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The Role of Technology and Innovation Messaging in the Public Diplomacy of Israel

Itzhak MASHIAH * Eli AVRAHAM**

Abstract. In the modern era, technology and innovation discourse has become a natural part of society. Whether it is in organizations, NGOs, enterprises, financial corporations, educational institutions, businesses, cities or countries, it seems that the values of innovation and technology have become a significant part of the messaging set delivered to stakeholders. Similarly, the political-diplomatic field also reflects these values and plays an important part in empowering the excitement that surrounds innovation. As part of telling their stories and persuasively branding their countries, leaders and public figures often use technology terminology. The main goal of the current paper is to find the actual place of innovation and technology in public diplomacy. To do so, this research uses rhetorical analysis of eight UN speeches by the Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu. The findings indicate that technological values have a central role in shaping the new narrative of Israel. The research reveals the rhetorical techniques that perpetuate the branding of Israel as an innovation centre and success story.

Keywords. Innovation, Technology, Start-up-Nation, Israel, Public Diplomacy, Benjamin Netanyahu

Introduction

ONE OF THE CORE COMPONENTS OF PD (PUBLIC DIPLOMACY) is the use of direct communication channels to deliver messaging which is usually targeted to shape foreign audience perceptions (Malone 1985). Countries today make serious efforts to spread their positive values and characteristics to their worldwide stakeholders, in order to create public affection, sympathy and solidarity and to promote tourism, commerce and international status (Manheim and Albritton 1984; Marat 2009). Alongside the traditional activities

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led by diplomats, public figures and politicians, a new modern approach has developed: soft power (Gilboa 2006; Nye 2004). Soft power uses a variety of new tactics designed to promote a country. In recent years, for example, we have witnessed the rise of the unofficial participation of ordinary citizens that strive to be part of the promotion efforts and diplomatic field; these citizens sometimes function as unofficial online ambassadors who work in tandem with efforts led by the formal efforts of diplomats. While every nation's formal representatives are still at the heart of diplomacy and lead the messaging, public positive image and branding of a country, the rise of the unofficial-ambassadors phenomenon through social networks, like Facebook or Twitter, gives an even greater opportunity for sharing content to a global audience. In spite of the rapid growth of social media, however, diplomats, prime ministers, and presidents retain their diplomatic power (Kuypers et al 2008). According to this approach, public figures can have a significant impact on their country's perception; these studies of public diplomacy provide a deep understanding about the methodologies of building, saving and repairing the public image of countries, cities and regions (Aharoni and Grinstein 2017; Avraham 2009; Anholt 2008; Gilboa 2006).

This study seeks to understand the relationship between public diplomacy and the new set of values and terminology that are part and parcel of the modern world's innovation-technology paradigm, and the involvement of these values in the promotion process. Our focus is the formal messaging path promoted by Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu. Specifically, this study examines Israel's use of innovation and technology messaging and its contribution to the country's projected image. The method we use is a rhetorical analysis of Netanyahu's UN speeches during the years 2009-2017. Overall, the results demonstrate that Israel is pushing a new narrative to affect an international perception as a modern nation.

Theoretical Background

Diplomacy and Communication Tactics

One of the significant tasks for any country is to preserve public diplomacy (PD) by maintaining strong bonds with other countries. The term, PD, was first embedded in both academia and practical discourse by American diplomat, Edmund Gullion. In 1965, he said: "Public diplomacy deals with the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies. It encompasses dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy; the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries; the interaction of private groups and interests in one country with another; the

reporting of foreign affairs and its impact on policy; communication between those whose job is communication, as diplomats and foreign correspondents; and the process of intercultural communications" (Cull 2006). The newer evolution of PD combines some forms of traditional diplomacy, public perception methods, branding, and communications. Generally, PD is a soft power component, a term coined by American researcher Joseph Nye (2008) to describe the new diplomacy that replaced hard power. Gilboa (2006) also frequently used the expression, soft power, to emphasize how this concept aims to influence other countries. Today, nations can show strength by using media promotion, appropriate messaging and communication management: "national reputation has become a critical asset and soft power has become a major instrument of foreign policy. Communication, education and persuasion are the principal techniques of foreign relations, not military force" (Gilboa 2006: 716).

Foreign affairs and diplomatic efforts have an inherent connection with media and communication fields. Over the past decade, their presence and impact have been widely discussed in academia (Avraham 2009; Yarchi et al 2017; Sheaffer and Gabay 2009). Those papers discuss different topics but share similar terminology. A broad view of these studies shows that there is a symbiotic connection between the theoretical meta-term diplomacy to media campaigns, nation branding, public relations (PR), and social media. The resemblance between traditional diplomacy and modern communications activities is not surprising, but the overlap between the two is hastening the development of the field in modern era (Kaneva 2011). The roots of PD as we know it today started in 1626 in France. The first Ministry of Foreign Affairs was founded to promote the French state's external policy between representatives. Since then, the field has changed and is based on an understanding that political activity cannot live solely on the basis of secret talks between formal representatives. Today, foreign policy is highly affected by public opinion (Mann 2010).

Basic communication models rely on three basic elements: sender, addressee and message. The elements of PD efforts are the same; the strength of the state, its strategic policy and positions (messages), will be delivered to different audiences (addressees) by public figures, diplomats, politicians and leaders (senders). Words used in conversations produced in diverse platforms are a significant tactical tool and the distribution of messages is still based on the most traditional method of verbal discourse (lexical). The conceptual development of the PD field was even defined as a "war of words" (Gilboa 2006). Smart terminology, choosing one's words correctly, is necessary for those who deal with public diplomacy, whether one does so with a stakeholder on-line or off-line. Gilboa wasn't the first who emphasized the power of the

written and spoken word. Other researchers also discussed words shaping public perception (Janks 2005; Bazerman 1988; Bitzer 1968).

The great effect of words is even truer regarding to political discourse, speeches, produced by diplomats and leaders. Individuals, organizations and politicians use speeches to deliver their messages to internal and external stakeholders. Sometimes, "leaders and politicians often find their place on the pages of history thanks to one speech, and sometimes it's only one sentence from a speech" (Limor and Leshem 2017: 221). In the past, speeches were delivered by one spokesman to a small group of people gathering in one specific place. With the development of mass media, the distribution of the speech to those not in attendance grew dramatically. The entrance of the Internet further broadened the audience for the speech. Today, some online platforms like Facebook Live enable everyone to distribute high quality live speeches to the world (Matney 2018). The consequences of this ability are very dramatic as messages influence many more people.

Either way, both political and diplomatic sectors use speeches as a soft power strategic tool to manage foreign relations (Gilboa 2006). Most prime ministers and presidents' function as official external representatives who also participate in official meetings and professional forums with other colleagues. One of the strategies forums is the United Nations General Assembly, which allows for a large number of official international representatives to interact. The institutional goal is ostensibly to bring together all the nations of the world to one formal meeting point in which world leaders and their countries can transmit and exchange ideas and messages.

