Socialscientia Journal of the Social Sciences and Humanities

Email: socialscientiajournal@gmail.com Online access: https://journals.aphriapub.com/index.php/SS/

Book Review

NNOLI, Okwudiba (2003) *Introduction to Politics*. Enugu: PACREP. Pages 324.

Chidi O. UKAEGBU

Department of Political Science, Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka NIGERIA.

The book, *Introduction to Politics* begins with a proper conceptualization of politics and the centrality of the state. Popular definitions of politics by various scholars were reviewed but all these popular definitions have their limitations which renders them deficient for proper understanding of politics. The definition of politics as the authoritative allocation of values is most common among academics but it is at best couched in abstraction as it also ignores how these resources are produced. It sees politics as something given and concerns itself only with how it operates. Issues like oppression, opposition, repression, exploitation etc are herein left unaddressed. It is the elements of this discrepancy that would generally provide a clear definition of politics.

Today the state is the organizational framework for politics in the world. Even those that are not directly involved in the struggle for state power are indirectly involved in politics since they are affected by the use of state power either as beneficiaries or as victims. The coming into existence of state power is an aspect of politics as it is with the unending struggle for the control, sustenance and use of it. Thus, since power exists in all social relations, politics also exists in all social relations but it is within the state that the struggle is most intense. Outside the state, the use of the term politics only becomes metaphorical. Thus we speak of politics in the church, family, club etc. As such, politics has the state as its centerpiece.

The author carefully categorized and analyzed all existing views of the state within the context of what the reader needs to understand about the state. Since these writings were informed by the circumstances and dictates of time, they become inadequate for explaining the meaning of the state. Hegel however came close to realities and concrete explanation of the state but lost grip when he delved into the realms of mysticism and abstraction with his concept of 'the spirit of the age'. His dialectics however provided the foundation upon which Karl Marx gave a more concrete and tenable explanation of the state based upon scientific realities.

The state is broader than the government and includes government and all its arms, security and intelligence agencies, civil service and parastatals, and its ideological outfits. Government is therefore the executive committee of the state. The process of the emergence of a new state is entirely revolutionary. Neo-colonialism thus implies that the colonial ruling class no longer controls state power but their interests and ideas continue to dictate the fundamental framework for social, economic, cultural and production relations. This

Socialscientia | Regular | Volume 7 Number 1 | March 2022 [ISSN 2636-5979]

is consequent upon the introduction of a new pattern of production in Africa where Africa now produces what they do not need and consumes what they do not produce. The consolidation of power is aimed at making the population accept the values and interest of the new ruling class as being upright and legitimate to internalize the new pattern of production. This is usually met with resistance. As a result, force is exchanged with propaganda to achieve compliance with the interest of the new ruling class. Again, the colonialist reorganized the pattern of reward and incentives leading to a change in production to items that jettisoned staple crops but favoured export crops which of course was the primary interest of the colonialists.

According to the author, the closeness of some Africans to the colonialists also meant the adoption of a new way of life that resembled that of the colonialists. This made them role models for the larger population of those removed from close relationships with the colonialists. This was a way of consolidating colonial grip to power in African states during and even after their departure from the African soil. Thus, consolidation of state power can either involve a state/a ruling class or a government. While the former is comprehensive, the latter is limited to reforms. State power is used for the interest of the ruling class to pursue and access resources that lie outside their own territories or in other pursuits depending on the interest that is paramount to them. The degree of this involvement in the use of state power is higher in the socialist societies than in capitalist societies. The state thus uses its power to regulate production and distribution of goods and services. However, the mechanism for the use of state power varies from society to society.

In legal terms, a state is the entity that possesses a population, a government, a territory and monopoly of force. The structure of the state and its social relations prior to the Westphalia treaty of 1648 created sufficient room for conflict which translated to the reformation and later led to the thirty years' world conflicts that birthed the modern state system with territory as its commonest feature to prevent the powerful from suppressing the weak. This perspective to the definition of state becomes necessary to provide the norm rather than the exception to inter- state relations. But viewing Politics from this angle to the author, makes it more abstract than real.

