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Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

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Governing International Financial Institutions: The Power Structures of the IMF and the World Bank

By Laerte Apolinário Júnior

Abstract- This paper analyses the governance structures of the international financial system, focusing on the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Therefore, this study elucidates the functioning of these institutions through an analysis of its power structures. First, we examine the origins, evolution, and the institutional structure of these organizations. Second, we perform a literature review on the governance of international institutions to highlight the most appropriate theories to analyze the object in question. Then, we examine the cases in question through the Principal-Agent theory.

Keywords: international institutions, global governance, IMF, world bank, principal-agent theory.

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Governing International Financial Institutions: The Power Structures of the IMF and the World Bank

Laerte Apolinário Júnior

Abstract- **This paper analyses the governance structures of the international financial system, focusing on the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Therefore, this study elucidates the functioning of these institutions through an analysis of its power structures. First, we examine the origins, evolution, and the institutional structure of these organizations. Second, we perform a literature review on the governance of international institutions to highlight the most appropriate theories to analyze the object in question. Then, we examine the cases in question through the Principal-Agent theory.**

Keywords: international institutions, global governance, IMF, world bank, principal-agent theory.

Introduction

The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank were created as part of a strategy by the victors of World War II to rebuild the international financial system. The IMF was initially conceived to guarantee exchange rate stability among its members and to encourage the elimination of exchange restrictions that could obstruct international trade. The World Bank was established to finance the reconstruction of European countries. Over the years, both institutions have undergone countless transformations, so that they turned their attention from developed countries to developing countries. Throughout history, these institutions, especially the IMF, have been criticized for representing only the interests of the great powers and for being less transparent in accountability. Therefore, so that the legitimacy of these organizations has often been placed in question.

In recent years, several authors have turned their attention to the functioning of international organizations and how their representation structures affect their effectiveness and their relationship with their member states. It should be noted that the IMF's central role in leading financial crises in recent decades has renewed researchers' interest in the institution's internal governance. These efforts have shed light on political processes and key actors within the IMF. Some authors have analyzed the role of the United States' foreign and domestic policy and its influence in the conduct of the bloc (Thacker 1999; Stone 2013; Vreeland 2011). Others analyzed the role of private creditors in the institution (Gould 2003). Some focused on the issue of delegation of power by states to the organization (Hawkins et al. 2006; Woods and Lombardi 2005). Other researchers, in a more constructivist bias, examined the role of institutional habits in shaping work within the institution (Barnett and Finnemore 2004; Finnemore 1996).

The expansion of the agenda of international financial organizations in recent decades renewed the interest of researchers on the issue of representativeness within these organizations and global governance in general. Thus, this research contributes to the global economic governance debate, understood as the combination of international organizations based on treaties or agreements, rules, norms, practices and decision-making processes that have generated rules and guidelines for the management of the world economy (Vestergaard 2011; Beeson and Bell 2009; Helleiner and Pagliari 2009; Barnett and Finnemore 2004).

This research aims to analyze the governance structures within the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. This paper seeks to identify the power structures within these organizations through a theoretical lens. To this end, this article is divided into four parts. First, we carry out a descriptive analysis of the IMF's organizational structure in order to clarify the internal functioning of this institution. The second part provides an analysis of the origins and institutional structure of the World Bank. The third part brings a review of the literature on international organizations in order to justify the choice of the theoretical framework. The fourth session presents an analysis of the governance of these institutions from the perspective of the chosen theory. Finally, the last part presents the conclusions of the work.

I. International Monetary Fund: History and Institutional Structure

The International Monetary Fund was created in the final period of World War II, on July 22, 1944, by 45 countries that signed the Bretton Woods Agreements. It was established on December 27, 1945, after 29 countries have ratified the articles of the IMF Statute. The reasons for the creation of the IMF has little to do with the economic programs applied in developing

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countries for which the IMF gained fame. In the beginning, the IMF emerged as an organization to monitor and assist the maintenance of the fixed but adjustable exchange rates adopted by Western European countries in the Bretton Woods system. Broadly speaking, the original idea was to prevent them in the post-war period from devaluating their currencies as a way of gaining competitive economic advantages. The IMF would guarantee exchange rate stability among its members and encourage the elimination of exchange restrictions that could obstruct international trade.

However, with the collapse of the Bretton Woods international monetary system, the IMF's original *raison d'être* was gone with the regime. During the 1960s, the IMF turned its attention from industrialized nations to developing countries in search of a new purpose for their existence. Roughly speaking, the IMF was charged with two functions: 1) monitoring its members' economies - especially their exchange rates and balance of payments; and 2) act as an international lender (Vreeland 2003).

In the 1980s, the institution turned its efforts towards liberalizing capital controls through the prescription of structural reforms in developing countries. During this period, the IMF began to require that the recipient countries adopt a series of conditions attached to the loans - the so-called conditionalities. Countries' access to financial assistance is conditional on the adoption of macroeconomic policy objectives negotiated between the recipient country and the institution's technical staff. These conditionalities generally take the form of performance criteria regarding economic indicators such as inflation, and public spending, and policy benchmark concerning tax reforms and privatizations among others.

In the last decades, the international economic scenario has undergone significant transformations that have left the Fund at a crossroads. The IMF has an increasingly smaller range of countries with outstanding loans over which it still has a strong influence. At the same time, there is an increasing number of relevant economies in the world economy that need to be supervised, such as the economies of several European countries (Kaya 2012).

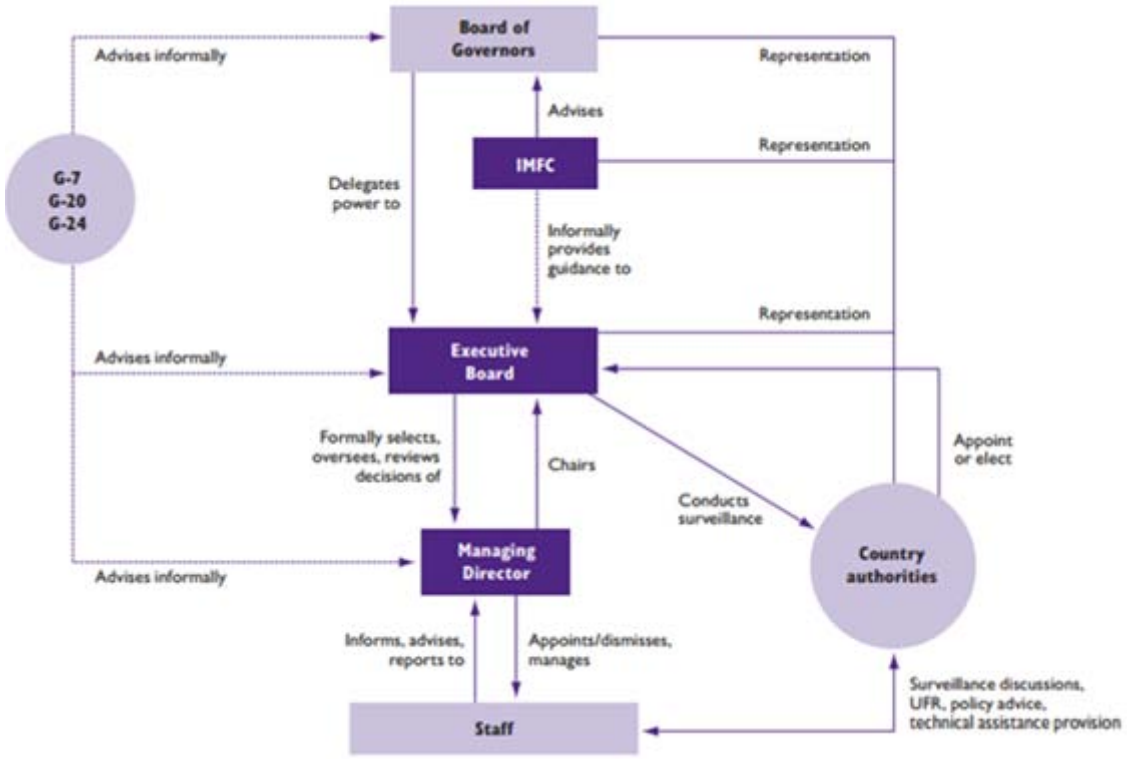
The IMF's institutional structure has been practically the same since its creation. It consists of the Board of Governors, Executive Directorate, Staff, and the figure of the Managing-General. The Assembly of Governors is composed of a governor and an alternate from each member country. It is, in theory, the highest level of power within the organization, but in practice, it delegates most of its functions to the Executive Directory, except those directly granted by the Articles of Agreement. He is also responsible for choosing Executive Directors and usually meets once a year during the IMF and World Bank Annual Meetings.

The Assembly, under article 12 of session 2 (j) of the Articles of Agreement, also has the power to create advisory committees. Currently, there are four committees: the International Monetary and Financial Committee (IMFC), the Development Committee (DC), the Joint Committee on Remuneration of Executive Directors (JCR), and the Joint Procedures Committee (JPC). The IMFC works as an intermediary structure between the Assembly of Governors and the Executive Directory. The IMFC, created in 1999 to replace the former Interim Committee, serves to assist the Board of Governors in its deliberations (Houtven 2002; Mountford 2008).

The Managing-General chairs the Executive Director's meetings with the task of managing the IMF's current operations. He is not entitled to vote and is responsible, under the general control of the Executive Directory, for the appointment and dismissal of the Fund's employees. The Staff consists of specialists, usually economists, responsible for advising the Fund on technical issues. It is often identified as one of the Fund's most influential bodies, as it is formed mostly by orthodox economists, responsible for formulating the IMF policies (Barnett and Finnemore 2004; Chwieroth 2013). The Executive Directory is, in practice, the most influential organ of the institution, composed of twenty-four members, being responsible for managing the general operations of the Fund and electing the Managing-Director, in addition to exercising all the powers delegated by the Assembly of Governors.

It is also worth highlighting the role of informal forums in the governance of the IMF such as the G-7, the G-20, and the G-24. These forums are characterized by meetings that take place regularly between heads of state or ministers of the economy of its members. It has the aim of debating issues about global economic governance, and to propose recommendations on the conduct of the international financial system. The figure below illustrates the organization's governance scheme:

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Source: IMF (2008)

Figure 1: The IMF's institutional structure

In the IMF, the voting power of each member country is determined by its share of participation, in which each member has 250 votes plus one vote for every 100,000 Special Drawing Rights (SDRs). This quota system also defines countries' contributions to the Fund, the availability of resources, and the distribution of SDRs among members. The IMF's decision-making process takes place based on the relative voting power of its members. Ordinary decisions require a simple majority to be approved, while some decisions require special majorities specified by the Articles of Agreement. Since the second amendment to the Articles of Agreement, adopted in 1977, there are two levels of qualified majorities for voting - 70% and 85% - in each case as a percentage of the total votes within the institution (Houtven 2002; Mountford 2008).

The United States is the only country with sufficient voting power to veto important decisions within the IMF. However, Houtven (2002) points out that decisions are made by consensus as a way of minimizing confrontation. Amid the discussions, the US executive director uses a strategy called the sense of the meeting, an attempt by the US to exercise its power to convince other directors that the American will prevail in the end. The Managing-Director may request symbolic votes throughout the discussions to see where the majority needed to approve a policy is located. Although roll-call voting rarely occurs, such votes can be used to identify the position of the majority and impose it on possible minorities for consensus.

Of the twenty-four seats on the Executive Directory, only five are occupied by countries that have enough votes to directly nominate their representatives: the United States, Germany, Japan, France, and the United Kingdom. Although recently, Russia, China, and Saudi Arabia have also appointed their representatives without the assistance of other countries due to the increase in their participation quotas. The remaining countries occupy the remaining sixteen seats through constituencies formed by several countries but led by one in particular. Thus, these countries form alliances to elect a representative that will act on behalf of the countries that make up their bloc. These elections take place every two years, and although there are no formal rules for forming these coalitions, there are clear rules about the process by which these elections take place.

Woods and Lombardi (2006) identified three governance patterns that reflect the power relationships within these constituencies. Some groups are strongly dominated by only one country, which holds the chair of the Executive Director and consequently commands the bloc's decisions. The second group of constituencies tends to be led by a small number of countries that alternate between executive director positions. And a third, more egalitarian group, made up of countries with similar economic capabilities.

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Some blocs are regional, such as the two blocs made up of African countries, which alternate between the position of executive director and alternate between them. Others are formed by countries that have cultural and historical ties with each other, such as the blocs led by Spain and Canada. Other blocs have less obvious compositions, such as the constituencies led by Italy, Austria, Switzerland, and Brazil.

II. World Bank: History and Institutional Structure

The World Bank has its origins in the creation of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) in the context of the "Bretton Woods Agreements" in the final period of World War II. While the IMF served to provide short-term loans so that countries could remedy any problems in their balance of payments and, thus, maintain the new exchange rate pattern adopted. The IBRD was established to provide long-term loans to finance the economic development of its member countries. It began to function on June 25, 1946, and its first actions were aimed at the reconstruction of the countries devastated by war. However, with the creation of the Marshall Plan, this objective was gradually being neglected by the organization. Throughout history, the institution has undergone profound changes, both in its organizational structure and in relation to its objectives.

From the late 1940s to the mid-1960s, the organization was small, centralized in the hands of the president, and had few resources. During the 1970s, under the presidency of Robert McNamara (1967-1981), the institution underwent significant changes, with a substantial expansion of the organization's staff and budget. During this period, McNamara started capitalizing the organization in the financial market through the issuance of bonds and expanded the institution's research department, now known as the Development Economics Department (DEC). It also created the Operations Evaluation Department, now called the Independent Evaluation Group, the body responsible for supervising the Bank's activities and proposing solutions. However, one of the most relevant transformations promoted by McNamara concerns the change of focus of the institution. From an organization focused on specific physical development projects, the institution started to focus its efforts on poverty reduction (poverty alleviation) in developing countries in its most diverse manifestations (Guimarães 2012).

Currently, the World Bank is no longer a single international institution. Over time, the organization has divided into five internal institutions: the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the International Development Association (IDA), International Finance Corporation (IFC), the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA), and the International Center for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSD). The IBRD, initially focused on lending on the European continent, currently finances development projects in middle-income countries, and is the World Bank's largest financial institution. IDA is the second institution in terms of the volume of resources. It was created in 1960 with the aim of financing projects in the poorest countries. The IFC, the third institution in resources, emerged in 1956 to expand and strengthen private initiative and foreign investments in developing countries. The fourth and newest institution, MIGA, was created in 1988 with an objective similar to that of IFC, that is, to facilitate the flow of foreign direct investments to developing countries, with the responsibility of guaranteeing resources. Finally, the ICSID emerged in 1966, serving as an international arbitration agency for States and foreign investors.

Throughout history, the institution has been the subject of much criticism, mainly by non-governmental organizations that pointed to the lack of effectiveness of the Bank's actions and the lack of inclusion of elements of organized civil society in the decision-making process. Such criticisms paved the way for reforms in the institution to incorporate elements of civil society in the organization's power structure as well as a diversification of professionals (environmentalists and sociologists) in its staff. These professionals brought NGOs into the project's decision-making process. Local NGOs became part of the decisions on how and when to execute projects and international NGOs began to discuss the future of the organization with bureaucracy, so that the political costs of control increased for the States (Guimarães 2012).

Regarding their governance, the five institutions of the World Bank have a power structure similar to the IMF, basically consisting of the Board of Governors, Executive Directory, the figure of the Managing Director, and other members of Senior Management, besides the organizational management units. The Assembly of Governors is composed of 188 member countries, with each member appointing a governor and an alternate for a period of five years. It is, in theory, the highest level of power within the organization, but similar to the IMF, it delegates most of its functions to the Executive Directory, except those directly granted by the Articles of Agreement. Senior Management is composed of high-ranking bureaucrats appointed by the countries, and career bureaucrats, with the responsibility for the technical conduct of organizations. The Managing-Director is responsible for managing the Bank in general and chairing meetings of the Executive Directory. He is elected by the executive officers for a five-year term with the possibility of re-election (World Bank 2020).

The Executive Board is the most important organ of the organization in practice. It is currently composed of 25 executive directors, plus the figure of

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the Managing-Director. It is responsible for managing the general operations of the Bank in addition to exercising all powers delegated by the Assembly of Governors under the World Bank's Articles of Agreements. Like the IMF, executive directors have a dual function within the institution. They are employees paid by the World Bank but representing their member countries, defending their interests within the institution. However, unlike what happens at the IMF, the alliance between Senior Management, bureaucracy, and civil society weakens the Executive Board in the organization's control process. The World Bank is commonly seen in the literature as less susceptible to the influence of its member countries than the IMF, due to this greater bureaucratic autonomy within the institution (Guimarães 2012; Apolinário Júnior 2016).

The World Bank, like the IMF, has a voting system based on a quota system proportional to the contribution of its members. Thus, the decision-making process takes place based on the relative voting power of its members. Each member has 250 votes plus one vote for each share acquired from the institution's shares (Apolinário Júnior 2016).

Of the twenty-five seats on the Executive Directories, only five are occupied by countries that have enough votes to directly nominate their representatives: the United States, Germany, Japan, France, and the United Kingdom. Recently, Russia, China, and Saudi Arabia have also appointed their representatives without the assistance of other countries due to the increase in their participation quotas. As in the IMF, the remaining countries occupy the remaining seats through constitutions formed by several countries but led by one in particular. These countries form alliances to elect a representative to act on behalf of the countries that make up their constituency. As in the IMF, these elections take place every two years, and although there are no formal rules for forming these coalitions, there are clear rules about the process by which these elections take place. In practice, the compositions of these constituencies vary very little regarding the IMF coalitions, and vary even less among the World Bank agencies themselves (IMF 2020; World Bank 2020).

III. Theoretical Framework

The study of international institutions has acquired a prominent role in the field of international relations over the past few decades. Martin and Simmons (1998) point out that the first works carried out systematically on the topic, in a post-World War II context, presented highly practical analyzes on the role of OIs in the international system, so that the focus of the analysis of these works was how these new institutions addressed the problems they were supposed to solve. Few authors at the time were optimistic about the effectiveness of these institutions, largely because of the predominance of the realistic perspective in the period, which skeptically viewed the capacity of these organizations to constrain the performance of States (Goodrich 1947; Malin 1947; Knorr 1948; Kindleberger 1951).

A new wave of works published over the 1950s began to analyze, then, what impact these institutions and their sets of norms could have on the behavior of States, notably the great powers (Johnson and Niemeyer 1954). Martin and Simmons (1998) highlight that some of these researches presented many insights that would later support the "modern" institutionalism approach. However, due to the lack of a theoretical tool capable of aggregating all these observations and of a systematic organization of these studies, many of the findings of the period were only rediscovered and developed decades later. They also point out that this fact becomes more evident in the analysis of the relationship between the domestic politics of the powers and international institutions, since some studies of that time already highlighted the role of domestic actors in this process (Matecki 1956).

It should be noted that these first studies on OIs were much less naive, legalistic and more fruitful than is usually credited. This literature was not only concerned with finding out whether IOs mattered, but what mechanisms could be thought of to analyze these effects. Transparency, legitimacy and domestic pressures were topics suggested in these studies, although there was no theoretical framework capable of condensing these findings. This research agenda ended up being deprecated by a more behaviorist agenda, which gained strength with the incorporation of methodological tools imported from American political science (Martin and Simmons 1998).

This new research agenda focused on analyzing how that power was exercised within these institutions. Using methodological tools used to analyze legislative behavior in US domestic politics, this agenda focused on analyzing the voting behavior of countries within international institutions (Carter 1950; Ball 1951; Rieselbach 1960; March 1955). This change of agenda did not come without criticism; some authors (Emerson and Claude 1952) drew attention to the fact that voting in international bodies did not have the same functions as voting in democratically elected parliaments. It is noted that one of the factors that influenced this agenda was the priority given to forms of social sciences that were replicable and objective so that there was a prioritization of the method over the substance (Martin and Simmons 1998).

In response to criticism by the most skeptical about the United Nations General Assembly's centrality in world politics, and the influence of other topics in American political science such as the study of bureaucracies and political systems, Cox (1973) argued that international organizations could be analyzed fruitfully, as long as they were seen as distinct political

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systems with specific characteristics. His work encouraged studies in the field of IOs to consider more transgovernmental models in their analysis. While research inspired by behaviorists typically assumed a unified model of state interests and actors, Cox focused on transgovernmental coalitions involving governments and IOs (Martin and Simmons, 1998).

The 1970s brought a new range of challenges to the study of IOs. Ernst Haas neofunctionalist approach to regional integration processes coupled with methods brought in from American political science, such as survey research, rekindled researchers' interest in analyzing how international institutions shape the behavior of actors (Schmitter 2005). However, the lack of consensus regarding the influence of IOs on the States behavior, the methodological problems of these researches, and the apparent stagnation of integration processes weakened this research agenda (Martin and Simmons, 1998).

