

# Theory of International Relations

Anastasiia  
TSYBULIAK



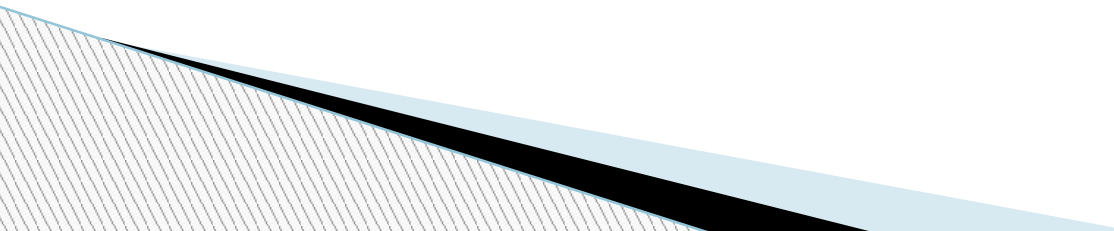
## Session 8

# Non-States



# **Non-State. Definition**

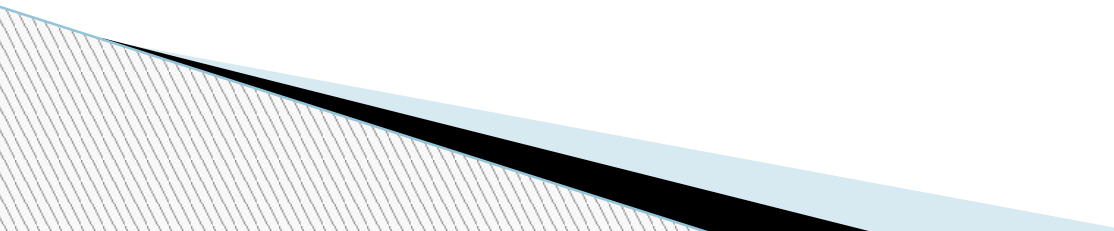
**Non-state actors are individuals or organizations that have powerful economic, political or social power and are able to influence at a national and sometimes international level but do not belong to or allied themselves to any particular country or state.**



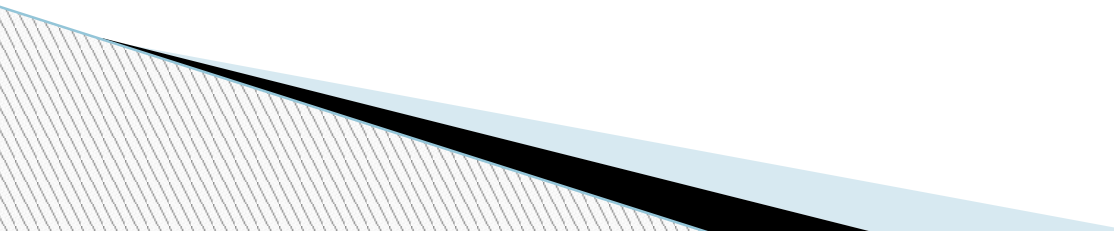
# Non-State. Definition

- Pearlman and Cunningham: ***non-state actors are define as “an organized political actor not directly connected to the state but pursing aims that affect vital state interests”***

# Religions

- All the world's major religions originated before the emergence of the modern state.
  - Religion has been the single most powerful influence not only on societal values, morality, and the norms and practices of family and community life: it has also had a major impact on the nature of the state itself, its laws and institutions and processes of government.
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# Religions

- On the one hand, Christianity, Islam, and Judaism have all inspired humanitarian activities by both the rulers and the ruled, including the movement to abolish slavery, the International Red Cross movement, and Christian socialism aimed at ameliorating the conditions of the working classes.
  - On the other, religions have motivated and inspired some of the most brutal inter-state and internal wars and terrorist campaigns.
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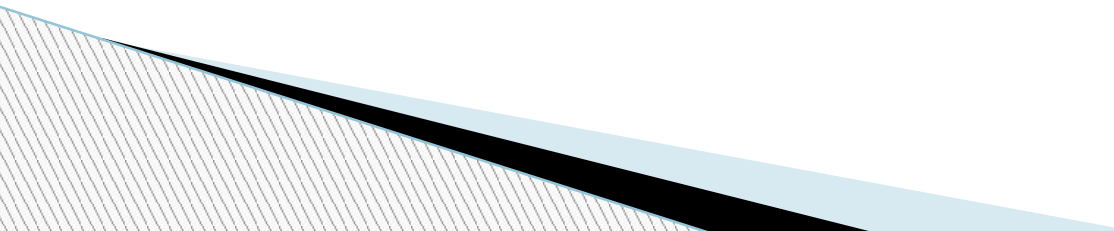
# Religions

## **'Clash of Civilizations'** thesis by Samuel Huntington

- The fundamental source of conflict... will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic. The great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural. Nation states will remain the most powerful actors in world affairs, but the principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations. The clash of civilizations will dominate global politics. The fault lines between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future.
- The most important countries in the world come overwhelmingly from different civilizations. The local conflicts most likely to escalate into broader wars are those between groups and states from different civilizations ... The key issues on the international agenda involve differences among civilizations.

