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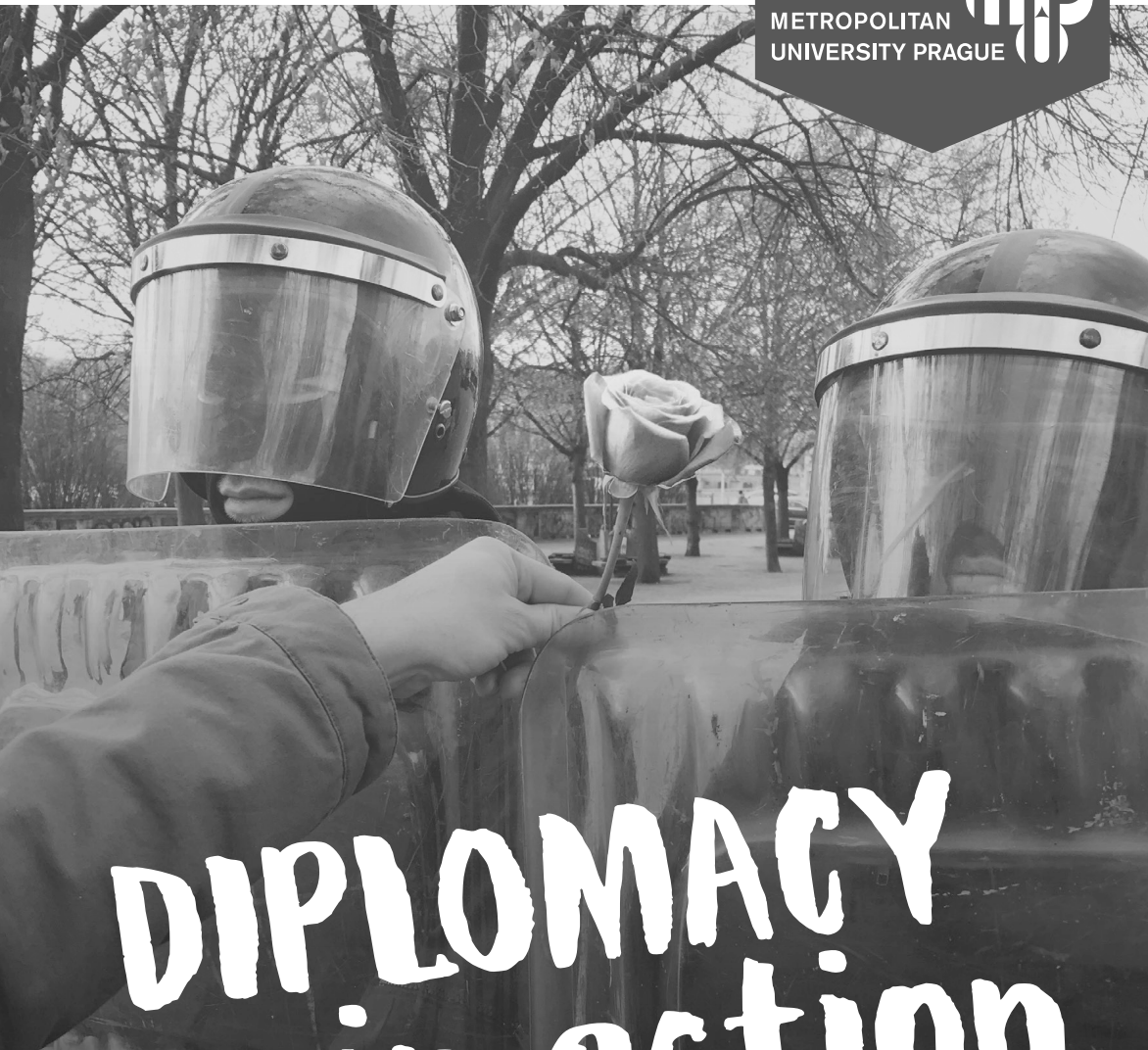
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Salami Tactics

Mitchell Belfer

Despite the blame-game that puts the rising tensions in the Arab Gulf on the US, the internal power struggles in Tehran, and the rise of Hossein Salami to the head of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, is the true culprit.

Tensions in the Arab Gulf have experienced a sharp spike over the past months. Terrorist and proxy militia attacks, directed by the Islamic Republic of Iran, have targeted energy transmission infrastructure via the bombing of pipelines in Saudi Arabia, international oil tankers (belonging to Japan, Norway, United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia) in the UAE, while naval mines have damaged other tankers in the Strait of Hormuz. Critical infrastructure in Saudi Arabia (re: Abha's civilian airport) has also been repeatedly struck. A US reconnaissance drone was then downed by Iranian air defences—forcing Washington to adopt a more assertive strategy in the region.

Events on the ground have generated a lively, if misguided, debate about the US strategy of applying maximum pressure on Tehran in order to force it to end its support to terrorist groups throughout the region, scale back its ballistic missile production (and transfer to terrorist groups) and to fully abandon its nuclear ambitions. Some suggest that Washington's withdraw from the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA, re: Iran nuclear deal) coupled with President Donald Trump's abrasive rhetoric is the main reason for renewed tensions. This assumption is patently wrong.

Tehran harbours grand objectives of regional hegemony. It seeks to dominate the geopolitical and religious landscape through a spiderweb of asymmetrical power platforms — re: Hamas in Palestine, Hezbollah in Bahrain, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Yemen — to spread chaos into the established order. To manage its rise, and underwrite its religious credentials, Revolutionary Iran requires regime survival and continuity.

The Imamate system of Ayatollahs — grand and minor — the Supreme Leader and the Guardianship Council all find comfort and safety in the yoke of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corp (IRGC). The office of the president and ministers of the cabinet are political facades. Decisions of national importance are *only* taken by the institutional trio— Ayatollah, Council, Guards.

The spate of Iranian operations against its neighbours is the result of a fundamental change to the security machinery in the country. Ayatollah Ali Khamenei's decision to promote Major General Hossain Salami to Commander in Chief of the IRGC — replacing Mohammad Ali Jafari, who led the IRGC since September 2007 — is producing wide-ranging repercussions. Salami owes his para-military career to Khamenei and his appointment further strengthens the Ayatollah's ability to navigate the Islamic Republic's internal and foreign policies and to make the crucial decision over his own succession. It is widely understood that Ayatollah Khamenei favours his son's accession. Mojtaba Khamenei is a cleric from the Qom school. He is also the commander of the regime's crack forces, the Basij militia. Mojtaba Khamenei and Hossain Salami are dear friends and given the pending death of Ali Khamenei and the subsequent, delicate, transition from Ayatollah to Ayatollah, Salami is placed to ensure that the will of Khamenei is respected and that his friend, Mojtaba, assumes the throne.

Salami is in the process of consolidating his position. His provocations are calculated. Two weeks after the US designation of the IRGC as a Foreign Terrorist Organisation, and shortly before the halting of sanctions waivers on Iranian oil, Salami's tactics were driven by Iran's thirst for revenge and his manipulation of chaos. He sparked a crisis and then tried to bind the hands of the US by spreading disinformation. He physically attacked Saudi Arabia and the UAE and then played dumb. His behaviour is warding-off domestic opponents as he champions Iranian hyper-nationalism and peddles a rally-around-the-flag.

More importantly, Salami's tactics have driven a nail in the transatlantic relationship. US-European relations are being defined by Iran as Tehran has slithered its way into Western security discourses. This has exposed the fact that far too many European decision makers are paralysed with fear of abandoning the JCPOA. They fear the wrath of their business communities and they fear the Ayatollah's faithful who have grown comfortable engaging in terrorist operations across Eu-

rope—Bulgaria, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, Germany, the UK (etc.). This fear is exposing Europe and European citizens to greater risks. Looking for loopholes, finding ways to circumvent US sanctions, funding the IRGC through business ventures in Iran will ensure that the transatlantic relationship remains frayed into the future. Beyond Trump and Macron, Merkel, May or Conte, at the heart of the NATO alliance rests the singular notion of solidarity. Iran's blatant mockery of everything NATO (and even the EU) stands for should have Washington's allies circling the wagons and pushing back against the Ayatollah's regime. It is a sad commentary that Salami's tactics are doing the opposite, polarising the Western alliance so that the Ayatollah can get away with murder.

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Kinds of Democracy

New Models of Federal Republics and Multi-Level Governments

Christopher Portosa Stevens

In “Kinds of Democracy,” I vary the kind of democracy across levels in multi-level governments and federations. Varying the kind of democracy from level to level produces new competitive structures (and also new kinds of political complexity), such as producing opportunity structures for political parties to move up or down in a federation or multi-level government. Varying the kind of democracy from level to level also partly resembles some of the irregular and complex political forms of city-state republics of ancient Greece and early modern Italy, particularly compared to more standardized forms of democracy in the contemporary world. Varying the kind of democracy from level to level is also a new kind of response to the “iron law of oligarchy,” since it is a way of increasing the competitive and democratic nature government by creating new opportunity structures for political competition between political parties, and new opportunity structures for organizational differentiation and competition across governmental and societal levels.

I also discuss some practical applications of designing new models of constitutions based on varying the kind of democracy from level to level. These include the potential for remedying violent conflict by creating opportunity structures for cross-cutting alliances by political parties across regions, across national and regional divides, and also across possible ethnic, religious, linguistic, and ideological cleavages within and across regions.

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Political design and construction may be traced back in its origins to ancient Greece, such as to Solon's pre-Socratic initiatives cancelling debt slavery, abolishing the existing aristocratic order, and establishing a class system based on social mobility. As social theorist Alvin Gouldner reminds us, there was a "bold pragmatic manner in which constitutions [were] sometimes established for new colonies," and a "calculating way the older tribal structures [were] deliberately manipulated with a view to strengthening the polis."¹ Modern political and electoral design, however, is a largely modern phenomenon associated with, and stimulated by, the rise and spread of democratic government over the last few centuries. This began with the founding of the US republic in 1776 and the French republic in 1789, and includes the more recent spread of democracy – in the wider perspective of history – dating from what has been called the "third wave" of democratization spreading from Portugal in 1974 to many states in Africa, Latin America, Asia, and around the world. As with the early modern spread of constitutional and democratic government, the contemporary spread of democracy may stimulate greater interest and thought into the nature of political and electoral design. Here, I seek to make a contribution to the literature on political and electoral design by varying the kind of democracy from level to level to produce new political and competitive structures, and new models of federal republics and multi-level governments (these are also identifiable as new kinds of complexity or "variable political geometries").² By contrast, most governments around the world standardize or reproduce the same kind of government from level to level, with a few exceptions (discussed below).

Varying the kind of democracy from level to level is also a new kind of response to the "iron law of oligarchy,"³ since it is a way of increasing the competitive and democratic nature government by creating new opportunity structures for political competition between political parties, and new opportunity structures for organizational differentiation and competition across governmental and societal levels.

Varying the kind of democracy from level to level enables, given Duverger's Law,⁴ the designing of new, variable government forms that have predictive and explanatory content: new political party systems are predicted to emerge from level to level, and, in some cases, across

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levels, as some structures create opportunities for political parties at one level to competitively displace political parties above or below in a federation or multi-level government.⁵ *It is thus possible to design multi-level governmental forms that create new opportunity structures for variable political party systems including two political parties at the national or federal level, multiple political parties at the state or regional levels, and structural opportunities for political parties from the lower or regional levels “jumping up” to the national or federal level, and political parties at the national or federal level being relegated to the lower or regional levels.*⁶ I shall discuss some of these main government forms, and then I shall discuss the larger set of possibilities (or logical space) of varying the kind of constitutional and democratic government from level to level in federations and multi-level governments. (Following political scientists Lisbet Hooghe and Gary Marks, I use the concept of “multi-level government” as inclusive of and more general than the concepts of federation and federal republic).⁷

States with multi-level governments tend to have the same kind of democracy from level to level; that is, they tend to have similar or symmetrical governmental structures and voting procedures at the central government and provincial or regional government levels (such as India and the United States). However, as suggested, there are new, specifiable alternatives: It is possible to design structures of multi-level government that have single-member, simple plurality (SMP) voting procedures at one governmental level and proportional (PR) voting procedures at another government level, such as SMP voting at the central government level and PR voting at the level of the regional or provincial governments (or vice versa).

Thus, given Duverger’s Law, i.e., SMP voting tends to generate two political parties per electoral district, and PR voting tends to generate multiple political parties, these political structures have predictive content.

For example, in the case of a government form with SMP voting at the central government level and PR voting for the governments at the regional level there will be a tendency to two parties above, and multiple parties below. These predictable, asymmetric consequences differ from the symmetrical consequences of having two parties above and below (as in, say, SMP voting at the central and regional levels in the US) or having multiple parties above and below (as in, say, PR voting at the central and regional levels in Brazil).

Another consequence is that this structure places greater competitive pressure on the two major parties at the central government level than the more familiar political form of having two parties at both the central government and regional government levels (as in the US). This is because this form creates an opportunity structure for competing multiple parties at the lower or regional level to “jump up” a level and replace one of the two major parties (with one of the former two major parties being relegated to regional status or going completely defunct). It is thus possible to design models of constitutions that roughly approximate the competitive structure of some international professional soccer leagues that “relegate” the worst performing teams to a lower league and elevate the best performing teams from a higher league.⁸

Alternatively, the above discussed structure may be reversed, with PR voting procedures at the central government level, and SMP voting procedures at the regional level. Again, as a consequence of Duverger’s Law, this creates an asymmetrical party system with a tendency to multiple parties above and two parties per electoral district at the regional or state levels. Further, this form creates an opportunity structure for the multiple parties at the central government level to “jump into” and displace parties in electoral districts at the regional level. This form appears to place greater competitive pressure on the two political parties in districts at the regional level because of the possibility of the multiple parties at the central government level penetrating and “jumping into” the electoral districts at the regional level. (These basic forms are summarized in Table 1).

Discussion and qualifications of classic “exceptions” to Duverger’s Law: The models of governments and predicted consequences in Table 1 are simplifications and assume the existence of enough cultural diversity and the existence of organizational levels in a state (i.e., federal or multi-level governments) to enable the emergence of two or more political parties to emerge at each government level (i.e., center, provinces or regions, or additional levels). That is, federations and multi-level governments themselves create opportunities for regional political parties to form, as in the emergence of sizeable regional political parties in the history of the federations of Canada and the U.S., particularly during the 19th and early 20th centuries. If the U.S. and Canada had not been federations, regional political parties across regions would not have formed. Famously-held exceptions to Duverger’s Law may be explained in terms of opportunity structures of federations themselves:

Table 1: Federations, multi-level governments by electoral mechanisms

	Center	Regions	Opportunity Structure Favors	Examples
Gov't A	Single Member Plurality voting (SMP)	SMP	Two parties per electoral district, above & below	20th-21st century U.S. (approx.)
Gov't B	Proportional voting (PR)	PR	Multiple parties above & below	Brazil, Argentina (approx.)
Gov't C	SMP	PR	Two parties above, multiple parties below	Never attempted
Gov't D	PR	SMP	Multiple parties above, two parties below	Never attempted

The existence of federations and multi-level governments create the opportunities for multiple political parties to form, even when there is SMP voting (examples include multiple parties in India, and also the US and Canada historically).

Cultural cleavages, including ethnic and ideological cleavages, also have been held to generate exceptions to Duverger's Law,⁹ and these also may be explained in terms of opportunity structures: Extreme or overwhelming cultural homogeneity, whether ethnic, religious, or ideological, would eliminate political party formation and allegiance across cultural, ethnic, and ideological cleavages, just as eliminating federal or multi-levels of government would eliminate the possibility of regional political parties forming at regional government levels (since there wouldn't be any). Thus, for example, the existence of considerable cultural and ideological diversity in Canada across regions in Canadian (in conjunction with the multiple government levels inherent in its federal structure), and tremendous cultural and linguistic diversity in India across regions in India (in conjunction with the multiple government levels inherent in its federal structure), contributed to the success of multiple parties in these countries even with the electoral use of SMP voting.

This paper, then, moves the concept of "opportunity structure" from the sociology of individual opportunities for gain, criminality, access to information and social networks to groups and organizations: Variables such as different kinds of organizational structures (such as federal or unitary states), electoral voting procedures (such as Single Member Plurality versus Proportional voting), and culture (as in over-

whelming cultural similarity or homogeneity reducing or stunting political party formation, as in Confucian or Communist China, or the considerable linguistic, ethnic, and ideological diversity that facilitates the growth of political parties in modern Europe and India) create different opportunity structures for different kinds of political party systems across societies.

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In addition to varying voting procedures, it is possible to design multi-level governments that have a parliamentary system at one level, and a presidential system or executive-legislative split at another level (by contrast, most federal governments, such as Germany and India with parliamentary systems at the federal and regional levels, or the US, Mexico, Brazil, and Argentina, Presidents at the federal level and Governors at its state levels, reproduce similar kinds of government structures at the regional levels as at the national level).

The focus of this paper is largely in the identification and exploration of these new and specifiable variable political geometries. However, I also discuss some potential practical uses of these new models of constitutional government in addition to simply elaborating the new models of constitutional governments themselves.

Models of Multi-Level Governments

There are myriad ways of organizing elections. One of the most novel – and most peculiar – was the Venetian Republic’s method of selecting the nominee for its chief executive, the *doge*, from the “Great Council,” a body of which “the majority were nobles, but some commoners also.”¹⁰ Explicitly systematized in 1268, the elaborate procedure ran thusly: “From the Great Council there was chose by lot 30; the 30 were reduced by lot to 9; the 9 named 40; the 40 were reduced by lot to 12; the 12 named 25; the 25 were reduced by lot to 9; the 9 named 45; the 45 were reduced by lot to 11; the 11 named 41; the 41 nominated the doge,” who was then up for election. Modern electoral processes tend to be simpler although there is considerable variation in the electoral mechanisms used. Of those eligible to vote, how many votes do they have per election? One person-one vote, or several by which voters may rank candidates? What is the district magnitude, that is, the number of offices or seats per district? And what is the threshold for winning? Is it simply who wins the most votes? Or, does election require a majority of votes, or an even higher threshold? If the threshold is not met (e.g., a majority), is there a run-off election in which the field is narrowed by

some standard, such as the first two candidates being selected? There are all these possibilities, and more.

However, in part from a desire for simplicity, I will be focusing on two widespread electoral mechanisms in the proposed designs for new multi-level governments: single member districts with a plurality threshold (“first past the post”), and proportional elections by which votes are allocated either directly to parties (as in “closed” or “party-list” proportionality) or indirectly to parties (as in “open” proportionality systems whereby votes are cast for individual candidates and then tallied by party membership).¹¹ Single member districts by plurality (SMP) are found in many former British colonies, including India, Kenya, Jamaica, the US, Ghana, Trinidad, and Canada. As per Duverger’s Law, there is a tendency for each electoral district to have two political parties (although multiple political parties have emerged in India due to its high degree of linguistic, ethnic, and cultural diversity, and also its federal structure).¹²

While SMP voting is especially common across the former British Empire, proportional (PR) voting is the most popular outside the former British Empire, including much of continental Europe (with the familiar exception of France), and also Algeria, Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Dominican Republic, Equatorial Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Israel, Sri Lanka, South Korea, South Africa, Turkey, Uruguay, and others. As a consequence of Duverger’s Law, there is a tendency of proportional voting systems to produce multiple parties (the hybrid form of mixed-member proportional voting also tends to produce multiple political parties, though the effect is less pronounced).¹³ Roughly speaking, the geography of voting systems tends to follow cultural lines, with single member districts by a plurality threshold found in the UK and many of its former colonies, and proportionality systems (including hybrid mixed member proportional systems) found in areas outside of the British Empire and also much of continental Europe.¹⁴ (However, this has started to breakdown over time, as regional and municipal governments in the UK, New Zealand, and Australia have experimented with alternative democratic forms and voting procedures).¹⁵

In the following I seek to show how new governmental forms can be created by varying the type of voting system in multi-level government structures (such as two-level federal governments), and that these new government forms have predictive and explanatory content.

Most multi-level governments, including virtually all federations, have similar voting systems at the central government level as at the level of regions or provinces. This includes the use of SMP voting at the central and regional government levels of India and the United States (the form “Government A” in Table 1), and the use of PR voting at the central and regional government levels of Argentina and Brazil (the form “Government B” in Table 1). However, as delineated in Table 1, it is possible for multi-level governments to differ in their voting systems from level to level. Table 1 delineates four basic forms of multi-level government by the common and popular voting systems of SMP and PR. Government “C” features SMP voting at the central government level and PR voting at the regional or provincial level. Government “D” features PR voting at the central government level and SMP voting at the regional level. The political opportunity structures of governments “C” and “D” create new, asymmetric structures, which have predictable and specifiable results, as per of Duverger’s Law.

These can be elaborated in turn. Government “C” creates the possibility of a variable multi-level party structure. As discussed, the model implies that it is possible to explicitly design democratic constitutions with predictive content: The model predicts a tendency to two parties above, and multiple parties below. Thus, Government “C” creates an opportunity structure for competing multiple parties at the lower or regional level to “jump up” a level, extend their political representation below to above, and replace one of the two major parties (with one of the former two major parties being relegated to a status as a party at the provincial or regional level – or becoming completely defunct if it is not represented at the regional level).¹⁶

Government “C” is more competitive than Government “A” since it creates more opportunities for political parties to replace or competitively displace one of the two dominant political parties at the center.¹⁷ Moreover, the two dominant political parties at the center will have competitive pressure to seek endorsements and support from the multiple parties at the regions, and likely would face *criticism by parties at the regional level that may be absent at the center*. In addition, a multi-party system at the level of the regions, instead of a two-party system dominant across the national and regional levels, creates opportunity structures for successful (or efficient) regional political parties to “jump” laterally and competitively displace less successful or less efficient political parties of different regions or municipal governments.

Alternatively, the structure of Government “C” might be reversed, with PR voting procedures at the central government level, and SMP voting procedures at the provincial or regional level. As in Government “D” in Table A, this creates the possibility of a variable multi-level party structure as well, but with a tendency to multiple parties above, and two parties per electoral district at the provincial or regional level. Further, this form creates an opportunity structure for the multiple parties at the central government level to “jump into” and displace parties in electoral districts at the provincial or regional level. Compared to Government “B,” Government “D” places greater competitive stress on regional political parties. Since voters will vote in national elections with multiple parties but will vote in regional elections with effectively two political parties per electoral district, there will be opportunities for voters to vote for different political parties in national and regional elections.

As suggested, this discrepancy between the voting systems in national and regional elections could create opportunities for parties succeeding in the multi-party system at the central government level to “jump into” and possibly replace political parties in electoral districts at the regional government level. *This government structure may be attractive for those that are interested in pressuring or stimulating regional and municipal levels of government to be more competitive and efficient, since political parties at the national level will have the opportunity from election to election to compete with and possibly displace one of the two major parties per electoral district at the lower, regional levels of government.*

In Government “C” there is an opportunity structure for multiple political parties at the regions to place greater competitive pressure on the center; alternatively, Government “D” creates an opportunity structure for political parties at the center to place greater competitive pressure downwardly to the regions (and also municipal governments). Consequently, in countries with considerable regional diversity in political party systems (possibly because of regional cultural diversity), it would appear that introducing the structure of Government “D” would be a way of reducing regional diversity in political party systems (if this was to be considered desirable). By contrast, Government “C” may be used to release or express regional political and cultural diversity at least at the level of the regions instead of suppressing it.

It also should be recognized, though, that even the static, non-variable, and most common federal government forms of “A” and “B” in

Table 1 create limited opportunity structures for multi-level party systems that vary from level to level. As discussed in the introductory section, there are exceptions to Duverger's Law that include the existence and limited success of largely regionally based third parties in the federations of Canada and the United States. The federal republic of India would be another significant example: The same voting procedures are in place at the national and regional levels (PR voting), but, due to other factors, especially ethnic and linguistic cleavages, more political parties historically function at the regional levels than the national levels.

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*Thus, compared to Governments A and B, Governments C and D create more political competition.*¹⁸ Moreover, Governments C and D enable kinds of *organizational exit, organizational movement, and organizational growth and contraction.*¹⁹ For example, in Government "C" political parties (kinds of organizations) can move vertically from lower government levels or jurisdictions to higher government levels. This is organizational movement and growth: parties "jumping up" from lower level jurisdictions to the central government level or higher-level jurisdictions. There is also organizational exit and contraction by which parties may descend or are relegated to the regional level or specific regional or local jurisdictions (in some cases the parties might go extinct). Organizational exit does not necessarily involve contraction; organizational exit and growth are possible, as when a party from above or below moves vertically above or below and establishes itself at the national or regional level, or if a regional party moves to another region or regions and establishes itself as a greater political party at the regional level. Government "D" enables political parties to move vertically from higher government levels to lower government levels (parties "jumping into," growing, and moving vertically from a higher government level to the regional level or specific regional or local jurisdictions).

If the powerful and useful concept of "variable political geometry" is applied to the variable political shapes of the European Union and also to the variable political shapes which emerge across levels of state and economic globalization, Governments "C" and "D" may be said to create new models of variable political geometries. This is an example, then, of social science designing and organizing complexity, and also being able to predict different variable political geometries based on different initial conditions (as in the different government forms of Table 1).

Another way of thinking about the predictive content of the models in Table 1 is that the different models of constitutions may be compared and ranked in terms of their different predictive consequences. Other conditions held constant, Government “C” (with SMP above and PR below) is more likely to have two parties above and multiple parties below than Governments “A,” “B,” or “D”; government “C” is more likely to have a political party from the regional or state level “jump up” and relegate or eliminate a political party at the national level than Governments “A,” “B,” or “D”; additionally, government “D” with PR above and SMP below is more likely to have multiple parties above and two parties below than governments “A,” “B,” or “D”; moreover, comparatively speaking, government “D” is more likely to place competitive pressure (reducing the existence and influence of regional parties) than “C” (in which greater competitive pressure rises from below than above compared to government “D”). These models, then, have predictive and explanatory content, and the models in this paper also may serve as designs for state constitutions.