The state in philosophical terms was discussed in chapter three. This definition of the state is anchored on production made possible by labour that existed in all historical epochs of political transformations. As societies advanced, division of labour also became much more complex leading to the emergence of the state that oversees the production process. This new role of the state led to labour alienation in various forms. These forms were carefully discussed. This alienation leads to the perpetual struggle for dominance of the production process to enable each class to enjoy a disproportionate share of the proceeds against other classes whose role in the production process is considered less important. Thus, the state became a product of this perpetual struggle and an instrument to keep the struggle within bounds. The nature of these struggles and the instrument used differentiates one state from the other. Thus, the class that has sufficiently mobilized and organized other powers to win becomes the state.

The author differentiated class-for-itself and class-in-itself on the basis of their position, behaviour, consciousness and concerted effort in the production process. The

foregoing therefore weakens other definitions and classifications of classes especially those from the liberal perspective and also reveals how the theory of elitism runs into serious methodological problems that renders it useless for empirical investigation.

Economic and social relations remained the force leading to the emergence of the state from the band system to the primitive communal society, to the slave system where the first division of society into classes and the exploitation of one by another leading to contradictory class relations first emerged. In the slave society, the state emerged as a collective response to slave rebellion by the slave owners. The organization formed by this class was to fight slave rebellion and this organization became the state. Their objective was to sustain the slave mode of production that was beneficial to them. Thus, the state became the organization of the ruling class in a class society. Since slave owners were large, it was no longer possible for all to meet and take collective decisions. Thus, a smaller group including coopted slaves and merchants that were trusted was formed and this was the precursor of the modern government which later developed an ideology and set of laws to guide class relations. Thus, politics which revolves around the activities of the state and its powers was introduced.

The desire for profit maximization in man dates back to antiquity. It introduced capitalism that is driven by the desire to appropriate the gains and proceeds of the production process. This equally gave birth to colonialism and neo-colonialism that involved the concentration of huge capital in the hands of a few oligarchies of the 19th century. This of course gave rise to the territorial division of the world among the most powerful capitalist countries and subsequent establishment of the colonial and post-colonial states. The independence of these colonial states meant the jettisoning of the conquest aspects but retention of the capitalist mode of production. Through the use of persuasion and cooperation, the members of other classes became involved in decision making to give the state a sense of neutrality in the class struggle. The author systematically and coherently linked all the systems or patterns of production and the factors that led to the collapse of one and the enthronement of the other till the present capitalist post-colonial state. This coherence and linkage stands him out...

Chapter four dwelt with the issue of sovereignty of the State. The concept of state sovereignty emerged after 1948 to indicate the fact that states have acquired clearly defined territories which could not be penetrated by external forces and the right to make and implement decisions unchallenged by internal or external forces. This introduced the horizontal equality of states in the community of states regulated by the Westphalia treaty.

Plato and Aristotle held the view that the law rather than the person must be the ultimate sovereign while the church fathers argued that sovereignty resides in the papacy. This caused the conflicts in Europe since it held the view that even the secular sovereign still needed the sanctification of the church to be legitimate. Contrary to this view, the author argued that since the church was one of the many classes in the state, its control by the state is likened to the control of commerce or trade by the state. This view from Marcilius of Padua was strengthened by Machiavelli who argued that ultimate sovereignty lies with the prince whose major task was the evolution of a strong state. Similar to this was Jean Bodin's argument of absolute monarch exercising sovereignty while Hobbes relieved sovereignty of all restraints imposed on it by Jean Bodin. Since sovereign power

is individualistic, whoever has it is the sovereign. John Lock held the view that the people through their representatives are sovereign but Rousseau held the view that the people is a sovereign body.

To Hegel, sovereignty inheres in the state as an abstract rational and legal entity. To Marx and his disciples, sovereignty rests on the state in its abstract form through the dominant class representing its absolutism over the dominated class. These views notwithstanding, the author provides a simple definition that helps to relate the concept to the Political life of a state. Because of the obvious limitations in terms of application, the author notes that sovereignty does imply the degree of autonomy, possible in a state's decision making process, external and internal constraints notwithstanding. Thus, African states are too weak to maximize sovereignty because of its weak position in world economic variables.

