idea of the 'polis' meaning city-state. It is from 'polis' that we derive our modern word politics. Aristotle (384-322 BC) in his book POLITICS first used the term politics to refer to the affairs of a Greek city-state. Aristotle observed that 'man by nature is a political animal'. By this he meant that the essence of social existence is politics and that two or more men interacting with one another are invariably involved in a political relationship.

Aristotle observed that whenever men seek to define their position in society or as they attempt to achieve personal security from available resources and as they try to influence others to accept their points of

view, they find themselves engaged in politics. In this broad sense, every one is a politician.

Today, the word politics is an elastic one. To some authorities, politics is concerned with the ordinary day-to-day activities of the community in which we are all personally involved. To others, including Harold Lasswell, politics has been equated with the study of power or the study of influence and the influential. In fact, Lasswel went as far as to define politics as "who gets what, when how" which underlines the importance of power as the major ingredient of politics.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

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

- explain what politics is all about
- explain the development of political science as a subject of study and why political science is regarded as a science.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Definitions/Explanations of Politics

Generally speaking, it is difficult to define politics because there are many definitions by various scholars that conflict or sometimes complement one another. Ernest Baker (1962:1) stated that politics is the process of making and execution of governmental decisions or policies. Harold Lesswell and Abraham Kaplan (1950) defined politics as authoritative, allocation of values or who gets what, when and how. Austine Ranany (1975: 35-38) maintained that politics is a process of resolution of conflict in society.

For Max Weber, (1947:145-154) politics is the operation of the state and its institutions. Politics for him, means the sharing power to influence the distribution of power among individuals and groups within a state.

Lasswell suggests that politics is essentially the struggle for positions of power and influence by which those who succeed in monopolizing such positions in society are able to make decisions that affect the lives of every citizen within the country. More will be said about power later when we examine it as a topic on its own.

For our purpose, politics can simply be defined in three ways: First, it attempts to discover the general principles, formation and functioning of government. Secondly, it is concerned with people and the way in which they make decisions and the way those decisions are reached. Thirdly

politics is that part of the social sciences which treats the foundations of the state and the principle of government, governmental, social and economic programmes, international relations, organizations and cooperation.

Politics goes beyond the activity of government, the political parties and the politicians. Politics is a universal phenomenon- that is, it is present in all human organization such as the family, trade unions, corporations, universities, etc. In all these organizations, politics is characterized by struggle for power and influence, conflict, bargaining, reconciliation, resolution and consensus.

Politics can be played at a national level or internationally. At the national level, the failure of the Nigerian political elite between 1962-66 gave the military the opportunity to intervene in our political process. History repeated itself in 1983 when the political elite again failed to settle their differences following the 1983 October general elections. Again, the military employing their monopoly over the use of force and the acquiescence of the Nigerian people swept the political elite off the political stage and ruled until 1999.

Similarly, it was politics at the international level when the Palestinian and the Israelites partly resolved their age-long military/ideological confrontation over Palestinian home land in Gaza. Also it was a political action/decision when ECOMOG troops were sent by West African States to war-torn Liberia for peace-keeping operations. This helped to stop the fighting from getting worse. Peace has now returned to Liberia after 15 years of fighting.

3.2   The Development of Political Science as a Field of Study

The Greeks as we have seen established a broad definition of politics. However, between the sixteenth and early twentieth centuries, European political philosophers established a narrower definition of politics.

For example, Jean Bodin (1430-1596), a French political philosopher, who first used the term "political science" (science politique) was a lawyer. Because of his legal training, Bodin focused on the characteristics of the state more than any other aspect of the political process. He concentrated on analyzing the relationship between the organization of the state and how this relates to law.

Another French philosopher Montesquieu (1689-1755) argued that the functions of government could be encompassed within the categories of legislation, execution, and the adjudication of law. Montesquieu categories found their way into the United States Constitution and other

Republican Constitutions with the assumption that liberty was best assured by separation of powers between the Legislature, the Executive and the Judiciary.

It was the work of these two philosophers that imposed a restricted definition of politics on political scientists. Political scientist for years concentrated almost exclusively on the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary as major concern until recently.

In the mid-nineteenth century, Darwin's theory of evolution and natural selection began to exert a powerful influence upon political science. In fact, Biology came to reinforce history in the study of political institutions, which were seen as the product of historical change and, apparently organic evolution. The development of sociology after the 19th century prompted political scientists to give more attention to the impact on government of social forces not defined with reference to the institutional outline of the state. The industrialization of previously agricultural societies and sharpening clash between the emergent working classes and their employers (industrialists) compelled a closer study of economic facts, forces and trends, as these produced political problems and helped to shape political behaviour.

The advent of World War II brought about a re-think by political scientist that Legislature, Executives, agencies, and the Courts did not exist by themselves and that they did not operate independently of one another or of the other political organizations in society. Political scientists in America and Europe embarked on new fields of study by examining the political parties, interest groups, trade unions, as well as corporations and church organizations. Ideologies have also commanded the attention of political scientists because of their (ideologies) role in the formation of Ultra-Right and Ultra-Left political parties and movements. It is all the above institutions of the state plus other political and social organization that constitute the political system.

What this mean is that politics is not just about government and politicians but a complex process involving everybody in a given society, attitudes to issues, interest groups, group organization, electioneering, as well as the formulation, implementation, and interpretation of law.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1

Define politics and describe the development of political science as a field of study.

3.3   What is Science? What Makes Political Science a Science?

Pure science is concerned with obtaining accurate knowledge about the structure and behaviour of the physical universe. It deals with universal and with rational analysis of known facts. It is fact seeking as well as fact-using. The ultimate goal of a science is the classification of facts, and on the basis of such classification, the formulation of a body of general rules and logically consistent and universally valid statement about the universe. Science has been described as an "adventure of the human spirit".

The scientific method entails vigorous procedures starting from selection of problems to be solved or analysed, followed by formulation of hypothesis, gathering of data and testing of hypothesis, and finally, the use of findings to refute, modify or support existing theories. To evaluate the findings of their own studies and of others, scientists employ a number of knowledge, to be scientific it must be characterized by verifiability; it must be systematic and must, have general applicability.

3.4   The Meaning of Verifiability

A proposition is said to be verified when it has been checked or tested by many specialists in the relevant field of study and when they all agree that other scientists and the general public can believe it to be true. However, there are no certainties in anything but probabilities. The probability that some propositions will hold true, is so great that they can be treated as certainties, but in the social sciences, this is not the case.

If scientific knowledge is to be verifiable, science must be empirical, that is, scientific statements must be descriptive of the empirical world. Similarly, if scientific knowledge is to be verifiable, the desire for reliability and, ultimately, for verifiability has been the chief factor leading to the adoption of quantitative methods.

3.5   The Meaning of Systematic

Knowledge is said to be systematic when it is organized into an intelligible pattern, or structure, with significant relationships made clear. To achieve a system, scientists seek out similarities and differences putting things together. While looking for similarities and differences, scientists also look for relationship, whether correlations or causal relations. Concern for system means that scientists want to proceed from particular towards general facts, from knowledge of

isolated facts towards knowledge of connections between facts. Thus, "the ideal of science is to achieve a systematic inter-connection of facts".

3.6   The Meaning of Generality or Universality

The knowledge provided by a telephone directory anywhere in the world is verifiable, and it is presented in an orderly and systematic way. However, it lacks generality or universality in the sense that a New York Telephone Directory is useless in the City of Lagos. The object in science is to develop generalizations so that explanation and prediction can occur to the maximum possible extent.

Scientific knowledge on any subject, designed to facilitate explanation and prediction can be thought of as a pyramid rising from a base of specific bits of data up through more general facts to propositions, laws, and theories. Turning to the second part of our questions: Is political science really scientific? Political science may be defined as the study of politics using some scientific tools.

Political science is not and cannot be an exact science in the sense of the natural sciences like physics, chemistry, geology, etc. The reasons for this are that the subject matter which political scientists investigate is generally uncertain in forms – that is, people are generally unpredictable. Thus, the conclusions reached after investigations are dubious and the findings are not all of general or universal applicability.

Political science is not an exact science like the natural sciences because the material with which it deals is incapable of being treated exactly the same way as physics or chemistry. While physics and chemistry are natural or physical science, and deal with matter; the social sciences which include political science, sociology, economics, etc. deal with man in society. Man in society is not only unpredictable but also extremely cumbersome to observe accurately because he is ever-changing and his environment is difficult to control.

Political science like other social sciences has a scientific character because of the scientific method it employ in examining phenomena. That is, it is a science to the extent that it accumulates facts that are verifiable, links these facts together in causal sequences (systematically) and from these, makes generalizations of fundamental principles and formulate theories.

The laboratory method of the natural science may be difficult for political scientists to adopt but they could observe historical facts and the facts of contemporary world as the basis for political analysis,

classify, connect and compare. However, political scientists do not agree on the appropriate categories for classifying the phenomena of politics. This disagreement reflects the difficulty of observing and the frequent impossibility of quantifying the variables that political scientists identify.

Finally, because political scientists deal with large numbers of people in an uncontrolled setting where each individual has many behavioural options open to him, it is near impossible to make generalization on observed facts. The most crucial fact is how one defines, much less measure, political power and influence the very substance of the political process. Our assessment of political power will be highlighted when we examine power, authority and influence in another unit.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2

Is Political Science a science or an art subject?

4.0   CONCLUSION

The development of Political science as a discipline shows its attempt in enhancing its scientific status. We are however informed that political science is not and cannot be an exact science in the sense of the natural sciences like physics, chemistry, geology, etc. The reasons for this are uncertainty and unpredictability of the subject matter which political scientists investigate.

5.0   SUMMARY

In this unit, you have been exposed to what politics is about; the development of political science as a distinct field of study and its scientific status. We tried here to show you that although there is no universally acceptable definition of the word "politics", however, there are some working definitions that will guide you as new "entrants" in the field.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

i.   Discuss what you understand by the term politics.
ii.   Describe the development of political science over the years.
iii.   Why are the natural sciences more 'scientific' than political science?

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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UNIT 2   THE SUBJECT MATTER OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

CONTENTS

1.0   INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you learnt about what politics is all about and the development of political science as a field of study. This unit introduces us to the subject matter of political science as well as analyses the various approaches to the study of politics.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

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

*   identify the subject matter of Political Science
*   differentiate between the various approaches to the study of politics.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   The Subject Matter of Political Science

Political science like many subjects such as Economics and History were once part of Philosophy. But today, political science has gained its own independence and has developed many fields and sub-disciplines some of which we discus briefly below. More emphasis will be placed on the Behavioural and Legalist approaches in subsequent units.

3.1.1 Political Philosophy

We all know that every political act implies underlying political value. Thus, from Plato to early 20th century, political philosophy was concerned with the values that were regarded as essential for the good citizen and a just state. The questions then were as they are today:

(a)   What is justice?
(b)   What makes political power and its exercise legitimate?
(c)   What is the sanction for rebellion against the authority of the state?
(d)   How should property and the other forms of material possession be distributed among citizens?
(e)   To what extent should citizens be entitled to participate in the decision-making processes of government?

Answers to these and similar questions have been and will continue to be endlessly debated because the "answers" are based on value-judgement and not facts. Thus, political philosophy is the least scientific sub-discipline of political science. It is concerned with the **normative** implications the way the state and society **ought** to behave, given certain fundamental human values.

3.1.2 Judicial and Legal Process

This sub-discipline of political science is very important. The questions which arise within this sub-discipline are:

(a)   How do constitutions affect the operation of government, and how do the operations of government affect the development of constitutions?
(b)   How are the laws administered, interpreted and enforced?
(c)   What are the rights of citizens under the law?
(d)   If the constitution of a state is the supreme law of the land, which agency of government has the final word in determining the meaning of the law-in fact as well as in theory?

(e)   How are conflicts between the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial branches of government resolved?

(f)   How are the jurisdictions of Federal and State governments defined?

3.1.3 Executive Process

The most visible symbol of a state is its Chief Executive. How is he or she selected or elected? What are the formal and informal responsibilities? How does he or she exercise the powers inherent in his office? What are these roles, and how do they complement or conflict with one another according to his or her personality, ambition and goals?

Kings, Prime Ministers, premiers and presidents all require staffs of executive assistants, for the performance of their duties in office. The study of the executive process then is in large part the study of bureaucracy – the way it is organized and the way it functions.

3.1.4 Administrative Organization and Behaviour

Political science is also concerned with the behaviour of administrators themselves at all levels of the bureaucratic administrators themselves at all levels of the bureaucratic hierarchy. The political scientists working in this field are concerned about – how decisions are made? How is it that the best made plans of administrators often produced unintended results or no result? Not responsible to the voters, perhaps enjoying the professional security of a civil service appointment, how can an administrator be motivated to perform his tasks with a sense of responsibility to the public interest?

To answer these questions, researchers often rely on detailed case studies, that trace the interaction of a specific governmental programme. Researchers conduct interviews and go through original documents in order to reach a conclusion as to how certain things get done within an organization such as business corporations, the trade unions, the University, etc.

3.1.5 Legislative Politics

How are laws made in terms of the clash of interests inside and outside the legislative arena? How do the rules and procedures of the legislature, its system of committees and sub-committees, affect the substance of legislative policy? How is power distributed among the legislators themselves?

The legislature functions primarily as the watchdog of the Executive. How successful are they in monitoring the operations of executive agencies and in maintaining the political responsibility of administrator to rank-and-file citizens through their elected representatives? How well do legislators attend to the diverse needs of their many constituents?

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1

What do you consider to be the subject matter of political science?

3.2 Approaches to the Study of Politics

Political scientists have adopted several approaches to the study of politics. Approaches provide the political scientist with the conceptual framework in understanding political life. We shall consider these approaches in the following sub-units.

3.2.1 Traditional Approaches

There are two major approaches under the traditional approaches

(a)   the historical;
(b)   the institutional approaches to the study of political process.

The historical approach relies mainly on the facts of the past to explain the present and probable future political development within political institutions and process.

By contrast, the traditional/institutional approach emphasizes philosophy, law, logic, norms, values and institutions as much as the historical approach.

The traditional approaches have been criticised as static and over-simplified assumptions about today's reality in the political process. However, the approaches still have their use in political study.

3.2.2 Behavioural Approach

Behaviouralism was developed by American political scientists as an alternative to the traditional approaches in the 1940s and 1950s. This approach concentrates on careful observation of individual behaviour in the political process and less on state political institutions. Behaviourists borrow from sociology and psychology as well as other disciplines. This have allowed for the development and application of psychoanalysis, decision-making models and system theory to the study of politics.

Behaviorists use more statistical methods, on testing hypothesis than other political scientists. They insist that it is only through practical approach, measurements and facts that political science can move towards being a science than mere descriptive formalism and political philosophy. Behaviorism as an approach is an improvement in methodology upon the traditional approaches and it is a reflection of the rapid growth of the discipline.

The advent of World War II brought new approaches to political science. The major approaches are: System Analysis, Structural Functionalism, Group Approach, Elite Analysis, Class Analysis and Political Economy.

3.2.3 Systems Analysis Approach

System analysis is an attempt by David Easton, its originator to apply general systems theories to political science. In this pioneering effort, Easton insisted that political system "is that system of interactions in any society through which binding or authoritative allocations are made".
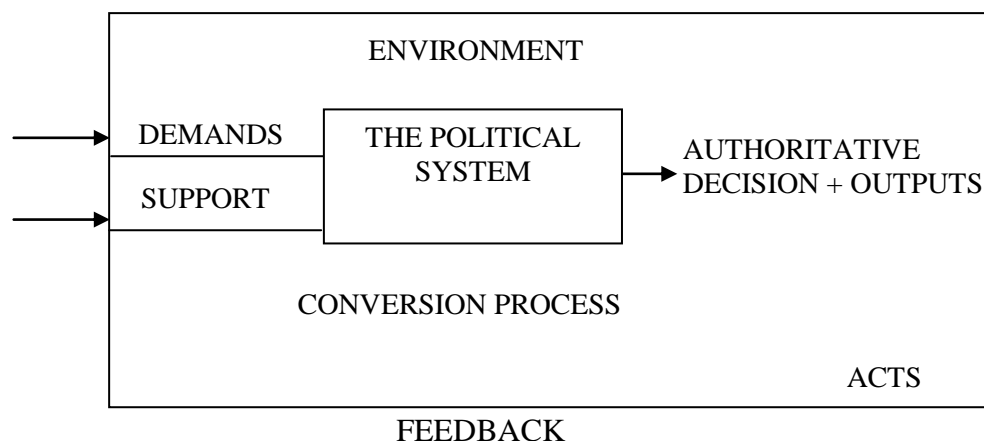
Easton explained that from the environment demands are made on the political system in the form of INPUT. (Demands and Support). These demands are then processed into OUTPUTS, which are AUTHORITATIVE DECISIONS (Legislations or Acts). Through a feedback loop changes brought about by those outcomes after conversion, a channel led back into the system in form of increased, intensified or modified demands and supports. Although the model is largely abstract, it is useful as a general framework for political analysis.

3.2.4 Structural Functionalism Approach

This approach is an offshoot of systems analysis. It focuses largely on explaining the functions a political system must perform to survive and defines structures or organizations which can most efficiently perform

128

the functions. The structures may be political parties, pressure groups or formal government institutions performing system-maintenance functions such as informing the electorate on important issues and allowing for wider participation in the political system.

Although the approach cannot provide a general theory for all aspects of political science, nevertheless, it provides standard categories for different political system and therefore useful in comparative government/politics.

3.2.5 Class Analysis Approach

This is the most radical approach in political science. The approach focuses on division of society into classes and how this social stratification determines social conflict and social change. However, there is a great deal of disagreement as to the basis of stratification in a given society and the conflict it generates within the political system.

Most Marxist political scientists insist that class exist in all societies because of the nature of mode of production. They insist that those who own the means of production take decisions that affect the lives of workers who work for pay. It further explains that those who own the means of production continue to expropriate the surplus wealth created by workers; and that it is this class relationship that has brought about class antagonism and class wars/revolutions.

3.2.6 Political Parties and Interest Groups Approach

Many political scientists believe that the legislative process in Parliament or Assembly is primarily an institution that structures the conflict of interests and demands expressed by political parties. The job of political scientists with this kind of concern is the analyses of the organization and behaviour of these groups in and out of Parliament, Assembly or Congress.

From the standpoint of "group theory", and in fact passed by the legislature it expresses mainly the prevailing distribution of influence among competing groups, each of them seeking to advance its own particular interest, thus, we may ask what interest do these groups truly represent? In the case of political parties, their membership, political access, and policies   structured by the electoral system very much determine their rules in the legislative or executive branches of government.

The concerns of the political scientists using this approach are: where does the political party, draw their support from? Do their policies and programmes differ from each other? How do they make decisions? How do they select their leaders? How do they raise money and to what

extent power is concentrated or diffused throughout the organization hierarchy? These are the vital questions that most political scientists working within this approach must adopt in the research aims and objectives.

3.2.7 Voting and Public Opinion Approach

Some political scientists are mainly concern with voting patterns and public opinions on political issues. The important questions which political scientists working with this approach are as follows:

What is the "mind" of the public? How do the opinions, attitudes, and beliefs of citizens affect the policy making political elites? What motivate citizens to vote or not to vote? Are voters more concerned about issues or about personality of particular candidates? Is the voter voting for a particular party because of long standing loyalty to that party, regardless of its candidates or position to the major issues of the day? And how do the various orientations of voters relate to their level of education, their age, sex, race, religion, income and place of residence? These questions are vital to our understanding of the political process in any given country.

3.2.8 Comparative Politics Approach

Any or all the above sub-disciplines in political science may be integrated into a comparative framework. When political scientists look at the political parties or socialization processes of two or more countries, they are able to clarify their generalizations about a particular political system because its characteristics are highlighted by comparison with those of other political systems.

Comparative political analysis is also an aid in understanding and identifying those characteristics which may be universal to the political process, regardless of time or place. By adopting the comparative approach, new fields of research have been developed. These include: comparative studies of political elites in two countries or more, political violence, and political corruption; political socialization, political culture, political parties and interest groups. These sub-disciplines have benefited in no small ways from the comparative approach.

3.2.9 Political Development Approach

It became clear after World War II that students of comparative politics had overlooked a vast reservoir of potential knowledge about the political process. The earlier focus had been on the industrialized and modernized states of the West. The emergence of newly independent

countries all over the world forced Western researchers to examine non-Western cultures and the political processes emerging in these countries. Researchers developed new methods and tools of analysis and were able to examine the socio-economic and the political processes of these developing states.

Students of political development are today concerned with the effects of urbanization and economic development on political organization and behaviour, with education, with the way which political change and socio-economic development affect the more fundamental differences, between various ethnic and religious groups within the same society.

The study of developing states has helped us to understand the institutions and the supporting attitudes and behaviour that define "democracy" do not emerge suddenly from the informed intellect and good will of those who choose to write democratic constitutions. And, in fact, all societies may be understood to be in the process of political development. They consequently according to their varying degree of modernization or development: the extent to which all citizens have been mobilized by socio-economic development and cultural change for participation in politics, the capabilities of existing political organizations for accommodating the interests and demands of citizens, thus providing them with a sense of participation and efficacy in the functioning of government.

3.2.10 International Politics and Organisations Approach

The study of international politics has been one of the long-standing concerns of political scientists, due largely to the occurrence of wars and political conflicts between nations. The focus in this sub-discipline is on the resources that help explain differences in the distribution of international power, the circumstances that contribute to a balance of power between competing states or to a breakdown in the balance of power, the interests represented by the alliances between states and the pattern of conflict and cooperation between blocs of aligned and non-aligned states; the relationships stimulated by economic trade and interdependence, and those institutions devoted to improving the chances of peace and international cooperation, e.g. the United Nations Organisations. More will be said about this in another unit.

4.0   CONCLUSION

Political scientists employ a number of approaches in the study and understanding of political phenomenon. These approaches which are distinct, but overlapping seek to understand the subject matter of politics.

5.0   SUMMARY

In this unit, we have looked at the preoccupation of Political science. We also identified the various approaches and lenses that political scientists employ in the study of politics. A word of a caution to you as a student of politics: these approaches should be seen as complementing each other rather than standing alone, as most at times they find themselves overlapping.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Critique the various approaches to the study of politics.

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UNIT 3   THE LEGALISTIC APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF POLITICS

CONTENTS

1.0   INTRODUCTION

The legal approach is very important in political science because it focuses on the legal provisions which are usually contained in the Constitution and other laws of the land. Because disputes are likely to arise between different arms of government and different levels of government, there is need for a legal system that can interpret laws and reconcile likely disputes and conflicts between the various arms of government. The concern of the legal approach is about the administration of laws, its interpretation and enforcement.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

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

•   explain the legal approach to the study of political science.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Law and Society

No modern society can exist without a system of laws. The institution of law is therefore crucial to the social organization of human beings. A modern society is not like the state of nature (primitive society) where

life was 'solitary, nasty, brutish and short' – the state of anarchy according to Thomas Hobbes.

The concept of 'the law' connotes to the political scientist, the processes, principles, standards, and rules which govern the relationships and which help resolve the conflicting interests of men and institutions in a cohesive society.

It is impossible to conceive of a modern society operating without the benefit of law - without the carefully formulated principles, standards, and rules that keep our invalued social complex from disintegration. No rational person believes that the intricate problems arising in an urban society could be dealt with in the absence of statues, courts, legislatives, executives, administrators, policemen, and penalties. Such a society constitutes a seamless web of important and conflicting interests, and the concept of law is central to it.

Government does not rely solely upon the law to achieve its objectives, but government without the law does not have legitimate authority to rule. To govern means to control, and control in the political sense within a state requires principles of conduct embedded in legal principles, standards, and rules and enforced by sanctions, whether civil or criminal.

In democratic society, the goal of government is the attainment of justice, law exists to help reach this goal, although in practice results often fall short of this ideal.

Law also encompasses the do's and don'ts of man's routine experiences in everyday living. For example, if a man park his car on the wrong side of the road, dumped his rubbish/garbage in a forbidden area, insult or punch his neighbour in a fit of temper, or fail to file his income tax return, etc. and legal sanctions will fall upon his shoulders – heavily or according to the nature of his offence.

3.2   What then is Law?

The term is one of the most ambiguous and fluid known to man. There is little agreement as to its meaning and it may be that there is no final answer. A basic difficulty is that "law" means so many different things to so many different persons at so many different times and in so many different places. Justice Oliver Wendell Homes (American Jurists) once said: "A word is not a crystal, transparent and unchanged; it is the skin of a living thought and may vary greatly in colour and content according to the circumstances and the time in which it is used." This is true of law.

Despite the above position about the ambiguity of law, let us define the law as a body of rules for human conduct that is backed by legitimate authority. The three components in this definition are:

i)   Body of rules
ii)   Conduct, and
iii)   Legitimate Authority

3.2.1 Body of Rules

Law can be expressed or conceived as doing things with rules. In other words, law is a technique of social ordering [W. Twinning and D. Miers (1979) To Do Things with Rules]. From this definition we could conclude that within the province of law we have rules and regulations, norms, values, codes, legislative enactments, edicts and decrees.

3.2.2   Human Conduct

A law regulates the behaviour of human beings in everyday activities and in their personal interrelationship. This explanation is important as we are aware of other forms of law, i.e. Mathematical laws, Biological laws, Mechanical laws, etc.

3.2.3 Legitimate Authority

A law either written or mere verbal proclamation is mere words unless it is backed by some form of authority; this authority could be traditional, legalistic/rational legal. Without legitimate authoritative backing, people will violate laws with impunity.

Law and society are related. Society survives because there are laws which regulate the behaviour of individuals. Indeed, the societal framework provides the premise upon which law are developed. On the one hand no society can achieve any measures of success/development unless there are established legal systems.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1

Identify and discuss three components of the definition of law.

3.3   Features of the Legal Approach

The legal approach in the study of politics is concerned with the following areas:

(i)   The Legal Basis of Political Institutions.
(ii)   The Legal Basis of Political Rights
(iii)   The Protection of rights
(iv)   Legal Remedies.

3.3.1   The Legal Basis of Political Institutions

Political Institutions are usually created in the Constitution which is the fundamental law of the State.   The Constitution also stipulates the relationship among the various institutions of government.   For example, in the 1999 Constitution, of Nigeria, the following Political Institutions were created:

Chapter 4   -   The Legislature (National Assembly)
Chapter 5   -   The Executive
Chapter 6   -   The Judiciary

The composition and functions of the Nigeria Government must be in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution as specified in various chapters and sections.

3.3.2   The Legal Basis of Political Rights

Political Rights derive their source from the Constitution.   Chapters 33 to 42 of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria guarantees the following Rights:

Chapter 33   -   Right to life.
Chapter 34   -   Right to dignity of human person.
Chapter 35   -   Right to personal liberty
Chapter 36   -   Right to fair hearing.
Chapter 37   -   Right to private life
Chapter 38   -   Right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion
Chapter 39   -   Right to freedom of expression and press.
Chapter 40   -   Right to peaceful assembly and association.
Chapter 41   -   Right to freedom of movement
Chapter 42   -   Right to freedom from discrimination.