On the Practical Nature of Organizational and Political Design

Eminent sociologist James Coleman has argued that the preponderance and success of purposive and self-consciously designed forms of collective action in the modern era, “social inventions” or different kinds of constructed or designed organizations, including limited liability corporations, trade unions, organizational charters, formal bureaucracies, government agencies, nation-states, and political constitutions, makes the subject of designing organizations and forms of collective action more central to the disciplines of sociology and political science.²⁰

Coleman called for social scientists to re-orient themselves to the design of new organizations, forms of collective action, and other kinds of social inventions or social technologies (as opposed to studying primordial social organization such as families, clans, or tribes). It should be appreciated that another contribution of this paper is that it develops social inventions or “social technologies” – models of constitutions including competitive political party systems – that are, at the same time, function as explanatory models with predictive content. The development of explanatory models in social science many times follows the philosophy of science attached to model building in

physics and astronomy. By contrast, model building in the biological sciences sometimes involves developing models with predictive content that also function as models of “natural technologies” (a concept that goes back to Giambattista Vico and also Karl Marx) or adaptive structures. Thus, the model of the double-helical structure of the DNA predicts the characteristics the DNA molecule, and, at the same time, also is a model of a “natural technology” or the universal biochemical basis of the genetic instructions for the building blocks of cells and tissue differentiation in organisms. Though Coleman did not recognize that, in his call for a focus on the design of social inventions and kinds of organizations, models of “social inventions” including the variable political geometries in this paper, can be both models with predictive content and also models for collective action. In this case, I have attempted to design new models of political constitutions that may be useful for re-organizing societies around the world in new ways, such as increasing their internal organizational differentiation, complexity, and competition.

Since Coleman also argues that a considerable difference between the developed world and the developing world over the past 500 years is the far greater organizational diversity, differentiation, and complexity in the developed world compared to much of the developing world, the developing world may have an interest in political constitutions that may increase the organizational differentiation, complexity, and competition in their societies in addition to the contemporary role of economic globalization in increasing the number and differentiation of business corporations in their societies.²¹

The foregoing “practical application” is relatively abstract. In the following section, I discuss some potential practical applications to conflict in the Middle East and elsewhere.

Practical Applications to Conflict in the Middle East & Beyond

It is also possible to make this approach useful to designing constitutions as constitutional remedies to violence and conflict in different conflict zones around the world, such as the Middle East. Thus, in zones of conflict with violence across multiple cultural and religious cleavages (instead of political competition across ethnic and cultural cleavages), varying the kind of democracy from level to level may create new kinds of political and legal structures for remedying conflict. For example, a constitution with voting procedures that generates two

major political parties at the national level and multiple political parties at the regional levels, will have a constitution that tends to fuse or unify the country at the national level, but that does not shut out or attempt to eliminate powerful political or potentially militarized factions at the regional levels. Multiple political parties at the regional levels also enables opportunity structures for cross-cutting alliances across dominant ethnic and cultural cleavages, across regions and also across government levels. That is, it creates opportunities for political parties within each ethnic or cultural cleavage, say, Shia Socialists, Sunni Arab socialists, and Kurdish socialists and also Shia economic liberals, Sunni Arab economic liberals, and Kurdish economic liberals, being able to form political party alliances across familiar global ideological cleavages and “material interests” (such as economic liberals versus socialists) instead of forming separate militarized cultural blocks incommensurate with constitutional democracy based on competition, legalism, and brokering between political parties. The two dominant parties at the center also would experience competitive pressures to seek support and endorsements from regional parties.

Since varying the kind of democracy from level to level enables new kinds political complexity, competition, and organizational differentiation to emerge, it also potentially creates new opportunities for political alliances and coalitions to form across and within militarized cultural blocks -- “clashes of identities,” and “clashes” of religion, language, tribe, ethnicity, and civilization -- in the transition to constitutional government with competing political parties instead of vying militarized factions.²³ Thus, varying the kind of democracy from level to level potentially creates new opportunity structures for the translation and transition from “clashes of civilizations,” and “clashes of identities,” to cultural and ideological cleavages of political party competition and coalition formation.

A similar strategy of varying the kind of democracy from level to level in a multi-level government or federal republic to produce new kinds of political complexity, competition, and, possibly, the absorption and translation of national and regional violent conflicts into political conflict and competition may apply across other societies around the world. In the Middle East, societies in the central and eastern Middle East, such as Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Syria, and Lebanon, have great linguistic, ethnic, and cultural diversity, especially compared to more monolithically Sunni Muslim Arab societies of

Saudi Arabia and much of the Saudi peninsula, and also North African Sunni Arab societies with the exception of Egypt. (Egypt and Turkey are highly culturally homogenous, though with large cultural minorities, such as Coptic Christians in Egypt and Kurds in Turkey).

Sub-Saharan African societies have tremendous linguistic, ethnic, and cultural diversity, including the remnants of even greater linguistic, tribal, and ethnic diversity of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Some observers have attributed the existence of severe civil wars and even genocide in 20th and early 21st century Africa to the countervailing forces of remaining cultural divides that do not or did not cohere with many of the states and political borders left from earlier colonialism and imperialism.²⁴ Varying the kind of democracy from level to level in a multi-level government or federal republic also may be useful to translate and absorb militarized cultural blocks and factions into political parties. As discussed, varying the kind of democracy from level to level creates more opportunities for cross-cutting political alliances across regions, across potential cultural and ideological cleavages within regions, and across the center to the regions.

Asian societies, Latin American societies, or others may be attracted to the strategy of varying the kind of democracy from level to level. This is because they may seek to increase the organizational and political complexity and competition in their societies, and also may seek to provide new opportunities for the release and harnessing of underlying cultural and ideological diversity in their societies, especially if their political systems submerge or suppress the expression of ideological and cultural diversity in their societies at the levels of national and regional politics. Societies uncomfortable with the political mobilization and expression of cultural and ideological diversity at the center or national level of their societies (possibly because of fears of nationalist chauvinism of a cultural majority dominating cultural minorities), but concerned with conflict, disaffection or non-compliance by ethnic, religious, linguistic, or ideological groups at the regional levels, may seek to vary the kind of democracy at the regional level to release and harness submerged cultural and ideological diversity at the regional levels of their societies.

Varying the kind of democracy from level to level also partly resembles some of the highly complex and irregular forms of early democratic constitutions of ancient Greece and the city-states of early modern Italy, particularly compared to more standardized forms of democracy

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in the contemporary world. The irregular and complex constitutional republics of post-tribal ancient Greece and early modern Italy partly reproduced underlying societal complexity and the multiple political factions of these societies (discussed above). Varying the kind of democracy from level to level, then, also may be a way providing opportunity structures to release, satisfy, and express underlying societal complexity, political and cultural cleavages, and ideological heterogeneity that remain unexpressed (or suppressed) in many societies around the world. This may apply to non-democratic regimes, newly democratic constitutional governments, or democratic societies that have limited political party systems that submerge underlying cultural and ideological diversity within their societies.

Political Philosophy, Theory, and Organizational Design

In the origins of political philosophy in ancient Greece and its renaissance in early modern Europe, political philosophy was more intimately connected with political and organizational design. This includes the early constitutions of ancient Greece, ancient Greek colonies established with self-consciously designed constitutions in the Mediterranean and Southern Italy, and the self-conscious constitution of the Roman Republic, including legal rights that individuals beyond its early city borders could become full-fledged citizens; jumping ahead millennia later, this also includes the conceptions and applications of a kind of balance of powers or checks and balances in analyzing and designing the constitutions and structures of republics, city-states, and “peace leagues,” especially in Montesquieu’s *Spirit of the Laws*, *The Federalist Papers* of John Jay, Alexander Hamilton, and James Madison, and the additional, interpretive writings of James Madison on the early city-states of ancient Greece, the Roman Republic, and the city-states and republics of early modern Europe, especially in Italy, Switzerland, and the Netherlands.

These thinkers, and especially James Madison, conceptualized and simplified the wide variety of complex and hybrid legal and political structures of the early modern period of Europe (and also the ancient world). Over time, however, there has been far less political and organizational variation and experimentation compared to earlier periods.

Charles Tilly comments that, “the present 160-odd recognized states cover a much narrower organizational range than the 200-odd European states of 1500, which included city-states, city-empires, fed-

erations, kingdoms, territorial empires, and more.”²⁵ Tilly argues that, “except for the relatively centralized federations and quite attenuated kingdoms, those once abundant political forms have all but disappeared.” In Tilly’s view, over the past 500 years “state-making” has moved in largely one organizational direction: “the pressures of large-scale war making, and the negotiations of large-scale peacemaking drove all European states toward” a specific organizational form, the “national state” with democratic elections. For Tilly, this “has continued into our own time, and imposed a common definition on states in very diverse parts of the world.”

In the 20th and 21st centuries, this has meant that political, legal, and organizational change and diversity has shifted more from the political realm to the business realm: This includes kinds of non-standard “network” organizational forms which create linkages and forms of collective action beyond the realms of the formal hierarchies of firms, both internally and also externally to other firms or information sources;²⁶ multi-national corporations that have exploited information technologies and the near instantaneous access to information to accomplish tasks through geographically disaggregated cooperation, thereby contributing to establishing what Thomas Friedman, inspired by Nandan Nilekani of *Infosys*, calls the “flat world” of globalization in which jobs and occupations become increasingly mobile like people, capital, and goods;²⁷ the “hyper-globalization” of distributing tasks and expertise internationally, and making tasks and functions mobile like capital, goods, information, and people; the small, nimble multi-national firms that actually vastly outnumber large multi-national corporations;²⁸ state capitalist firms that combine technical state ownership and control with the attraction of public and private equity; businesses that employ alternatives to standard bureaucratic hierarchies, as in classic examples of “quality circles” in Japanese firms in which employees, including factory workers, supervise and maintain quality amongst one another instead of through the constant contact or direct supervision of management; the self-conscious attempts to maintain less formal, open, competitive and less hierarchical formal and informal organizational structures of “start-ups” by larger firms, such as by Google, Microsoft, Facebook, Amazon and many other firms;²⁹ the part capitalist, part socialist, and successful village and township collective enterprises in China that laid the basis for the incremental, successful, and what was perceived as a less socially disturbing transition to capitalism in China.³⁰

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However, this does not necessarily mean that states cannot develop or maintain a greater degree of political and legal experimentation and plasticity, including in their political party systems, that create opportunity structures for greater competition, including by means of organizational exit, growth, and movement (discussed above).

Since, in large states, cultural and political diversity are many times suppressed by the “iron law of oligarchy” (discussed above), varying the kind of democracy from level to level to release or harness cultural and political diversity in societies, especially at the regional levels, may be especially attractive. This work creates new and unprecedented ways of doing this, new variable political geometries with predictive content. These new models of constitutions increase the competitive and democratic nature of government by creating new opportunity structures for competition between political parties, and new opportunity structures for organizational differentiation across government and societal levels. These new models of constitutions may have practical use for governments, corporations, politicians, civilians, and activists.

Political design and construction, then, may be traced back in its origins to ancient Greece, as in Solon’s pre-Socratic initiatives cancelling debt slavery, abolishing the existing aristocratic order, and establishing a class system based on social mobility. There was a “bold pragmatic manner in which constitutions [were] sometimes established for new colonies,” and a “calculating way the older tribal structures [were] deliberately manipulated with a view to strengthening the polis.” These small, humble city-states, all of which were no larger than mid-size towns in modern Western societies, not only emerged from their primordial tribalism but became a “cradle of civilization” from which the science, philosophy, religion, art, and culture of modern Western societies trace their origins.



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Notes

- 1 Gouldner, A. 1965, *The Hellenic World*, New York: Harper Torchbooks.
- 2 See e.g., Castells, M. 2000, *The Rise of the Network Society*, 2nd ed, London: Blackwell. Weber, S. 2001, *Globalization and the European political economy*, NY: Columbia University Press. Rifkin, J. 2004, *The European Dream*, New York: Penguin.
- 3 Michels, R. 1923, *Political Parties: Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy*, New York: Hearst's International. See also Panebianco, A. 1988, *Political Parties*, New York: Cambridge University Press. Diamond, L. and R. Gunther. 2003, "Species of Political Parties," *Party Politics*: 9: 167-199. Rohrschneider, R. 1994, "How Iron is the Iron Law of Oligarchy?" *European Journal of Political Research* 25: 207-224. Medici, R. 1990, *La Metafora Machiavelli: Mosca, Pareto, Michels, Gramsci*, Rome: Mucchi.
- 4 Duverger, M. 1963, *Political Parties: Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State*, New York: Wiley & Sons. See also Riker, W. 1982, "The Two Party System and Duverger's Law," *American Political Science Review* 76: 753-766. Satori, G. 1968, "Political development and political engineering," pp. 261-298 in *Public Policy*, edited by J.D. Montgomery and A. O. Hirschmann, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Cox, G.W. 1997, *Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral Systems*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Tufte, E. 1973, "The Relationship between Seats and Votes in Two-Party Systems," *American Political Science Review* 67: 540-554. Taagepera, R., and M.S. Shugart. 1989, *Seats and Votes: The Effects and Determinants of Electoral Systems*, New Haven: Yale University Press. Chibber, P.K. and K. Kollman. 2004, *The Formation of National Party Systems: Federalism and Party Competition in Canada, Great Britain, India, and the United States*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- 5 Following W. Riker's (1982) influential review, the pattern of PR voting producing multiple parties is sometimes called Duverger's "Hypothesis" (along with the idea that the double ballot majority system, such as in France, also tends to produce multiple parties). Riker refers to it as Duverger's Hypothesis because the generalization is viewed as less established than the principle that SMP voting generates two parties (per electoral district). Cox (1997) views Duverger's Law as more precise if it is stated as SMP generating *two parties per electoral district*. Duverger's Law may be qualified further and re-stated as Cox's "M+1 rule," i.e., that "no more than M+1 candidates . . . can be viable" in "an M-seat district." (Cox 1997: 99) Thus, in M=1 districts (SMP voting), two candidates are viable, and in M>1, multiple candidates are viable (Cox's M+1 rule thus recapitulates Duverger's formulation).
- 6 On opportunity structures, see esp. Blau, P. 1995, "A Circuitous Path to Macro-Structural Theory," *Annual Review of Sociology* 21: 1-19. Burt, R. 1995, *Structural Holes: The Social Structure of Competition*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press. On networks and opportunity structures, see Granovetter, M. 1973, "The Strength of Weak Ties," *American Journal of Sociology* 78: 1360-1380. Watts, Duncan. 2004, *Six Degrees of Separation*, New York: Norton. The concept of opportunity structure emerged in sociology to refer to how certain social structures (including networks) may create opportunities for individuals to engage in particular types of

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behavior, such as friendship, marriage, crime, or procuring information about job opportunities, business opportunities, or other opportunities (see especially Blau 1995; Granovetter 1973; Burt 1995). Peter Blau (1995: 12) once commented: “My central interest is the influence of the social structure of a population on people’s life chances, not only the *opportunities* in their careers but also their *other opportunities*, such as their chances to make friends or marry certain spouses.” *However, the unit of analysis in the understanding of opportunity structures does not have to be the individual (or individual units in networks), but also can be higher levels of organization, i.e., groups, organizations, and states.* (It may even include societies, civilizations, and species). Thus, it is also possible for social and political structures to create opportunities for groups, organizations, and states per se, instead of only individuals.

- 7 Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks. 2003, “Unraveling the Central State, but How? Types of Multi-Level Governance,” *American Political Science Review* 97: 233-43. Types of “multi-level governance” within the organizational boundaries of states, and also across the organizational boundaries of states, are also sometimes conceived as variable political geometries (e.g., Castells 2000; Rifkin 2003). Organizational growth and differentiation, including different kinds of multi-level governance, and also, more abstractly, variable political geometries, also includes branching patterns: Branching patterns are fundamental to science and social science, their simulation in computer science, and many phenomena are considered or classified as branching patterns, including crystals, electric discharges, the tree of life, cellular differentiation of organisms, branching patterns of characteristics across individual organisms, branching patterns of characteristics and adaptive structures across species, languages and linguistic groups, religions and religious sects, and also group and organizational differentiation and growth across families, organizations, governments and government agencies, and human societies.
- 8 Szymanski, Stefan, and Tommaso Valletti. 2005, “Promotion and Relegation in Sporting Contests,” *Rivista di Politica Economica* 95: 3-39.
- 9 Martin, L. S. and Rokkan, S. 1967, “Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments,” pp. 1-64 in *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives*, New York: The Free Press. See also Chibber, P.K. and K. Kollman. 2004, *The Formation of National Party Systems: Federalism and Party Competition in Canada, Great Britain, India, and the United States*, Princeton: Princeton University Press. On the concept of cleavages, see also Navratil, Jiri. 2005, “Cleavages in the Context of Collective Mobilization,” *Czech Journal of Political Science* 3: 247-260.
- 10 Lane, F. 1973, *Venice: A Maritime Republic*, Baltimore: JHU Press.
- 11 In principle, the idea of varying the type of voting system and government structure could produce more government structures, especially if three or more levels of government were proposed. These possibilities could be multiplied. However, for the sake of simplicity, I shall propose new types of multi-level government with commonly found voting systems (single member plurality and proportional systems). If mixed member proportional (MMP) voting is treated as a completely independent voting system from PR voting, adding MMP voting as an additional possibility across multi-level governments would increase the complexity and number of government forms possible. However, since MMP voting tends

- to produce multiple political parties as well (even if the effect is not as pronounced as with more strict types of PR voting), the consequences of having MMP voting at particular levels of government would be similar to PR, i.e., multiple political parties at that level.
- 12 This is also discussed above. On cultural diversity and cultural cleavages in India, see especially Chhibber and Kollman 2004.
 - 13 See references cited in note 4.
 - 14 Exceptions, of course, include France's double ballot majority system, or the former British colony, New Zealand, shifting to a mixed-member proportional system. Additionally, the UK varies its electoral system by the level of government (see, e.g., Flinders 2010). There are mixed member proportional systems for the Scottish Parliament, the National Assembly of Wales, and the Greater London Assembly. In addition, the Scottish local government features a single transferable vote system, while representatives to the EU are selected with a PR system (until Brexit in 2019).
 - 15 An exception includes the federation of Australia, which has SMP voting across much of its federation, but, in its modern history, STV voting in some but not all of its provincial governments.
 - 16 In principle, this also could apply within levels, such as different regions or local governments having different voting systems.
 - 17 Note that it is also possible for a government's constitution to be written to include relegation as a consequence of written law, instead of as relegation emerging as a consequence of a given set of initial conditions or as a consequence of a given competitive structure.
 - 18 Conditions of an extremely high degree of social homogeneity (i.e., lacking various kinds of cultural and social cleavages), may be predicted to reduce the number of political parties. On cultural cleavages, see note 9.
 - 19 Variation in multi-level governments by common democratic governmental types (parliamentary versus Presidentialism, or an executive-legislative split) could be multiplied across the previously discussed variation in multi-level governments by the two most popular voting procedures, SMP and PR. Such combinations produce sixteen possible multi-level government forms, most of which have never been attempted before. However, these are not elaborated in this paper. Moreover, the number of types of multi-level government could be multiplied further as one increases the number of government levels. For simplicity, however, I have focused on the most popular and common electoral systems and political types.
 - 20 Cf. Tiebout, C.M. 1956, "A pure theory of local expenditure," *Journal of Political Economy* 64: 416-424. Hirschman, A. O. 1970, *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Becker, G. and K. Murphy, 2003, *Social Economics*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Jagger, Pamela, Bauer, Jacqui and James Walker. 2009, "Thirty-five years of scholarship at the workshop in political theory," Bloomington, Indiana, *Indiana University*, Available at: http://www.iub.edu/~workshop/publications/materials/History_of_Workshop.pdf.
 - 21 Coleman, J.S. 1970, "Social Inventions," *Social Forces* 49: 163-173. Coleman, J.S. 1990, *Foundations of social theory*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Coleman, J.S. 1993, "The Design of Organizations and the Right to Act," *Sociological Forum* 8: 527-546.
 - 22 Cf. Fukuyama, F. 1992, *The End of History and the Last Man*, New York: Free Press.

- 23 Huntington, S. 1996, *The Clash of Civilizations & The Remaking of World Order*, New York: Simon & Schuster.
- 24 Luttwak, E. 1969, *Coup D'état: A Practical Handbook*, New York: Penguin.
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- 25 illy, Charles. 1991, *Coercion, Capital, and European States*, Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
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- 29 See, e.g., Girard, Bernard. 2009, *The Google Way: How One Company is Revolutionizing Management as We Know It*, San Francisco: No Starch Press.
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The 'War on Drugs' Concept as the Basis for Combating Drugs in the Western Hemisphere

Arkadiy Alekseevich Eremin, Oleg Konstantinovich Petrovich-Belkin

The article attempts to critically evaluate a controversial transnational phenomenon in the Western hemisphere, known as the 'War on Drugs'. Started by Richard Nixon to regain the support of his electorate, it has continued to dominate anti-drug policies in the Americas until now. In this article, the authors conduct a thorough analysis of all the traits of this concept in relation to the effectiveness and capability of limiting drug production and supply as well as countering drug-related organized crime. It also describes the role and place of the 'War on Drugs' in the structure of modern academic knowledge. In the attempt to assess the outcomes of the implementation of coercive tactics typical for the 'War on Drugs', the article also tries to answer the essential question of whether traditionally harsh methods of this concept were truly meant to be aimed at suppressing transnational drug trade or were merely a way for political elites to meet certain personal agenda. The paper recommends several potential changes that are necessary to be introduced to successfully relaunch and reestablish the system of combating illicit drug trade in the Western hemisphere.

Keywords: war on drugs, anti-drug policies, Western hemisphere, transnational drug trade

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Before going further into the subject of the article, it would be essential to mention that the concept of the 'War on Drugs' represents mostly a Western Hemisphere phenomenon since the wide empirical discussion on this matter generally belongs to the Western academia and the country of its origin and its most active apologist were the United States of America. Given the specificity of the geopolitical situation during the Cold War, it is only logical that this concept was developed in the framework of United States domestic and foreign policies.

The 'War on Drugs' is a political concept introduced during the presidency of Richard Millhouse Nixon, who at the time was 'knee deep' in political and social instability in the United States. A highly unpopular and costly war overseas and a lack of significant progress in fighting communism in South-East Asia alongside with the blooming culture of protest at home created harsh circumstances that made authorities look for options. American citizens were experiencing a lack of purpose and motivation – with every year it became obvious that communism was no longer the major source of concern for ordinary citizens, who were becoming more preoccupied with civil rights, equality and quality of life. This trend peaked during the 1960's, but never lost its momentum, thus resulting in a massive cultural shift in the U.S. society. It no longer was possible to occupy people's minds with the 'red threat' in order to distract them from the aspiration for profound societal changes.

During that very period the United States of America had already become a target for a rapidly developing illicit business called transnational drug trade. Before the 1960's the main drug to be smuggled into the U.S. was marijuana, which had steady demand and brought a considerable amount of profit; however, it was far from the kind of money modern drug trade accumulates. The biggest problem of marijuana trade was predetermined by the relatively low ratio of price per pound, which made most active drug traffickers look for other possibilities. The perfect drug turned out to be cocaine – small packages were easier to smuggle across the border and at the same time brought significantly larger revenue. Unlike heroin, the source of which was generally too far from the U.S., the Andes were quite close. This allowed drug smugglers to build supply chains of various complexity levels – from smuggling small packages of cocaine in carry-ons during regular civil aviation flights to using private planes and even submarines to transport tons of illegal product. The late 60's and 70's were the periods when

the use of drugs, cocaine in particular, skyrocketed to unprecedented scales and from that time forward it only kept growing, leading to the crack cocaine epidemic in the 80's.¹

Under Nixon the drug problem had already bloomed to such a degree that it was no longer possible to ignore. Officially what caused president to enforce a full-scale crack-down on drugs was the fact that a significant percentage of soldiers who came back from Vietnam were reported to have acquired heroin addiction. Eventually in his State of the Union speech in 1971 Richard Nixon declared the 'War on Drugs', which predetermined the nature of future anti-drug strategies. However, such a potent promise to fight drug trade with all the means available did not prove effective in the long-term – statistics show that the harshness of the anti-drug measures and massive incarcerations had no proven positive influence on both growing offer and demand.² Moreover, the very concept introduced by Nixon over the years had received heavy criticism from both expert and academic communities on multiple occasions.

The main hypothesis (research question) of this article is that the 'War on Drugs' concept is evidently unfit on multiple levels for successful resolution of the problem of drugs both on a national and regional scale. Moreover, the usage of its heritage undermines the process of conceptualization of new approaches and practices in the respective sphere. The authors conclude that, firstly, purely coercive methods of countering the drug trade and drug consumption are highly ineffective and often lead to quite opposite results and consequences. Second, through the years the concept evolved to serve mostly other U.S. foreign policy goals, such as containing the spread of communism in the Western Hemisphere and particularly in Latin America. Finally, nowadays the Western Hemisphere faces the objective need for a thorough update or even a radical reset of the conceptual framework in the sphere of countering the spread of illicit substances.

The structure of the article is defined by the targets of the research. The introductory part consists of a general introduction, a description of scientific methods used by authors and historiography of the problem. The main part of the research contains general description of the 'War on Drugs' concept, as well as the wide criticism of its main vulnerabilities and controversial points, such as the unbalanced nature of the anti-drug policy approaches, lack of dedication to the proclaimed targets and the evident intent of U.S. government to use this concept

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as a political tool in the struggle against the influence of the USSR in the Western Hemisphere. In the conclusion of the article, the authors summarize scientific findings that were the result of complex analysis of the respective topic.