Buzz of Technology, Hi-Tech and Innovation

Inventions and innovation surround people everyday and everywhere. Therefore, the discourse concerning the relationship between people and technologies is very intensive (Fisher 2011). Terminology involving technological expressions has become increasingly common in the mass media in recent years both in the private and public sectors. Among media publicists, this discourse phenomenon is known as the "buzz of innovation". The term describes a global trend that is based on innovations developed to leverage public image (Schwartz-Altshuler 2017; Mashiah 2018). The frequent use of this terminology is not mere happenstance and it appears to be much more indicative of a societal change. It has become part of people's cultures, and very common in organizational frameworks. The business sector, companies and businesses treat innovation as a leading value for financial growth (Berger 2007). Educational systems, NGO's, governmental sectors, medicine and law all acknowledge the importance of technology and innovation (Vidislavsky

2016; Schwartz-Altshuler 2017; McLaughlin and Penckansky 1965; Laurie et al 2012). The same can be said for social and diplomatic circles.

Nation Branding and the Israeli Case

The theoretical research concerning nation branding officially began in the mid-1990s. Not surprisingly, the first who dealt with it were branding experts who came from the business sector and who served as consultants in this area: Simon Anholt and Wally "Wallace" Olins. They were the first to connect countries and cities to commercial methods and research methodologies (Kaneva 2011). Over the years, the field has developed and uses a variety of approaches. The common denominator for everyone is the marketing of nation branding as a meta-brand which contains a variety of perspectives such as tourism, culture, sports, technology, etc. (Papadopoulos 2004). Nations with awareness of marketing and branding can leverage themselves using these lenses to lead their messaging (Anholt 2008). In a much more specific way, the Israeli brand has been analysed both through the perspectives of formal and informal frameworks. The conclusions are pretty clear. In the first years of the young state of Israel, Israel had a positive international reputation. Despite local political difficulties and obstacles, well into the 1970s and beyond, Israel's international positive image was stable. Israel continued to be viewed sympathetically by the international community at least until 2000 when cracks started to appear as a result of the Second Intifada. (Gilboa 2006; Hasman 2008). In discussing Israel and public diplomacy, mention must be made of the important Hebrew term "Hasbara". As a country that suffers from an ongoing conflict, Israel has adopted many strategic tools, image management applications and branding methods in order to counter the effects of the conflict. In the past, the basic assumption of branding and marketing experts was that Israeli strategy had to contain global and international values (Hasman 2008). American public relations experts also recommended that Israel implement a new direction for its nation branding; some advised that Israel reframe itself within technological and innovation contexts instead of traditional ones; Israel could be recognized as an incredible success story in science and technology (Gilboa 2006). This comprehension rings even truer today, when Israel's technological industry activities have flourished even more.

Nowadays, in many social circles, Israel is considered to be a major, technologically advanced and economically productive country. This capitalizes on the fact that high-tech industry is a major growth engine for many countries in the world. In the past two decades, many researchers attributed to technology a major role in increasing productivity and economic growth, competitiveness and the creation of new markets (Bahat 2009; Bommer and

Jalajas 2002; Mohannak and Turpin 2002; Morgan 2009). Israel itself is at the top of countries with a large concentration of innovation and entrepreneurship. Israel is a nation that encourages its start-ups to grow into global markets (Senor and Singer 2009). Alongside practical industry success, the bigger question is whether Israel is able to globally communicate its technological success. Experts in the diplomatic field claim that Israel has been sluggish in marketing this aspect. "Israel is a technological superpower but its cyber-PD (public-diplomacy) is weak" (Gilboa 2006: 740). On the other hand, even without a strategic plan or activity, Israel has succeeded to affect a positive public image. The global "Startup Nation" brand nickname is clearly identified with Israel and some public diplomacy research has defined Israeli innovation within a dominant marketing niche: "Special efforts were directed to establishing Israel as an innovative country" (Aharoni and Grinstein 2017: 304). The establishment of the nickname began in 2009 with the publication of the book entitled 'Start-up Nation: The Story of Israel's Economic Miracle' (Senor and Singer 2009). The book writers summarized the factors that lead to the success of the Israeli initiative field and explained the economic implications and meteoric success behind Israel. The success of the text worldwide planted and deepened the roots of the nation's branding. Israeli Innovation Authority formal reports (for the years 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018-2019) demonstrate very strong performances by Israeli tech. Thousands of start-ups operate in Israel and play an important asset for Israel globally. In this environment, the technology theme could contribute to Israeli international public relations and PD efforts.

Leaders Speech as a Diplomatic Engine

Prime ministers represent their country before global stakeholders. Their words in official forums have great weight in shaping public international perception and media coverage of the country. Indeed, speeches and public statements of prime ministers and presidents, have already been the subject of rhetorical research. Rhetorical analysis of former US President Barack Obama, (Kayam and Sober 2013) for example, found that Obama had a good sense of humour. The study followed his public statements and recognized that his remarks had humorous touches which allowed him to connect better with his audience (Kayam and Sober 2013). On the other hand, field research into the framing of a speech by former President George Walker Bush in 2001 on the UN stage (Kuypers Cooper and Althouse 2008) did not analyse the speech rhetorically but concentrated on the official interpretation and coverage of that speech. These studies and others indicate that in the last decade researchers have begun to understand the importance of speech analytics.

According to the Knesset of Israel's official website, Benjamin Netanyahu has served as Prime Minister longer than any other Israeli politician (1996-1999; 2009-2013; 2013-2015; 2015-2019*). Netanyahu's speeches have been previously examined in academia (Levin and Livnat 2016). However, this was done more at the rhetorical level and without the emphasis of innovative and technological values. Furthermore, these studies did not study the possible relationship between diplomatic activities, nation branding and messaging. The current study will seek to fill this gap and will analyse public diplomacy, nation branding, along with technology and innovation messaging. In particular, we will examine how the local technological industry was used for PD, branding and international relations by Netanyahu at the United Nations.

Methodology

The main task of this research was to uncover the use of the values of technology and innovation in formal diplomatic efforts of leaders and prime ministers. We chose to focus on formal speeches at the United Nations as a case study. We analysed eight textual diplomatic appearances of the Israeli Prime Minister (2009-2017) based on rhetorical tools (Machin and Mayr 2015; Janks 2005) that examine whether technology and innovation values are expressed in Netanyahu's diplomatic efforts and the degree of intensity of his performance. In this respect, the following questions were asked:

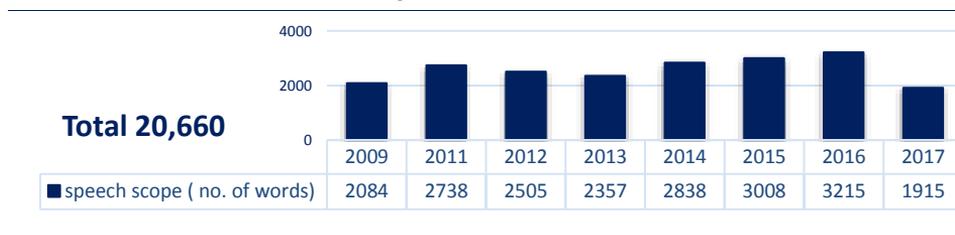
- 1) What innovative-technological ideas and values were conveyed through the diplomatic speeches?
- 2) In what way was Israel's high-tech industry mentioned and presented?
- 3) What kind of motifs and narratives were used?
- 4) What was the dominant terminology used and what were the major factors mentioned?