3.3.3 Legal Protections of Rights

Political rights enjoyed by the people in a democratic country/society are usually protected by certain legal devices such as:

-        The Rule of Law
-        The Right to Fair Hearing (Audi alteram Parterm)
-        The Rule Against Bias (Nemo judex in Causa Sua).

3.3.4   Legal Remedies

It is inconceivable to think of legal rights without legal remedies. Thus, if a person has a legal right and the right is violated, then such a person should be entitled to some remedy. A remedy is therefore a compensation for the violation of legal rights. Remedies reverse wrong decisions and make appropriate decisions to correct legal injustices. These remedies include:

a)   The Order of Habeas Corpus
b)   The Writ of Prohibitions
c)   The Writ of Mandamus
d)   The Writ of Injunctions
e)   Declarations

In addition to the Constitutional Law, there are other legal instruments that influence the political process in a particular country. These include laws made by the Legislative Assembly and the System of Courts.

Every state/country has its legal system which is made up of both the substantive and procedural laws and judicial organizational structure. For example, in Nigeria, we have the Criminal Code, the Penal Code, the Civil Procedure Code, the Sharia Laws, the Customary Laws and other enactment by the National Assembly. Also in Nigeria, we have various grades of Courts – Supreme Court, Court of Appeal, Federal High Court, the State High Courts, Magistrate Courts and Customary Courts.

Other features of the Nigeria legal system which are more or less political in nature include the Public Complaint Commission, The Code of Conduct Bureau, Public Commissions of Inquiry, The Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) and Public Tribunals, etc.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2

What are the features of the legal approach to the study of Political science?

4.0   CONCLUSION

In this Unit, we have attempted to examine the legal approach to the study of politics. The relationship between law and society has also been explained.

5.0   SUMMARY

As can be seen from the above outline, no satisfactory explanation of the workings of the political system of any country can be provided without looking at the legal framework. Political institutions by and large derive their existence from the legal and constitutional system, hence the importance of legal approach in the study of politics.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

i.   Why is the Legal Approach so important in the study of Politics?
ii.   Evaluate the Legal Approach to the study of Politics in relation to the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

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UNIT 4   THE BEHAVIOURAL APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF POLITICS

CONTENTS

1.0   INTRODUCTION

This unit examines the Behavioural Approach to the study of the Political Science. Behaviorism was developed by American Political Scientists as an alternative to the traditional approaches in the 1940s and 1950s. This approach concentrates on careful observation of individual behaviour in the political process and less on state political institutions. The objective of the behavioural approach is to make the study of politics more scientific.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the features of Political Science in the pre-behavioural period
- discuss the factors which contributed to the emergence of the Behavioural Approach
- explain the main features of the Behavioural Approach
- discuss the criticisms of the Behavioural Approach.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   The Features of Political Science in the Pre-behavioral Period

The method of studying Political Science before the World War II was largely unscientific and largely descriptive. According to Truman, Political Science as a discipline before behaviouralism was characterized by six features:

1.   A lack of concern with political system as such, including the American Political System which amounted in most cases to taking their properties and requirement for granted.
2.   The absence of an explicit conception of political change and development that was blindly optimistic and unreflectively reformist.
3.   The almost total neglect of theory in any meaningful sense of the term.
4.   The consequent enthusiasm for a conception of science that rarely went beyond raw empiricism.
5.   A strongly parochial preoccupation with things American that stunted the development of an effective comparative method, and
6.   The establishment of a continuity commitment to concrete description (Truman, 1951)

This was how most American Political Scientists viewed the method of studying the subject before World War II. However, the events and the consequence of World War II acted as a wakeup call that made American Political Scientists more critical of political science methodology as their research methodology could not find answers to most of the emerging problems thrown up by the War.

According to Davies and Lewis (1971) there was:

> *A great dissatisfaction with methods of investigation with the working of the political system once characteristic mainly of British and European Political Scientist. In fact we are often told there was little concern with what is now called the political system but more with the study of the State. And the study of the State meant analyses of the articles of constitutions, legislations passed by governments and the institutions to which the constitutions made provision.*

The emphasis on the analysis of the State, law and constitution relegated the study of the general social framework of the state to the background.

One problem which is associated with the concentration of the study on the state and its institutions is that such institutions may be outdated, but the study may not reflect such changes. Furthermore, the emphasis on the state and its institution may not provide an objective criterion for comparing different states.

The problems which necessitated the re-orientation of the study of Political Science include according to Davies and Lewis (1977):

1.   The need to explain the failure of democracy and the emergence of authoritarian political institutions in Germany and Italy before and during the War.
2.   The need to explain the political processes of the post-colonial states in Africa and Asia.
3.   The need to develop a theoretical analysis of politics which could explain the development of different kinds of political institutions.
4.   The need to develop models which could be used in comparative politics.

According to Somit and Tenehaus the problems with the traditional approach in America were centred around five major issues:

1.   The discovery that the talents and skills of political scientists were not highly valued by government bureaucrat or officials.
2.   The inability of traditional political science to account to the rise of Fascism, National Socialism (Naziscism) and Communism.
3.   A growing sensitivity to and unhappiness with the basically descriptive nature of the discipline.
4.   The knowledge of advances in other social sciences.
5.   The fear that political science was lagging behind its sister professions and disciplines.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1

What are the features of Political Science in Pre-behavioural period?

3.2   Factors which contributed to the emergence of the Behavioural approach in Political Science

There were a number of factors which contributed to the emergence of the behavioural approach. We now discuss some of them below:

3.3 The Chicago School

The birth place of the Behavioural School is the Department of Political Science, University of Chicago, USA. It was there that few political scientists under the leadership of Charles E. Merriam, pioneered the study of what we now know as the Behavioural Approach. Other pioneering personalities in the Chicago School included Harold Lasswell, V. O. Key Jr., David Truman, Herbert Simon and Gabriel Almond and others.

3.4 The Princeton School

The Princeton School was located at the Department of Political Science, University of Princeton, USA. Its research methodology is based on the behavioural approach. Its field of specialization was cross-cultural studies. Those associated with the Princeton School included James S. Coleman, Lucian Pye, Sydney Verba, Myro Weiner, Dankwart A. Roston and George I. Blankstern.

3.5 Foundations Fund Support

The re-orientation of Political Science methodology was assisted by an unprecedented flow of foundation funds. Those foundations active in providing funds for research on political science were the Ford, the Rockefeller and the Carnegie Foundations.

3.6 The Immigration of European Scholars into the USA

The policies pursued by the Nazi Government in Germany made many German Scholars to migrate to the US during the War. Scholars from other European Universities also moved to America during and after the War. These scholars arrived in America with intellectual techniques/methods, which helped behaviouralism to develop as a methodology.

Other factors that helped boosted the Behavioural approach included the encouragement of the American Political Science Association and the Social Science Research Council, the growth of survey methods, especially at the Survey Research Centre of the University of Michigan and the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia University.

3.7 The Main Features of the Behavioural Approach

The main features of the Behavioural approach are as follows:

1.	The objective is to make the study of political science scientific thus capable of explanations and predictions.
2.	The focus of study is on observable behaviour of individuals and groups in the political process.
3.	The use of quantitative method is encouraged since this would assist in accurate measurement of data.
4.	Research is aimed at developing theories which could provide acceptable explanation for political behaviour.
5.	Research is, also, aimed at providing solutions to immediate social problems.
6.	Political Science is to be made more inter-disciplinary, embracing other social sciences.
7.	Research should employ statistical techniques such as multivariate analysis, sample surveys, mathematical models and simulation.

With the increasing use of the behavioural approach in Political Science, major changes were noticed in the vocabulary of politics. Such words includes boundary maintenance, bargaining, conceptual framework, decision-making, functionalism, factor analysis, feedback, model, game theory, input/output, political socialization, political culture, political system, etc. This behaviouralism has made political science an inter-disciplinary subject and fully integrated it into other social sciences.

## 3.8	Criticism of the Behavioural Approach

Major critics of the approach included William Yandell Elliot, Edward S. Corwan, Luther Gullick, Walter J. Sheperd, James Hart, H. Mark Jacobson and Charles A. Bear (Gullick, 1956). The main contention of these critics of the Behavioural Approach were:

1.	Political Science is not, nor is it ever likely to become a science in any realistic sense of the term.
2.	Overt political behaviour tells only part of the story. Different individuals may perform the same act for quite different reasons. To understand what they do, one must go beyond or behind, observable behaviour. The anti-behaviouralist holds that the larger part of political life lies beneath the surface of human action and cannot be directly apprehended.
3.	Because Political Berhaviour is not quantifiable whatever the theoretical merits of quantification, it cannot make political science scientific.
4.	The pre-occupation with general theory tends to block less ambitious prospects but in the long run is more productive inquiry. At best, it has led to the proliferation of concepts which cannot be operationalised.

5. Significant political issues involve moral and ethical issues. Political Science has historically been, and must continue to be more concerned with questions of right and wrong even if these cannot be scientifically resolved.

6. There has been indiscriminate borrowing of concepts and techniques which are simply inappropriate for political inquiry.

7. As for 'Scientific Objectivity', there is almost universal skepticism among the anti-behaviouralist that it is attainable and considerable doubt that it is inherently desirable. (Somit and Tenenhaus, 1968).

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2

Discuss various criticisms, the anti-Behaviouralist approach leveled against behaviouralism as a method in Political Science.

4.0 CONCLUSION

We have tried to look at the features of the pre-behavioural approach to the study of politics and the factors that led to the emergence of the behavioural approach. The basic tenets of behaviouralsim and its weaknesses have also been examined.

5.0 SUMMARY

The period 1945 – 1965 was a period of transformation of political science. The period witnessed a revolutionary change in political science methodology. The University of Chicago pioneered a new method of studying politics – the Behavioural Approach – which challenged the Historical and the Institutional Approaches in Political science. The main focus of Behaviorism is to make the study of Political Science Scientific. While behaviorism has been acted and applied in research by many scholars, there are number of scholars who doubt the usefulness of behaviourism.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

i. Discuss the emergence of the Behavioural Approach in the study of Politics.

ii. Identify and discuss the main features of the Behavioural Approach.

iii. Write a critique of the Behavioural Approach.

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UNIT 5   THE NATURE, PURPOSE AND FUNCTIONS OF
          THE MODERN STATE

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objectives
3.0   Main Content
       3.1   Definitions of the State
              3.1.1   Theories of the State
              3.1.2   Divine Rights of Kings
              3.1.3   The Force Theory – Might Makes Right
              3.1.4   The Social Contract Theory
              3.1.5   The Evolutionary/Natural Theory of the State
       3.2   Primary Characteristics of the State
       3.3   State and Society
       3.4   The Distinction between State and Nation
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0   References/Further Reading

1.0   INTRODUCTION

Political Science is the study of life in an organized community and the organized community is the state. According to Harold Laski (1967) the study of politics "Concerns itself with the life of men in relation to organized states". What this means is that the study of politics is largely the study of the state and other activities that relate to winning of power and exercising such power in a given state/country.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

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

•   explain what the state is, its origins, its characteristics and functions
•   differentiate between state and society and state and nation.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Definitions of the State

There is no clear definition of the state. However, some radical writers like Marx and Engels argued that the state is essentially an expression of class relationships generated by the particular mode of production and

146

unambiguously involved in the class struggle on the side of the dominant economic class. Thus, Marx and Engels (1976, P.486) wrote that in capitalist society, "The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie". Some regard the state as one organization that transcends class and stands for the whole community. Other definitions have emphasized the political authority, the monopoly of force through government and political allegiance of citizens to the state. Some have regarded the state as moral and good society where justice and the promotion of the general welfare of the people are established. Broadly speaking, the state is the political form of society. What we call the state is a community of men organized for preserving and creating order and general well-being of its members.

3.1.1 Theories of the State –Origins of the State

The most obvious characteristic of early statehood are monarchy supported by royal bureaucracy. The king becomes a national figure that replaced the family and tribal head, while the King's councilors take the place of tribal elders. The origin of the state thus is marked by the introduction of centralized authority, formalized hierarchy, specialization of task in the performance of public duty, and writers (instead of oral) communication. Although there are many theories of the state, we are going to discuss four major ones in this section.

3.1.2 The Divine Rights of Kings

Prior to the organization of the state, tribal authority was based on traditions and conventions. However, with emergence of a kingship system, there was a need for creating legitimating principles to make a ruler (King) acceptable to rule the subjects. To achieve this legitimacy politics was united with religion and the King as then presented to the people as choosing by the Divine Will. Thus, the idea that the ruler (King) was God's appointed agent on earth legitimized the King's power and made it both unquestionable and unassailable. Thus, to challenge the king was to challenge the Divine Will (God's authority). Because of this, later Kings/Queens could claim descent from the first King divinely appointed.

The Divine Right of Kings idea is the longest living doctrine in politics. The theory helped the early kings to usurp tribal autonomy and allowed many tyrants to disguise their actions as an expression of God's will. By contrast, the Divine Right theory helped to stabilize the political process and prevented violence and revolutionary activities by making the king and his orders divine.

Finally, the doctrine of divine right of kings aided the rulers to impart to their subjects a sense of group cohesion and collective purpose that formed the bedrock of most of modern day European states.

The theory of Divine Right of kings is a powerful doctrine as this has been demonstrated by its endurance to date. For example, until 1917 the Divine Rights of kings operated in Russia by the Romanov Dynasty. And as at 1974, Emperor Haile Salasie was still claiming the Divine Rights to rule over the people of Ethiopia.

3.1.3 The Force Theory – Might Makes Right

The doctrine of 'might makes right' is a simpler doctrine for legitimizing state power or power between individual or groups. This is an appeal to force or the battlefield where the fittest survive. What this theory amount to is that ruler who know how to get power and how to keep it are the effective and legitimate rulers. Thus, whoever has the power to rule either by the use of force or fraud, can also legitimately claim to have the authority to rule.

Theorists who support the force theory are concerned with ensuring political stability. According to Thomas Hobbes, all the good things of life, material and spiritual, depend first and foremost on the security of life itself. For Hobbes, if there is no power to enforce the will of the sovereign, then there is no government, no state, no security.

Hobbes and Machiavelli argued that any form of government could rightly claim legitimate authority, as long as it had the power to enforce its will. Both thinkers preferred monarchy because they believed that a strong monarchy was the strongest government of all and so the most entirely to ensure stability. What this means is that if a government lose power it loses the legitimacy for claiming power. And that power legitimizes itself.

Finally, the force theory opens the way for an undistinguished play for power between states competing for position on the stage of international politics. Those states that conquer others can rightfully claim authority over their territorial conquests precisely because they are the conquerors and not the conquered. And those revolutionary movements and military coups that succeed can legitimately claim all the rights and privileges formerly enjoyed by the old political order. In fact, this is the primary criterion at work in the granting of diplomatic recognition to new governments, whether they are established by conquest from within or without. Does the new government in fact govern the people and territory it claims to govern? Thus, most governments avoid the troubling questions of right and wrong, justice and injustice, in their dealing with each other.

148

3.1.4 Social Contract Theory

The alternative views of the origin of the state, and the principles that legitimizes its power are found in the social contract theories. The social contract theory is premised upon the idea that the state is a human creation by means of agreement - a social contract agreed upon by individual in a given society. Thomas Hobbes who was the first of the social contract theorists argued that prior to the existence of the state, life was "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short" because there was no organized authority to preside over the affairs of men.

In fact, life was a free for all fight and "every man was for himself and God for us all". It was man, in realization that this state of nature was not benefiting them that they decided to surrender their individual natural rights of self- government to an absolute sovereign authority by means of a contract.

John Locke, another social contract theorist argued that because men are rational, they can be trusted to pursue their self interest without infringing on the equal rights enjoyed by other citizens. And because men are rational, they can be trusted to judge the legitimacy of government as it legislates, administers, and adjudicates states laws.

Although this line of thinking would lead to total freedom and so no government as such, however, rational men perceived the advantages of organizing a government. It can impartially settle disputes between citizens, it is necessary to conduct foreign relations with other governments, and it is essential authority for divining and maintaining a system of monitory exchange which allows for the accumulation of material wealth.

The idea of social contract was taken further by Jean-Jacques Rousseau who insisted that no government was legitimate unless the people gave their consent to its authority. Thus, Russeau's social contract includes all citizens in the initial agreement to by the terms of the contract, all citizens enjoy an equal right to participate in the making of law, and so to participate in the decision making that defines the appropriate boundaries of the law and the proper domain of the state activity. Finally, Rousseau insisted that government is legitimate only in so far as it operates according to the principles of popular sovereignty.

3.1.5 The Evolutionary/Natural Theory of the State

According to evolutionary theorists, the state is best understood as an evolving organism that develops naturally according to some inherent dynamics of growth.

Aristotle in the forth B.C. had argued that the state developed from the evolving interests and needs of the individual. In contrast to social contract and force theories, the evolutionary theories believed the individual's needs and interests have been progressively met by the family, the clan, the tribe, and finally, by the complete community of social existence that is best expressed by the state. The guiding principles of growth of the state has been self sufficiency (not self interest) and the development of ever more elaborate institutions essential to satisfying mankind's unique and most distinguishing characteristic reason.

Finally, war and conquest played an important role in the evolutionary emergency of the modern state and its institution war and conquest helped the consolidation of gained territory through war. And in the origin and development of the state, common religious worship and language had a great influence by welding together families, clans and tribes into larger organized community better known as the state.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1

Discuss the major theories of the state known to you.

3.2   Primary Characteristics of the State

The "essential elements" of the modern state are: People, Territory, Government and Sovereignty. In explaining each characteristic we will be able to answer the question stated earlier: what is the nature of the state?

A.   People

The state as a human organization is made up of people that reside within its territory. Membership of a state is compulsory once an individual is born into it unless he changed his/her nationality. Even when a national of Nigeria, for example, renounces his citizenship of Nigeria he must acquire another citizenship because no one can be stateless; except refugees who temporarily lost their State from which they fled into exile.

When we are talking about the state in terms of population we are concerned with numbers and the characteristics of the people who composed the state's body politic. For example, while some modern states like the U.S.A and Canada are still under populated relative to land area and resources, other states like Egypt and India are confronted by the problem of a population that is expanding too rapidly for their natural and technological resources.

150

Thus, a state with a very small population may find it difficult or impossible to maintain its independence against states with greater manpower and resources. For example, the lack of significant population growth in Ghana contributed to the decline of Ghana as a regional power from her position in the 1950s and early 1960s.

The characteristics of the people who compose the state are very important to the state standing in the world. If there is high literacy and high education in a particular country, then the skill in the economic applications of modern technology will be high. Further, if the people living within a state have a common language, subscribed to the same religious beliefs and shared common cultures, then the strength of such a state is enhanced more than a state with many nationalities and languages. States such as France and Germany are stronger than states like the old Soviet Union or Yugoslavia both of which have disintegrated into ethnic states.

B.   Territory

An important pre-requisite for the existence of the state is territory. Most state has been established by conquest of neighbouring tribes and forming a centralized administration. Important consideration about the territory of a state should focus on its area, geographical location, resources, technology and climate.

In the modern world there are presumably sovereign independent states of all sizes and shapes ranging from a huge country like China to such a tiny principalities like Luxemburg and Monaco with a small population and land area. Yet, China and these small states have equal rights and status in international law. However, small states often find it difficult to act on the world stage or even to exist without alliances with stronger neighbours or a superpower.

Geographical location is very important for a state's survival and development. It is very important that a state have natural barriers such as ocean, sea, rivers, mountains or deserts, against powerful or aggressive neighbours. For example, Island powers like Great Britain and Japan developed strong navies, whereas Russia, Germany and France relied on the military strength of their land armies.

Economic resources are also very important in determining a state's power in the world today. For example, little England and medium sized Germany became great powers because of the early industrial revolutions which in turn was made possible only because of rich natural resources to which technology could be applied.

C.   Government

The state exists in order to ensure the safety of the lives, liberties and properties of its citizens. The agency of machinery by which the state performs its functions is known as the government. This is normally formed by a body of persons vested with authority to make and enforce rules on people under their jurisdiction. The government can command and coerce, that is use force, when obedience is not forthcoming. These two attributes – the ability to command and coerce, constitute power or authority of the state. Simply defined government is a body of persons authorized to govern or rule a country or state.

There are various forms of government. Monarchy, which is government by an individual who rules according to his will without legal limitations, is the oldest form of government. The ruler usually claims historical legitimacy through the Divine Rights of Kings. Aristocracy is another form of government in which few citizens make the major decisions that affect the lives of all the citizens of the country. Finally, we have Democracy in which most citizens participate in choosing their representatives into a Parliament, Congress or the Assembly. Thus, whenever we have a group vested with comprehensive power, there is a government.

Depending on the constitution of a country, the functions of government are many and varied. There are three organs of government. The Legislature, the Executive and the Judiciary. The Government enacts or makes Laws and general rules of conduct, usually under the direction of the Executive. This function is performed by the Legislature or Parliament, which consist of the Head of State, the Upper and the Lower Houses in many countries. The legislature also controls the exercise of executive power in the country on such matters as the national finance and expenditure.

In the United States of America, Congress is the Legislature. The Executive which comprises the Secretaries and the civil servants including local government authorities sees to it that the laws passed and the rules makes by the Legislature are put into effect. In most countries the Executive is also concerned with the general administration. The Judiciary refers to the courts of law which interpret and enforce the laws and the rules. It is the duty of the judiciary to punish law breakers – they are fined or sent to prisons.

Finally, we must make a distinction between the state and the government. The state comprises the government and the governed. Government on the other hand is only the machinery through which the

purposes of the state are sought to be realized. While the government of a state may change from time to time, the state is a permanent entity.

D.   Sovereignty

Sovereignty as a concept is discussed fully in another unit. It suffices to say here that the word Sovereignty can be traced back to the Greek Philosophers who used it to refer to that which is supreme in the state. Since then, the concept has been variously defined and analyzed by political scientists to convey several meanings. We could state here that Sovereignty is the supreme legal authority of a state power over its own affairs, be they internal or external. It is important to note that colonized Africans or Asians could not claim statehood because they were 'Sovereignty voids that is Metropolitan countries like Britain, France, Holland, etc exercised sovereignty on their behalf.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2

What are the major characteristics of the State?

3.3   State and Society

For analytical purpose we must distinguish the State from Society. The society is wider than the state. This distinction is very crucial. The state exists within society but it is not even the form of society. While the state is the nation legally organized and assuming the aspect of a single legal association, society is the nation socially organized and assuming the aspect of plurality of associations. Societies thus, suggest many social relationships which cannot be expressed through the state. It consists of the complex network of groups and institutions expressing human association. The state is one of the groups in society. But it is unique because it is the most important group. Although this group may set the keynote of the social order, it is not identical with society. The state provides the framework of the social order and it holds society together. There are many groups or associations in society, e.g. the family, the church or the club which do influence social life but owe neither their origin nor their inspiration to the state. Again there are established institutions or social forms like custom, initiation, competition, marriage, inheritance, which the state may protect or modify but certainly does not create. The state is a way of regulating human conduct in society. Its end is a system of control and order.

The state is society in its political aspect. In personal composition the state and society are one because they both include the same body of persons. In purposes, however, they are different. The state exists for one great but single legal purpose which is the making and enforcing of

a permanent system of law and order. To equate state with society would justify state interference in all aspect of the life of individual and consequently may breed tyranny of state control. From experience, the individual liberty suffers where no distinction is made between state and society such as what existed in the totalitarian systems under Nazism in Germany and Communism in the Soviet Union.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 3

What is the difference between state and society?

3.4   The Distinction between State and Nation

Generally, the terms State and Nation are sometimes used interchangeably. For clarity however, a clear distinction between the two terms must be made. The terms may or may not be synonymous. The word nation has two distinct meanings:

(i)   It may mean a political unit i.e. a State
(ii)   It may mean an ethnological unit, e.g. a Race

A nation in a political sense is what Ernest Baker defines simply as juridical organized unit or a unit organized for action under legal rule. As suggested earlier, it is sovereign state having a definite territory, a population, a government, formal independence and a sense of national identity made possible by a combination of both subjective and objective factors.

A nation in ethnological sense is commonly defined as a group of people who form a distinctive community by inhabiting a definite territory and recognizing themselves as possessing relatively homogenous set of cultural traits. Those cultural traits include a common or related blood, a common language, a common religion, a common historical tradition and common customs and habits e.g. the Yorubas of South West Nigeria.

Not all the above ingredients need to be present among the people to produce the spirit of nationalism i.e. a sense of belonging to a homogenous unified group. In other words, a nation need not necessarily be a state. The modern state is therefore not necessarily a unitary nation, it may be multi-national in composition i.e. it may contain national minority or ethnic group who may exist simply as a social group cherishing its own social manners and culture, its own particular language or dialect and its own form of particular religious worship. Switzerland for example is a nation with three races, four

official languages and many local dialects. Great Britain is also made up of the Irish, Scots, Welsh and the English.

Both countries despite the multi-ethnicity of their composition are pervaded by a strong sense of national unity – a somewhat homogenous political culture and above all by a subjective sentiment of belonging together. On the other hand, a state may lack the spirit or feelings of nationalism or of oneness among its people and yet it remained a state. In this sense, Nigeria may still be conceived as a State but not a nation-state.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 4

What is the difference between State and Nation?

4.0   CONCLUSION

In this Unit, we have explained the nature, functions and purpose of the state. We have examined various theories of the state both ancient and modern. We also explained the various characteristics of the state and law determining the power of the state in international politics. We explained the difference between State, Society and Nation.

5.0   SUMMARY

If you have comprehended this Unit, you should now be able to explain what the state is; understand theories purporting to explain the raison detre of the state; the features of the state; and the differences between the state and nation.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

i.   What is a state?
ii.   What are the primary characteristics of the state?
iii.   What is the role a Government within a State?

7.0   REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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MODULE 2

UNIT 1   THE CONCEPT OF SOVEREIGNTY

CONTENTS

1.0   INTRODUCTION

The term 'sovereignty' is from French and means 'above' or 'one who is superior to other'. The term was originally used to identify the king and in this context, the king represents the supreme and final authority of a state. The king by exercising this enormous power of state sovereignty is known as the "sovereign". Thus, any country/state that is able to conduct its own affairs independent of other states is a sovereign state and as such is equal to other states in international law.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

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

- define sovereignty
- explain the development of the concept
- describe its major characteristics and types, as well as its limitations.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Development of the Concept of Sovereignty

The concept of sovereignty has developed since the days of Aristotle who contends that the Senate of the Athenian state is sovereign and that its laws should be the final sovereign. However, in the sixteenth century, the French political philosopher Jean Bodin gave it a new meaning.

In his book titled "Six Books of a Commonwealth" Bodin (1576) argued that "sovereignty" refers to the source of the state's authority regardless of its form of government. Sovereignty may be vested in a king or in some elite group or even in the corporate citizenry of the society over time. Whatever the form of sovereignty, Bodin explained, it is distinguished by three attributes, it is absolute, perpetual and indivisible.