Chapter five surveys the power of the state. The author defined power as the indivisible unit of energy that can change its victim's action despite opposition of the victim to the change. Its essential dimensions constitute its characteristics. Thus, power is goal directed, instrumental, influential, relational and situational. It is also relative. Power has a need and capacity dimension which perhaps is the most important dimension vis-avis the most important resource needed to exert its rights. As such, power is either exercised by persuasion or by coercion. Since power defines the essence of Political position, the higher the position, the more the power the occupant weighs. This is the social dimension of power that sets it apart from other forms of power. He analyzed the uses of power to the individual actor, the dominant class and the international community. The power of the state is more relevant domestically both from the capitalist and socialist views. The socialist society enthrones the socialist mode of production where the interest of the working class is ascendant. Thus, the level of involvement of the state in the exercise of this power is governed by the prevailing ideology. The primary duty of contemporary politics is to organize the use of state power to reduce its tendency for evil. Thus, to assess the amount of power a state weighs is to consider its tangible and intangible resources which leads to either positive or negative, constitutional or unconstitutional power.

Chapter six is an analysis of revolutionary politics and the dynamics of the emergence of a new state. A new dominant class gains access to state power through revolutionary Politics. A revolution is thus a social phenomenon involving fundamental changes in social, cultural and production relations in society. Its emphasis is on radical change rather than reformation and gradualism. To this end, political revolutions are intense and violent in character, confirming the claim of Mao TseTung that it flows through the barrel of a gun with its peculiarities. The French revolution was a consequence of the divisions between the different classes in France prior to 1789 and this power division provided the key factor for the success of the revolution. It is possible to carry out a successful revolution and enthrone a new ruling class without destroying the army especially when the struggle starts in the army. It is from the interest pursued by the new ruling class that the character of the new dominant class can be gleaned following the competition from all allied classes that helped to dethrone the old ruling class. Changes after the French revolution began by the declaration of the rights of man and their equality before the law, yet the physiocrats introduced the laissez faire economic system to allow for unfettered accumulation of

wealth through profit by the bourgeois class. Thus, the French revolution was the first drastic attempt to force the government to respond to the needs and demands of the people through public opinion.

The Russian revolution began in the twentieth century because of the social system that concentrated state power in the hands of the monarch-the Tsar and the nobility. This was challenged by the working class and bourgeois whose number has greatly increased following the fallout of the industrial revolution sweeping through Europe. This led to the formation of the Norodnik, Menshevik and Bolshevik parties. These three worked together to overthrow the feudal ruling class with the Menshevik (Bourgeois) taking over power as the new dominant class. Soon the power tussle became fierce leading to a second revolution which gave power to the Bolsheviks who started implementing socialist transformations in Russia. Consequently, it was the working class that became the new ruling class in the Russian revolution. Usually, the army or the forces used to overthrow the previous ruling class becomes the army of the new dominant class and once a new ruling class comes into power a revolution has taken place whether or not other elements of revolution exist.

Before the Cuban revolution, it was under the hegemony of the class of businessmen whose economic condition depends on their external link. Thus, the balance of power between Batista and Castro in favour of Castro and the opposition from USA and its allied forces which led Cuba to adopt the socialist ideology of Bolshevik party-nationalization that transformed Cuba proves revolution as the most potent dramatic intervention in a society's bid to move forward. Akin to revolution is national liberation struggle. This move is consequent on the impact of colonialism on the colonized that rubs them the capacity of independent economic existence and or development.