We used multi-step content analysis that focused on finding the meaning of words and sentences and strove to understand the full context of topics which were presented in the speeches. The analysis examined Netanyahu's speeches (N=8) and mapped the core values promoted by Netanyahu. This analysis found and analysed common vocabulary, salient or missing terms, types of terminology and rhetorical techniques used by Netanyahu as he engaged his audience in marketing, branding and public diplomacy. The texts used examined five rhetorical techniques: invention, disposition, style, memory and delivery (Leach 2000). These techniques were analysed to gain an understanding of Netanyahu's lexical behaviour and glean deeper meanings in addition to messages based on the more traditional

* According to Netanyahu's profile in the Knesset website www.knesset.gov.il.

communication model of source, target audience, message (Goren 1986). The primary goal was to reveal whether Netanyahu used technological buzz. The research corpus consisted of eight speeches in Hebrew downloaded from the official Israeli government website archive (www.gov.il).

Chart 1: Length of speeches (word count)



Speeches at the UN usually focus on states' formal topics (national policy, security issues, etc.). But our assumption is that there is much deeper layering and messaging. Therefore, multi-step analysis will assist in finding additional diplomatic messages promoted.

Table 1: Multistep analysis

Step	Description
Material Examination	Repeated reading of the texts
Themes Identification	Additional Reading Collecting and cataloguing repetitive motifs Comparing "general" and "tech"
Encoding	Encoding each speech according to five criteria: <u>(1) Terminology</u> Examining vocabulary <u>(2) Contrasts and Comparisons</u> Evaluating whether the text uses textual manipulation <u>(3) Text Organization</u> Evaluating whether the text has an "innovation presence" as well as analysing the arrangement of the text <u>(4) Trustworthiness</u> Analysing the text both as to fact truthfulness as well as the persuasiveness of its arguments. <u>(5) Cultural Memory</u> Examining the speaker's cultural relation
Deeper Analysis	Analysing the speeches through a traditional communication model (Goren 1986).

Findings

Speech Philosophy

Netanyahu is considered to be one of the most successful speakers and diplomats in the contemporary political field in Israel and the world (Leshem 2017). The speeches analysed in this paper sought to make a poignant statement in the UN General Assembly, one of the world's biggest and strategic stages that is attended by dozens of countries and representatives from all over the world. The speeches are broadcast by hundreds of media outlets around the world and covered in Israeli and international media. The assumption is that messages conveyed from this stage may influence and shape public perceptions. In the following sections, we will present the main findings.

Repetitive Themes

The terminology that composes the textual content plays an important role in rhetorical analysis (Leach 2000). The language and the words used by the speaker have a significant role in shaping a certain reality for his or her listeners (Fowler 1991). After thoroughly reading the texts, we found repetitive segments throughout the speeches. The textual analysis found four recurring textual identities and motifs: *organizations & companies*, *personalities & prominent figures*, as well as a consistent discourse about *cities & locations* and *nations* (Table #2). With his convincing words, Netanyahu attracted the audience by continually mentioning versatile identities and different factors, and personalities – an important rhetorical tactic (Cheney 1983; Jones and Volpe 2011). Netanyahu's speeches addressed both worldwide and Israeli issues. While the Israeli voice was one of the leading motifs, the speeches contained two different types of narratives and repeated expressions – "we" and "they". Netanyahu told a story that emphasizes the Israeli brand along with voices of the "other". He used versatile, colourful and dynamic ideas.

Table 2: Recurring textual identities and motifs

Year \ Theme	Organizations & Companies	Personalities & Prominent figures	Cities & Locations	Nations
2009	Hamas, UN, Human Rights Council	Iran's President, Hitler's Deputy, Heinrich Himmler, President Obama, Winston Churchill, Anwar Sadat	Wannsee Conference (Berlin), Auschwitz Birkenau, Buchenwald Tel Aviv, Jerusalem	Iran, Israel, United Kingdom, South Lebanon
2011	Human Rights Council of the United Nations,	President of Iran, Arafat, Prime Minister Olmert,	London, Madrid, Baghdad, Mumbai, Tel Aviv, Jerusalem,	Egypt, Jordan, Turkey, Libya, North Africa,

	the Security Council, Colombia University, Bar Ilan University	President Abbas, Gilad Shalit, Noam and Aviv Shalit,	Gaza, Sinai, Manhattan, Battery Park, Brooklyn	Syria, Germany, South Korea, France
2012	Technion in Haifa, Al-Qaeda, the White House, International Atomic Energy Agency, intelligence units	King David, Joshua, David, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob (Biblical), President Abbas, Prof. Bernard Lewis, Ayatollah Rafsanjani	Jerusalem, Beirut, Gaza, Saudi Arabia	Israel, Haiti, Japan, India, Turkey, Indonesia, Egypt, Jordan, Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, Thailand, Iran, United Kingdom
2013	The Bet Hamikdash temple, the Supreme National Security Council, United Nations	The Persian King Cyrus the great, President Reagan	Jerusalem, Buenos Aires, Teheran, Beirut, Tel Aviv, Washington	Iran, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Lebanon, Yemen, Iraq, Bahrain, North Korea
2014	Isis, Hamas, Al Qaeda, New York Yankees, the Human Rights Council	Osama bin Laden, General Mohammad Jafari, Iran's President, Derek Jeter Foreign Minister Zarif, Isaiah President peace	Gaza, Ramallah, being sawed off, Cairo, Amman, Abu Dhabi, Riyadh, Tel Aviv, times square	United States, Nigeria, Somalia, Lebanon, Syria, Libya, Iraq, Yemen, the Philippines, India, Iran
2015	Hamas, Hezbollah, UN, Islamic Jihad, Isis, Congress, the temple	Deputy Commander of the Quds force, General salachi, President Obama, President Abbas, Rabin, Peres, Barak, Sharon, Yogi Berra, King David,	Jerusalem, Gaza, Larnaca, Oklahoma City, Vienna, Rome, Babylon	Israel, Iran, Syria, Yemen, Lebanon, Cyprus, Afghanistan, Iraq, Ethiopia, Egypt, Jordan,
2016	Supreme Court, corporations, UNESCO, power plants, banks, Isis, Security Council, the Palestinian Parliament,	Hiro Onda, President Abbas, Abraham, Jibril Rajub, Abu aiinan, Oron Shaul and Hadar Goldin, Shimon Peres	Manila, Ramallah, Jerusalem, New York, Golan, Hebron, Haifa, Jaffa, Paris, nice, Brussels, Baghdad, Minnesota, Sydney, San Bernardino	Israel, China, India, Russia, Japan, Egypt, Jordan, Iran, USA, Philippines, Syria, United Kingdom
2017	Google, Intel, United Nations, World Health Organization, Amazon	Warren Buffett, Donald Trump, India's Prime Minister, Abraham, Sarah, Rebecca and Leah (Bible), Nikki Haley	The Temple Mount, London, Paris, Thessaloniki, Budapest, Hebron, Tehran	China, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Australia, Argentina, Colombia, Mexico, Iran, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt

All eight speeches together include 20,660 total words. The shortest speech took place in 2017 and the longest speech took place in 2016. The year 2016 also included the most prominent and significant reference to the values of innovation; use of this language gave strength to the buzz of innovation and the role of technological discourse in human lives (Fisher 2011). In the same speech of September 22nd, 2016, Netanyahu mentioned the core values fourteen times (see full picture in Table #2). For example: *"More and more Nations in Asia, Africa, Latin America, sees Israel as a partner – a partner in the consistent fight against terrorism, a partner in developing the technology of tomorrow"* (UN speech 2016).

The quantitative aspect played an important role in establishing the presence of the technological theme. But there were additional aspects. The following examples illustrate the respect that Netanyahu held for the innovation industry. Netanyahu used "the" as rhetorical leverage (*"The Israeli technology"*, *"The Israeli Innovation"*). Netanyahu frequently used and linked Israel to Innovation in a way that empowered and framed it as affecting every human being worldwide. He said that Israeli companies contributed a great deal to humanity in many areas. Besides the impact that this rhetoric had on people's minds, the reverberating messaging of technology helped branding Israel, from a marketing perspective, as an innovative country. Conversely, technology issues were not always present in all these speeches. Some of them (2011 and 2014) showed that Netanyahu sometimes underestimated the values of innovation and technology. He talked about a kidnapped soldier, Iran etc. – but in both these cases, apart from a brief mention of technological expressions ("science", "energy") the local technology industry was almost completely missing. Table #2 reflects the presence of innovation and technology over the years and reflects oscillations in the usage of terminology. The data was created using word counts of those expressions. Any word that referenced technological orientation was inserted into the table. The full analysis revealed all the texts that mentioned anything technological at any level of intensity.

General and Technological Discourse

Analysis of the texts found differences between the two types of discourse; general discourse was much more prevalent technological discourse. This was borne out by a count of both reading and terms which showed a naturally, large majority for general expressions when compared to technological terminology. During the reading, all significant manifestations were detected. Also, terms that repeated themselves in one specific speech or in speeches over many years were marked and catalogued according to the relevant rules whether general or technological (Table 3). The next step was

quantity count throughout the text, in order to find out the number of times that phrase was repeated. The following tables reflect the findings.

Table 3: General & Technological terms and vocabulary used in the speeches (Word count)

Type	Term	2009	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	Total
General	Israel	25	68	26	22	54	76	104	51	426
	Jerusalem	2	6	1	1	4	4	6	1	25
	USA	1	1	3	3	1	3	4	2	18
	America	-	3	2	-	1	3	3	2	14
	Iran	2	9	44	56	22	60	11	26	230
	Britain	2	1	1	-	-	-	2	-	6
	Germany	3	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	5
	Isis	-	-	-	-	15	3	2	-	20
	We	-	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	4
	You	4	6	-	1	3	8	4	18	44
	Jewish	7	24	16	14	9	16	20	7	113
	Muslim	1	1	3	-	5	2	3	1	16
	Christian	1	1	2	-	2	4	2	-	12
	Arabs	3	4	3	2	6	2	8	3	31
	Terror	14	4	6	4	13	11	18	5	75
	Holocaust	6	1	2	-	1	1	-	-	11
	Peace	28	43	11	13	17	22	23	7	164
War	5	2	4	3	8	4	5	1	32	
Old	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	
New	1	4	2	7	8	9	5	7	43	
Technological	Innovation	-	-	-	-	1	2	3	2	8
	Cyber	-	-	-	-	-	1	5	1	7
	Technology	2	-	2	-	1	2	4	1	12
	Science	1	1	2	-	-	1	-	-	5
	Energy	1	-	2	4	1	-	-	-	8
	Computer	2	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	5
	Internet	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2
	Economy	-	1	2	-	-	1	1	-	5
	Invention	2	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	4

The table reflects the popularity of each term and the number of times it was mentioned during the speeches. The use of technological terms is significantly lower.

Technology Theme as Rhetorical Escapism (Positive PR)

Despite the complexity of the political aspects with which Israel is involved, the official discourse on the UN stage included a soft side that emphasized Israel's contribution to the world. Netanyahu, as an official speaker used "innovation" as a core dimension. The "technology" was expressed in speeches as a sort of rapture and grandiose picture (Fisher 2011).

Using the innovation theme, Netanyahu revealed the positive side of Israel; by mentioning this perspective in the diplomatic channel, it can be considered some kind of avoidance. With an emphasis on the positive, Netanyahu appeared to be engaging in pure public relations that reduced negative judgments concerning Israel. Good PR is made by the prominence of positive perspectives. Indeed, the analysis process affirmed the general notion that a PD sphere that has a very high rhetorical versatility generates and focuses on positive discourse. In this case, we noticed a clear division between macro innovation textual practices and micro terminology. The first refers to the technology phenomenon in the wider sense of the word and the second refers to tech products or solutions for customers (B2B \ B2C).

There was a distinct difference in the topics mentioned in each speech as well as a difference in the way the words were used. In branding, the best strategy is to repeat the same message repeatedly over a long period of time. And yet, after reading the texts and undertaking a simple quantitative comparison between the general and terminological expressions, it was found that the focus of the discourses was neither technology nor innovation.

Despite the centrality of the technological industry in the Israeli economy, a reading of the speeches showed that those values weren't of the essence. True, the texts dealt with technology, but these concepts were not part of the core messaging. However, the volume and rate of technological terms mentioned corresponded with previous findings in the rhetorical field. Researchers discuss a phenomenon known as empty rhetoric, characterized mainly within business spheres, corporations or large companies. Chiapello and Fairclough (2002) argue that the text and messages published by corporations contain grandiose vocabulary even when they are trying to describe something simplistic (words like "strategy", "goal", "vision"). This type of rhetoric has become widespread as companies either build or maintain their public images (Machin and Mayr 2015). When communicating textual messages, these entities try to hide real problems, using formulations and lofty announcements. It seems that the Netanyahu speeches shared a similar philosophy. On the surface they mainly focused on security-political issues, but just beneath the surface lay textual touches linked to the world of innovation.