Bodin's primary concern was to strengthen the authority of the French monarch which some argued was constrained to honour certain long-established traditions and principles enshrined in the common law and in France's feudal institutions. But if the king was limited by the common law or by tradition, Bodin observed that the king was not sovereign; as the sovereign power could not be divided among various institutions, or formally limited by past experience, it followed that the king could do whatever the king pleases. Sovereignty was absolute, perpetual, and indivisible. However, Bodin admitted that Laws of God and the Laws of Nature (that is laws perceived through reasons) and the Salic Laws (that is the law of succession) were the only limitations on sovereignty. Otherwise, the sovereign can do no wrong. Finally, Bodin argued that the principal mark of the sovereign was the right to impose laws on all subjects, their consent notwithstanding. To govern well, Bodin believed that the sovereign must be above the law. Thus, law itself was nothing more than the command of the sovereign.

Other notable political scientists who contributed to the development of the concept of sovereignty include Grotius, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Bentham, John Austin, Dicey and Field.

Hugo Grotius placed his emphasis on external sovereignty, that is, the freedom or independence of the state from foreign control. Thomas Hobbes also contributed to the development of the concept in his book "Leviathan" published in 1651. Hobbes insisted that sovereign might be one man or assembly but the power of the sovereign remained the same in whomever it reside. Sovereign power is absolute and cannot be shared, even though the sovereign may allow someone to exercise power on his behalf. Hobbes argued that because the fundamental law

of nature was self-preservation, human beings were inherently disorderly, selfish and were generally in conflict with one another. Thus, only a strong and powerful ruler (sovereign) can put these tendencies of the "war of all against all" in check. Hobbes, a supporter of Charles I, during the Puritanic Revolution in England strongly declared that sovereignty was absolute and resided in the ruler (the king). His work is the first statement of complete sovereignty in the history of political thought.

John Locke and Rouseau redefined sovereignty in term of **people** rather than one single ruler. They contended that the ultimate power in any state rested with the people. Locke in his "Essays on Civil Government" wrote that the supreme power in the state lay with the people. According to him, "the power of the state is limited, not absolute because it derives power from the people and because it holds power in trust for the people." Rousseau went further; he insisted that whenever the ruler violated or betrayed the "trust of the people", the people had the right not to obey the sovereign and to even overthrow his government.

Let us now examine some of the modern views on sovereignty. Professor Dicey distinguishes between legal and political sovereignty. According to him, the legal sovereignty is that person or body of persons having the power to make law. The political sovereign on the other hand is that body of persons in the state (the electorate) whose will ultimately prevails because legal sovereignty in the making of law is bound to act according to their will. By contrast, Field felt there was no need to make a distinction between political and legal sovereignty. Sovereignty is a legal term used in terms of law only according to Field. Finally, Bentham thinks of sovereignty in terms of the unlimited power of the Legislature, and he argued that this power is only morally limited by the possibility of justifiable resistance to its authority by the individual or by a group/groups.

So varied are the views expressed on the concept of sovereignty by political scientists and jurists that it may take a long time in discussing them. For the purpose of our study, however, we shall consider the characteristics and types of sovereignty. Sovereignty can be used in three senses. Firstly, sovereignty used in the legal sense means that there is only one authority in the state that can exercise it. And in this instance, sovereignty is unlimited, limitable, and indivisible. Secondly, sovereignty used in the coercive term implies that it is the coercive authority of the state.

Since law has to be obeyed by citizens whether or not they like it, there should be a coercive authority to enforce the laws of the land. Thirdly, sovereignty is used to express the presence of a strong influence in the society. Sovereignty is the distinctive mark of the state, distinguishing it alike from individuals and associations in the community.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1

Who are the major contributors to the development of sovereignty as a concept?

3.2   Principal Characteristics of Sovereignty

The main characteristics of sovereignty as developed by the political theorists discussed above are:

(i)   Indivisibility;
(ii)   Absoluteness or unlimitedness,
(iii)   Permanence,
(iv)   Independence of foreign control, and
(v)   Comprehensiveness.

a)   **Indivisibility** - This implies that sovereignty is the supreme, final, absolute, coercive power of the state over the people living within the state. The possession of sovereign power by the state enables it to make laws and enforce them with all the means of coercion it can employ. The actions of the government of the state are not subject to the control of any other associations within the state. Sovereignty cannot be divided though the government can delegate powers to certain agencies.

b)   **Absoluteness** – This shows that the powers of a sovereign state cannot be restricted. The modern state is essentially a sovereign state which issues orders to all citizens and associations within its area and receives orders from none. There is no limitation to its legal powers. The absoluteness of sovereignty is necessary for the effective running and the survival of any sovereign.

c)   **Permanence** – This underscores the fact that as long as the state exists, sovereignty continues without interruption. Government may change and the state itself may be reorganized but sovereignty is a permanent attribute of the state which does not change.

There is an exception, however, sovereignty as a permanent attribute of the state may change in case of war and conquest. In such a situation, a

more powerful state may wage a successful war against a weak state and thereafter annex it. What happened then is that the annexed state becomes "sovereign void" in the sense that the state that annexed it now exercises the lost sovereignty of the conquered state.

d)   **Independence from foreign control -** A sovereign state does not only exercise supreme power within the area of its jurisdiction, it is also independent of foreign control or external authority.

e)   **Comprehensiveness -** This denotes that the power of the sovereign is wide, complete and extensive in scope. The power of the sovereign is all-embracing and is binding on all persons or groups within the territorial boundary of the sovereign, however large the land area may be. It is this attribute that brought all British colonial territories under the authority of the British Monarch (i.e. the Queen of England) before their attainment of independence in the 1960s.

3.3   Types of Sovereignty

The various types of sovereignty is a subject of controversy among writers. Some have written on legal and political sovereignty, others on de factor, de jure and external/internal sovereignty. From our discussion of sovereignty above, it is possible to deduce and make a possible distinction between legal, political, de facto, de jure, internal and external sovereignty.

i)   Legal Sovereignty

The body that makes laws and enforces them in a state is the legal sovereign. For example, Parliament in Britain is the legal sovereign. Dicey has defined legal sovereignty as "a merely legal conception and means simply the power of law-making, unrestricted by any legal limit."

According to John Austin, the authority that gives commands which are habitually obeyed and which are not binding on itself is the sovereign power in a state. Thus, the will of the sovereign is law; and it is a command obliging the subjects to do or refrain from doing certain things. Failure to obey such a command will result in sanctions been imposed on the subject(s).

ii)   Political/Popular Sovereignty

While parliament is the legal sovereign, political sovereign refers to that body which is supreme in a state, the will of which is ultimately obeyed by the citizens of the state. In this sense, the electorates, constitutes the

political sovereign. By voting for legislators and the executives, the electorate delegates to these arms of government the decision-making powers. The electorate remains the ultimate power in a state by subjecting those who exercise the state legislative sovereignty to periodical renewal of their mandate through elections.

iii) De facto Sovereignty

This term is used to refer to the body or group of people who use force to make citizens obey their command after having overthrown the legitimate sovereign of the state through invasion, revolution, or coup d'etat. De facto sovereignty is sovereignty as of a fact. That sovereignty that resided in the Abacha's Military Government was a fact for a while. This situation arose because the military was able to displace the legitimate sovereign through a palace coup. Because the Abacha's regime succeeded in keeping power from November, 1993 - 1998, it is the "de facto sovereign' and it became recognized as a legitimate sovereign because it was able to keep power for several years.

iv) De jure Sovereignty

Here the sovereign rule is based on law and legitimacy as opposed to physical force. De jure sovereignty is explained in terms of the loyalty which the people give the government's claim to sovereignty and legal sovereignty emanates from this loyalty.

v) Internal Sovereignty

This refers to a state's supreme power to make and enforce whatever laws it sees fit for its internal affairs. With regard to internal sovereignty, wide variations exist among states as the location and scope of sovereign power. Sovereignty may be vested in a Monarch, a Parliament or National Assembly.

vi) External Sovereignty

The idea of external sovereignty presupposes independence of a sovereign state from foreign control by any other state. The term is also used to include powers of the state to conduct international relations on "equality" and "unanimity" basis. Nowadays, there are some ways in which state sovereignty can be limited through the influence and authority of some world organizations such as the United Nations Organisation (UNO) and African Union (AU) of which most states are members. It should be noted here that because the world is becoming more interdependence, there is very little difference between internal

and external sovereignty. This will be considered later when the subject of International Relations/World Order is discussed.

3.4   Opponents of the Theory of Sovereignty

There are at least four schools of thought which believe that sovereignty is not an essential quality of the state or that it may be divided or limited. Critics of this theory point out:

1.   that political life has changed radically, since the concept of sovereignty was first developed; and
2.   formulate new theories (based on present conditions) which take into consideration the vast powers actually exercised by other organizations.

Let us now examine the various aspects of these arguments.

a)   **The Pluralists:** Pluralists insist that groups in which people are organized, such as the church, the labour union, etc. are as important as the state insofar as they may have a claim equal to or superior to the state's claim to the loyalty of individuals. Some pluralists argue that self-government in industrial and other organizations would ensure better performance of essential functions now allocated to the state. Some would retain the state as a specialized agency, but reduce it to equality with other associations. Still others would retain it, curtained its powers as a coordinating agency if specialized associations could not function peacefully together.

b)   **The Internationalists:** Internationalists hold that the state is not really free to do as it pleases because its behaviour is restrained by international law, international public opinion, internationally accepted standards on human rights, and the growing interdependence of nations in economic and technological fields.

c)   **International Law:** Those who believe that law is superior to the state challenge the assertion that the state makes law or that law is the will of an inherently authoritative sovereign. They assert that law is the sense of right of the community, and that the state itself is the creature of law, subject to legal limitations. Therefore, if we have a sovereign at all, law is sovereign. And, in the same sense, if the international community agrees on certain standards which gain the status of international law, then the state becomes subject to restraints from without as well as from within. Adherents of this point of view sometimes envision the emergence of a world state as national sovereignty gives way to the unified will of international law.

d) **International Public Opinion:** Mass communications have created an unprecedented awareness of international events among people throughout the world. The makers of a country's foreign policy certainly consider national goals such as survival, security, and economic well-being before they evaluate the reception which may be given their decisions in forums such as the United Nations or the world's major newspapers. Nevertheless, cultivation of a positive "image" is preferable to a negative one for any nation, and the pressure of international public opinion may in certain instances tip the balance on behalf of more internationally desirable behaviour. For example, international public opinion was against Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1991. And thus for the first time in its history the UNO went to war against a member state Iraq.

e) **Human Rights:** The post World War II Universal Declaration of Human Rights, drawn up by the United Nations, has established modern norms for governments to follow. Flagrant violations of these standards have brought condemnation by the United Nations General Assembly, and on occasion have produced economic sanctions, arms embargoes, and armed invasion against offending countries. On a regional level, for example, the establishment of the European Commission on Human Rights has succeeded, for example, in improving the lot of the Flemish-speaking minority in Belgium. Again, sovereignty has been modified in response to demands that transcend borders.

f) **Interdependence:** World resource shortages, environmental pressures, expanding economic relationships, and the desire to avoid massive nuclear destruction have in recent decades worked to increase the independence of sovereign nations. And there is no nation that can now stay on its own without relating to other states.

Even the then Soviet Union, with undeniable super-power status, found itself dependent upon wheat from the United States in the early 1970's. And despite considerable economic muscle, Japan was compelled to modify her Middle East policy to ensure adequate supplies of petroleum during the Arab oil embargo of the same period. Fear of exhausting or destroying the wealth of the oceans has led to unprecedented cooperation in limiting the freedom of nations to pollute and over-use marine resources. In addition, some countries have willingly surrendered the right to produce nuclear weaponry in exchange for technical assistance in peaceful nuclear development. Finally, on the one hand, the still fragile character of international economic relations, and on the other hand, the growth of multinational corporations whose

164

interests span the globe have worked together to avert massive dislocation like that of the 1930's which resulted in the devastating World War II in which over 28 million lives were lost.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2

Discuss the various types and characteristics of sovereignty.

3.5   Limitations to the Sovereignty of the State

As far as the relationship between the state and the individual is concerned, there is little or no limit to the sovereignty of the state. However, Jean Bodin argued that the sovereign is subjected to limitations imposed by the "salic laws" (the law of succession), the law of nature and the law of God, which laws the sovereign must obey. Similarly, Thomas Hobbes believed that the sovereign can be disobeyed when he can no longer protect the lives of his subjects. Finally, John Locke believed that public interest should be paramount in the mind of the ruler. Where such rulers substitute personal interest for public interest, the rulers should be removed or recalled. What these various forms of limitations mean is that sovereignty is not absolute as earlier discussed.

Constitutional Supremacy, in many modern states, especially in federal states, constitutes another limitation on state sovereignty. In federal states, for example, in the United States, the legal sovereign is difficult to locate. It is not Congress, for laws may be declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. It is not the Supreme Court, because amendments to the constitution may make constitutional what the Supreme Court has declared unconstitutional. It is not the fifty states, for their powers may be limited by amendments to the constitution. The legal sovereign then consists of the combinations of authorities that have power to amend the constitution – this includes the Judiciary, the States and Congress.

The influence of powerful nations on small nations is yet another limitation on state sovereignty. For example, the United States of America recently succeeded in ordering the Haitian Military rulers, which has been in power for two years, to step aside for the civilian popularly elected Aristide. What this mean is that sovereignty is only a legal concept and no state can claim total sovereignty if it is a small and a weak state.

Another limitation is membership of International Organisations. Most states are members of the United Nations Organisations which is one of the most influential world bodies today. No state wants to be censured

by the UNO for failing to heed its wishes or advice. Most states respect the majority of opinions of the organization and in fact world opinion is now a real factor in international politics. Every state likes to project its own image to the world in the best way possible. Most states wishes to be in cordial terms with one another so that wars and conflicts may be prevented.

Some countries are signatories to defence pacts or agreements, such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and the countries concerned owe it a duty to fulfil the terms of the pacts religiously and follows common policies as dictated by the terms of the pacts.

In the economic field, most countries are members of economic organizations such as the European Union, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), etc., in which they have to submit to certain control over trade and tariff policies in order to be members of such bodies. On the political and social planes, there are associations which membership involved submission to their rules and regulations. It involves some sacrifice of sovereignty on the part of the countries which are members of such associations or world bodies. In some ways, therefore, the national sovereignty is still subject to external limitations. Thus, there cannot be absolute, utterly unqualified state power and hence no absolute sovereignty in domestic and external affairs.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 3

What are the limitations to the sovereignty of the state?

4.0   CONCLUSION

In this unit, we have explained the theory of sovereignty in political science. We have examined various aspects of the theory – the origins and development of the concept, the principal characteristics of sovereignty, the types and limitations to the sovereignty of the state. We also explained the various reasons put forward by opponents of sovereignty as a useful concept in political science.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 4

i.   What is sovereignty?
ii.   Discuss the origins and development of sovereignty as a concept.
iii.   What are the principal characteristics of sovereignty?
iv.   Discuss the views of the opponents of the theory of sovereignty.

5.0   SUMMARY

Specifically what we have learnt can be summarized as follows:

- The theory of sovereignty.
- The origin and development of the concept.
- Limitations of the concept of sovereignty.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

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UNIT 2 POWER AND AUTHORITY

CONTENTS

1.0   INTRODUCTION

This Unit introduces us to the interrelatedness of the basic concepts in political science, power and authority. It has been found that these concepts are subjected to certain misinterpretation and abuses, especially, for non-political scientists.

This Unit deals essentially with the 2 basic concepts: power and authority. The other 2 concepts: influence and legitimacy will be considered in the preceding section. It is important for you to know the distinction between these concepts.

Political scientists at times attempt to equate politics with power, authority, or conflict. No doubt, power holds a significant place among other concepts of politics. Harold and Margaret Sprout put it "Some concept of power underlies virtually every description of political interaction, domestic as well as international".

If politics has to do with state power then an adequate understanding of the concept of power is also crucial for an understanding of politics. Many argue that power is significant especially in the field of international politics, where moral and consensual factors seem to be much less important than they are in domestic politics. Power has assumed such lofty status in international politics that some writers view it as the field's central concept (Hans Morgenthau). Power therefore is the sole centralizing and organizing concept in the study of politics.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- get exposure on the basic concepts of power and authority in political science
- prepare how to apply the concepts of power and authority in analytical and critical writing;

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 The Concept of Power

The concept of power can be developed based on human behaviour. What is power in behavioural terms? From the commonsense core meaning, it has to do with controlling or dominance over others. This is called an intuitive definition. Robert Dahl's rigorous definition: "A has power over B to the extent that we can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do". Herbert Goldhamer and Edward A. Shills gave a similar definition: "A person may be said to have power to the extent that he influences the behaviour of others in accordance with his own intentions…" Power is a relational concept. In this case, we can say that one nation has power over another at the international level; at the domestic level if Senator A has more control in a committee in the senate, then it has power over its other members.

Power is the ability or capacity to modify the behaviour of a person either at the threat of deprivation or sanction for non-conformist for the policy intended. Dahl succinctly illustrates what power is based on, the old philosophical argument that an act cannot be morally good unless it goes against our inclinations or appetites. The point is that if B does something that A wants him to do, but B does not feel the action is in opposition to its interests, then A does not have power over B.

Generally, it is difficult to apply this analysis to all situations, because without the knowledge of the intentions of the political actors, then it might lead one to overlook manipulation, propaganda, and forms of sublimated aggression as influences. In international politics, a nation may claim that its actions are in accordance with the politics of another nation, are of its own free will, while they may really be the result of one of these less over forms of power.

It is emphasized that in our discussions of the elements of national power, including population, national resources, and military strength; it is not unusual to discover that military strength is power in international politics or that wealth is power in domestic politics. In the light of this,

it becomes clear that the assumption that the elements are significant because they allow a nation or a politician to control or influence others. In as much as one agree that power is not, the military strength; nor is it wealth. The contention is that a nation with great military strength is powerful because it has been discovered that influence and the ability to control are related to the possession of arms and soldiers.

It seems reasonable to develop a sound concept of power by adopting a behavouralistic approach to the study of political power. First, it is often assumed, that power involves control or influence, and that it is an activity. The possession of armed forces by nation A does not necessarily imply that they will be used to control or influence nation B. Although it is not in all cases that this situation can arise. At times the intentions or will of A may be different. To this extent a number of factors are necessary if power is to exist. These include the proper basis of power and the ability to use them (the lack of restraint upon them), which is all altogether might be labeled capability. Second, the powerful actor must have the will or desire to control the actions of others, or so it would seem.

Another situation that might cause us to question the claim that power can only exist if it is exercised is to imagine two contiguous nations, one with a large but inactive army, the other with no army at all. The existence of a nation's A army may influence the behavior of nation B, even though it is never used. This is similar to the situation in domestic politics where the presidential veto power can have influence on the National Assembly, even though it is not employed or even mentioned. This brings to a clear picture of what can be termed behavioural power and potential power. It might be said that the possession of military forces by a nation and the right to veto to an executive are acts of power. Possession in these instances is behavioural. As Carl Friedrich described this situation as "rule of anticipated reactions". It presupposes that often times a political actor will adjust its behaviour in light of what he thinks another might do (Friedrich 1963). It does not necessarily mean that mere possession is always power behaviour. It is necessary at this point to distinguish this type of situation from one where a nation has a substantial military force but demonstrates no desire or will to use it. We might therefore say that its force is not credible and has no influence on the behaviour of other nations. In this case, possession does not lead to power.

There is a causal connection in relationship with the acts be performed by both the influence and the influenced, and some contact or communication between them. Consequently, there is a direct correlation between the power of a nation and its contacts with other nations. In Isaak's summation, "any acts of other states in accordance

with nation A's interests that cannot be traced to an act of A cannot be called manifestations of A's power".

In examining the acts of politicians or nations, it boils down to two basic issues whether power is a symmetrical or symmetrical relation. David Hume argued that all relations must be symmetrical; that is, all actions have reactions and thus, there can be no one-way causal connections. Thus, it must be recognized that many power actions generate feed-back. If nation A influences the behaviour of nation B, there is good chance that B will also influence A.

The conclusion therefore is that both capability and will are necessary ingredients of power situations, except in those cases when possession alone leads to influence and even in the latter case, credibility must be ascertainable.

It is instructive at this juncture to avert our minds to the fact that power is immeasurable. The mere understanding of the elements or bases of power do not provide the unit of measurement. Quincy Wright rightly observes that: "it is difficult to find any common measure by which one of these forms for exerting political and social power can be equated with others as is true of the physical concept of power measured in horsepower or watts". The solution lies in the use of the activity of political actors as the basis of a common measure. Thus, the behavioural consequences of wealth and prestige could be compared using the case of a man with a net worth of $10 million and one with a prestigious family background. But it is difficult to compare a nation's military force with another's strategic position.

3.2 Types of Power

Force: is the only one that involves physical activity, signifying an employment of visible resources.

Domination: is an inexact term, occurs when an actor makes explicit to others what he wants them to do. It can be seen that force and domination will usually occur together, with the former being used to back up the latter.

Manipulation: is the attempt to influence behaviour without making explicit what the desired behaviour is. This calls for various actions that are much less easy to find and observe.

Distinction between power and others forms of political control-authority, manipulation, and influence. Power is based on the threat of severe sanctions; sanctions include such things as force,

economic boycotts, and support with or withdrawal of votes. While power often depends upon the threat of force, the two are not the same. When force is applied, power is no longer being exercised. A political leader has authority when others do his bidding because they accept his right to rule – he is, considered legitimate and does not need to employ power. One is manipulated when his behaviour is controlled without his knowledge through such a technique as propaganda. Influence identifies a situation where one person affects the behavior of another because the second respects the first; consider the case of a son whose respect for his father causes him to emulate his father.

3.3   Power in International Relations

The assessment of power capabilities in international relations is fundamentally valuable as it would enable us to understand how it is wielded at that level of politics. Okwudibia Nnoli asserts that many attempts to exert power have foundered on the rocks of an incorrect assessment of the necessary capability. There are various elements that are used for the assessment of state power. These are grouped into two broad general types: the tangible resources and intangible resources. The tangible resources are quantifiable or can be assessed in concrete terms, while intangible resources are not quantifiable or made very concrete. In other words, they are essentially qualitative in character.

The tangible resources include the following:

Geography - this makes reference to those facilities that accrue to a nation by virtue of its geographical location and characteristics. Landlocked states usually suffer severe limitations on their ability to wield power, while very mountainous territory is difficult to conquer and therefore, affects the power of the relevant states.

Territorial - this determines to a large extent the possibility of foreign military occupation; and the possibility of the penetration of state power to all sections of the population. In this sense, the bigger or larger a nation's territory the more powerful it would be in a situation of foreign invasion, but the less powerful it would be controlling all its population.

National Resources - the natural resource endowment determine the limits of a nation's power capability. The greater the natural resources at the disposal of a state, the greater its power capacity. This will make others to depend on it and may, therefore, be vulnerable to its influence. Alternatively, it may transform these resources into more potent instruments of force such as weapons of war.

Economic Strength - state power is related to a state's economic viability. The level of industrialization is a clear indicator of economic viability. Therefore, those factors which contribute to industrialization are usually used for assessing economic strength such as per-capita income, technological advancement, etc. A highly industralised nation has the potential for military capability. This explains why countries of the Europe (Western and Central Europe) North America and Asia (Japan, China) are potential world powers.

Military Might - the exercise of state power is the use of armed forces of the state as instrument of international politics. The strength of a state's armed forces is the most critical element in the power equation. The bigger and better the size of these forces the greater the power capability. Hence, a common way of assessing state power is to calculate the size of its army, navy and air force. However, the size of the armed forces is not enough indication of state power, the quality of the weapons is also important. The more sophisticated the equipment, the stronger the army and in most cases, it compensate for the size of the state like Israel with sophisticated equipment but very small in size.

Population - the larger the population of a state the greater its capability for state power. It is this fact that explains the importance and status of China in the world. Although, under severe condition of mass poverty, population becomes a constraint on state power.

Intangible resources are also important in determining national power. They include:

1. The quality of national leadership and government or a ruling class that is riddled with corruption, selfishness, nepotism and indiscipline will be unable to harness the resources to the purposes of state power.
2. The will to commit resources to the achievement of national goals – a government which is more willing to use force to achieve objectives will exert more power than one which is unwilling to do so.
3. The morale, discipline, competence and overall quantity of the armed forces – it is argued that a large army with modern weapons that lacks competence, discipline, and morale will be largely ineffective.
4. The alliance potential of a state – the ability to unite one's power capabilities with those of another state is a great asset to state power.

The level of political consciousness amongst the citizens – the more politically conscious a society the easier it is for the state to mobilize

resources. A state that the citizens are apathetic finds it difficult to effective in power relation in which to other states. For this reason power is affected by those factors which affect social relations generally, such as interests, resources, perception, expectations, response, irrationality, personality factors, etc.

3.4   Critical Issues of Power

a.   Can Power be measured?

At times it becomes a controversial issue to talk about how powerful a nation is. A statement such as "The United States has more power than England" raises a question. An actor's total power may be measured by the ratio of its successful power acts. Often times, the most probably proposition is that A is more powerful than B.

Robert Dahl's conceptualization of influence and power relate with the ability to use power as action based but does not exist unless it is used. In other words, the elements of power would have no significance if politicians and nations did not act.

b.   What are the Dimensions of Power?

Power is that non-divisible unit of energy, which is capable of causing a change in the actions of its victims in spite of the victim's opposition to the change. The dimensions of power constitute its essential characteristics.

(i)   Power has a good dimension when it is exerted with a view to the attainment of an objective and, therefore, exists when an objective has been achieved;

(ii)   It has a relational dimension. In other words, it is a social phenomenon rather than a legal one. There must be at least two individuals for power to occur. The one who exerts power is the subject of power, and the one over whom it is exerted is the victim of power. For instance, the Federal Government use the army to stop violence in Odi in Bayelsa State, air force bombing in the Niger-Delta area following the abduction of foreign oil expatriates. Usually, violence is applied only when other methods of exercising power have failed and the goal of power is so high that the subject does not mind the negative consequences of the use of violence. Like the situation in apartheid South Africa, the Africans can only change their intolerable situation through violence.

(iii)   **Power has an Influence Dimension:** By this we meant that power can induce a particular behaviour. Influence is that quality of power which has to do with the causation of a certain form of

behaviour by the subject on the victim. A influences B by causing him to change his actions in some ways.

(iv) **Power has a Situational Dimension:** This means that power varies from situation to situation depending on the specific features of each, situation. For instance, power will vary depending on whether there are three people or two, whether the victim resists the subject of power or not, and whether the resistance is intense or not. The struggle for political power varies with the number of political parties seeking to form the government, the size of the followers of the political parties, and whether the parties are revolutionary or reformist.

(v) **Power has a Relative Dimension:** This explains or depends whether or not a subject is able to wield power over a victim depends on the relative strengths of the subject and the victim in that specific situation. As their relative strengths change, the power equation between them also changes. It is this relativity dimension of power that is responsible for changes in the status of states in the international community.

(vi) **Power has an Instrumental Dimension:** Power is not an end in itself although some have argued about the tendency for power to assume a dynamic of its own separate and different from the goal which it is meant to achieve. Power in this case is an instrument for achieving specific goals. Thus, dimension of power is that power as a means to some ends must be governed by those ends.

(viii) **Power as a need dimensions**: The greater the need of one state, group or individual, the more likely it is that power will be exerted upon it by those on whom it depends for the satisfaction of the needs.