Thus, the apartheid regime in South Africa was a manifestation of this discrimination that forced indigenes to seek for and struggle for political independence from external rule. This move has taken two modes: nonviolent struggle and the war of national liberation and most independence in Africa was achieved without violence though with varying degrees of violence forcing the colonialists to adopt other forms of less costly domination such as neo-colonialism. Thus, national liberation struggle is similar to revolution and it entails seizing state power that had been usurped by the colonialists. As such, it usually gathered the cooperation of all classes within the state under the leadership of the petty and comprador bourgeois classes. Though there were divergent interests in the various classes, this was managed by the immediate overriding goal of national independence. The military was not replaced and the system of production was retained. This problem leads to neo-colonialism in third world countries which cannot be eliminated except through nationalization of key economic sectors. As such, armed liberation struggle will entail noncapitalist path to development involving entrenching general democratic transformations that would ultimately lead to socialism which will of course begin with transforming the economy. With this submission, the author lay credence to the material condition and reengineering of a state in order to achieve its desired state of being.

How state power is consolidated through Constitution, Politics and Democracy was the subject of chapter seven. When state power is acquired, the new ruling class does everything to consolidate the gains of state power and to avoid the use of force in achieving legitimization. Thus, it strives to convince the population of how it intends to constitute its government, its various organs, the links with the organs, their performances, their rights and how it is to be maintained to determine their relationship with the government. As such, socialization and appointment of people with similar values and orientations to help sustain the values of the new ruling class becomes important.

According to the author, implementation of the constitution is the most rational way of consolidating state power but it would always break as long as it excludes the ambitions of the class excluded from power by its rule. Thus, the reality of a constitution depends on the socio political environment from which it emerges and to which it is applied. The idea of the constitution is historically new. It has its roots in England in the seventeenth century. The Constitution dictates the political identification of individuals with the state and its reward as well as binds members of the state one to another. From the emergence of the state system till date, citizenship has been a tool of exclusion. Thus, the debate in most states and in the literature is on how to establish a notion of citizenship that makes for multiethnic and multicultural character of the population of most states if the state must function as a unified whole. Two viewpoints have emerged in this regard. The first believes that state institutions must be difference-blind in order to have a vibrant democratic state, based on national identity rather than group identity and this is the concept of society. The second view believes that the difference-blind rules adopted to accommodate ethno cultural differences are not inherently unjust. It rather creates a sense of belonging in the larger political community. Hence, what is needed is a necessary recognition and reconciliation of these individual and group dynamics.

The author adopted the consensus view point emphasizing that the acceptance of one instead of the other will be based on concrete case studies instead of assumptions made in advance. The various forms of constitution were highlighted. Since these forms are relevant only in terms of their contents, the author argued that constitutions can only fall into two main ideological constructs-people democratic constitution and parliamentary constitution. Although these two types have other strands, all of them are historically rooted on the material struggle of the people to live a fulfilled life in the state. Thus, the constitution is necessarily conditioned by the nature of the struggle in different societies. In the political realms, however, the introduction of bourgeois democracy marked the beginning of political decision making through representatives. Fascism is a more antipeople and anti-masses and reactionary politics of the capitalist system. In Africa, democratic practice is shaped by the nature of class struggle and production bequeathed to it by colonialism. Thus, the demand put on the colonialists led to granting of closely supervised democratic tenets to the colonies. Since it could not practice bourgeois democracy which works for the advanced capitalist states, the African dominant class put forward African socialism rooted on negritude and humanism as an alternative model of collective development.

The author rightly criticized this alternative by claiming that it insults Africa's intelligence and potential for technological advancement. Thus, the African brand of democracy is characterized by institutionalized aberrations in favour of the political class which denies the masses a say in the entire political enterprise. Coup can be carried out by either the civilians or the armed forces and usually justified to be done in the best interest of the

people. The author condemned military coup in strong terms because it truncates the consistent struggle of man to advance democracy.

Globalization has had its own drastic impact on African democracy necessitating the call for a second independence that grants popular empowerment to the people. As it were, globalization diminishes the national organization of power and makes the state irrelevant in the management of human affairs. It undermines democracy since it pitches individualism against collective concern, social participation and democratic struggle.