The analysis found a constant tension between the past, present and future. Alongside the mention of historical characters, organizations and buildings, were references to contemporary characters and organizations (Supreme Court, banks, Google, etc.). The speeches also included references to the future and the benefits that people would gain when adopting technology into their lives. The duality of traditional and modern can be interpreted as an attempt to generate sympathy among the audience (Cheney 1983). In the broader context of the narrative, it focuses on the future development of

humanity. In Israel's case, its technological successes nowadays were associated with its traditional values and Biblical patriarchs (Abraham, Isaac and Jacob).

Our analysis found that all eight speeches emphasized present leaders alongside historical presidents and prime ministers. However, the attempt to find names of modern individuals representing technology such as entrepreneurs and founders of tech companies proved unsuccessful. People from the innovations sphere or those who have founded technology companies were nowhere to be seen. Not only were these people not ever mentioned, repeated reading and breakdown of the speeches show that there wasn't any reference to any specific Israeli-based company, tech organization or entrepreneur. Of the few times Netanyahu mentioned technological enterprise, he referred to international brands that were established outside of Israel, like Google and Intel, and which came to Israel solely for the purpose of opening R&D centres or local branches. This is pretty surprising given the fact that Israeli industry has produced thousands of successful homegrown companies. Besides the exclusion of relevant figures and companies, the speeches were also missing several commonplace terms; hi-tech is but one example. Yet, references to innovation in all the texts did reveal a repetitive presence.

The next and deeper stage was to check the structure of the messages and find their specific placement on the textual path. To do this, we systematically read each speech and marked the first sentence that discussed technology or innovation. We further did a general word count for each text separately and divided each text into three equal parts (beginning, middle and end); we then were able to identify in which part of the speech any technological message was communicated. This was an important part of understanding the role of Innovation messaging. The findings show that Netanyahu usually started with this theme. In 71% of the cases technological discourse is mentioned right at the beginning of his speech.

Chart 2: When did the innovative-technology theme appear

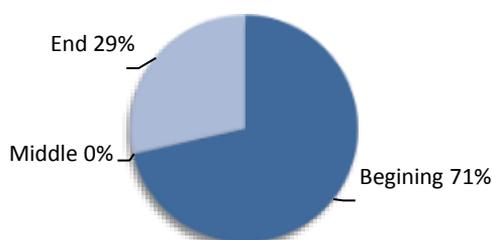


Table #4 reveals the full timeline of technological discourse. The findings reinforced the place of the innovation theme in the diplomatic arena. Netanyahu

seems to have purposely used technology at the beginning of his speeches. The agility in which this theme was used meant that these values played an important rhetorical anchor. Indeed, smart planning by the speaker has deeply rhetorical significance to convince the audience of a certain perspective or position (Leach 2000; Heath 1992). Consistent and ritualistic storytelling and messaging can contribute also in term of PR and public perception. Netanyahu's rhetoric agenda moved the technological motif forward; to do so, he minimized other topics regarding to Israel. He took a positive topic in which Israel showed real strength and undertook to demonstrate that PR in UN public appearances. Heat (1992) once explained that the rhetoric of public relations can be employed to "put an organization's best food forward" or "make the best of an otherwise negative situation" (Heath 1992: 18).

Table 4: Speeches Timeline

Length	First "Tech" appearance*	Part of the speech**	Specific sentence from the speech
2084	551	1	"Gravity of the freedom, power and technology penetration"
2738	110	1	"Our scientists, doctors and entrepreneurs take advantage of the wisdom in favor of creating a better tomorrow all over the world"
2505	227	1	"We take new paths in science, technology, medicine, agriculture"
2838	2660	3	"Israel the world center of technology and innovation"
3008	2015	3	"Israel is a world leader in science and technology, Cyber, software"
3215	268	1	"Developing the technology of tomorrow"
1915	58	1	"Israel is the nation where innovation creates groundbreaking technology"

* (word number)

** (beginning= 1, middle= 2, end= 3)

One of the criteria examined the reliability and trustworthiness of the tech theme. Our findings showed the use of Innovation terminology based mainly on positive myths and storytelling (pathos) without any empirical facts (logos). For example: *"You see it in the smile of a mother from a far African village - thanks to Israeli innovation, she doesn't need to walk for about eight hours to get some water for her little boy"* (UN speech 2017). The narrative was based on pathos and emotion and using the "African mom" as a rhetorical

illustration. The example highlighted the colossal and global necessity of Israeli innovation. It's a part of a practical routine establishing Israel as a progressive nation. Repetition of this emotional and even inspiring theme was expected to help brand Israel in a positive light.

As demonstrated in the previous sections, the speeches were written from an Israeli perspective. This can be proved from the word count. The term "Israel" was repeated 426 times (Table #3). The Israeli story was represented via historical documentation and Jewish culture with which Netanyahu is very connected. The speeches highlight national and cultural issues. Early 1990s studies show cultural memories are an acquired part of creating a convincing discourse (Lipsitzm 1990). A speaker's rhetorical success relies heavily on his ability to create empathy with the audience (Cheney 1983). Netanyahu's speeches leaned on his cultural-economic knowledge, historical relevance and a link to the technological dimension. For example: *"Israel is walking in the same paths went her ancestors Abraham, Isaac, Jacob. But we also are walking in new paths in science, technology"* (UN speech 2012). The Israeli memory and historical point of view were connected to the economic-technological context. Culture discourse plays an important part of shaping the public image and strengthening of the brand values (Papadopoulos 2004).

Innovation Buzz Strategies

The analysis showed systematic repetition of motifs and texts throughout Netanyahu's speeches. Significant part of the speeches used technological sphere messages. It seems to be a powerful rhetorical tool, even in the PD arena and it is also aligned with the buzz of innovation. This study sought to discover the real use of innovation and technology values in the diplomatic effort. After running the rhetorical analysis, we did a deeper level of analysis using traditional communication theory components: source, target audience, message (Goren 1986).

Knowledgeable source that Leverages Tech Ideology

One of the basic components of traditional communication theory is source (Goren 1986). Effective source assignment is crucial in the communication process for delivering any positive representation of an organization, company, city or country. The current research talks about Israel, a Middle Eastern state which is known for its political challenges and problematic image. Therefore, Israel needs to have a spokesman who is a verbal rhetorician with good communication abilities. According to research, the Israeli current source (Netanyahu) has particularly high rhetorical skills (Marmari 2009; Leshem 2017; Caspit 2018). Indeed, our analysis found that he

demonstrated a strong ability in combining "hard" formal issues (wars, security threats and difficulties) together with "soft" topics (economics, technology, cutting-edge invention). In the PD arena, the source needs to be not only professional, intelligent and reliable, but also someone who knows the benefits of branding through words. This research found that Netanyahu as source has a deep connection to the technological theme; he refers to it as a leading rhetorical ideology.