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Methods

In order to explain the reasons for the failure of the 'War on Drugs' to achieve any relative goals and to demonstrate why it had not experienced any significant changes over the years it was implemented, it is necessary to use a number of research methods, relevant to the analysis of this problem. This article has used a complex of general-theoretical methods of deduction, induction, generalization and synthesis. In addition, the methodological basis of the research includes the principles of historicism, scientific objectivity, reliability and system analysis. This has allowed for a comparative analysis of the values imposed by the concept of the 'War on Drugs' and its influence on the subsequent anti-drug policies in the hemisphere, as well as revealing its impact on the current state of the illicit transnational drug trade.

Historiography

The criticism of the 'War on Drugs' in the Western academic society has deep roots. This concept was designed without any regard to the scientific knowledge and was based solely on decisionmaker opinions and intuition. Among the U.S. researchers who touched upon the topic of combating illicit drugs in the Western hemisphere are Levine M., Dinges J., Regilme S., Booth M., Otterman M., Chin G., Stevens A., Werb D., Provine D., Scott P.D., McCoy A.W., Web G., McCoun R. and Reuter P.

Due to the specificity of the topic there is significantly less Russian research. Some of the studies were conducted by Martynov B.F., Andreeva A.A., Krupnov U. V. and Levinson L.S. Generally, the focus of Russian drug-related research is based more on the general aspect of the drug issue and anti-drug policies efficiency.

General Criticism of the Concept

The 'War on Drugs', being the primary reference point for decision and policy makers for several decades, was bound to be under careful and thorough consideration of multiple scientists, journalists and politicians. After years of research the point was finally made that the

values brought up by this concept are in fact not capable of changing the situation with the drug-trade problem for the better. Vast criticism of the concept accelerated in the last decade, bringing up various argumentation. Virtually, we can outline two basic arguments that demonstrate how unfit the 'War on Drugs' is to serve as an effective basis for successful anti-drug policies.

The first argument is the claim that the values promoted by the 'War on Drugs' lead to an unbalanced approach in countering drug traffic. The modern state of scientific and expert knowledge in terms of combating illicit drugs suggests that in order to ensure positive results, anti-drug policy should work both with drug supply and demand. However, in the example of the 'War on Drugs', instead of granting multifold efforts, it was only focused on coercive tactics, massive incarcerations, rigorous raids and seizures. All these measures predominantly affected low-level organized crime group members, mild offenders and people with no criminal record, when top level beneficiaries of the illicit business often remained untouched. At the same time, fighting the supply chain did little to control the ever-rising demand. Needless to say, drug trade is a phenomenon with deep social roots, so it is impossible to beat by almost completely ignoring its social component.³

The second argument is that on top of being faultily designed, the concept also helped pursue other targets of political origin – both internally and externally. Domestically, considering the uneasy political situation the Nixon administration was dealing with at the time, it is argued that the 'War on Drugs' provided a widely discontent public with a new target to draw their attention from the failures of the current government. In this regard it is important to mention that during Nixon's presidency, the 'Détente' between USSR and the United States was at its peak, so active struggle against the communist threat was back then on hold for the U.S. establishment (except for the highly unpopular war in Vietnam). This explains the rising attention of the American people towards internal politics, which predetermined such an internally-oriented usage of the 'War on Drugs' at the time.

With the developments in international politics and the end of the 'Détente', the concept of the 'War on Drugs' and its implementation changed accordingly. The intensiveness of combating drugs under such a concept rose proportionally due to the rise in conflict potential between the two superpowers, leading to a radical change in its use under president Reagan. During his office the relations between USA

and USSR again struck its historic minimum, which determined the dominant priority of struggling communist influence over combating illicit drugs. Under the so-called Reagan doctrine, which determined a new, more aggressive framework of fighting communism, the 'War on Drugs' was soon imported to the other countries in the Western hemisphere.⁴ Formally it was supposed to bring the fight to the original suppliers, helping to bring down the rates of drug-trade and drug-related crime. However, it served as a tool in consolidating U.S. political influence in Latin America and thus pushing the Soviet threat back. In those circumstances, 'War on Drugs' became secondary to the Cold War, meaning that in order to counter USSR political efforts it was habitual not only to ignore the drug trade issues in several countries, but even to encourage local communities who lived off drug production and smuggling just because it would help undermine the communist expanding influence. The most vivid example of such lack of dedication to pursue the principles of this concept was the case of Nicaragua, with the infamous 'Iran-Contras' affair and multiple attempts to portray Sandinistas as notorious drug smugglers. From the point of view of fighting drugs such actions seem inconsistent and even malicious; however, when taking into the consideration the influence of the Reagan doctrine and its impact on the national security strategies at the time, the vector of development of this concept becomes obvious. For instance, the 1987 United States national security strategy equated illicit drug trade to terrorism in terms of harm and thus priority, manifesting the need to fight it with the same set of tools, meaning mostly coercive and force-based approaches.⁵ The 1988 revision of this document alongside with the need to fight the communist influence in the region postulated that the drug-trade revenue can be used to sponsor pro-Soviet insurgency movements that would be a threat to allied nations in the Western Hemisphere.⁶ Based on this, it is logical to assume that the most criticized trait of the 'War on Drugs' concept, being commitment to the force-based approaches, comes from this period in time and those documents oriented mostly towards the external policy.

After the end of the Cold War period the export of the 'War on Drugs' concept intensified, taking a slightly different form. Under the proclaimed dedication to fight the drug-related organized crime groups, Washington was free to run attractive aid programs, which with the use of strict limitations were designed to shape regional bi-

lateral agenda in a specific manner. In order to be subjected to such aid, countries had to agree on the approaches and security priorities that were imposed by Washington. Countries that did not fall in line with the general course of coercive anti-drug policies in return did not pass the certification process, which led to the risk of certain sanctions from the U.S. government.⁷

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An Unbalanced Approach

Discussions over the ineffectiveness of the anti-drug measures promoted by the U.S.A. have occurred in the expert communities for a long time. However, the biggest and most evident proof of that is the annual drug trade and consumption statistics.⁸

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The backbone of the 'War on Drugs' concept and its further embodiment in the form of anti-drug policies is the implementation of harsh enforcement tactics. These strategies consist of two main parts: massive incarcerations and seizures. Both components seem logical in the context of fighting drug-related organized crime groups, but its effectiveness can only be guaranteed as a part of a larger, more comprehensive set of measures. In the case of the 'War on Drugs', incarcerations and seizures were the predominant part of the whole strategy, which basically meant fighting drugs solely by force with no significant social support.

Nowadays most of the leading researchers who specialize in this topic agree on the fact that an attempt to resolve the skyrocketing rates of the drug trade in the U.S. by mostly using state-sanctioned violence was not only ineffective, but malicious as well. For instance, after the start of the 'War on Drugs' the price for most drugs drastically decreased, marking a substantial rise in supply of illicit substances.⁹ If anything, a straightforward crackdown made drug lords adapt by inventing creative ways to bypass the reach of law enforcement and on top of that to turn more aggressive, violent and unpredictable than ever. More than a trillion dollars spent on enforcing this policy over the years resulted in no significant cutdown on the rate of drug use and abuse among American citizens,¹⁰ which remained steady with a minor adjustment accounting for the natural growth in U.S. population.

At the same time, the massive incarcerations predominantly target the offenders with minor non-violent crimes, when the notorious kingpins and drug lords remain intact.¹¹ This has in no way harmed the illicit drug trade. By some estimates the volume of this market has

reached more than hundred billion dollars per year in the U.S. alone, and with that kind of money cartels keep finding hundreds of new candidates to run their day-to-day operations. Besides, it has been stated that spending time in correctional facilities does not positively affect the inmates – most of them use this time to acquire new connections in the criminal world and regroup in order to rejoin the illicit businesses when they are out.¹² Moreover, once a mild offender gets into the penitentiary system, his or her chances to reintegrate in society drastically decline, making organized crime the easiest and sometimes the only way for them to support themselves and their families.¹³ The same applies to the drug addicts, who get charged with possession of hard drugs and are also sent to jail – such a facility does not provide a healthy environment to overcome addiction, rather than to strengthen it.¹⁴

Such an approach is not only obviously ineffective, but also violates fundamental human rights. Massive incarcerations among young people and minorities only lead to the social exclusion of these population groups, which in return only aggravates the issue of drug-related crime. As a result, racially biased selective justice, disproportionately strict prosecutions for even minor drug-related offences and various imperfections of the US penitentiary system as well as other human rights violations formed a *sui generis* vicious circle that deprived these people of any social alternative.

Different Political Agenda

The fact that anti-drug policies that followed the introduction of the ‘War on Drugs’ concept were rather based on subjective opinions and outdated practices than on scientific knowledge does not prove ill intent. It wouldn’t have been the first time for governmental policies to be ineffective and bias is not always intentional. Thus, it would seem very possible that inefficiency of these policies was the result of imperfect knowledge available in this specific sphere.

However, such an explanation would be viable if the government of the United States over the decades had realized that the current anti-drug course was not providing proper results. Statistics evidently demonstrate that the full-scale crackdown on narcotics as well as on drug addicts showed no positive changes in relation to combating drug trade and drug-related crime. In these circumstances one is expected to rethink the current approach and try to adjust it accordingly. Need-

less to say, that was not the case with the government of the United States – instead of critical assessment of the concept, different administrations left doctrinal basis of the ‘War on Drugs’ mostly intact. Some changes were to happen during the presidency of Bill Clinton, but his sudden impeachment brought an end to that, giving way to a new wave of conservative policies and programs introduced by G.W. Bush. The American establishment did not just ignore the rising tide of criticism towards its anti-drug policies, it is even known to have concealed and discredited scientific research that proved the values and ideas of the ‘War on Drugs’ to be misleading. Among those was the research on the harm of marijuana, which proved that demonization of this light drug by the American authorities seriously lacked argumentation and the image that they thus created for the public was incorrect.¹⁵

This means that the U.S. government knew about the flaws in the drug countering strategies, which excludes the chance of a mistake. Nixon, the very president who started the ‘War on Drugs’, was even directly advised by a bipartisan commission to decriminalize marijuana, but his actual agenda was very different.¹⁶ The true intentions of this concept were revealed when John Ehrlichman, Nixon’s top adviser in 1969-1972, confessed in his interview in 1994 to Dan Baum that the ‘War on Drugs’ was mostly pursuing pragmatic political interests:

The Nixon campaign in 1968, and the Nixon White House after that, had two enemies: the antiwar left and black people. You understand what I’m saying? We knew we couldn’t make it illegal to be either against the war or black, but by getting the public to associate the hippies with marijuana and blacks with heroin, and then criminalizing both heavily, we could disrupt those communities. We could arrest their leaders, raid their homes, break up their meetings, and vilify them night after night on the evening news. Did we know we were lying about the drugs? Of course, we did.¹⁷

The country at the time was plunged into massive protests, which made it vitally important for U.S. government to search for ways to stabilize the situation by acquiring a legal toolset to easily target participants of the protest movements and minorities. While hippies became history, the original hate for racial minorities remained and was being cultivated throughout the following presidencies. According to

research conducted by *New York Times* journalists, in the United States African American people are 4 times more likely to be arrested for use and possession of light drugs like marijuana than people with white skin, who generally just receive a warning.¹⁸ This trend of malicious association exists today and massively contributes to the high criminalization and incarceration of minorities for doing light drugs or committing mild drug-related offences. This in return results in the rising rates of exclusion of these young people from society.

To a certain point, this information explains multiple design flaws of policies based on the 'War on Drugs' and their natural inability to successfully counter the rapidly developing drug trade. However, it leads us to the idea that U.S. government officials knowingly sabotaged federal anti-drug policies in exchange for internal political gains. And if with Nixon this malicious intent could be marked as his personal wrongdoing alongside with 'Watergate', the long-lasting heritage of this concept and its wide use in anti-drug decision making has made us consider the possibility that the U.S. government kept on using the 'War on Drugs' as a cover to ensure Washington's political interests in the Western Hemisphere.

Cold War Priorities

Having been set up and implemented during the Cold War, the 'War on Drugs' concept was bound to have been affected by the spirit of that era, a part of which was the indisputable dominance of the ideological standoff with the Soviets. In this regard, it would not be a surprise that for most governmental agencies, fighting communism came before fighting drugs.

During the Cold War, the United States government (in order to oppose rapidly spreading communist influence in Latin America) was willing to support any military group or political regime, including most notorious dictatorships. However, not only did such political alliances harm the image of the U.S.A., they also caused long-lasting repercussions including drug-related ones.

The first example is the support of Manuel Noriega, who was proven to be heavily involved in the drug trafficking since 1971. In exchange for his support against Sandinistas, the CIA ignored and even at times encouraged Noriega's services for drug cartels, which included providing safe havens for drug lords, laundering their dirty money and recruiting pilots. The United States turned on him only after discover-

ing that Noriega had been working for both parties, providing valuable intelligence to the Cubans and Sandinistas. Interestingly, the intensity of drug trafficking through Panama only increased after U.S. forces invaded the country in 1989.¹⁹

During Reagan's presidency, while Nancy Reagan was forcing the 'just say no' zero-tolerance agenda, her husband's administration had the single-minded intention of overthrowing Sandinista forces. It gave support to the Contras, an insurgency group who lived off smuggling cocaine into the United States and happened to be a natural enemy of the Sandinista government. Eventually this excessive enthusiasm led to the Iran-Contra affair – one of the most notorious political scandals in the history of the United States alongside with Nixon's Watergate. Despite direct congressional prohibition of supplying Iran with weapons and to finance Contras, top level U.S. officials still managed to secretly sell an arsenal to Iran and redirect the earnings to support anti-Sandinista forces. When this scheme was revealed – several officials of Reagan administration took the blame in an attempt to protect the president and the investigation went no further.²⁰ With the help of the United States, Central American cocaine smugglers managed to raise the drug supply to an unprecedented level, leading to one of the worst cocaine epidemics in the history of the United States. In 1988 the Senate Subcommittee on Terrorism, Narcotics, and International Operations finished a three-year complex investigation that basically concluded that the U.S. government knew they were directly helping forces which had been smuggling cocaine onto American soil:

There was substantial evidence of drug smuggling through the war zones on the part of individual Contras, Contra suppliers, Contra pilots, mercenaries who worked with the Contras, and Contra supporters throughout the region.... U.S. officials involved in Central America failed to address the drug issue for fear of jeopardizing the war efforts against Nicaragua.... In each case, one or another agency of the U.S. government had information regarding the involvement either while it was occurring, or immediately thereafter.... Senior U S policy makers were not immune to the idea that drug money was a perfect solution to the Contras' funding problems.²¹

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The involvement of U.S. officials, the CIA in particular, into the drug trade in the Western hemisphere has been argued on other occasions as well. Perhaps the most vital aspect of drug trade is money laundering, since tons of drug-related cash are virtually impossible to use directly. To make this profit clean and usable, organized crime sets up complex money laundering schemes - fighting this process has recently become recognized as a significant part of any successful anti-drug policy. However, the CIA was also suspected in setting up such mechanisms to clean money - to the mutual profit of both cartels and the agency itself. Just like drug lords, the CIA needs their financial resources to be clean in order to maintain the secrecy of their operations, so it comes as no surprise that several CIA-related agents were over the years noticed to be closely involved with the facilities that were known to launder money for drug-related organized crime.²²

Another allegation of CIA involvement into the drug problem is related to the controversial 'MK Ultra' project that has not been properly investigated until now due to the destruction of key evidence and important documents. But the scarce evidence that remained available makes researchers and publicists believe that the CIA took part in creating a mind-altering substance called LSD in an attempt to find ways to control human consciousness. And after having failed to achieve the primary target, the drug was leaked to the American streets due to the lack of caution from the agency and the third-party personnel involved.²³

Generally, suspicious involvement of CIA former and active operatives in the drug trafficking schemes (mostly Cubans that were originally recruited and trained to fight in the Bay of Pigs) has promoted the idea that the 'War on Drugs' was primarily acting as a cover for U.S. anti-communist special interests. And even though some of these cases are now known to the public, the lack of direct proof and the privilege of secrecy that CIA is entitled to did not cause any significant repercussions for the agency itself. It would obviously be wrong to claim that the CIA singlehandedly has set up the drug trade in the Western Hemisphere - the appearance of this phenomenon is a natural consequence of globalization. However, to a certain extent the degree of high development of modern drug-related organized crime can be explained by the profound help that governmental agencies of the United States of America have intentionally or unintentionally provided during the Cold War.

Despite the great number of authors who support CIA-alleged involvement in the drug trade, it still remains a theory that needs additional evidence. Nevertheless, the proof that already exists suggests that the 'War on Drugs' concept had little intention to prioritize fighting illicit substances. Even after the Cold War was over and there was no longer need for 'bargaining with the Devil', the concept failed to change for good. As an example, two large-scale programs called 'Plan Colombia' and 'Initiative Merida', which happened to be attempts to export the 'War on Drugs' values, did not change much in terms of instruments and ideology. Both of these programs did not achieve their primary target and caused both expert and academic communities to raise questions about the capabilities of the anti-drug U.S. policies.

Finally, the most recent failures of the 'War on Drugs' have caused the international community, which for a long time had been very supportive of such an approach, to admit that fighting drugs by force has failed. In 2011, a report from The Global Commission on Drug Policy (with the participation of former Secretary General of the United Nations Kofi Annan) openly declared: 'The global War on Drugs has failed, with devastating consequences for individuals and societies around the world. Fifty years after the initiation of the UN Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, and 40 years after President Nixon launched the U.S. government's War on Drugs, fundamental reforms in national and global drug control policies are urgently needed.'²⁴ This is a turning point that urges further search for new balanced approaches, which would be both more socially oriented and humane in nature. Harsh criminalization and massive incarcerations being primary principles of the 'War on Drugs' are now considered to be outdated. More and more researchers and politicians prefer to address the global drug problem through multi-level approaches that balance out law enforcement efforts with active social policies.

Conclusion

Summing up, the 'War on Drugs' concept was bound to fail for obvious reasons. First, its set of values has been scientifically proven to be unfit to deal with proliferating drug trade from the start. Instead of providing a multi-level approach, the evident prevalence of a force-based toolset led only to the skyrocketing rates of the incarcerated population, while the vital parts of the supply chains were left unharmed and demand remained equally high. Instead of helping drug addicts, high

criminalization and further stigmatization have only resulted in heavily limiting their opportunities for rehabilitation and further reintegration into society. Secondly, on top of its obvious flaws we can add up the fact that the Nixon administration was using the concept for its own quite selfish purposes, trying to forcefully control protest movements in the face of upcoming elections. Third, the 'War on Drugs' was never a priority in the conditions of the Cold War. Moreover, the dominance of Washington's ideological struggle against the Soviets motivated governmental agencies, such as the CIA, to commit actions that directly or indirectly promoted the drug problem in the Western Hemisphere. With the short-term 'means to an end' tactics that have been used by the United States, the countries of the Western Hemisphere now have to deal with extremely powerful criminal organizations such as drug cartels.

This makes us consider the fact that to a certain point the degree of development of the drug trade in the Western hemisphere was caused by the absolute priority of the U.S. government to fight communism instead of focusing on illicit drug traffic. As such, the United States never stopped to consider possible destructive repercussions of their actions. These very consequences have now taken the form of extremely enduring and hard to exterminate transnational structures that consist of highly organized drug producing and trafficking crime groups. In order to successfully fight them, the international community has gradually shifted to new possibilities in the sphere of countering illicit drug-trade. However, for a long period of time these efforts were blocked by the detrimental heritage of the 'War on Drugs'.

Unlike most of the research in this field (P.D. Scott, M. Otterman, C. Castillo etc.), the authors of the article come to a conclusion that not only was the concept of the 'War on Drugs' ineffective and even malicious in the recent past, but its heritage still hinders the development of breakthrough innovative approaches to countering drug traffic throughout the region. To ensure that modern anti-drug policies succeed in adapting to current practical realities, academic and expert communities should move away from such outdated concepts to a more progressive and balanced approach towards the global drug problem, including its profound social basis and necessity for more humanism towards the addicts. But on top of that, it is vital for United States of America to finally admit that the 'War on Drugs' has not paid off the way it was designed and financed.



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*The 'War on
Drugs' Concept*

Comparative Analysis of the Hybrid Tactics Application by the Russian Federation in Conflicts with Georgia and Ukraine

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The essence and main characteristics of the hybrid war are reviewed as a means of destroying the enemy country from inside due to the effective combination of conventional armed forces, subversion, propaganda, and dissemination of misinformation. The hybrid tactics used by the Russian Federation in Ukraine and Georgia are investigated. A comparative analysis of the military component in the confrontation between Russia, Ukraine and Georgia is conducted, the peculiarities of informational and psychological confrontation and factors that led to the significant achievements of the Russian side in the hybrid warfare are revealed, economic aspect of the hybrid confrontation are clarified (especially regarding the factors of financial, energy and raw material dependence) and, finally, the key conditions for the widespread use of hybrid methods of confrontation during modern armed conflicts are identified. The difference is proved between conflicts in Georgia and Ukraine, mainly in the use of military means. It is established that the conditions for the conflict in Crimea were unique, or at least extremely rare, and they can hardly be reproduced in any other place. It is noted that in the future, hybrid war will become rather a situational phenomenon, because the implementation of aggressive actions



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against another state without the necessary conditions for it will lead either to a quick defeat of the aggressor state, or will force such a state to move to conventional warfare, which requires significant financial costs and inevitably will cause decline in the prestige of such a state within the international community.

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Keywords: hybrid war, conflict in the East of Ukraine, Five Days War, Georgia, the Russian Federation

The Relevance of Scientific Research

The armed aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine with the widespread application of hybrid tactics broke out in February of 2014 with the annexation of the Crimean peninsula and made the world rethink the established norms and tactics of war. According to Ostap Kushnir, today it is about the manifestations of Cold War discourse when Western states, facing the first case of a massive violation of sovereignty in the new millennium in Europe, imposed sanctions to stop the aggressive behaviour of Russia¹.

The policy of Russia, connected with the violent seizure of new territories, proves its desire to change the current world order and readiness for further aggression on the international arena. It is about a new foreign policy concept of Russia, which, according to Zbigniew Brzezinski, contains the following components: 1) 'separated people'; 2) 'the protection of compatriots abroad'; 3) 'Russian world' ('Ruskiymir'); and 4) the importance of recognition and support, coverage and promotion of 'the great Russian civilization'². Ostap Kushnir notes that Russian commitment to achieving favourable results is so significant that Putin is ready to challenge the global balance of power, openly attacking the US and Western powers, and providing military assistance to the third parties and even putting the welfare of Russian citizens at risk³. Following the annexation of Crimea, Russian president Vladimir Putin declared that he was ready to bring his country's nuclear forces into a state of combat readiness, in case of an intervention by the United States and its allies⁴.

Obviously, a search for the ways to counter new hybrid threats that have arisen in connection with the current international position of Russia is relevant not only for Ukraine. It is also about Moldova, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and other countries that the Russian Federation historically relates to its own sphere of influence and is

actively trying to recover today. Rod Thornton assumes that Western states must adapt to the situation when they are in a 'constant' situation of hybrid war with Russia, which today has become a habitual affair of international politics, acquiring characteristics that can fully embrace the goals and methods used by Russia⁵. These include the Russian model of the hybrid war, covering Russian investments into the main sectors of European economies and Russian links to organized crime with local criminal elements⁶. In order to identify the most accurate characteristics of hybrid tactics used by the Russian Federation in its foreign policy, it is also important to reveal the content of its previously implemented 'Georgian scenario'. After comparing Russia's actions in the 'Five Day War' of 2008 in Georgia and the Russian-Ukrainian ongoing conflict (started in 2014), it will be possible to trace the evolution of the hybrid tactics of the Russian Federation, assess the effectiveness of the widespread use of non-military countermeasures, and to work out effective ways of counteracting.

The Theoretical Basis of the Study

Nowadays, to indicate modern types of wars, a variety of terminology is used: hybrid war, asymmetric confrontation, nontraditional, non-linear warfare, a war of the new generation, a war of the 4th and 5th generations, the grey war, etc. At the same time, researchers point out that the hybrid war is a Western term, not Russian, simultaneously they make use of the article named 'The Value of Science in Prediction' written by Valery Gerasimov, General of the Russian Armed Forces (2013).⁷ Although Valery Gerasimov does not use the term explicitly, he is considered to be the author of the Russian Federation hybrid war concept in its present form. The author has repeatedly emphasized the importance of using the protest potential of the local population in conditions of armed confrontation with the enemy, as well as the use of non-military instruments (political, economic, informational, humanitarian, etc.). As Stephen Dayspring notes, Gerasimov even established a ratio of 4:1 between non-military and military means to underline the lesser role of military force in his model.⁸

Valery Gerasimov emphasised the importance of raising social dissatisfaction in the targeted state, undermining the authority of local establishments, relaxation of military capabilities of the enemy and creating a vacuum of power. This can be achieved, in particular, by manipulating information and special operations in cyberspace. The

armed forces (mainly the forces of special operations) - under the influence of peacekeeping forces or crisis response forces - must arrive at the final stage of the conflict to ensure success⁹. Gerasimov believes that such methods are more meaningful to achieving strategic goals than military means, since they can reduce the enemy's combat potential, creating social upheavals and helping to collapse the situation without overt use of violence.