Martin and Simmons (1998) highlight that the international events of the 1970s gave rise to studies that focused on international regimes, these, defined as rules, norms, principles, and procedures that generate expectations regarding the behavior of States (Hoole 1977; Hopkins and Puchala 1978). This change of focus has made the research on international regimes move in three directions: 1) some authors have focused their analysis on the process of creation and transformation of these regimes, and on the consequences of its norms and rules on the behavior of states (Krasner 1983); 2) a branch of these researches, in line with constructivist ideas, turned its attention to the subjective interpretation of these norms (Ruggie 1972); 3) some authors, especially Keohane, based on functionalist assumptions, argued that these regimes provided ways for States to overcome problems of collective action, reducing transaction costs and information asymmetries (Keohane 1989).

In general, the regime schools of the 1980s had the strength to explain the creation and maintenance of international institutions. However, their flaws opened space for criticism, especially by the realists, as these theories did not satisfactorily explain the effects of IOs on the behavior of States. Some realists, particularly the neo-realists, raised objections to the institutionalist research agenda. Grieco (1988) and Mearsheimer (1994) argued that states' concern about relative gains could prevent them from seeking more intensive cooperation, especially in the area of International Security (Mearsheimer 1994; Grieco 1988). They also pointed out that there was little empirical evidence that institutions shaped behavior States (Martin and Simmons, 1998).

The most recent studies on IOs, especially from the 1990s until today, sought to overcome the previous debate with the use of broader sociological approaches that incorporated the notion of global governance (Ruggie 1993). These approaches sought to understand how some norms of these institutions are internalized by States, constraining their behavior. However, these theories failed to consider how bureaucracies generate differentiated interests that influence the process of creating standards and its internalization by States. During this period, the agency's strategic action was not yet a relevant research topic. The subject of bureaucratic autonomy was not part of the research agenda in IOs until lately. Recently, some works linked to the functionalist approaches of the 80s and 90s that use the principal-agent theory have made this effort (Pollack 1997; Nielson and Tierney 2003; Hawkins et al. 2006).

The delegation theorists, using principal-agent models, sought to understand how the principal delegates power to the agent so that the later acts on behalf of the former (Nielson and Tierney 2003). The principal-agent approach does not necessarily imply any assumptions about the preferences of the actors. In this sense, this theory is compatible both with the approaches that postulate that the actors act rationally for selfish interests and with the theories that see the actors as altruistic, limitedly rational. What aggregates these theories under the principal-agent approach is the focus on the substantive actions of the principals in guaranteeing conditional authority and designing institutions in order to prevent possible opportunism by the agents (agency loss). In this sense, the relations developed between the principal and the agent are always governed through a contract, formal or informal, limited in time and space, with the principal having the right to revoke it (Hawkins et al. 2006).

Hawkins et al (2006) point out six reasons why this delegation occurs on the international stage: specialization of work, control of political externalities, facilitation of collective decision-making, dispute resolution, increasing credibility, and creating a political bias. The principal delegates power to the specialized agent so he can do what the principal does not want or cannot do. The more expertise the task requires, the greater the probability of delegation. The principal also benefits from delegation when there are political externalities (Milner 1997). These externalities can occur under two conditions, characterized as coordination and collaboration dilemmas. The coordination dilemma arises when actors want to avoid results that are bad for both parties. The delegation of power to a third party can help to solve this problem. Similarly, the dilemmas of cooperation can also be mitigated through delegation. The idea is that the actors create mechanisms to guarantee a specific result that benefits everyone involved, despite their individual preferences (Hawkins et al. 2006).

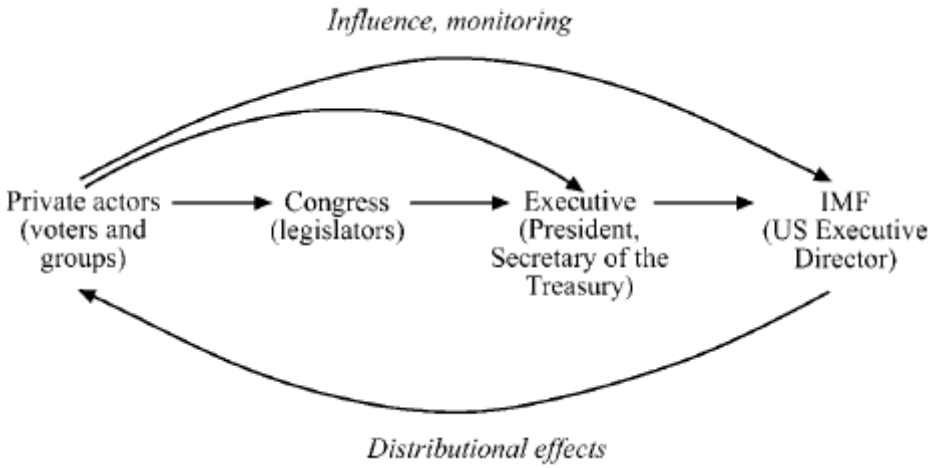
The idea of facilitating collective decision-making through delegation is evident when actors have individual preferences. In this case, this group of actors

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is unable to agree on a common decision on a given policy. Delegating authority to an agency that will be responsible for formulating the agendas can lead to a balance between the parties. Delegation for dispute resolution occurs when States delegate authority to an IO. States can also delegate authority to an agency to maximize the credibility of their political commitments. Thus, the agent could guarantee compliance with long-term policies, even when they are not in the principal's immediate interest. Finally, the actors can choose to delegate to create a political bias, with a lock-in objective. The idea is that any political action will imply winners and losers. Winners at a given historical moment can use the delegation to insulate the beneficiaries of a given change action in the future (Hawkins et al. 2006).

IV. The Governance of the IMF and the World Bank

Analyzing the IMF and the World Bank, we note that the delegation of power could occur as a way of creating an aura of neutrality in these organizations and, consequently, guaranteeing the legitimacy of their policies. At the same time, the great powers, named the United States, would maintain mechanisms to ensure that this staff does not act contrary to their interests. For example, The US representative at the IMF needs to be approved by Congress. Also, he needs to report regularly to the domestic sectors of his country. Broz and Hawes (2006), in their study on the role of the US Congress on the operations of the Fund, point out that because the United States has more than 15% of votes in the institution, the country is capable of vetoing any significant change in the Fund that could affect US interests. They use the principal-agent theory to analyze the influence of private actors in the congressional votes regarding the IMF (Broz and Hawes 2006).

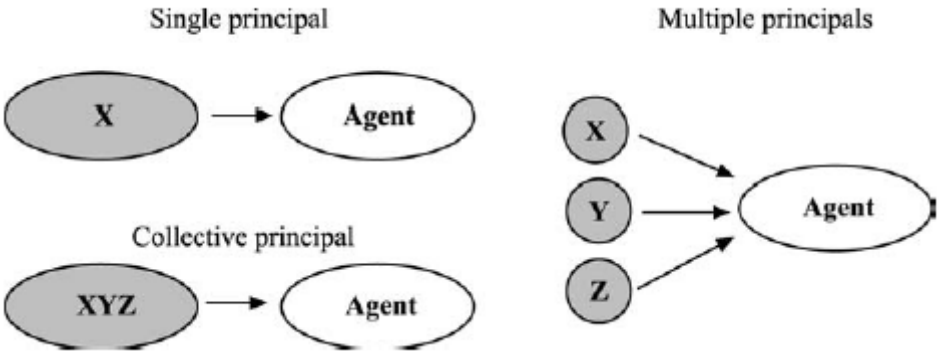


Source: Hawkins et al (2006). Delegation and agency in international organizations

Figure 2: Chains of delegation

Countries that do not have enough votes to indicate an Executive Director individually elect their representatives through constitutions formed by several countries, but led by one in particular. These executive directors must be elected through the votes of a group of countries. In this case, there is more than one principal in this relationship. This phenomenon is known as complex principal. Hawkins et al (2006) point out that the simplest agent-principal relationship involves only one principal and only one agent. However, when more than one principal delegates authority to an agent, it is a complex principal. This phenomenon can occur in two ways. The first case is when an agent has more than one contract with organizationally distinct principals. In this case, it is a delegation relationship with multiple principals. The second type occurs when the principal complex consists of a collective principal, in which more than one actor assigns authority, through a common contract, to only one agent.

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Source: Hawkins et al (2006). Delegation and agency in international organizations

Figure 3: Types of delegation

We note that among the different theories formulated to examine the phenomenon of international bureaucracies, the principal-agent perspective appears to be one of the most appropriate theoretical models for analyzing the governance of International Financial Institutions. In particular, in the investigation of the countries' representation within the Executive Board, an instance where the executive directors exercise a dual function within these organizations. Although they represent the interests of their principals, they are paid by the organizations.

V. Concluding Remarks

This work sought to clarify the functioning of the two principals institutions in the international financial system: the IMF and the World Bank. To this end, we carried out a synthesis of the evolution of these institutions, besides a descriptive analysis of their power structures. We also sought to determine which would be the most appropriate theory for the study of the internal processes of both organizations. To answer this question, we conducted a review of the literature on international institutions, highlighting the evolution of this area of study in recent decades.

Among the different theoretical approaches regarding the functioning of international bureaucracies, the principal-agent theory appears to be one of the most appropriate theoretical models for analyzing the object in question. This theory satisfactorily explains the process by which States delegate power within these organizations. Also, the principal-agent approach does not imply any assumptions about the preferences of the actors. This theory focuses only on the substantive actions of the principals in guaranteeing conditional authority and designing institutions to prevent possible opportunism on the part of the agents.

This work showed how countries delegate powers to their representatives in these IOs. In this sense, the executive directors have a dual role in these organizations. While representing the interests of their countries, they get paid by these organizations. Finally, this article also highlighted the concept of principal complexes, which would be when more than one principal delegates authority to an agent. This concept helps to explain the process in which several countries combine their votes to choose an Executive Director, who will represent the interests of the entire coalition

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Specifics of Network Interaction Supporters of Radical Panturkism

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Abstract- The relevance of the article is due to the activation of radical nationalist trends under the influence of external actors in the streaming political space. Modern panturkism is a social trend that contributes to the strengthening of interethnic and international socio-cultural ties, but at the same time, panturkism is used by nationalist parties and organizations to exercise a destructive influence on society, attempts to interfere in the internal politics of sovereign states. Archaic symbols used by radical panturkists spread through modern communication channels of information exchange. The author presents the results of a comprehensive analysis of the network communities of radical panturkism of the social network Facebook. It is revealed that at present there is not only an increase in the spread of radical values, but also an increase in anti-Russian and anti-Chinese rhetoric.

Keywords: *panturkism, radical, russia, china, turkey, turan, iran, network community, social network.*

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Specifics of Network Interaction Supporters of Radical Panturkism

Aminov Ildar Rinatovich

Abstract- The relevance of the article is due to the activation of radical nationalist trends under the influence of external actors in the streaming political space. Modern panturkism is a social trend that contributes to the strengthening of interethnic and international socio-cultural ties, but at the same time, panturkism is used by nationalist parties and organizations to exercise a destructive influence on society, attempts to interfere in the internal politics of sovereign states. Archaic symbols used by radical panturkists spread through modern communication channels of information exchange. The author presents the results of a comprehensive analysis of the network communities of radical panturkism of the social network Facebook. It is revealed that at present there is not only an increase in the spread of radical values, but also an increase in anti-Russian and anti-Chinese rhetoric.

Keywords: panturkism, radical, russia, china, turkey, turan, iran, network community, social network.

I. Introduction

The stage of formation of the information society at the beginning of the XXI century is characterized by the processes of powerful development of IT technologies, the formation of a network form of communication between people and groups of people, and the transformation of social institutions. In the information society, the role of the axial, value factor, which is information expressed in symbols, an integral element of the communication code, becomes essential. This explains the revival of archaic ethnic, religious, and other concepts that do not have an original economic and political basis. Archaic symbols receive an increase in communication capital and become part of the communication codes used to create and delimit network communities, including ethno-religious ones. Symbolic information objects, or rather "epistemic things", actors of actor-network communication become the basis for constructing socio-cultural reality, on the basis of which new identities are formed. The relative simplicity and accessibility to the General population of creating an information product and the high speed of distribution allows us to construct a historical, cultural, religious space, the stay in which is determined by the values of the resident. Globalization processes, the transformation of the classical functions of States and their institutions as a reverse reaction lead to the strengthening of the processes of constructing people's identity and on the basis of their Association to social aggregation. This explains the significant strengthening of symbols associated with historical events, ethnic characteristics/ constructed advantages of an ethnic group, and the proximity of socio-cultural elements to groups of people with larger economic and political resources.

A favorable information environment promotes networking of groups of people based on ethno-religious symbols. This can explain the intensive development of network communities created on the basis of the concept of panturkism, and in the form in which it is understood in modern society.

II. Background

Initially, the ideas of panturkism as a cultural and political trend were formulated by Izmail Bey Gasprinsky (Ismail Gasprinsky) in the late Nineteenth century as a set of measures to unite the peoples of the Crimea, the Caucasus, the Ural-Volga region, and Central Asia. The Association of Turks in the Russian Empire was seen as a Union between Slavs and Turks who can resist the emerging "European and Mongolian community": "the Muslim and Russian can still together, or next to plow, sow, raise cattle, hunt and trade: their ability is not too different, but with the European Muslim must become a laborer, as it is...".

The collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the formation of the Republic of Turkey on the stage backdrop of the heyday of industrial society and influenced the spread of ideas of nationalism in Europe, especially in Germany in the 1920s and 1930s led to the creation of Syagailo, plan for the development of panturkism, which is the first phase was to contribute to the formation of the Turkish nation. In the future, the accession of the "Oguz countries" (the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Azerbaijani part of Iran) was predicted, and eventually the creation of a "Turan Federation" from all regions and countries inhabited by "Turks". We cannot fully agree with S. A. Vasilyeva, who claims that at present there is a purposeful activity to implement the next stages of the formation of the "Turan Federation". Turkish officials declare their rejection of panturkist views, but the nationalist movement party of Turkey, which openly promotes panturkism, not only received the support of more than 11% of voters in the elections of the Grand national Assembly of Turkey (Parliament) on June 24, 2018, is in a coalition with the ruling justice and development Party. As noted by the

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above-mentioned S. A. In the 1990s, the Turkish authorities used the geopolitical factor of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the creation of independent States in Central Asia and a number of regions of Russia inhabited mainly by the Turkic population to penetrate the ideas of panturkism. It is impossible to assess this process unambiguously, since along with such negative phenomena as the spread of radical destructive ideas, there were also positive phenomena the strengthening of international relations in the field of culture, education, and science. Soyanmergenkystay-Oolovich in 2012 notes that "panturkism has no real prospects for full implementation, but cultural, the educational aspects of cooperation between the Turkic peoples have a right to exist, fears should not turn into phobias, closeness." By the time Russian-Turkish relations cooled in 2015, almost all Turkish educational and cultural institutions were closed in Russia. traditional festivals and conferences were not held until the beginning of normalization of relations in 2016. When assessing the factor of modern panturkism, it is necessary to take into account the dichotomous processes. Strengthening economic relations, a Declaration of friendship and cooperation on the part of the Turkish leadership with Russia, and panturkism, which is clearly anti-Russian. At the same time, panturkism opens up broad geopolitical prospects for Turkey. For about a quarter of a century, Turkey has been constantly increasing its "soft influence" in the countries of Central Asia and the Caucasus, with populations of predominantly Turkic origin, thereby ensuring a leading position of influence on the political space of these countries. Against the background of the difficulties that Turkey is experiencing when joining the European Union, the rational meaning of changing the vector of foreign policy activity is obvious. The Turkish leadership strives to become one of the leading countries in the global world. Turkey's leadership over the "Turkic world", taking into account the fact that the majority of it professes Islam, should lead to the fact that a significant part of the entire Muslim world is under Turkish influence. Kazakhstan is also striving for a leading role in the Central Asian region. A number of analysts, primarily associated with US government structures, note the desire of the leadership of Kazakhstan to conduct an independent policy within the framework of the Turkic space. This will not only create a separation from Turkey, but may also in the long term lead to Russia's opposition within the Customs Union, the Eurasian Economic community, and other international organizations: "...the rise of panturkism in Kazakhstan and Central Asia is unlikely to pose an immediate threat to Russia in the foreseeable future. But in any case, the spread of panturkism represents a serious long-term challenge to the Kremlin's vision of Eurasian unity." We can state that some facts, such as the transition of Kazakhstan to the Latin script (similar to the one used in Turkey), some statements of a number of leaders of Kazakhstan about the historical role of the Turkic civilization can be regarded as bearing such risks. However, state governments and regional administrations are guided not so much by ethno-religious and historical factors as by economic and geopolitical expediency. Network communities of intellectuals who share the values of panturkism, which lie in the field of archaic, historical, ethnic and sub-ethnic construction, can bring a high probability of a threat to society, which in turn determines the communication activity of communities and the overall information product that affects society. The General trend of transformation of the discourse of radical panturkism is aimed at forming the image of the enemy from the Russian Federation and the PRC. It seems that the goal of radical panturkists is to destroy the existing historical, cultural, and social ties between Russia and Central Asia, the regions of Russia inhabited by ethnic groups of Turkic origin and the Russian Federation. This path carries the risk of raising the status of ethno-oriented elites due to the mobilization of ethnic groups based on archaism, which in turn leads to a General regression of society.

III. Methodology

In this study, we applied, within the framework of the structural and functional method, an information and communication approach that provides for consideration of the structure of communication links of the network community, as well as the transformation of the information product itself under the influence of actors of actor-network interaction. In this case, through discourse analysis, we have identified the most active network communities that promote the ideas of radical panturkism. Materials published in December 2017 and November 2018 were selected for content analysis. The choice of periods is related to the author's desire to identify the difference in the content of materials at the stage of community formation and at the present time. In total, 200 materials were reviewed in each of the groups, 100 for each period. The purpose of the content analysis was to identify the main thematic groups of materials, as well as the values shared by the authors of materials and participants in discussions.

IV. Research Result

Groups on the Facebook social network are formed communities of twenty to forty thousand participants with a frequency of posting materials about 25-35 daily. High activity in groups is explained by the ability to post materials to all members of the community, as well as the presence of a professional editorial team of 15-20 people on average.

The Facebook group "Kurultai of the Turkic Peoples" was created in October 2015 the number of participants is about 48,000. Administrators and

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moderators make up a group of 20 people. The number of materials posted on average is about 25-35 per day.

The Facebook group "Free Turks", exists from October 2017 to the present. The number of subscribers is about 20,000. The number of materials posted on average is about 15-25 per day.

All groups position themselves as a private initiative of a group of individuals. Group administrators are not positioned as leaders or functionaries of political parties or formal organizations. The formation of groups is mainly organic, that is, based on the proximity of values, we can not exclude the instrumental type of community creation. Analysis of groups reveals active moderation of materials, selection of materials in accordance with the values of the community, in this case, panturkism in a radical version. The groups' program materials declare tolerance and political neutrality. For example, the description (program material – appeal of the group administrators to subscribers) of the "League of Turkic peoples" group includes the following items: "in the LTN group - Prohibited: 1. offend any religion and promote or impose a particular faith. 4. Offend another nation and national feelings. 5. To humiliate and ridicule the customs and traditions of other peoples." Similar materials are posted in other groups. This is not so much due to the ideological position of the group's management, but rather to the requirements of the administration of the Facebook site itself, violation of which is fraught with the forced removal of the community page. Management of these the community does not encourage, but does not prohibit, the placement of materials whose content directly contradicts the above rules.

The General discourse contains elements such as the idea of national superiority of the Turks and related criticism and ostracism of "enemies". Administrators strive to ensure that all major regions and countries predominantly populated by ethnic groups belonging to the Turkic group are represented in equal proportions. At the same time, a significant part of the materials is identified, up to 25% dedicated to the key country, from the point of view of the group's administrators. For the" Kurultai of the Turkic peoples "and" Kurultai of the Turkic peoples in Islam " groups, the main country is Azerbaijan. For the League of Turkic peoples group, Turkey is the key country, and in the Free Turks group, a significant part is assigned to the countries of Central Asia.