In chapter eight, the author discussed the consolidation of a state with attention on ideology and its role in politics. Ideology serves as a map for political action. The term was coined by Destutt de Tracy. From Napoleon's criticism of the Science of Ideas, ideology became used as self-serving ideas. From Marx's usage, ideology became the set of systematized and interconnected ideas about the socio economic and political organization of the society as a whole. In twentieth century usage, the term applies in two ways: First as a system of thought that animates social or political action and as a misleading, illusionary and criticism-based phenomenon with its peculiar characteristics that were fully discussed.

Ideology is resistant to fundamental change and shows how people organize production. Thus, ideology provides a cognitive structure for looking at society generally and a prescriptive formula to guide action. It serves as an instrument for the management of conflict and societal integration as well as means of self-identification and mobilization of forces for or against the ruling class. This function is performed by political socialization through the family, peer group, church, school system, formal organizations and the mass media. This was perhaps the smallest chapter in all.

Chapter Nine considered the consolidation of a state through government and governance. Government according to the author is that agency of the ruling class that exercises political power on behalf of the whole class. Government becomes necessary because the size of the ruling class is so large and so is the interest of its members. To curtail the attendant intra-class struggle, government emerges posing to be a reflection of the interest of the society thereby reducing the tendency for conflicts from the dominated class. Thus, its functions are organized around the executive, judiciary and the legislative arms which in time past were not separated. The author argued that the complexity of modern government makes it impossible to fuse all the functions of government in one institution or person. The executive is usually the most powerful arm and oversees the appointment of members of the other arms. This needs to be checked by the other arms of the government. Thus, the functions of government are tailored towards maintaining class interest and class rule with particular attention on the management of the production and distribution processes differing by the nature and character of the ruling class itself.

At the international level, the government performs two functions-to ward off foreign ruling classes against the security of the domestic class hegemony and to procure resources needed by the domestic ruling class which they do not have or find very costly to procure by increasing its prestige and integration with other states. This hardly occurs in Africa because of the diversion of energies to ethnic disintegrating forces. Thus, the function of integration through political communication and self-preservation cannot be overemphasized. This effectiveness of government is hampered by some factors like the

solidarity of the ruling class, degree of control of national resources, mass support for the government, level of available local resources, alliance potential and stability of government among others. Governance refers to the manner in which a government carries out its functions maintained by the relationship between the rulers and the ruled. In explaining this concept, the author raised 21 questions that will guide the entire discourse and noted that the way and manner these questions are answered by the government will define the nature of the relationship between the government and the people and the existence of the government itself. Thus, the reaction of the people to the process of state building is very important. The author identified four types of governance and explained them extensively. He also argued that governance is not the same with good governance.

The choice of government through political parties and political systems was the topic in chapter ten. The ruling class use political parties and systems to consolidate their hold on power to provide peaceful transition from one faction of the ruling class to another. Thus, the nature of class relationships determines the nature and purpose of the political party. As such, a political party becomes a group of people who share a common conception of how and why state power should be organized and used. Thus, parties tend to form around the cleavages of the time and in conformity with the electoral system. The Functions of parties are those they perform for their own interest and those they perform for the interest of the political system. Specifically, political parties seek to acquire governmental power as an instrument for interest articulation, interest aggregation, and political education, provision of alternative choices, rewarding and punishing political leaders, political recruitment and protection of the people from the evil machinations of the government in power. This is done by the opposition party. According to the author, the use of the term party systems conjures three notions viz: the constitutional regulations of party formation, the balance of electoral support among political parties and the actual number of parties operating in a country. To this end, the author identified four party systems in operation-No party system, one party, two party and multi-party system. The author countered the argument that one party system is best for Africa on the basis of the absence of class and harmony of interest. To him, this is dangerous because no single political leader in Africa can symbolize the harmony of all the distinctive classes in Africa and no single party effectively covers the interest of all the classes. The only exception is that ruled by the majority of the masses through revolution. Thus, the multi-party system is a clearer and more accurate representation of the realities of the African political milieu. To this end, the character of African political parties was shaped during the colonial period and conditioned in a way that there is a separation from the people. As such, what is important in African political parties and systems is how they can get close and obtain the official endorsement of those that control the state and this poses a serious threat to the consolidation of democracy in Africa. Thus, the need for social movements with expertise in specific areas of life to emerge to sustain and promote democracy in Africa.