The actions of Russia in Ukraine in 2014 have intensified interest in the concept of hybrid war. For many Western commentators, this term turned out to be the best way to describe the variety and mix of tools and methods used by the Russian Federation during annexation in the Crimea and support provided to separatist groups in Eastern Ukraine¹⁰. Western countries realized the existence of a new type of threat, which combines a number of different types of confrontation - from military actions (conventional, irregular forces and Special Forces) to economic, informational and cybercrime, including acts of terrorism and criminal activity as well as support provision and sponsorship of political protests and an intensive disinformation campaign¹¹. This led to a significant popularization of hybrid war research conduct among scholars from the West, as well as among Ukrainian scholars, primarily research that concerns the conflict in the Crimea and events in Eastern Ukraine since 2014.

Currently, there are two main academic approaches in the process of hybrid wars study¹². The first is represented by researchers (Williamson Murray, Peter R. Mansoor¹³) who consider the hybrid war to be a useful, but not new concept. The researchers offer numerous examples of hybrid methods and approaches at the tactical, operational, and strategic levels that were used in the days of the Peloponnesian War and related to the works of Chinese philosopher Sun Tzu in the 5th century BC¹⁴, recall the Thirty Years War and the Vietnam War, the Napoleonic campaign and both World Wars, in which regular and irregular elements were combined.¹⁵ So, the essence of the hybrid war is defined as the possibility of a combined use of regular and irregular (militias, partisans, militants and terrorists) forces on the battlefield.¹⁶ The United States Army Training and Doctrine Command has expanded the list of participants which can be attributed to irregular forces. Thus, in a hybrid confrontation, military forces, national paramilitary forces (such as internal security forces, police and border guards), insurgent organizations (armed movements whose main activity is subversion

and violence in order to change the existing status quo), partisan groups (irregular forces that include local people and operate in the occupied territory) as well as criminal organizations (such as gangs, drug cartels or hackers) with parallel widespread operations in cyberspace.¹⁷

Although such a vision of hybrid war as a simple combination of conventional and irregular forces is widespread, it does not explain the new role of non-military means in achieving those political goals that were previously achieved exclusively by military force. So, Joseph Schroefland Stuart Kaufman criticize this direction, arguing that its supporters are trying to simplify the concept of hybridity, pointing to an example that is defined as a mixture of conventional and irregular battles¹⁸. Also, the representatives of this direction do not pay adequate attention to revising necessary prerequisites for the successful holding of hidden operations, effective support provision to criminal groups or cyber attacks.¹⁹

Theorists of the second approach (Timothy McCulloh, Richard Johnson²⁰, Jack McCuen²¹) interpret the hybrid war as a relatively new phenomenon. Like their opponents, they also reveal its meaning as a combination of conventional and irregular forces during war, but at the same time recognize the growing importance of subversion, the new role of the use of modern technology to limit the enemy's military strength and its overall ability to resist external interference. Here the possibility of destabilizing the enemy country using economic levers of influence and measures in the information field is justified. Therefore, the proposed inquiry is essentially based on this approach in the study of hybrid war and hybrid tactics, which will allow us to fully explore and analyze it as a complex phenomenon through its aspects such as economic and informational (psychological) confrontation, cyberwar, and military operations.

The concept of 'hybrid war' came into use in Western scientific thought in the mid-2000s to denote the combination of traditional and non-traditional ('grey') threats to the Western countries. This idea was later developed by Frank Hoffman, an American researcher who identified the application of closely integrated traditional (army) and non-traditional (militants, rebels, terrorists) armed formations as the main feature of the hybrid war.²² His article *Conflict in the 21st Century: The Rise of Hybrid Wars*, published in 2007, is considered to be a fundamental work in the inquiry. The author argues that conventional and unconventional combat tactics have been used throughout world

history, but also points to the fact that modern technologies have changed the nature of the war and the threats that are derived from it.²³ Like in *Hybrid Warfare and Challenges* (2009), Frank Hoffman observes that the war is transformed into a new hybrid form, where opponents are trying to use absolutely all available means of warfare, and 'the lethality of the intercountry conflict is complemented by fanaticism and high emotionality of irregular military formations.'²⁴ Much of the research concerns the actual hybrid tactics of the Russian Federation and their use in relations with Georgia or Ukraine. An authoritative researcher of the hybrid war topic is Peter Pomerantsev, who, together with Michael Weis in their work *The Menace of Unreality: How the Kremlin Weaponizes Information, Culture and Money*, examine the policies of the Russian President Vladimir Putin, and the tools used by him to implement hybrid influence on foreign countries; the authors determine the vulnerability of the Western countries regarding the Russian Federation activities, and provide a wide range of recommendations against the hybrid effects of Russia²⁵. The work of Keir Giles²⁶ called *Russia and Its Neighbours: Old Attitudes, New Capabilities* is dedicated to the study of aggressive actions of the Russian Federation in cyberspace. The reasons why the Russian Federation is resorting to aggressive actions against the countries that were formerly part of the USSR are analyzed; the activities of Russia in cyberspace are investigated, and its further actions within the international arena are predicted. A detailed analysis of the Russian Federation's attack on the cyberspace of Georgia during the 'Five Days War' was carried out by David M. Hollis (*Cyberwar Case Study: Georgia 2008*), who looks not only at the goals and tools of cyberattacks, but also provides recommendations for strengthening the protection of cyberspace from external attacks.²⁷

A thorough investigation of the essence of the hybrid war, as well as examples of its wage in Georgia and Ukraine, was carried out by a group of Czech authors, namely Zdeněk Kříž, Peter Števkov and Zinaida Shevchuk. In their work, named *Hybrid Warfare: A New Phenomenon in Europe's Security Environment*, the application of Russian hybrid confrontation methods was analyzed, and ways to increase a country's abilities to withstand hybrid influences are provided.²⁸ Subversive activity is the basic idea of the concept of hybrid war according to the Czech scholars, which consists of four stages: 1) demoralization; 2) destabilization; 3) artificial creation of a crisis situation; and

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4) establishment of control over the enemy's community by means of internal forces acting on the side of the aggressor.²⁹

Yana Gumen uses the example of the annexation of the Crimea and the conflict in the East of Ukraine to explore the role of mass media in shaping public opinion about the events³⁰. Taras Kuzio distinguishes the key factors that led to the transition of Ukraine from a state in peace to a state in the conflict in the Donbas and with Russia³¹.

A detailed analysis of the wars conducted by Russia, as well as their comparison with other recent conflicts, was carried by Marcel H. Van Herpen³², and a more recent article in the *New Yorker* analyzes the various aspects of the hydride confrontation between Russia and the West³³. A thorough analysis of Russia's defence industry and its functions in the public sphere was carried out by Jolanta Darczewska as an interplay of the defence sphere with the spheres of ideology, education and information space that manifests itself in attempts to prevent a wave of color revolutions, challenge the NATO hegemony in the information space, and protect the Russian language status and Russian-speaking people in the neighbouring countries, as well as Russia's national interests outside of Russia's territory³⁴.

The work of Volodymyr Horbulin is singled out among the Ukrainian scholars who study components of the hybrid war of the Russian model. In his article, titled *Black Hole: an Endless Deadlock of Settlement*, the author defines the number of economic losses suffered by the Russian Federation due to its military aggression in Eastern Ukraine.³⁵ No less well known is another work of the researcher, named *Hybrid War: It's Just the Beginning*, which details knowledge about the application of hybrid tactics of the Russian Federation in Syria and Ukraine, as well as Russia's attempts to study the informational influence on the EU countries.³⁶ A slightly different definition of the hybrid war is proposed by Yu. Romanchyshyna, who describes this phenomenon as 'cooperation (of the state) with mercenaries and local criminals who are trained, armed and funded to carry out 'work' that would otherwise be carried out by the military.'³⁷ The researcher notes that modern hybrid war combines confrontation in various spheres, in particular in cyberspace, economics and diplomacy, and also allows the aggressor to separate itself from conflict and achieve strategic goals without direct military incursions. In the context of the theme, it is worthwhile to highlight the works of P. Shevchuk, named *Informational and Psychological War of Russia against Ukraine: How to Counteract*

it³⁸, and Yevhen Magda's work *Hybrid War: To Survive and to Win*.³⁹ They are oriented towards the practical components of counteraction against Russian hybrid influences, and their conclusions can be used in the development of an appropriate country policy aimed at levelling the hybrid tactics of the aggressor country.

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Obviously, the studies of hybrid wars represented by researchers from the Western countries and Ukraine, by their goals and content, differ significantly from the achievements of the Russian Federation scientists. Thus, recent studies published in the Western states and Ukraine are mainly devoted to the revision of new hybrid threats caused by the actions of the Russian Federation and the ways to counter them. In contrast, Russian scientists are more concerned with the consequences of the 'colour' revolutions and the Arab Spring; they put emphasis on the dominant role of the United States and develop recommendations for strengthening Russia's military potential.

Thus, in our study, we adhere to the definition that hybrid warfare involves 'the application of military and non-military tools in an integrated campaign to achieve surprise, seize the initiative and obtain both a psychological and physical advantage through the use of diplomatic means, specific presentation of information (disinformation), use of cyber-attacks, hidden and sometimes open military and intelligence actions, and economic pressure'.⁴⁰

Thus, we can conclude that, despite the variety of interpretations of the 'hybrid war' concept, scholars agree that hybrid conflicts are characterized by hidden use of force (symmetrical and asymmetric methods of combat operations), with simultaneous widespread application of non-military means that affect the consciousness of people. According to Ralph D. Thiele, only when non-military methods are coordinated or integrated with the real threat or use of armed force, politicians must describe international political rivalry as a form of hybrid warfare⁴¹.

The purpose of the hybrid war is to destroy the enemy's country from inside by manipulating the consciousness of the citizens of this country, which is achieved due to subversion and propaganda, dissemination of misinformation and other methods of psychological influence. At the same time, hybrid tactics are not the invention of the Russian Federation and have already been used in the past, by the Soviet Union in particular. However, the current level of information technology development and the extent of their penetration into all

spheres of life of the modern human community have led to a significant increase in the danger of the use of hybrid tactics by modern countries to achieve their foreign policy goals. According to Mark Galeotti, the role of non-military means to achieve political and strategic goals has increased, and, in many cases, they have exceeded the strength of weapons in their effectiveness⁴².

So, the *purpose* of this article is to analyze and track the evolution and study of the effectiveness of the hybrid tactics of the Russian Federation in the 'Five Day War' in 2008 in Georgia and in the ongoing Russian-Ukrainian conflict in military, economic and information spheres, as well as in cyberspace. To accomplish this task, several steps have been undertaken: primarily, the military component has been analyzed and compared in the confrontation between Russia and Ukraine and Georgia; secondly, the peculiarities of the informational and psychological confrontation and factors that led to significant achievements of the Russian side in the hybrid war have been identified; thirdly, the economic aspect of the hybrid confrontation has been clarified, especially in relation to the factors of financial, energy and raw materials dependence; and, finally, the key conditions have been identified for further widespread use of hybrid methods of confrontation during an armed conflict at the present stage.

Military-Strategic Actions of the Russian Federation in Georgia and Ukraine in the Context of Conducting Hybrid Wars

Military actions during the hybrid war are carried out secretly and aimed at subversion. It is known that Russia does not apply direct tactics of military intervention; its strategy in recent conflicts is more complex and well thoughtout. It is about the use of trained Special Forces instead of non-regular forces in similar military operations. Such military operations are carried out not by regular troops, but by specially trained irregular troops. Such military units are created in order to distract the enemy's attention from external problems through subversion within the country, loosening its political system, destabilizing the political situation, involving third parties, and the local population of the attacked state. Moreover, Special Forces are capable of creating, organizing and training paramilitary detachments inside the enemy state, as well as managing them.⁴³According to Valery

Gerasimov, the forces of special operations and internal opposition should be used to create a permanent front throughout the enemy's territory in conjunction with information confrontation.⁴⁴

From a military position, the situation in Ukraine is particularly interesting due to the events that took place in the Crimea (second half of February - first half of March 2014). A foreign military without recognition signs on their uniforms, weapons and equipment (but with the weapons of the Russian Army) captured the key political objects of the Autonomous Republic of the Crimea. The capture took place quickly, and in most cases, strategic objects were conquered without a single shot.⁴⁵ Moreover, the fact that the attackers did not wear any distinguishing marks or were dressed in civilian clothing has led to a significant limitation of the ability of the Ukrainian authorities to apply force against them.⁴⁶ However, there were many indicators of involvement with regular and well-trained Russian troops.

The political, cultural and social situation in the Crimea that existed in early 2014 was extremely favourable for the application of hybrid war tactics. In order to seize the Crimean Peninsula, the Russian Federation successfully used the pro-Russian mood of the local population, which made it possible to nullify the efforts of official Kyiv to rectify the situation.

Despite the fact that the Russian Federation was able to annex the Crimean peninsula without encountering significant resistance from the Ukrainian side, the actions of the Russian military and pro-Russian forces in the east of Ukraine in 2014 quickly grew into widespread battles with the Ukrainian armed forces, as the Ukrainian government launched an 'anti-terrorist operation' against the Russian military invasion of Donbas.⁴⁷ The first successes of the Ukrainian armed forces in late June and early July 2014 forced the Russian military to open artillery fire from the Russian territory on the advancing Ukrainian forces. In mid-August 2014 Russia was forced to bring many of its troops into the territory of Ukraine.

The number of Russian troops in Ukrainian territory has been constantly changing. As of the end of August 2014, there were 6,000-6,500 Russian servicemen in the east of Ukraine. The largest number of Russian troops that were simultaneously present in Donbas reached approximately 10,000 people in December 2014. The Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation was forced to engage 117 military units and combat armies in the military operation against Ukraine, of

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which 42,000 were at the border with Ukraine, opened artillery fire on Ukrainian troops or directly participated in hostilities in Donbas.⁴⁸ The hybrid war of the Russian Federation in the east of Ukraine, conducted in accordance with the doctrine of Valery Gerasimov, suffered, unlike the Crimean version, a quick defeat, in particular in connection with the impossibility of confronting a large-scale military operation of the Ukrainian Army.⁴⁹ Hence, in the East of Ukraine, Russia began an open invasion using the latest types of weapons and military equipment in the war that continues today. However, separatists and the Russian government continue to blame Kyiv for violating the ceasefire regime (Minsk agreements) to justify further attacks⁵⁰.

Military operations on the territory of Georgia in 2008, which were open and not masked by the large-scale offensive of the Russian armed forces, significantly differed from the above events. The overall goal of the military operation in Georgia was aimed at establishing full control over Abkhazia and South Ossetia, creating there large Russian military bases and restoring the Russian presence on the Georgian territory, which existed before the withdrawal of Russian armed forces from Georgia after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Vitaliy Shlikov characterizes this war as 'an armed conflict of low intensity with the application of only conventional weapons and entirely traditional tactical techniques, during which no major battles took place.'⁵¹ The exact number of united forces of the Russian, Abkhazian and South Ossetian sides involved in the 'Five Day War' is unknown, but most analysts converge on the figure of 35,000-40,000 ground forces provided with air and naval support. They were resisted by about 12,000-15,000 Georgian soldiers.⁵²

In order to achieve its military goals, the Russian military strategy envisaged a rapid achievement through a significant advantage in the number of ground troops with support from the air and naval forces. In other words, this strategy was completely built on the model of Soviet military art. As already mentioned, the main military task was to establish control over South Ossetia and Abkhazia, as well as to achieve superiority in the air and at sea. The secondary task, and perhaps equally important, was the elimination of the possibility of receiving military reinforcements by the Georgian side, in particular from the side of foreign armies. This goal was achieved through the blockade of critically important Georgian ports, roads and railroads, as well as by strikes by the air forces of the reserve forces, called in connection with the begin-

ning of the war, and the Georgian airfields.⁵³ An analysis of the Russian troops' actions after reaching the ceasefire agreement indicates that an additional purpose of the Russian army was to neutralize the military potential of Georgia through the destruction or capture of military infrastructure, as well as weapons and equipment.

From this we can conclude that the Russian-Georgian armed conflict of 2008 does not fit the classic canons of hybrid war, mostly because Russia did not try to secretly carry out hostile actions against Georgia, masking them under the actions of local residents. Instead, Russia immediately launched open armed intervention with land, sea and air forces, and also built up its strategy of conducting a Georgian campaign within the framework of an outdated Soviet approach to warfare. Thus, the 'Five Day War' was fundamentally different from the armed conflict in the Crimea and conflict in the East of Ukraine, where Russia focuses on hidden methods of warfare and support of the local population and the destruction of the state from the inside.

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Information Component of Hybrid War: Application of Technologies in Georgia and Ukraine

Information warfare is the key element of modern hybrid war. Operations of information confrontation are a combination of propaganda, misinformation, spread of distorted or false data through diplomatic channels, manipulations through the mass media and the spread of an outright lie aimed at confusing or dividing the opinions of ordinary citizens of the country against which information war is conducted.⁵⁴ Altogether, these actions create a powerful psychological component of the conflict, which helps the aggressor country to weaken or even destroy its opponent from the inside. Information confrontation takes place simultaneously on several fronts - inside the society of the state which is attacked, among the citizens of the aggressor country and among the international community.

Today the idea is widespread that the scope of the information / psychological warfare that the Russian Federation is currently carrying out against Ukraine is no less powerful than the use of information confrontation during the Cold War.⁵⁵ Russia is able to effectively conduct information warfare because most of the Russian media is controlled and funded by the state, and any criticism of the Russian authorities' actions is persecuted. According to the World Press Freedom Index, in 2016 the Russian Federation ranked 148th out of 166 countries in the

world rankings freedom of the press.⁵⁶ It is the control of the Russian authorities over the media that makes it possible to distribute an official position of the state leadership on an extremely large scale. According to Peter Pomerantsev, 'the new Russia is not only coping with minor misinformation, lies, leaks and cyber-sabotage usually associated with the information warfare. It repeats reality'⁵⁷.

Application of the political propaganda principles by Russian and pro-Russian media in Ukraine are thoroughly investigated by Jolanta Darczewska. As a consequence, the researcher emphasizes the following principles: (i) mass and long-term influence (the media constantly repeated key anti-Ukrainian slogans and stereotypes: for example, Ukrainian-speaking people were represented as fascists); (ii) the desired information (on the one hand, the media convinced Russian and Russian-speaking users that the Ukrainian authorities prohibited the Russian language; on the other hand, the media promised that Russia would provide assistance and cultural 'salvation'); (iii) emotional agitation (media messages caused emotions and encouraged recipients to act without criticism of the information received); (iv) clarity (the media simplified their messages and divided the world into black and white); (v) hypothetical evidentness (the media linked their messages with political myths: Russian sentiment is equal to patriotism, Ukrainians are equal to fascists, Maidan equals chaos, etc.)⁵⁸. According to OstapKushnir, Russian media activity in the Crimea is an appropriate illustration of Valery Gerasimov's statements about the role of non-military means in achieving the national interests of Russia⁵⁹.

In parallel with the military operation in Georgia, Russia also conducted information warfare. Unlike Ukraine, the Russian Federation did not try to act secretly or mask its own actions under the 'local self-defence' activities. As already noted, this was an open conventional invasion of the territory of another state, and Russia's information campaign was aimed at creating a pro-Russian-led press coverage of the armed conflict. The purpose of the Russian Federation in the information sphere was to create an image of the victim and not the initiator of the conflict.⁶⁰ Both Russia and Georgia waged information war before, during and after the 2008 conflict, but due to the fact that the two states capabilities of conducting information confrontation were fundamentally different, the Russian side in most cases occupied an attacking position, while the Georgian position was defensive.

Information warfare techniques in the international media are usually directed at manipulating facts and presenting them in such a way that it allows an aggressor country to distance itself from conflict or create an image of a third-party that conducts a peace-keeping operation. It is so that throughout the entire conflict in Eastern Ukraine, the Russian media has called the events in Donbas a 'civil war'. A similar example of manipulating facts in order to justify their actions during the Russian-Georgian war in 2008 was the situation when the Russian Federation deliberately overestimated the number of losses among civilians through its own media in order to justify its intervention under the pretext of a 'peacekeeping operation'.

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In addition, modern war moves slowly from a physical space to cyberspace, and military actions take place simultaneously in both dimensions. Together with the increase of mankind's dependence on computer systems and networks, the awareness is growing that in the future cyberspace will become the next main theatre of operations, and those who benefit in cyberspace will win in physical space too.⁶¹ Cyberattacks are the key element of the hybrid war, used to disable critically important infrastructure of the enemy, destroy its communication and information flow, as well as acquire important intelligence information about its future actions.

From February 2013, before the Crimean annexation, Russian hacking groups (mainly 'Cyber Berkut') launched a distributed denial of service (known as DDOS attacks) on the main government websites of the ARC, eliminating them or changing their information content.⁶² Somewhat later, such attacks were launched on the Ukrainian telecommunications firm Ukrtelecom⁶³, the mass media of Ukraine and NATO countries⁶⁴, the mobile phones of members of the Ukrainian parliament.⁶⁵

The Russian military invasion of Georgia in 2008 also was accompanied by cyberattacks. Along with conventional military actions, pro-Russian hackers paralyzed Georgia's Internet infrastructure, blocking communication during this armed conflict. According to some experts, it was the first time a known cyberattack had coincided with a shooting war.⁶⁶ According to Kenneth Corbin, the goal of Russian cyberattacks was 'isolation and deprivation' of Georgians⁶⁷, as well as isolation of the state from the international community. Event reports and attack listings provided by Russian hackers on websites add credibility to Corbin's theory. Moreover, the Georgian population ex-

perienced severe informational and psychological defeat, as it was not able to communicate about current events with the outside world.⁶⁸

Consequently, the Russian military incursions into Georgia and Ukraine were accompanied by cyberattacks aimed at collecting intelligence information and isolation of the attacked territories. In both cases, the DDOS attacks on important Internet resources were carried out in order to disrupt communication and limit the ability of the government to communicate with the local population. This helped the Russian military to successfully carry out military operations. However, unlike Georgia, in addition to communication violations, Russian cyberattacks against Ukraine had a wider goal of destabilizing the internal situation in the country.

In the area of information and psychological influence during the hybrid war in Ukraine, special attention should be paid to the subversion of pro-Russian networks in the region, which contributed to the effectiveness of the hybrid confrontation. It is about the key networks such as Russian intelligence, Russian military bases with their infrastructure, the Russian Orthodox Church, pro-Russian NGOs, Russian media, etc., that created a danger to the statehood and territorial integrity of Ukraine, but were not perceived by the Ukrainian authorities and special services with all due care⁶⁹. According to Ostap Kushnir, during the 25 years of independence, nobody in Kyiv seriously thought about systematic advancement of Ukraine's interests on the peninsula, especially aspects of 'soft power' and pro-Ukrainian networks. Thus, a blurring of the boundary appeared between truth and lies and an alternative reality for those observers who took the view of the Russian mass media on the events was formed and, as a result, the state and non-state institutions weakened, and the undermining of the perception of the legitimacy of the Ukrainian state was diluted. In the opinion of Lada L. Roslycky, using its informal but comprehensive presence on the Crimean Peninsula, the Russian side was able to transfer the attention of indigenous peoples 'from the interests of the state to which they belong to the interests of Russia'.⁷⁰ It is through the tools of 'soft' (constant cooperation with these networks, the formation of a favourable social and political environment and social mood through the media, the functioning of dual agents, etc.), rather than 'hard' forces, the Russian side quickly succeeded in making the Crimea a subject of the Russian Federation⁷¹. According to JānisBērziņš, the main objective of the new generation's wars is to reduce the need for deploying hard mil-

itary power to the required minimum, forcing the enemy, the military and civilian population to support the perpetrator to the detriment of their government and the country⁷².

The Russian Federation used the same methods of information confrontation during the 'Five Day War' against Georgia in 2008 and during the Russian-Ukrainian armed conflict. Russian actions in the information space in both cases were aimed at supporting the Russian armed forces military actions distributing myths, misinformation and manipulation of facts. However, the Russian information campaign against Ukraine was carried out at a qualitatively new level compared to the information confrontation between Russia and Georgia in 2008. Its scale was significantly increased. If in 2008 the Russian Federation gave secondary importance to the information fight and directed it only to justify its actions, in the Russian-Ukrainian conflict the information component of the war has played a no less important role than military actions. Segmentation of the population and incitement of internal conflicts, activation of the local population in support of the military invasion of the Russian armed forces and simultaneously misleading Western states regarding the nature of the conflict contributed to the success of the Russian Federation's military actions on the territory of Ukraine.

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Economic Confrontation as an Element of the Hybrid War

Economic warfare is one of the components of the modern hybrid war. According to George Shambaugh, economic warfare is the use of ether threats or economic influence against another state in order to weaken its economy and to reduce its political and military power. Economic warfare also involves the use of economic means to force the enemy to change its policies or behaviour, the violation of the normal state of its relations with third countries.⁷³ The use of the economic warfare can be extremely influential and destabilizing, especially in those situations where states are dependent on the resources of the aggressor country (especially in the energy sector), which uses hybrid confrontation methods, as we can see in the case of Russia and Ukraine. The Russian Federation has repeatedly launched so-called 'trade wars' against Ukrainian companies and products ('Roshen', as well as the products of a number of meat, dairy and metal companies).⁷⁴

At the same time, Ukraine suffered substantial economic losses as a result of Russian military aggression. As of 2015, production in Ukraine

has decreased by 7% since the beginning of the occupation of part of the Luhansk and Donetsk oblasts, a drop in direct foreign investment in Ukraine's economy occurred; the export of Ukrainian goods to Russia, which before the beginning of the conflict was the largest foreign market in Ukraine, decreased by 70%. In general, in 2014 and 2015, the Ukrainian economy fell by 16%.⁷⁵ The economic situation has become complicated not only due to a significant drop in the gross domestic product but also due to the influence of the Russian energy blockade. Prior to the conflict, the Russian Federation was the main supplier of energy resources to Ukraine, which the latter considered necessary to meet the needs of heavy industry and the population. During 2014-2016 Gazprom periodically returned to the issue of an outsized rise in gas prices for Ukraine, or a complete halt in the supply of gas during unsatisfactory energy negotiations⁷⁶. Such actions by the Russian side led to a limitation of Ukraine's ability to ensure its own energy security. Lack of energy resources has led to an increase in the vulnerability of the Ukrainian economy, as the lack of access to energy resources destroys the ability of state power to meet the basic needs of its citizens (such as heating in winter), as well as to guarantee the proper functioning of heavy industry. The energy component of Russia's hybrid confrontation with Ukraine and Georgia requires a separate, detailed study.