(ix) **Power as a responsiveness dimension**: Power operates most effectively where there is low possibility of resistance by the victim. Thus, where a victim can resist the effort of the subject to wield power over him, it becomes more difficult for power effort to succeed, and consequently the character of power in that situation is affected.

(x) **Power as a capability dimension**: This dimension refers to the availability of certain resource capacities for the exertion of power. Often power is equated exclusively with this capacity. This is a mistake because a subject may have overwhelming capacity and still be unable to exert power. A good example is the defeat of the Unites States, a superpower, by North Vietnam, a very minor power in the 1960s.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1

Define Power and explain how it works in International Relations

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2

What are the various dimensions of power?

c)   How is power Exercised?

There are different ways in which power can be exercised at both domestic and international politics.

(1)   Persuasion – the subject initiates or discusses a proposal with a victim with a view to convincing him of the rightness, correctness, or usefulness of his viewpoint. Persuasion has an element of influence, this means that the wielding of power is necessarily against the wishes of others or that the response of the victim must be either favourable or opposed to the subject's goals. The victim's mind may not have been made up in the first place and many have needed the initiative and prodding of the subject.

(2)   The Offer of Rewards – the subject promises to reward the victim if the latter agrees with his request. Such rewards may be of almost any type in domestic and international politics. They may vary from cash reward, support in voting situations, promise for a political appointment, or a contract, or promise to remove a previous sanction.

(3)   The Granting of Rewards – the victim may insist that the reward be actually granted before he can comply with the wishes of the subject.

(4)   The Threat of Punishment – the subject threatens to inflict some harm on the victim unless the latter behaves in accordance with his wishes. It could be threats of imprisonment, of sabotage, of withdrawal of funds, boycott of activities or even the use of force.

(5)   The Infliction of Non-Violent Punishment - the subject actually carries out the threats, which do not involve the use of violent force or economic blockade.

(6)   Command from a Person in Authority – the next unit will discuss extensively on authority. The commands issued by those in positions of authority lower in the hierarchy of authority in which that position exists. Thus, for example, the president can issue commands to those ministers and expect that they will implement these commands. This means that one way to exercise influence is to struggle to get into an authority position from

176

where one come issue commands. This forms the basis for the struggle for political office.

(7)   The use of Force – the subject applies violence against the victim, a state attacks another militarily. The President elicits support for the application of state power and also to organize and harness the resources necessary to wield state power.

3.5   The Utility of State Power

Power is very useful at both the domestic and in international politics. Although, we know that power is very useful in all social situations - such as the family, the classroom, etc. Power in politics, which is our major concern, is about state power. Politics is all about exercise, control and use of power. The state power is the most formidable and useful power. This explains why most wealthy people are never satisfied until they can control political power. State power is a very useful instrument to have and control. The desire to control, distribute and direct social, economic and cultural lives of the people testifys to the usefulness of state power. That is why people jostle, scheme and sometimes kill in an attempt to capture state power. One cannot maintain ultimate control without state power. State power is the basis of all security, all rights and privileges in a society, and the maintenance of any mode of livelihood.

In international relations the usefulness of state power is clearly demonstrated. This arises from the following:

(1)   Sovereignty of States bestows to them unstrained units of power. Power is seen as an end itself and not a means to an end. This is because each state pursues its own security thereby creating insecurity.

(2)   The absence of international legal code or norms to regulate the behaviour of state in the use of state power leads to a vicious circle situation, since state can wield their power without serious thought to the negative consequences of their actions.

(3)   It is also reinforced by the weakness of world public opinion, which does not sufficiently restrain the state power as an instrument of policy.

(4)   The nature of the international system, which is based on the survival of the fittest, makes states to struggle in an attempt to get a fair share of the world's resources. It is further reinforced by the conflict of ideologies during the hey days of Communism versus

Capitalism. This situation at that time reduced the possibility of evolving understanding on major international issues.

3.6   Authority

Authority may be defined as that power associated with a hierarchy of human relationships, which enables those higher up in the hierarchy to command those lower in the hierarchy, and which compels those lower in the hierarchy to obey the commands of those higher up. Authority is predicated upon consent and not entirely by the use of force. Alan Ball defines Political Authority as the recognition of the right to rule irrespective of the sanctions the ruler may possess. Authority is the ability to compel obedience without necessarily the use of force. At times the exercise of authority could be based on justice. Obedience comes from justice or a combination of justice and force. On the contrary, disobedience may be as a result of what may be considered to be unjust. Authority is the legitimate use of power. It is simply put as the power in the garment of legitimacy – that is, power clothed with legitimacy. This authority is power with legitimacy. It is the power based on consent, voluntary – obedience, and persuasion. Nnoli has argued that it is incorrect to define authority as the right to issue commands and be obeyed. Authority is the power which is vested in a person because of his role and his office within the organization. The basis of the authority relationship lies in the fact that it is legitimate. The subordinate believes that the superior has the right to give such orders. Authority relationship may also be legitimized by certain traditions and customs which allow a person the right to issue authoritative decisions. In this case, the authority relationship may be a product of some body of rules such as the constitution of a country which allocates to the various arms of government certain responsibilities.

There are basic characteristic elements of the relationship of power which defines authority in structure. There are definite roles, responsibilities, privileges and resources which are allocated to those in that relationship. The structure is made up of a number of offices arranged in order of super-ordination and subordination which individuals occupy. The structure of power which characterizes authority is organized in the form of a pyramid of offices with the most powerful office at the apex of the pyramid and the least powerful offices at the base. The higher up the pyramid, the greater the power.

Political authority is that authority whose power derives from state power. Although, not all authority is political. Authority exists in all human organization be it the family, the church, School, etc. In politics, state power is organized as a system of authorities extending from the

national level, through the regional level to the local level. Thus, in Nigeria, we have Federal, State and Local Government Authorities.

The constitution in modern government is the main source of state power. The constitution as the fundamental principles establishes what number of these authorities there should be, what the power relationship among them should be, how they are to be arranged hierarchically, what functions of these authorities are, and how conflict among and within them are to be resolved. Thus, it is the constitution that gives structure and permanence to state power.

3.7   Types of Political Authority

Authority essentially can be legitimate or illegitimate. A legitimate authority is that which operates through the prong of justice, and illegitimate authority is power that operates through force, or the threat of it. Nnoli argues that authority is often partly illegitimate: "it can rely on force and partly on justice". However, Max Weber, a German sociologist provides three main typology of authority. These are: the traditional authority, the legal- rational authority and the charismatic authority.

Traditional Authority – is that hierarchical structure of power whose major claim for existence is that it has come down to the present from the past and, therefore, conforms to the customs and traditions of the people. In other words, the exercise of power is based on a form of rule or custom and tradition which has been in existence for a long time. Such body of rules and customs confer on persons or institutions or families preferences to rule others. Their people repose faith in them because they believe that these authorities possess the prerogative to issue authoritative orders since their customs and tradition, belief system and superstition say so. For instance, the traditional African societies typified this type of authority. A ruler is obeyed because of the belief that such a ruler was chosen by divine authority and that obedience to the ruler is obedience to God or Allah.

Legal - Rational Authority – this is most commonly found today. It is based on the law, the fundamental law of the land or what is commonly called the constitution. In other words, exercise of authority derives its legitimacy from certain body of rules; in this case, persons or offices exercise authority as legitimized by the constitution, statutes, decrees or edicts. It could also be the official position individuals occupy. The individual takes decisions and issue orders without questions. Thus, a policeman at the check point who requests for a vehicle owner to present his particulars, is merely exercising legal authority, because he has the backing of law.

Charismatic Authority – this follows from the personal charisma of a political leader. Charisma is that quality which is so over-whelming in the positive emotion which it evokes that its possess or receives unquestioning and total loyalty. A charismatic leader possesses extra-ordinary qualities which make such leader to influence his followers. The power of command may be exercised by a leader based on his certain attributes such as magical powers, revelations heroism, personal achievements or other extraordinary gifts endowed by nature. In the world history, some charismatic leaders are known such as Hitler of Germany, Mussolini of Italy, Gandhi Nehru of India, Churchill of Britain, Nkrumah of Ghana, Azikiwe and Awolowo of Nigeria, Mandela of South Africa, and so on.

However, these sources of authority are not necessarily exclusive. They could be in various combinations or co-exist in specific political communities.

3.8   Differences between Power and Authority

Although, authority is related to the concept of power, it can be clearly distinguished from it. The exercise of power is based on the possession of means of coercion and, or sanctions by the incumbent who exercises power. The exercise of authority is based on power attached to the office of the incumbent that exercises the power.

Obedience to an order in a power relation is based on fear of sanctions. The power may not be legitimate e.g. the power of an armed robber. Obedience to an order in an authority relation derives from legitimacy of the order on the grounds of existing rules or customs or inherent qualities of he who commands it. Authority is thus legitimate power.

Since the exercise of power often results in the use of force, resistance to this power and coercion by citizens are met with force. Confronted with an authority relation, it is the duty of citizens to obey. When the citizens oppose an exercise of power that power lacks authority. Confronted with power, the citizens have a choice to support or to oppose; but with authority they have the duty to obey. In other words, resistance to power is lawful whereas resistance to authority is unlawful.

The continued reliance on sheer force as a means of securing obedience in a power relation signals legitimacy crisis in a political system. Whereas in the authority relation the recourse to sanctions as in the application of force to secure obedience is accepted by citizens as legitimate as does not pose any threat to stability of the political system.

180

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 3

Explain the major features of authority

4.0   CONCLUSION

Power is the sole centralizing and organizing concept in the study of politics. Political activities revolve essentially around this concept. Authority is the legitimate use of power. It is simply the garment of legitimacy, power clothed with legitimacy.

5.0   SUMMARY

In this Unit we have examined the concepts of power and authority. We recognized the fact that scholars have divergent opinions of these concepts.   We have carefully delineated the basic elements that constitute power relationships, influence and authority.   Power is generally thought to involve the bringing about of an action against the will of another. It involves the use of sanctions. Power derives from established authority that allocates the right to command and the duty to obey. Authority on the other hand, is power clothed with legitimacy. It is an authentic form of power, which is based on consent, voluntary obedience and persuasion.

We have been able to distinctively show the differences between power and authority. It has become clearer to us how power is used at the domestic politics and at the international levels. At the international level, we have identified the basic indices of measuring power of a nation.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

i.   Conceptualise power and Authority, and show the distinction between the two.
ii.   What are the factors that determine the legitimacy of a government?
iii.   Critically analyse the basic elements of national power in international relations.

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UNIT 3   LEGITIMACY AND INFLUENCE

CONTENTS

1.0   INTRODUCTION

In the previous Unit, we were introduced to the basic and twin interrelated concepts in political science, power and authority. In this Unit, we shall conclude with the concepts of Legitimacy and Influence. These concepts are subjected to a plethora of interpretations and certain misinterpretation and abuses, especially, for non-political scientists. Care should therefore be taken in delineating these concepts and those of Power and Authority.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

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

* to expose you to the basic concepts of legitimacy and influence in political science
* to help you to understand how legitimacy is the hallmark of stability for any government.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Legitimacy

Legitimacy refers to the extent to which citizens regard the state, its institutions, personnel or policies as morally right or acceptable. In other word, legitimacy is a belief in the right to rule. It is the popular acceptance or support given to a government irrespective of the method of coming to power. It refers to the positive attitude of the citizens toward authority positions and those who occupy them. But there has to be a form of agreement about what is legitimate or who exercises

183

authority. So long as there is agreement about what is legitimate, politics and government can function smoothly. It therefore, means that where legitimacy is lost, agreements break down or are reduced to matters of expediency that can be broken when it is convenient. The consequences may be tyranny, revolution, secession, or some other form of break-up.

Legitimacy is the promise that the pursuit of one value will proof compatible with the pursuit or enjoyment of other values. We say that the pursuit of a value is legitimate if we have reason to expect that it will not inflict intolerable damage upon any other value which is also vitally important to us. For instance, it is legitimate to make money provided that this pursuit does not involve a great moral wrong or a serious loss of respect in our community or impair severely on our health.

Legitimacy is a relative concept. It is premised on the visible configuration to any political actor of his own set of values. It is a relationship among values within a situation that makes them compatible or puts them into conflict. Legitimacy may change with time and its place may also vary among groups and different views of legitimacy may lead to conflict among groups or may intensify existing conflicts. It is the vehicle for authority to be accepted by people which enables authority also to act with minimum costs; it cannot be forced out of the people. It must be given voluntarily by them because it has to do with emotions, feelings, and a sense of justice, which are not amenable to force.

Legitimacy can be sustained if it is based on justice. Whoever exercises authority must constantly justify its existence to the people. If it fails to convince the people about its adherence to justice it may lose its legitimacy. This is why leaders often justify their right to rule. Immediately after a coup d'etat, the coup leaders must show how the previous regimes had violated tenets of justice thereby promising to be a new vanguard for moral crusaders who should be accorded legitimacy. This is because legitimacy deals with whether or not the citizens accept the moral right of those in political authority to rule them. Only the citizens can grant legitimacy to the rulers. The holder of political authority must plead with the people through conformity with their cherished principles of justice, satisfaction of their basic material and psychological needs, an provision of adequate security for them, etc.

The stability of a political system depends on if the needs; its structure, beliefs, leaders and policies are acceptable to the people or at least the most powerful influence in the society. When the acceptance of any of these structures or objects is lacking, a declining sense of legitimacy creeps in, the regime relies on force, repression is increased and trouble brews; a new regime either comes in or the old one manage to

re-establish legitimate rule. For example, open demand for secession reflects a declining sense of legitimacy of the state as perceived by the secessionists.

Legitimacy of a regime is not by election as some have argued. A democratically elected government may loose its legitimacy when such government adopts policies that are 'anti-people'. Some unpopular governments have existed in different parts of the world without being toppled. They have simply relied on force to maintain their rule. And there are cases when elected and seemingly legitimate governments have been toppled. Nevertheless, the degree of legitimacy enjoyed by a government or authority is a barometer of its stability.

The people can accord or withdraw legitimacy of a ruler depending on their assessment of how just his rule has been or what policies he ought to be pursuing. Thus, a stable regime may decline into instability.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1

What do you understand by Legitimacy?

3.2   Legitimacy as a Factor of Stability of Government

The concept of stability is useful in assessing the legitimacy of a regime. Regimes are said to be legitimate to the extent that their citizens regard them as proper and deserving support. The political stability of any given government depends a great deal upon the legitimacy factor. Legitimacy is a sine-qua –non for a stable political regime; if this is lacking the citizens may react negatively against such a regime. People are less likely to oppose their leaders if there is high regard for, or trust in the government, its institutions and policies.

Crisis of legitimacy may arise when the expectations, yearnings and aspirations of the people are unfulfilled by the political regime. Election represents one popularly accepted way of deciding who should rule. They are ways of effecting peaceful changes of government, as opposed to the use of force, either by a general uprising of an aggrieved electorate or by a military coup d'etat. Since elections confer legitimacy on the government, where a government rigs the elections, intense frustration will be created among the losers. When elections are not free and fair, the resultant government lacks legitimacy and this creates situations of political instability.

Legitimacy is useful to those in authority. It does not only prevent reckless spending or mismanagement of scarce resources, it makes it easier for the government in power to tap the energies of its population

and mobilize its material resources to accomplish its objectives. Besides, it discourages the use of force to regulate the society. Legitimacy is fundamental to the maintenance of political order in society. Without it, political leaders constantly rely on force to maintain themselves in power, which alone may not be enough to preserve the stability of the political system.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2

How Legitimacy does affect the stability of a government?

3.3   Influence and Power

At times, it is difficult to conceptualize influence because it has the same relational attribute as power. They differ, however, in the sense that the exercise of power depends upon potential use of sanctions, while influence depends largely on persuasion. Influence is a form of communication intended by A to affect the action of B in the absence of sanctions. For example, a father may warn his son:

i.   **"If you marry that girl, I will exclude you from my will" or**
ii.   "**If you marry that girl, you will be miserable for the rest of your life"**

The first statement depicts the use of power, while the, latter depicts influence. Influence has to do with the value position and potential of a person or a group of persons. The exercise of influence may rest on well-being, the physical strength, wealth, affection, enlightenment, i.e. education, respect, etc. Influence therefore, depends on values, while power depends on sanctions. It is the threat of sanctions which differentiate power from influence. For example, "A" has influence over "B" within a given scope to the extent that "A" without resulting to the use of threat or of severe deprivations causes "B" to change his course of action.

We can speak of two types on influence.

a)   **Coercive Influence** – this is based on threat, expectation of great severe physical punishment, torture, imprisonment and even death. Thus, according to Locke, political power is the right of making laws with penalties of death and other penalties.

b)   **Reliable Influence** – This is an influence in which the probability of compliance is very high. It is authentic forms of influence, that is, legitimate influence,

Influence can further be sub divided into **manifest** and **potential**. Manifest influence is the power plus influence. "A" can exercise manifest influence over 'B' to the extent that 'A's action causes a change in "B"s behaviour. Potential influence is a form of implicit influence, which Carl Friedrich described on his "rule of anticipated reaction". This is a situation in which 'A' modifies his influence over 'B' because of what he thinks will be the reaction of 'B'. In other words, it proposes that often a political actor will adjust its behaviour in light of what it thinks another might do.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 3

Differentiate between the two types of Influence.

4.0   CONCLUSION

Though the concepts of legitimacy and influence are easily confused, especially by non-political scientists, these concepts are analytically distinct. The stability of a political system depends on how people perceive the system to be legitimate. Regimes are said to be legitimate to the extent that their citizens regard them as proper and deserving support. The political stability of any given government therefore depends a great deal upon the legitimacy factor. Influence on the other hand is a form of communication intended by A to affect the action of B in the absence of sanctions. Influence therefore, depends on values as distinct as power which we argued in the preceding Unit as depending on sanctions. It is the threat of sanctions which differentiate power from influence.

5.0   SUMMARY

In this Unit we have examined the concepts of Legitimacy and Influence. The former we have argued is responsible for the stability of any political system while the latter is concerned with issues of values which are also important in the stability of a political system.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

i.   What are the factors that determine the legitimacy of a government?
ii.   Conceptualize Legitimacy and Influence and show the distinction between the two.

7.0   REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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UNIT 4 POLITICAL IDEAS AND MOVEMENTS

CONTENTS

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Ideology is a very crucial aspect of politics. It is a gateway to the understanding of political action and indeed, interpenetration of politics. In this respect, it guides, supports, restrains and rationalizes political action. According to Okwudiba Nnoli, it can act as a great mobilizing energy to galvanize mass political action. Ideology is a very pervasive aspect of politics: it antedated it, is enmeshed in it, envelops it and conditions it.

The ideology at a time was used to designate the study of ideas towards the end of the eighteenth century in France. In the mid nineteenth century, Marx and Engels in their work The German Ideology, described the young Hegelians as ideologists of the bourgeois system for holding tenaciously to Hegelian philosophy.

This unit will explore the various ideologies, examining their basic principles and characteristics. The major ideologies and movements known in political history are examined in different section. At the end of the units, self-assessment questions are provided to test you preparedness and understanding of the topics taught.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

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

*   examine the various political ideologies and movements that were prevalent in the Western political history
*   understand how these political ideologies and movements have contributed to the current state of political science and indeed other social sciences
*   provide the basic characteristics of the political ideologies
*   evaluate your grasp of the topics through the sample questions provided at the end of the unit.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   What is Ideology?

Ideology is a systematizsed and interconnected set of ideas that direct and guide the action of political leaders. It is the fundamental principle or philosophy of government by which the socio-economic and political organisation of society revolves. It contains ideals, ends and purposes that the society should pursue. Ideology as a philosophy explains the nature of man's humanity, an economic programme which suggests the appropriate political structure for the pursuit through the relevant economic programme of the ideals of humanity. Ideology can be distinguished from other forms of political thought such as political philosophy, political theory, etc

3.2   Characteristics of Ideology

a)   Most ideologies tend to arise in conditions of crisis. They are either designed to help those who are subjugated in a society or help the oppressor to justify their privileges.

b)   The varying scope of an ideology can also be seen from the range of facts or phenomena which a given ideology seeks to incorporate.

c)   Ideology is a systematic pattern of political thought. Just, like a theory, ideology is an abstraction from reality embodying only the most essential elements of the reality it seeks to describe/ explain and change.

d)   Each ideology includes both empirical and normative elements. The empirical elements consist mostly of the features of reality, social, political or economic, which are more or less observable,

while the normative element in an ideology consists of all those features of reality which even though not observable are considered desirable.

i)   Most ideologies tend to be exclusive, absolute and universal in character. Each ideological system is usually characterized by a claim of exclusive relevance to the problems of a given age and time. All ideologies also share the main feature they claim universality for the aims and objectives which they seek to attain. For example, the capitalists believe that it is a universal system, and the socialists attempt also to universalize the system.

j)   Ideology is a persuasive argument designed to motivate active involvement on the part of its adherents.

k)   Ideology tends to be personalized, scriptualised and programmatic. That is, it can be turned into religious beliefs.

l)   Ideology undergoes development but is resistant to fundamental change in its world view.

3.3   Functions of Ideology

In view of the nature and importance of ideology for society generally, it follows that ideology performs very useful functions in the organization of modern society. These functions include:

1)   Legitimisation of Leadership: This implies that those who occupy political authority often justify their positions and actions on the basis of certain principles. By so doing, ideology provides government with legitimacy and helps it obtain compliance from the people.

2)   A cognitive structure for looking at the society generally. By so doing a given ideology enables members of a society to explain, justify and order several existential conditions which would otherwise prove impossible to master or explain. Thus, in the hands of the ruling class it can be and often is a potent instrument for the consolidation of state power.

3)   Ideology provides a prescriptive formula, a guide to individual action and judgment. This has to do with the legitimation of the acts of those in positions of power, for it is only when the exercise of power is seen as to conform to certain ideological norms and values that the power of force can be transformed into authority, power based on the felt need to comply without force.

4)   Ideology also serves as an instrument for conflict management and the integration of society since it limits the basic value and issue areas over which the members of society can disagree. Ideology has been found to be potent tool in the process of consolidating state power. It provides the basis for addressing issues as they affect the society instead of personalizing them.

5)   Ideology provides individual or groups a means of self-identification. This helps to satisfy specific personal needs, a means for self-evaluation and social solidarity.

6)   Guide to policy choice and assessment of conduct. It provides the framework for making policy choices by the government and the parameters for assessing the conduct of officials and the performance of government.

7)   Dynamic force in life, that is every ideology provides an explanation of reality to its adherents and seeks to motivate them to action.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1

Define Ideology and explain its major characteristics.

3.4   Liberalism

Liberal component of liberal democracy is derived from the liberalism, which is pre-democratic political ideology that asserts that there should be as much individual freedom in modern State as is compatible with the freedom of others. Liberalism is an individualist creed, which developed in the 17th and 18th century mainly as a reaction against unrestricted absolute monarchs in Europe.

The development of capitalism and Western democracy arises from the doctrine of liberalism. Liberalism was an ideology or doctrine which became pervasive among the European potentates or bourgeoisie (the middle class businessman, intellectual professionals, etc.). The ideology arose as a movement against monarchical absolutism and the church in Europe during the late eighteenth century. The underlying principles of classical liberalism include:

i)   a recognition of the rights of individuals to opportunities to demonstrate their innate potentials;

ii)   an insistence that political power should be in the hands of those who own property and those who have demonstrated ingenuity and the capacity to lead;

iii)   the conception of the duty of government to be restricted to the protection of the individual and his rights to own property;

iv)   a recognition of the right of individuals to equal economic and political participation.

Classical liberalism was an ideology that tends to justify the total control of society by the middle class. The Industrial Revolution in Europe and the rise of 'laissez-faire' economic doctrine brought fundamental changes and the revision of some classical tenets of liberalism. Although, it still extols individuals liberty and insists that it be the individual rather than the State or any collectivity that is of primary importance.

3.5   Democracy

Democracy does not have a universally acceptable definition. Different scholars attempted to give their own interpretation. Abraham Lincoln is famous definition of democracy "as the government of the people, by the people and for the people" remains most valid up till date. This explains why modern democracy is a representative democracy, which marked significantly from the classical democracy of Athenian type. In Ancient Athens, democracy was characterized by the following: first, supreme power was vested on the "ekklesis" which is the assembly of all male citizens at which each was entitled to participate by discussing and voting this may be called 'direct democracy'.

In an attempt to describe democracy, five basic elements are discernible: These are equality, sovereignty of the people, respect for human life, the individual. It is simply equal right and opportunity of all citizens to hold political office.

Democracy has certain principles which have universal application. First, the principle popular consultation, that in a democracy decisions are taken after the citizens have been widely consulted. Second, political sovereignty, this implies that in a democracy power belongs to the people (electorate). Third, political equality. Democratic equality as one of the basic tenets implies one man one vote, irrespective of social status, wealth, religion, etc. Fourth, majority rule and minority rights this implies that, the majority will always have their ways while the minority opinion must be respected. Fifth, fundamental human right which includes the right to life, liberty and property. Sixth, independent of the judiciary that the judiciary must be independent in order to play its role as an arbiter. Seventh, it opposes arbitrary rule by the leaders Eight, the obedience of the rule of law.

There are contending views of democracy among scholars. Some see it as some kind of power in which citizens are directly engaged in "self-government and self regulation" or as a means of conferring authority on those periodically voted into office. According to Held, this disagreement has given rise to three basic variants or models of democracy. These are first, the direct or participatory democracy in which citizens are involved, as in ancient Greek City States. The second model, is the liberal or representative democracy, in which the citizens elect their representatives to represent them and make decision on their behalf and rule them within the framework of "rule of law". The third model of democracy is the "Marxist tradition". This is popularly referred to as people's democracy". The Marxian thought of democracy is that it seeks to explain how equality of all citizens from the political, economic and social life is to be guaranteed in the society.

Marxists and neo-Marxist insist on how the means of production and distribution will be based on equality; in other words, to allow equality in the ownership of the means of production through the nationalization of major enterprises. While equality in the social life can be achieved through the institutionalization of rights to education, medical care, insurance, employment, etc. The collapse of Soviet Communist bloc in Eastern Europe has raised some questions as to the applicability and validity of the Marxist model of democracy as alternative model for liberal democracy.

Larry Diamond defines democracy as a "Meaningful and extensive competition among individuals and organized groups (especially political parties) either directly or indirectly, for the major positions of governmental power in addition to popular participation in the electoral process and respect for the civil and political rights of the people". Although, it has been observed in most liberal democracies especially in the new democracies existence of numerous parties and the conduct of periodic elections may not result in popular choice of leadership. Democracy in a nutshell is a set of ideals, institutions and processes of governance that allows the broad mass of the people to choose their leaders and that guarantees them a broad range of civic rights. However, this conception of democracy may appear to be inadequate as it is only concerned with formal political rights and processes to the exclusion of economic rights. Modern day democracy is essentially social democracy, with the emphasis on poverty prevention or reduction. In other words, the conception of democracy should include social and economic upliftment of the masses.

A democratic system can only be evaluated according to the degree of its commitment to those basic principles or conditions. Democracy thrives where competition for power is not secretive but open; where

there are periodic elections based on universal suffrage; where pressure groups are able to operate to influence government decisions; where there is tolerance of all shades of opinion and adequate protection of minority rights; where the civil liberties of the government are not unnecessarily even encroached upon and the government is responsible, responsive and accountable to the citizens.