Coalition of Recipients - Creating a Common Ground

Another component in the communication process is audience (Goren, 1986). All speeches shared the same targeted audiences of both foreign diplomats and the international public. What is noteworthy is that, in general, these type of technology -influenced speeches tend to be broadcast in the mass media and reach the public worldwide. Like Israel, the United Nations global organization encourages innovation (Bloom and Faulkner, 2016). The debate about technology at the UN is omnipresent; lots of countries share common economic interests in the new capitalist world (Fisher, 2011). The analysed texts showed very prominently that its spokesman was trying to create a coalition feeling among recipients. The terminology and vocabulary we found demonstrate that Netanyahu was trying to find common ground among recipients - by creating solidarity, sympathy and closeness towards Israel.

A Set of Versatile and Consistent Messaging

A nation's public identity and narrative (Anholt 2008) leans on their public figures and leaders' actions. These leaders, of course, understand the importance of delivering positive messages about their country, using every means available to them (Avraham 2017). Our analysis shows that Netanyahu endorsed textual tactics consistently. Not only was his message a basic part of any communication process (Goren 1986), it also demonstrated that his strategic use of right messages was dramatically significant. Most of the speeches emphasized technological components. Thus, Netanyahu sought to convey a positive message of Israel as an advanced and innovative nation. However, sometimes these messages were delivered sporadically through a weak rhetorical placement of the message. This is quite surprising because Israel is considered to be a high-tech and innovation country, so it is incomprehensible that it was not its first messaging priority. In the long term, this probably can harm Israel's branding effort as a technologically superior country. However, it is important to note that a relatively large portion of the speeches did glorify Israel's hi-tech industry.

Empowerment and Glorification Messages

PR professionals and communication researchers claim that Israel needs to stick to global international values in order to gain and keep a positive public image (Gilboa 2006; Hasman 2008). Our analysis shows that this conception was adopted by Netanyahu as diplomat. All his speeches maintained positive discourses about global innovation, development and remarkable technology and these topics were put forward as leading ideological ideas. We believe that the dominant textual use of tech reflects the desire of Israel to be associated with positive values.

Discourse Displacement – Neutral Topic

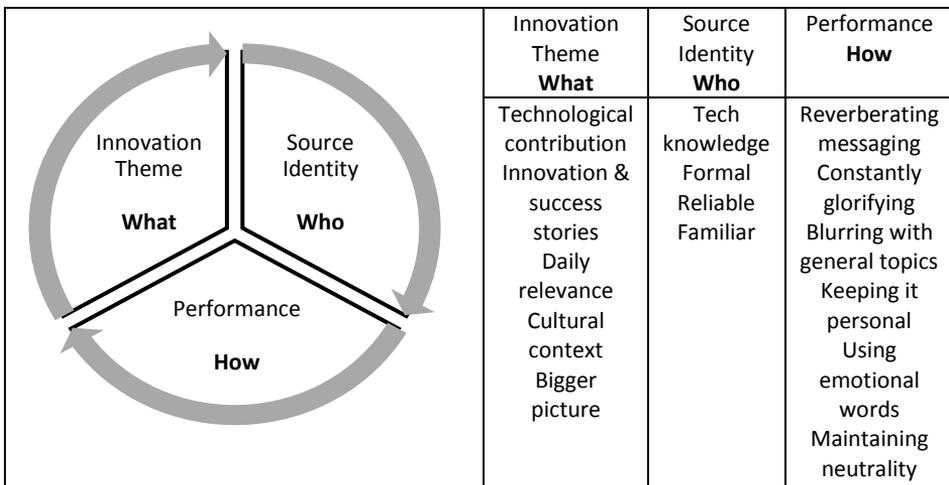
Our analysis found that Netanyahu systematically increased positive messages in his diplomatic speech. Using the tech theme, Netanyahu demonstrated a softer element in his discourse way from the usual political and security topics. This rhetorical technique showed the other, good Israel (Aharoni and Grinstein 2017). Netanyahu told new stories about Israel's contribution to humanity in each speech. Shifting the conversation is a well-known technique in public relations and reputation management field and changing the discourse from hard issues to softer ones helps build positive perception among stakeholders.

Innovation & Technology Integration Model

Theory indicates that many sectors are engaged with tech messaging. Innovation is an especially important element in business, education, public health, and other disciplines (Berger 2007; Vidislavsky 2016; Schwartz-Altshuller 2017; McLaughlin and Penckansky 1965; Laurie et al 2012). However, the present study pointed out that these values exist, and were present in the communication process. More specifically it has shown that technology plays an important role in PD. From here it is possible to conclude that beyond the implementation of practical technological applications, organizations can also embed innovation discourse. In this context, we assume that the tech theme can be systematically integrated into additional fields if only the speaker can find the right method. As described in the theoretical part, marketing challenges becoming much more difficult not only for countries and geographical regions (Manheim and Albritton 1984; Marat 2009), but also for organizations and advertisers. Therefore, adopting strategic and methodological innovations is necessarily reinforced. Preserving positive public image and reputation enhancement requires adoption of consistent strategies (Avraham and Ketter 2008; Papadopoulos 2004; Anholt 2008). Our study seeks to offer a new modular

framework that strategically regulates the implementation of the technology discourse. The model we propose leans on rhetorical analyses and can theoretically help any organization to systematically implement innovation values and expressions. The ITC model (Innovation and Technology Conjunction) consists of a number of complementary parts: a central theme (the message), a promoter of the message (source Identity) and a process (performance). Any company, organization or professional in any occupation or industry can use the ITC tool to combine technology and innovation values in a methodological manner. The model below (Chart 3) shows the three essential parts and the ways in which the identity of the source, the kind of messages communicated and the possible methods to communicate them are explained.

Chart 3: ITC circuit model for integration of technological values



Innovation Theme

The implementation of tech-innovation messaging must include a clear explanation of the brand, organization and country contribution (*technological contribution*). This explanation can be had through inspiring innovation storytelling (*innovation & success stories*) and explanation of the public relevance of the brand. This concept arises from the current study along with an explanation of *cultural context* and the relationship between innovation and tradition/history. In other words, the transmission of messages with a technological hue and persuasion are part of a deep process that views the past and history as an inherent part of it. Innovation and modernization cannot be detached from tradition. The empowerment of the message and technology glorification depends, among other things, on a speaker’s statement about the change that occurred or will occur as a result of the adoption of one technological element.

Source Identity

The second part of the model focuses on the identity of the source. The basic assumption is that the person who transmits the messages in any form must rely on *official* and *reliable* sources. But it is no less important to have *knowledge* and understanding in the innovation and technology sphere. Specific examples of technological solutions and their contributions to human life is also required. The source needs to maintain a personal connection to the technological field.