The Russian Federation repeatedly attempted to exert economic pressure on Georgia. In 1995, the acting president of Georgia, Eduard Shevardnadze, noted the growing activity of the Russian Federation aimed at preventing the construction of the Baku-Tbilisi-Dzheyhan oil pipeline, which would have allowed the transportation of oil from Central Asia, bypassing Russia's territory to European markets.⁷⁷ In September 2004, Moscow blocked all common transport corridors with Georgia, including Russian airspace for Georgian airlines, thus violating a number of international agreements.⁷⁸

During 2006, Moscow actively sought to inflict economic losses on Georgia in response to Georgia's attempts to stop Russia's subversion on the Georgian territory. In addition to energy pressure, Russia also resorted to trade wars.⁷⁹ The Russian Federation initiated a series of prohibitions on the import of Georgian goods, starting with Georgian wines (this product is key to the economy of the country), vegetables and fruits.⁸⁰ Russia used those bans to put pressure on the Georgian government.

It became possible to restore economic relations between the two states only in 2013.⁸¹ According to a group of Georgian researchers, the resumption of trade between Georgia and the Russian Federation led to another rise of the Georgian economy's dependence on the Russian market. According to the research, the resumption of economic ties, along with the spread of the Russian media influence in the Georgian information space, the resumption of work permits for Georgians in Russia, and the current increase of dissatisfaction of Georgian citizens with their authorities, can lead to the use of a hybrid war against Georgia.⁸² Consequently, the fact that Russia was able to 'tie' the Georgian economy to its market again is a negative phenomenon as it weakened Georgia's ability to resist hybrid threats. Conversely, economic pressure, at the moment, did not lead to the restoration of the previous state of Ukraine's relations with the Russian Federation (the establishment of the past asymmetric economic partnership with the domination of the Russian side in it). Kyiv has organised alternative ways of economic development of the state, and in this case, powerful economic stress can serve as a powerful impetus for real transformations in the political and economic systems of Ukraine.

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Thus, the Russian Federation actively used the dependence of Ukraine and Georgia on its national market in order to exert pressure on these two states and attempts to force their national governments to make decisions that are advantageous for the Russian Federation. For example, economic levers of influence were used by Russia against Ukraine as a 'punishment' for its Euro-Atlantic aspirations, as well as against Georgia in connection with its cooperation with the United States of America.

The Prospect of Further Application of Russian Hybrid Tactics. What Should be Feared by Potential Victims of Russian Pressure?

Methods of hybrid confrontation were actively used by the Russian Federation during the 'Five Day War' with Georgia in 2008 and the Russian-Ukrainian conflict. The essential difference between these two conflicts is that the Russian-Georgian conflict of 2008 was a conventional war in which non-military means were given a minor role, though some separate elements of the hybrid confrontation were also applied. The Russian Federation used methods of hybrid confrontation not to destabilize the internal situation in Georgia, but to legiti-

mize its own aggressive actions. Unlike the 'Five Day War', a full hybrid war was held in the Crimea in 2014. So, the beginning of the war was not announced, all operations were carried out secretly, and the official Moscow distanced itself from all the events on the peninsula.

It is necessary to obtain a number of certain necessary conditions in order to conduct a hybrid war aimed at achieving certain political goals. Only their proper configuration creates favourable circumstances for the deployment of a hybrid confrontation. Today's empirical evidence suggests that at least the following basic conditions are required to successfully carry out the hybrid warfare:

1. the state against which the hybrid war is carried out has incompetent leadership and does not fulfil its basic functions for a long period of time;
2. the population of this state is divided;
3. the population of the state has certain sympathies for the aggressor country and is exposed to the soft power tools of the latter;
4. the defending country has a common border with the aggressor country and cannot exercise effective control over its state borders;
5. the country being attacked does not have reliable allies;
6. the aggressor country has a certain level of prestige in the international community, which allows it to successfully distribute its version of events.⁸³

Despite the tremendous success of the hybrid war in the Crimea, this approach is unlikely to be widespread. The conditions for the conflict were unique, or at least extremely rare, and they can hardly be reproduced in any other place. At the time of the beginning of the hybrid war, there was a naval base of the Russian navy with a large military contingent in the Crimea, the majority of the local population in the region had a low level of self-identification with Ukraine and sympathized with the authorities of the Russian Federation (including local Crimean politicians and high-ranking military personnel), the local parliament was loyal to Russia, and the Russian mass media dominated in the informational space of the Crimea.

What worked in the Crimea quickly failed in Eastern Ukraine, where Vladimir Putin probably made a fundamental mistake relying on the support of the local population and Russian-speaking Ukrainians in general. The Kremlin failed to achieve quick and cheap accession of new regions to Russia, the creation of quasi-independent, un-

recognized regions under the Russian protectorate such as, for example, Abkhazia and South Ossetia, or to reach an agreement that would establish Russia's long-term influence in Ukraine.⁸⁴ Ukraine eventually found ways to withstand such hybrid influences, and Russia had to launch an open intervention of conventional forces in the summer of 2014 in order to prevent the defeat of its irregular forces.

In view of the fact that the combination of conditions necessary for a successful hybrid war conduct is difficult to achieve, we believe that hybrid warfare will become more of a situational phenomenon, because hostilities against other states without necessary conditions will lead either to a quick defeat of the aggressor state, or will require a switch to conventional warfare that requires significant financial costs and will inevitably lead to the decline in its prestige among the international community. Eventually, Mark Galeotti, who is credited with starting the use of the term 'doctrine of Gerasimov', claims that it's time to forget about it. The arguments of the analyst are that it does not have a single organizational principle, not to mention the controlling authority. There is a broad political goal - to distract, divide and demoralize, but, in the rest, it is largely opportunistic, fragmentary, and even sometimes contradictory.⁸⁵ For example, according to the Wilson Center analysis, Russia's actions in Ukraine were not part of a coherent long-distance strategy, but rather reflected '... an unplanned sequence of varied tools to match different, often unexpected, operational realities.'⁸⁶

Certainly, single hybrid tactics against the enemy state can be applied without bringing in a full-scale hybrid war. For example, the use of economic levers of influence, such as the introduction of restrictions on the import of goods to weaken the economy of the enemy, allows it to change the behaviour and make disadvantageous decisions without the deployment of military actions. Information campaigns aimed at undermining the legitimacy of the national government of the enemy country as well as the destruction of inner harmony can be initiated during peacetime. Cyberattacks, which due to infiltration of information technologies into all spheres of human life, can cause significant damage to the enemy. They can also be used in peacetime since it is impossible to prove the involvement of the aggressor's state-government in such attacks.

Nevertheless, the Central European states should pay special attention to Russia. Fighting against an opponent who carries out hybrid war is a task for the whole society and should be conducted

in different spheres. In our opinion, a much more dangerous form of Russian aggression, above all, against the NATO states, will be the deployment of a full-blown conventional war, especially with the threats of using the nuclear weapons. NATO's states have already begun to capture the experience of Ukrainian soldiers regarding Russian tactics and technologies.⁸⁷ However, only a tactical improvement in the hybrid confrontation is not enough to provide a permanent deterrent against a traditional armed attack.



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Modi's Cultural Diplomacy and Role of Indian Diaspora

Junuguru Srinivas

Ever since Prime Minister Narendra Modi came into the helm of affairs, he has stressed the role of the Indian Diaspora in Indian foreign policy making because he had realized the importance of the Diaspora in his development strategy. More than 25 million members of the Indian Diaspora are scattered around the world, which includes more than 3 million Indian origin Diaspora in the United States (US). According to the Ministry of Indian Overseas Affairs [This Ministry has been scrapped during National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government], the Indian Diaspora is the second largest in the world after China. Thus, it is imperative to give importance to Indian foreign policy framing. This trend is new in Indian policy making as India had hardly focused on its Diaspora to tap their resources, potential and assets that they have. In 2015, former Indian Foreign Ministry's spokesperson Syed Akbaruddin said that 'India's soft power diplomacy now goes beyond books, culture and cinema'. Mr Modi made a total of 49 foreign trips by May 2017 to woo the Indian Diaspora. In almost every meeting during his foreign visit, he urged the Indian Diaspora to be a part of Indian development by investing in the Indian economy, by donating to the clean river Ganges program, and participating in Indian rural development programmes as well. In this context, this article expounds the role of the NDA government's cultural diplomacy in Indian foreign policy making. This article also seeks to answer what the Indian government's strategy to tap the 'resources' of the Indian Diaspora is. Finally, the article examines the role of the Indian Diaspora in the development strategy of India.

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Historically, India has attracted a plethora of countries around the world due to India's colossal natural resources. Thus, many of the countries started trading with India to tap into and to use these resources for their growth. While trade relations increased between these countries, cross migration amongst people in the form of workers, traders and business community had also been bolstered over a period of time. In this process, the Indian community has also started migrating to different parts of the world for various reasons. However, the migration of modern Indians started during British rule of India. It is during this time that Indians were sent to different parts of the world according to the requirements of the colonial power to work in their industries and farms. Indians were sent to Sri Lanka, Africa, and Latin America and so on. Later on, in post-independent India, many unskilled Indian labourers started moving to the Gulf region for better employment opportunities. Furthermore, after the introduction of economic reforms (liberalization, privatization and globalization) in Indian economic policy in the 1990s, Indian economy integrating with the global economy led to the massive migration of Indian skilled labour to the Western countries. This was mostly due to the improvement of India's people's living standard, better education facilities and highly inspirational youth seeking better employment opportunities from different parts of the world.

However, these young Indians had not severed their cultural roots and sense of Indianness while they sought career advancement. Therefore, the Diaspora maintained good connection with their relatives in India wherever they hailed from. Over a period of time, the Diaspora became rich in terms of their economic, political, social and cultural influence in the countries wherever they got settled and in international institutions. The best example of this is Sam Pitroda, who was the man responsible for the telecommunications revolution in India during Rajiv Gandhi's tenure as Prime Minister.¹ After a long hiatus, the present NDA government desires to return focus on the Indian Diaspora's resources for the development of the Indian society. This article explains how the Soft Power strategy of Modi's foreign policy has played a prominent role in mobilising the Indian Diaspora around the world to be part of its development strategy since 2014.

Indian Diaspora around the World

The term 'Diaspora' is derived from the Greek word *diaspeirein*, i.e. 'dispersion'. This word meaning evolved over a period of time and now refers to a person or group of people belonging to the same cultural background and origin but residing in outside of the country for differing reasons². However, the present Indian government does not follow any specific definition, only the people of the independent Indian republic who are residing in outside of it. It also refers to descendants of India³. These days, the Indian diaspora is comprised of non-resident Indians (NRI's), Persons of Indian Origins (PIOs), and overseas citizens of India (OCI). However, in 2015, PIO and OCI card holders were merged under one category-OCI⁴.

Indian migration to different parts of the world has a long and storied history. It is said that hundreds of years ago Indian traders had set up various trading posts in the Persian Gulf and South East Asia. Later, when India came under British rule, thousands of Indians were recruited to work in British colony plantations in and around the various parts of the world. They settled in from Fiji to Mauritius and from South Africa to the Caribbean Basin. It is said that the Indian Diaspora is present in around 130 countries of the world, with a total population of 27 million⁵. However, Indians migrating to Western countries is relatively a new trend. From 1960 onwards, people have migrated to those countries for better employment opportunities; for example, in 1960, there were only 12000 Indians in the US, by 1980 it reached 210000 and at present it is said that there are more than 3 million Indians living in the United States of America⁶. The Indian diaspora has settled outside of the United States as well (UK - 1.5 million, Canada - 1 million, South Africa - 1.2 million and the Middle East - 6 million). It is estimated that the total assets of the Indian Diaspora around the world is close to \$1 trillion, half of which are financial assets⁷. This implies that if the Indian government can make the Indian Diaspora shift their focus towards their ancestral places, it would be a great change that they can bring to build India. And according to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) data, by 2017, Indian nominal Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was \$2.46 trillion, while the annual income of the Indian Diaspora is estimated to be \$400 billion, which is around 20 percent of the Indian GDP⁸. India is the largest recipient of migrant remittances in the world, receiving over \$50 billion in 2010. Furthermore, it said that an estimated 15 percent of these inflows or roughly

\$8 billion is generated by European Union countries, which is a figure of around 0.6 percent of India's Gross Domestic Product⁹. This figure suggests that the Indian government should mobilise and make them participate in the Indian government development strategy. In return, the Diaspora also receives immense benefits in terms of economy, connections, employment opportunities and overall Indian development. Furthermore, the present Indian government is encouraging the Indian Diaspora to contribute their economic and financial resources towards India so that they can be used for its development.

India's Foreign Policy after Cold War

Since 1990, the foreign policy of India has gone through several changes in terms of policy making to accommodate itself in newly emerging trends in international relations. As it is known that the collapse of the Soviet Union (USSR) led to the end of the Cold War in world affairs. However, India had to face a number of hindrances to frame coherent foreign policy as this was the time where India was ruled by unstable coalition governments until 1999. Indeed, India lost its path during this phase despite integrating its economy with the global economy due to consistent inconsistency governments during this phase¹⁰. All these changes forced India to change its policy structure to involve itself actively in global affairs. Apart from that, acute domestic and international problems compelled India to reframe its foreign policy and accordingly the pragmatic considerations in changing the new dynamics of international politics¹¹. However, in today's era of economic globalization and multipolarity, India has been striving hard to improve its relations with the US and Western world as well as establishing relations with other southern world countries. Furthermore, India's foreign policy framers consistently embraced multiculturalism in foreign policy objectives to develop India, and to engage actively in international relations. The changes which took place were unprecedented and quite in contrast to the rigid bipolarity and the East-West ideological rivalry period. Nonetheless, this has been marked by ambiguity among Indian foreign policy makers with regard to transnational cooperative arrangements.¹²

It is a well-known fact that after the end of the Cold War, multilateralism and globalization have gained momentum in world politics. Hence, naturally India had to inculcate multilateral diplomacy in its foreign policy. Likewise, to bolster India's relations with major coun-

tries in international relations, India became a part of G-20, IBSA (India, Brazil and South Africa), G-4, BIMSTEC (Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation), IOR-ARC (Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation), and BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) etc. (Indian Foreign Ministry 2017). These organizations and groups have played a key role for promoting Indian foreign policy objectives. In fact, India has been playing a significant role in these groups as they are prominent groups in present international relations. Another reason to become a member of these groups was the global nature of these groups and the fact they consist of many globally emerging nations.

Modi's Foreign Policy

Ever since Prime Minister Narendra Modi came into the helm of affairs, Indian foreign policy became more pragmatic and strategically more vocal looking at the kind of scenario that is prevalent in current international relations. The world looks topsy-turvier now. So, Indian foreign policy had to adopt a balancing view on many global issues without affecting its bilateral and multilateral relations with the regional and global powers. Thus, the rise of Prime Minister Modi as a charismatic and populist leader has redefined Indian foreign policy through its use of soft power both at regional and global level¹³. Furthermore, during the 16th Lok Sabha election, the NDA prime ministerial candidate Mr. Narendra Modi asserted that political stability, progress and peace in the region are essential for South Asia's growth and development¹⁴. Further, he promised that once NDA government was formed, he would then pursue friendly relations with neighbouring countries. In actualizing his words, Prime Minister Modi visited Bhutan, Nepal and Bangladesh within 100 days of his inauguration.¹⁵ Demonstrating great vigour and zeal to the 'neighbourhood first' policy, Mr Modi in his foreign policy has focused mostly on neighbourhood countries and as a result, these nations were prioritized in his foreign policy. This was evident during his oath taking ceremony as prime minister of India, where he invited all the South Asian leaders. However, his foreign policy ambitions were derailed slowly. If we consider the prevailing environment in international relations, indeed, during that time, Indian foreign policy was mainly shaped by realism, coexistence, cooperation and partnership¹⁶. With major powers like the US, Russia and China, India took a very strategic ap-

proach without affecting its relationship with one another. India still projects that it is a strong ally of the US and Russia along with China. Prime Minister termed this a 'strategic autonomy' during his visit to Singapore at Shangri la dialogue on 1 June, 2018¹⁷. Narendra Modi invited former US president Obama for Republic day celebrations in 2015; later, he invited China's president Xi Jinping, Russia's President Vladimir Putin to India and he also went those countries to strengthen the relations. This sort of bonhomie has been clear on numerous occasions. But sometimes it gives impression that Indian foreign policy relation with US improved unprecedentedly after Modi came into helm of affairs¹⁸. The truth is that India never allowed its camaraderie to become affected with a longstanding trustworthy ally in international relations, with Russia. Furthermore, when it comes to China, it seems like they are challenging India in international relations continuously on a regular basis. In fact, it was probably due to India's growing relations with the US, and also partially because that India was trying to undermine Russia's importance in Indian foreign policy objectives. But its looks like these relations have been brought into balance with regular meeting with the emissaries of these countries.

In addition, it looks like the NDA government is slowly ignoring non-alignment organizations, which once used to be the backbone of the Indian foreign policy. Further, due to the impact of global recession in 2008, the Eurozone still striving hard to overcome that blow to revive their economy, as Scholar Rachel Dobbs (2018) reported that after ten years of global financial recession in 2008, the PIGS (Portugal, Ireland, Greece and Spain) countries are now slowly recovering¹⁹. According to the 2018 World Investment Report by the UN conference on trade and development (UNCTAD), global foreign direct investment (FDI) flows fell by 23 percent in 2017, i.e. \$1.43 trillion from \$1.87 trillion in 2016. Likewise, FDI flow to India also fell from \$44 billion in 2016 to \$40 billion in 2017²⁰. Thus, the slow growth nature of world economy, and paltry foreign direct investment and investment crunch led to the end of many Indian development projects, and India needs to focus more on resources of the Indian diaspora who are scattered around the world in order to revive these projects. The Indian diaspora have settled in many parts of the world and have occupied key positions. Therefore, if India could mobilize the community, they would possibly invest in India to help accelerate the growth of the struggling Indian economy. To involve

them in Indian developmental projects, India's policy makers have offered significant places to the Indian Diaspora in its policy making apart from depending on their remittances, for example, Dr. Arvind Panagaria (Former National Institution for Transforming India (NITI) Aayog vice chairperson, earlier worked as professor at Columbia University) and Arvind Subramanian (Former economic advisor to Indian government and once worked as an economist in International Monetary Fund). Furthermore, to encourage the Indian diaspora, Indian government has framed several attractive policies, for example, Made in India, and VAJRA (Visiting advanced joint research), Micro Units Development & Refinance Agency Ltd (MUDRA) scheme, and Digital India project, Minimum Referral wages and Know India Program etc²¹. Hence, India is strategically moving its step keeping in view its growth as a global player in the international economy and the enigmatic nature of world politics, so as to keep up with global economy. In order to realise this, India is trying to reach out to the Indian Diaspora since they have occupied key positions in many global private and public institutions and often play a strategic role in the countries wherever they are settled. That is the why Modi government, while framing its foreign policy objectives based on each individual country, underscores the importance of Indian diaspora. That was reflected in the first ever speech of Prime Minister Modi made at Madison Square Garden (New York City), and later speeches at Allophones Arena (Sydney) and Wembley Stadium (UK). These are all quintessential for Mr Modi's focus on the Indian Diaspora in mobilizing them to become part and parcel of Indian development. Thus, the soft power role has been shown in Indian foreign policy. The question that then arises is: what exactly is soft power?

What is Soft Power?

Power is the important phenomenon of international relations that shapes global affairs. Therefore, power plays a major role in foreign policy making. The dominant theory of international relations is realism and it revolves around the concept of power itself. Power implies an ability to get what one wants from others and can take numerous forms. Scholar Nye (2006) argues that power has three components to achieve, which are:

- Coercion
- Payments, and
- Attraction (Soft Power)²²

For instance, coercion implies the US attack on Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria. Yet another example was that of the North Korean nuclear imbroglio, where payments primarily involved Western powers supplying food to them, in order to pressurize them to abide by the norms of international relations. Likewise, Soft Power is also as dominant as hard power in international relations. The concept of Soft Power discourse in international relations originated during the early 1990s. The first proponent of this concept was Joseph Nye. He defined soft power as 'the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payment'.²³ Furthermore, Soft Power has three components according to him, namely:

- Culture
- Ideology, and
- Foreign Policy²⁴

The British historian Niall Ferguson described Soft Power as 'non-traditional forces such as that of cultural and commercial goods'. Furthermore, Nye (1990) argues that if a state can make its power status legitimate in the eyes of other nations, there would be less probability of facing resistance from other nations. If dominant powers of culture and ideology are more attractive, other countries will follow²⁵. Today many nations use a combination of hard power and soft power. This is called smart power policy²⁶ and it is the trend of present world politics. This has been reflected in Indian foreign policy since the recent past.

India's Soft Power Assets

India's soft power is not a recent phenomenon. India has been projecting its soft power for centuries. Historically, India has been a melting pot for innumerable number of religions, communities, languages, cultures and its practices over centuries. Yoga, Ayurveda and Bollywood have laid the foundation for promoting the soft power of Indian foreign policy in the present days.

Since its independence, India started building relations with global as well as regional powers. In the process of reaching out to the Indian Diaspora, in 1948, KPS Menon, the then Indian foreign secretary, wrote to the 'Heads of Indian Missions and Post Abroad', had sought reports of Indian descent whoever settled there and their employment, economic, political positions and their treatment in those countries²⁷. To track and build relations with international actors and the Indian Diaspora, the Indian government established two institutions. These

two institutions namely, Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR) in the year of 1950, and Indian Council for World Affairs (ICWA) in the year of 1943 were set up to deal with the Indian Diaspora affairs²⁸. In 2001, ICWA was awarded national importance status in accordance with an act of Parliament. The act states that the ICWA primarily works for the promotion of Indian and international affairs and to promote India's relations with other countries through study, research, discussions, lectures, exchange of ideas and information with other organizations engaged in foreign affairs both within and outside India²⁹. The ICCR objective was to participate and to implement policies and programmes relating to India's foreign cultural relations and to promote cultural exchange with other countries and peoples³⁰. Thus, both these organizations played crucial roles in establishing good cultural and foreign relations since the independence of India. Until 1990, Indian foreign policy makers did not use these resources aptly. This of course does not mean that Indian leaders were unaware of the tools. Considering the stature they had in international relations, it was instead India's policies and leaders that were called the symbols of soft power until 1990.³¹ Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Swami Vivekananda and many other personalities played a prominent role in spreading Indian soft power around the world.

Furthermore, Indian freedom fighters and thinkers like Mahatma Gandhi, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Swami Vivekananda, Sri Aurobindo and Jawaharlal Nehru often stressed the synthesis of diverse values, and cultures for the rise of the Indian nation. In fact, Nehru's concept 'Unity in diversity' conceptualizes the soft power nature of the Indian nation³¹. As a matter of fact, Indian Soft Power assets and their principles, attracts the leaders of many global countries even till today. For example, on the occasion of Mahatma Gandhi's 150th birth anniversary on October 2, 2018, former president of US, Barack Obama, observed that, Gandhi is a rare gift to world. Gandhi's principles like 'Non-violence' and 'Ahimsa' continuous to inspire millions across the globe, which includes Dalai Lama, Martin Luther King Junior and Barack Obama³² (The Indian Express 2018). Because of this diverse nature, its growing nature in an emerging global economy and economic and human resources paved the way for establishment of strong relations with many countries in international relations. In particular, a major emphasis has been put on the East Asia and South East Asia region and along with the developed countries in the world³³. Apart from that, it has bolstered

relations with other major powers in world politics. More importantly, through political and ethnic heritage, India has popularized Gandhi's non-violence and Jawaharlal Nehru's non-alignment movement at international level. These ideals and policies are still relevant in current international relations and they can be still considered soft power assets of Indian foreign policy.

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Apart from that, Bollywood, the popular film industry of India, also laid the foundations for promoting the importance of Indian soft power in its foreign policy objectives. For example, in 2015, when Modi was supposed to go visit Xian, Amir Khan went to China to promote his movie *PK*. The reason was Amir Khan's earlier movie *3 Idiots* was successful, particularly amongst Chinese youth. This means India tried to let Chinese people know about India and Modi's arrival to get warm welcome for Modi³⁴. Additionally, a few of the Bollywood movies have been based on diasporic themes to attract a more diasporic audience as well as to make them feel that India is concerned about them. For example, movies such as *KalHo Na Ho*, *Kabhi Khusi Kabhi Gam* are based purely on the lives of the Indian Diaspora. Bollywood annual film award ceremonies are sometimes held in Europe, the Middle East and America³⁵. Many of the Bollywood programs, audio release functions, and movies are shot in different global cities to attract the Indian Diaspora³⁶. In brief, these are some of the quintessential examples of promoting Indian foreign policy by means of its soft power. Therefore, the globalization of Indian movie industry has played a key role in promoting Indian soft power in international relations.