*Quoted from Huntington (1993, 1996)*

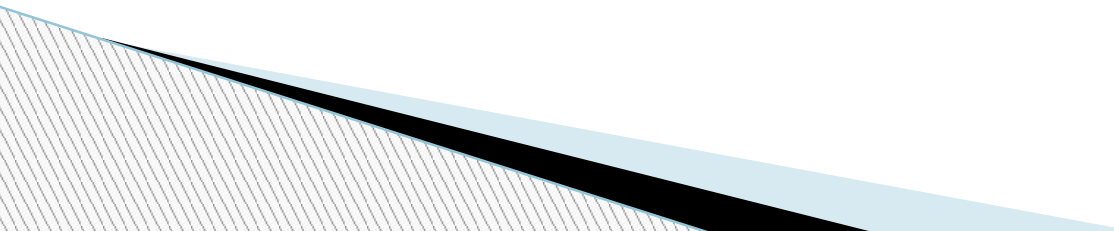
# Religions

1. Religious organizations are growing in their power to shape public debate and the policies of governments (The Hindu nationalist parties in India, Muslim movements in Turkey, Orthodox Christians in Russia, conservative Christians in America, ultra-Orthodox Jews and Orthodox Jewish nationalists in Israel, and evangelicals in Latin America)
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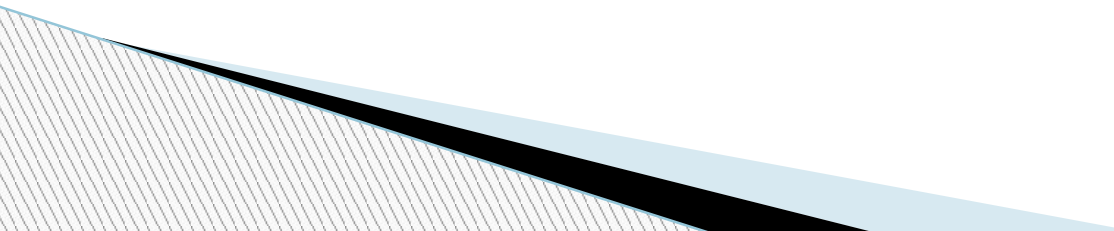


# Religions

2. Religious organizations exercise a transnational influence upon the politics of outside states. ... (Jews in America provide strong direct support to Israel. Worldwide Islamic organizations like the Muslim Brotherhood provide social services in many nations, building loyal followings who then articulate Islamic politics, sometimes through violence.)



# Religions

3. Even more powerfully, religion shapes not only the policies of states but also their very constitutions, thus becoming 'the law of the land'. This is most dramatic in the Muslim world, where, in an 'Islamic resurgence' over the past couple of decades, sharia has become public law in Iran, Sudan, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Malaysia, and twelve of Nigeria's thirty-six states....
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# Nationalism

- The term '*nations*' had no political significance until the late 18th century. It simply meant, as Kedourie puts it, 'groups belonging together by similarity of birth, larger than a family but smaller than a clan or a people or places of provenance'.
- ***Rousseau and the Jacobins*** asserted the claims of the whole population to sovereignty over their state, for the first time proposing that the model state was synonymous with the nation.
- Principles of national solidarity, universal citizenship, equal rights to civic participation and equal treatment under the law, all underpin the modern doctrine of nationalism.

# Major forms of nationalist movements

## ▣ *Cultural-linguistic nationalism*

- ▣ The newly independent nations, like their long-established ex-imperial rulers, rapidly appreciate the importance of cultural nationalism ('the battle of the books') for the intensification of their own people's national commitments.

## ▣ *Anti-colonial nationalism in the 'Third World'*

- ▣ In many cases, especially in the British colonies, the colonial power's permissive rule encouraged the formation of nationalist parliamentary parties as a form of 'democratic tutelage', and where this happened the mass violence of a revolutionary overthrow of colonial rule was often avoided.

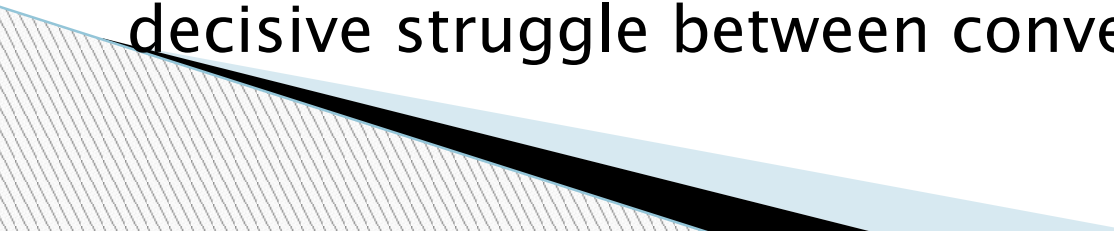
# Multinational Corporations

## (MNCs)

MNCs tend to use capital-intensive methods of production, in which case they will not need to employ large numbers of workers from the host country. Often the MNCs exploit the offers of incentives by the host countries quite cynically, by taking the 'carrots' offered and then reconfiguring their operations in ways that deprive the host countries of benefit.