Performance

The innovation messaging process needs to strive for precision and the messages must be echoed consistently (*reverberating messaging*). A repetition of these messages can ensure better audience retention. In addition, the process has to be *personalized*; this is necessary because the technological context is broad and competition in the industry is particularly high. Every organization believes that his technological solution is the best. *Personalized communication* and discourse will help persuade the audience. An advertiser, who wants to stand out in the tech context better than his competitors, is required to maintain a consistent adherence to terminology, expressions and grandiose words (*constant glorification*). This component, along with activating *emotion* and combining general themes, will ensure the effective integration of a technology message.

Conclusions

Our study found that technology and innovation values are becoming significant in the diplomatic sphere. Our findings have made it clear that strategic thinking needs to be undertaken above and beyond a simple textual mention of the innovation industry. The analysis found that the speeches undertook a glorification ideology of Israeli high-tech and framed Israeli innovation as a sensational phenomenon and a huge contributor to humanity. These speeches led us to a consistent conclusion about the functioning of the technology topic as a rhetorical escapism. This study also found that the casual mentioning of a soft theme was a sophisticated diplomatic technique aimed at delivering a wider message. The integration of several disciplines (public diplomacy, nation branding and marketing), within a wide corpus, provided a comprehensive picture of the use of technological values.

It is important to note the limitations of this study. The rhetorical analysis was done solely by examining one nation (Israel), one leader (Netanyahu) and one main message (innovation). Possible future studies

should take into consideration multiple countries, leaders and messages. The ideal way is to combine various kinds of objects and add other dimensions which would complete the PD rhetorical puzzle. We believe that tech terminology as discussed throughout this study should be compared to different types of messaging, nations and leaders. In order to understand the global picture of diplomatic messaging, future research needs to also examine the way those diplomatic speeches are covered in the media and whether the messaging has indeed achieved its goal.

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Nigeria, the African Union and Regional Integration (1963 – 2019)

Ayodele Haruna MUSTAPHA*

Abstract. The study adopted qualitative historical and descriptive methods. The historical dimension considers the antecedents of the Nigeria's Foreign Policy with respect to Africa as centre piece of its external relations since her independence till the current period. The descriptive and analytical aspects of the methodology focus on the analysis of Nigeria foreign policy objectives based on the empirical validation, while the description approach deals on the impacts/role of Nigeria on the continental integration of Africa and finally, the admissions of Nigeria into African Continental Free Trade Area (AFCFTA), its challenges and prospect for economic and political integration. Key informants' interview was conducted with diplomats, academics and scholars through structured questions and Focus Group Association (FGA) as primary and secondary source entails data collected from textbooks, internet, materials, journal paper etc. The study adopted role theory to x-rays, midwife and validate the nexus between the roles of Nigeria towards the African Union and regional integration for economic and political realization.

Keywords: Diplomacy, Foreign Policy, National interest, National interest, Regionalism, Role conception

Introduction

Background to the Study

NIGERIA BECAME INDEPENDENCE ON OCTOBER 1ST, 1960 from the British Government. The Prime Minister then Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa in his first address to the United Nations General Assembly on October 7, 1960 stated the great desire of Nigeria to remain on peaceful and friendly terms with all countries of the United Nations Organization (Ashiru and George 2013: 2). It was from that historical statement of the Prime Minister usually referred

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to as the “Balewa Doctrine” that the following objectives and principles that have guided our foreign policy framework were articulated:

- Acceptance of the sovereign equality of all African states;
- Respect for the independence, Sovereignty and territorial integrity of every African states;
- Non-interference in the internal affairs of other African countries;
- Commitment to functional co-operation as a means of promoting African Unity; and
- Total eradication of racism and colonialism from Africa (Nweke 2010: 13).

Successive Nigerian Governments with the reality in the international level have added to the guiding principles of Nigeria’s foreign policy declared as another five-man objective of the nation’s external policy, sequel to the review panel of Professor Adebayo Adedeji on Nigeria’s foreign policy in the following ways:

- The protection / defence of the sovereign and territorial integrity of the Nigerian state
- The creation / promotion of the necessary political and economic conditions in Africa and the rest of the world which will facilitate defence of the independence and territorial integrity of all African countries, while at the same time fostering national self-reliance and rapid economic development;
- The promotion of equality and self-reliance in Africa and the rest of the developing world;
- The promotion and defence of justice and respect for human dignity, especially the dignity of the black man; and
- The defence and promotion of world peace (Nweke 2010: 14).

It is instructive to note this assertion when the Minister of External Affairs, Jaja Wachukwu’s commented on Nigeria-African continent. According to Wachukwu (1963) cited in Akinterinwa (2005) that:

Our Foreign policy is based on three pillars: the concept that Nigeria is an African nation; it is part and parcel of the continent of Africa and therefore it is completely involved in anything that pertains to that continent; that it cannot be neutral and must never be considered as a neutralist country. We are independence in everything, but neutral in nothing that affects the destiny of Africa (sic). The moment Africa is affected, we are involved. We want to make this absolutely clear! Nigeria finds itself involved in anything affecting the African continent anywhere, any square inch of African territory. We are involved. The

peace of Africa is the peace of Nigeria. Its tribulations are our tribulations and we cannot be indifferent to its future (Akinterinwa 2005: 8).

To fully appreciate the different facets of Nigeria's foreign policy, cognizance must be taken of the fact that the guiding principles of Foreign Policy remain the same, room exists for adjustment and change in line with domestic, external realities and variables. For a proper understanding also, the historical periods have been delineated as follows:

- Nigeria at independence or the Balewa Administration (1960 – 1966).
- The civil war era (1966 – 70).
- Post-civil war or oil boom years (1971 – 1983).
- Period of prolonged Military rule (1983 – 1999).
- President Obasanjo Civilian Administration (1999 – 2007).
- Late President Musa Yar'Adua Administration (2007 – 2010).
- President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan Administration (2011 to 2015).
- President Muhammadu Buhari Administration (2015 – till date).

After two years of Nigeria's independence, the country became a force to be reckoned with in the African continent, playing a vital role in the process of the formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). In that regard, three African groups emerged, namely: the Casablanca Group which stood for immediate political union of all African countries, with a radical approach to Africa's international relations; the moderate Monrovia Group, which advocated functional cooperation, equality of all states, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states as well as opposition to forced political union of the continent; and the conservative Brazzaville Group, which was made up exclusively of French colonies adamant on maintaining their ties and influence with France. It was against this background of political fragmentation that these groups came together at the conference held in Addis Ababa in May 1963 to form a single organization that would embrace all African states (Akinterinwa 2005: 10; Nweke 2010: 15; Obikeze and Anthony 2003: 303).

Over more than 50 years of independence, Nigeria's foreign policy had focused principally on Africa. Successive Nigerian leaders have professed Africa as the centre piece of its foreign policy. Nigeria sees itself and is widely seen as a leader of Africa, and this has profoundly influenced the perception of its role, both on the continent and globally. It played a pivotal role in the formation of the OAU and its transformation to African Union (AU) corresponding to its African foreign policy through the conservative phase, the radical phase and the realist phase (Ibeanu 2010: 17). Since Nigeria's independence in 1960,

Africa has been the centre piece as manifested in its commitment to the total liberation of Africa from colonialism, racial discrimination and apartheid. By that, as a result, Nigeria was on centre stage in the clamour to intensify embargoes, boycotts and economic sanctions against apartheid South Africa (Abegunrin 2009: 2).