The content of the materials generally corresponds to the nationalist discourse and includes elements of mythologization of ancient, new and modern history, as well as ethnic and religious construction of the mythologized image. The materials were structured according to the classification of V. A. Shnirelman"...a) autochthonous; b) linguistic continuity; C) cultural continuity; d) military glory of ancient ancestors; e) participation of remote ancestors in the creation of ancient States; f) cultural and civilizing mission of ancient ancestors, g) biological continuity".

a) *Autochthonous.* Among radical panturkists, the autochthonous nature of the Turkic peoples is not in doubt. In their view, the Turks inhabited almost the entire space of Eurasia, non-Turkic peoples are perceived as newcomers. This idea is perceived a priori as not requiring proof. This proves the autochthonous nature of the Azerbaijanis in the Caucasus, and the Turks in Asia minor. "Turkish scientists have found evidence of the existence of a Turkish Kingdom in Anatolia 4,000 years ago." To prove the autochthonous nature of various aggregations of ethnic groups related to the Turkic, it is characteristic to update archaeological data, when historically existing tribes are given the status of direct predecessors of the ethnic groups currently living in this territory.

b) *Language Continuity.* As it was shown above, the actual Turkic or modern Turkish language was created by the founders of panturkism and adopted by the young Turks in the late XIX-early XX century. But for radical panturkists, Turkic is the ancient language of the Altai tribes, the ancestors of the Turks. "Modern science does not classify the "Mogul" peoples of Russia – the Oirats, Kalmyks, and Buryats-as Turks, mainly because of differences in language. But if you follow Abul Gazi's "bloodline of the Tatars", you should. Moreover, some researchers believe that the so – called Mongols who were in the army of Chyngyzkhan are more likely to be Turks than Mongols."

c) *Cultural Continuity.* The above – quoted judgment about the Turkic origin of Genghis Khan is another of the fundamental symbols of radical panturkism. The authors in these groups proclaim the founder of the largest Asian Empire and his direct descendants, the genghisids, as the direct ancestor of the modern Turks. The mention of Genghis Khan is typical, first of all, for the group "Free Turks", but also occurs in other groups. Approximately 18% of comments contain the definition of "mankurt" from CH. Aitmatov's novel "and a day lasts longer than a century", as the definition of a person who denies "ancestral Memory".

d) Military prowess is shown in the mythologization of "steppe batyrs" who defeat all historically former enemies. Historical facts are shown through legends, myths, reconstructions, and music videos.

e) The civilizing role of the sub-ethnic group is defined on the one hand as the formation of the Asian Empire of the Genghisids in the past, and the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey in the present. At the same time, the Turkic civilization is contrasted with modern Russia, China, Iran and Armenia. There

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is a dichotomy between the values of the "great civilization" of the Turks and the historical injustice and oppression of the "Imperial colonizers". Radical panturkism carries out nationalist values through the image of the "great ancestor" in ancient history and the "oppressed people" in modern and modern history.

f) The Cultural or civilizing mission of the ancient ancestors. For subscribers of groups, the idea of the advantage of the Turkic culture over all others is considered natural. Ancient epics are attributed exclusively to the Turkic peoples, and the culture of other peoples is considered a "new model". The news that the "epic "Dede Gorgud" is recognized as a Turkic origin is transmitted as a victory of Azerbaijani culture over the Armenian one.

g) *Biological Succession.* In modern society, the development of ethno-genetics proves that modern ethnic groups are the result of mixing different aggregations. Therefore, some authors replace genetic affinity with cultural affinity. "A nation does not depend on haplogroups, as Nations are formed depending on the common fate, culture, language, state and territory," writes author Sakit Askerov. But the moderate position does not suit subscribers. In the comments to this material, the user under the name Erken Life Soul (saved spelling of the author): "Here we are the living descendants of the Saks, there are not many of us left, in all Soviet times and the Russian Empire we were destroyed. We were constantly fighting with the Urus. They always attacked and robbed. We were always just defending ourselves. And they did not accept their submission until the last day of the Russian Empire. We have always had our own independent state. But we have preserved our language and traditions, and we have lost some of our religion. But we will return to our places again. I am from the family of Adam, I am a SAK, among the Kazakhs I am from the Great Zhuz...".

It is typical that during the year there is a change in the proportion of materials devoted to various topics. If in 2017, during the formation of the community, materials devoted to mythologized history accounted for about 30%, then in November 2018. a significant part of the materials is current events, or an assessment of recent events. There are more materials about the success of athletes or musicians of the Turks, as well as an increased number of anti-Russian materials. Criticism, including in a very rough form, is directed exclusively at the leaders of Russia, as well as Armenia, Iran, and China. At the same time, the leaders of Kazakhstan and other Central Asian countries, and especially Turkey, are shown in an exceptionally positive way.

The General nationalist position is accompanied by an active rejection of everything else, non-Turkic. A significant part of the materials and most of the comments contain offensive anti-Russian statements. Historical facts of interaction with other countries and peoples are presented either as the suppression of less developed neighbors by the Turkic civilization, or as the deliberate destruction of the culture of the Turks by "colonizers". The antithesis of Russian, Chinese, Iranian or Armenian influence is the archaic values of the "steppe people". World history – as a process of countering Iran – "cities", Turan – "steppes". In response to information about the capture of the area in Central Asia as a response to the looting of caravans on The great silk road: "I don't care what the dzhigits – my great ancestors-did. The Chinese (?) brutally destroyed and committed genocide against my people." The actualization of historical events of many centuries ago contributes to the archaization of social consciousness, in this we agree with the judgment of R. Vakhitova: "That is why the attempts to derusify Turkic cultures, which are made by Turkic nationalists and panturkists in the post-Soviet era, quite naturally lead to the archaization of these peoples...".

V. Conclusions of the Study

The identified negative phenomena do not have a significant impact on public opinion in the regions of Russia and Central Asia. For a person of modern society with its multiple identity, there is nothing unusual in recognizing himself as a part of the Turkic civilization, as well as a representative of his ethnic group and the Russian nation. However, we are concerned about the growing activation of radical panturkism propaganda in social networks, which can be considered a reflection of the activation of such processes in society. It is necessary to continue monitoring radical panturkism in order to detect and stop extremist actions in time and at the same time develop the cultural, economic, social and political sphere of international and inter-ethnic relations both at the level of States and governments, as well as at the level of public organizations and citizens.

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What Kind of Cultural Revolution is Taking Place in the US Today?

By Nicolae Iuga

Abstract- The "Cultural Revolution" currently taking place in the United States must be analyzed in relation to "Proletcultism" (that is the Cultural Revolution in the USSR) and the Cultural Revolution in China. Contemporary American „progressivism" has taken something negative from both. From the proletcultism he unconsciously took the messianic idea, only that the Proletariat is not the Messiah, but different minorities: racial, sexual, religious, ethnic. He also took the communist internationalist idea of denying the national identity of states in the name of an even more nebulous internationalism. From Maoism, he took the furious denial and destruction of the cultural and ethical values of the more distant or closer past. Surely, all this against the background of a specific American. But by fighting openly against racism, this movement develops a racism of the opposite direction, a racism against white, heterosexual and possibly Christian people. The present analysis also tries a series of predictions regarding the evolutions of the movement and the implications that it could have on the eventuality of its extension in Europe.

Keywords: neo-marxism, bolshevism, maoism, progressivism in usa, racism, discrimination, political correctness, vandalism of statues.

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I. Introduction: A Neo-Bolshevik Movement

Some called it Neo-Marxism, but the term seems inadequate to me. Karl Marx was one of Hegel's great epigones, a thinker of some importance, relatively difficult to read, and Marxism – an extensively elaborated theory that does not address to just anyone. Therefore, I consider that the term "neo-Bolshevism" a better fit, for everything that the present disputatious movement called "progressive" really is, a raging and iconoclastic crowd, of which having read Marx is rather doubtful, a mob set off to bring down governments and detonate contemporary culture, in the name of some confuse ideas, which have not yet reached the status of a unitary and coherent ideology. "Progressiveness" is neither Socialism nor neo-Marxism, but a syncretic soar that involuntarily adopts the faults of the two. For instance, the Proletcultist Cultural Revolution was centered on the concept of the Proletariat seen as Messiah, at the same time in the contemporary American neo-Bolshevism, the Messianic dimension is democratically distributed to all imaginable minorities: racial, sexual and so on. Each minority feel equally entitled to try to save the world. The goal here, just like in the case of the other "revolutions" of this kind, the creation of a "new man", reaching the educational ideal of the "free" individual in fact liberated from under the authority of a culture consecrated for centuries, with a moral crystallized in Lutheranism and traditionalism. The old Bolshevism was openly anti-Christian, while today's neo-Bolshevism pretends to be post-Christian. The new "progressive" man, an individual, removed from the traditional normativity, would then be ideal for manipulation. A Soros-kind synthesis between Lenin's thinking and Mao's method. The purpose is yet the same: the denial of the whole existing cultureless[1].

Despite being related with Leninism, Proletcultism and Maoism, the present movement, having anti-racism a starting point, cannot be cataloged as neo-Socialism, because – as Nathan Pinkoski has shown – it is radically different from the traditional European Socialism, in the sense that its promoters support ecology and agree with rising taxes even for the under-privileged, as long as principles like "political correctness" or "gender equality" remain untouched and openness towards the "LGBT community" and immigrants stays[2]. The old European Bolshevism meant hatred towards the bourgeoisie and the exploiting class, and Marx's contribution was to up-level this attitude to the status of theory, in contrast this American neo-Bolshevism, up until now without a theory, means more the hatred towards your self, your nation and your civilization. The class-enemy is no longer the exploiting bourgeois, but the Christian white man, married to a woman. Class struggle from Marxism-Leninism has now become a fight against the white, straight majority, in the benefit of people of color and sexual minorities. The thorn crown of suffering unjustly worn in the past has imperceptibly passed from the head of the former black slaves and their descendants today to the head of homosexuals and lesbians. But the elimination of homophobia and racial prejudice would automatically lead to the economic prosperity of these categories, without any work or effort on their part? Or, these categories cannot reach their economic thriving idea, using work, in the actual existent family, religious and mentality frame? Racial minorities, once privileged, would not turn against today's Western majority, practicing, at their turn, a form of inverted racism aimed

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[1] Vide Nathan Pinkoski: https://lawliberty.org/forum/the-strange-rise-of-bourgeois-bolshevism

[2] Nathan Pinkoski, ibidem.

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at them? The formerly class: struggle is no longer against the exploiting class, but rather against the working class, the struggle is that of aberration against normality.

A French author, Alain Cavaille, undeniably describes how contemporary neo-Bolsheviks decompose and demonize social realities, using labeling, to rebuild a political enemy[3]. Briefly, if a man is born white, it means he is a racist. If his vote is right-oriented, he is a fascist. If he is heterosexual, he must be homophobic. If he is married to the same woman for over 40 years, he is outdated. If he eats stake, he is for cruelty against animals. If he is a Christian, he has to be bullied by Muslims or atheists. If he thinks for himself, without being influenced by others or mass-media, he is reactionary. Is he affirms his own culture, he is xenophobic. If he pleads for harsher punishment to discourage crime, he is a Gestapo-ist. If he militates for recognition of merits, he is a supporter of social inequality. If he considers that children should be given a more rigorous education, then he is an advocate of emotional child abuse. If he dares to say that a man should protect his country, then he is against migrants and the Euro-Atlantic integration, etc., etc.

II. The American Dream, from Reverie to Nightmare

It all started in "the most advanced democracy in the world" with positive discrimination in 1965, just like the EU demands Romanians today to positively discriminate out gypsies. The President of the USA, Lyndon B. Johnson, tried to repair some historical injustice committed against the African Americans by issuing an executive order named "Affirmative action"[4], in which he redefined "equal opportunities" for African Americans as a notion, in the matter of medical service access, education, jobs, life style. In reality, to win the sympathy and votes of these people, President Johnson opened the wallet and granted this part of the population a great deal of economic advantages. African Americans who, up until then, were an integrated, working minority, according to some observers of the phenomenon[5], started to leave in an "all for free" regime. Women among this population started receiving a consistent allowance for raising their children, so they preferred leaving their jobs and giving birth to as many children as possible to make a living out of the allowance, while living in homes provided by the state. Men, meanwhile, would rather live on unemployment benefits, social aid, temporary jobs or other expedients. Children received little education, so, once adults, they repeated their parent's life style. An important parasite, racial social layer resulted in the American society. Drug abuse and criminality amongst African Americans grew exponentially. Nowadays, they represent about 13% of the USA population, while being responsible for more than 50% of the murders and severe crimes and also half of them are sexual disease and AIDS carriers. So, positive discrimination throughout social aids proved baleful in the long term.

These advantages of social assistance offered to African Americans in the US have gradually been doubled by the ideology called political correctness. The roots of this notion can be found in the very just claim of the courts that, in front of them, the parts should not use denigrating terms about one another. Then, little by little, political correctness extended to the politeness of inter-human relationships, in the way that people are to be careful not to offend, by their manner of expressing themselves, those who are disadvantaged or discriminated in any way. But what initially seemed a thing of good education and common sense slowly degenerated in a dangerous direction. How do we know how to express ourselves so that we do not offend anyone? – but by saying only the same things other people say, using standardized expressions and thinking only the way other people do, in other words – a sort of incipient and unconscious totalitarianism.

Around the 1970s, a sort of current of opinion rouse in some US universities, which proposed a cleansing of the language, as Matei Vișinec[6], the Romanian-French writer calls it, that is, the elimination of all pejorative terms regarding minorities, African Americans, then homosexuals and lesbians, etc. For instance, the colored-skin citizen, in order not to be offended, is not be called black, but African American, the janitor is not to be called janitor, but surface maintenance agent, the one collecting the trash would no longer be garbage man, but sanitation technician[7], the law-offender becomes citizen of alternative moral, prison warden will be correctional system agent, the analphabet or idiot would be named person with special educational needs, etc. Up to a point, this matter can be regarded as falling in the field of human stupidity and involuntary humor, but the joke ends quickly and, imperceptibly, a recommendation about what we should not say become obligations about what we are allowed to say, become judicial imperatives sanctioned by decisions and regulations, irony can become an article in the penal law, behavioral tact regarding sexual minorities, for instance, the obligation of their aggressive imposing in the detriment of the majority, reluctance

[3] https://www.amosnews.ro/autodenuntul-lui-alain-cavaille-2020-06-20

[4] https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10510978009368044?journalCode=rcst19

[5] https://www.activenews.ro/stiri/O-explicatie-despre-miscarea-revolutionara-din-SUA-%E2%80%9EOrice-neacceptare-a-legalitatii-schimbarii-puterii-este-inceputul-unui-razboi-civil.-Acesta-a-si-inceput-%E2%80%93-deocamdata-e-un-razboi-civil-rece-intre-stangisti-si-toti-ceilalti-162178

[6] https://romanialibera.ro/opinii/comentarii/o-noua-dictatura---gandirea-politica-corecta--84632

[7] https://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Corectitudine_politic%C4%83

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born of common sense is institutionally turned into brutal censorship, fantasy in the matter is unconsciously impregnated with traces of paranoia[8].

Censored examples pile up, while nobody seems to notice the gravity of Censorship and self-censor establishment. About ten years ago, the European Parliament banned, in all European languages, the user of the title "Miss/Mrs." in official documents, in order not to offend the other category[9]. In Canada, Christmas trees were banned from public places, to avoid hurting the feelings of non-Christians. In the US, Mark Twain's novels were retroactively censored, more than a century after their printing, by replacing some words that were considered offensive. The famous *Gone with the Wind* movie was simply withdrawn from broadcasting. Workforce recruitment agencies were forbidden to display adds like trustworthy person needed, or hardworking, to not offend people from the other category[10]. Following the same logic, admiring someone's creation or awarding a prize should no longer be possible, as it promotes the idea of inequality among people, while the prize-awarding in itself may be an offense for those left without an award. Of course, many cases can be mentioned, one more bizarre, hilarious and extravagant than the other, and they are in continuous expansion until free thinking will completely and imperceptibly be placed in the straitjacket of a totalitarian mentality. Maybe this is the exact purpose. Briefly, we can say that "politically correct thinking is a worm of brain washing, more subtle and more devious than the communist ideology"[11].

It has been argued that some words that define race or nationality, such as black or gypsy are racist and depreciative, while failing to notice that there is no racist or offensive term in itself, but only in contextual frames and related to a set of facts. A term which designates a certain race or ethnicity may become pejorative in a certain time interval, in a direct causal connection with the manners and moral of that respective race or ethnicity. In vain shall we change terms such as black or Gypsy with African American or Romany, if their behavioral patterns remain the same, because the new terms will also be compromised soon and become, at their turn, pejorative. It is as if, instead of treating a disease, we would change the real diagnostic with an invented one, while the disease remains untreated.

This language dictatorship, the political correctness imposed up to paranoia, is the one that favored the "cultural revolution" of the contemporary Western world. Claims of "political correctness" only drew deep crevasses in all directions, on the living tissue of community spirit. A huge amount of tribal groups resulted, separated from one another by claims of mutual non-discrimination and who look at each other with latent reciprocal hostility. We are talking here about deep cultural schizophrenia. Such a fissure of schizoid type is created in the USA between the white and the black people. Racist was an old issue in the US, back from the birth of the country and the Secession War, and political correctness claims did not smooth things, but catalyzed the matter. The accidental killing of an African American delinquent by a white policeman was nothing but a pretext, the spark that ignited this explosive mixture. Yes, a black man was murdered by a white man, but annual statistics in the US regarding murders show that there are ten times more white victims killed by black people and many victims among the black population also killed by blacks.

So, this tragic killing of an African American delinquent by a white policeman is not a real cause, but a pretext to initiate a "cultural revolution" in the USA. It is a Maoist "cultural revolution", an astounding mentality issue, in which white people, policemen, public authorities, or simple people knell down in front of black people's gatherings and beg for forgiveness for some imaginary guilt, historical in the best case, but that are by no means personal blames.

Another exterior happenstance, of Maoist type, of this Cultural Revolution is that the movement started on the background of the existence of large masses of people free from their job obligations, therefore a potential maneuverable mass. In the case of China in 1966, Mao ordered the closing of schools and universities, thus bringing at his disposal a huge maneuverable mass among the youth, that he organized as paramilitary troops to use for the operationalizing his Cultural Revolution. Again, in the spring of 2020, in the US and the whole of the Western world in general, there have been millions of unemployed people with jobs temporarily suspended on pandemic grounds, large masses of people available for manipulation against any kind of *status quo*. Which could be the occult force interested in dismantling the *establishment* and what would they put in its place, all these questions remain to be answered.

III. Manipulations

The movement seems to be organized by professionals. A slogan with an important mobilization force was identified and imposed: Black lives matter. The old Soviet and Chinese Bolshevism was centered on a symbol-color, the omnipresent adjectival red (red star, red flame, red tie, Mao's red book, etc.), of which they said it represented the blood shed by the working

[8] https://www.hitc.com/2011/10/07/11-cases-of-political-correctness-gone-mad/

[9] https://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/personal-view/8513876/The-A-Z-of-political-correctness.html

[10] Ibidem, https://romanialibera.ro/opinii/comentarii/o-noua-dictatura---gandirea-politica-corecta--84632

[11] Ibidem, https://romanialibera.ro/opinii/comentarii/o-noua-dictatura---gandirea-politica-corecta--84632

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class in the fights of conquering political power through violence, but reality it came to symbolize the hurting and bleeding of the millenary European and Chinese civilization. The new American progressive Bolshevism, through the dark slogan adopted and the black color on the AntiFa flag, may involuntarily signify the premonition of the death of Western Christian civilization. A gestural symbol was adopted as well, the right hand lifted with the fist clenched, too similar to the Nazi salutation. Then a campaign was started against monuments and official symbols. Representative statues are vandalized and brought down, a barbarian gesture of incalculable consequences. Just like in the USSR of the 1980s, today the USA seems to be staggering from the inside. Statues and symbols of the imperial power are vandalized and destroyed, and vandals demand the dissolution of the Police as if it was the most normal thing. Excessive democracy can degenerate – as Aristotle said – into anarchy. Common sense people, who work and pay taxes, end up hiding in their houses, lacking protection from the state.

In the US, statues of historical personalities have been torn down, as they were supposed racists, without respecting the historicism principle, which states that the actions of those personalities are to be placed, analyzed and judged in the historical context in which they occurred. Statues of generals have been demolished and some portraits of Presidents of the House of Representatives have been removed. Then they went forward: George Washington's statue was put down, though he is one of the founding fathers and the first President of the USA because he owned a plantation where the work of slaves was also used. If these barbarians were to be asked now what did George Washington's racism consisted on, they would definitely be unable of saying anything. The, they desecrated the statue of the writer Miguel Cervantes, probably thinking that it represented another landlord. In England, statues of slave merchants were brought down, but they also vandalized the statue of former Prime Minister Winston Churchill, who was not a slave merchant, alongside with the one of Queen Victoria. It is true that, some while ago, Churchill wrote a sentence that contained things considered denigrating for the Indians, but the mob did not read Churchill's memories. On the pedestal of Queen Victoria they wrote the word "rape" among others, but surely, if asked who did the Queen rape, they would have no clue.

A matter of principle occurs here as well: how far would they go with invocating supposed negative deeds in the lives of historical personalities, to proceed to the violation of their memory? For instance, in antiquity it was written (2, Kings, chapter XI) that David, King of Israel, sent his devoted servant, Uriah the Hittite, to death, so that King could kidnap and rape his wife, Bathsheba. Well, how should King David's memory be punished, by the standards of today's American Cultural Revolution? Should his statue, signed by Michelangelo, be vandalized, or the words "murder" and "rape" written on its pedestal? Should his Book of Psalms in the Bible be erased? Or the very Bible, as a whole, be forbidden?

But the madness does not stop here. Not only the white skin historical personalities are attacked, of whom they supposed to had connections with the blacks' slavery on American soil, or who are supposed to have uttered racist remarks sometime, they also stepped forward, crossed a red line, passing towards an even more dangerous inverted racism, one of the colored skin and homosexuals against the whites and heterosexuals, wich they began to attack – pure Nazi style – for who they are; white people who created value – attacked for the simple fact that they are white.