In the author's view, elections no doubt have played a significant role in the choice of Government over the past two decades. It is the most modern means of recruiting personnel into offices and the most conspicuous symbol of democracy. Thus, a negation of elections is a negation of democracy generally as it, more than other phenomenon typifies

the democratic process. For him, the historical and global importance of elections does not translate to its benefits to all countries of the world, especially in improving the material and economic well-being of the people. While bourgeois democracies permit opposition parties to unseat present office holders, proletariat democracies do not, rather, they use elections as tools for mass mobilization to legitimize the regime. Election is thus distinguished from other forms of selections because of its characteristics. These features were concisely explained by the author.

Despite the centuries past that elections have been used to select political officers, it still cannot be said to be a true reflection of the power of the people to select those who hold and exercise state power on their behalf. Hence, there is a need to continually reform or revolutionize elections and the electoral system as the most potent democratic instrument for selection. The plurality-majority system has four variants: first past the post, the block vote system, the alternative votes and the two- round system. The semi proportional systems have two variants- while the proportional representation system has three variants. These variants were concisely explained and the countries with these systems were also mentioned.

The author discussed the use of state power through government and public administration in chapter twelve. Public administration is all the machinery that causes the will, intentions and programmes of government to be realized in real life. This becomes expedient following the increase in size and complexity of the functions of modern government, the intricate division of labour that results in greater productivity, and the inability of the key functionaries of the three arms of government to perform these functions. To this extent, it is clear that public administration will inevitably be part of the political process either in the capitalist or socialist society rather than a cut-off branch used to defend the hegemony of the dominant class. It is only in terms of intense factionalization in capitalist society that public administration is expected to be neutral. Its most essential function is to maintain the incumbent government and the ruling class by way of identifying and utilizing all resources within and outside its territory. Through its operations, it also enhances the standard of living of the people. As such, public administration is conditioned in some peculiar environments that affect its behaviour and the comparison it often faces with private administrations. Both public and private administrations have the same essence but differ in terms of goal, assessment of performance, span of activities, basis for accountability, the structure of implementation of decisions, job security, method of hire and fire as well as discipline. African states have made various efforts at using public administrations to achieve certain goals yet the gap in the standard of living implicates the performance of Africa's public administration. The various challenges that African public administration faces were also highlighted with the worst being its emphasis on distribution rather than production of goods and services which has continued to deteriorate the African state.

In chapel thirteen, the use of state power for Economic Development was discussed. The involvement of the state in economic affairs is manifested in terms of increase in production. As such, the basic economic functions and questions are answered differently in the socialist and capitalist states. Class interest conflict is most in the economic realms. He argued that the laissez faire economic system proposed by Adam Smith which reduces

the involvement of the state in economic activities only represents a stage in the bourgeois ideology. In contemporary Africa, states engage in economic activities to strengthen the bourgeoisie as it was in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the early period of the cold war, capitalist societies favoured state intervention in economic development because of some reasons that were adequately discussed but from the end of the cold war period and the emergence of globalization, the free market system holds sway. However, the nature and character of the social class determines whether or not direct state regulation will be emphasized.

This regulatory involvement is used both by capitalist and socialist societies but it is lower in the later. The involvement of the workers as co-proprietors in the production process is what makes public enterprises in the socialist societies sharply different from the capitalist societies characterized by high mismanagement. This is enhanced by their capacity to coordinate all levels of the production process and its consequent extrication from the international division of labour and its hazards. State economic planning is at the heart of the rapid transformation of the socialist economy and is now adopted by most underdeveloped states with emphasis on the broad goals of the society and the choice of the most rational means of achieving them. Thus, coordination, realistic plans, implementation tools and feedback becomes of essence because of the complex nature of economic life and the complex nature of planning also. African states and the nature of their economy and planning are conditioned by the legacies of colonial economic development plan that was merely expenditure and strict accountability exercise.