The practice of democracy varies from place to place. Some countries operate it at a much higher level than others. A system is considered than others to be democratic when the people have a basic freedom which must be preserved; when the people can manage their own affairs and when governments exist for the good of the majority. The political systems such as USA, Britain, France, Sweden, Germany and few other European countries are usually described as liberal democratic States.

3.6   Liberal Democracy

Democracy as a political ideology originated from the Greek City State of Athens. The version of Athenian democracy was quite different from the contemporary liberal democracy. The difference lies in the number or category of people who were eligible to participate or vote. For instance, the numerous slaves in Greek Society, all women and much property–less people were excluded. Similarly, before 1860s, the US Constitution formally excluded black slaves from citizenship and voting rights were given to only people holding property. Interestingly, also, after slavery was formally abolished there were restrictions on black people's political and civil rights, until 1960s following the Black Civil Rights Movement.

The growth of modern liberal democracies dates back from the 1970s and 1980s. The 1970s saw quite number of West European States moving towards democratic rule after many years of authoritarianism. In the 1980s and 1990s, there was democratic movement in parts of the world, notably, in South America countries of Brazil and Argentina, in Africa and South East Asia e.g. South Korea, Taiwan. After the collapse of Soviet bloc in 1989, the Soviet satellite countries joined the clubs of democratic States.

The world today has fully embraced liberal democracy. In Africa, the movement for democratization and liberalization of political life has become the norm. A successful democratic election in South Africa in 1994, in Ghana, Nigeria in 1999, and most recently in Liberia, which marked the end of more than two decades of civil war. As more and more countries are moving towards democratic governance, the crusades for human rights begin to be fully entrenched. A liberal democracy is a political system where:

i)   periodic "free and fair" elections take place to determine how governments are formed and how the legislature is constituted, with free political competition for groups and political parties and some reasonably efficient system for assuring majority rule; and

ii)   fundamental civil liberties are protected by law and constitutional safeguards, while legal enactments and rules are equally and impartially enforced by an independent judicial and legal system.

The liberal conception of democracy emphasizes majority rule, protection of civil liberties. It is reasoned that without the protection of civil and political liberties the government will become tyrannical; although there is always a limit to the enjoyment of such liberties. All liberal democracies guarantee to the citizens the rights of political participation in one form or the other, but such rights are limited through certain laws. For examples, there are laws against armed subversion, terrorism and other undemocratic actions that undermine the general principles of democracy.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2

Discuss the major features of Liberal Democracy.

3.7   Capitalism

Capitalism is an economic and social system in which individuals and groups are allowed to own, manage and control any aspect of the economy according to their ability and resources. Capitalism arises from the doctrine of liberalism and laissez-faire economic system. It replaces feudalism which was the oldest of government in Europe in the medieval time. The period 14th to the 17th centuries was the mercantile period in Europe when the Kings or monarchs were in total control of commerce and trade. This was marked by massive accumulation of wealth through trade and plunder for the aggrandizement of European powers. Mercantilism became an ideology for the purpose of merchants themselves as independent political units and active participants in domestic and foreign affairs.

Classical capitalist doctrine is dated back to the period Adam Smith wrote his book titled: "The Wealth of Nations". The classical era gave a central role to the market system which it held, had the capacity to stimulate, regulate and coordinate the economic activities of individuals. Adam Smith argues that the market system, what he calls the "invisible hand" contains a self-generating and self-correcting mechanism which functions so well that, the government should keep its hands off the economy. Capitalism opposes to strong State intervention in the

196

economic planning. The political principles that under gird capitalism includes the following suppositions:

i)   that the role of the government should be limited to the maintenance of law and order, upholding the sanctity of contract, regulating currency, raising taxes and containing external aggressions;

ii)   that economic power should be diffused among many property owners rather than be concentrated in the hands of one owner that is, the state and

iii)   that government should not engage in any effort to redistribute economic reward since the system ensures that wealth goes to those who serve the needs of the society best while poverty goes to those who contribute little.

The development of capitalism falls into a number of stages, characterized by different levels of maturity and each of them recognizable by fairly distinctive traits. If we begin with the consideration that capitalism as a specific mode of production, then it follows that we cannot speak of a special period of "Merchant Capitalism" as it is usually the case. The beginning of capitalism was when changes in the mode of production occur, in the sense of a direct subordinate of the producers to a capitalist. It is argued that, the appearance of trading class – merchant capitalism have no revolutionary significant influence on the economic pattern of society than the appearance of a class of capitalist whose fortunes are inadequately linked with industry and that, while a ruling class whether of slave-owners or feudal lords may take to trading or enter into close alliance with traders, a merchant class whose activities are essentially those of an inter-mediary between producer and consumer is unlikely to strive to become a dominant class in quite that radical and exclusive sense.

The history of capitalism began in England in the 16th and the early 17th centuries when capital began to penetrate production on a considerable scale, either in the form of a fairly matured relationship between capitalist and hired wage – earners or in the less developed form of the subordinate of domestic handicraftsmen, working in their own homes, to capitalist on the so-called "putting-out system". Maurice Dobb argues that, prior to 16th and 17th centuries, that craftsmen had lost much of his independence through debt or in the face of monopoly of wholesale traders, and also depended on a merchant, who possess the capital. In the 14th century there was a good deal of what Maurice Dobb termed Kulak types of enterprise – the – well – to – do peasant in the village or the local trader or worker – owner in town handicrafts, employing hired labour.

The 17th century was one of the decisive moments in the political and social transformations, including the struggle within the chartered corporations and the parliamentary struggle against monopoly, reaching its apex in the Cromwellian Revolution in England. The other decisive moment consist of the industrial revolution of the late 18th and in the early half of the 19th century, which primarily of economic significance; it had a less dramatic, but far from unimportant reflection in the political sphere. So decisive was it for the whole future of capitalist economy, so radical a transformation of the structure and organization of industry did it represent, as to have caused some to regard it as the birth pangs of modern capitalism and hence as the most decisive moment in economic and social development since the Middle Ages.

To be consistent in our argument of the origin of the capitalist mode of production, we must add the third decisive moments in the transition from the medieval mode of production to capitalist. This was the period that marked the disintegration of feudalism. The 14th century witnessed a crisis of the old feudal order, following closely on the needs of the rise of corporate towns to a large measure of local autonomy political and economic as well as to a greatly enhanced influence in national affairs. In this crisis the feudal mode of production, based on serfdom, was seriously shaken and reached an advanced stage of disintegration, the effects of which were seen in the malaise of landlord economy in the following century. However, it is true that the disintegration of the feudal mode of production had already reached an advanced stage before the capitalist mode of production emerged within the womb of the old. To avoid misapprehension and misinterpretation of issues, the history of capitalism and the stages in its development, do not necessarily have the same dating for different parts of country or for different industries, it will be right at times to talk of a collection of histories of capitalism and not a single history because all of them having a general similarity of shapes, but each of them separately dated as regards its main stages.

In the transitional stages of the development of capitalism, there was a major transition from one form of class harmony to another and minor transitions which mark stages within the life-span of given economic system. Where a new class, linked with a new mode of production, makes itself the dominant class and ousts the representative of the old economic and social order who previously held sway, the influence of this political revolution must necessarily be felt over the whole area of whatever is the political unit within which power has been transferred and the immediate consequence must in this case be approximately simultaneous throughout this area. It is this change of policy and hence the direction in which its influences is exerted at a national level that

gives to such moments as the English Revolution of the 17th century or 1789 in France or 1917 in Russia their special significance.

The developmental stages of capitalism through the main phases into which its history falls has been associated essentially with technical change affecting the character of production and for this reason the capitalists associated with each new phase have tended to be initially at least a different structure of capitalists from those who had sunk their capital in the older type of production. It is indeed crucial at this stage to link the periods when the policy of the State in a class society moves in the direction of economic regulation with periods of actual or apprehended labour scarcity and periods when State policy is inspired by a spirit of economic liberalism with an opposite situation. The reason which prompt the State at any time towards intervention in production may be various and complex; as are also the possible forms and objects of intervention. State intervention intended to grow in countries of Western Europe in the 14th and early 15th century, which was a period of almost universal labour scarcity; whereas, the 19th century witnessed a period of an abundant labour reserve and rapid increase of population and the greatest triumphs of laissez-faire.

The 20th century, saw the growth of the welfare state. The mainstream liberal democratic theorist J.S. Mill accepted the need for a large scale welfare states to stabilize capitalism and meet the pressure from social democratic parties. The war time experience of democratic governments controlling and directing industrial production and directing labour as indicating that the state economic planning advocated by social democrats and Marxists was much more feasible than they had previously thought (Dumleavy, 2004). In the 1930s laissez-faire position seemed less plausible as state intervention in economic and social policies proved successful in President Roosevelts' New Deal in pulling the USA out of the Great Depression. With the onset of the Second World War, State planning was in all the major combatant countries to organize production, in the UK and USA.

The general picture of State policy in capitalists system is its grave for freedom, since only in the absence of regulation and control can it find favourable conditions for expansion. Capitalism in this context is against any legal restraint and monopoly, and monopoly is the product of illegitimate intrusion of the state into the economic domain, in pursuit of power instead of plenty or of social stability at the cost of commercial prosperity. Freedom could only be sustained by minimizing the growth of the state.

There is no doubt that modern capitalism has been progressive in a high degree: accordingly to the well-know tribute paid to it by Karl Marx and

Fredrick Engels in the Communist Manifesto, "the bourgeoisie has played an extremely revolutionary role upon the stage of history... it was the first to show us what human activity is capable of achieving... (it) cannot exist without incessantly revolutionizing the instruments of production, and, consequently, the relations of production". The progressive influence of capitalism is some how halted because of some enduring quality of the system, which thrives on continuous innovation and unusual buoyancy of markets as well as with an abnormal rate of increase of its labour supply.

Basic Characteristics of Capitalism

There are certain features that distinguish capitalism from socialism. These are as follows:

(i)   Private ownership, management and control of the means of economic production, distribution and exchange;

(ii)   The production of goods and services is usually for profit, not for general use. Individuals organize their business in such a way as to make profit.

(iii)   It insists on government protection of fundamental human rights of individual. This is the political aspect of capitalism, because it ensures that the rights of the individual are guaranteed, there is the practice of multi-party system;

(iv)   Existence of two dominant classes- the owner of capital (bourgeoisie) and the workers (proletariat). The workers sell their labour to the owners of capital and receive wages in return.

(v)   Private and free enterprise – individuals are free to do any type of business they desire in accordance with laid down rules and regulations by the state.

(vi)   Property could be owned both by the individual and the state.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 3

Capitalism as a dynamic system of production has made great contribution to human development" Do you agree?

3.8   Socialism

Socialism has often been misinterpreted because of its complex nature. It is perhaps, the most complete political ideology because its goals are all encompassing. It is both an economic system and social, political and moral philosophy. Socialism can be conceived as an ideology and also a political movement or a method to bring about social, economic and political transformation. Socialism refers to a system, in any country of the organization of economic production, distribution and exchange. It is

a system in which the major factors of economic production, distribution and exchange are in the hands of the state.

Socialism is a political movement for the establishment of a socialist system of government. It is also a method as well as a doctrine for the organization of socialist political parties and trade unions. Socialism represents a stage or epoch in the historical transformation of societies from capitalism to communism. Socialism is a protest against capitalism, which emphasizes private ownership of property or means of production, distribution and exchange. Communism is the last stage of socialism, which will lead to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat or workers.

Leon Baradat (1997) provides three basic features of socialism. In other words, socialism can be divided into three basic features. Two of them ownership of production and establishment of the welfare state, are mechanical and are not necessarily related to each other. The third is the belief in the socialist intent, which is the most fundamental aspect of socialism and must exist together with one or both of the mechanical feature, otherwise, true socialism cannot be said to exist. We shall return to these issues later in this section.

In the development of socialism, it is traditionally understood to mean the application of collective production and consumption to an entire nation. The argument is that socialism became feasible with the Industrial Revolution, when the resources for national coordination of an economy had come into existence. Rosseau opposed great differences in property ownership among citizens because the disparity would create unequal political powers among them. This is the foundation of socialism, as it advocates for economic equality as fundamental to a just society. It is only in an environment of economic equality is the full potential of each individual completely free to develop. Hence, though primarily economic in nature, socialism is also a political ideology.

Socialism is based on the premise that individuals should produce as much as they can, and in the spirit of social conscientiousness, to share their product with the society at large. By this means, it is assumed that each will get the greatest benefit, thereby creating the best possible life for all.

Utopian socialism movement developed from a sincere desire for equality within the society and from genuine compassion for the masses at the bottom of the social structure. Members of this movement concluded that lavishing sumptuous wealth on some while allowing others to languish in squalor was immoral, since the economy produced enough for all to live comfortably if goods were distributed more

evenly. Many utopians believed that there was an ideal equalitarian social order that, if discovered and implemented, would lead humanity to a more profound level of prosperity and happiness. Utopian socialists also believed that only the workers create wealth, therefore, they held that society should adjust its social, economic, and political systems to prevent unequal distribution of wealth.

The utopian socialist movement originated with the help of three personalities – Saint-Simon, Robert Owen, and Charles Fourier. Important as these utopians socialists were to the development of socialism, their influence is largely limited to their own generation. For more important to socialist theory was Karl Marx. Prior to Marx, the basis of the proposed socialist societies had been the humanitarian hope that people would treat each other better as their material conditions improved. Though Marx was compassionate as he never based his conclusion of socialism on a humanitarian desire for a better life. His theory postulates certain "laws" of human motivation and conduct (economic determinism and dialectic materialism). It concludes that socialism is the unavoidable goal of human historical development. This view became so dominant and superior to his predecessors that he captivated the socialist movement until his death in 1883.

Origins of Socialism

The origin of socialism is traced to pre-Revolutionary France. Jean Jacque Rousseau, though not a socialist, gave leftist foundations of equalitarianism on which socialism is based. After the French Revolution, utopian socialists deplored the suffering caused by early capitalism and claimed that humanity was destined to live communally. But the failure of utopian socialist to explain adequately and in a more scientific manner about social relationship that informed Marx's "scientific socialism", which came to dominates the movement.

After Marx's death the socialist movement shattered into three distinct and competitive variants. First, the orthodox school, which rejected any significant change to Marx's works and rapidly became obsolete. The second was the revisionists and the Fabians that challenged most of the fundamental Marxist theories preferring more gradual and peaceful development of the socialist goals. Their ideas had a great impact on almost every modern non-Marxist socialist movement in Europe and America. The third is Marxism-Leninism that developed after Marx's death.

V. I. Lenin was more practical than Marx, though his ideology was not as consistent as Marx. The central argument of Marxism-Leninism is that capitalist institutions such as imperialism discouraged the

spontaneous proletarian revolutions that Marx had predicted. Lenin created an elite group of dedicated revolutionaries who would lead the rebellion and govern after the capitalist system collapsed. When the bourgeois ruler had been replaced by the dictatorship of the proletariat, a system that rewarded people according to their work would be established. Through education, material rewards, and elimination of the worst dissidents from society, the proletariat would grow until it was the only economic class in the society. Then the system would evolve into the classic Marxist utopia communism.

Scientific Socialism of Karl Marx

Scientific socialism is an attempt to demonstrate or apply scientific interpretation of human history. It is argued that man is governed by material needs and this reduces him to an "earth bound beast with no spark of the lofty and divine" (William E. Bernstein, 1993, p.34). As Karl Marx lived during a time when belief in science was at its peak. Marx believed that he had discovered the economic laws that governed human, social development; hence, his supporters called his theory scientific socialism. It is assumed that humanity was on the verge of a new era of knowledge and understanding of things. Engels who was a collaborator with Karl Marx, was convinced that Marx had done for social history what Darwin had done for biological sciences. To Engels, "as Darwin discovered the law of development of organic nature, so Marx discovered the developmental law of human history" (Baradat 1997, p. 108).

The idea of scientific socialism according to Marx is to distinguish it from utopian socialism. The essence therefore is that revolution which will sweep away class exploitation by the bourgeoisie of workers and class privileges would inevitably occur out of a class struggle between the 'haves' (bourgeoisie) and the 'have nots' (proletariat).

Scientific socialism rests on the theory of historical materialism, which is in terms of dialectics of history. The underlying principle of materialism is a protest against capitalism. The work of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels **Das Kapital** is a critique of the capitalist system. Marxism posits a materialist interpretation of human history. It is assumed that the mode of production of goods and services and the manner of exchange of these goods and services constitute the bases of all social processes and institutions. Marx insists that it is the economic structure that determines the politics. In other words, the most fundamental assumption in Marxism is economic determinism.

Economic determinism suggests that the primary human motivation is economic. "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their

existence", Marx argues, "but their social existence that determines their consciousness", that is, what we value and what we do politically is determined by our economic circumstances. This view has gained a lot of ground in academic discourse in political economy, that economics plays an important part in determining political behaviour.

Marx saw all societies as composed of two parts: the foundation and the superstructure. The foundation of any society, is the material condition. In other words, the economic system is at the base of the society. Marx divided the economy into two basic factor: the means of production and the relations of production. The means of production are the resources and technology at the disposal of a particular society, and their interrelationship determines the kind of economic system the society enjoys. The relations of production (or social classes) are determined by the foundation. The superstructure is composed of all nonmaterial institutions in the society, and each is arranged in a way that suits the ruling class. The superstructure includes the values, ideology, government, education, law, religion, art, and so on.

Superstructure of the society

Art
Law
Religion
Ideology
Education
Govt., values, et

Foundation of the society

Relations of production (social classes)

Means of production
(Resources and Technology)
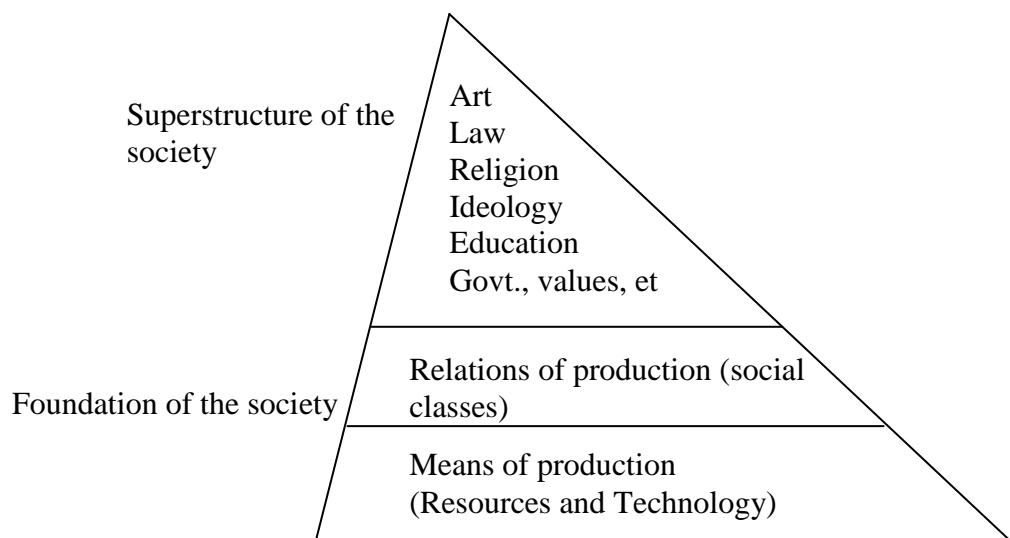
Source: Leon Baradat., 1997, P. 175.

The basis of Marx's argument for violence was his perception of the dialectic process. He believed that technological change cannot be stopped: Resources will become depleted, and new means of production will inevitably evolve, resulting economic change. When the economy changes, economic determinism dictates that the entire foundation of the society must be transformed, forcing a change in its superstructure as well. Economic change cannot be prevented, because it forces social change, which, in turn drives political change. Violence is seen as necessary in this process because the rulers who control the economy feel their economic and political power threatened by the uncontrollable changes taking place in the means of production.

Marxist historical theory is the basis for the belief that Marx created a "scientific" theory of socialism. The dialectic is part this theory was taken from the thinking of Hegel. Hegelian thought was based on change. Hegel believes that the world was progressing toward a goal that was predetermined by God. This goal, he called the idea. Marx borrowed this concept of dialectic from Hegel, which they saw as a means of achieving historical progress through struggle.

The fundamental logic of history is the struggle that will ultimately bring about a change. Change itself is what is consistent. To Hegel, history was simply the process of change brought on by struggle. He argued that the dialectic was a struggle between divinely inspired ideas and that it led to changes in the earthly social or political environment (Baradat 1997,
p.178-79).

Marx rejected Hegel's meta-physical assumptions and adopted the dialectic as the fundamental logic of history. He however, agreed with Hegel that humanity would eventually reach the end of the process change. The state of affairs, which Hegel calls the thesis that will be challenged by a new idea, the antithesis. A conflict between the thesis and the antithesis will follow; this is called the dialectic process. The result of this conflict will, according to Hegel, be a synthesis of all the good parts of the thesis and of the antithesis. Then the synthesis becomes the new thesis to which another antithesis eventually develops.

Marx claimed that the dialectic was a conflict among worldly interests. He believed that human conflict was caused by social-class differences. Marx held that the struggle which occurred at the end of one historical era and led to the down of a new one was a struggle between opposing social classes. Further, he believed that humanity had passed through four historical stages and was about to enter its fifth and final era. Each historical era had been characterized by a particular economic system (the means and relations of production) leading to a specific political system (superstructure).

In the Marxian dialectic the four eras were the primitive communism when every person marked at producing, and people shared their produce with one another in order to survive; the era of slavery when the dominant people forced the dominated people into servitude; a new political – economic system had emerged, called feudalism in which a landed aristocracy provided police and military protection to the peasants, who soon became serfs (people legally bound to the land – "land slaves") and farmed the nobles' lands. The fourth revolution in the 1640s and the American and French upheavals of the late 18th century

featured capitalism as its economic system. Marx called the new political systems bourgeois democracies.

Capitalism fostered factory workers, the proletariat (or wage slaves) a class that would act as the antithesis in the fourth historical era. Marx believed that the tension between the two classes would build into a new and final dialectic struggle.

Capitalism had increased human productivity to the point at which all basic material needs could be satisfied. Marx assumed that the victory of the proletariat was inevitable; it would be a victory of the exploited over the exploiter. He also believed that the proletariat itself would not be exploitative. To him, if all other classes were eliminated the source of all human strife would disappear and a new, classless society holding its goods in common would emerge, which is the communist society.

Basic Features of Socialism

1. **Public Ownership of Production:** The concept of public ownership and control of the major means of production is a fundamental principle of socialism. This is through nationalization and in advanced Western states cooperatives as a mean of socializing the economy.

ii. **The Welfare State:** This is to allow for equitable distribution of wealth throughout society. What is much more important to the socialist is the distribution of the goods and services and not just the production. For instance, in the 1930s, President Frankline Roosevelt introduced the new Deal, to give capitalism a human face. At this time, programmes such as social security, government supports for agriculture, unemployment and workers' compensation, welfare programmes, federal guarantees for housing loans, government insurance for saving deposits, and so on were introduced.

iii. **The Socialist Intent:** Baradat (1997) argues that the first two features are mechanical in nature and not necessarily related to each other. To him, a society could socialize many, or even all, of its major means of production and still avoid creating a welfare state.

The goal of socialism is to set people free from the condition of material dependence that has imprisoned them since the beginning of time. The true socialist looks forward to a time when the productive capacity of the society will have been increased to the point at which there is abundance for all. As the general material conditions of the society

improve, the specific differences in material status among individuals will decrease. This is as a result of technology that has created a situation in which people can produce enough to satisfy all their basic needs.

Since there will be plenty for all, traditional property values such private ownership, the use of money, and the accumulation of luxuries by one class while others live in squalor will disappear.

Socialism is an economic equivalent of democracy with individual political equality. Hence, socialism is compatible with democracy, since it is to the individual economically what democracy is to the individual politically

3.9   Dictatorial Ideologies

Essentially, all other political ideologies that do not share the same characteristics as democracy are dictatorial in nature. In this section, we attempt to bring out the basic elements that are common to all the dictatorial regimes in the history of mankind. The dictatorial ideologies that we shall be considering here are: authoritarianism, totalitarianism, fascism, autocracy, tyranny, etc. In this write up, we classified all of them as dictatorship.

Authoritarianism represents various forms of autocratic rule in which political authority is concentrated in the hands of one person or a small group of persons. This may be seen as oligarchy, that is, government by few individuals that are considered as elites. These could be in the military, that is, when the military regime is in power, it is usually made up few persons that constitute themselves as ruling clique. In such a system political power is highly centralized and the power which the regime wields is arbitrarily used.

Like all dictatorial regimes, political power is in the hands of one person or an oligarchy. Since dictatorship implies irresponsible exercise of political power with no moral or political control or restrain, no election and political opposition is allowed, etc. Political opposition may exist both in theory and not in practice. In practice, in a dictatorship, opposition may be emasculated. In a situation where opposition is allowed to exist, it is usually in a small scale and the regime at times adopts benevolent policies, which is aptly described as "enlightened dictatorship or despotism". A despot is a tyrannt who induces fear on his subjects to compel obedience. A tyrannical ruler does not obey the constitution if there is any; arbitrarily laws are made without regard to fundamental human rights and rule of law.

Despotism and tyranny are extreme versions of dictatorship. In this case, despotism and tyranny display various forms of total control of the entire public and private life of the citizens. The citizens are subjected and subjugated in various ways by the leaders as it were in Fascist Italy under Benito Mussolini, Naz Germany of Adolf Hitler, Communist Russia under V. I. Lenin, Stalin, and so on.

Fascism is a kind of ideology which grew up on the 20th century. Fascism as a political doctrine or ideology was rooted from totalitarianism. Fascism a political theory came in Italy in 1922, during the expression which followed World War I. The Fascist leader Benito Mussolini spread the doctrine of fascism in all the nooks crannies in Europe. Fascist leader was seen as the most superior and controls all the instruments of coercion and violence. The leader believed in war and not peace. To Mussolini, "war is to man what maternity is to a woman".

The central political idea of fascism is the creation of a truly sovereign state with a sovereign authority. The state dominates all other forces within the country and is at the same time guiding the sentiments of the masses, educating the masses and looking after the interest of the masses. According to Mussolini, fascism is against international peace, socialism, pacifism, democracy and individualism. Fascism is thus, the totalitarian organization of government and society by a single party dictatorship which is intensely nationalist, racist, militarist and imperialistic.

Nazism which was a political movement in which Adolf Hitler ruled Germany between (1933-1945) shares the same political ideas or doctrine with fascism, except that Adolf Hitler emphasized the superiority or supremacy of the Aryan race, while fascism emphasized the supremacy of the leader over the state. Both fascism and Nazism were all rooted from totalitarianism.

Totalitarianism is an advanced form of authoritarianism. In an authoritarian government as earlier alluded, power is concentrated in an individual or in the hands of a group. Monarchies, oligarchies, and military governments are examples of authoritarian governments. Just like these forms of government, totalitarian state, does not allow majority of citizens any direct or institutionalized role in the process of decision-making. There are important limitations to political parties and elections. The political rulers often place greater emphasis on force and coercion to obtain political conformity and obedience. Totalitarianism therefore is a doctrine based on the use of terror or force to compel obedience. The entire life both political, economic, and social is in the hands of the state, represented by the leaders. Examples of totalitarian regimes or states include fascist Italy under Mussolini, Nazi Germany

the Soviet Union under Stalin. Communist China under Mao Tsetsung also pursued the goal of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

All these political ideas and movements share the same characteristics except democracy. These are some of the basic characteristics of dictatorship.