One of the oldest and most prestigious American universities, Yale, founded in 1701, adopted a stupefacient measure. Following the intervention of a powerful pressure group, the University Senate banned the Art History course. The Reasons are simple and foreseeable. There are far too many works of art, since the Renaissance, which has been created by white European men, there have been, in the History of Art, "an overwhelming number of artists who are men, white, European and heterosexual and who should be replaced with a larger spectrum of examples from the whole world"[12]. The terms used by Yale University seem harmless, the famous institution announces that they are about to pass from a "Euro-centric" art to a larger cultural diversity. But the argument is dangerous and it can be extended. By analogy, the course on the History of Philosophy should also disappear because, along the 2,500 years since it exists, Philosophy was created by an "overwhelming number" of white Europeans, just as symphonic music was almost exclusively composed by white European men, etc. Can we at least begin to imagine how Universal culture would look like if we remove Philosophy, Arts and symphonic Music? The perspective is rather terrifying and it would suppose cultural crimes bigger than those committed by all the preceding cultural revolutions altogether.

Finally, the essence of fundamental Christian symbol-images is going to be hit: the representations of Jesus Christ and The Virgin Mary. How did they actually look like, what race did they belong to, what was the color of their skin? The question may seem specious, the issue badly formulated, but it had been previously put forward in the '60s in the USA, and (re)put in these terms recently, on the 22nd. of June, 2020, by the Black Lives Matter activist, Shaun King. According to him, the representation of Jesus Christ and his mother, the Virgin Mary, as white people has racist connotations and

[12] https://www.thevintagenews.com/2020/02/08/yale-art-history/? fbclid =IwAR071gKlVfMsBkKM3XVgK-oD7PwLWGC_KhoAF0b_cOQgye Vqu2ZpNK9T8JY

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represents "a form of propagation of the idea of white supremacy"[13]. From here to instigations to destroying icons and fundamental statues of Christianity is only one step. Even Justin Welby, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Head of the Anglican Church, declared that the Church he is leading should rethink the exclusive representation of Jesus as a white man, that some statues and paintings are to be replaced in churches[14] and that the historical Jesus should the racial characteristics of the Middle East man. It is rather surprising that this high cleric, probably a very wise and educated person, who represents tens of millions of Anglican Christians, does not know that Virgin Mary and Jesus's ancestor, by the body, David Ben Iesei, is more than once described as being a fair-haired, light-skinned young man (1, Kings, XVI, 12; ibidem, XVII, 42, etc.).

Getting over this badly posed problem and passing to the plan of a proper theological narrative, we must admit that God created man by His image and likeness and poured the life Spirit into him, by that projecting Himself as such in the universal man, up to the last capillaries, in all racial and anthropological particularities of the human species. Therefore, Jesus Christ, as Son of God, as God- Son, cannot be reduced by us, humans, to one particularity of race or another. There is also the opposite direction move, in which man projects himself in Divinity – movement noticed along two and a half millennium, from Xenophanes of Colophon to Feuerbach – projection, or "alienation" that gave birth to an anthropomorphous polytheism, historically outdated, and which fails to be what it should in terms of our conception about the Divinity as Absolut.

In the township of Nazareth, Israel, there is a modern Catholic church, the Church of the Annunciation, built in the second half of the 20th century, under the patronage of Pope Paul the 6th. This church is home to about 400 mosaics and icons representing the moment of the Annunciation of the Virgin with the Holy Child, offered by all the countries which have Catholic communities in the whole Christian world. There are, of course, icons from Europe, but also from South America, from Africa, China, Korea and Japan. All of these icons present local particularities, in the sense that all those respective people put everything they had more representative, more beautiful and sublime in the conception of the pure and chaste feminine in them. It is understandable that the Virgin painted in Portugal would show Moorish facial features, the one painted in South America – Inca features, the Virgin Mary of China or Japan would bear traits of the Asian race, while the one from Africa is, obviously, black. And there is no blasphemy in this. It simply gives satisfaction to the anthropological component, offering a man a chance to represent God concretely, correlated to the Devine component, that created man. Let us remember that Pope John Paul the 2nd, when he visited Romania, motivated his visit, in a way, saying "I have come here to see the face of Christ in you". God is reflected in every human individual, in his finite, infinitesimal and ineffable dimension, just like the sun reflects its light in every drop of dew.

IV. Instead of Conclusions: Shortly about the Antifa

A certain oddity can be observed in the last couple of years. One can hardly conceive a manifestation of protest that would remain peaceful till the end. There always appear some obscure, well-organized groups, which have no connection with the object of the protest and turn a peaceful meeting in to chaos and violence. They trigger disorder, attack the police force, break shop windows, arson cars and street furniture. Our attention should have been drawn by one of President Trump's statements, who threatened to put "AntiFa" on the list of terrorist groups. So, what is AntiFa, the short from Anti-Fascist Action?

This organization was defined by the American political analyst N. Lennard as one which combines radical left movements with an anarchist policy and which fights against racism, sexism, homophobia and Islamic-phobia[15]. The organization is named "anti-fascist", because it claims itself from the old communist anti-fascist movement in the interwar period, but, as today fascism as a fact does no longer exist, AntiFa calls Fascism or Nazism everything that opposes its ideology. So, if someone is a white man, married to a woman, declares himself pro traditional family or against migrants, it means- by the book of AntiFa – that is a "fascist", and AntiFa will fight him with methods taken from both Fascism and Communism, with the ideological intolerance of Communism, combined with the social violence proper to Fascism.

AntiFa, as a perfect twinning of Communism and Fascism, is an organization which covers its members, who often appear at protests wearing black clothes and black masks over their faces, well instructed and trained to resist the police assaults and capable of disguising their identity by using fake IDs if arrested[16]. This organization is starting to represent a real threat for the very fundaments of the world democracy. It is an organization that attacks any state symbol of a nation. Not only does it not tolerate any ideological opponent, but it also denies any state authority, being a nihilist and anarchist organization.

[13] https://www.g4media.ro/propunere-controversata-a-unui-activist-american-de-stanga-statuile-lui-isus-trebuie-daramate-fiind-simboluri-ale-suprematiei-albe.html

[14] https://www.theguardian.com/uk/justin-welby

[15] https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/anti-fascist-activists-are-fighting-the-alt-right-in-the-streets/

[16] H. D. Hartmann, https://www.defenseromania.ro/antifa-mi-carea-de-extrema-stanga-comunista-indreptata-impotriva-sua_592961.html

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In our part of Europe, the name AntiFa only became known in 2014, in the Republic of Moldavia, when it tried to put in march violent protests, in order to contest the results of the parliament elections of November 30th, 2014. In Chișinău, the head of AntiFa in the Republic of Moldavia, Mihail Amerberg, was arrested and a large quantity of ammunition along with huge amounts of money have been confiscated[17]. The stupefacient surprise, though, came from Romania in the following year. In the fall of 2015 an illegitimate Government run by Dacian Ciolos is formed, after the resign of the legitimate Government of Victor Ponta, following a shady incident(a fire, started intentionally?) at a club, where more than 60 young people died a terrible death. In the meantime, AntiFa, registered in Romania as an NGO, receives….money from the Ciolos administration[18]. On whose decision? And for which services?

In the USA, as well as in many other countries where it has spread, AntiFa has paramilitary structures and resorts to violence, they provoke the law enforcement, break shop windows and burn street furniture. This conduct could be observed as well at the anti-Governmental protest in Bucharest, on the 10th of August, 2018. AntiFa militants came from more countries to the Romanian capital city, with the declared purpose of violently bringing down the Government, pretexting that they are actually Romanians from the diaspora, who came to their homeland for the summer vacation. After 11 p.m., when the police forced declared the manifestation completed and asked the participants to evacuate Victory Square, then the AntiFa groups took action, with extreme violence, burning street dumpsters and wooden floral arrangements[19].

It is of public interest that we reveal the list of sponsors financing AntiFa, besides G. Soros's NGOs: the Ford Foundation, The Volunteers for the "Affirmative Action" (of the former US President L. Johnson), The Central Work Council of San Francisco, the University of Bowling Green, these are only a few of those who financially contribute to this political terrorism movement. But, as compared to the anti-Fascist groups which originated in Italy, Germany and Spain between the two World Wars, many of them directly supported by the Komintern and Soviet political leaders such as Leo Trotsky, the new organizations like AntiFa understand by Fascist the political adversary who opposes the new American Liberalism, also known as "Progressivism". Their leaders make no difference when using the terms Nazi and Fascist, proving a horrid political lack of culture[20].

Like any other anarchist group, AntiFa can inclusively cause nasty surprises to the very people who financed it, that is, turn against them. Thus, on June 7th, 2020 in the University Square in Bucharest, a protest was organized against the measures taken by the Romanian Police in the pandemic context, implicitly against the Orban Government and for the rights of the lesbians and prostitutes (politically correct: "sex industry workers"). The striking surprise for the ex-financers was that at the respective protest a few persons showed up with faces covered by black masks, waving the AntiFa anarchist flag in red and black[21], given the fact that, only a couple of days prior, the President of the USA Donald Trump threatened to declare AntiFa as a terrorist organization and place it outside the law.

[17] https://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Antifa

[18] https://www.amosnews.ro/miscarea-antifa-scurta-prezentare-organizatiei-2020-06-16

[19] https://www.defenseromania.ro/antifa-mi-carea-de-extrema-stanga-comunista-indreptata-impotriva-sua_592961.html

[20] H. D. Hartmann, ibidem.

[21] https://www.dcnews.ro/fete-noi-la-protestul-din-piata-universitatii-surpriza-totala-cine-a-venit-duminica-foto-video_752585.html

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Bangladesh-India Bilateral Relations *Understanding The Influences of Track II Diplomacy*

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Abstract- Apparently, track-II diplomacy better known as the "people to people" contact is the only way of helping change in the mind set of people and enhances better understanding for peace and stability. Historical evidences suggest that, both India and Bangladesh share common historical and cultural values and social connect. There is a huge potential for the expansion of bilateral trade which, in turn, helps in peace and harmony on both sides of the border. It is not possible any economic development, advancement of trade and politico-socio-cultural relations without stability and peace. People to people contact can be better achieved through formal and informal entities i.e. chamber of commerce, educational institutions, and bilateral visits of artists, musicians, singers, sportspersons, and film personalities. The bilateral relations between Bangladesh and India are imperative having a strong historic basis. Based on common benefit and with mutual admiration, both countries are assembling every effort towards innovative connections. Our geographical proximity, cultural affinity and shared history remain as strong base for streamlining the relationship.

Keywords: foreign policy, south asian connectivity, track ii diplomacy, bilateral relations and economic cooperation.

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Bangladesh-India Bilateral Relations *Understanding The Influences of Track II Diplomacy*

Dr. Mohammad Tarikul Islam [α] & Md. Zaki Faisal [σ]

Abstract- Apparently, track-II diplomacy better known as the "people to people" contact is the only way of helping change in the mind set of people and enhances better understanding for peace and stability. Historical evidences suggest that, both India and Bangladesh share common historical and cultural values and social connect. There is a huge potential for the expansion of bilateral trade which, in turn, helps in peace and harmony on both sides of the border. It is not possible any economic development, advancement of trade and politico-socio-cultural relations without stability and peace. People to people contact can be better achieved through formal and informal entities i.e. chamber of commerce, educational institutions, and bilateral visits of artists, musicians, singers, sportspersons, and film personalities. The bilateral relations between Bangladesh and India are imperative having a strong historic basis. Based on common benefit and with mutual admiration, both countries are assembling every effort towards innovative connections. Our geographical proximity, cultural affinity and shared history remain as strong base for streamlining the relationship. It is India which was the first country to distinguish Bangladesh as a separate and independent state and created formal diplomatic ties with the country directly after its independence in December 1971. India's associations with Bangladesh are multidimensional-civilizational, economic, social and multi-cultural. There is much that unites the two countries – Apart from shared history and common heritage, linguistic and cultural ties – psychological dimension cannot be missed out.

Keywords: foreign policy, south asian connectivity, track ii diplomacy, bilateral relations and economic cooperation.

I. Introduction

Over the last decade, there has been a dramatic transformation of relations between India and Bangladesh. Bangladesh strongly took the major activities here, making an empowering domain. The two nations have agreeably settled debates and finished limit boundary ashore, waterways and in the Bay of Bengal. Eight border *haats* (markets) have been set up, until this point, along Bangladesh's fringes with Meghalaya and Tripura, reconnecting and restoring verifiable monetary relations. Indian interests in Bangladesh have surged significantly, mainly at the sectors of clothing, materials and telecom areas and are currently growing consistently into the power and infrastructure sectors. (Bose & Roy, 2020)

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To leverage the efforts of economic integration, Bangladesh has offered to India an EPZ (Export Processing Zones) solely for setting up Indian industries. Remarkable Framework Agreement issued by the Honorable Prime ministers of the two countries in September, 2011, empowered them to initiate dialogs with Nepal and Bhutan and set the platform for sub-regional cooperation in multiple sectors, most importantly, in river basin management and energy cooperation (Aspen Institute India, 2012). Cooperation on river basin management will also enable the region to address larger issues: restoring river navigability; better flood forecasting, and irrigation and drought management; preventing massive land loss along river embankments; reconnecting peoples along the rivers and providing them a clear sense of rights of their rivers; and ultimately, initiating clean renewable energy from these rivers for both present and future sustainable energy consumption.

The bilateral relations between Bangladesh and India are imperative having a strong historic basis. Based on mutual benefit and with mutual respect, both countries are making every effort towards moving forward (Balaji, 2016). Our geographical proximity, cultural affinity and shared history remain as strong base for streamlining the relationship. Proudly mention here that, India was the first country to recognize Bangladesh as a separate and independent state and established diplomatic relations with the country immediately after its independence in December 1971. India's association with Bangladesh are traditional, social, cultural and economically. What we observed, in the last more than four decades, the two countries have continued to consolidate their political, economic, trade and cultural relations and have built a comprehensive institutional framework to promote bilateral cooperation (Singh, 2014).

We have been 45 years of bilateral relations and strong pledge from both sides particularly Modi and Hasina Government have conceded further momentum to the close and friendly relationship between India and Bangladesh. Indian Prime Minister Mr. Narendra Modi's invitation to the SAARC leaders at his inauguration was an unprecedented move that reflected his vision of South Asia. He realizes that if India is to build up as a regional power, then it must ensure a friendly neighborhood. His reaching out to the neighbors before engaging with big powers such as the USA, Russia,

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China and the EU, is a clear indication of priority that Mr. Modi attaches to the region (Islam, 2019).

Bangladesh is located between the two Asian giants-China and India. Dhaka has to constantly balance its ties between New Delhi and Beijing (Karim, 2009, p-39). Bangladesh is surrounded by India from three sides and India has more influence over Bangladesh than any other countries. In spite of India's incapability to accomplish all the initiatives and implement the contracts signed, Dhaka-New Delhi relationships remained friendly during 2009-14. In the history of India-Bangladesh formal and informal relations, such deeper and wider commitment was only observed in the early seventies. There has been an increasing realization among the policy makers of both the countries that they need each other's cooperation in the changing geo-political and economic scenarios at the regional and global level. Under such situations, it is apparent that national interest should get significance over substances.

The illegal migration is undoubtedly a major issue that merits immediate attention and should be included in India's bilateral agenda with Bangladesh (Dutta, 2010). On the whole, the Modi visit symbolized the bipartisan consensus among the major political parties in India on enhancing relations with Bangladesh. While indicating a new era in developing regional connectivity, the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government led by Modi has occupied what was a heartfelt affiliation with Bangladesh under the earlier United Progressive Alliance (UPA) government to a new high by closing the LBA. With settled and demarcated land and maritime boundaries, the two countries are now set for opening a new chapter in their bilateral ties (Pattanaik, 2012).

In spite of intermittent hiccups, previously, India-Bangladesh affiliations crossed another significant stage in 2008. In the course of the recent five years, the two nations composed various bilateral contracts that energized the trade exchange and financial collaboration, gave simpler connectivity bringing about more people-to-people contact, and in particular, addressed a number of security issues that had strained our relationship in the past. With the change of the regime in Delhi, there will be queries upraised about the trend India-Bangladesh relations will take and what the significances will be in these two countries relations. It would assume that Mr. Modi, while not being troubled with wrangling coalition allies, will be decisive. He can now deliberate the issue with Ms. Mamata Bannerjee from a point of strength and, in consequence, can sign the water treaty with or without her support. Meanwhile, China has been creating hydroelectric projects and storage dams on its part of the Brahmaputra without checking the lower riparian – Bangladesh and India. This could be a major concern for both the neighboring countries. In fact, a China-Bangladesh-India-Bhutan combined effort to advance the Brahmaputra basin is the right way forward.

Apart from formal diplomatic approach, India-Bangladesh relations have been blessed with the informal nature of diplomacy is better known as Track II diplomacy. Thus, the momentum of greater regional integration is re-energized in recent years. But meeting all the challenges requires more than business as usual. With the application of Track II diplomacy across level, greater cooperation and regional economic integration can bring about gains in these areas and help tap into the proximity and demographic dividend, South Asian countries enjoy. Track II actors are often critical to redress development imbalances, transcend the old tradition of natural law and draw strength from the diversity of regional societies governed by multitude of passions.

They involve the interaction of unofficial or semi-official channel through business elites, major media figures, professors, retired government officials, think tanks, political leaders, legislators, research scholars and socially and culturally eminent persons cobbled together to provide new ideas, shape public opinion and provide lobby for policy adjustment on mutually beneficial cooperation. The guiding principle of this track is class-bridging horizontal network, association, partnership and linkage building than domination, control and maintenance of power hierarchy. The paper seeks to understand the nature of Track II diplomacy prevailing between two neighboring countries and where challenges lie in for the expansion of this sort of informal diplomatic approach for consolidating the South Asian connectivity.

II. Defining Track II Diplomacy

It is evident that, Track II diplomacy is "Private, informal and non-governmental communication and among private individuals or groups of individuals, sometimes known as 'non-state actors'. It is in contrast with Track I diplomacy that can be described as official diplomacy which can be occurred in official channels. Track II diplomacy is an isolated and non-structured interaction. It's always open psychologically, often portable and strategically optimistic (Mapendere, 2006). The underlying concept is that real or potential conflict can be resolved or improved with the ability of normal human to respond to good will and rationality. Scientific and cultural exchange are the example of track II diplomacy. The unofficial dialogue and problem-solving programs encourage the relationships and new ideas that can express the official process.

The term "Track Two Diplomacy" first used in 1981 in an article in the periodical Foreign Policy by Joseph Montville who was an US Foreign Service officer (Naidoo, 2000). This term sometimes used as "Citizen Diplomacy". According to Monteville, The difference

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between "track I" or official diplomacy, operated by professional diplomats, and "Track II Diplomacy", which defines as "Strategic development" between unique, informal interactive organizations or members of the nations, with the aim of developing public awareness strategies, organizes material resources that can resolve this dispute (Fraser, 2012).The most notable of these is track II diplomacy, involving unofficial dialogue between academics, non-government organizations and other civil society leaders to build relationships and encourage new thinking (Wang, 2017).

Track II diplomacy refers to an informal diplomacy, where non-officials are involved in conflict resolution (Chigas, 2003). The track may be the second diplomatic academic scholar, retired citizen and military officer, public figures, or social workers. Track II, the informal nature of diplomacy can discuss serious and potentially hazardous issues in an open, non-official forum[1]. The broad definition of the track-ii diplomacy refers to interaction with a person or group that is outside the process of a government discussion (Kaye, 2005).When most people think about diplomacy, they think of official communication among government representatives, such as Track I Diplomacy. Secondly, track ii diplomacy almost completely communicates. These unique contacts can include dialogue and exchange among influential private actors of different countries, in order to increase trust and increase communication. In addition, track II initiatives can be effective when official level blockages are occurring and when a secondary, non-governmental space is required to find new or challenging concepts.

III. How Does Track II Diplomacy Influence Indo-Bangladesh Relations? Critical Reflections

Track II diplomacy is inclined to provide a space where low-key, non-judgmental, non-coercive, and safe environment exist enabling participants to share perceptions, fears and needs without any pressure. This enables to explore ideas for resolution, free of the constraints of government positions to achieve sustainable solution of prevailing complications among nations. Track II diplomacy is an important apparatus to encourage the formation of mutual understanding of differing perceptions and needs based on strong problem-solving relationships. Scholars and practitioners in the field of negotiations rightly point out strategies of track II diplomacy for a nation to perceive and keep the momentum continue for consolidating bilateral relations in international arena. Here, we will look at Bangladesh-India bilateral relations based on different aspects of track II diplomacy.

IV. Exchange Through Cricket

Track Ii diplomacy refers to unofficial, informal interaction between members of adversarial groups or nations with the goals of developing strategies, influencing public opinions and organizing human and material resources in ways that might help reshaping bilateral relations (Kaye, 2007). With regard to cricket diplomacy between Bangladesh and India, all-rounder Shakib Al Hasan, who plays for Kolkata Knight Riders, has been among the most impressive of the Bangladesh players but even he has not caught so much attention like Mustafizur has done at the start. He has played a role in Kolkata's title triumph through his fine all-round showing and has been retained by this franchise. Mohammad Ashraful played for Mumbai Indians in 2009 but he played only one match. Mashrafe Mortaza, one of Bangladesh's finest pacers and captain of the limited overs side, played for Kolkata Knight Riders in 2009. Tamim Iqbal, the dashing opener, was signed up by Pune Warriors in 2012 but could not replicate his success of the international arena.