As such, the post-colonial state inherited a system that still works to benefit their colonial metropols; enhanced by the lucrative nature of state involvement through the public service. Thus, the policy among others is targeted at helping the African ruling class to share in the rewards of the production process which the colonialists had enjoyed before now. This and many other 'Africanization' attempts may help reduce external domination. The author therefore suggested a revolution of the production process led by the workers' vanguard and expressed optimism that the problems that characterize the African development plan will soon be defeated.

The use of state power for Social Development emphasizes social and cultural relations and development. How a state is used to achieve this depends on the goals being pursued by the ruling class at the time and place. Following African Nationalism, emphasis shifted to superiority of the colonial order over that of Africa. The ideas were still to move Africans away from their heritage in the most peaceful way. To prevent Africans from adopting Marxist socialism, the colonialists advanced the idea of cultural relativity emphasizing the peculiarity and contextual value of each culture and subsequent divisive policies. The indigenous ruling class therefore adopted integration to pull the various segments of the society together to achieve its goals. The vertical social distance which consists of economic inequality is the most central because the human resource can only be harnessed by the ruling class when the state benefits the people.

The bourgeois believe that equality would mean diverting much of the wealth of the society from the rich to the poor. This, they avoid because of its consequences. Instead, they adopt wealth redistribution. The socialist societies believe that economic progress cannot exist alongside egalitarianism since the dividends of the latter are usually invested

in nonproductive ventures that brought about the usury lifestyle encouraged by the capitalist west. Thus, social progress demands that special attention be paid to socio economic factors that hold back major improvements in the people's welfare. Thus, emphasis is more on socio economic development.

The horizontal distance comes in terms of ethnic formations, racial groups, religious affiliation; those between men and women which if not well managed can lead to civil war, redrawing of boundaries to force one in or out of the formation or the emergence of splinter groups. This is usually exclusive. Some measures have been taken by states to close up this brand of social distance like the adoption of federal constitution, the federal character principle and even the bastardized apartheid policy in South Africa. These measures ignored the role of different communal factions of the ruling class which provided a ready rallying point for the population to exploit violence in fomenting ethnic conflicts by those who wish to use them. As such, social mobilization which is the erosion of all barriers resulting in the availability of the people for new patterns of socialization and behaviour is canvassed as a way to help the ruling class achieve their objectives through the state. This form of mobilization confers some benefits to the political system whereas failure to meet these needs will have some consequences on the ruling class and this accounts for the instability in Africa today. Therefore, the solution will of course lie in a revolutionary policy which will channel production and social welfare in an egalitarian basis. As such, widespread education becomes a prerequisite for socio-cultural development as it would help to create a new man that is socially and politically conscious.

The author defines International Relations as the sum total of relations among states on social, political, economic and cultural realms with respect to concrete time and situation. It is basically divided into foreign policy and international behaviour. Colonialism was also a form of international relations between the major European powers and the weak African societies with deleterious consequences for African life and development since it was primarily motivated by the need to obtain resources outside the territory of one country. Because of the preeminent role of the state and the coercive use of force, international relations was redefined as the interactions between significant centres of force. The role of other non-state actors like multinational corporations, organizations, transnational actors and regional economic communities have greatly shaped the scope and dynamics of international relations and must be reckoned with. Thus, the presence of states represented by the various ruling classes characterize the international system but with no corresponding International class, mode of production or process. This leads to the absence of an international state with coercive apparatus to accomplish its desires.

The international system is also characterized by a general perception that it is not directly relevant and linked to the pressing needs and wellbeing of the people. It is also devoid of primary social and psychological pressures and influences that characterize the state system. Compared to domestic politics, the possibility of alliance formation is limited, international norms do not permit states to seek control or influence over other populations but in domestic politics, everyone can be competed for and interests are less divergent. Interests associated with foreign policies are pursued with a greater degree of negotiations and patience. Hence, diplomacy and its missions excluding spying, being the hallmark of international relations.