Modi's Cultural Diplomacy

Recently, Indian leaders have been increasingly focusing on India's Diaspora, its multicultural ethos, and its ancient practices like yoga. In fact, the Indian diaspora played a key role in the UN marking International Yoga Day on June 21 every year³⁷. However, this trend intensified right after Narendra Modi came into the helm of affairs in the year 2014. As a part of India's foreign policy promotion, there has been an increased activism to draw attention to and employ India's soft power in global affairs³⁸. Unlike his predecessors, Modi since the beginning of his tenure has tried to impress the Indian diaspora and augment their role in his foreign policy objectives. Prime Minister Modi started interacting with the Indian diaspora wherever he went, be it at Madison Square Garden in 2014 in New York (US), Shanghai (China) in 2015, Fiji

in 2015, and Johannesburg (South Africa) in 2016, Brussels in 2016.³⁹ Recently, during his Abu Dhabi visit in January 2018 he addressed the Indian Diaspora about India's success during his prime ministerial tenure. On 2 October, 2016, on the occasion of Mahatma Gandhi's birth anniversary, Mr Modi inaugurated Pravasi Bharatiya Kendra (Indian Diaspora Centre) stating that:

“Indian Diaspora should be looked at, not just in terms of its numbers, but also in terms of its strength. Modi said that for years the term “brain drain” has been in vogue. But if we look at the Diaspora as our strength, we can convert this into “brain gain”⁴⁰.

In order to tap their resources, it has become a ritual to arrange meetings with the Indian Diaspora. The best example is Bharat Darshan for the Indian Diaspora's visit to all the rich cultural heritage centres of India. It proves how much importance this government is giving to its Diaspora community.

Apart from reaching the Indian Diaspora, the Prime Minister Modi is also trying to showcase the rich cultural heritage of India to the foreign leaders visiting India. This is one kind of strategy to influence the Indian diaspora to remember their cultural roots and look towards India. For example, when Xi Jinping was invited by Modi to India in September 2014, Modi took him to the Sabarmati Ashram in Ahmadabad. Xi Jinping paid his tribute to Gandhi and later Mr Modi showed him Gandhi's Charka. Another instance was in December 2015, when Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe visited India. Modi took him to Banaras, which is famous for many religious activities in India, and where Mr Modi and Mr Abe witnessed the famous Hindu religious ritual called the Ganga Aarti⁴¹. On 18 February 2018, the President of Iran, Hassan Rouhani started his tour to India from Hyderabad, where he addressed Muslim clerics and visited many other historical places. He was received by the Indian Union Minister of state Power and renewable energy, RK Singh⁴². This shows how Indian government is trying to promote India's rich culture and heritage to its allies. The Indian government is also promoting Bollywood actors to become ambassadors of many renowned global institutions, for example, Priyanka Chopra is a goodwill ambassador of UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund).

To reach out to the Indian Diaspora, the Indian government has scrapped the Overseas Indian Affairs Ministry and merged the same with the Ministry of External Affairs. The Modi government has also decided to give a single identity card to all the Indian Diaspora to make it easier for them to remain in touch with their homeland and secure lifelong Indian visas if they want to become Indian citizens. The Modi government has also allowed visitors who have Indian cultural roots from 43 countries to get visas upon arrival in India. Prime Minister Modi often stresses the three D's: democracy, demography and demand. However, he also focuses on another D in the list, which is Diaspora⁴³. That has been reflected in Modi's foreign policy doctrine as the Indian Diaspora has received a great number of positions which are beneficial for them. The Minister of State in the ministries of overseas Indian affairs and external affairs General (Retd), VK Singh on 11 December, 2014, announced in Rajya Sabha that all NRI's who fulfil the eligible criteria of section 20A of the Representation of the people's act, 1950, have the right to enrol as overseas electors and cast their vote⁴⁴.

Diaspora's Role in Indian Development Strategy

Mr Modi knew that the speeches alone would not be enough to get the Diaspora's help for Indian development. The Indian PM has realised the importance of the Diaspora not only for India's internal development, but also for promoting India's image at the global level as well. The Indian Diaspora can be useful for their remittances, investment, lobbying for India, promoting Indian culture abroad and for building an image in foreign countries by their intelligence and industry⁴⁵. It is said that in 2014 the Indian Diaspora transferred \$70.39 billion to their Indian families, which is more than the Chinese equivalent sent to their homes, which is around \$64.14 billion. Apart from that, private remittances sent from abroad to India account for around 3.5 per cent of India's GDP. In fact, the Indian Diaspora private remittances exceeded the average foreign direct investment that had come to India in 2015 and which is only US \$44.9 billion⁴⁶. Moreover, the Indian diaspora can spend lavishly in India wherever they visit (unlike Indians), so this is one way economic activities in India can be simulated. Furthermore, India can ask the Indian Diaspora to donate for the trusts, NGOs and many other sectors.⁴⁷ Even the Indian Diaspora can adopt their villages and they can develop their own villages so that other people will also get the benefits of the Indian Diaspora directly. Through sci-

ence and technology also they can create employment opportunities for Indian youth in their villages or other parts of the country. India is going to face multitude of crises in the near future from the growing unemployed youth and elderly people. So, since the Diaspora has vast financial resources in their pockets they can invest in employment generation programmes and build senior shelter homes as a part of their philanthropy.

Conclusion

Despite the Indian government's efforts to reach out the Indian Diaspora for looking towards India, the results seem to be not up to task. Therefore, Indian policy makers should design well-orchestrated policies to attract its Diaspora⁴⁸. In fact, this is the time that Indian policy makers should think in a novel way to bring the Indian Diaspora's assets towards India considering the global scenario. The assets I refer to here are those in terms of their finance and knowledge. The Indian government should not leave any stone unturned in requesting the Indian Diaspora to invest in rural development-oriented projects in India. Thus, India makes a change in investing NRIs in India, a new foreign currency non-resident programme, where each individual can invest \$100000 by lowering the interest rates. If 25 per cent of the Diaspora invests in India, it will bring in \$4000 as remittances to India⁴⁹. The Indian government has launched a few important projects to tap into their financial and knowledge resources, and the Diaspora can bring technical and domain expertise in domestic start-ups. The Diaspora Indian faculty abroad can voluntarily offer time and resources to the Indian faculty on Indian campuses to improve the quality of education. This can be advanced through government and private projects in the form of Made in India, Skill India, Digital India, and Start up India as well as many other projects which are aimed at improving Indian infrastructural development⁵⁰. The former India's Lok Sabha speaker, Ms Sumitra Mahajan, while attending the Conference of Speakers and Presiding Officers of Commonwealth from January 8 to 11, 2018, Seychelles, argued that the Indian Diaspora should take part and start investing in India in Made in India policy⁵¹. Since India has a large number of unemployed youths, they can expect good dividends from this sort of investment. Today's rural youth of India have knowledge and ideas, but they do not know how to use them. Sometimes this youth faces a lack of financial sup-

port as well. So if the Indian government could exhort the Indian diaspora to invest in this sort of sectors so that they will be able to contribute for the development of India and make India as one of the powerhouses of global politics.

It is in this context, considering the gloomy situation that is prevailing in global economy, that India should strategize its policies very diligently, taking the help of Indian Diaspora and designing novel policies to meet these challenges. This is because they are the primary sources for which Indian government can depend upon framing Indian policies according to the changing nature of global politics to remain as one of the fastest growing economy in the world. The Indian government also can make use of Indian Diaspora's scientific knowledge in the distressing agriculture sector. However, it is not only the responsibility of the Indian government, but also a moral duty of the Indian Diaspora in which way they can contribute to the development of India using their knowledge, economic status, political influence, cultural exposure and social advancement at the global level.

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Borderlines, Natural Resources and Conflicts

Towards a Territorial Materialism of Boundary Disputes in East Africa

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This article examines the essence and basis of boundary disputes in East Africa. By way of a case-study approach, guided by the theory of territorial materialism, the study observes that the ‘colonial causation’ narrative, exemplified in the ethnic partitioning/disintegration hypothesis, does not wholly explain contemporary boundary/border disputes in East Africa, but also elsewhere in the continent. The article posits that contemporary boundary disputes in the focal area are largely associated with territorial struggles motivated by the quest for the control of geostrategic and economic resources on the affected borderlines and frontiers. The article also proposes a sub-regional mechanism for border governance and security as the way forward.

Keywords: boundary, border, borderline, boundary disputes, natural resources, East Africa

Introduction

The contemporary world order is based on the Westphalia state system. One of the essential attributes of this state system is boundary. Boundary is significant in this context because it determines the confines of a country’s sovereignty by delineating its territorial and juris-

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ditional sphere. Beyond this, boundary also defines and assigns national identity. Hence, 'a nation-state's boundaries put people under one entity, define their lifestyles and national culture including language, destiny, privileges, etc.'¹ Apart from assigning national identity, a boundary constitutes what Issa-Salwe² has described as 'the external shell of the state'. Issa-Salwe adds that preservation of this shell 'has come to be associated with self-preservation of the state'³

Over the years, the issue of boundary has been a veritable subject of intentional relations and strategy. In this context, it has been prominently recognized, rather paradoxically, as a bridge as well as a barrier to international peace and stability.⁴ As a bridge, international boundaries have provided a platform for legitimate transnational activities, especially in the area of trade and migration. But as a barrier, boundaries have served as an avenue for trans-border criminality and violence.⁵ Most importantly, boundaries have, over the years, provided a 'fault-line' for international conflicts.

In Africa, boundary politics and conflicts have been an essential aspect of the dialectics of state building and/or state transformation.⁶ The colonial imposition of the African boundary system, the arbitrariness and artificiality of such a boundary regime, as well as the abusive boundary politics played by political elites in many African States in the post-colonial era have complicated the boundary question in Africa. In East Africa, which is by design the focus of this study, boundary politics has engendered a dialectical scenario that mirrors the hypothetical Marxian 'unity and conflict of opposites'. Thus,

Boundaries in East Africa reflect compromises by colonial and postcolonial authorities to stabilize human habitation within territorial spaces. Although creatures of human contrivances, these boundaries have evolved into natural formations that delimit the external reach of power and delineate citizenships. Over the years, the instability occasioned elsewhere in Africa by border conflicts has dissipated in Eastern Africa, lending some semblance of permanence to existing boundaries.⁷

Needless to say, the East African region has witnessed conflagrations arising from boundary-related conflicts over the years. What is the incidence of boundary disputes in this region? What are the material underpinnings of the disputes? These analytical questions capture

the main thrust of the article. To make good its purpose, the article undertakes a descriptive analysis of selected international boundary disputes in East Africa with a view to leveraging on extant narrative towards advancing a territorial materialist interpretation.

For convenience of systematic presentation, the remainder of the article is structured under the following broad themes: methodology, scope and conceptual thrust; theoretical framework; brief description of East Africa (as a context of study); overview of boundary disputes in East Africa; Territorial materialism of boundary disputes in East Africa; and conclusion.

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Methodology, Scope and Conceptual Thrust

The article is a descriptive analysis of the essence and basis of the contemporary boundary disputes in East Africa from 1960 to 2010, based on a case study approach. It has derived its data from secondary sources, comprising academic and policy-based literature. The central argument is that boundary disputes in the focal area have been driven by material contestations that bear on strategic economic interests of states. This argument is anchored on the theory of territorial materialism with the intent to proffer a systematic analysis of the strategic cum material underpinnings of border-related disputes in the focal area, nay elsewhere in Africa. The substance of analysis in the article is schematically laid out under select themes and sub-themes carefully formulated to aid systematic presentation.

The locus of the study is the East African region, which generally embodies countries on the Horn of Africa (Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti, and Somali) and those of the African Great Lake Region (Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, and South Sudan). This region constitutes one of the most critical hotbeds of territorial conflict in Africa. The study considers the subject of boundary disputes from the standpoint of inter-state and intra-regional relations, with emphasis on the period of 1960 to 2010.

The scope of the article encompasses both the land-based and maritime boundary disputes in East Africa, although the former has been prioritized in view of its preponderance in that context. Within the stated purview, the study restricts its coverage only to instances of conflicts that have elicited significant governmental diplomatic or military engagements, either at bilateral or multilateral levels.

With regard to the conceptual thrust of the article, four key terms constitute the operational framework, namely boundary, borderline, natural resources, and boundary dispute/conflict. For the purpose of conceptual clarification and shared understanding, these terms are considered in turn below.

- a. Boundary:** The term 'boundary' refers to a line that marks and defines the confines of a state, distinguishing its sovereign territory from those of others.⁸ A more elaborate conceptualization of boundary has been given by Okumu⁹ to the effect that:

It defies the physical limits of a state's territorial and physical jurisdiction. Boundary systems may be classified as fixed or general. A fixed boundary is one that has been accurately surveyed such that if marking or beacon is lost, it can be replaced in the same position by accurate survey measurements. A general boundary is one where the precise line of the legal boundary between adjoining land portions is left undetermined.

The conception of boundary in this article is restricted to its international understanding. An international boundary is one which is mutually agreed upon and jointly owned by the countries involved.¹⁰ It is arrived at through a mutual and consensual process of delimitation (delineation) and codification, whereby the states involved agree on the terms and features of demarcation.

- b. Borderline:** The word 'border' refers to a 'territory adjoining the boundary', wherein the lives of 'the inhabitants are influenced by interactions with their neighbours on the other side of the boundary.'¹¹ Borderline is, therefore, a stretch of geo-spatially recognized line that divides two or more sovereign territories on a common international frontier. In the context of this article, the notion of borderline is used as a standard synonym of boundary. Both concepts are thus used interchangeably.
- c. Natural resources:** 'This refers to renewable and non-renewable materials that occur in nature and are essential or useful to humans, such as water, air, land, forests, fish and wildlife, topsoil, and minerals.'¹² They are renewable if they can be replenished over time by natural processes, especially if used prudently. On the other hand, they are non-renewable if they are available in a finite disposable quantity.

d. Boundary dispute: This is a disagreement between two or more states arising from incompatible claims over a contested boundary. Boundary disputes exist when states pursue territorial claims over a borderline, with the central governments intervening either diplomatically or militarily.¹³ Although territorial in nature, boundary disputes are often motivated by delicate geo-strategic and economic concerns that bear essentially on the exigencies of state preservation or survival.

Boundary disputes reflect an essential contradiction of boundary politics. The latter has to do with the totality of claims, stakes, interests and contestations that underlie the process of boundary relations (delineation, demarcation, adjustment and legitimatization). In other words, it refers to the quest for territorial competitive advantages by two or more contiguous states within a common frontier. Boundary politics is a high stakes activity that often involves a great deal of bilateral and/or multilateral diplomacy, the failure of which may result in militarism.

Theoretical Framework: Towards a Theory of Territorial Materialism

A dominant theoretical perspective on boundary politics and conflict in Africa holds that boundary disputes are inevitable creations of colonialism. This perspective posits that the imperialist scramble for Africa materialized in a sort of senseless territorial grabbing, leading to arbitrary and artificial partitioning of Africa into slices of colonial spheres of interest.¹⁴ Representing this perspective, Aghemelo & Ibhasebhor¹⁵ succinctly observe that:

In the successive phases of the European partitioning of Africa, the lines demarcating spheres of interest were often haphazard and precipitately arranged. The European agents and diplomats were primarily interested in grabbing as much African territory as possible and were not duly concerned about the consequences of disrupting ethnic groups and undermining the indigenous political order.

Hence, by slicing up homogenous cultural groups and lumping up cultural divergent groups, colonialism created a problematic state cum boundary system that has remained susceptible to territorial conflicts.

This has found expressions in the incidence of boundary disputes and irredentist struggles in post-colonial Africa.¹⁶

Implicit in the above theoretical standpoint is the assumption that the problem of boundary dispute in Africa today is a colonial carryover. This assumption, however, is no longer very plausible and sustainable. To be sure, post-colonial states in Africa have virtually accepted the inherited boundary system as legitimate and even sacrosanct.¹⁷ Again, territorial conflicts in post-colonial Africa have so far seldom betrayed the contradictions of ethnic partitioning, nor have they generally manifested the logic of irredentism.¹⁸ More importantly, the incidence of territorial conflict in Africa has been significantly relatively low, in spite of the preponderance of 'externally imposed and artificial' boundaries.¹⁹ As aptly observed by Goemans and Schultz,²⁰ 'African borders slice through a large number of ethnic and linguistic groups, and yet conflicts and relatively rare, suggesting that the effect of ethnic partition(ing), if any, must be contingent on other factors.'

Hence, the argument about the 'colonial contrivance and imposition' of African boundary system as the cause of boundary disputes in the continent is not enough to offer a comprehensive explication of the contemporary nature and basis of boundary dispute in that context. There is, therefore, a need to come up with a perspective that transcends the 'colonial causation' narrative in order to make for a more plausible understanding of the subject matter. It is in the light of this understanding that this article proposes the theory of territorial materialism, not, though, as an alternative theoretical perspective, but as a consummation of the colonial causation account. The theory of territorial materialism is predicated on the existing literature on territorial conflict and/or security.²¹ The theory holds that states and statesmen (political leaders) 'contend and fight for territory' for geo-strategic material advantage.²² This implies that the motive behind most contemporary territorial conflicts is the quest by states to pursue strategic material advantages along their common territorial frontiers. So, in most instances of boundary disputes in Africa, what is at issue is the tendency for states to fight over borderline territories for its geo-strategic economic value.²³ As we shall see in the subsequent case studies (ahead herewith) this theoretical standpoint is apposite in understanding the contemporary dynamics of boundary related disputes in East Africa today.

The theory of territorial materialism as it applies to this article is not a total novelty. Epistemological foundations of the theory could be derived from the realist school of International Relations, which posits ‘that nations act only out of self-interest and that their major goal is to advance their own positions of power in the world.’²⁴ The theory is

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Table 1: Core states of East Africa

Country	Location	Remarks(s)
Tanzania	Central East Africa	Part of the Great Lake Region
Kenya	Central East Africa	Part of the Great Lake Region
Uganda	Central East Africa	Part of the Great Lake Region
Rwanda	Central East Africa	Part of the Great Lake Region
Burundi	Central East Africa	Situated in the Horn of Africa
Djibouti	North East Africa	Situated in the Horn of Africa
Eritrea	North East Africa	Situated in the Horn of Africa
Ethiopia	North East Africa	Situated in the Horn of Africa
Somalia	North East Africa	Situated in the Horn of Africa
South Sudan	Central East Africa	Situated in the Nile Valley

Source: Authors’ compilation from relevant literature.

Table 2: Peripheral states of East Africa

Country	Location	Remark(s)
Comoros	Indian Ocean	Sovereign island
Mauritius	Indian Ocean	Sovereign island
Seychelles	Indian Ocean	Sovereign island
Reunion	Indian Ocean	French Oversea territory
Mayotte	Indian Ocean	French Oversea territory
Mozambique	South-Eastern Africa	Also part of Southern Africa
Madagascar	South-Eastern Africa	Also located on the Indian Ocean, with ties to Southeast Asia
Malawi	South Eastern axis of East Africa	Often included in Southern Africa
Zambia	South Eastern axis of East Africa	Often included in Southern Africa
Zimbabwe	South Eastern axis of East Africa	

Source: Authors’ compilation from relevant literature.

an attempt to innovate the application of the realist school within the calculus of international geo-politics and strategy.

A Brief Description of East Africa

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To properly situate the analytical context of the study, it is germane to present a brief description of East Africa. Also known as Eastern Africa, East Africa refers to the easterly region of the African continent.²⁵ The notion of East African is ambiguous because it has both geographical and geo-political understanding.²⁶ Tables 1 and 2 are instructive in this regard.

Table 3: Incidents of armed conflict in East Africa

Country	Conflict
Ethiopia	Civil
Eritrea	War of independence
Eritrean/Ethiopian	Eritrean-Ethiopian War, 1998 – 2000
Ogaden (Ethiopia)	Ogaden War, 1977 – 1978
Somali	Civil War, 1991 – 2009
South Sudan	Second Sudanese Civil War, 1983 – 2005 Internal Politico-ethnic conflict, 2011 – date South Sudanese Civil War, 2013 – 2015
Burundi	Burundi Civil war, 1993 – 2005 (with Hutu genocide in 1972 and Tutsi genocide in 1993)
Uganda/Tanzania	Uganda – Tanzania War, 1978 – 1979
Uganda	Ugandan Bush War 1981 – 1986
Uganda, Congo DR South Sudan	Lord’s Resistance Army insurgency (ongoing)
Rwanda	Civil War (Rwanda), 1990 – 1993
Tanzania	Zanzibar Revolution, 1964
Congo DR (outside Southeast Africa but with Southeast African participation)	First Congo War, 1996 – 1997

Source: Authors’ compilation from relevant literature.

Table 1 indicates countries that constitute the core of South East Africa from the wider geographical point of view while table 2 highlights countries that are often considered parts of south east Africa in generic geo-political terms.

East Africa has been a critical hotbed of international conflict. It has recorded dire incidents of war-lord insurgency, guerilla warfare, genocide, terrorism, civil war, and inter-state war.²⁷ Table 3 gives useful insights in this respect.

A significant number of conflicts in East Africa (see table 3) are territorial and boundary-related. Many more have been complicated by failure of border governance and security.²⁸ Cases in point include the Ethiopian-Eritrean War (1998 – 2000) and South-Sudanese conflict.

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Boundary Disputes in East Africa: Towards a ‘Territorial Materialism’ Interpretation

The sub-continental sphere of East Africa has been particularly conflict ridden. The region has witnessed various dimensions of armed conflict over the years, ranging from conventional to unconventional wars.²⁹ The incidence of armed conflict in the region has threatened the peace and stability the Horn of Africa as well as the upper Great Lake Region.³⁰ With reference to the Horn of Africa, Anebo³¹ has opined that:

There is unresolved tension between Ethiopia and Eritrea, South Sudan and Sudan, Ethiopia and Somalia, Eritrea and Djibouti, Somalia and Kenya... Ethiopia and Somalia had undergone shattering effects of wars in 1970s... Shortly after seceding from Ethiopia, Eritrea wrestled with multiple border related wars. The boundary was between Eritrea and Yemen, Ethio-Eritrea boundary conflict of 1998–2000, boundary conflict between Djibouti and Eritrea not only left permanent scars.

The situation has also largely been the same in Africa’s Great Lake Region, with the spate of land and maritime boundary related issues. Cases in point include the Tanzania-Malawi border conflict (since 1967), the Uganda-Tanzania border conflict (since 1967), the Zambia-Malawi border conflict (1968-1986), and the recent Kenya-Uganda dispute over Mingo Island (since 2008).

Although a dominant perspective in the existing literature on border conflict in Africa suggests that boundary disputes on the continent are a result of contradictions of ethno-communal splitting and disintegration arising from colonial partitioning,³² such a perspective only

Table 4: Catalogue of boundary-related disputes in East Africa (1960s – 2010s)

States	Years	Description of Dispute
Djibouti – Eritrea	1995	Eritrea claimed a portion of Northern Djibouti on the basis of the 1995 Laval Mussolini agreement
Zaire-Zambia	1980	A dispute arose over the location of the tri-point with Tanzania in Lake Tanganyika, leading to two versions of the straight line segment from Tanzania to Lake Mweru
Ethiopia-Eritrea	1998	A dispute arose over difference interpretations of colonial era treaties
Ethiopia-Sudan	1966 – 2002	Ethiopia claimed two regions along the border known as the Fashqua and Umbrega triangles
Kenya-Somalia	1963-1981	Prior to Kenya's independence Somalia, claimed Kenya's Northern Frontier District. Upon independence, this region was reorganized and Somalia inhabited region became the North Eastern Province
Kenya-Sudan	1963-date	Kenya's claims the Ilemi triangle, a region north of the straight line border drawn in 1914. While several alternative borders have been proposed, the Kenyan claim, and de facto control, typically extends to the red line boundary demarcated in 1938.
Somalia-Ethiopia	1960-date	Somalia claimed the Ogaden region of Ethiopia, a region inhabited by ethnic Somalis. The region did not have a precise geographic definition, but was instead defined ethnically. Today, it corresponds closely with Ethiopia's Somali region.
Tanzania-Malawi	1967-date	Tanzania claimed that the border follows the median line of Lake Nyasa from the point where the River Songwe meets the lake.
Uganda-Kenya	1976	Uganda asserted a claim to parts of Western Kenya that has been transferred from the Ugandan Protectorate by the British in 1902 and 1926.
Uganda-Tanzania	1974-1979	Uganda claimed the Kagera Salient, a patch of land south of its border and north of the Kagera River.

Zambia-Malawi	1968-1986	Malawi claimed that its border with Zambia should be the Luanga River. Additional border flare ups have happened in this region, though it is not clear what their relation is to the larger claim.
Kenya-Ethiopia	Resolved in principle in 1963	Dispute over Gadaduma Wells between the two states
Kenya-Uganda	2008-date	Border conflict over Migingo island

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Source: Geomans & Schultz (2013), pp. (A1-A9) with authors' slight update

forms a point of departure to the understanding of boundary disputes in this article. In effect, while arbitrary disintegration of ethnic groups which defined colonial boundary-making has been a culpable factor in the boundary disputes in East Africa, and whereas this seems to have complicated border crisis as in the cases of Somalia and Ethiopia (1960, ongoing) and Somalia and Kenya (1963-1981),³⁴ contemporary trajectory and dynamics of boundary disputes in the region have been largely associated with material contestations driven by geo-strategic economic interests. The disputes between Tanzania and Malawi (1967, ongoing), Uganda and Kenya (1976, ongoing), Uganda and Tanzania (1974, ongoing), and Zambia and Malawi (1968-1986) have, to a large extent, had to do with the struggles by the affected states to control land and maritime resources in the contested areas.³⁵

The dispute between the Republics of Kenya and Uganda (2008, ongoing) over Migingo Island has been also associated with economic and livelihood contestations.³⁶ As Kisiangani³⁷ opines, "A close look at the dispute, however, reveals that the bone of contention is not about the island *per se*, (but) rather the declining fish stock in the lake and the burgeoning international interests especially in the Nile Perch species". In a similar vein, the disputes between South Sudan and Sudan over Abyei territory has been inspired by the competitive struggles by the two states in respect of control over the contested areas in view of its rich oil endowments.³⁸ This is akin to the dispute between Nigeria and Cameroon over the oil-rich Bakassi Peninsula in the 1990s.³⁹

On average, the contemporary trajectory of boundary-related conflict in East Africa has increasingly implicated realist contestations over mineral 'resource exploration and exploitation'⁴⁰ as critical drivers. A logical rationalization for this development has been provided thus:

Sovereign boundaries currently add a dynamism to the current mineral and energy rush in Eastern Africa as once peaceful neighbours scramble to maximize the mineral wealth deposits under their soil. Since oil and gas reservoirs know no boundaries and interpretations of where borders pass is at the discretion of current leaders, this are bound to raise tensions and could lead to cross border tensions and even conflict in the future.⁴¹

Table 5: Instances of natural resources-related boundary disputes in East Africa

Conflict Parties	Location	Resource(s) at Stake
South Sudan and Sudan	Abiyei State	Oil
Kenya and South Sudan	Turkana County in Illemi Triangle	Water, oil
Uganda and Congo, DR	Lake Albert in the Great Rift Valley Lakes	Crude oil alongside the mineral riches of diamonds, gold, coltan, etc.
Malawi and Tanzania	Lake Malawi (Nyasaland)	Oil
Kenya and Uganda	Lake Victoria	Water, fish and possible crude oil

Source: Authors' compilation from: Obiero, E. (2012, October). Territorial disputes in Eastern Africa: The mineral factor; <http://eafrikaenergy.blogspot.com.ng/2012/10/territorial-disputes-in-eastern-africa.html> (accesses online June 28, 2017).