(i)   The state defines the rights of individuals and what constitutes crimes against the state;

(ii)   The conception of the state as a moral absolute deserving of unquestioning obedience by all;

(iii)   Totalitarian state control all aspects of life of the citizens;

(iv)   The use of secret police or 'Gestapo' or 'KGB' to terrorise and intimidate the citizens and political opposition groups;

(v)   The concentration of political power on few individuals;

(vi)   There is usually one political party like the then Soviet Union, where the C.P.S.U (Communist Party of the Soviet Union) was the only political party that was allowed to exist, opposition party was outlawed;

(vii)   Totalitarian state or regime is intolerance of socialism and liberalism;

(viii) There is emphasis on the use of propaganda as an instrument of control and terror;

(ix)   There is the belief in the superiority of a particular race, which became a deliberate state policy in Germany.

(x)   Fascism opposes to international law, fundamental human right; etc.

4.0   CONCLUSION

The Unit has carefully examined the major political ideas and movements. We have conceived ideology as a coherent body of idea which explains and justify a preferred social order which is either existing or is envisaged. Ideology guides and directs the action of political leaders in the state. We have identified the functions and characteristics of ideology. It is evident from our analysis that ideology plays important role in any political system. We have equally examined the doctrine of liberalism, and we attempted to relate it with democracy and capitalism. Socialism and capitalism are treated distinctively, while other political movements such as fascism, Nazism, totalitarianism are captioned as dictatorial ideologies that share similar attributes.

5.0   SUMMARY

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

- know what an ideology is
- distinguish features of ideology
- know the functions of ideology
- know the types of ideologies.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

i.   Identify five distinguishing features of an ideology?
ii.   Discuss the relevance of ideology in any political system?
iii.   Describe briefly the major tenants of capitalism?
iv.   Are there any relationship between the doctrine of liberalism and democracy?
v.   Critically analyse major characteristics of dictatorship.

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UNIT 5   CONSTITUTION

CONTENTS

1.0   INTRODUCTION

Constitution entails the document that embodies the steps that determine how we do things in the society. It is essentially the embodiment of the most fundamental rules, principles and institutions which constitute the political fabric of a state. Rules are those regulations that govern a particular action, and principles are the underlying premises of these regulations. In essence, this helps to bring order and sanity to the society and for the good governance of the generality of the people.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

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

• explain the essential ingredients of the constitution
• identify the rights, duties and obligations as enshrined in the constitution
• differentiate between the different types of the constitution.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Types of Constitutions

There are different types of constitutions. Let us briefly do an overview of each.

3.1.1 Written Constitution

A written constitution is the body of rules and laws that govern a people which can be found in one document. It is a result of a deliberate framing and adoption of a specific document intended to embody most of the fundamental rules and institutions by which a state is to be governed.

From historical accounts, for about the last two centuries, almost all constitutional governments have had written constitutions, usually in the form of a single basic document. It is different from an ordinary law because it defines the fundamental framework and system of restraint within which the state operates. It is in this sense that a written constitution can be referred to as the supreme law of the land. In another sense, it is an embodiment of the political principles and institutional patterns that are so fundamental as to be considered indispensable. Some of the countries that operate written constitutions include Canada, Ghana, India, Nigeria and the United States of America.

3.1.2 Unwritten Constitution

Generally, constitutions are said to be unwritten because they have evolved on the basis of custom rather than on written law. The reference point in this regard remains that of Great Britain. This is because it is a combination scattered in several documents and drawn from diverse sources from the 13th century to the present. The constitution constitutes of four basic elements of which only one is written in black and white.

In the first instance, an unwritten constitution consists of documents and statues which have provided solutions to successive constitutional crisis. These include the Margna Carta of 1215; Petition of Rights, 1628; Bill of Rights, 1689; The Reform Act of 1832 and the Parliamentary Act of 1911. Each of these documents represent a landmark in British constitutionalism.

The second important element of the unwritten constitution is the parliamentary statutes which have brought about important changes in the development of the United Kingdom. These statues were not a product of any dramatic constitutional crisis, but they assisted in effecting fundamental changes that accorded them an important place in the statute books. Some examples of these statutes include those that defined rights and duties of citizens and those laws which helped to broaden the suffrage. In essence, any law of parliament which changes the existing power structure or operation of the British political system becomes a part of the constitution.

The third element of the unwritten constitution is the great mass of laws created by many generations of English judges. The personal right of an Englishman, for instance, freedom of speech, press, assembly and the right to trial by jury are firmly protected by established principles of the common law rather than any Act of Parliament. These principles are essential in restraining the power of the government and as such constitute a vital element of British constitution.

The fourth element of the unwritten constitution is customs and conventions. These conventions are not embodied in written law or judicial decisions, but have gradually evolved over many generations. Conventions are products of long experience in developing workable relationships among the Chief institutions of British government. The only sanction behind these conventions is the force of custom and tradition. It is customary for example, for the cabinet in Great Britain to resign if it meets with a defeat in the House of commons on a major issue.

In general teams, an unwritten constitution evolves slowly in response to dominant social and political forces. It entails therefore that they are not products of a single act or authority but a product of tradition and emerging needs.

3.1.3 Rigid and Flexible Constitutions

A rigid constitution is a constitution which the procedures for amendment are cumbersome and rigourous. Most federal states are known to operate rigid constitutions. There is always the impression that a written constitution is simultaneously rigid and that an unwritten constitution is flexible. However, the major distinguishing factor between a rigid and flexible constitution is not on whether it is written or unwritten, but whether the process of constitutional law making is or is not identical with the process of ordinary law making. Therefore, a constitution which can be amended or altered without recourse to any special agreement could be termed a flexible constitution, while a constitution which requires a special procedure for its alteration or amendment is a rigid constitution. In this regard, constitutions can be differentiated from one another through the method by which they would be amended. The tendency therefore in distinguishing rigid and flexible constitutions is that a constitution which contains a number of legal obstacles to its amendment will be harder to amend or alter, and will therefore be less frequently altered than those constitutions which contain fewer obstacles at all. It is therefore important to note that the case or frequency with which a constitution is amended depends not only on the legal or constitutional provisions or requirements that prescribe the method of change but also on the predominant political

and social groups in the community and the extent to which they are satisfied with the organization and distribution of political powers which the constitution prescribes.

3.1.4 Unitary and Federal Constitutions

The nature of the state also determines the type of constitution it operates. Most modern states are either unitary or federal. In accordance with this notion, unitary and federal states can be differentiated from a confederal state.

A unitary state is characterized by the habitual exercise of supreme legislative authority by one central government. A federal state on the other hand is a political contrivance intended to reconcile national unity and power with the maintenance of state rights. A unitary state is organised under a single central government. Whatever powers that the various units within the area administered by the central government are held at the discretion of that government, and the central power is supreme over the whole without any restrictions imposed by any law granting special powers to its parts. There is therefore no question of any limitation being placed on the power of the central authority or government by any law making body belonging to any smaller part of the state.

In a federal state, the numbers of the coordinate units unite for certain common and mutual purposes. Under a federal constitution, the powers of the central or federal authority are limited by certain powers which the units retain in furtherance of the common purpose. The constitution in this situation determines the distribution of power between the centre and regional units. The constitution also states those rights that are to be retained by the federating units and those that are taken over by the federal authority.

The third possibility in the distinction between unitary and federal constitutions is a situation where the government of the whole country is subordinate to the component units. It is usual to call such a constitutional arrangement a confederation. Confederation hence, may be used to describe a form of association established to regulate matters of common interest or concern, but retain to themselves greater degree of some control over the organization. It will be misleading to call a central authority of a confederation a government, because their various parts are also governments. ECOWAS remains a good example of a confederation.

214

Define what a constitution is and explain the various types.

3.1.5 Presidential and Parliamentary Constitutions

A distinction can also be made among constitutions on the basis of the method by which powers are distributed inside the government. In this regard, the constitution can be divided into those which embody to a greater or lesser degree the doctrine of separation of powers, and those which do not embody the doctrine. Put differently, the distinction among constitutions is in line with those who established the Presidential Executive and the Parliamentary or Cabinet system. The doctrine of separation of powers means that each arm of government – Legislature, Executive and Judiciary is confined exclusively to a separate institution of government. It is also assumed that there will be no over-lapping either of function or personnel of government. In U. S. A. for example, the Congress is vested with all legislative powers. The President is charged with the responsibility of executing the laws. While the Judicial powers are vested in the Supreme Court and other inferior courts. This is the basis upon which the constitution of USA has been classified as embodying the concept of separation of powers.

In a Parliamentary/Cabinet system of government, the constitution enjoins that the ministers and the Head of Executive must at the same time be members of Parliament. Therefore, there is no strict separation of powers in a cabinet system between the three arms of government.

Note, however, that even though the American constitution separates the three institutions of government and forbids overlapping of personnel between them, the separation is not absolute. Although the legislative powers are granted to Congress, the President has the right to veto the acts of the congress and his veto can only be over-ruled by 2/3 majority of the Congress and the Senate. Although the Executive power is vested in the President, he must ask the advice and consent of the Senate for the making of treaties and in making important appointments. Although the judicial powers are vested in the Supreme Court and other subordinate courts, the Senate is empowered to impeach corrupt or insane President.

Constitution exists to define legitimate political power as a system of regularising, restraining the power of government and necessarily defines who shall exercise political power, how this power is to be exercised and the unit to exercise the power? Most constitutions therefore have a common pattern, in the sense that they contain statements intended to define the relationships between the rulers and the ruled, the basic institutional framework of government, the rights

and duties of all citizens and many important procedures that are to be followed in the government of the state.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2

Compare and contrast Presidential and Parliamentary constitutions.

4.0   CONCLUSION

In this Unit, we have briefly examined various types of constitutions. In the next Unit, we shall look at constitutionalism.

5.0   SUMMARY

Different countries operate different types of constitutions. In this Unit, you have specifically been able to understand the various types of constitutions. Unit 11 will therefore build on this Unit and introduce you to constitutionalism.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

i.   Define what you understand by a Constitution.
ii.   Explain the various types of constitution known to you.

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MODULE 3

UNIT 1   CONSTITUTIONALISM

CONTENTS

1.0   INTRODUCTION

Constitutionalism is a goal (i.e. a means to an end), and it refers to the regularity of political life within a state by means of a constitution. As a concept, constitutionalism means limited government i.e. a system of restraint on both the rulers and the ruled. Constitutionalism asserts that there are fundamental limits which must be observed in the relationship between the rulers and the ruled. When the power relationship among the groups in political society becomes regularized under law and subject to well- defined restraint, the constitutional government exists.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the process of constitution making
- describe the history of and constitutional development.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Constitutional Development

A constitution can be meaningful if it draws its inspiration from the values, attitudes of those people over whom that constitution will apply. Nigerian experience in constitution making could for convenient sake be divided into 4 (four) periods.

The Period of Colonial Experience (1914-60): The experience during this period varied from that of imposed constitutions with gradual regulation over time, allowing participation of Nigerians in varying degrees. At the early stage of Nigeria's colonial experience, constitutions were imposed on Nigerians in the sense that they were not allowed either to determine the nature of the document or to participate in the processes of bringing them into being. The Lugard Constitution of 1914 was responsible for creating legally what we now refer to as Nigeria by merging the Southern and Northern Nigeria protectorates into one entity. Therefore the 1914 Lugard Nigeria Council can be called the first Nigerian Constitution.

Clifford Constitution of 1922: With respect to the 1922 Constitution (known as the Clifford Constitution) there were no dramatic changes both in terms of the constitution and that of Lugard. Twenty-four years later, there was the Richard's Constitution of 1946.

Richard's Constitution of 1946: This constitution introduced the concept of regionalism in Nigeria. 1n 1946, Nigeria was divided into three (3) regions – North, East and West. With respect to the Richard Constitution, all that merely happened was that the Governor drafted a Constitution that was supposed to replace the Clifford Constitution of 1922. The draft constitution was later on submitted to the Central Legislative Council, and final approval of this constitution was given by the British Parliament.

The Richard Constitution suffered serious criticism and opposition from its inception from the emerging political class, so that in 1951, this Constitution was replaced by the McPherson Constitution.

McPherson Constitution: As far as experience in constitution making is concerned, the McPherson Constitution could be said even within a colonial setup to be a peoples' constitution. This was because of the procedure adopted in bringing the constitution into being. In drafting the Macpherson Constitution, a wide spectrum of public opinion was consulted. There was consultation at village level, Provincial, District and Regional levels so that in contradiction to its predecessors which were personal affairs of successive governors. The 1951 Constitution

was Nigeria's first experience in the making of peoples' constitution. After 1951, there was only one constitution until the attainment of independence in 1960.

Lyttleton Constitution: The 1954 Lyttleton Constitution followed the same pattern of constitution making that was witnessed during the Macpherson's period. With the 1960 Independence Constitution, the powers of the British Parliament to legislate for Nigeria was terminated and the responsibility of the British Government for the administration of Nigeria was also terminated. At the same time, the Queen was still the Queen of Nigeria and the Head of Government. In order to change the dominance of external affairs of Nigeria by Britain, a new Constitution called the Republican Constitution of 1963 was proposed and adopted in 1963.

Republican Constitution of 1963: With this Constitution, the Queen ceased to be the Head of Government in Nigeria. Between 1966 and 1979, there was no constitution in existence in Nigeria. The military coup of January 15, 1966 had the effect of invalidating the legal order of the 1963 Republic Constitution by creating an entirely new legal order based on military Decrees and Edicts.

The legal implication of the new military administration found expression in the Constitution Suspension and Modification Decree which suspended Parliament and Regional Legislatures in January 1966. The government of the Federation was vested in a Supreme Military Council. The Federal Military Government was vested with unlimited legislative powers to make laws on any subject or any part of the country. Constitution making under the military was both informal and unceremonious in the sense that elaborate procedures for making legislations were absent and no distinction between an ordinary legislative enactments and a constitutional decree. Decrees were used at the national level while Edicts were used at state levels.

Nigeria's 1979 Constitution: Attempts were made by the military government to usher in a civilian government. The procedures adopted in the making of Nigeria's 1979 Constitution were as follows:

The Federal Military Government appointed a Constitution Drafting Committee (CDC) consisting of 49 persons in October 1975 to produce a draft constitution for the country. The CDC was expected to submit the draft for public comment and discussion before the Constituent Assembly deliberates on it. The method adopted by the CDC was to invite memoranda from the public on all aspect of the proposed constitution and in all, the CDC had 346 memoranda submitted by the public. The CDC raised certain problems:

The first problem was what should be the position of the government relative to the Committee itself. Put differently, how are the government proposal to be handled by the CDC?

The question becomes relevant in retrospect following an allegation made by a member of the CDC that there were subterranean influences from above. The allegation of interference was against the Federal Military Government, it was alleged by Mallam Aminu Kano that a letter was written to the Chairman of the CDC in which the government expressed its displeasure at the direction of the debate of the CDC on the issue of the creation of states. There are basically two comments to make from the allegation:

(a)   Once it is agreed that a constitution must be a people's constitution, everything should be done to ensure that this becomes a reality;

(b)   Secondly, as long as anyone is a Nigerian, individual or institutions, he has a right to submit proposals at the draft stage of the constitution. But government like individuals should make its proposals known before the closing date of the submission of the memoranda or any unlimited privilege may legitimately be construed as interference. By people's constitution, we mean the constitution that is the nature of the people.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

What is Constitutionalism?

3.2   Publication of the 1979 Draft Constitution

With reference to the publication of the draft constitution, this procedure was meant to give legitimacy to the document. However, for a constitution to command the loyalty of the people it must be understood by the people and at the same time it must be acceptable to them. The people must also be made to identify themselves with the constitution. Without this sense of identification, of attachment and involvement, a constitution will remain remote, artificial object with no more real existence than the paper on which it is written. The mere fact that participation in the discussion of the draft constitution was restricted to the literate population was a serious error in Nigeria's attempt at constitution making. In a country where over 80% of the populations are illiterate, the publication of the draft constitution for public comment would appear to be an exercise in window dressing. Those who participated in the discussion were no more interested than those issues that affect their corporate interests.

3.3   Constituent Assembly

With reference to the composition of the Constituent Assembly, it was clearly stated that all areas of interest which ought to partake in the process of constitution making shall have adequate opportunity as participants in the Constituent Assembly.   There were two different opinions on how the Constituent Assembly should be constituted.

(a)   One view was that the Constituent Assembly must be popularly elected. According to the advocate of this point of view, it is claimed that the inherent and inseparable attribute of the Constituent Assembly is that it must be composed of representatives duly elected by the registered voters in the country.

(b)   The other point of view is presented in the proposal that the local councils should be used as electoral colleges for purposes of constituting the Assembly.

The view that the Constituent Assembly should be composed of elected representatives is the ideal view.   But the question we want of raise against this view is, how feasible is the proposition in the light of time-table given by the Military Government for the handing over of power to the civilian. It is also questionable whether any popular election could throw up the calibre of men who will be able to do justice to the draft constitution. The problems raised by the election through local council are three-fold:

(i)   The system of indirect election used in some of the states in the country militated against popular will.
(ii)   The second problem is that, a substantial group of articulate and informed Nigerians (e.g. Civil Servants and Teachers) were banned from contesting the election.
(iii)   The third problem is that, the local councils themselves did not have enough time to establish public confidence.

3.4   Roles Envisaged for the Constituent Assembly

The legislation setting up the Constituent Assembly provided in section (I) that the body shall have full powers to deliberate upon the draft constitution. However, the explanatory note of the decree provided that the Assembly was to have full powers to:

deliberate; and
enact the draft constitution of Nigeria drawn up by the CDC.

But to deliberate and enact are two separate duties and in any case an explanatory note does not form any part of the legislation. The military administration however had a limited conception of the powers of the Constituent Assembly. In the view of the military administration, a Constituent Assembly was to discuss draft constitution and come out with recommendations which will then be taken to the then Supreme Military Council and thereafter, a decree on the subject on the constitution of Nigeria would be considered and promulgated. The procedure followed by the Military administration left room for interference at the level of SMC. The administration therefore opened itself up to the accusation of imposing and approving a constitution meant for a civilian era. As a matter of fact, the constitution has been referred to in some quarters not as a product of free-will of Nigerians but rather as a Military Constitution.

3.5   The Alternatives

The first alternative is that the document should have been submitted to referendum for general public approval or rejection. There is a problem with this alternative. It arises from the fact that it will be a grand deceit to seek the approval of people 80% of whom can not read or will ever bother to read the constitution.

The second alternative of course is that the Constituent Assembly should have had the final word on the constitution.

4.0   CONCLUSION

The history of constitutional development in Nigeria has been highlighted. Available evidence shows that Nigerian has been trying to fashion a constitution that will accommodate the diverse elements that make up the country.

5.0   SUMMARY

We have been able to establish how the various constitutions were made in colonial and post-colonial Nigeria. We concluded with the 1979 Constitution which we belief was modified in the 1989 and 1999 Constitutions.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

i.   Explain the reasons why the colonial constitutions were not drawn up by Nigerians.
ii.   Discuss the role of the Constituent Assembly in the 1979 Constitution making process.
iii.   Is the 1979 Constitution the people's constitution?

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UNIT 2   POLITICS AND SOCIAL CHANGE: REFORMS, REVOLUTIONS AND MILITARY COUPS

CONTENTS

1.0   INTRODUCTION

Political and social change refers to the varying change in human behaviour and institutions, in response to stimuli from society and the power relations between social groups. What then is change? What makes it necessary? What are the different forms of change? Change is the different in process, form and structure in response to certain stimuli or factors. Therefore, political and social changes are caused by certain factors or reasons in which men struggle to effect change with the hope that it will make life better for the majority of people living in society. If politics is defined as "who gets What, When and how", the political change has to do with changes in who gets what, when and how. Changes in human behaviour towards constituted authority, in the state, in leadership, in political institutions and structures. Therefore, a change in government is a form of political change, just as a change in form of government, for instance, change from a Monarchical regime to a Republican regime is a from of political change, just as independence from colonial rule. Social change, is a much wider concept, used in refererign to very important changes in human societies, human behaviour – his values, his culture, his norms and inter-group relations, and human organisations all in response to a given set of stimuli. Social change is pervasive, leading to fundamental changes in a people's life, their attitudes, expectations and goals. In some cases, social change takes place along side political change in what is often called a Revolution but at times it does not.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

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

*   explain the reasons for changes in the political system
*   differentiate between a coup d'etat and a revolution
*   describe the characteristics of African new states after independence.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Types of Change

There are two broad forms of change, politically and socially speaking, violent and non-violent change. Violent change is often viewed as an illegal, unconstitutional act and bloody method of effecting change. Examples are military coup d'etat, mass insurrection or uprisings involving the use of fire-arms, and mass revolution. Such changes were common in the 18th and 19th century Europe, the classic French and American Revolutions, and the 1917 Great October Socialist Revolution which took place in Russia turning it from a semi-feudal backward empire into a socialist superpower within a period of forty years. In the 20th Century the bulk of violent changes have occurred in the Third World countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America which are struggling to embark on the path of development.

Peaceful change on the other hand is change that does not involve any violence or the spilling of blood. It often takes the form of constitutional changes through the ballot box or the electoral process. It follows laid down procedures and relies often on the goodwill of the people concerned and a desire to abide by the wishes of the majority. Thus, governments can be changed peacefully through the ballot box, and government officials removed in accordance with the popular will. Such change also involves the use of peaceful demonstrations, petitions, campaigns and moral persuasion to demand for change. Such acts are common in the insdustrialised countries such as France, England, U.S. A., Japan, etc.

However, a peaceful change does not often lead to fundamental, deep or structural changes in society, rather they lead to reforms. Reforms are therefore, modifications or slight changes in the political and social structure of the society. It often aims at making a series of adjustments that would make the political and social system more efficient and stable.

Examples are the social policies introduced in the U.S. under President Reagan and President Ibrahim Babangida's MAMSER. Reforms are also called 'Revolutions from above' since the changes are induced by the political leadership that is, from the top leaving the power structure intact.

Revolution or violent change is often the 'revolution from below' often carried out by and justified in the name of the oppressed and exploited majority who seek to break the chains of bondage and regain their freedom and dignity. According to W.F. Wetheim, "Revolution is aimed at the overthrow of an existing social order and of a prevalent power structure.' Thus, it is a process of socio-political transformation or change which must be differentiated from a coup d'etat, strike or acts of assassination. Since the coup d'etat is aimed primarily at political change i.e. a change in the political leadership, it is not a revolution.

According to Chalmers Johnson, revolutions are primarily social phenomena which arise from the failure of society to meet the demands put upon it. This is the liberal or behavioural position. On the other hand, the Radical or Marxist position conceptualizes revolution differently. To cite the famous passage from Marx:

> *"...At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production on-what is but a legal expression for the same thing-with the property relations within which they have been at work hitherto. From all forms to development of the productive forces, these relations turn into fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution".*

For Karl Marx, the most important relations of production are those between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat (Capital and Labour) as such the contradictions in relations between the exploiter class of capitalists and the exploited workers would get to a point where it can only be resolved by a revolution in which the proletariat would overthrow the class of capitalists, destroy capitalist political structures, the capitalist state, and oppressive relations of production and establish a new socialist state, with new structures and new relations of production. It is therefore not surprising that V. I. Lenin, a Marxist, a father of the Russian revolution stated that "the transfer of state power from one class to another class is the first, the principal, the basic sign of revolution".

From the radical perspective therefore, a revolution is a mass movement directed at change in order to put an end to mass exploitation, oppression, poverty and misery. Perhaps, the most comprehensive

226

definition is that by C. B. Macpherson, which conceptualized revolution as the

> *...transfer of state power by means involving the use of threat of organized unauthorized force, the subsequent consolidation of that transferred power, with a view to bringing about a fundamental change in social, economic and political institutions.*

3.2   What Leads to Political and Social Changes?

According to Chalmers Johnson's explanation, political and social change is the outcome of failures in the political system, and the failure of society to respond to demands put on it.

This approach sees change as the outcome of the failure of the political leadership to act decisively to ensure the stability of the political system; and is directed at preventing change. As such its analytical value has been doubted and criticized.

Change is also the outcome of the failure of rulers to respond to the demands of the people, and becomes inevitably violent when all legal channels for demands for reform have been blocked. As reforms, socio-political change can be the outcome of the need to modify and adjust the state and society in order to guarantee peace and stability, and make the system work better.

Usually, social frustration could be explored by a well-organised opposition united around a common ideology or programme which offers an alternative to the existing undesired status quo. In some cases, change is accompanied by violence since the ruling elite and government resists change, which would make them loose authority, wealth and power.

From the radical position, revolutions arise from the material conditions in a given society. When there is exploitation of many by the few, it gets to a point when the contradictions "burst asunder" and the exploited rise up against and defeat their exploiters thereby laying the basis for a new society when man is free; where the quality of life is better, where the basic necessities of life are guaranteed to everybody. Examples of such revolutions are those of Cuba, the U.S.A., Vietnam, the then U.S.S.R., China, Nicaragua and Iran.

3.3 The Differences between Coup Detat and Revolution

COUP D'ETAT	REVOLUTION
1. Mainly to effect political change in leadership.	1. To effect socio-political change, i.e. social transformation.
2. Highly, enclavistic, the work of a clique of conspirators working secretly to overthrow an existing government or existing individuals in a government.	2. The result of popular mobilization of an oppressed people over a period of time, with a large scale organization, strategy and tactics.
3. Relies mainly on the Armed Forces and public sympathy	3. The target is often to overthrow existing socio-political and economic order. It often relies on the people and the Vanguard Party or Mass Movement
4. Could be the result of external forces and intervention on behalf of, and in support of local allies, e.g. U.S intervention in Chile, and Grenada, Tanzania's, intervention in Uganda, in order to toust Idi Amin.	4. Mainly the result of internal factors mainly social frustration, corruption, poverty, dictatorship, oppression. But receive inspiration from successful revolution, elsewhere.
5. Relies on circumstance, change and elaborate planning with strategic places as targets – airports, seaports, radio/TV stations, military installations and communications network.	5. Carried out by threats, sabotage, propaganda or even armed insurrection. And often based on an ideology which is built around freedom, social justice, truth, equality and democracy, as an alternative to decadent status quo.
6. Can take place during period of wealth. Takes place at night to reduce the possibility of civilian causalities.	6. Exploits public frustration, can break out at any time.
7. Leads mainly to reforms aimed at stabilizing the political system.	7. Leads to social transformation.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Explain the reasons for reforms revolutions and coup d'etats.

3.3   Characteristics of the New States

A new state is one, which has recently acquired political independence, and has political control over its own affairs. The absence of a 'Nation-state' is the root of instability in most of African countries. For example, the new state of Nigeria, which came into existence in October 1960, consists of many "nations" such as the Yorubas, Ibos, Hausas, Ogonis, Edos, Ibibios, Tivs, Fulanis, etc.