Socialscientia | Regular | Volume 7 Number 1 | March 2022 [ISSN 2636-5979]

There is greater ease of communication in the domestic system resulting from similar struggle and historical experience than relations in the international system. These differences notwithstanding, it is difficult drawing a clear line between internal and external politics especially knowing where one stops and where the other begins. It therefore implies that national political systems now permeate as well as depend on each other embracing actors who are not formally members of the system as major and significant participants. Since the major drive for international relations is the search for resources outside the country and the protection of internal resources from foreigners, the link between the two requires emphasis on the areas of conflict, cooperation and competition. How well the ruling class of a state is able to manage these dimensions of relationship determines how much of the external resources it is able to acquire and at what costs.

While cooperating, the task of the player is to minimize conflict as much as possible and gain more friends in order to establish a wide spectrum of relationships. Various areas that nations had cooperated in the past to achieve socio economic ends were clearly highlighted. Of course the interests of the state are not always in agreement. This gives rise to conflictual relationships especially when cooperation has failed. While some conflicts of interest require the use of force, others do not. This nonviolent type of conflict has led to series of negotiations by states in the international system. Conflictual relations between states take various dimensions or patterns. Competition among states embraces conflict and cooperation to develop an understanding that helps to minimize areas of conflict in the pursuit of varying interests. This pursuit is guided by the ideological standpoints prescribed by the ruling class in a state which is usually subjected to the vital interest of the state at any point in time.

General Comments

The author's assertion in page 4, paragraph 2, line 3 that slaves constituted the majority of the Athenian population and his claim in page 6, paragraph 4, and line 4 that slaves were a minority in Athens is contradictory and confusing. If the number of slaves in neighbouring Sparta was more than that of Athens, it should be stated in that manner to avoid confusion. Paragraph 3 line 11 should read "all forms of...Not 'all forms anti-democratic regimes', page 159, paragraph 1 should also read socialist state not socialist state.

Of all the four types of governance explained by the author from pages 201 to 205, only one party governance had a rather too generalized example ('Africa as a whole'). Pages 203, paragraph 1, line 16. This form of generalization will affect the appreciation of the import and prevalence of these types of governance. Since specific examples of the other types of governance were given, it is only right to give more specific examples of African states with the one party form of governance.

Page 193, paragraph 2 line 10 should read: 'Although Nigerian leaders are usually divided along ethnic lines'...since the issue explained relates to Nigeria and not Africa as a whole. Thus, the use of African leaders instead of Nigerian leaders is inappropriate and out of context. Page 220, paragraph 2, line 6 should read recruitment of personnel not

Socialscientia | Regular | Volume 7 Number 1 | March 2022 [ISSN 2636-5979]

personal. The play on words in explaining semi-proportional system of voting in page 232 paragraph 1 is vague and makes understanding difficult. It is a deviation from the simple method adopted by the author for analyzing or explaining concepts in the book generally. In page 272, paragraph 4, line 4, the Central African Tariff Union represented with UDEAC is faulty.

The above notwithstanding; one thing that stands out in this book is its coherent articulation of thoughts flowing in very simple and comprehendible pattern devoid of grammatical summersault and spelling incongruence. Its in-depth systematic analysis of political issues in a very logical and expository order however makes the book a bit complex for a beginner in Political Science discipline. As such, it is not a book on conceptual expose' to aid a beginner but an advanced in depth methodological discourse of politics across the globe at different epochs. It is on the basis of the above, that the title 'Fundamental of Politics' is suggested rather than 'Introduction to Politics' as it currently bears.

The foregoing notwithstanding, this book by the renowned Pan African Scholar, Okwudiba Nnoli is a must have for all political Scientists and should more or less assume the status of a compulsory text at least before graduation from any Political Science related discipline at an advanced level.

Biographical Note

The reviewer, **Chidi O UKAEGBU** is a Lecturer in the Department of Political Science, Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka, NIGERIA. His area of specialization / research interest is Political Theory and Methodology of Political Inquiry. Email: co.ukaegbu@unizik.edu.ng, u.chidi50@yahoo.com