The focal region has already been enmeshed in boundary disputes and tensions that are related to material struggles over mineral resources, especially petro-minerals (oil and gas deposits). Table 5 is instructive in this regard. Among other things, table 5 shows that resource-related conflicts abound in the focal region. In effect, from the Great Lakes Region to the Lower Horn of Africa, territorial quest is complicated by strategic interest in existent and prospective mineral resources.

Information reflected on table 5 may not represent a predictably general pattern in East Africa. Suffice it to note that most of the contemporary and prevailing border conflicts in that context have borne crucial trappings of material contestations over mineral resources. This underscores the 'mineral factor' in those conflicts, according to Obiero.⁴²In the subsections that follow, this 'mineral factor' is more closely explored alongside the geo-strategic dynamics of most boundary disputes among the states of East Africa.

Some Illustrative Case Studies

A review of a number of relevant case studies would suffice to situate and buttress the argument to the effect that geo-strategic material interests is the prime factor in contemporary boundary disputes in the focal region. The cases of Lake Albert, Lake Victoria and Lake Malawi (Nyasaland) have been selected for this purpose and are briefly considered in turn below.

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- a. **The case of the Lake Albert basin:** Lake Albert is a trans-boundary sphere between Uganda and DRC. The lake's strategic significance has been aptly captured thus:

Uganda lies on Lake Albert's eastern bank, while the western lakeshore belongs to DRC's territory. The (disputed) border between both countries lies within the lake itself. The lake contributes to the region's ecosystem with its high biological diversity and plays a key role for the socio-economic benefit of the people. Hence, both countries consider the lake a focal point of interest⁴³.

The Uganda–DRC border is richly endowed with a variety of minerals, such as diamonds, gold, coltan and oil. These resources have, over the years, attracted fortune hunters, militias, rebel groups, and armies to the eastern DRC in search of material fortune. The pronouncement by the Uganda government in May 2006 that it had found crude oil in the Lake Albert region occasioned an air of anxiety, with some people being scared that this development might turn out to be a curse rather than a blessing. The popular anxiety was apparently justified in August 2007 when a border dispute broke out between the two states over the strategically located Rukwanzi Island in Lake Albert. The scenario escalated and degenerated into violent incidents between the military forces from the two countries, resulting in the killing of a contractor of the Heritage Oil Company and six civilians on board a Congolese passenger boat on Lake Albert.⁴⁴ Skirmishes also erupted in October 2008, when Ugandan Police arrested 11 Congolese fishermen at Kaiso Warf on Lake Albert in Kabwoya with illegal fishing equipment and improvised weapons, possibly for self-defense purposes.⁴⁵

Rukwanzi Island, a scantily populated but strategically located territory in the southern axis of Lake Albert, was hardly reckoned

with prior to the discovery of oil in the Lake Albert basin. Since then, Uganda has tried to annex and exploit the oil reserves of the region without soliciting the cooperation of the DRC.⁴⁶As to be expected, the Congolese are now anxious of Uganda's territorial expansion and claims in the area, with the oil deposits in the Lake basin as a critical point of tension. The Ugandans contend that the prevailing absence of governance in eastern DRC has been a threat to security in the area, in addition to being an obstacle to peaceful exploration of the petroleum resources in the lake basin. There are also suspicions in Kinshasa that Uganda would prefer to keep north-eastern DRC unstable and would rather opt for a weak central government that cannot contain the insurgency in order to allow the Museveni government to exploit the trans-boundary oil without sharing the revenues.⁴⁷

b. *The case of Lake Victoria:* The critical issue concerning Lake Victoria is how the three countries bordering the lake can manage the common resources accruable from the lake for the benefit of the region. For the past five years, there has been a serious dispute between Uganda and her neighbours over the cause of a 1.5-meter decline in the water level of the lake between 2004 and 2006. While Tanzania and Kenya have accused Uganda of being responsible for the decline through over-drainage of the lake for hydroelectricity, Uganda has attributed the drop to the impact of climate change.⁴⁸

The disputes in Lake Victoria are symptomatic of the absence of regional mechanisms for the sharing of trans-boundary natural resources, especially water and fish. Since 2003, the competition over the resources of the lake has become increasingly volatile, with tensions resulting in the harassment and arrest of fishermen accused of trespassing in the territorial waters of their neighbours.⁴⁹ The lake is a veritable livelihood resort for many communities in the affected countries. This necessitates the need for a mutually agreed solution for the control and ownership of lake resources in addition to clearly demarcating boundaries on the lake. In November 2000, the ministers of fisheries from Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania held a meeting wherein they resolved to demarcate the boundaries in Lake Victoria by means of bright beacons, but no sooner was this agreement reached than major hostilities erupted over Migingo Island, which nearly brought the two countries to the verge of war in 2009.⁵⁰

Migingo Island is one of several lakes on the Lake Victoria basin. It is situated in a part of the lake that is heavily endowed with fish and constitutes a major source of livelihood for many Kenyan fishermen from the border communities in western Kenya. The island has been used as an arena for transit and drying of fish. Consequently, a thriving industrial fishing community has sprung up in the area. By 2008-2009, the island was claimed by the Ugandan government led by Yoweri Museveni. But on 11 May 2009 the President conceded that the island is in Kenya, maintaining, however, that Kenyan fishermen were illicitly carrying out fishing in adjoining Ugandan territorial waters thereof, to the west of Migingo. With the Ugandan flag lowered; Uganda withdrew its military troops, and agreed that all its security would be withdrawn from the island.

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- c. ***The case of Lake Malawi (Nyasa):*** There has been a low intensity dispute over the demarcation of boundaries on Lake Nyasa between the governments of Tanzania and Malawi. Both countries have been engaged in a confrontation over the ownership of Lake Nyasa (otherwise referred to as Lake Malawi). It is held that the boundary is situated along the shoreline of the lake as established by Article 1(2) of the 1890 Anglo-German Treaty⁵¹. By this fact, the lake belongs to Malawi. Dar es Salaam, nonetheless, claims the boundary is the median line of the lake in the light of the principles of customary international law. The two countries have different maps with Malawi showing it owns the entire lake while Tanzania insists that the boundary is in the middle of the lake.

In spite of President Julius Nyerere's government commitment to adhere to the *uti possedetis* principle in 1964 and despite pressures from local chiefs to seek economic control of lake resources, relations between the two countries worsened in 1967 when Tanzania accused Malawi of 'cartographical aggression' in seeking to annex the entire lake⁵². When Tanzania then formally claimed of over half the area of the lake, Malawi retorted by asserting ownership of the lake alongside three Tanzania districts located in the north and west.⁵³ The dispute may end up drawing in Mozambique, in case Malawi formally makes good her claim to the islands of Likoma and Chizumulu. If Tanzania's contention about the division of the lake is upheld, Mozambique could also claim that these islands are within maritime domain.⁵⁴ Contes-

tations over fishing rights constitute the fulcrum of this dispute. The lake has several economic species, such as the *cichlid*, that are famous for export within the region.

d. *The ominous scenarios and outlooks ahead:* There are many other potential border dispute hotbeds in this the focal region. The Elemi triangle, for instance, counts among the most volatile instance, which could yield a possible dispute between four protagonists – Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia and Southern Sudan. This is becoming rather likely given the possibilities of oil discoveries in this long-disputed area. Uganda has been accused by Kenya of tampering with their common border north of Mt Elgon, again in the context of mineral exploration and expectations of valuable deposits.⁵⁵ Kenya's borderlines with Somalia are becoming tense, with increasing trans-boundary skirmishes in Jubaland, also in the context of mineral exploration and exploitation in the area. Oil discoveries are equally threatening to increase conflict in the Ruvuma basin, wherein Tullow Oil has concessions to explore and exploit gas and oil concessions on the Tanzanian domain.⁵⁶ Generally, the incidence of boundary disputes in East Africa has resulted in dire socio-political, socio-economic and humanitarian outcomes. It has led to a volatile public security scenario characterized by arms proliferation, arms bearing, and armed violence.⁵⁷

The attendant violence has occasioned human mortality and morbidity, population displacements, refugee crisis and allied socio-humanitarian malaise. The ripples of violence in that context have often precipitated socio-economic crisis and aggravated human insecurity (prevalence of hunger, starvation, and disease and material poverty). Complications of the disputes are also evident in the prevalence of trans-border violence and criminality. There has been an ample manifestation of cross-border smuggling, illegal migration, extremist militancy and transnational banditry (e.g. cattle rustling) in the region owing largely to the collapse of border governance in some areas. The collateral implications of this scenario to national security of the affected states are better imagined.

Conclusion

This article set out to examine the incidence of border conflicts in East Africa from the prism of territorial materialism. The 'territorial

materialism' of boundary disputes in this context presupposes that international boundary disputes are often engendered and sustained by the contestations among states for the geo-strategic and economic advantage. Hence, the violent territorial struggles on the borderlines of African states are not farfetched from the geo-strategic and economic pursuits of the affected states and political regimes. Whereas historical factors, such as colonialism has contributed to the prevalence of boundary conflict in Africa through arbitrary ethnic partitioning and disintegration, what is crucially at issue in most instances of contemporary border related disputes in the continent is the quest geo-strategic advantage, often associated with contestations for resources. As Okumu rightly opined in the case of the focal area, 'Boundary disputes in Eastern Africa commonly pre-date the discovery of mineral resources, but they have certainly been intensified by the recent flurry of explorations. There is a high potential for border disputes in Eastern Africa as a result of discoveries or increased exploitation of trans-boundary resources.'⁵⁸

In effect, contemporary boundary disputes in East Africa have often been largely driven by declared or disguised claims, stakes, motives and interests that are material or economic in essence. The implication of this is that analysis of boundary disputes in Africa should transcend the orthodox narrative of 'colonial origin and heritage' and come to terms with the intricate contemporary geo-strategic cum material imperatives that underpin such occurrences. More importantly, policy endeavors geared towards resolving boundary disputes in Africa must seek to properly understand, situate and address the gamut of geo-strategic underpinnings and complications of such disputes. Solution to the spate of boundary disputes in East Africa and elsewhere in the continent is contingent on a diplomatic approach that properly recognises and honours the colonially inherited boundary system as well as mediates the sundry geo-strategic interests of the affected states. In this direction, it is apposite to evolve a regional border management mechanism that can proactively and multilaterally address border related issues toward an enduring resolution. More rigorous case-specific studies are required, however, to further bolster this line of initiative.



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Regionalism in World Politics

Interrogating the Relevance of the ECOWAS in Global Political Economy

Chikodiri Nwangwu, Chukwuemeka Enyiazu, Ejikeme Jombo Nwagwu, Christian C. Ezeibe

Globalisation has promoted the connections among sovereign states in the international political economy. Despite the preponderance of neo-protectionist tendencies in the United States and some European countries, the import of regionalism in global political economy has not waned. While economic regionalism was adopted in the advanced capitalist formations as a logical consequence of and/or the instrument for the universalisation of capitalism, the emergence and/or revival of regional groupings like the African Union (AU) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was a reactionary outcome of the twin problems of colonialism and globalisation. Specifically, West African states reached out to one another in order to mitigate the negative effects of globalisation and advance their common interest through economic integration. This study interrogates the relevance of ECOWAS in the international political economy within the global resurgence of protectionism. Although ECOWAS is impaired by multifarious political and socioeconomic challenges, this study demonstrates that its achievements in free movement of goods and persons, promotion of peace, security, good governance, and democratisation make it remain relevant in the global political economy.

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Introduction

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The phenomenal growth in the overall number of regional institutions and the range of their activities over the last century has correspondingly generated undue interest in the study of regionalism. Sovereign states have come to appreciate the realities of the prevailing international system, which largely thrives on interdependency. Although they still try to guard their sovereignty as jealously as possible, the era of rigid adherence to sovereignty by states is rapidly fizzling out. States are increasingly aware of their need to cooperate in the exploitation and utilisation of world resources for the benefit of all the members of the international community.¹ With the dawn of the 21st century, the concept of ‘global village’ has virtually become a reality; thanks to the renaissance of the ideals of regionalism as well as the revolution in information and communications technology which has deepened international economic interdependency. Accordingly, Nwangwu and Okoye argue that “the fairy tale of a legendary hermit – Robinson Crusoe – who lived and ‘survived’ in seclusion is completely out-of-touch with contemporary global realities where convergence of sovereign states has become a desideratum for survival and international relevance”.²

Consequently, it is not possible for any state to recoil into its shell and have nothing to do with the outside world, given the growing interdependence of nations economically, socially and militarily. This assertion, however, is not prejudicial to the phenomenal developments within the international political economy since 2016. More than anything else, 2016 marked a watershed in the drive towards the reversal of some fundamentals of globalisation. Mercantilism resonates within and outside the global north, especially the United Kingdom, the United States, France and Germany. In June 2016, the United Kingdom overwhelmingly voted in a referendum to leave the European Union (EU) in what is now widely called Brexit. The rallying cry of pro-Brexit campaigners was: ‘we want our country back’. By the same token, the victory of Donald Trump of the Grand Old Party can hardly be explained outside the purview of his protectionist orientations adroitly captured in the catchphrases ‘Make America great again’ and ‘America first’. Similar fundamentals of economic nationalism also re-echoed

during the 2017 French presidential campaign of Marine Le Pen of the National Front. Le Pen particularly advocated more stringent immigration policies and promotion of protectionism as alternatives to neo-liberal economic policies. Moreover, she was strongly opposed to EU's supra-nationalism by calling on France to leave both the Eurozone and the EU.

Notwithstanding, sovereign states have continued to break out of their shells and to reach out to one another. Discourses on regional security and economic integration have also continued to receive growing attention in both African scholarship and beyond.³ Although the opportunities offered by the interdependence of nation-states in the present global system have not been fully exploited to satisfy the needs of all the members of the international community, new regional and sub-regional groupings have continued to emerge while old ones are being consolidated. Virtually no area of the globe is left untouched by the rising tide of regionalism. In Africa, for instance, there is the African Union (AU) (successor to the Organisation of African Unity, OAU); in the Americas, the Organization of American States (OAS); the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) for the Caribbean and in Europe, the European Union (EU) and the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). Similarly, there are several sub-regional groupings throughout the world. In Asia for example, there are the Asian Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) and the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), among others. There is the League of Arab States (LAS) and the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) in the Middle East while Africa boasts of assorted sub-regional groups like Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), Southern African Development Community (SADC), Common Market of Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), the Gulf of Guinea Commission (GGC), Indian Ocean Commission (IOC), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), among others.

Regionalism has, therefore, become so pervasive that it is extremely difficult to find an independent state, except when it is deliberately barred by some special sanctions and circumstances, which does not belong to, at least, one regional/sub-regional organisation or the other. Thus, Imobighe argues that "the most distinctive feature of the pattern of modern regional groupings is not so much a question of their num-

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ber and spread as to their purpose".⁴ Whereas earlier regional/international organisations were mainly competitive alliance systems which were confrontational in outlook, most present-day organisations are generally development-oriented and more cooperative in nature. Although some relics of confrontational security groupings still exist, their continuing relevance has become increasingly open to question since the end of the Cold War. Thus, it accounted for the early demise of these earlier regional groupings that were designed essentially as competitive alliance systems.

The founding of regional groupings often comes as a consequence of or response to adverse and cataclysmic occurrence within the region in question or the world at large. This is the case with ECOWAS, which was established in 1975 with the mandate to facilitate the effective resuscitation and integration of the West African economy after the downturn that characterised the sub-region in the 1970s. Previous research emphasises the collaborative desire among ECOWAS members in order to tackle regional challenges.⁵ Hence, ECOWAS have created networks that are useful for both formal and informal relations within the sub-region.⁶ Scholars have also focused on the prospects of ECOWAS mechanisms and institutions for realising a single currency and the Custom Union.⁷ Meanwhile, ECOWAS needs to move from rhetoric to reality and/or from words to actions in order to harvest its huge prospects and potentials as a sustainable people-oriented organisation in West Africa.⁸ This article considers the relevance of ECOWAS in global political economy, and is guided by the following research questions: Do the achievements of ECOWAS in West Africa make it relevant in the global political economy? What are the challenges of ECOWAS as a regional organisation in West Africa?

Context and Methodology

This study was situated within the 15 member-states of ECOWAS, namely Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo. The area of study is located between 13.5317° North 2.4604° West. The population of the study area is estimated at 377 trillion people.⁹ The region plays host to Nigeria (the largest producer of crude oil in Africa). Nigeria serves as a hegemon in the region, providing political, economic and military leadership to maintain peace and security.¹⁰ Nigeria's population and GDP are roughly equal to those of

all the other members put together.¹¹ Hence, Nigeria occupies a vantage position to influence ECOWAS decisions and projects.¹²

Data for the study were collected through field observation, policy appraisal and reference to secondary literature. The study was conducted to generate information on the relevance of ECOWAS in global political economy as well as its challenges in regional integration. Realising the complications and complexities of the social world, this study adopted the constant comparative method (CCM) to analyse data. This approach is used in qualitative research to continuously compare collected data in order to identify regular repeating patterns and conflicting views.¹³ CCM allows data collection and analysis to be done simultaneously. It is a logical way to make sense of and order information and is also one of the techniques used to ensure the reliability of the data collected.¹⁴ In this study, field observations, policy appraisals and secondary literature were compared with each other and then related to the research context in order to confirm or dispute it. Field observation was done within ECOWAS major trade corridors between 6 and 12 November 2018. The West African transport networks that were observed to determine the trends of movement of goods and persons are the Dakar–Ndjamena, Dakar–Lagos, Abidjan–Lagos, Cotonou–Niamey, Lomé–Ouagadougou and Dakar–Bamako corridors.

Theorising Regionalism

The term ‘regionalism’ is derived from the root word ‘region’. The actual meaning and significance of these terms for the theory and practice of global political economy are vigorously contested in the literature.¹⁵ Both relate, in subtly different ways, to interaction at the regional level. To some, the term ‘region’ denotes no more than a geographical reality, usually a cluster of states sharing a common space on the globe. This may be a large continent, or a small group of contiguous states. Thus, Nye conceives a region as “a group of states linked together by both a geographical relationship and a degree of mutual interdependence”.¹⁶ However, the definitional boundary of a region could be expanded to incorporate commonality, interaction and hence the possibility of cooperation. Thus, regions are seen as units, based on groups, states or territories, whose members display some identifiable patterns of behaviour. Such units are smaller than the international system of states, but larger than any individual state. They may be permanent or temporary, institutionalised or non-institutionalised.

As a corollary, regionalism implies a policy whereby states and non-state actors cooperate and coordinate strategy within a given region. It encompasses efforts by a group of nations to enhance their economic, political, social or cultural interaction. It promotes integration schemes which derive from articles of association of member-states. Such efforts can take on different forms, including either or all of the following: regional cooperation, market integration, development integration and regional integration. Essentially, regionalism represents the “willingness and determination of states with strong sense of common interests, values, orientations and expectations to live and work together in both domestic and foreign policies in support of greater political and economic union, and by extension security community”.¹⁷ Aside from promoting economic, political and security cooperation and community, it tends to consolidate state-building and democratisation, check heavy-handed behaviour by strong states, increase transparency, make states and international institutions more accountable and help to manage the negative effects of globalisation.

The post-war period saw the proliferation of regional organisations — notably pan-regional groups like the OAU, OAS and LAS, as well as the NATO-inspired security pacts like the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO), the Australia, New Zealand, United States Security Treaty (ANZUS) and the Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO). For the less developed countries in particular, regionalism had the added appeal of an independence movement. Such regional institutions like the OAU and LAS were used as platforms for the promotion of common positions on matters of importance to their members. These included decolonisation and apartheid (in the defunct OAU) and support for Palestine (in the LAS). The same was true of a ‘pan’-Third World institution like the Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 77 which were vehicles for projecting the general interests of the less developed economies onto the international stage. Thus, regionalism was used as an instrument for challenging the perceived asymmetrical relationship between the Economically Developed Countries (EDCs) and the Less Developed Countries (LDCs). It was also used as a weapon for advancing the external relations of some states as typified by the Arab States in the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), which raised oil prices in response to the Arab-Israeli War of 1973. According to William, changing economic orthodoxy, the example of Europe and a more narrowly defined set of security concerns pushed states

into new cooperative projects, like the ASEAN, CARICOM, ECOWAS, SADC, SAARC and the GCC.¹⁸ These groups, whether they aspired to pan-regional or sub-regional status, were products of the Cold War era, yet have survived to the present.

Since the late 1980s, globalisation has changed the international economic environment for regionalism. Despite, or partly because of, the parallel process of globalisation, regionalism has grown in salience. Both the number and membership of regional organisations as well as interest in what was dubbed the 'new' regionalism have grown exponentially. 'New' regionalism is a pro-market, inclusive and holistic scheme that marked the end of state-centric approaches and the rise of a multilateral approach to regionalism.¹⁹

The adoption of the multilateral approach by the EU has generated huge trade and investment benefits. This has led to competitive region-building in Africa, Asia-Pacific and the Americas. Akpuru-Aja²⁰ identifies nine economic integration schemes in Africa, three in Arab States, five in Asia, three in Europe, five in Latin America and Caribbean and one in North America. The expansion of regionalism has been attributed to the existence of a more permissive international environment where regions have been freer to assert their own identities and purposes.²¹ The emergence of international trade agreements such as North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the development of European Single Market under the new regional framework have further demonstrated the importance of regional political cooperation and economic competitiveness. Thus, the regional momentum has remained considerable. Some issues of regional concern include public health challenges like HIV/AIDS and Ebola, free trade zones, democratisation, post-conflict peace-building initiatives, humanitarian support in war and disaster-prone areas, transhumant pastoralism, counter-insurgency strategies, and so on. Overall, regional initiatives help to create structures that perform certain roles with daily impact upon peoples and states, thereby softening the contours of globalisation and state power.²² In the public space, regionalism presents an opportunity that gives voice and respect to individual countries, expands trade, promotes openness, encourages multilateral partnerships and exchange of technical experiences, thereby advancing effective regional integration.²³ Perhaps the overall relevance of regionalism makes both strong and weak states to subscribe.²⁴

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Overview of Regionalism in Africa

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Regionalism is a central pillar in Africa's development strategy and is largely seen as a necessity rather than a choice. This collaborative effort has had profound effects on the foreign policies of African countries.²⁵ However, the success story of economic integration and development in Europe is the opposite in Africa. For sure, political and economic integration is not new in Africa. Regionalism in Africa has undergone two complementary waves. The first wave is associated with decolonisation and the pan-Africanist agenda. Immediately after the decolonisation process started, the first attempts at regional cooperation among independent states took place in Africa. Pan-Africanism constitutes the ideological framework for the liberation struggle and unity of this colonially plundered continent.²⁶ The defunct East African Community (EAC) illustrates how the newly independent African states tried to build upon and develop further regional schemes established by the colonial powers. The main instigators behind these processes were the UN's Economic Commission for Africa and the OAU. In this period, Africa experienced the establishment of a whole range of regional schemes for economic cooperation but most of them became nothing but 'paper-tigers'.²⁷

The second wave of regionalism in Africa started in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The main instigator was the globalisation of regionalism as a potential counter-force to economic globalisation. In other words, the revival of interests in regional arrangements especially after the Cold War regime is due largely to the phenomenon of globalisation sweeping across the world. Regionalism, therefore, was adopted as one of the viable political responses to globalisation. This was underpinned by the belief that Africa would be further marginalised if it fails to regionalise. This phase arises from the need to provide an additional layer of governance in the international political economy that could protect participating states from the worst storms in the economy. Accordingly, the African Development Bank notes that:

in the face of these trends, Africa must transform its weak production structures and fragmented markets by embracing economic integration with a renewed sense of purpose and direction. The alternative is that the continent would risk becoming increasingly marginalized in its participation in the global economy.²⁸

As a corollary, the renewed sense of focus in regional schemes in other parts of the world through the EU, NAFTA and ASEAN spawned Africa into greater regional economic integration. In particular, the plans for the single European Act led to a perception in Africa of a coming 'Fortress Europe' with high tariff walls against African products as abundantly encapsulated in the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations conducted within the framework of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) between 1986 and 1994. In addition, several African leaders were worried about what would be the outcome of the Lomé Agreement and other arrangements that gave these countries some privileges and safeguards in uncertain and volatile international markets. Consequently, the member-states of the OAU converged in Abuja in 1991, during which time the Abuja Treaty was signed. The treaty, among other things, establishes a timetable for the creation of a Pan-African Economic Community by the year 2025. It also underscores the importance of sub-regional initiatives like the ECOWAS, COMESA and SADC as executing instruments for achieving the goals of the treaty both sub-regionally and on the continental level. In other words, sub-regional groups are expected to be the springboards of continental integration. It holds that regional markets must be established in order to ensure economic security and sustainable development in Africa. This development is underpinned by the traditional idea from economic integration theorists that no African state is economically large enough to construct a modern economy alone. It has been argued that Africa as a whole has the resources for industrialisation, but it is split into too many states that do not cooperate.²⁹ Seen from a traditional economic perspective, one of the most glaring reflections of Africa's economic weakness is the small size of most domestic markets and the low volume of officially recorded trade among them. Despite the ECOWAS trade policy embedded in trade liberalisation programme, its imports from the rest of the world, especially Europe and North America continue to rise within the period.³⁰ The reasons for this pro-Western trade orientation are not far-fetched. As argued by Nwangwu and Okoye, the succession of mainly ideologically conservative national governments since 1960, especially in Nigeria, makes it little surprising that Africa has remained essentially pro-West in its economic orientation and international economic connections.³¹ Africa's trade with China has increased astronomically from US\$1 billion in 2000 to \$221.88 billion in 2014.³² Although China's trade

with Africa also emphasises primary products and natural resources like their European counterparts, they are more diversified. China has invested heavily in transport and education infrastructure to deepen trade and investment in the continent that has been marginalised in the international political economy.³³ The next section discusses the achievements of ECOWAS in West Africa.