It is a common error, however, to assume that the MNC is 'sovereign' and that 'globalization' has destroyed the capacity of the state to strike back at MNCs when they wish to do so. States have ultimate control over their territories and borders. They can and do seize MNC assets, expel MNC personnel, nationalize MNCs, impose draconian fines and punishments for alleged violations of laws, and so on. Ultimately the state is still sovereign, though it may be reluctant to take extreme steps against an MNC for fear of causing a flight of overseas investment and the withdrawal of other MNCs from the country.

# Guerrillas and insurgents

- Guerrilla warfare is the natural weapon of the strategically weaker side in a conflict.
  - A key lesson from the recent history of guerrilla warfare, as shown in a masterly survey by Walter Laqueur, *Guerrilla*, is that it is hardly ever a self-sufficient means of achieving victory.
  - Most revolutionary wars (for example, in China, Vietnam, and Cambodia) have moved through a guerrilla phase and have finally developed into a decisive struggle between conventional armed forces.
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# Terrorist groups and networks

## ▣ Terrorist groups, according to the Council

- ▣ Al-Qaeda (Afghanistan, Islamists)
  - ▣ Osama bin Laden (al-Qaeda leader)
  - ▣ Hannas, Islamic Jihad (Palestinian Islamists)
  - ▣ Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades (Palestinian nationalists)
  - ▣ PFLR DFLR PFLP-GC (Palestinian leftists)
  - ▣ Hezbollah (Lebanon, Islamists)
  - ▣ Jamaat al-Islamiyya, Egyptian Islamic Jihad (Egypt, Islamists)
  - ▣ Armed Islamic Group (Algeria, Islamists)
  - ▣ Kashmir Militant Extremists (Kashmir, Islamists)
  - ▣ Mujahedeen-e-Khalq (Iranian rebel)
  - ▣ Abu Nidal Organization (Iraq, extremists)
  - ▣ Kach, Kahane Chai (Israel, extremists)
  - ▣ Chechnya-based Terrorists (Russia, separatists)
  - ▣ East Turkestan Islamic Movement (China, separatists)
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# Terrorist groups and networks

## □ Terrorist groups, according to the Council

- Kurdistan Workers' Party (Turkey, separatists)
  - Jemaah Islamiyah (Southeast Asia, Islamists)
  - Abu Sayyaf Group (Philippines, Islamist separatists)
  - Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (Sri Lanka, separatists)
  - Irish Republican Army (UK, separatists)
  - IRA Splinter Groups (UK, separatists)
  - Northern Ireland Loyalist Paramilitaries (UK, extremists)
  - Basque Fatherland and Liberty (Spain, separatists)
  - November 17, Revolutionary People's Struggle (Greece, leftists)
  - FARC, ELN, AUC (Colombia, rebels)
  - Shining Path, Tupac Amaru (Peru, leftists)
  - Aum Shinrikyo (Japan, cultists)
  - American Militant Extremists (US, radicals)
  - Ansar al-Islam (Iraq, Islamists/Kurdish separatists)
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# Humanitarian and human rights organizations

## ▣ Selected top 100TNCs, ranked by transnationality index 1, 2000

CORPORATION	ECONOMY	TRANSNATIONAL INDEX
<u>RioTinto</u>	United Kingdom	98.2
The Thomson Corporation	Canada	95.3
ABB	Switzerland	94.9
Nestle	Switzerland	94.7
BAT	United Kingdom	94.7
Electrolux	Sweden	93.2
<u>Interbrew</u>	Belgium	90.2
<u>Transnationalization index, top 100 world TNCs</u>		52.6
General Electric	United States	36.7
Toyota	Japan	30.9

' The 'transnationality index' is calculated from the average ratios of foreign assets to total assets, foreign sales to total sales, and foreign employment to total employment.

Based on UNCTAD (2002)

# Recommended Literature

- [Karen A. Mingst](#), [Ivan M. Arreguin-Toft](#). *Essentials of International Relations*. 5th Ed. 2010: New York: W.W. Norton & Co. ISBN 978-0393935295
- [Robert Jackson](#), [Georg Sorensen](#). *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches*. 4th edition, 2010: Oxford University Press. ISBN 978-0199548842
- [Paul Wilkinson](#). *International Relations: A Very Short Introduction (Very Short Introductions)*. 1st edition. 2007: Oxford Paperbacks. ISBN 978-0192801579

**Information about the  
Professor  
Anastasiia Tsybuliak  
PhD in Political Science**

**Contacts:**

**+30673103355**

**an.tibuleac@glossary.com.ua**