At independence in most African states, the political perspectives and attitudes to authority were still very much shaped by the experiences of the traditional system, which had prevailed for centuries before the colonial contacts. However, under colonial rule, some of these attitudes and political institutions were transformed while new ones were created to support the colonial state.

In the 'scramble for Africa' of the 1880's and 1890's, the present day boundaries of the new states were born in partition between the British, the French, the Portuguese, the Belgian, Spanish and others. The results of such ad hoc and intense competition among the European powers was the enclosure of several traditional units (people) into a particular colonial territory and thus creating the future problem of cultural pluralism for the New States. This pluralism – the existence of loyalties to groups based upon shared religion, race, tribe or language – now poses a major danger to the very existence of the new states. Nationhood – the achievement of a full and overriding commitment to the state from its inhabitants against the demands of sub-national loyalties – does not exist in most cases.

In most parts of Africa affected by non-settler colonial domination, colonial rule did not sweep away existing patterns of behaviour. Rather, in social terms, the bringing together of workers from different areas with different traditions tended to increase awareness of individuals as well as group differences. Similarly, in administrative terms, separation was strengthened by the politics pursued by the colonial authorities. Thus, under a system of 'Indirect Rule' the British employed the existing patterns of control and communication (in Northern Nigeria) to rule large numbers of colonial subjects without the expense of creating their own administrative machinery. Thus, where an existing ruler seemed moderately efficient and suitably pliable to British pressures, the traditional structure was maintained and given the backing of the colonial state (authority). And where such ruler was found hustle to British pressures, he was removed and replaced by a puppet ruler.

In the colonial and post-colonial period, many of the traditional values were shattered because of the creation of a new economic order in which subsistence rural agriculture was replaced by the production of cash crops for an international market either on plantations or by peasant producers. Finally, the introduction of Western education led to rest ratification in which status came to be based upon such modern characteristics as income, education and skill, and position in the new power structure.

Throughout the African continent, the claims by the elite to some form of recognition as a result of educational achievements were rejected because of an overwhelming paternalism of the colonial administrators. Thus, because they could not secure genuine equality with Europeans in social, economic or political terms – the members of this elite determined to respect Kwame Nkrumah's dictum of 'seeking first the political kingdom and everything else will be added to you' consequently led to the anti-colonial nationalism.

4.0   CONCLUSION

Change is an inevitable form of political existence. Change politically and socially speaking can either take violent or nonviolent means. Change comes about as result of a disruption in equilibrium in the social system.

5.0   SUMMARY

We have briefly defined what reform, Coup d'etat and revolution are. We also explained what bring about social and political change. We emphasized the difference between Coup d'etat and revolutions. We also examined the features of Africa new states.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

i.   Discuss the features of Africa new states.
ii.   What external factors contribute to any particular coup known to you?
iii.   What impact has the military made in solving socio-economic and political problems in Africa?
iv.   Distinguish between military coups and a revolution.

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UNIT 3   THE NATURE OF AFRICAN ARMIES

CONTENTS

1.0   INTRODUCTION

In looking at the Nature of African Armies, what we are really examining is the 'failure of the military in Government'. According to Robin Luckham in 'The Nigerian Military', African armies were at first 'mercenary' armies. Luckham means that sub-Saharan African armies were created, organised and trained under colonial tutelage. Further, armies which were created by the colonial powers were used to establish the rule of the colonial powers. The army also existed as a visible demonstration to the populace of the coercion which was the ultimate basis of colonial rule. Initially therefore, one can say, that African armies had very little concern with the defence of the state, this was left to the metropolitan powers. Finally, upholding the status quo was the prime concern of armies in sub-Saharan Africa.

Bretton in his 'Power and Class in Africa' makes the important point that the armies of sub-Saharan Africa have not yet completed the transition from colonial auxiliary to principal instrument of power and control. In looking at the structure of the armed forces, Bretton found that the officer corps' are still in the process its formation; officers are still subject to sudden, or occasional substantial and dramatical, promotional changes. Military traditions as they bear on modern military service are typically foreign to the armies of Africa.

Further, Bretton suggests that due to the relative under-development of the African armies, the primary expectation of the officer corps, the ranks and officer candidates are concerned with prompt promotion into positions to be vacated by Europeans. Moreover, because such things as houses and pensions had to be bargained for, African armies became highly politicized prior to and after independence. Consequently, in

pursuit of these goals few of the armed forces, says Bretton, could fall back on the time-hounoured rationale of national defense.

Ruth First in her book "The Barrel of A Gun" makes a number of interesting comments as to why the military began to interfere in the political process. The early army coups according to First, concerned with pay strikes, to secure better condition for the army. Later, coups however, embodies larger political objectives and initiated through military take-over of governments, or extracted something from the old one. Regardless as to whether a distinction is drawn between the earlier coups and the later ones, the conclusion which one will arrive at is that their objectives constituted what could be loosely termed sectional, as the whole of society would not benefit materially or otherwise from their action. This is also one of the reasons why when the military plays the role of government it performs no better than the civilians it replaced.

Ruth First also puts forward the theory which is given a more detailed consideration by Luckham; that the internal characteristics of the army account for the inability of the army to rule as a united body.

Accordingly, "Once in power, the army divides". There are a number of plausible reasons as to why this is the case. The general agreement, however, is that once the military does not possess an ideology through which it can define its policy and make decisions in terms of military procedures, they soak up social conflict. Armies throughout the continent have shown that they are no less prone to divisive loyalties as are politicians and parties. Once the political system divides on communal lines, the division will take the army in power with it. What is very important here is that the seizure of power itself destroys the strongest unifying feature of the army.

In addition, there exist acute societal and military factionalism which inevitably binds the hands of the leaders in the armed forces for they have to remain vigilant in order to prevent plots against their continued rule. By allowing a mixture of civilian and military actors in the political sphere, it had not come as a great surprise to find that demands within society and the government ultimately militates against any meaningful societal programmed economic development or the creation of a stable political system.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1

Explain the nature of African armies.

Another dimension which has been developed by S. Decalo in his book "Coup and Army Rule in Africa" is the idea known as the Managerial brokerage system. According to Decalo in this type of system, "the military comes to power in order to arbitrate disputes among various sectors of society, such as the politicians, the civil servants and the labour unions. What the word "arbitrate" means is that the concern is not with the social or political mobilisation or development of the masses, but with how much of the 'national cake' each section of the ruling group will get. Once in power, the military continues to see its primary function as moderating and managing conflict. The stress in the type of system is mainly on the economic, for the stability and development of a meaningful type to take place; equal stress must be given to political and social factors as well as the economic ones.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the nature of African armies
- explain the causes of military intervention in most African States
- describe the achievements of the military while in power.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Causes of Military Intervention (Coup D'etat)

No military coups are ever the same, nor are the situations in which they take place identical. Each coup has its own characteristics, motivations, objectives and class or tribal characters as well as its own specific relationship to external factors. According to Jack Woddis in his book "Armies and Politics", the actions of military officers in recent years have taken place at a stage of world history in which the forces progress, of socialism, and national liberation are becoming stronger, while the forces of reaction, fuedalism and imperialism are becoming weaker.

The causes of military coups in Third World countries, and especially Africa, have to do with the weakness of the political structures and processes in all post-colonial states, and institutional role of the military in these societies. Since the military are the traditional guards of the state, they intervene in the political process as a means of arresting political instability and ensuring the integrity of the country any time this is threatened as a result of political and social tensions.

Secondly, the military are the only institution which can force themselves into power as an organised unit without much opposition since they possess the monopoly of the instruments of violence and can confront any threat of resistance to their intervention.

Thirdly, the military often justify their intervention as being based on the national interest baptizing themselves as "corrective regimes" which have come to put an end to political mis-rule and social crises. However, some military regimes soon prove to be as corrupt as the regime they overthrew and their reforms gave way to intolerance and totalitarianism or dictatorship.

Fourthly, military intervention is the outcome of the politicization of the military institution itself. This is brought about by the civilians involving the military in their (civilians) struggle for power and control. As a result, the military tasted power, know its implications and get out of their traditional role of protection of the state, to become "politicians in uniforms", gaining and wielding power; and seeking to retain it.

Fifthly, it could be the result of the military elite under the leadership of ambitious and power-hungry individuals who seek control of government in order to pursue their personal interest or those of the dominant (exploiter) class, ethnic group, religious group or international imperialist interests. It must be pointed out that not all coups aim at reform or political office, some of them do signal the beginning of a revolution, and a new socio-political order. A few examples in Africa Muammer Ghaddafi's coup in Libya in 1969 against the monarchy led by King Idris and transforming Libya into a People's Jamahiriyya; Nasser's Coup in Egypt, and Mengistu Haile Mariams coup in Ethiopia on the road to socialism. The objective of socialism has since failed in Ethiopia.

Sixthly, intervention could be in the corporate interest of the military. To remove a government that is hurting the military through reduced defense spending and embarrassment of the military as an institution.

Intervention also becomes inevitable when existing governance shows utter disregard for the popular will, flagrantly abuses power and engages in electoral fraud causing mass discontent and oppression both of which generates violent reactions from the masses.

Lastly, military intervention has unfortunately become a permanent feature of Third World politics. With their weak states and economics, these neo-colonial regimes are often destabilized by competing local elites struggling to assert control over the state, in collaboration with imperialist powers which seek to control the resources of the state. So, more often than not the military arise in a neo-colonial arrangement with imperialism to dominate and exploit their people by the force of institutionalized and organized monopoly of the weapons of violence, against which most opposition fall, are silenced or driven underground into exile.

In order to analyse why coups take place, we must differentiate three basic premises.

1. There are coups of a progressive character – e.g. Egypt, 1952; Iraq 1958; Libya 1957; Somalia, 1969; Ethiopia, 1974; etc.
2. There are reactionary coups which preempt a possible progressive civilian government coming into power. Such redemptive coup included Ayub Khan and Yayha Khan Coups in Pakistan, Mobutu in Zaire, the Abacha's coup in Nigeria, etc.
3. There are also coups of a clearly reactionary character which aim at removing a progressive government. Examples include the Ghanaian military overthrow of Kwame Nkruma, Surhato coup in Indonesia, and the military junta coup against Salvador Allende in Chile, Campore overthrow of Sankara in Burkina Fasso, etc.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2

Why do the Military intervene in African Politics?

3.2   External Factors Influencing Military Take Over

The present position of all African states is one of dependence on the Western world economically and militarily. Most top military officers throughout Africa have been trained by Europeans/Americans. Most of the arms which we use for combat are either bought or given as aids to African states. They have initially trained our military and other intelligence services.

Consequently, it is quite easy for the British/Americans and other imperialist states to seek and establish governments in Africa and the Third World in general which will collaborate with them in exploiting the African masses.

An equally important aim is to support or create allies, so as to nourish the social forces on which governments friendly to the imperialist can be based. Practically in the most reactionary military coups, the imperialist have made use of existing situations, of current crisis, internal conflicts, personal and social ambitions of groups and individuals to ensure its own interests. In fact, today, "local allies, not agents, are the key" to the continuous foreign influence throughout Africa. And this is more so in both the political parties and the military.

Thus, imperialism seeks out those social forces, institutions, and individuals whose short-term or long-term interest will place them on its side (in fact providing traitors – with 'a second loyalty'); it seeks out and promotes those who may be committed to supporting imperialism directly but who have not taken up a consistent and clear anti-imperialist

position; and who, it is therefore hoped, will stand in the way of the most firm anti-Western, anti-Imperialist forces in a country.

It is with all these considerations in mind that the West/European/America strives to influence the leading personnel in the military establishment in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. However, the devil does not have its way all the time – the ability to succeed in a particular coup now depends on the internal power balance. But nevertheless, no group planning to stage a coup can afford to ignore the external factors. Coup plotters must ask themselves one major question: Whose interest (Economic, Strategic, Ideological) is Dominant in our Country? Subsequently, efforts must be made to contact and if necessary placate that dominant interest until the coup had been successful and the new regime has the masses' confidence.

3.3   Impact of Military Rule: Has it solved the Problems?

Although there are some controversies as to the impact of military rule, it is generally agreed that military rule is an aberration, and should be a temporary measure paving the way for a return to normal civil democracy.

However, the record of military rule generally shows with a few rare exceptions that it has not resolved the contradictions and socio-political and economic problems facing post-colonial states. Apart from institutional discipline and hierarchical command structure, the military have proved to be slightly better than the civilian politicians. In some other cases, they have been more corrupt and linked to the business class and imperialism. Thus, military regimes have not solved the economic problems neither have they carried out an industrial revolution that would form the basis for socio-political change.

Secondly, most military regimes are dictatorial and do not alleviate the exploitation or oppression under which the mass of the people suffer. They are well known for the abuse of Human Rights, lack of press freedom, forceful elimination of any opposition and the brutal suppression of strikes, demonstrations and all forms of protests. A notorious example is that of Uganda under Idi Amin, Sudan under El Nimiery and the current regimes in Zaire and Nigeria to mention a few.

In some cases, the military have enriched themselves having become part of the ruling elite and the oligarchy. In such cases, they have relied on the use of state office to amass wealth; which often means that the masses of the people are hardly taken care of.

4.0   CONCLUSION

In conclusion, neither the military nor the civilians have fared much in the transformation of post-colonial societies in Africa. This is because the problems that confront these societies are fundamental in nature; and go beyond forms of window dressing or the type of regime. In these neo-colonial countries, (save for a few exceptions where military intervention has been revolutionary leading to social transformation), military intervention has become a game of musical chairs in which one coup succeeds the other or displaces a corrupt civilian regime with promise of reform which hardly ever lasts or indeed leads to socio-political change in a fundamental sense.

5.0   SUMMARY

In thus Unit, you have learnt about the nature of African armies from their colonial (Mercenary) origins to modern armies. You have also learnt of the reasons for their intervention in politics. We can therefore conclude that military intervention made little impact to the development in Africa.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

i.   Explain the nature and origins of African armies?
ii.   What are the causes of military intervention in Africa?
iii.   Has military intervention modernize Africa States?

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UNIT 4   PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

CONTENTS

1.0   INTRODUCTION

Administration is a cooperative human action with a high degree of rationality. Administration occurs when two or more persons agree to perform a task in order to achieve an objective or goal.

Simon et al. defined administration simply as "when two men cooperate to roll a stone that neither could have moved alone, the rudiments of administration have appeared" the first ingredient of administration is people. People have to be present before administration can take place.
The second ingredient of administration is action. People have to be involved in a sort of activity – for example concerning rolling a stone, the people must get involve in a sort of action to move the stone, it is then that one can say administration has occurred.

The third ingredient is interaction people must combine their efforts in one way or the other to achieve the accomplishment of a given task. Administration therefore involves people, action, and interaction. It is a process involving human beings jointly engaged in working toward common goals. Administration is a universal phenomenon, as a concept and as a process, it can be said to exist in government, in business, in families and in other group interactions.

The focus of this section is on the public sector (i.e. the concern with administration in government).

2.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- explain what is meant as Public Administration
- describe the major theories, function and processes of Public Administration.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 What is Public Administration?

At its fullest range, public administration embraces every area and activity governed by public policy.

The central idea of public administration is rational action. Rational action is defined as action correctly calculated to realize given desired goals. Therefore, public administration both as a study and as an activity is intended to maximize the realization of goals.

Public administration is said to be difficult to define. Yet some attention to definition is important. It is necessary to establish the general boundaries and to convey the major concerns of the discipline, and practice of public administration. And again, the definition of public administration helps to place the field in a broader, political, economic, and social context.

Efforts at defining the concept of public administration have produced the followings:

"Public administration is the action part of government, the means by which the purposes and goals of government are realized" – Woodrow Wilson (1887).

"Public administration is the organization and management of men and materials to achieve the purpose of government" – Dwight Waldo (1948).

"By public administration is meant in common usage, the activities of the executive branches of national, state and local governments, independent boards and commissions set up by the congress and state legislatives; government corporations, and certain agencies of a specialized character" – Simon et al.

"Public administration is the accomplishment of politically determined objectives" – M. E. Dimock and G. O. Dimock.

"Public administration is the means by which the purposes and goals of government are realized" – Corson and Harris.

It follows from these definitions that public administration is an activity that has to do with politics and policy-making. Its locus is the governmental bureaucracy, and is therefore seen as the machinery for implementing governmental policy. It covers all the three branches of government; the executive, legislative, and judiciary and their interrelationships.

The scope of public administration in its broadest form will include policy analysis, the identification of options, programme implementation and a constant pre-occupation with the efficient allocation of resources.

The purpose of public administration is to promote a superior understanding of government and its relationship with the society it governs, as well as to encourage public policies more responsive to social needs and to institute managerial practices attuned to effectiveness, efficiency, and the deeper human requisites of the citizenry.

3.2   Approaches to the Study of Public Administration

There are namely three approaches to the study of public administration.

(1)   Legal – historical approach
(2)   Structural – descriptive approach
(3)   Behavioural approach

Legal – historical approach looks at the formal relationship among the levels of government. Federal – state and local governments.

Structural – descriptive approach emphasizes the relevance of business methods and motivations for public administration. This approach restricts the field of study to organization and personnel management.

Behavioural – approach is concerned with the systematic study of human behaviour in an organization. The analysis of the behaviour of individuals and group is the focus. (groups in organizations, motivation, leadership style, etc.)

3.3   Functions of Administration

All administrative work involve, planning, organizing, leading and controlling. Each of these functions requires decisions. Decision making is the means by which administrators plan, organize, lead and

control. It is defined as the selection of a preferred course of action from two or more alternatives.

Two types of decision have been identified.

(i)   Decision concerning the ends (that is the goals).
(ii)   Decision concerning the means (that is the methods).

The decision concerning ends has to do with the basic goals/objective of the organization, and it involves value judgment as to what they should be. The decision concerning the means relates to the selection of alternatives courses of action that will lead to the attainment of specified goals.

The alternatives are usually selected on the basis of rationality. For a decision-maker to be rational, he must conform to the following steps in decision-making process.

Steps in the Decision-Making Process

1.   Ascertain the need for a decision
2.   Establish decision criteria
3.   Allocate weights to criteria
4.   Develop alternatives
5.   Evaluate alternatives
6.   Select the best alternative

Step 1:   Ascertain the need for a Decision

The decision-making process starts by determining that a problem exists. (Identification of the problem)

Step 2:   Establish Decision Criteria

After identifying the problem, the administrator must establish decision criteria. This requires identifying those characteristics that are important in making the decision.

Step 3:   Allocate Weights to Criteria

The list of criteria is prioritized at this stage. Each criterion need to be weighted to reflect its importance in the decision.

Step 4:   Develop Alternatives

The administrator develops a list of the alternatives that may be viable in dealing with the stated problem.

Step 5:   Evaluate alternatives

Once the alternatives have been enumerated, the administrator must critically evaluate each of the alternatives listed to determine their strengths ad weaknesses.

Step 6:   Select the best Alternative

This is the final step and it involves the selection of the best alternative, which has quantitatively been determined.

Functions of administration listed earlier; planning, organization, leading and controlling, therefore involves taking decision.

Planning - is determining in advance of the objectives to be accomplished and the means by which these objectives are to be attained.

Planning begins with the establishment of objectives "where you are going". Hence, objectives need to cover economic, service, and social dimensions of the organization and set the parameters by which administrators can determine if the ongoing activities of members are making positive contributions to the organization.

Organizing – This is the establishment of relationships between the activities to be performed, the personnel to perform them, and the physical factors that are needed.

Leading – Basically, leading consists of supervision, motivation, communication, bringing about change, and managing conflict within the organization. An essential ingredient for these tasks is effective leadership.

Controlling – The administrator here, reviews, regulate, and controls performance to ensure that it conforms to certain standards. In the control function, performance is measured, compared to standards (which would have been set during planning) and should there be significant deviations, corrective actions are instituted.

Decision-making and the activities of planning, organizing, leading, and controlling are what differentiate administrators from non-administrators.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1

Define Public Administration and explain various approaches to its study.

3.4   Theories of Administration

Organizations are a major part of our environment. We are born in organizations, educated by organizations, and we spend most of our times working for organizations.   Organizations are social units (or human groupings) deliberately constructed and reconstructed to seek specific goals (Amitai Etzioni).

Organizations:

1.   are purposeful, complex human collectivities;
2.   are characterized by secondary (or impersonal) relationships;
3.   have specialized and limited goals;
4.   are characterized by sustained cooperative activity;
5.   are integrated within a larger social system;
6.   provide services and products to their environment;
7.   are dependent upon exchanges with their environment.

Organizations are characterized by:

(1)   division of labour, power, and communication responsibilities, divisions which are not random or traditionally patterned, but deliberately planed to enhance the realization of specific goals;
(2)   the presence of one or more power centers which control the concerted efforts of the organization and direct them toward its goals; these power centers also must review continuously the organization's performance and re-pattern its structure, where necessary, to increase efficiency;
(3)   substitution of personnel, that is, unsatisfactory persons can be removed and others assigned their tasks. Organization can also recombine its personnel through transfer and promotion.

The search for greater effectiveness and efficiency in organizations gave rise to the classical theory of administration. Essentially, classical theory was developed in three streams, scientific management, administrative theory, and bureaucracy.

Classical Theory

The classical writers thought of the organization in terms of its purposes and formal structure. They placed emphasis on the following:

1.	planning of work
2.	technical requirement of the organization
3.	principles of management
4.	assumption of rational and logical behaviour.

The analysis of organization in this manner is associated with work carried out by such writers as Taylor, Fayol, Urwick and Gullick among others.

A clear understanding of the purpose of an organization is seen as essential to understanding how the organization works and how its methods of working can be improved. Attention is given to the division of work, the clear definition of duties and responsibilities, and maintaining specialization and coordination. Emphasis is on a hierarchy of management and formal organizational relations.

Scientific Management

Scientific management writers were concerned with the improvement of management as a means of increasing productivity. A major contributor to this approach was Frederick Taylor. He believed in the rational economic needs concept of motivation. Workers would be motivated by getting the highest possible wages through working in the most efficient and productive way. Taylor was also concerned with finding more efficient methods and procedures for coordinating and control of work.

The central theme of 'Taylorism' was that it is possible for organizations to be more efficient and more rational. This could be made possible through the application of scientific method and planning to the tasks of organizations. Taylor pursued the idea that efficiency at work could be improved through careful scientific analysis.

He therefore developed core principles of scientific management:

**(a)	Scientific selection of personnel -** Workers should be scientifically selected according to physical, mental and psychological attributes.
**(b)	Incentives -** Taylor thought of men as mechanical and motivated by economic considerations. He therefore proposed a differential piece rate in which a worker was paid in direct proportion to how much he or she produced rather than simply according to a basic hourly rate.
**(c)	Functional foremanship -** Taylor advocated the division of the entire work of an organization, into managerial and non-managerial categories.

Taylor's writing at least gave a major impetus to the development of modern management thinking and the later development of organizational behaviour.

Administrative Management Theory

Administrative theory concerned itself with the action of 'administrative efficiency'. Administrative management is also known as 'generic management', 'functional' or 'process management'. It sought to achieve efficiency by improving work arrangement and suggested an ideal for organization structure along the lives of (a) scalar level, (b) span of control or supervision (c) line and staff, departmentalisation, e.t.c., classified also were managerial activities or processes into planning, organizing and controlling.

Fayol with other contributors like Mooney, Urwick, Gullick, Folliet among others believed that they could fashion a more comprehensive set of principles for arranging the formal structure of administration in order to achieve efficiency.

'Henri Fayol, the main proponent of the administrative management theory, focused on the management and come up with his own principles of management. To Fayol management functions include; planning, organization, command, coordination and control.

Feature of his theory includes:

1. Deductive theory.
2. Organization is seen as a close system.
3. Emphasis on objectivity, rationality, hierarchy, certainty and professionalism.
4. Order as the bedrock of formal organization
5. Focus on management
6. Prescription of universal scientific principles to achieve the goals of organization.

Principles of management as developed by Henri Fayol include:

i)   Division of work
ii)   Authority and responsibility
iii) Discipline
iv)   Unity of command
v)   Unity of direction
vi)   Subordination of individual to general interest
vii) Pay
viii) Centralization
ix)   Hierarchy
x)   Order

xi)   Equity
xii)   Stability
xiii)   Initiative
xiv)   Spirit de corps

Fayol's writing on the principles of management set the pace for others to follow, change and restructure them. Gullick and Urwick came up with the acronym POSDCORB:

Planning: Working out in broad outline the methods for accomplishing them.

Organizing: establishing the formal structure of the enterprise.

Staffing: the personnel function

Directing: decision making and communicating orders.

Coordinating: interrelating the various parts of the work

Reporting: supplying information through record keeping, research, inspection.

Budgeting: fiscal planning, accounting, and control.

Mooney and Reiley in their **principles of organizations** have also contributed to this school of thought. The four principles of organization according to them are;

(i)   the coordinative principle
(ii)   the scalar principle (or hierarchical structure)
(iii)   the functional principle (or division of labor) and
(iv)   the staff/line principle.

The general approach of these theorists can be summarized as follows; they see the work of an administrator as that of planning, organizing, controlling, command, and coordinating. Concepts of authority, leadership, responsibility and accountability are used to relate to organizational units. They identified various bases such as product, service, client or geographical area for creating organizational units to divide the organization.

Bureaucracy

The growth of bureaucracy has come about through the increasing size and complexity of organization and the associated demand for effective administration.

Bureaucracy as a concept appears difficult to define. The term is employed in a large variety of contexts.

Bureaucracy can be applied to:

(i)   A state administration – Government organizations
(ii)   A group of officials in an organization who carry out administrative tasks on contract-employment basis.
(iii)   Administrative autocracy, where official exert power in order to enhance and serve their interests and goals.
(iv)   Rational organization, that is in accordance with the Weber's type of structure.

Max Weber, the famous sociologist was the first to advance a systematic theory of bureaucratic organization. Weber analyzed bureaucracy as an ideal type derived from the most characteristic bureaucratic features of all known organizations. He emphasized the importance of administration based on expertise and administration based on discipline.

Characteristics of Bureaucracy

1.   **Division of Labour and Specialization.** Division of labor is the essential hallmark of bureaucracy. The job of every employee is broken down into simple, operational and routine and well-defined tasks. It results in efficiency in operations because when people are employed on routine tasks over certain period of time they would be specialized in their fields. Specialization results in efficiency; efficiency, in turn, leads to effectiveness.

2.   **Impersonality.** Another notable feature of bureaucracy is the impersonality of relationships among the organizational members. The decisions are entirely guided by rules and regulations and are totally impersonal. There is no room for emotions and sentiments in this type of organizational structure. The essence of bureaucracy is total depersonalization. Weber's ideal official is characterized by the spirit of formalistic impersonality, without hatred or passion without affection of enthusiasm. Though such concept of impersonality is oblivious to environmental reality, Weber contends that the bureaucrats

248

make completely rational decisions avoiding emotional attachment to their subordinates.

3. **Hierarchy of Authority.** Another important feature of Weberian bureaucracy is the authority structure. Authority is the right to command and exact obedience. Authority is organizational and positional but not personal. Since the bureaucratic structure is like a pyramid the quantum of authority increases as one moves up the ladder in the organization.