V. Exchange Through Scholarships

Track II diplomacy is aimed at building or rebuilding broken relationships across the lines of division among ordinary citizens in communities, in a range of sectors. According to the High Commission of India in Bangladesh, every year Indian government offers 200 scholarships for Bangladeshi students under ICCR Scholarship Scheme (High Commission of India). Over 3,000 ICCR scholarships have been granted to Bangladeshi nationals by the government of India till 2018 (ProthomAlo, 2008). Moreover, these two neighboring nation agreed to launch High Level India-Bangladesh Education Dialogue, reinforce partnership on technical and vocational education and deliver mutual support in scientific issues and in the areas of ICT (High Commission of India).

VI. Exchange Through Trade and Investment

The premise of track II diplomacy is that, deepening relations between two nations can and must be built from the bottom up as well as from the top down. Trade relationship is one of the major areas where track II diplomacy works effortlessly. Economic diplomacy[1], in literal terms comes through exchange in trading. Trade statistics between India and Bangladesh published by High Commission of India in Bangladesh shows that Bangladesh has emerged as major trading partner of India with bilateral trade exceeding US $10 billion annually. Bilateral trade between Bangladesh & India was $9.5 billion in FY2017-18 with exports to India pegged at $0.87 billion and imports, at $8.6 billion. Bangladesh's exports to India crossed US $ 1.0 billion

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mark in 2019 (High Commission of India). Previously, in the fiscal year 2013-14, the bilateral trade between India and Bangladesh was USD 6.6 billion where India's exports at USD 6.1 billion and imports from Bangladesh at USD 462 million which is more than twice from five years ago from that time when the value was USD 2.7 billion. The cabinet of Bangladesh approved a trade deal with India which was actually a revised trade deal to use each countries land and water routs by both countries to send goods in a third country which removed the barrier of regional trade. This deal of trade will be expanded after every five years if no objection stands between this two countries[1].

VII. Exchange Through Health

For the sake of amicable solution through exchange, very peaceful interaction at citizen level must exist. Likewise, for any settlement that is eventually reached, there must be mutual understanding through which a nation can reshape trust and confidence in other nation. Bangladesh directly and indirectly contributes in the health and medical tourism in India. In 2015-16 fiscal year, a statistics showed that every one in three foreign patients in India were from Bangladesh. According to the Director General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, among 460000 inbound patients, 165000 patients were from Bangladesh.

Bangladeshi patients made contribution 50% of the total revenue from medical tourism which is 35% of the input of foreign patients. Over 58,000 medical visas were delivered in that time period. According to the government report Bangladesh is the largest foreign user in India in 2015-16 fiscal year. As a large number of Bangladeshi patients are receiving Indian medical facilities, for this reason, Indian government extended the visa facility for Bangladeshi patients. For the growing trend of Bangladeshi contribution in Indian medical as well as others sector, both side have expanded the routes of travel. New transport service as well as new railway rout has been announced. Rail link between Khulna and Kolkata were inaugurated during the visit of Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina in India (bdnews24.com, 2017).

VIII. Cultural Exchange

It is thought that cultural programme not only enriches the cultural dimension but also promotes cross cultural co-operation between India and Bangladesh. Cultural exchange is very important for the enhancing the bilateral relations. Culture is a very important medium that fosters better understanding and appreciation in different levels. The Indira Gandhi Cultural Centre organizes different cultural programs featuring both Indian and Bangladeshi artists. Besides lots of Bangladeshi artists also perform in India. 93 cultural events were organized in cultural center last year. It always encourages promising young and emerging artists. Not necessary those who are already famous, but those who have lots of enthusiasm and potential (High Commission of India, 2017).

Bangladesh and India's geographical positions complement each other and enable the prospects for both to advance their connectivity links and economies. The relationship is deepening as high-level economic exchanges through visits and meetings take place regularly alongside the wide ranging people-to-people interaction which is meant as Tack II Diplomacy. Major inquiry of the essay is to deepen our understanding about the consequences of Modi Government in the bilateral relations of Bangladesh with India. What we observed, in the last more than four decades, the two countries have continued to consolidate their political, economic, trade and cultural relations and have built a comprehensive institutional framework to promote bilateral cooperation.

IX. Conclusion

We have been around 48 years of bilateral relations and strong pledge from both sides, particularly Modi and Hasina Government have conceded further momentum to the close and friendly relationship between India and Bangladesh. His reaching out to the neighbors before engaging with big powers such as the USA, Russia, China and the EU, is a clear indication of priority that Modi attaches to the region for strengthening political strategy. In this context, Bangladesh should be close to the top of Modi's agenda, because Bangladesh not only shares the longest international border with India (3,500 km) and is her biggest economic and industrial trading partner within SAARC (over $ 5 bn. in 2012-13), it also grasps a key tactical position vis-à-vis India's connectivity to South East Asia, and China. Visit of the Prime Minister of India Mr. Modi from 6-7 June 2015 in Dhaka aided accelerating the bilateral ties between two countries.

There may be several misunderstanding and debates between these two neighboring countries, India and Bangladesh, but if there is a people-to-people contact among the people of these two countries, it braces the network between us. It also helps in the expansion of non-fundamental judgements and both nations will get stimulated for socio-economic advancement. The youth wants to work together and emphasize new areas of cooperation, despite having differences in security and migration concerns from India's point of view. Our mutual cooperation is based on a win-win principle for both countries, based on a mutuality of interests. We trust that harmony and safety in the region, which is necessary for economic progression and improvement, is our collective obligation.

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Undoubtedly, Bangladesh and India relations should be entrusted with a multi-party, multi-stakeholder affair. Because at the end of the day, a consensual vision of this particular tie has to be created for a relationship with such a principal neighbor for better regional integrity. Apart from formal relations between Indian government and Bangladesh government, we have to bring in members of different cross-sections of stakeholders and civil society.

Given the recurrent challenges posed through the wave of globalization, if governments are not actively interacting with each other, the productivity is reduced. Conversely, young academics and professionals of Bangladesh want friendly relations with India based on commonness in culture, heritage and political systems despite disputes on water, transit and trade issues. They want Bangladesh to develop economically, socially and culturally as well hand in hand with emerging India. Present ties between the two countries are good but interactions need to be institutionalized to deepen the relationship in coming days ahead. We need to have a forward approach so that we can come over with the past heritage based on the spirit of track-II diplomacy.

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Ethnic Politics and National Integration in Nigeria: An Impact Analysis

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Abstract- Since Nigeria's independence in 1960, Nigerian politics has been bedeviled by ethnic politics as a result of ethnic polarization and sentimental coloration of all national issues. This problem has been one of the major factors inhibiting national integration and national development in Nigeria. Nigerian politics is tainted with ethnic sentiments and politically induced disharmony. Ethnic politics has been one of the factors responsible for low productivity and the general poor socio - economic development in Nigeria. The major focus of this study is to examine the challenges of ethnic politics in Nigeria as it relates to national integration with a view to critically evaluating the impact. Secondary data was used to gather relevant information for this study. One finding of the study is that ethnic politics was deliberately introduced and propagated in the Nigerian political system by the British colonial government through its divisive 'divide and rule' policy to actualize colonial and imperialist economic and political objectives. The situation has not abated in spite of several attempts to redress it through state creation and the Federal character principle.

Keywords: *ethnic politics, national integration, ethnicity, ethnic nationalities ethnic polarization.*

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Ethnic Politics and National Integration in Nigeria: An Impact Analysis

Dr. Harrison Otuekong Ataide [α] & Dr. Martins Tom Enebong [σ]

Abstract- Since Nigeria's independence in 1960, Nigerian politics has been bedeviled by ethnic politics as a result of ethnic polarization and sentimental coloration of all national issues. This problem has been one of the major factors inhibiting national integration and national development in Nigeria. Nigerian politics is tainted with ethnic sentiments and politically induced disharmony. Ethnic politics has been one of the factors responsible for low productivity and the general poor socio - economic development in Nigeria. The major focus of this study is to examine the challenges of ethnic politics in Nigeria as it relates to national integration with a view to critically evaluating the impact. Secondary data was used to gather relevant information for this study. One finding of the study is that ethnic politics was deliberately introduced and propagated in the Nigerian political system by the British colonial government through its divisive 'divide and rule' policy to actualize colonial and imperialist economic and political objectives. The situation has not abated in spite of several attempts to redress it through state creation and the Federal character principle. The study recommends that the legal provisions for Federal Character principle enshrined in the Nigerian Constitution be reviewed to ensure transparent and genuine application of the principle without sacrificing merit on the altar of mediocrity and that the focus of the constitutional review should be on creating a homogeneous territorial political community with progressive reduction or total elimination of religious, cultural, ethnic or regional tensions, conflicts and socio – political imbalances among the ethnic or regional groupings within the country.

Keywords: ethnic politics, national integration, ethnicity, ethnic nationalities ethnic polarization.

I. Introduction

Nigeria is a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural heterogeneous society with a multiplicity of languages and dialects which uniquely identify the numerous ethnic nationalities within the country. There are about 250 ethnic groups in Nigeria. The diverse nature of ethnic composition of the Nigerian state is responsible for the disunity and lack of peaceful coexistence and national integration among the different ethnic groups, lack of sustainable national development and the general progress of the country at large. These ethnic groups even though they occupy the same geopolitical territory called Nigeria, which is an amalgam of many nations in one, do not have the same socio economic, socio political and socio - cultural interests, needs, objectives and aspirations. They are distinct from each other though under one umbrella called Nigeria, hence the common popular but very deceptive slogan "unity in diversity" often heard in the country.

Shrewd (2019) has noticed that the recent event such as globalization have not significantly diminished these differences. This static situation has been due to a number of reasons: (1) The indigenous languages, which help to identify the various ethnic groups, are still spoken by almost the entire population of Nigeria. (2) The style of life has not, for the majority people, changed to such a degree as to produce appreciably greater uniformity.

Nigeria carried forward the spirit of ethnicity and ethnic politics into post-colonial Nigeria and the present-day Nigeria. This is the bane of political, administrative, economic, social development in Nigeria. National integration, as a condition sinaquanon to national development, is technically contingent upon overcoming the challenges of ethnicity, ethnic politics, political power imbalance among ethnic nationalities, incongruent political structure of the different ethnic nationalities and oblique political leadership based on ethnic sentiments. There ought to be equal and fair treatment and political equilibrium among the different ethnic nationalities to eliminate or at least minimize the age long ethnic rivalry, inter - tribal animosity, cross-regional acrimony and absence of socio–political or socio-economic national bonding or national integration as a result of the diverse ethnic, cultural, religious, sectional and sentimental interests of the different peoples of the country.

This colonial vice which has turned out to become a national plaque and cankerworm which has eaten so deep into almost all the fabrics of the Nigerian political and social life is accountable for the poor national integration among the numerous ethnic nationalities in Nigeria, which in turn impedes and stagnate national development.

One of the indelible facts about Nigeria's political history is the manifestation and intensification of ethnic-politics in the attainment of selfish regional or sectional political goals achieved through clandestine, primordial and clannish sentiments. For instance, this has resulted in abuse of political power by incumbent

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political office holders who stage manage appointments to public/political offices, in favour of their ethnic or sectional interest to the disadvantage or detriment of the other ethnic groupings in the country, etc. This is one of the most difficult issues begging for resolution in Nigeria. The public outcry for marginalization, oppression, injustice, and a feeling of rejection especially by the minority ethnic groups in Nigeria is heard everywhere in the country. This, in the recent times in the country has evoked a national outcry for the restructuring of the political super and sub-structures of the country. This is perceived as the fulcrum of true federalism that is the panacea for national integration albeit national development. The demand, it can be argued is a form of nationalism, which ranges from assertions of distinct language and cultural autonomy to the demand for local autonomy and self-determination in Nigeria (Osaghea, 2004).

Other ethnic based groupings such as IPOP, OPC, and the Niger Delta Avengers are fighting hard and crying for secession. (Rufus, 2017: 34). There is no gainsaying that in Nigeria today the feeling of discontent among the minority ethnic groups particularly in terms of control of political powers and the fact that the bulk of the resources that has kept the country going is found in the minority's region.

The scenario is not new in the political history of Nigeria. It can be argued that these same set of factors led to the disastrous national disintegration in 1966 that resulted in the Nigerian civil war. (Etekpe, 2004:67). More than 6 decades after the war, national integration still eludes the Nigerian nation as the country is still locked down by the problem of ethnic differentiation which continuously bedevil and chastise her national affinity and integration.

Ethnicity therefore has become a strong factor in the political life of Nigeria. Most often ethnic sentiments are used to replace merit and skills, such that round pegs are no longer found in round holes. This affects the efficiency and productivity in Nigerian socio-economic development.

Singh & Arya (2006) observed that the new nations such as multi-ethnic Nigerian states, which attained statehood as a result of their independence after prolonged struggles for liberation launched by them against imperialism, had to face after their independence, the challenge of integrating the various ethnic groups into single nations. In line with the above, multi-ethnic countries, such as Nigeria, faced a major problem of managing diversity; of turning pluralism into a positive instrument instead of an obstacle against the attainment of national integration and security (Guobadia, 2004). As observed by Bassey, Omono, Bisong & Bassey (2013), the problems of integrating the diverse cultural diversity of Nigeria are very practical, and maintaining the existing level of integration is also a cumbersome task. It is a popular opinion in literature that the task of national integration became all the more difficult in Nigeria due to the large number of religious, social, cultural, linguistic and ethnic groups and disparate ethno-geographical location and population. In Nigeria, every citizen is a bearer of multiple identities, ranging from ethnicity, religion, class, profession, education, political association, age grade, status and title etc. (Alemika, 2004).

Thus, the country continues to face a myriad of problems related to integration. Specifically, acrimonious existence among the different groups that make up the country, fear of domination of one group or section of the country by another and incessant disagreement over the distribution of "national cake" among the constituent units precipitate mutual distrust and affect the process of nation building (Adeosun, 2011).

Each group, in the state, organizes in opposition to other groups at a similar level until the entire group organizes at highest level against a similarly organized enemy. Each person is a member of overlapping subgroups and has, therefore, many overlapping identities. Each identity is called into play only in the appropriate circumstance. These identities are kept in a series of boxes and encased one in the other (Salamone, 1997). The identities are politically neutral but as the situation warrants, actors can widen or narrow down to the boundaries of ethnic identity in the pursuance of their desires to the detriment of other groups or national identity in Nigeria (Salamone, 1997). Any particular identity invoked is the result of a process akin to play in which the actor assembles bits and pieces from the masks of other identities, taking these "shreds and patches" and weaving them into a mask of identity used to confront other similar masks (Salamone, 1997).

Nigeria's efforts at ensuring sustainable national integration have probably remained unrealized. This is probably because of the aggregated character of the states that was produced by colonialism in Nigeria in which the identity symbols are usually considered relevant. The identity symbols usually emphasized are the kinship, language, culture and spatial location, conveniently referred to as ethnic identity (Ifidon, 1999). In particular, communal, ethnic, and ethno-religious politicization and mobilization have increased since democratization opened up political space in May 1999 (Ikelegbe, 2005). Also, the most cursory glance at the history of Nigeria reveals that from about 1951, ethnicity became the hallmark of Nigerian politics (Ojo, 2010).

The foregoing realities explain the factors preventing the emergence of nationally acknowledged policies of government, political leaders, national identity, etc. Consequentially, the integration crisis facing Nigeria is manifested in the citizenship question (indigene and non-indigene/settler dichotomy), minority question, religious conflicts, ethnic politics, resource

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control, youth restiveness and the call for a sovereign national conference (Ekanola, 2006; Ifeanacho & Nwagwu, 2009; Ojie & Ewhrudjakpor, 2009; Adesoji & Alao, 2009; Fawole & Bello, 2011) or division of the country along religion, ethnic or geographical composition.

In the works of Adesoji & Alao (2009), it is revealed that Nigeria is an artificially created State, created by the British without the general consent of the 'ethno-geographical' citizen of the country. The colonialist created a State of hitherto internally disparate people. The problem confronting the country has been how to integrate the people into one nation from the amalgamated 'ethno-geographical' territory of the diverse ethnic groups known as Nigeria.

Evidence in extant literature has shown that works in the area of ethnic politics and national integration have dwelt more on the divisive tendencies of multi-ethnic nature of the Nigerian state with little attempts at evaluating how the differences in ethnic orientations can be channeled towards integrative tendencies of the inherited multi-ethnic Nigerian state.

Against these diverse backgrounds, many ethnic problems abound in Nigeria, which arise principally from the hostility that derives from competition between ethnically different peoples for wealth and power.

II. Conceptual/Theoretical Framework

a) *Ethnic Group*

To fully understand this, some related concepts like 'ethnic group' and 'ethnicity' need to be defined. Ethnic group is an informal interest group whose members are distinct from the members of other ethnic groups within the larger society because they share kinship, religious and linguistics ties (Cohen, 1974). This means that ethnic groups are social formations, which are distinguished by the communal character of their boundaries (Nnoli, 1978). In an explanation of the idea above, Nnoli emphasized that the most important or crucial variable in ethnic identity is language. This then means that an ethnic group consists of those who are themselves alike by virtue of their common ancestry, language and culture, and who are so regarded by others. Ethnicity is another related word, which needs to be conceptualized in this paper. By definition it means the interactions among members of many diverse groups (Nnoli, 1978). On the other hand, the term ethnicism denotes ethnic loyalty. This is a feeling of attachment to one's ethnic group (Pepple, 1985). The concept of loyalty in the above definition carries with it the willingness to support and act on behalf of the ethnic group. Thus, ethnic loyalty or ethnicism usually involves a degree of obligation and is often accompanied by a receptive attitude towards those regarded as outsiders (that is, members of another ethnic group).

Similarly, according to Thomson (2000:60) a basic definition of ethnicity is: "… a community of people who have the conviction that they have a common identity and common fate based on issues of origin, kinship, ties, traditions, cultural uniqueness, a shared history and possibly a shared language". In this sense, an ethnic group is much like the imagined community of the nation. Ethnicity, however, focuses more on sentiments of origin and descent, rather than the geographical considerations of a nation. In concord to the foregoing, Omu (1996:170) says that:

…ethnicity applies to the consciousness of belonging to, identifying with, and being loyal to a social group distinguished by shared cultural traditions, a common language, in-group sentiment and self-identity.

From the operationalization of these two related concepts above, it can be seen that ethnicity is a phenomenon, which involves interaction among various ethnic groups and which by itself does not pose any serious threat to either development or democracy. On the contrary, it is the phenomenon of negative ethnicism (a hangover of ethnicity), which is the rejective attitude towards those regarded as outsiders that threatens development process. It is important to note that it was the phenomenon of ethnicity that was found among Nigerians before the coming of the Europeans, while the second phenomenon (ethnicism) is a product of competition for both economic and political resources.

b) *National Integration*

Terms used for national integration have included national cohesion, national unity, nation building or national integration (Bandyopadhyay & Green, 2009; Ojo, 2009). According to Duverger in Ojo (2009), national integration is "the process of unifying a society which tends to make it a harmonious city, based upon an order its members regard as equitably harmonious." Jacob & Tenue in Ojo (2009) describe it as "a relationship of community among people within the same political entity… a state of mind or disposition to be cohesive, to act together, and to be committed to mutual programmes". Defining national integration as a process, Morrison et al. argue that it is "A process by which members of a social system (citizens for our purpose) develop linkages and location so that the boundaries of the system persist over time and the boundaries of sub-systems become less consequential in affecting behaviour. In this process members of the social system develop an escalating sequence of contact, cooperation, consensus and community" (Ojo, 2009). Etzioni (1965) has argued that a community can only be considered cohesive when it meets the following touchstones:

- It has effective control over the use of the means of violence;

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- It has a centre of decision making capable of effecting the allocation of resources and rewards; and
- It is a dominant focus of political identification for a large majority of politically aware citizens.

Ojo (2009) rightly observed that these viewpoints have not answered the questions such as how would one recognise an integrated polity? How much cohesion and which commonly accepted norms denote an integrated political or social unit? How would an observer identify integration or is it dependent on some other manifestations (such as conflict) to demonstrate a lack of integration? And what institutional form will an integrated unit take? Will it be democratic or authoritarian? Would it be a centralised organisational entity with full sovereignty or would it be a loosely federal unit? Or are institutional forms irrelevant to integration? These are fundamental questions which may not be easily resolved in this study as doing so may mean a sharp digression from the focus.

Without going into the convolutions of what makes an ideal definition of this concept, it is pertinent to draw insights from two notable definitions of the concept. Firstly, Ernest Haas (1987:81) defines national integration as "a process whereby political actors in distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities towards a new centre, whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over the pre-existing nation state". Also, Coleman and Rosberg (1987:80) define territorial integration as "the progressive reduction of cultural and regional tensions and discontinuities in the process of creating a homogeneous territorial political community". In this study, national integration is seen as a process that produces an omnibus of initiatives put in place by a state, its representatives or institutions guided by respect for the unique traditions and cultural backgrounds of ethnicities sharing the same polity with the goal of harmonising all interests through a form of dialogue and representation and addressing differences that may be divisive and conflictual using the instruments of fairness, justice and equity in the sharing of resources, benefits, opportunities and responsibilities in order to guarantee stability, longevity and prosperity of the polity as long as the inhabitants decide to remain within the polity.