Achievements of ECOWAS in West Africa

ECOWAS was established on 28 May 1975 by West African States who are signatories to the Treaty of Lagos. Although Mauritania withdrew its membership of ECOWAS in 2002, the Community has remained one of the five regional pillars of the African Economic Community (AEC). Others are COMESA, ECCAS, IGAD and SADC. These bodies signed a Protocol on Relations in February 1998. However, slow progress towards economic and monetary integration under the Treaty of Lagos led to its revision in Cotonou on 24 July 1993. ECOWAS is also one of the largest and most diversified economic communities in sub-Saharan Africa. It may have been the only integration scheme which cuts across all colonial boundaries, encompassing the Anglophone, Francophone and Lusophone countries of the sub-region. The main aim of the ECOWAS is to “promote cooperation and development in all the fields of economic activity... for the purpose of... fostering closer relations among its members and contributing to the progress and development of the African continent”.³⁴ Essentially, the founding of the Community was necessitated by the economic crunch that bedevilled the sub-region in the early 1970s. By the mid-1970s, many West African countries were already in the throes of economic difficulties in the aftermath of the global oil price shock of 1973. Many of the countries in the sub-region, apart from Nigeria which produces oil, had serious problem of external balances. There was a need for increased foreign financial support, if they were to be able to maintain a minimum level of imports to ensure a steady process of economic growth and development.

After over four decades of ECOWAS existence, Akinyemi highlighted that one of its major area of achievement is entering into treaties and creating sub-units.³⁵ Some of the notable treaties of ECOWAS include Protocol for the Establishment of a Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution; Peace and Security; Cotonou Agreement; and Agreement with the China Council for the Promotion

of International Trade (CCPIT). The sub-units created by ECOWAS include West African Monetary Zone in 2000; Regional Investment Guarantee Agency with \$1 billion to mitigate political risks associated with investments in West Africa in 2013; Regional Agency for Agriculture and Food (RAAF) in 2013; and ECOWAS Common External Tariff (CET) in 2015. These agreements and sub-units of ECOWAS are crucial frameworks for promoting economic development, peace, security and good governance in the sub-region. In order to foster intra-African trade, ECOWAS welcomed the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) treaty that was signed by several African countries during the Extraordinary AU summit in Kigali, Rwanda on 21 March 2018. The Community also encouraged its members who are yet to sign the agreement to fast-track the signing process.³⁶

ECOWAS has also made some positive strides in the harmonisation of macro-economic policies, implementation of the CET, multilateral surveillance, research and development, youth empowerment, trade liberalisation, customs union, favourable industrial policy, mines development, agriculture and environment, infrastructure, telecommunications, energy and transportation. Under the regional infrastructure development programme of the Community, for instance, the construction of the Abidjan-Lagos Transport Project (Nigeria, Ghana, Togo, Cote d'Ivoire and Benin), the Dakar-Abidjan Multimodal Corridor (Senegal, The Gambia, Guinea Bissau, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Cote d'Ivoire and Cape Verde) as well as the Praia-Dakar-Abidjan Multimodal Corridor, is already underway.

The Community acquired a very different function in the 1990s when it intervened in the political uprisings in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea Bissau. Approximately 8,000 troops from five African countries moved to end the civil unrest in these countries. These troops were collectively referred to as ECOWAS Monitoring Group or ECOMOG. They were drawn from Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and the Gambia. Although ECOMOG forces had some temporary success in Sierra Leone, they were withdrawn in favour of a United Nations (UN) Force in March 2000, when Sierra Leone further degenerated into brutal chaos.³⁷ Furthermore, through the adoption and application of the *ECOWAS Mechanism* of 1999 and the *Supplementary Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance* of 2001, the Community has been able to incrementally but progressively stabilise the region and promote democratic governance. Strict adherence to

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Constitutional Convergence Principles has yielded relatively peaceful, transparent and credible outcomes in recent general elections in Benin, Ghana, Guinea, Niger, Nigeria and The Gambia. The zero-tolerance disposition of the Community to power obtained or maintained by unconstitutional means has been able to put pressure on wayward and anti-democratic regimes to change their ways through a combination of sanctions and preventive diplomacy. Consequently, ECOWAS in the last ten years has suspended the membership of many defaulting member-states including Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Mauritania (not a member anymore but has applied for re-admission) and Niger. Working together with the international community, it later restored constitutional order and legality in those countries. ECOWAS member-states cooperate to tackle insurgency in Mali and Nigeria through the Multinational Joint Task Force. Similarly, ECOWAS, ECCAS and GGC also cooperate to tackle the criminal activities in the resource-laden Gulf of Guinea. This inter-regional cooperation was consummated with the development and adoption of a regional framework, as embodied in the *Yaoundé Code of Conduct* of June 2013. According to Ifesinachi and Nwangwu "the transnational character of maritime insecurity has made trans-border cooperation a *sine qua non* in the mitigation of illicit maritime activities the world over".³⁸ In January 2017, the political instability as a result of the defeat of Yahya Jammeh in the 2016 Presidential Election in the Gambia was doused through the *Operation Restore Democracy* of the ECOWAS Mission in the Gambia (ECOMIG).

ECOWAS has also successfully implemented its *Protocol on Free Movement* which grants the citizens of the Community, like the EU's Schengen zone, visa to enter member states without visa for up to 90 days.³⁹ Out of every 100 would-be West African immigrants, only 15% go to Europe. Hence, Nigeria, Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana absorb most of the West African immigrants.⁴⁰ The benefits accruing to ECOWAS members from the Protocol on Free Movement made Morocco, a North African country, to apply for admission into ECOWAS in 2017. Although Morocco's membership is yet to be approved, its trade with ECOWAS members, especially Nigeria and Senegal, has continued to increase.⁴¹

Challenges of Economic Integration in West Africa

A dispassionate assessment of ECOWAS shows that it has carved a niche for itself as a sustainable and vibrant brand in regional economic

integration worldwide and a model for Africa. It has continued to earn and enjoy the respect, goodwill and support of a growing number of international development partners. Despite the relevance of ECOWAS to the global political economy, it faces multifarious challenges.⁴² Poor infrastructure, non-implementation of regional protocols, prevalence of trade barriers and high levels of informal trade are major barriers to economic integration in the ECOWAS region. Specifically, barriers to economic integration in West Africa are discussed within economic, historical, administrative, political, security and socio-cultural challenges.

From an economic point of view, West Africa has generally remained poor. Although 5% of the world's population live in West Africa, its shares of world's total GDP and total exports is less than 1%.⁴³ Twelve out of the fifteen ECOWAS member-states are classified as Least Developed Countries (LDCs). In the UNDP's development index, the bottom ten countries have consistently come from Sub-Saharan Africa out of which four are ECOWAS member-states. This is not unconnected to the fact that the region comprises mainly primary and, in most cases, single-commodity producer countries which consume what they do not produce. The narrowing or elimination of the gap between production and consumption is required to enable the Community and its citizens break from the maze of exogenous dependency for the basic necessities of life. Moreover, the elusive convergence of national economic policies continues to delay the realisation of a much-desired monetary union in line with the objective of the 1978 ECOWAS Monetary Cooperation Programme. Despite their resilience, the largely agrarian and raw material dominated economies of ECOWAS member-states remain vulnerable to the shocks of exogenous factors. Although the region recorded a growth rate of 6.2% between 2010 and 2015, the figure masks significant disparity between the member-states. While Nigeria, Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire account for 76%, 9.2% and 8.64% of total regional trade respectively, the remaining 12 ECOWAS countries shared 6.16% of the regional trade.⁴⁴ Our field observation shows that this trade disparity undermines free movement of persons and good in West Africa especially in trailing countries. No wonder ECOWAS countries largely failed to meet the goals and targets encapsulated in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Nevertheless, overcoming this challenge presents an opportunity for ECOWAS countries to achieve Goals #8 (promote sustained, inclusive

and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work) and #9 (build resilient infrastructure, promoting inclusive and sustainable industrialisation and fostering innovation) of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.

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While ECOWAS seems to have found a solution to the perennial financial problem dogging many multinational organisations or Regional Economic Communities (RECs) through its Community Levy mechanism, the challenge of inadequate commitment by member-states, especially delay in the payment of assessed dues, has remained unabated. Consequently, ECOWAS accepted the Chinese \$31.6 million grant to build a new headquarters in Abuja, Nigeria because countries in the region do not have cash to spare for such projects.⁴⁵

Similarly, the Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, Right of Residence and Establishment designed to facilitate the integration of national economies and peoples are yet to be fully implemented. At best they have been subjected to wanton violation by member-states through illegal road blocks and check-points for extortion, harassment and intimidation of travellers from other ECOWAS countries.⁴⁶ For example, the number of roadblocks/checkpoints in the 1020 km Lomé-Ouagadougou corridor which is freest corridor in the region increased from 14 in the second quarter of 2013 to 29 in 2015.⁴⁷ Our field observations further show that the extortion of travellers from other ECOWAS countries was most severe in the Abidjan-Lagos and Cotonou-Niamey corridors in West Africa.

Again, a lack of a centralized database among ECOWAS members to provide information on movement of persons and goods is a major hindrance to the implementation of *Protocol on Free Movement*. For instance, about 75% of intra-ECOWAS trade is not accounted for in official statistics because it takes place on an informal basis.⁴⁸ This constitutes drawbacks to the ideals of the protocol and subjects ECOWAS citizens to constant administrative harassment and extortion.⁴⁹

Generally, these restrictions against free movement in the region exist at three different levels. First, member-states still impose restrictive measures to protect their national interest usually defined to include security, income and safety of nationals and their property. These measures manifest themselves in immigration laws, investment codes and indigenisation programmes. Second, the policies and activities of duplicitous RECs like the Union Economique et Monétaire Ouest Africaine (UEMOA) — a monetary union promoted by the French govern-

ment — continue to impede free movement. Third, the contradictions in the ECOWAS Treaty itself and the *Protocol on the Free Movement of Persons* constitute restrictions in their own right. The interpretations of the protocol by member-states accounted for the famed *Ghana-Must-Go* crisis of 1983/4 in Nigeria as well as the 1999-2001 indirect expulsion of tens of thousands of migrants from Burkina Faso by the government of Cote d'Ivoire.

These economic challenges within the Community are exacerbated by cultural, historical political and administrative factors. Historical ties to different colonial powers constitute a structural barrier. These ties have culminated into the adoption of three official languages (English, French and Portuguese), different currencies, fiscal codes and public administration structures and practices within the sub-region. The relations between several of the member-countries have been marked by long-standing territorial disputes and political rivalries. In addition, political instability is prevalent in many ECOWAS member-countries. This has led to frequent, violent and unconstitutional changes in political leadership. For instance, between 2008 and 2015, the region suffered more than six military coups, particularly in Guinea Bissau (2008), Mauritania (2008), Guinea (2008), Guinea-Bissau (2009), Niger (2010), Mali (2012) and Burkina Faso (2015).

More importantly, relevant political decisions have been made at the regional level but there is a considerable lack of political will when regionally agreed decisions are to be implemented nationally. The divergence between regional rhetoric and national implementation is significant. While regional groupings are primarily concerned with policymaking, their implementation remains the responsibility of national governments. However, many member-states are hypocritically attached to their national sovereignties while at the same time canvassing for regional integration. This contradiction hampers the harmonisation of national policies and statutes into a supranational architecture. Further, there is often lack of continuity across election cycles in West Africa. Newly elected leaders, eager to establish their own identity and differentiate themselves and their governments from their predecessors, often abandon positions previously established. Thus, regional protocols are often not supported by national level legislation, regulation and procedures, and there is a general lack of enforcement and consistency. Accordingly, this scenario has been attributed to lack of regional institutional capac-

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ity, weak connection between institutions at the regional and national level, the absence of real political commitment to the regional integration process and lack of policy prioritisation mechanisms.⁵⁰ The prevalence of weak institutions undermines the inflow of Foreign Direct Investments in ECOWAS.⁵¹ Consequently, the West African Monetary Union which intends to reduce transaction costs in cross-border trade and promote greater ease in cross-border investments, remains an area of frustration for supporters of regional integration. By the same token, the prospect of establishing a continental monetary union by 2023 as encapsulated in the *Abuja Treaty* of 3 June 1991 is still far-fetched.

Furthermore, the region has continued to suffer from low level intra-regional trade. It has also been reported that intra-regional trade in West Africa has hovered between 11% to 15% in the past 25 years.⁵² The implication is that ECOWAS has failed to grow intra-West African trade. In fact, the EU absorbed 43% of ECOWAS agricultural exports and 48% of its food exports between 2010 and 2016.⁵³ In contrast, data from Eurostat indicates that intra-EU trade ranges from 69% to 85% of EU total exports between 2010 and 2017. Heavy reliance of ECOWAS countries on EU and China for their imports affects them negatively. For instance, Nigerian civil society organisations blame Chinese imports for the loss of several jobs.⁵⁴

Although trade liberalisation schemes of the Community are meant to follow a three-phase implementation approach, its member-states have continued to practise economic protectionism which runs counter to the goals of the programme. While many African RECs have made significant progress in the area of trade facilitation such as Nigerian Export Trade Houses Ltd (NEXPORTRADE), much more effort is required to harmonise and integrate sub-regional markets.

For instance, issues relating to the CET, lack of complementarity and diversification of production structures, inadequate transportation infrastructure and communication technologies, high production costs, low utilisation of trade liberalisation regimes, cumbersome and complex custom procedures, cross-border anti-competitiveness practices and other technical barriers have combined to undermine intra- and inter-regional trade in ECOWAS domain and Africa generally. By extension, it has also eroded the actualisation of South-South cooperation.

Conclusion

This study posits that while the regional option was adopted in the EDCs of the North as a logical consequence and/or the instrument for the universalisation of capitalism, the emergence and/or revival of regionalism in the LDCs of the South was a reactionary outcome of the twin problems of colonialism and globalisation. Thus regionalism, whether in economic or security affairs, is a response to the dominant order. Using ECOWAS as a case study, the paper established that the capacity of sub-regional groupings in Africa to actualise the ideals contained in their charters, protocols and conventions is very weak. Commitment to regional integration in Africa generally seems marginal. This minimal commitment of the national governments to regional integration process has made the regional option elusive. In other words, the prioritisation of national interest over regional interest is the greatest obstacle to socioeconomic integration among ECOWAS countries. Despite the major challenges to regional integration in Africa, ECOWAS has made significant achievements in creating institutions and entering treaties that are relevant for promotion of trade, economic development, peace and security in the region.

In fact, regionalism in sub-Saharan Africa remains the most concrete African initiative for tackling the fundamental problems of African economy. Therefore, African national governments must exhibit greater political will towards the revival of extant sub-regional and regional groupings into more virile and viable organisations that can address the problems of western balkanisation of their territories, globalisation, underdevelopment, poverty, ignorance and diseases. Moreover, RECs in Africa should adopt prudent macro-economic policies, scaling up of investments in the social sector, formulation of economic policies within the framework of a regional development programme, and diversification of the export base by member-states to ensure sustainability and mitigation of the impact of future exogenous shocks.



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Christopher HOWARD. *Thinking Like a Political Scientist*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017. 248 pp. ISBN 9780226327402.

Thinking Like a Political Scientist

Reviewed by Alec Lalonde

Christopher Howard, known chiefly for his contributions to the study of American politics with *The Hidden Welfare State* (1997) and *The Welfare State Nobody Knows* (2006), makes a pragmatic and unpretentious contribution to the already burgeoning literature on political methodology with *Thinking Like a Political Scientist* (hereafter TLPS). Howard puts aside arcane statistical techniques and philosophical reflections in order to impart set vital methodological precepts that undergraduates should come to understand through an introductory research methods course. In particular, he identifies three core questions animating empirical inquiry that every student of political science ought to grapple with: What happened? Why? and Who Cares? The first question deals with the challenges of description, concept formation and measurement, the second with causal analysis, and the third wrestles with the normative and real-world implications of one's research question. Howard would like students and their teachers to give these basic questions sustained thought and attention. Reflecting on his own experiences as a student, Howard declares, 'What I really needed was some practical guidance about how to identify a good research question and how to answer it systematically and persuasively' (vii). He reminds us that thinking like a political scientist is less about memo-

rizing abstract definitions and mathematical formulas and more about delivering comprehensive and compelling answers for the kinds of questions which ordinary people care about.

Howard divides his book into two parts. Part One, 'Asking Good Questions', examines the three core questions. Here, readers also learn how to conduct a proper literature review and how to employ various rhetorical strategies when entering into a scholarly debate, advice that should prove helpful for students embarking into unknown terrain. In Part Two, 'Generating Good Answers', Howard introduces readers to the nitty-gritty details of sampling strategies and case selection, the fundamental differences between various types of experimental designs and observational studies together with their respective strengths and weaknesses, basic forms of large- n statistical analyses such as cross-sectional and time-series designs, the trade-off inherent in the quest for internal and external validity, and the importance of triangulating documentary and archival evidence to strengthen various types of empirical claims. In the final chapter on 'Using Numbers as Evidence', Howard provides a thumbnail sketch of descriptive and inferential statistics, including an easy to understand introduction to the use of contingency tables and regression analysis. I would note, however, that this last installment to Howard's book is arguably the least useful since, by his own admission, 'more than one semester of statistics is required to become truly proficient' (193). In short, from posing interesting questions and surveying the literature to testing and refining hypotheses through multiple regression analysis and case study, this book addresses a range of practical and analytical hurdles that students regularly face as they undertake independent research projects.

Despite its obvious merits, there are at least three limitations to TLPS. First, the absence of any bibliographic essay is a tad disappointing, especially since Howard implores his readers to pursue further coursework in individual methods such as field experiments, surveys, case studies and other techniques (p. x). Some guide to further reading would indeed be useful for those students whose investigative appetites were sufficiently whetted by Howard's introductory text. Second, Howard's discussion of causal analysis in chapter three makes no mention of the potential outcomes framework or what is sometimes called the Neyman-Rubin-Holland causal model. Briefly, the potential outcomes framework utilizes an experimental template and counter-

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factual reasoning to make causal arguments about what would have happened under different treatment conditions. This omission is unfortunate given that this framework has figured so prominently in debates over causal inference ever since King, Keohane, and Verba adopted it over two decades ago as their default model of causal analysis in *Designing Social Inquiry* (1994). Outside of political science, the potential outcomes framework has inspired various books and technical discussions in fields as diverse as econometrics, sociology, demography, and epidemiology. Its growing prominence across the social sciences hints at the need for a lucid and straightforward introduction in TLPS. Finally, not every scholar will find this book useful for the kinds of political inquiry they like to teach. This is because Howard's implicit philosophical position is unabashedly neopositivist in orientation and, as such, fits securely within the mainstream of political science as practiced in the United States. TLPS privileges a style of research uncongenial to most normative theorists, interpretivists, and critical scholars. The methods expounded in TLPS will undoubtedly encourage a style of research more agreeable to empirically-oriented social scientists who embrace neopositivism than it will normative or critical theorists who doubt that this philosophical premise offers an adequate point of departure.

We should commend Howard for his attempt to impart a set of 'bread and butter' tools for thinking that will enable students to design and carry out social research that is both interesting and analytically rigorous. This is the kind of book I wish I had as an undergraduate. Howard's prose is clear and infused with a stylistic wit uncharacteristic of books on methodology. Like other titles in this series, TLPS is primarily for students and their teachers. The practical exercises included at the end of each chapter provide an opportunity for readers to apply some of the lessons conveyed throughout the text. These exercises are challenging but achievable for the student who works hard and thinks well. Seasoned scholars looking for methodological innovations or radical revisions will not find them here. While Howard brilliantly distills and synthesizes a large corpus of existing wisdom, he does not break new ground by advancing fresh techniques. Ultimately, this book should prove useful for instructors teaching introductory research methods courses and any undergraduate or novice craving a gentle introduction to mainstream social science methodology.

Jeremy Swinfen GREEN. *Cyber Security: An Introduction for Non-Technical Managers*. Burlington, VT: Gower, 2015. ISBN 978-1472466730.

Cyber Security: An Introduction for Non-Technical Managers

Reviewed by Gregorio Staglianò

In his *Cyber Security*, Jeremy Swinfen Green provides some insights for 'non - technical managers', as the subtitle suggests. His intention is to map, after trying to give a holistic definition of the term, all the risks associated with the improper, malicious or incorrect use of technology, both for individuals and for companies. Understanding where the leak lies is critical in order to develop an effective strategy to address them, especially in a fully digitized world that puts a huge amount of data, private information and strategic projects online. Moreover, risks can cause damages to a company's organisational structure, to its operational efficiency, to the actual functioning of some components of the IT process and, not least, to its reputation on the market.

The book is divided by the author into three parts: the first one introduces what cybersecurity is, then those organizational steps that need to be taken to deal with risks and threats, and finally, that set of means and technologies aimed at protecting computer systems in terms of availability, confidentiality and integrity of computer assets.

In the second part, Green gives us an overview of the main threats to cybersecurity. By examining the most popular types of attacks, such

as SQL injections, cross-site scripting, DOS or DDOS attacks, the author's advice is to develop a technology that protects individual applications rather than the entire IT infrastructure. The text also presents numerous case studies that help us understand when the theory of cybersecurity clashes with the practice of reality, as in the famous case of Edward Snowden or the theft from Apple's iCloud in 2014. What emerges from the pages of the book is that the most viable solution is to educate both technical people and laypersons to cybersecurity. This is a crucial issue because threats often lie not only in the willingness of hackers, but also in employees who are not accustomed to the most basic security procedures, or to customers and partners who fail to manage, voluntarily or not, a significant amount of valuable data. Risks that can result from malicious behaviour are enormous: monetary theft, server or computer damages, identity theft, loss of personal data, a drastic reduction in business, the inability to participate in online sales, theft of strategic information, theft of IP, damage to credibility and, above all, expensive repair costs.

We should be aware that information must be protected and to do so we must encrypt most of the files and make them inaccessible to unwanted people. Equipping ourselves with excellent antivirus systems, using appropriate security software or two-factor authentication are just some of the solutions that could make our life online easier and safer. We must also address the fact that the possibility of a cyber threat cannot be eliminated completely, but we can work to reduce the risk of being attacked. The author's valuable suggestion is that we should not believe that threats come only from organized groups of hackers who necessarily have a political or economic motive. Risks are hidden everywhere, even by connecting to a public WI-FI, or by misusing social networks.

In the third part, the author warns us of the importance of having a cybersecurity strategy, but before developing one we must understand that these security measures do not only have to do with the technological equipment owned by an organization: rather, it is an imperative in which everyone must be involved, from the executive director to the newcomer.

To be effective, a strategy must be holistic, involve the entire structure, appropriate, classify the right data, be conducted effectively, agile, lean, and engaging. Obviously, the whole process includes previous prevention, and a subsequent response. After having identified the

risks, we can understand how to mitigate them, plan a response, test our plans and make them effective for the future. According to the author, there are many ways to manage risks: avoiding them, transferring them, reducing them and preserving them, but undoubtedly the most important is the framework of the cyber kill-chain, which is a model to reveal the stages of a cyberattack from recognition to annihilation.

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The author closes this introduction to the world of cybersecurity by emphasizing the need for a company or organization to have digital governance, that is, the framework to establish responsibilities, roles and decision-making authorities for the online presence of a company, i.e. all its websites, mobile sites, social channels and any other Internet-enabled product. Digital governance is the framework for establishing awareness, control and achievement in the collection of online data. Establishing it is not easy; it is a real but necessary challenge, because in a completely digitalized world it becomes a priority for every company that wants to survive threats and build resilience to future risks.

Green offers a flowing text that is also suitable for a layman in the sector, even those who are not involved in cybersecurity on a daily basis, as demonstrated by the glossary of the main terms of computer language in the book. It is not meant to instruct, but rather to make experts and non-experts aware of the nature of the risks and threats that lie behind the wrong use of technology. For too long, cybersecurity has been relegated to the information technology sector but today, whether we like it or not, it belongs to a series of areas that, for coordination and organizational needs, must intersect to form a holistic network that protects people, companies and governments from cyber threats.



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