   The hierarchy serves as line of communication and command, and a means for delegating tasks. People at the higher levels command more authority than at lower rungs. In bureaucratic organization, thus, the hierarchy of authority is fundamental feature. It is fundamental because without specified lines of authority and jobs the organization become a mere collection of people placed in disorder.

4. **Professionalism and Technical Competence.** An outstanding feature of bureaucracy is the recruitment of personnel based on the technical competence, expertise, skills, and experiences, etc. In bureaucracy the officialdom constitutes salaried professionals who are recruited by virtue of their technical training and competence. Competence is the essential qualification of decision makers. Managers are autonomous within their spheres of competence and their decisions are generally accepted by the management.

5. **Rules, Regulations and Official Records.** One essential and often emphasized feature is the set of formal rules and regulations in the organisation of bureaucratic type. A rational approach to organization calls for a system of maintaining rules to ensure twin requirements of uniformity and coordination of efforts by individual members in an organization. Rules are permanent in this type whereas personnel may change. Organization generally frames rules in such a fashion that they are more or less stable and more or less exhaustive. Rules and regulations provide organization the benefits of stability, continuity and predictability.

6. **Official Records.** Bureaucratic organization is characterized by the maintenance of good and proper official records. The decisions and activities in the organization are formally recorded and preserved safely for future reference. This is made possible by extensive filing system. Written documentation and formal filing root out the possibility of loopholes in the oral

communication among the organizational members. An official record is considered as the encyclopedia of the various activities performed or undertaken by the employees in the organization. Records also provide running commentary of the activities that are taking place in day-to-day organizational life.

7. **Career Tracks for Employees.** Bureaucratic organization requires employment of full-time staff. Employees view their jobs as career and try to acquire thorough knowledge of it and gradually specialize in their respective fields. The tenure of services of the employees is determined by the prescribed rules and regulations in the organization. Members pursue a career in the organization; in return for this career commitment employees have tenure. They will be retained even if they burn out their candle of skills or when the skills they possess become obsolete. Organization provides some sort of cushion for the employees and hence the members will have stake in the organization to the extent of their careers.(Rao and Narayana).

The combined effect of the characteristics of bureaucracy is to create social conditions which constrain each member of the organization to act in ways that further the rational pursuit of organizational objectives.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Max Weber discussed the use of bureaucracy at length in his study of the state – How useful is bureaucracy today?

3.5   From Human Relations to the Behavioural Movements

Essentially, the Human relations developed as a necessary correction to the excesses of classical theory. While classical theories emphasized order, rationality, structure, specialization and generally viewed employees as economic tools, human relations conceived organization as a social system. According to the human relations school, an organization should be viewed as a social system which has both economic and social dimensions.

Essential features of Human Relations/Neo-classical include:

(i)   Human relations strive to create a positive work environment in which people can simultaneously fulfill their own needs as well as those of the organization. The goals of productivity and employee satisfaction are inextricably interwoven.

(ii)   The focus is on *people*. When people/management stimulates more and better work, we have sound human relations in the organization.

(iii)   The ultimate goal of creating sound human relations is to help make workers more productive, not just happier. Human relations are essentially concerned with *motivating* people to peak performance.

(iv)   Human relations seek to build human cooperation toward organizational goals in an effective way, that is, with minimum inputs in relation to outputs. It is an action oriented process.

The Human Relations School taught that it is necessary to relate work ad the organizational structure to the social needs of the employees. Human relationists argue that by making the employee happy, the organization would obtain their full cooperation and effort and thus increase its efficiency. By conceiving organization as a social system the human relations school stressed the need for a rigorous examination of psychological and social aspects of organizational behaviour.

The results of the Hawthorne experiments of the human relations school and the subsequent attention given to the social organization and to theories of individual motivation gave rise to the work of those writers in the 1950s and 1960s who adopted a more psychological orientation. Among these writers were; McGregor, Maslow, Herzberg, Lewin, Argyris, Likert among others. The major focus of concern was the personal adjustment of the individual within the work organization, and the effects of group relationships and leadership styles.

Abraham Maslow one of the proponents of this government put forward a theoretical framework of individual personality development and motivation based on a hierarchy of human needs. The hierarchy ranges through five levels from, at the lowest level, physiological needs, through safety needs, love needs, esteem needs, to the need for self-actualization at the highest level.

Herzberg and McGregor also wrote on the motivation theory. Herzberg identified two different sets of factors affecting motivation and satisfaction at work. One set of factors comprises those which, if absent, cause dissatisfaction. Those are 'hygiene' or 'maintenance' factors which are concerned basically with job environment. However, in order to motivate workers to give off their best, proper attention must be given to a different set of factors, the 'motivator' or 'growth' factors. McGregor in his own way argued that the style of management adopted

is a function of the manager's attitudes towards human nature and behaviour at work.

He put forward two suppositions called theory X and theory Y which are based on popular assumptions about work and people.

Theory X takes a pessimistic view of human nature that the average person is by nature lazy. He or she will work as little as possible. Such an individual lacks ambition, dislikes responsibility, and prefers to be led.
The manager here was seen as an active agent for motivating people, controlling their actions, modifying their behavior to fit the needs of the organization. Theory X places exclusive reliance upon external control of human behavior.

Theory Y takes the humanistic approach that people are not by nature passive, lazy, and dumb. But instead, they are generally eager for opportunities to show initiative and to bear responsibility. They are not resistant to organizational needs. The motivation, the potential for development, is inherent in people.

Therefore the goal of management here becomes creating humanistic environment where people can achieve their own goals best by directing their own efforts towards organizational objectives.

Job enlargement, delegation of authority, decentralized responsibilities, and participatory management are several methods by which theory Y could be practically implemented in organizations. Theory Y therefore relies heavily on self-control and self-direction.

These theorists call for less hierarchy and more humanity in organizational life.

3.6   The Nigerian Civil Service

The Nigerian civil service has been patterned on the British civil service practice and tradition. The system of administration which emerged at independence was British in character. However, there had been major reforms of the Nigerian civil service to transform not only the structure but also its functions to suit social, economic and political needs of the country.

The Nigerian civil service as the administrative machinery of government, is looked upon by the society as the state vehicle for implementing developmental policies and achieving the goals of each government, such as; the creation of new economic and political

structures and infusing them with values and purposes, the adaptation and reconstruction of old values and the acceleration of economic and social changes, designed to reduce unemployment, increase social products, and ensure a more equitable distribution of income.

A major feature of the civil service was hierarchical structure and its organization into units known as department.

The organizational structure of a typical Ministry is hierarchical with the Minister as the head (in case of the federal) and Commissioner (in case of the state). Each Ministry is expected to deal with all matters in respect of which it was established. The Permanent Secretary is next to the Minister, he is the executive head of the Ministry who in direct control of all the staff assigned to him. Each Ministry is sub-divided into two or more Divisions, each of which deals with a particular aspect of the ministry's work under the authority of a Head of Division. Divisions are again subdivided into Branches, in charge are Heads of Branches. Smaller sub-divisions are called Sections or Units in the ministry. Within the various sections, or units the rest of the senior staff take their places in accordance with their ranking in seniority.

Functions of the Civil Servants

The role and functions of the civil servants are summarized by Augustus Adebayo (1984) Thus:

(i)   Decisions are taken by Ministers and it is the duty of civil servants to supply the Minister with the information necessary to make a right decision.
(ii)   The civil servant must place before his minister the arguments on both sides
(iii)   Once the decision is taken, the civil servant must carry out loyally the policy chosen, even though he may have preferred a different one.
(iv)   The decision when once taken is that of the Minister or the government as a whole, and the civil servant must not take credit for such decision.
(v)   The civil servant must observe absolute silence and be discrete as to what takes place in the office. He is guided by the Official Secret Act.
(vi)   The civil service is responsible for continuity of policy.
(vii)   The civil servant must observe the triple maxim of impartiality, neutrality, and anonymity.
(viii) The civil servant while carrying out the decisions and policy lay down by the political boss, must resist illegitimate political demands or pressures.

4.0   CONCLUSION

In this Unit, you have examined in details the term public administration. You have learnt about the functions of an administrator, and examined what an organization is and its defining characteristics. The Unit also looked at the various theories of administration beginning from the classical theory to the behavioural school of thought. You would have also learnt about the Nigerian civil service

5.0   SUMMARY

From the classical to human relations and behavioural approaches to the study of administration, theorists have placed emphasis on the proper coordination and management of human and material resources in order to achieve organizational goals. The Nigerian civil service which has evolved from the British system is the state vehicle for implementing developmental policies and achieving the goals of each government, such as; the creation of new economic and political structures and infusing them with values and purposes, the adaptation and reconstruction of old values and the acceleration of economic and social changes, designed to reduce unemployment, increase social products, and ensure a more equitable distribution of income.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

i.   What do you understand by the term "Public Administration"?
ii.   What is Organization? What are its characteristics?
iii.   Enumerate the steps in the decision-making process.
iv.   What are the major characteristics of the Weber's bureaucratic Model?
v.   Examine the assumed role of managers under theory X and theory Y.
vi.   Enumerate the functions of the civil servants.

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UNIT 5 INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS

CONTENTS

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Man by nature is a social animal. There is always a propensity for man to associate with others. This flows from the mutually beneficial advantages that such an associational, cooperative and collaborative relationship confers on human existence. Thus, at the micro-level of aggregative human existence, the state is the expression of the desire of man to exist within a political society in which structured and orderly existence takes place. Through the social contract freely entered into by man, the state came into existence as a platform for collaborative and cooperative human living.

However, the peace and orderly existence which man had forged through the existence of the state would hardly endure without a similar structure to coordinate, order and prescribe the norms of cooperative and collaborative existence, mediate and resolve disputes and conflicts when they arise amongst the different state systems produced and empowered with the monopoly of the means of physical coercion by different groups of individuals.

To this end, international relations, is a replication of the cooperative, collaborative and ordered process of social interactions within the state at the international level between and amongst different state systems, and other non-state actors that have bearing on the possibilities or otherwise of what happens in terms of who gets what when and how within the state systems from the globally limited resources. Central therefore to the problematic of international relations, is the issue of

power, its uses and control between and amongst state within the context of global geopolitics.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

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

- explain what international relations is
- explain what international organizations are
- describe the workings of international organizations.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   The Imperatives of International Relations

International relations is as important for states as domestic concern. Fundamentally, states seek to achieve two goals in their relations with other states at the international level. One, every state has peculiar and particularistic interests and problems; the state uses the platform of relations with other nations to promote, and find solutions too. Two, there are a number of problems which impact negatively on conditions within the territorial boundaries of a state, but with implications of an international nature. Hence, solutions to such concerns cannot but be of a transnational character. International relations engender the possibilities of a transnational solutions and management of such problems of global concern.

It must be clearly stated however, that state relations at the international level is never unidirectional, that is, it is not solely, peaceful. It could manifest in terms of cooperation and collaboration, or conflictual in nature. It is for this reason that Akindele (2003) argues that war and peace are the core of international relations. This underscores the importance and the premium placed on the issue of alliances and collective security in international relations.

3.2   Preconditions for International Relations

According to Akinboye and Ottoh (2005:23), certain conditions are germane for the existence of international relations amongst states. These are:

(a)   There must be in place a global international system in which international actors are co-inhabitants;
(b)   The existence of different international actors e.g. states, international organizations, non-state actors, e.g. Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), transnational corporations, etc engaged in cooperation or competition over resources;

(c)   Bilateral and multilateral interactions among international actors;

(d)   The need for resolution of conflicting claims and rights between the different international actors collectively.

The implication of the foregoing is that international relations is a system embedded in a structural relationship between different actors with particularistic and sometimes collective interests, which they strive to achieve within a mutually agreed process and given pre-determined normative behaviour. It is in this context that Stoessinger (1979:27) opines that nation's in international relation attempt to use its tangible and intangible resources to change the probability of outcome, that is, to condition what would happen in a way desirable and beneficial to it. So, while national interest conditions the behaviour of nations in international relations, the mutual assure destruction of every state in the event of chaos occasioned by unregulated pursuit of selfish national interests imposes limits on state's action in the system through a collective preservation orientation on the parts of nation-states. Hence, international relations entail the promotion of national interests by individual nation-states, as well as a conscious attempt at preserving the collective security of the international order, the failure of which in the past led to the outbreak of World War I and World War II, with devastating consequences for humanity.

3.3   Focus of International Relations

International relations deal with a universe of concerns. Some of which are: cooperative interactions, economic cooperation, political cooperation, international politics, diplomacy, foreign policy, strategic studies, international law, international organizations, bilateralism and multilateralism, human security, and global peace initiatives. For instance political cooperation is a desideratum to international relations, and for international peace and security. As Adeniran (1982: 34) notes, "the motivations for political cooperation are based on the national interests of the individual nation-states". Similarly, international law is the platform on which international cooperation is established. Specifically, international law, according to Adeniran (1982: 45) is designed to: (a) minimize friction between states; (b) stabilize behaviours of states; (c) facilitate cooperation between and among states; (d) protect individuals; (e) settle disputes; (f) serve as a tool of public relations and propaganda.

Flowing from the above, it is clear that international relation is a system, a structure and a process. It is as much an academic discipline as it is a power and interest-based relation among nation-states. And as Akinbobola (1999: 329) submits, international relations entail "conscious promotion of peace among nations and of the study and

enhancement of the mechanism of conflict prevention, management and resolution".

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1

What is International Relations?

3.3   International Organizations

A conceptual understanding of international relation is incomplete without international organizations. This is because, next to the nation-states, international organizations are the most important actors in the global arena, and they constitute the platform for bilateral and multilateral interactions and politics amongst nation-state. According to Palmer and Perkins (1969 cited in Akinboye and Ottoh, 2005: 167), an international organization is "any cooperative arrangement instituted among states usually by agreement to perform some mutually advantageous functions implemented through periodic treaties and staff activities".

Modern international organizations are products of historical development amongst nation-states in their constant desire to engender global peace and security. Three historical developments that preceded the modern international organization are relevant to our concern at this point. First, were the high level meetings between leaders at various times to find solutions to issues of general concern. One of such meetings was the Vienna Congress of 1815. Second, was the institution of the Hague system in 1899, and again in 1907, with the programmatic agenda amongst nations to order and structure inter-state relations. The third was the public international unions, such as, the Danube River and Rhine Commission (1806), which deals with non-political issues, but establishing basis of providing services of mutual beneficial global concerns which are of economic and social problems, e.g. International Postal Union (1875), International Bureau for Weights and Measures (1875), International Office of Public Health (1903), International Bureau for Telegraphic Administrations (1868).

Certain conditions are *sine qua non* to the existence of any international organization. Adeniran (1982: 85) proposes the following as essential basis for international organizations: (a) operation in a world of states; (b) contacts amongst states; (c) recognition of certain problems of common interest to all the states; and (d) the need for joint action in solving mutual problems.

As Akindele (2003: 109) argues, international organizations are important for the following reasons: (a) they are much needed instruments for the conduct of foreign policy; (b) they are actors in the diplomatic game involving the management of international order; and (c) they bring pressure to bear on states in the conduct of their foreign policy, and consequently influence the shape of their policy.

It is however important to bear in mind the following issues as it relates to international organizations:

1. International organization can only exist when there is agreement between two or more nation-states, in essence, international organization is formed by states;
2. The legislative competence of international organization is almost nil;
3. Democratic principles, that is, one man one vote regime governs decision making of international organizations;
4. Negotiation, enquiry, mediation and conciliation, rather than forces are the preferred techniques of conflict resolution and management by international organizations;
5. International organizations, in some respects limit the sovereignty of nation-states. Decisions taken by international organizations to which states are members are morally binding on the state-members. As Akinbobola (1999: 344) submits, while "no one wishes to diminish the scope of a nation states sovereignty, however the capacity to take unilateral action is at variance to the collective will to which a state is a signatory".

3.4   United Nations Organisations (UNO)

The United Nations was established following the inability of the League of Nations, which was put in place as a global system in 1919 at the end of World War I, to prevent the outbreak of another World War. The different international activities during World War II by powerful Western nations to engender global peace after the war historically culminated in the establishment of the United Nations on October 24, 1945, with the ratification of the organization's Charter by the United States of America, United Kingdom, France, China, Soviet Union, and other signatories.

The UN has the following objectives

(i) Maintain international peace and security through collaborative measures geared towards removing threats, acts of aggression or other breaches of peace and to use peaceful means for conflict resolution;

(ii)   To develop friendly relations based on the principle of equal rights and self-determination of people;

(iii)   To achieve international cooperation in different spheres of human existence;

(iv)   To promote respect for fundamental freedom and human rights.

Article 1, of the UN Charter outlined the principles, which constitutes the strategies for the achievement of the above objectives. These principles are sovereign equality of all nations; peaceful settlement of disputes between nations; prohibition of the use of force or threat of its use against other states; non-interference by the UN in the internal affairs of member states; and faithful fulfillment of obligations by members to the organization.

Structure of the UN

Structurally, the UN was designed as an all-inclusive umbrella to accommodate all nations irrespective of size, power and wealth, just as its scope of activities took account of the multi-dimensional concerns of member nations. However, the power of nation-states, and their ability to use such powers to change the probabilities of outcome in global politics, was a major variable in the determination of the structure of the UN. The dominant power and hegemonic forces in global politics during World War II, insisted on the need to take account of the relative powers of the different member nations in the structuring of the UN. Goodrich (1974:60) argues, the powerful nations favoured "… the allocation of responsibilities among organizations and the definition of powers, composition should reflect difference of power, with the emphasis on the military element". The functions and powers of the various organs of the UN as we have them today conform to this global power calculus. The UN has six principal organs namely:

a)   Security Council;
b)   The General Assembly;
c)   The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC);
d)   The Trusteeship Council;
e)   The International Court of Justice; and
f)   The Secretariat.

For the purpose of this paper we shall concern ourselves with discussion of the two most important organs of the UN, namely the Security Council and the General Assembly.

The *Security Council* is the most powerful organ of the UN. Expectedly, the five most powerful nations at the end of World War II, namely, the United States of America, United kingdom, France, Soviet

Union, and China, in line with the power calculus as a basis for giving responsibilities that was canvassed by the powerful nations, are permanent members of the Security Council. In addition to these permanent members are six other temporary members elected every two years. It is however unfortunate that such an important organ of the UN charged with the sole responsibility of maintaining world peace and security does not operate by democratic imperative in both membership and decision-making process. Any of the permanent members can veto the decision of the organ. It is note worthy however, that efforts is been made to reform the UN, and democratizes its operations. As part of this reform measure is to give two permanent seats to Africa in the Security Council, Asia and Latin American are also demand for seats.

The **General Assembly** is the most important organ of the UN. Five members represent each member nation on the Assembly during its yearly meetings. Its jurisdiction covers every issue contained in the UN Charter. Matters are referred to the Assembly by the Security Council for discussions and decisions. It operates on democratic imperative of equality of nations and votes on decisions. The annual budget of the UN is placed before the Assembly for approval.

Associated with the UN are some international inter-governmental organizations, namely, World Health Organization (WHO); Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO); International Labour Organization (ILO); International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) otherwise known as the World Bank; International Monetary Fund (IMF); The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO); While the lack of enforcement power and the non-interference in the domestic affairs of member nations amongst other factors have seriously inhibited the effectiveness and efficiency of the UN, what cannot be denied is that in the last fifty years, the UN has succeeded in preventing another World War, embarked on a number of peace-keeping operations across the globe, promote international cooperation and respect for fundamental human rights globally.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2

Discuss the major functions of the United Nations Organization.

3.5   African Union (AU)

The AU is the successors of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), founded in 1963. The formation of the AU is underscored by the imperative of change and the need to cope with contemporary challenges of development by African nations, and the imperative engendered by the radical change and hegemonic politics of the

international political economy following the end of the Cold War. According to Ogwu (2004:6), "AU is the cornerstone on the new terms of engagement between Africa and the world would be framed. Indeed, the renegotiation of Africa's place in the international division of labour as well as the equitable redistribution of global developmental resources in favour of Africa constitute important items in the transformation of Africa". The formation of the AU entails a lot of preparations, consultation, and deliberations, hence it emergence was not an overnight affairs.

Historically, the March towards the formation of the AU started in 1979, with the attempt to amend the OAU Charter. However, the lack of the necessary political will on the part of African Heads of State, contributed to the inefficiency and the inability of the committee setup for the purpose to achieve results. The Ouagadougou Declaration of 10 June, 1998, was however a positive effort at reengineering and refocusing the OAU. At the Ouagadougou, decision was taken for the establishment and consolidation of effective democratic institutions. Interestingly, the thrust of the Ouagadougou's deliberations were basically economic and developmental, rather than the characteristic political concern of the OAU. The Algiers Summit, with was held in July, 1999, which centered on the themes of "Collective Security and Problems of Conflicts in Africa", and "The Challenges of Globalization and Establishment of the African Economic Community", build on the Ouagadougou's achievements.

Following the Algiers Summit was the Sitre, Libya, 4th Extraordinary Summit in September, 1999. The purpose of this Summit was to amend the OAU Charter in order to make the organization more functionally effective and efficient. This concern was reflected in the theme of the Summit, "Strengthening OAU Capacity to enable it to meet the Challenges of the New Millennium". At the Summit, the establishment of the AAU was agreed upon. To this end, the draft Constitutive Act of the AU (as well as the draft Protocol establishing Pan-African Parliament) was prepared. This was adopted by the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government in Lome, Togo, between 10-12 July, 2000. At the 5th Extraordinary Summit of the OAU, again at Sitre, Libya, between 1-2 March, 2001, the establishment of the AU was unanimously declared. There were however provisions in the Constitutive Act detailing conditions precedent to the full realization of the AU.

According to Kawonihse (2002:92), "In the decision (at the Sitre, Summit) African Heads of state and Government specified that legal requirements of the union would have been completed upon the deposit of the 36th instrument of ratification of the Constitutive Act of the AU".

It was agreed too that the effective date of the Constitutive Act will be 30 days after 2/3 members of the OAU have deposited their instruments of ratification. Nigeria, on 26 April, 2001, became the 36th state to deposit the instrument of ratification of the AU Constitutive Act. Based on this agreement, the AU Constitutive Act became effective on 26 May, 2001, being the 30th day after the 36th instrument of the AU was deposited. The formal launching of the AU was however to wait till the OAU Summit in Lusaka, Zambia, between 9-11 July, 2001. The AU finally emerged at the Durban, South African Summit, 9 July, 2002, after the expiration of one- year transitional period provided by Article 33 (1) of the AU Constitutive Act.

Given the series of activities and historical landmark that culminated in the formation of the AU, there is confusion as to the date that should be regarded as the formation of the AU. Some illumination is offered in the literature. According to Kawonishe (2002:95), "On this controversy two precedents exist. The adoption of the OAU Charter on 25 May, 1963 is the day commemorated as the OUA birthday, although the Charter entered into force on 13 September. On the other hand, and conversely, the establishment of the UN is traced to 24 October 1945, the day the UN Charter entered into force, and not 26 July, 1946, the day it was adopted. Using the African standard set by the OAU precedent, the birthday of the AU is 26 May, 2001.

Reasons for the Formation of the AU

1. The OAU Charter has become stale and anachronistic. The issues of which it seek to address, such as, colonialism, independence, apartheid, etc, are no longer relevant and has become overtaken by time.

2. The end of the Cold War and the emergence of a unipolar world order under the hegemonic control of America have reduced the importance of African nations in global geopolitical calculation thus necessitating the need for unity, cooperation, collaboration, and common positions on major issues of general concern to the continent.

3. The failure of the imposed Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), debt crisis, and deteriorating and parlous state of African economies which has aggravated the problems of poverty, unemployment, malnutrition, HIV/AIDS, brain-drain, deindustrialization, etc, calls for regional economic cooperation and programmatic continental actions.

4. Decline in the value of inflow of foreign aid and Foreign Direct Investment. Added to this is the reduction in the volume of trade between the North and Africa, a situation occasioned by the establishment of the European Union, and the increasing trade between countries of the North, and Transnational corporations domicile in the North.

5. The regime of globalization has gone beyond the exploitation of African nations, and make it possible for them to be totally excluded to the extent that they are irrelevant to the profit calculation of North profit goals.

6. The realization that individually African nations are structurally and organically weak to effectively and decisively participate in the present global politics which is oriented toward regionalism.

Objectives of the AU

Article 3 of the AU the Constitutive Act clear detailed the objectives of the organization as follow:

a. Achieve greater unity and solidarity between the African countries and the peoples of Africa;
b. Defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of its member states;
c. Accelerate the political and socio-economic integration of the continent;
d. Promote and defend African common positions on issues of interests to the continent and its people;
e. Encourage international cooperation, taking due account of the charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;
f. Promote peace, security, and stability on the continent;
g. Promote democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and good governance;
h. Promote and protect human people's rights in accordance with the African Charter of Human and Peoples' Rights and other relevant human rights instruments;
i. Establish the necessary conditions which will enable the continent to play its rightful role in the global economy and international negotiations;
j. Promote sustainable development at the economic, social and cultural levels as well as the integration of African economies;
k. Promote cooperation in all fields of human activity to raise the living standards of African people;

l. Coordinate and harmonize the policies between the existing and future regional economic communities for the gradual attainment of the objectives of the Union;

m. Advance the development of the continent by promoting research in all fields, in particular in science and technology; and

n. Work with relevant international partners in the eradication of preventable diseases and the promotion of good health on the continent.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 3

What are the objectives of the African Union?

Structure of the AU

Nine organs are provided for in the AU Constitutive Act. These organs are spelt out in Article 5 (1) of the AU Constitutive Act as follows:

1. The Assembly, which is the supreme organ of the Union;
2. Executive Council;
3. The Pan-African Parliament;
4. The Court of Justice;
5. The Commission;
6. The Permanent Representative Committee;
7. The Specialized Technical Committees;
8. The Economic, Social and Cultural Council; and
9. The Financial Institutions.

The headquarters of the organization by the provision of Article 24 (1) is in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia where the OAU has its headquarters. While the formation of the AU is a right step in the right direction, especially against the democratic imperatives of its principles, gender equality, respect for human rights, rule of law and good governance. However, it is too early in the day to say to what extent the AU can fulfill the dreams of its founding fathers by now getting ensnared by the many crises that led to the demise of its predecessor, the OAU.

4.0   CONCLUSION

International relations and international organizations are veritable platforms and tools for nation-states in the realization of nation's interests, promotion of global peace and harmony, and ensuring international cooperation and security which are desideratum for the realization of domestic development and human progress.

5.0   SUMMARY

You have learnt that international relations is a cooperative, collaborative and ordered process of social interactions within the state at the international level between and amongst different state systems, and other non-state actors that have bearing on the possibilities or otherwise of what happens in terms of who gets what when and how within the state systems from the globally limited resources.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

i.   1.   What is international Relations? What are the necessary conditions for   international Relations?
ii.   2.   Discuss the contention that the primary focus international relations is on the twin issue of war and peace.
iii.   Any talk of international relations in exclusion of international organizations is like tea without sugar. Do you agree?
iv.   Discuss the origin of the United Nations Organizations and the role of the relative powers of the members in the structure of the organization.
v.   "The African Union is a child of continental and global circumstances". Identify and discuss the different context for the emergence of the African Union.
vi.   Trace the historical transition from the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to the African Union (AU).

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