Based on the conceptual framework above, it could be opined that national integration is made possible when ethnicities within a political entity achieve integration by consensus, in term of socio-political structures and functions in such political society that brings about social harmony and political order. This position is supported by the theory of social functionalism. As a rule, this theory also referred to as theory of functionalism tries to explain how the relationships among the parts of society are created and how these parts are functional (meaning having beneficial consequences to the individual and the society) and sometimes dysfunctional (meaning having negative consequences). It focuses on consensus, social order, social structure and social functioning in society. Structural functionalism as the theory is sometime referred, sees society as a complex system whose parts work together to promote solidarity and stability; it states that social lives are guided by social structures, which are relatively stable patterns of social behaviour (Macionis, 1997). Social structure is understood in terms of social functions which are consequences for the operations of society. All social structure contributes to the operation of society (Imhonopi & Urim, 2012). Terms developed in this theory include: order, structure, function (manifest or direct functions and latent or hidden, indirect functions), and equilibrium. Structural functionalists ask pertinent questions such as: what holds society together? and what keeps it steady? Similarly, the structural functionalist theory pays considerable attention to the persistence of shared ideas in society. The functional aspect in the structural-functionalist theory stresses the role played by each component part in the social system, whereas the structural perspective suggests an image of society wherein individuals are constrained by social forces, social backgrounds and by group memberships.

One of the challenges to Nigeria's national integration is the lack of consensus. And there can be no consensus without dialogue. While some measure of social order or subdued violence has been reached in Nigeria, the ethnicities that make up the modern Nigerian state must come to the table of negotiations to discuss the future and destiny of the country, how they want to be governed, how resources need to be shared, what system of government needs to bind and guide constituent units, how power is to be shared and the redefinition of citizenship, settler and indigeneship status, and many more. Nigerians should not be under an illusion that:

Nigeria is one because the presence of unity as Babawale (1991) postulated is artificial. Events unfolding remind a careful observer of the prescient conclusion by Awolowo (1947), one of the progressive founders of the nation, that Nigeria is not a nation but a mere geographical expression. Any attempt to disagree with this prognosis without addressing the fundamental flaws weakening the nation-state may soon assume cataclysmic consequence.

c) Ethnic Issues in the Nigeria's Socio-Political History: A Review

Nigeria is undoubtedly a plural society with different ethnic groups, religions, languages, cultures and institutional arrangements. As a heterogeneous society, ethnic groups have been identified each

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interacting with one another in competition for power and wealth.

This has resulted into ethnic conflict. A major contributor to ethnic conflict in Nigeria is what some observers have described as constitutional factor. The focus of this line of argument is that constitutional developments in Nigeria, particularly the colonial constitutions, tended to engender ethnicism and hinder national integration of particular interest is Arthur Richard Constitution of 1946. This constitution established the first regional governments in Nigeria. Although the constitution achieved the integration of North and South in a common legislative council, it actually brought to force the concept of regionalism. Many political observers and commentators have observed that the 1946 constitution formed the beginning of the process of fragmentation along ethnic line in Nigeria. The Nigerian constitutional changes all along the colonial rule encouraged factionalism, which later resulted into ethnic nationalism. By definition, ethnic nationalism is seen in this paper as the tendency to see one's self as a member of an ethnic group rather than as a member of a nation. This tendency is shown in the allegiance individuals in this country pay to their ethnic groups. Consequently, many still prefer to identify primarily with their ethnic groups rather than with the state. This manifestation of strong allegiance to ethnic group encourages primordial sentiments among Nigerian people. Thus, the individuals are concerned with socio-economic and political development of their own group and not the nation as a whole.

It is important to note here that ethnic politics has manifested itself in many ways in Nigeria. Particularly interesting is the one that is related to party formation.

The whole process of party formation began in the capital of Lagos with the formation of the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) in 1923. The first two parties, namely: Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) and the Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM) might be understood for not being national in structure. This was because the elective principle introduced by the Clifford Constitution in 1922 was a limited one that restricted elective representation to only Lagos and Calabar. The NNDP, which was basically a Lagos affair, was founded by Herbert Macaulay in response to the introduction of the elective principle. The constitution gave Lagos three elective unofficial seats in the legislative council. The NYM came later in 1934 only as a challenge to NNDP domination of Lagos politics. The first political party that began with a national outlook was the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroon (later renamed National Convention of Nigeria Citizens – NCNC). Although the NCNC started with a national orientation and nationalist commitment, an ethnic perception of it emerged mainly as a result of what Crawford, (1993) called the flamboyant and controversial personality of the NCNC leader, Nnamdi Azikwe. In response to the perceived threat of Ibo domination, the Yoruba group founded a political party named the Action Group. Although it was originally conceived to be a national party, it could not escape from its 'Yoruba genesis'. The Action Group soon disclosed its ethnic identity because of the close association between its birth and establishment of a pan-Yoruba cultural association, the Egbe Omo Oduduwa.

For the same fear of ethnic domination, the Hausa-Fulani emirates of the North floated the Northern People's Congress (NPC). According to Crawford (1993), the NPC was built upon a triple cultural support, which includes: the fear shared by all classes of Southern (and especially Ibo) dominations, the linked role of religious notables and emirs as defenders of faith, and the social discipline enforceable through the authoritative hierarchy of the emirates. Consequently, the fear shown by all the three ethnic groups produced the three parties, which were mainly ethnic in their origin, composition and the interest they served.

Another interesting manifestation of ethnic politics in Nigeria is the administrative division of the country into three regions. Each of these regions was dominated by one of the three ethnic groupings thereby reinforcing the popular philosophy of three-player of ethnic game. Many things have been affected by this tri-polar pattern.

Particularly interesting was the move for self-government, which if attained would usher in a democratic government in Nigeria. The north was unwilling to see a self-rule at the centre. The position taken by the north on this issue was indeed another expression of fear of domination. The north then felt that the enlightened south could use their advantaged position to marginalize its people. The fear continues till today, almost six decades after independence.

III. Search for National Integration in Nigeria

In 1939, the colonial Governor then divided Southern Nigeria into East and West with a constitutional backing in the Richard's constitution of 1947 thus initiating the East-West disparity and political conflict situation in addition to the already existing North-South supremacy disparity and conflict situation of the colonial Nigeria. According to Ayoade (1998:103), the strategy of the conflict of the three parts of Nigeria determined the conditions of victory in any election. For the West with approximately a quarter of the population of Nigeria which included Benin and Delta provinces and the core Yoruba area, it can only be victorious with assistance from the East and North. Similarly, the East and the restive minorities in the southern and eastern extremities but with aa cohesive Ibo core area must will an

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appreciable support in the North and the West to savour victory. Of all the three contestants, it is the North that can win victories by keeping to itself and warding off political trespassers. It is thus obvious that it was the colonial administration that bequeathed Nigerian ethnic groups with an enduring legacy of mutual conflict and lack of national integration, suspicion and contempt (Afigbo,1986).

The Nigerian political history is replete with these sorts of different phases and modes of disparities between the North and the South on one hand and the North, West and East on the other hand even with the introduction of state creation in Nigeria. General Gowon created 12 states in 1967, General Murtala Mohammed raised it to 19 states in 1976 and General Babangida first raised it to21 states in 1989 and subsequently to30 in 1991. General Abacha later raised it to the present 36 states in 1996. By all calculations in the States distribution between the North and the South and the west and the East, the North was given greater liberty to solely determine the political fate of all Nigerians (Ayoade, 1998:106).

The problem of representational equity in Nigeria started with this problem of unequal North-South duality and then regional disparities in state creation. Federal character principle was promulgated to ensure fair and equitable treatment of all the component states and ethnic groups in the country. The argument was that if the component states and all ethnic groups were accorded fair and equitable treatment then a combination of a few states could not dominate the government to the exclusion of others. The principle was to promote national unity. The Constitution Drafting Committee, (CDC) in the Report of the Constitution Drafting Committee (1976), argued that it was a desire of Nigerians to nourish and harness "the diversities of ethnic origin, culture, language or religion" for the enrichment of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

It could therefore be argued that national integration was not the intention of the proponents of the federal character principle. It became a means to further strengthen the already strong and detriment North. According to Ayoade (1948:110) "The regime of federal character in Nigeria negates various definition of national or territorial integration. For example, Ernest Haas (1987:81) defines national integration as "a process whereby political actors in distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities towards a new centre, whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over the pre-existing nation-state". Also, Coleman and Rosenberg (1987:80) define territorial integration as "the progressive reduction of cultural and regional tensions and discontinuities in the process of creating a homogeneous territorial community". These definitions place emphasis on the development of homogeneous community whereas the Nigerian federal principle encourages valorisation of ethnic individuality rather than dissolution of ethnic personality.

It can be recalled that the collapse of the 1st Republic in Nigeria was largely due to the ethnic styled politics played by the 1st Republic politicians since the entire 1st Republic political parties that stood for elections, had ethnic affiliations. The northern People's Congress (NPC) was affiliated to the North, the Action Group (AG) was affiliated to the West and the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroun (NCNC) was affiliated to the East. As a result, it became impossible for national integration to thrive in the country. The sentimental, parochial, ethnic and tribal politics played was inimical to national integration. This led to the Western Region crisis that culminated in the bloody coup of 1966 which ended the 1st Republic. The young military officers that carried out the coup cited ethnic politics, corruption, election rigging etc. as factors that motivated their actions (Chubah Eze, 2019).

It is sad that the same factors that were cited for the collapse of the 1st Republic that also led to the collapse of 2nd Republic in Nigeria. The 3rd Republic was aborted by the Military. The present 4th Republic since 1999 is still saddled with the earlier mentioned factors that militated against Nigerian national integration coupled with the current public outcry for wanton abuse of power, ethnic domination and exploitation, stollen mandates, monumental corruption in high places, and out of control insecurity of lives and property perpetrated by insurgent and ethnic based militias and religious fanatics.

a) Causes of Ethnicity Problems in Nigeria

Nigeria at the age of 60 years is still searching for a new political order. The full realisation of this objective has been made impossible because of the dominance of the factor of ethnicism, a factor which has affected the survival of democratic rule in Nigeria. One of the main causes of ethnic problem is ethnic nationalism. By definition, this means a tendency to see one's self, first and foremost as a member of an ethnic group rather than as a member of a nation. This tendency has been shown in some ways and particularly in the allegiance people pay to their ethnic group. In Nigerian society today, many prefer identification with their ethnic group rather than with the nation or even state. The above shows that Nigerians still exhibit a strong allegiance to ethnic group which has consequently encouraged primordial sentiments among Nigerian people.

The origin of ethnicism in Nigeria is traceable to the nation's colonial experience, particularly the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorates of Nigeria in 1914. According to Osadolor (1998), the act of amalgamation was not a federal idea.

Lugard did not conceive of a federal state for Nigeria. In the statement of the colonial office when

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Lugard submitted his proposals on 9 May, 1913, it was stated that 'Sir Lugard's proposals contemplate a state which is impossible to classify' (Osadolor, 1998). Lugard had neither a unitary nor a federal or confederal agenda for the country. Rather, the two regions were brought together for administrative convenience and reduction in administrative cost. This explains why the successive constitutions developed for governing the country between 1914 and 1951 can hardly be categorised either as unitary, federal or confederal. It was the turbulent political climate, which brought the 1951 Macpherson constitution to a premature end, which led to the production of the first federal-like constitution for Nigeria in 1954. The colonial Secretary, Oliver Lyttleton, convened a constitutional conference in London from July 30 to August 22 1953 to revise the 1951 constitution, which was originally expected to last for five years. At the conference, a federal constitution was accepted by the leaders of the main political parties. The solution was not reached easily, but it was the only feasible answer to the problem of national integration (Osadolor, 1998). The political restructuring produced the 1954 constitution that established a federal framework for Nigeria. The federal framework notwithstanding, the seed of mutual suspicion and fear of domination has geminated and was fast growing among the major ethnic groups in the country such that the workings of the new constitution became difficult. The point being made here is that federalism in Nigeria was not a deliberate design of the founding fathers but an accidental adoption, having found themselves in a tight situation with no better alternative available. The implication of this was that Nigerian federalism lacked the requisite foundation for a formidable federal system, the resultant effect of which is loyalty to ethnic groups rather than loyalty to the nation.

In a circumstance of mutual suspicion and fear of domination, competition for power among ethnic groups becomes unavoidable. And it is on the basis of this fear of domination that formation of political parties in Nigeria always reflects a strong dose of ethnicism.

Colonialism left behind for Nigeria a non-hegemonic state that further aggravated the crisis of ethnicism in the country. This is succinctly captured by Osaghae (2001) when he writes that:

...the pervasiveness of ethnic politics in the country is taken to be symptomatic of aggravated crisis of legitimacy that has engulfed the state, and is explained in terms of the proven efficacy of the ethnic strategy, the weakness of alternative identities and political units, the prevailing milieu of lawlessness that has enveloped the country's political landscape, and the inability of the state to act as an effective agency of distributive justice.

In a similar work, Aluko (2003) identifies the Legacy of Colonialism and monopoly of power by the major ethnic groups and their consequent marginalisation of the minority groups as major factors promoting ethnic nationalism in Nigeria. Other causes of ethnicism identified include poverty of leadership in terms of forging national integration among the multiple ethnic nationalities in the country (Babangida, 2002). Babangida argues further that mass poverty and unemployment creates alienation and insecurity, which in turn encourage Nigerians to experience and prefer accommodation within the social insurance system of ethnic nationalities.

Further identified causes of ethnic problems in Nigeria have to do with competition for employment and political exploitation. The former has been caused by the ever-increasing number of school leavers who now troop to the urban centre in search of jobs, which many a time are not found. And where such jobs are found they are given according to ethnic affiliation. The later has to do with politicians who manipulate ethnic loyalties in order to increase their winning chance at the polls. This aspect of ethnicism in the Nigerian situation has set one ethnic group against another with immeasurable consequences.

IV. Strategies for Ensuring National Integration

Various integrative mechanisms have been adopted in Nigeria since 1914, and they include:

i. The Amalgamation
ii. Nigerianization Policy
iii. National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) Scheme
iv. Unity Schools
v. National Language Policy
vi. Federalism, Party Politics
vii. New Federal Capital Territory
viii. States and Local Governments Creation (Ojo, 2009: chs. 4-8)

There are also other integrative mechanisms that have been adopted such as National Festivals of Arts and Culture, National Sports Festival, National Football League, as well as other sports competitions, policy of Federal Character (cf. Osaghae, 1994; Yakubu, 2003), which was to ensure that public appointments and positions are spread across members of all the geo-political zones, states, local governments, wards and communities such that all ethnic, linguistic and cultural groups are represented in government institutions and agencies as much as possible.

Partly owing to the resilience of ethnic groups, Otite (2000:197) strongly suggested that: " … one major step for solving ethnic problems is to recognize the fact of ethnic pluralism and ethnicity, irrespective of the politico-economic system of the plural society concerned. Ethnicity can then be properly viewed as a major force and as a part of social change. This may

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assume a dialectic form of a continuous synthesization of interacting and conflicting opposites".

However, Nzongola-Ntalaja (2001:17) is of the opinion that "ethnicity alone cannot constitute an insurmountable obstacle to a process of nation-building in which priority is given to eradicating poverty and providing all citizens with social and economic opportunities in a fair and equitable manner". This aspect of fair socio-economic opportunities as a strategic tool for fostering national integration is similarly given vent in extenso by Onwudiwe (2001:319) who explains that:

For the individual, ethnic and national interests are always at odds, and have always been so in many other countries, as well. Yet, one key to the unity of Nigeria may lie in the perception with which its leadership confronts this burdensome dilemma. One way to lure the individual away from the safety of his ethnic fixture to national political loyalty is through substantive policies that promote confidence and pride in the Nigerian nation and a sense of belonging to it by the individual Nigerian.

The inability of the national government to meet the basic needs of the individual causes the decline of confidence in the country. Among these basic needs, the economic ones are the primary. Indeed, the need for government arose in the first instance because of the need by individuals to regulate increasingly more complex economic relationships in a more orderly fashion. Few will disagree that the most important political problems in Nigeria in recent years from 'June 12' to the demand for the actualization of Biafra ultimately turned on economic interests. The successful abrogation of Abiola's mandate by Abacha is not unrelated to the fear of marrying the so called southern economic domination with political power.

Thus, the effective and democratic management of ethnic groups has, as well, been strongly canvassed in Nigeria in terms of respect, justice and fairness, equal benefits of "the valued things of society," even development, state actors and state policies being purged of all forms of ethnic group bias, and encouraging or developing cross-cutting cleavages instead of "cumulative cleavages with exclusive orientations." Socio-cultural groups should also be treated by the state just as socio-cultural groups for the purpose of cultural identity only and not as political groups for representation of the people. Socio-cultural groups are not to be politicized (Onyeoziri, 2002:38-41). He went further and articulated that:

The existence of multiple nationalities within the same nation-state tends to create problems for the stability of the state. The problem derives from two main sources. One, the national attraction which nationalities have for citizens who share their cultural identities tempts the citizens to develop more attachment or loyalty to their nationality groups than they would have for their nation-state. This near-automatic attraction for the nationalities can be weakened or strengthened by the attitude of the state authorities to these nationality groups. Where the state treats these nationality groups with respect, justice and fairness, it stands a good chance of attracting their support and loyalty. But where the state marginalizes the nationalities and disrespects them by seeking to coerce their loyalty, the groups are more likely to feel estranged from the state, and therefore become a threat to the stability of the state.

Moreover, he also argued that there is need to democratize the relationship between the nationalities and the state. He adds that this democratization project requires that the integrity of each nationality group be recognized, respected and defended. To him, this policy of mutual respect should remove from the system the fear of domination, oppression and discrimination from both the minority and the dominant group alike. The idea here is to create a multinational state in which there is a healthy respect for all nationality groups. Similarly, national integration in Nigeria "requires that opportunities be provided within the system for individuals and groups to find some meaningful place and role relevant to the survival of their locality and the nation" (Otite, 1986:17).

These integrative strategies of recognition, respect and provision of opportunities for all nationality groups has apparently led to Onyoziri's postulation that:

Perhaps a new political theory of the state should not only seek to cure traditional theory of its suspicion of nationalities as potential threat to the stability of the state but should also free the state to see that its future stability requires it to treat its nationalities as partners in progress with fairness, equity and equal respect. The new political theory should go beyond to finally resolve the national question by making the intervention of nationalities unnecessary for every citizen of the state to enjoy all the benefits of membership without any form of discrimination, conscious or unconscious (Onyeoziri, 2001:45).

Consequently, there is need for "a strong state to be able to both win citizen loyalty and attachment to it, and prevail on the otherwise warring nationalities from tearing one another apart and ultimately the state. In this sense then the national question is this: "how do we achieve a harmonious relationship between the different nationalities within a state frame that is strong enough to win loyalty and commitment from all its citizens and nationalities" (Onyeoziri, 2001:47).

Apart from the above suggestions, Ojo (2005:17) in turn harps on the need to recognize that: … managing a federal system is a delicate balancing act requiring flexibility and rigidity, particularly rigidity on matters in which the operating principles are unambiguous. Therefore, the distribution of power, privileges and liabilities must follow commonly agreed principles both in form and in content. Indeed, no

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federal system can survive on an ad hoc basis neither can one function effectively where the spirit of its operating principles is constantly abused.

Crucially, too, "Nigeria needs to find a solution to the crisis of unity in fiscal federalism, political re-structuring (see Enahoro, (2002), derivative revenue sharing and the extensive decentralization of the present warped union where there is too much power and resources concentrated in the centre (Osuntokun, 2000:25). In essence, Nigeria needs an entirely different government approach based on a different philosophy that guarantee groups' rights by recognizing the heterogeneity of the polity" (Ojo, 2005: 61-62) rather than denying it, which is what is actually "dangerous for civil peace" as Professor Jean-Pierre Derriennic has declared (cited in Ojo, 2005:62).

As it has likewise been stressed by Olufemi (2005:69), "for a federal system to be acceptable it must guarantee the minimum conditions of self-determination or ethno-regional autonomy, resource ownership or fiscal federalism as well as equitable access to resources and opportunities for growth, development and actualization". True federalism is a kind of "power-sharing arrangement that promotes unity in diversity" and which "requires tinkering with the essentially centrist arrangement which is reflected in the 1999 Constitution through a measure of decentralisation that increases the powers of the federating units in terms of political and development responsibilities, and provides a guarantee of appropriate fiscal autonomy to carry out these responsibilities. But federalism is ultimately about bargain, dialogue, trade-off and compromise, all of which are at the heart of the federal culture and the domain of the political elite" (Egwu, 2005:112). Sam Egwu also thoughtfully stated extensively that:

While a national consensus needs to be built on the way forward, there are a number of issues that require urgent and immediate attention in shaping the future of Nigeria. These include issues of democratic consolidation, governance, and constitutional reform. With respect to the last issue, for example, there is need, to provide and entrench independent commissions around issues of minority rights and how to protect and advance such rights. The most important of these would be the rights of ethnic and religious minorities in whatever context they might exist. It remains a daunting challenge to state actors and the civil society to build a legitimate constitution by taking on board the popular interests and demands of the Nigerian people, because there is high political value in building ownership of the constitution. Above all, there is need to consider the reform of the state in the direction of bringing the state back-in to the arena of development (Egwu, 2005: 112-113).

The pertinent and urgent issues of democratic consolidation, good governance and legitimate constitution and development are critically important to the question of how ordinary Nigerians can enjoy the same feeling of Nigerianness on the basis of which our political leaders demand their political loyalty. According to Ebere Onwudiwe, this question assumes a nationalized citizenship which presently only exists in theory for millions of ordinary Nigerians. To him, the reality is that ordinary Nigerians have two citizenships, the citizenship of their states which they share in common with only fellow natives of their states, and the larger, more nebulous Nigerian citizenship, which they share with every other Nigerian. As Onwudiwe (2001:322) contends:

"Until there is in practice one Nigerian citizenship for all Nigerians, and until the individual Nigerian feels this citizenship relatively equally with other Nigerians from other states, through for example, the enjoyment of standardized civil liberties and equal opportunities in any part of Nigeria irrespective of state of origin, prospects for a united Nigerian state will remain hollow…States and local governments still discriminate against Nigerians who do not hail from within their boundaries. This government sponsored discrimination is a clear statement against national unity even as it represents an official case of government sanctioned human rights abuse". In the North of Nigeria, Southerners are only employed in the civil service only on non-pensionable basis. This is clear discrimination on citizenship criteria. Also, no southerner can become Principal or Headmaster in any state government secondary or primary school. What then is national integration?. The situation may not be too different in the south of Nigeria.

At the time of writing, Abia State, in South-East of Nigeria, sacked non-Abia state citizens (including Ibos from Anambra, Enugu and Imo States) and people from other states of the federation such as Edo State allegedly because of financial constraints. Discriminatory school fees are also charged in many states of the federation. However, Governor Adams Oshiomhole, a one-time Governor of Edo State in the south-south of the country abolished discriminatory fees in the state institutions of higher learning including the state-owned Ambrose Alli University, Ekpoma. Nevertheless, discrimination is the general practice in Nigeria despite the few exceptions to the rule as we just mentioned in the case of Edo State under Governor Oshiomhole.

This unending problem of discrimination is no doubt fallout of the equally lingering fear of ethnic domination and scarcity of resources as well as poor governance. There is no doubt that the problem of ethnic suspicion still exists in Nigeria. The fear of the minority ethnic groups may even be worse because of the fear of being swallowed up by the majority ethnic groups and even other powerful minority ethnic groups in the country.

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Because of all these concerns and fears, states should be asked to specify the requirements and conditions for citizenship which non-indigenes from other states would be expected to meet. These different requirements and conditions could be harmonized at a national round-table where a common minimum set of conditions and requirements could be arrived at and generally agreed upon. The present omnibus provision of the 1999 Constitution for attaining citizenship has obviously not worked and the implementation in practical terms cannot just be by fiat. In other words, the implementation is problematic. Any feeling that all is well, that there are no ethnic suspicions or fears of ethnic domination, or that these suspicions and fears are not real or have no basis to exist, would be pretentious. Nigerians should no longer live in pretense. These fears and suspicions should be commonly discussed and addressed. With sincerity, openness and understanding, Nigerians should be able to accommodate and help themselves. With proper handling of things, mutual accommodation and understanding could be worked out and nurtured.

Indeed, the factors which promote socio-political disharmony should always be done away with and avoided. Policies such as those which promote one culture over others, disrespect, inequality, domination in any guise, uneven development, majoritarian democracy (instead of something even more than consociational democracy and proportional representation), discrimination, and others alike should be discouraged and avoided (Onyeozri, 2001). Somewhat along these lines, Larry Diamond (1990) has opined that there are four principal mechanisms for managing ethnicity, politically within a democratic framework: federalism, proportionality in the distribution of resources and power, minority rights to cultural integrity and non-discrimination, and sharing and rotation of power particularly through coalition arrangements at the centre. In a similar classification, Crawford Young (1994) outlines 'four major policy spheres' for the management of ethnic diversity. These are:

i. Constitutional formulas, particularly federal decentralized alternatives to the centralized unitary state;
ii. Cultural policies, especially in the fields of education and language;
iii. Remedies for marginalized population categories (indigenous peoples, immigrants, peripheral minorities); and
iv. Resources distribution issues (including "affirmative action questions"), both cited in Ojo, 2009:26).

Another plural accommodation and management strategy that is applicable to plural societies is that of Rupesinghe (1987). He summarises the broad-spectrum principles in his assertion that: democracy, devolution, and power sharing are important for accommodation and management of segmented societies. Within this spectrum are the instrumentalities of human rights, including minority and groups' rights, local political autonomy, affirmative action or quota system and other elements of consociationalism, secularism, and so on. They also include the five types of devolutionary arrangements identified by Gurr such as confederalism, federalism, regional autonomy, regional administrative decentralization and community autonomy (cited in Ojo, 2009:24-25).

One of the common themes of the above broad-spectrum principles for fostering national unity are that of avoiding exclusion of any group in a heterogeneous society. Emeka Odumegwu-Ojukwu seeks to unequivocally support this position when he strongly and colorfully advised that:

We should, as a people, beware of any policy founded upon exclusion: the exclusion of person, and of an area. Policies founded on exclusion look very much like AIDS. They invariably begin with self-indulgence, certain distortion and self-abuse. Once the disease has set in, there is no cure (Odumegwu-Ojukwu, 1989:200).

In summary, several methods of ensuring national integration have been adopted in Nigeria in the past as well as suggested. They include the amalgamation, the Nigerianization policy, NYSC scheme, unity schools, national language policy, federalism, new federal capital territory, states and local government's creation, national festivals, national sports competitions, and federal character principle. Others are recognition of ethnic pluralism and ethnicity, poverty eradication, provision of socio-economic opportunities, fair and equitable treatment, providing basic human needs and a sense of belonging, effective and democratic management of ethnic groups in terms of respect, justice, even development, unbiased policies, developing cross-cutting cleavages, citizen enjoyment of benefits without discrimination, and establishing a strong state. Yet others are adopting fiscal federalism, carrying out political restructuring, derivative revenue sharing, extensive decentralization, guaranteeing group rights, ethno-regional autonomy, building national consensus, legitimate constitution, commonly agreed citizenship requirements, democracy, devolution, inclusion, et cetera.

It is a fact that Angas, Ndokwa, Bini, Gusu etc. existed as separate societies and that Colonialism brought these separate geo-political entitles together in a new nation for political, administrative and economic purposes.

In the opinion of Nwosu (cited in Osinubi & Osinubi, 2006), the colonization of Africa and several other third world states ensured that peoples of diverse culture were brought together under one country. The

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same was the fate of Nigeria; Nigeria is undoubtedly a plural society with different ethnic groups, religions, languages, cultures and institutional arrangements (Ojie & Ewhrudjakpor, 2009). More so, because the mission of colonialism, which was majorly economic in nature, most of these peoples were not well integrated into the new states (Osinubi & Osinubi, 2006). Instead, some of the imperial powers cashed in on the cultural divergence of these countries to ensure the realisation of their objectives (Osinubi & Osinubi, 2006).

The disparate ethnic groups had been interacting before the advent of colonialism. The interaction between ethnic groups is regarded as ethnicity. Ethnicity in the opinion of Salawu & Hassan (2011) is a phenomenon, which involves interaction among various ethnic groups and which by itself does not pose any serious threat to unity of the State and by definition it means the interactions among members of many diverse groups (Nnoli, in Salawu & Hassan, 2011). In the words of Alemika (2004), ethnicity as a social phenomenon has objective and subjective, rational and non-rational dimensions.

a) *The Effects of Ethnic Politics on National Integration in Nigeria*

One of the factors that have seriously dampened the image and glory of Nigerian party politics is ethnicity. The first open display of ethnic chauvinism in Nigerian party politics was the Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM) episode in 1941 when the party broke-down due to ethnic feelings expressed in party politics. In 1941, the then President of NYM Dr. K.A. Abayomi was elected into the Legislative Council as a result, the post of the NYM President became vacant. Two foundational members of NYM, Ernest Ikoli (Ijaw by tribe) and Samuel Akinsanya (Ijebu Yoruba by tribe) strongly contested. Awolowo supported Ikoli while Azikiwe supported Akinsanya. At the end of the contest Ikoli won (Akuva, 2010:86). This episode generated tension between the Ijaw and Ijebu ethnic groups and their supporters. Coleman (1986:227) says that:

The selection of Ikoli as the candidate of the Movement was interpreted by Akinsanya and Ijebu Yoruba and Azikiwe and the Ibos who supported Akinsaya as a manifestation of tribal prejudice against the Ijebus and the Ibos. The result was that Azikiwe and most Ibos, as well as Akinsanya and some Ijebus, left the Movement… which after 1941 was composed mainly of Yorubas. This was the political spirit that was used to form the political parties that contested elections between 1959 to 1965.

According to Salawu1and Hassan (2011) the constant military incursions have made the development of democratic political culture a difficult task in Nigeria. A survey of the political scenario in Nigeria since independence will show the extent to which ethnic loyalty has affected the nation's dream to have democratic governance. The discussion here starts with an assessment of the political scenario in the First Republic. When Nigeria attained independence in 1960, she had a federal structure that was made up of three regions namely: the North, East and the West. Soon after Nigeria became an independent nation, the differences among the three regions became clear and amplified by the emergence of three regionally-based and tribally/ethnically sustained political parties. They were the Northern People's Congress (NPC, the National Convention of Nigeria Citizens (NCNC) and the Action Group (AG) led by late Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, Sardauna of Sokoto from the North, Dr. Azikwe from the East and Chief Obafemi Awolowo from the West respectively.

The post-independence party politics activities in Nigeria took off on ethnic prejudice, Iroanusi (2000) argues that: the major factors responsible for the post-independence economic and political turbulence in Nigeria: …were the shaky tripartite federal structure with strong regionalism, disparity in the sizes and populations of the three regions; three regionally based and tribally sustained political parties and a weak political class driven by ethnic ideologies.

Obviously, ethnicity affected the foundation stone laying of party politics in Nigeria since independence in 1960. For instance, during the First Republic, three major political parties contested in the 1959 General Elections: Action Group (AG), Northern Peoples' Congress (NPC) and National Council for Nigerian Citizen (NCNC). The AG which was launched by Awolowo in 1951 as a political party emerged from the Pan-Yoruba Organisation, Egbe Omo Oduduwa (Society of the Descendants of Oduduwa) organized by Chief Awolowo in 1948. The AG was purely a Yoruba based party… In March 1951, the AG was declared as a Western Region Political Organization (Ajene, 1996:196).

Furthermore, the effect of ethnic politics on party formation was experienced in the Second Republic. Out of the five political parties that contested elections in 1979, three of them were highly northern in orientation and outlook. These parties were National Party of Nigeria (NPN), Peoples Redemption Party (PRP) and Great Nigerian Peoples Party (GNPP), besides all the leaders of these three political parties Shehu Shagari-NPN, Aminu Kanu - PRP and Waziri Ibrahim-GNPP were of the Hausa/Fulani ethnic group. Closely related Dr. Azikiwe headed the Eastern Regional party in the Second Republic (Nigeria Peoples Party –NPP). The same thing applied to the Western Region, its major political party in the Second Republic was the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) headed by the Western Region Chieftain Obafemi Awolowo.

This ethnic background of political parties went on up to the Third Republic whereby the Social Democratic Party (SDP) was deemed more tilted to the Southern Regional states while the National Republican

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Convention (NRC) was more inclined to the northern states. In the beginning of the Fourth Republic, the leading party the People's Democratic Party (PDP), started having some internal crises; the northern ethnic group felt they had been robbed of the position of the presidency. Despite the fact that Yar'adua, the Nigerian former president came from the north and Jonathan was his Deputy, the north was not comfortable that Jonathan was made the president after Yar'adua. He was not seen in the light of being a Nigerian citizen but as an outsider of the northern enclave. This is the damage ethnicity has caused Nigeria. Ethnic consideration in Nigeria today is more important than the quality of an individual and what he can deliver in the political space.

The demand and desperation for the creation of states and local government councils in Nigeria over the years has been provoked by ethnic marginalization. In Benue state for instance, the Tiv ethnic group is the most dominant group in the state, it has been producing the civilian executive governors since the creation of the state. In the first republic the chief executive was Aper Aku, Third Republic it was Moses Orshio Adasu, in the Fourth Republic it was George Akume, after which was Gabriel Suswan and today is Samuel Ortom. The Idoma who are a minority tribe have been crying foul over the political marginalization in the state. They feel the way out is the creation of 'Apa State' a project they have been upon for a long period now. This is just one case out of several calls by minority ethnic groups for state creation in the country. National Assembly had over 30 demands from different ethnic groups in the country demanding for states of their own at the last count.

Ethnicity also affected the allocation of federal resources in the first republic, because the Hausa/Fulani was in charge of the administration in the First Republic. They used the opportunity to allocate most of the federal funds to the Northern Region than they did to other regions.

From 1961 to 1966 the Hausa/Fulani NPC Northern leadership allocated more funds to the Northern Region than the West and the Eastern Regions. This financial injustice pained NCNC who was in coalition with NPC at the federal level but could not do otherwise. Ethnicity has also been seen as a major factor behind most of the civil unrest in the democratic journey of Nigeria. According to Imobighe (2003:14) and Alebo (2006):

Ethnic and inter-communal conflicts have become so pervasive that there is hardly any part of the country that has not been affected. It is now generally understood that Nigeria is grappling with a rising wave of ethnic bloodshed in which well over 2000 people have died since military rule ended in 1999.

Another effect of ethnicity on the Nigerian polity is that it has heightened political competition in electoral contest. Most ethnic group insisted on winning elections by duress especially in their regions. No wonder, in the First Republic, Northern Peoples' Congress (NPC) had to return some candidates unopposed even before the elections were begun. This kind of political behavior created tension in the polity, according to Hembe (2003:110):

The contestants sought power by projecting themselves as champions of this or that ethnic group, thereby splitting the country into hostile ethnic blocks. The struggles were spearheaded by regional governments and the leaders chose to rationalize them in ethnic rather than intra-class terms (Nnoli, 1978). Furthermore, Hembe (2003:110) citing Onobu (1975) says that:

Each party sponsored and supported ethnic minorities in order to destabilize the areas dominated by others, thereby promoting the proliferation of ethnic sentiments and the growth of ethnic tension throughout the country. It was essentially these inter-ethnic struggles that led to the emergence of multi political parties in the country today.

Ethnic nationalism has had a lot of negative consequences for the nation's movement towards integration and democratisation to the extent that it remains an enduring threat to institutionalisation of democracy in Nigeria. Among its resultant negative consequences as observed by Babangida (2002), are wastage of enormous human and material resources in ethnically inspired violence, encounters, clashes and even battles, heightening of fragility of the economy and political process, threat to security of life and property and disinvestments of local and foreign components with continuous capital flight and loss of confidence in the economy; and increasing gaps in social relations among ethnic nationalities including structural suspicions and hate for one another. Ethnic nationalism is equally responsible for uprising of ethnic militias across the country; the Odua People's Congress of the southwest, Arewa People's Congress in the north and Egbesu in the east among others.

It is quite obvious therefore that ethnicity has affected every aspect of the governing process in Nigeria. It will be highly deceptive for anybody to think that ethnicity is not harmful to Nigeria and its quest for development.

b) Major Challenges towards National Integration in Nigeria

While it is easy and very tempting to blame the colonialists for all of Nigeria's woes, history and recent events in the country have revealed the covert selfishness, hunger for power and primitive accumulation of wealth exhibited by the political elites. Much worse than this, many political leaders exploit ethnicity for personal advantages.

Consequently, the first hurdle in the path of national integration in Nigeria has been a regenerative breed of selfish and greedy political gladiators who

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seize power through the barrel of the gun or through stolen electoral mandates. As they competed for power, prestige and associated benefits, the political elites in a bid to secure the support of members of their own ethnic groups accentuate ethnic differences and demonize members of other ethnic groups. The brutal killings of youth corps members in the North following the declaration of the results of the presidential elections in 2011 speaks volumes of the naked thirst for power and political position which brings out the beast in political leaders.

Secondly, corruption has so permeated the entire fabric of state that the issues that cause disaffection among ethnic nationalities in the country such as poverty, hunger, illiteracy and its attendant limited opportunities, unemployment, marginalization, infrastructural decay, homelessness and lack of access to quality health care products of corruption. Rather than look to the West to find solutions for corruption, Nigeria should begin to look to the East (Asia) where capital or severe punishment is meted out on corrupt state officials.

Skewed federal system as it is being practiced in Nigeria today is another challenge for national integration. In their very thorough study on the failure of the federal system to address the question of unity, local rule and development in the country, Imhonopi & Urim (2012) argue that federalism as it is presently practiced in Nigeria suffers because of lack of fiscal federalism, over-centralisation of power at the centre, laidback or non-viable states, absence of state police, among others. More importantly, federalism in Nigeria has failed to guarantee national integration on one hand and yet fails to guarantee local rule on the other hand. According to them, although Nigeria does not have a better option for democracy, it cannot continue to administer the polity based on the existing federal arrangement.

The fear of losing control by the ruling class is another issue standing in the path of national integration in Nigeria. For many years now, the people of Nigeria have continuously canvassed for an opportunity to hold a national conversation to address the present political configuration called Nigeria all to no avail. Building on the scholarly work of Nnoli (1979), Ifeanacho & Nwagwu (2009) have contended that the ruling class in Nigeria inherited a state structure and has left it without any form of modification or moderation up until now. According to them, instead, the ruling class is preoccupied with the use of state paraphernalia for accumulating surplus without producing this surplus. The resultant contradiction is an institutionalized myopic and visionless ethnic-centered leadership with separatist and particularistic political outlook (Nnoli, 1979). Fifthly, lack of political will to do the right thing by the political leadership has remained one reason the country has continued to flounder in the sea of confusion and tottering the precipice of ethnic division.

Another hurdle to realizing national integration in Nigeria is the existence of weak institutions of the state. It seems these institutions are kept weak to feather the political and economic fortunes of the ruling class. In Nigeria, it is criminal to be honest and honest to be criminal. Such weak, embryonic, sterile, insensitive and amoral characteristics of state institutions have further tilted Nigeria to the precipice. Lastly, lack of fairness, justice and equity in the country with regard to resource allocation and distribution, power sharing, enjoyment of fundamental human rights and punishment of criminals who hide under political umbrellas or bunkers created by the ruling class takes the country backwards with regard to national cohesion.

c) Prospects for National Integration

As optimists this paper believes that national integration in Nigeria has bright prospects with the observations of certain normative standards such as:

i. The establishment of a norm which would guarantee access to all the citadels of political offices in the state. For instance, when there is an arrangement to ensure that each integrated group would have their turn to produce the President, Governor, Chairman of the Local Government and councilors respectively, this would certainly reinforce the interest of the integrating units towards national integration in Nigeria. This is indeed the answer to majoritarian tyranny.
ii. A genuine commitment to anti-corruption war and the 'due process principles', would be a confidence-building measure towards integration. This would curb tax evasion which denies the government of enormous resources. This is because there are many individuals and corporate organizations which under-value and in extreme cases refuse to pay taxes. Their complaints being that the funds would never be utilized for socio democratic developments, hence, there is no reason to pay taxes.
iii. Leadership has always been a problem in Nigeria, hence Professor Chinua Achebe's epic novel, 'The trouble with Nigeria'. There is an urgent need for a leadership which understands the dynamics of integration and which incorporates it into its budget and judiciously implement same. This would go a long way to build the confidence needed among the people for integration.
iv. The fiscal imbalance in Nigerian federalism, could be addressed using the Pigou thesis, which posits that the costs imposed on one section of the community by another should be the basis of a tax on the beneficiary, which could be re-distributed to compensate those suffering the costs (Pigou, cited in Adedeji, 1966). The problematic issue of the

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current situation is that those enjoying the resources do not produce enough, therefore making it difficult to impose taxation to achieve this purpose.

V. Conclusion and Recommendation

a) Conclusion

From the foregoing, the quest for national integration is an important, serious and demanding task. In order to achieve national integration therefore, not only must the government reel out realistic and feasible developmental policies and programmes that are applicable throughout the whole country and which are implemented evenly across the county. The exclusive list in the Constitution must be reviewed to give more powers to the states. It is believed that if the centre is made less attractive, development in all ramifications, (including political development of the country), will go down to the grassroots. Once the component groups in the country have a sense of belonging in terms of balanced and equitable distribution of the resources of the nation and equal opportunity in the political life of the country, there is bound to be national integration. It must begin to build enduring institutions bigger and more powerful than the leadership. The leadership must become more accountable to the people and those members of the ruling class who fan the embers of hatred, exploitation, ethnicity, marginalization and underdevelopment must be made to face the full wrath of the law. Corruption which has become endemic must be fought until it is either eradicated or forcibly punished so that those who engage in it do so at their own risk. Mass mobilization of the hoi polloi is necessary to reorient them with the right values consistent with a modern and emerging economy. Nigeria's diversity is not the problem, the managers of the state are. Nigerians must arise from the ashes of fear, wrongly inspired awe for political leaders and timidity and begin to make demands on the political leadership on what they want.

b) Recommendations

Drawing from the assessment of the issues underlying the challenges of ethnic politics on national integration of Nigeria and the resultant impact, these recommendations were made for effective management ethnicity in Nigerian politics for enhancing sustainable development of national integration of Nigeria. In the first place, government of Nigeria should put in place adequate public enlightenment programs (through its agencies such as National Orientation Agency (NOA) etc.).Government should include subjects, topics etc. that will enlighten younger generation on the effect of ethnic nationalism and the ways to avoid promoting ethnic sentiments in issues of national concern or consciousness through the Ministries of Education (both at State and Federal level). Government of Nigeria should ensure adequate protection of lives and property in each community or state of the federation. Government can commission the linguists to develop a national language for the country over time (just as the case of Swahili in East Africa). In case of appointment to offices and positions, merit should be given a place while implementing a fair federal character principle upon an acceptable constitutional review of the principle. This paper strongly recommends that the legal provisions for Federal Character principle enshrined in the Nigerian Constitution be reviewed to ensure transparent and genuine application of the principle without sacrificing merit on the altar of mediocrity and that the focus of the constitutional review should be on creating a homogeneous territorial political community with progressive reduction or total elimination of religious, cultural, ethnic or regional tensions, conflicts and socio–political imbalances among the ethnic or regional groupings within the country.

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One should start brainstorming lists of potential keywords before even beginning searching. Think about the most important concepts related to research work. Ask, “What words would a source have to include to be truly valuable in a research paper?” Then consider synonyms for the important words.

It may take the discovery of only one important paper to steer in the right keyword direction because, in most databases, the keywords under which a research paper is abstracted are listed with the paper.

Numerical Methods

Numerical methods used should be transparent and, where appropriate, supported by references.

Abbreviations

Authors must list all the abbreviations used in the paper at the end of the paper or in a separate table before using them.

Formulas and equations

Authors are advised to submit any mathematical equation using either MathJax, KaTeX, or LaTeX, or in a very high-quality image.

Tables, Figures, and Figure Legends

Tables: Tables should be cautiously designed, uncrowned, and include only essential data. Each must have an Arabic number, e.g., Table 4, a self-explanatory caption, and be on a separate sheet. Authors must submit tables in an editable format and not as images. References to these tables (if any) must be mentioned accurately.

Figures

Figures are supposed to be submitted as separate files. Always include a citation in the text for each figure using Arabic numbers, e.g., Fig. 4. Artwork must be submitted online in vector electronic form or by emailing it.

Preparation of Eletronic Figures for Publication

Although low-quality images are sufficient for review purposes, print publication requires high-quality images to prevent the final product being blurred or fuzzy. Submit (possibly by e-mail) EPS (line art) or TIFF (halftone/ photographs) files only. MS PowerPoint and Word Graphics are unsuitable for printed pictures. Avoid using pixel-oriented software. Scans (TIFF only) should have a resolution of at least 350 dpi (halftone) or 700 to 1100 dpi (line drawings). Please give the data for figures in black and white or submit a Color Work Agreement form. EPS files must be saved with fonts embedded (and with a TIFF preview, if possible).

For scanned images, the scanning resolution at final image size ought to be as follows to ensure good reproduction: line art: >650 dpi; halftones (including gel photographs): >350 dpi; figures containing both halftone and line images: >650 dpi.

Color charges: Authors are advised to pay the full cost for the reproduction of their color artwork. Hence, please note that if there is color artwork in your manuscript when it is accepted for publication, we would require you to complete and return a Color Work Agreement form before your paper can be published. Also, you can email your editor to remove the color fee after acceptance of the paper.

Tips for writing a good quality Social Science Research Paper

Techniques for writing a good quality homan social science research paper:

1. Choosing the topic: In most cases, the topic is selected by the interests of the author, but it can also be suggested by the guides. You can have several topics, and then judge which you are most comfortable with. This may be done by asking several questions of yourself, like "Will I be able to carry out a search in this area? Will I find all necessary resources to accomplish the search? Will I be able to find all information in this field area?" If the answer to this type of question is "yes," then you ought to choose that topic. In most cases, you may have to conduct surveys and visit several places. Also, you might have to do a lot of work to find all the rises and falls of the various data on that subject. Sometimes, detailed information plays a vital role, instead of short information. Evaluators are human: The first thing to remember is that evaluators are also human beings. They are not only meant for rejecting a paper. They are here to evaluate your paper. So present your best aspect.

2. Think like evaluators: If you are in confusion or getting demotivated because your paper may not be accepted by the evaluators, then think, and try to evaluate your paper like an evaluator. Try to understand what an evaluator wants in your research paper, and you will automatically have your answer. Make blueprints of paper: The outline is the plan or framework that will help you to arrange your thoughts. It will make your paper logical. But remember that all points of your outline must be related to the topic you have chosen.

3. Ask your guides: If you are having any difficulty with your research, then do not hesitate to share your difficulty with your guide (if you have one). They will surely help you out and resolve your doubts. If you can't clarify what exactly you require for your work, then ask your supervisor to help you with an alternative. He or she might also provide you with a list of essential readings.

4. Use of computer is recommended: As you are doing research in the field of homan social science then this point is quite obvious. Use right software: Always use good quality software packages. If you are not capable of judging good software, then you can lose the quality of your paper unknowingly. There are various programs available to help you which you can get through the internet.

5. Use the internet for help: An excellent start for your paper is using Google. It is a wondrous search engine, where you can have your doubts resolved. You may also read some answers for the frequent question of how to write your research paper or find a model research paper. You can download books from the internet. If you have all the required books, place importance on reading, selecting, and analyzing the specified information. Then sketch out your research paper. Use big pictures: You may use encyclopedias like Wikipedia to get pictures with the best resolution. At Global Journals, you should strictly follow here.



6. Bookmarks are useful: When you read any book or magazine, you generally use bookmarks, right? It is a good habit which helps to not lose your continuity. You should always use bookmarks while searching on the internet also, which will make your search easier.

7. Revise what you wrote: When you write anything, always read it, summarize it, and then finalize it.

8. Make every effort: Make every effort to mention what you are going to write in your paper. That means always have a good start. Try to mention everything in the introduction—what is the need for a particular research paper. Polish your work with good writing skills and always give an evaluator what he wants. Make backups: When you are going to do any important thing like making a research paper, you should always have backup copies of it either on your computer or on paper. This protects you from losing any portion of your important data.

9. Produce good diagrams of your own: Always try to include good charts or diagrams in your paper to improve quality. Using several unnecessary diagrams will degrade the quality of your paper by creating a hodgepodge. So always try to include diagrams which were made by you to improve the readability of your paper. Use of direct quotes: When you do research relevant to literature, history, or current affairs, then use of quotes becomes essential, but if the study is relevant to science, use of quotes is not preferable.

10. Use proper verb tense: Use proper verb tenses in your paper. Use past tense to present those events that have happened. Use present tense to indicate events that are going on. Use future tense to indicate events that will happen in the future. Use of wrong tenses will confuse the evaluator. Avoid sentences that are incomplete.

11. Pick a good study spot: Always try to pick a spot for your research which is quiet. Not every spot is good for studying.

12. Know what you know: Always try to know what you know by making objectives, otherwise you will be confused and unable to achieve your target.

13. Use good grammar: Always use good grammar and words that will have a positive impact on the evaluator; use of good vocabulary does not mean using tough words which the evaluator has to find in a dictionary. Do not fragment sentences. Eliminate one-word sentences. Do not ever use a big word when a smaller one would suffice.

Verbs have to be in agreement with their subjects. In a research paper, do not start sentences with conjunctions or finish them with prepositions. When writing formally, it is advisable to never split an infinitive because someone will (wrongly) complain. Avoid clichés like a disease. Always shun irritating alliteration. Use language which is simple and straightforward. Put together a neat summary.

14. Arrangement of information: Each section of the main body should start with an opening sentence, and there should be a changeover at the end of the section. Give only valid and powerful arguments for your topic. You may also maintain your arguments with records.

15. Never start at the last minute: Always allow enough time for research work. Leaving everything to the last minute will degrade your paper and spoil your work.

16. Multitasking in research is not good: Doing several things at the same time is a bad habit in the case of research activity. Research is an area where everything has a particular time slot. Divide your research work into parts, and do a particular part in a particular time slot.

17. Never copy others' work: Never copy others' work and give it your name because if the evaluator has seen it anywhere, you will be in trouble. Take proper rest and food: No matter how many hours you spend on your research activity, if you are not taking care of your health, then all your efforts will have been in vain. For quality research, take proper rest and food.

18. Go to seminars: Attend seminars if the topic is relevant to your research area. Utilize all your resources.
Refresh your mind after intervals: Try to give your mind a rest by listening to soft music or sleeping in intervals. This will also improve your memory. Acquire colleagues: Always try to acquire colleagues. No matter how sharp you are, if you acquire colleagues, they can give you ideas which will be helpful to your research.

19. Think technically: Always think technically. If anything happens, search for its reasons, benefits, and demerits. Think and then print: When you go to print your paper, check that tables are not split, headings are not detached from their descriptions, and page sequence is maintained.

20. Adding unnecessary information: Do not add unnecessary information like "I have used MS Excel to draw graphs." Irrelevant and inappropriate material is superfluous. Foreign terminology and phrases are not apropos. One should never take a broad view. Analogy is like feathers on a snake. Use words properly, regardless of how others use them. Remove quotations. Puns are for kids, not grunt readers. Never oversimplify: When adding material to your research paper, never go for oversimplification; this will definitely irritate the evaluator. Be specific. Never use rhythmic redundancies. Contractions shouldn't be used in a research paper. Comparisons are as terrible as clichés. Give up ampersands, abbreviations, and so on. Remove commas that are not necessary. Parenthetical words should be between brackets or commas. Understatement is always the best way to put forward earth-shaking thoughts. Give a detailed literary review.

21. Report concluded results: Use concluded results. From raw data, filter the results, and then conclude your studies based on measurements and observations taken. An appropriate number of decimal places should be used. Parenthetical remarks are prohibited here. Proofread carefully at the final stage. At the end, give an outline to your arguments. Spot perspectives of further study of the subject. Justify your conclusion at the bottom sufficiently, which will probably include examples.

22. Upon conclusion: Once you have concluded your research, the next most important step is to present your findings. Presentation is extremely important as it is the definite medium though which your research is going to be in print for the rest of the crowd. Care should be taken to categorize your thoughts well and present them in a logical and neat manner. A good quality research paper format is essential because it serves to highlight your research paper and bring to light all necessary aspects of your research.

.

Informal Guidelines of Research Paper Writing

Key points to remember:

- Submit all work in its final form.
- Write your paper in the form which is presented in the guidelines using the template.
- Please note the criteria peer reviewers will use for grading the final paper.

Final points:

One purpose of organizing a research paper is to let people interpret your efforts selectively. The journal requires the following sections, submitted in the order listed, with each section starting on a new page:

The introduction: This will be compiled from reference matter and reflect the design processes or outline of basis that directed you to make a study. As you carry out the process of study, the method and process section will be constructed like that. The results segment will show related statistics in nearly sequential order and direct reviewers to similar intellectual paths throughout the data that you gathered to carry out your study.

The discussion section:

This will provide understanding of the data and projections as to the implications of the results. The use of good quality references throughout the paper will give the effort trustworthiness by representing an alertness to prior workings.

Writing a research paper is not an easy job, no matter how trouble-free the actual research or concept. Practice, excellent preparation, and controlled record-keeping are the only means to make straightforward progression.

General style:

Specific editorial column necessities for compliance of a manuscript will always take over from directions in these general guidelines.

To make a paper clear: Adhere to recommended page limits.



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Mistakes to avoid:

- Insertion of a title at the foot of a page with subsequent text on the next page.
- Separating a table, chart, or figure—confine each to a single page.
- Submitting a manuscript with pages out of sequence.
- In every section of your document, use standard writing style, including articles ("a" and "the").
- Keep paying attention to the topic of the paper.
- Use paragraphs to split each significant point (excluding the abstract).
- Align the primary line of each section.
- Present your points in sound order.
- Use present tense to report well-accepted matters.
- Use past tense to describe specific results.
- Do not use familiar wording; don't address the reviewer directly. Don't use slang or superlatives.
- Avoid use of extra pictures—include only those figures essential to presenting results.

Title page:

Choose a revealing title. It should be short and include the name(s) and address(es) of all authors. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations or exceed two printed lines.

Abstract: This summary should be two hundred words or less. It should clearly and briefly explain the key findings reported in the manuscript and must have precise statistics. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations. It should be logical in itself. Do not cite references at this point.

An abstract is a brief, distinct paragraph summary of finished work or work in development. In a minute or less, a reviewer can be taught the foundation behind the study, common approaches to the problem, relevant results, and significant conclusions or new questions.

Write your summary when your paper is completed because how can you write the summary of anything which is not yet written? Wealth of terminology is very essential in abstract. Use comprehensive sentences, and do not sacrifice readability for brevity; you can maintain it succinctly by phrasing sentences so that they provide more than a lone rationale. The author can at this moment go straight to shortening the outcome. Sum up the study with the subsequent elements in any summary. Try to limit the initial two items to no more than one line each.

Reason for writing the article—theory, overall issue, purpose.

- Fundamental goal.
- To-the-point depiction of the research.
- Consequences, including definite statistics—if the consequences are quantitative in nature, account for this; results of any numerical analysis should be reported. Significant conclusions or questions that emerge from the research.

Approach:

- Single section and succinct.
- An outline of the job done is always written in past tense.
- Concentrate on shortening results—limit background information to a verdict or two.
- Exact spelling, clarity of sentences and phrases, and appropriate reporting of quantities (proper units, important statistics) are just as significant in an abstract as they are anywhere else.

Introduction:

The introduction should "introduce" the manuscript. The reviewer should be presented with sufficient background information to be capable of comprehending and calculating the purpose of your study without having to refer to other works. The basis for the study should be offered. Give the most important references, but avoid making a comprehensive appraisal of the topic. Describe the problem visibly. If the problem is not acknowledged in a logical, reasonable way, the reviewer will give no attention to your results. Speak in common terms about techniques used to explain the problem, if needed, but do not present any particulars about the protocols here.

The following approach can create a valuable beginning:

- Explain the value (significance) of the study.
- Defend the model—why did you employ this particular system or method? What is its compensation? Remark upon its appropriateness from an abstract point of view as well as pointing out sensible reasons for using it.
- Present a justification. State your particular theory(-ies) or aim(s), and describe the logic that led you to choose them.
- Briefly explain the study's tentative purpose and how it meets the declared objectives.

Approach:

Use past tense except for when referring to recognized facts. After all, the manuscript will be submitted after the entire job is done. Sort out your thoughts; manufacture one key point for every section. If you make the four points listed above, you will need at least four paragraphs. Present surrounding information only when it is necessary to support a situation. The reviewer does not desire to read everything you know about a topic. Shape the theory specifically—do not take a broad view.

As always, give awareness to spelling, simplicity, and correctness of sentences and phrases.

Procedures (methods and materials):

This part is supposed to be the easiest to carve if you have good skills. A soundly written procedures segment allows a capable scientist to replicate your results. Present precise information about your supplies. The suppliers and clarity of reagents can be helpful bits of information. Present methods in sequential order, but linked methodologies can be grouped as a segment. Be concise when relating the protocols. Attempt to give the least amount of information that would permit another capable scientist to replicate your outcome, but be cautious that vital information is integrated. The use of subheadings is suggested and ought to be synchronized with the results section.

When a technique is used that has been well-described in another section, mention the specific item describing the way, but draw the basic principle while stating the situation. The purpose is to show all particular resources and broad procedures so that another person may use some or all of the methods in one more study or referee the scientific value of your work. It is not to be a step-by-step report of the whole thing you did, nor is a methods section a set of orders.

Materials:

Materials may be reported in part of a section or else they may be recognized along with your measures.

Methods:

- Report the method and not the particulars of each process that engaged the same methodology.
- Describe the method entirely.
- To be succinct, present methods under headings dedicated to specific dealings or groups of measures.
- Simplify—detail how procedures were completed, not how they were performed on a particular day.
- If well-known procedures were used, account for the procedure by name, possibly with a reference, and that's all.

Approach:

It is embarrassing to use vigorous voice when documenting methods without using first person, which would focus the reviewer's interest on the researcher rather than the job. As a result, when writing up the methods, most authors use third person passive voice.

Use standard style in this and every other part of the paper—avoid familiar lists, and use full sentences.

What to keep away from:

- Resources and methods are not a set of information.
- Skip all descriptive information and surroundings—save it for the argument.
- Leave out information that is immaterial to a third party.



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Results:

The principle of a results segment is to present and demonstrate your conclusion. Create this part as entirely objective details of the outcome, and save all understanding for the discussion.

The page length of this segment is set by the sum and types of data to be reported. Use statistics and tables, if suitable, to present consequences most efficiently.

You must clearly differentiate material which would usually be incorporated in a study editorial from any unprocessed data or additional appendix matter that would not be available. In fact, such matters should not be submitted at all except if requested by the instructor.

Content:

- Sum up your conclusions in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
- In the manuscript, explain each of your consequences, and point the reader to remarks that are most appropriate.
- Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation of an exacting study.
- Explain results of control experiments and give remarks that are not accessible in a prescribed figure or table, if appropriate.
- Examine your data, then prepare the analyzed (transformed) data in the form of a figure (graph), table, or manuscript.

What to stay away from:

- Do not discuss or infer your outcome, report surrounding information, or try to explain anything.
- Do not include raw data or intermediate calculations in a research manuscript.
- Do not present similar data more than once.
- A manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate information.
- Never confuse figures with tables—there is a difference.

Approach:

As always, use past tense when you submit your results, and put the whole thing in a reasonable order.

Put figures and tables, appropriately numbered, in order at the end of the report.

If you desire, you may place your figures and tables properly within the text of your results section.

Figures and tables:

If you put figures and tables at the end of some details, make certain that they are visibly distinguished from any attached appendix materials, such as raw facts. Whatever the position, each table must be titled, numbered one after the other, and include a heading. All figures and tables must be divided from the text.

Discussion:

The discussion is expected to be the trickiest segment to write. A lot of papers submitted to the journal are discarded based on problems with the discussion. There is no rule for how long an argument should be.

Position your understanding of the outcome visibly to lead the reviewer through your conclusions, and then finish the paper with a summing up of the implications of the study. The purpose here is to offer an understanding of your results and support all of your conclusions, using facts from your research and generally accepted information, if suitable. The implication of results should be fully described.

Infer your data in the conversation in suitable depth. This means that when you clarify an observable fact, you must explain mechanisms that may account for the observation. If your results vary from your prospect, make clear why that may have happened. If your results agree, then explain the theory that the proof supported. It is never suitable to just state that the data approved the prospect, and let it drop at that. Make a decision as to whether each premise is supported or discarded or if you cannot make a conclusion with assurance. Do not just dismiss a study or part of a study as "uncertain."



Research papers are not acknowledged if the work is imperfect. Draw what conclusions you can based upon the results that you have, and take care of the study as a finished work.

- You may propose future guidelines, such as how an experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
- Give details of all of your remarks as much as possible, focusing on mechanisms.
- Make a decision as to whether the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory and whether or not it was correctly restricted. Try to present substitute explanations if they are sensible alternatives.
- One piece of research will not counter an overall question, so maintain the large picture in mind. Where do you go next? The best studies unlock new avenues of study. What questions remain?
- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

When you refer to information, differentiate data generated by your own studies from other available information. Present work done by specific persons (including you) in past tense.

Describe generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

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Segment draft and final research paper: You have to strictly follow the template of a research paper, failing which your paper may get rejected. You are expected to write each part of the paper wholly on your own. The peer reviewers need to identify your own perspective of the concepts in your own terms. Please do not extract straight from any other source, and do not rephrase someone else's analysis. Do not allow anyone else to proofread your manuscript.

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Please note that following table is only a Grading of "Paper Compilation" and not on "Performed/Stated Research" whose grading solely depends on Individual Assigned Peer Reviewer and Editorial Board Member. These can be available only on request and after decision of Paper. This report will be the property of Global Journals

Topics	Grades		
	A-B	**C-D**	**E-F**
Abstract	Clear and concise with appropriate content, Correct format. 200 words or below	Unclear summary and no specific data, Incorrect form Above 200 words	No specific data with ambiguous information Above 250 words
Introduction	Containing all background details with clear goal and appropriate details, flow specification, no grammar and spelling mistake, well organized sentence and paragraph, reference cited	Unclear and confusing data, appropriate format, grammar and spelling errors with unorganized matter	Out of place depth and content, hazy format
Methods and Procedures	Clear and to the point with well arranged paragraph, precision and accuracy of facts and figures, well organized subheads	Difficult to comprehend with embarrassed text, too much explanation but completed	Incorrect and unorganized structure with hazy meaning
Result	Well organized, Clear and specific, Correct units with precision, correct data, well structuring of paragraph, no grammar and spelling mistake	Complete and embarrassed text, difficult to comprehend	Irregular format with wrong facts and figures
Discussion	Well organized, meaningful specification, sound conclusion, logical and concise explanation, highly structured paragraph reference cited	Wordy, unclear conclusion, spurious	Conclusion is not cited, unorganized, difficult to comprehend
References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring

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