Nigeria's impressive commitment in huge diplomatic and financial resources towards the total liberation of Africa significantly saw to it that both apartheid and colonialism were engaged, confronted and liquidated on the continent. Diplomatic, moral and financial resources were consistently placed at the disposal of the liberation movements across Africa (Saliu 2012: 48). The need to form an African unity-oriented organization came as a result of the quest to create a collective anti-colonial struggle on a continental level. This quest brought about a manifestation of the age-long search for an institutionalized body which led to the formation of the OAU in 1963 (Saliu 2012: 49).

On 9th September 1999, the Heads of states and governments of the OAU at their fourth extraordinary summit held in Sirte, Libya, deliberated extensively on the ways and means to strengthen the continental organization. The aim was to make it more effective so as to keep pace with the political, economic and social developments that were taking place within and outside Africa. The primary goal was to accelerate the process of implementing the Abuja Treaty. Nigeria played a leading role in the process that transformed the OAU to the African Union (AU) (Akinsanya 2005: 106). According to President Olusegun Obasanjo:

The nature of African union should be understood to mean the pursuit of socio-economic integration of the continent as a first and necessary step towards the achievement of a political union. This arrangement may not necessarily be in the form of a federation or even confederation at this stage but could be the ultimate goal to be aspired to in the future (Akinsanya 2005: 107).

Statement of the Problem

While there have been scholarly studies that address Nigeria's role in the African Union, many of them have failed to explore how the general framework of its role (foreign policy goals and strategies) in Africa has served both its national interest and the overall integration process of the continent and its people.

Expectations were running high at the start of the new millennium when the African Union was established in 2002 as the successor to the OAU. The general hope was that it would overcome the long-standing problems and

speed up the pace of African integration. However, it has been observed that political intentions will not always translate into action. It soon became clear that many African leaders did not want to give up any element of their national sovereignty. The Constitutive Act of 2002 that underpins the creation of the African Union was therefore a compromise between partisans of a federal union (endowed with supranational competence) and those who resisted this ambitious vision and did not want to give up their internal sovereignty (Laporte and Mackie 2010: 15).

There is also the hurdle of the human factor that has negatively affected the African Union, as manifested in widespread corruption, economic mismanagement and inefficiency, lack of probity and accountability in government and sit-tight leadership. Ethnic conflicts, economic recession, diseases, illiteracy, poverty, military coups or threats of it, genocide, ethnic cleansing and international terrorism have combined to undermine Africa's capacity to propel development and face up to the challenges of the 21st century (Azaigba 2010: 127).

In addition, improper coordination has fostered a low level of trade and communication among African states. Compounding this are the non-implementation of treaties that form the bedrock of integration efforts and the failure of African states to achieve diversification and structural transformation within their economies. And these are a reflection of the degree of economic and political crises fuelled by globalization, the problem of refugees and displaced persons, as well as the slow pace of democratization (Oche 2005: 156).

It is also been observed that some countries are disturbed by the implications of certain articles of the African Union's Constitutive Act, especially in regard to notions of a central government that is capable of enforcing those union's principles which seem to derogate from the sovereignty of member-states, such as the right of the union to intervene in a member-state pursuant to a decision of the union in grave circumstances like war crimes, genocide, and crimes against humanity (Article 4(h) etc. These are circumstances in which any member that fails to comply with the decisions and policies of the union may be subjected to sanctions such as denial of transport and communication links with other member-states as may be determined by the Assembly (Article 23(21), even when such sanctions may be difficult for friendly states to observe (Agubuzu 2010: 371).

However, most compelling is the observation that not yet explored is the role of Nigeria in the political and socio-economic integrative forces like common defence, common government, single currency, continental airline, common market and trade, common anticorruption drive, harmonized migration policies, shared policies on refugees crises, coordinated climate change drive and free trade areas. This study intends to fill the gap by

providing appropriate insights.

Research Questions

From the foregoing, are the following research questions:

- How has Nigeria's role been supportive of the African Union's effectiveness and efficiency in continental integration in terms of failure or successes?
- What is the impact of Nigeria's National interest and foreign policy on achieving the objectives of African Union in the quest for continental integration?
- What progress has been made and what lessons have been learnt from the establishment and institutionalization of the African Union in the quest for continental integration in the level or degree of integration?
- Is there any apparent disconnect between Nigeria's foreign policy and the African Union's key objectives?
- What are the key challenges and prospects of the African Union in a rapidly changing Africa, continental and global context?

Objectives of the Study

The main objective of this study is to assess the impact of Nigeria's foreign policy on the African Union as well as regional integration. Other objectives of the study are:

- To examine the role of Nigeria in the support of African Union's effectiveness and efficiency in the quest for continental integration in areas of failure or success.
- To determine the impact of Nigeria's National interest and foreign policy on achieving
- the objectives of African Union in the quest for continental integration.
- To find out the progress made, and lessons learnt from the establishment and institutionalization of the African Union in the quest for continental integration.
- To investigate if there is a disconnect between Nigeria's policy and the African Union's key objectives in the level or degree of integration.
- To interrogate the key challenges and prospects of the African Union in a rapidly changing continental Africa and global world.

Statement of Assumptions

The study is guided by the following basic assumptions:

- That the high level of economic and political crises in Africa tends to slow down the pace of continental integration in Africa.
- That leaders' degree of commitment and political will can determine the level of continental integration through the African Union.
- That the asymmetrical relationship among African countries tends to inhibit effective continental integration.
- That the high rate of corruption among African leaders tends to undermine integrative efforts/mechanisms in Africa.
- That a pragmatic and strategic conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy can improve the institutional framework of both continental integration and the African Union's sustainable objectives.

Justification of the Study

This study is a critical appraisal of Nigeria's role and the African Union in the context of continental integration. The study is expected to be beneficial to Africa's quest for political stability, enhanced intra-regional trade, greater security, reduced poverty, overcoming drought and its adverse effects, eliminating human and arms trafficking, as well as better standards of living. It should also verify Nigeria's vaunted leadership role in African affairs, straddling peacekeeping missions, peace building, conflict resolution, the promotion of democratic governance, and African integration in particular. It will as well show how well or otherwise such engagements have promoted Nigeria's national interest.

Importantly, the study should clearly demonstrate the status of African integration as well as highlight the attendant challenges and the future prospects of the on-going process.

Definition of Terms

Foreign Policy:

Foreign policy denotes the authoritative actions which governments take or are committed to take either to preserve the desirable aspects of the international environment or to alter its undesirable aspects. It also represents

the range of actions taken by various sections of the government of a state in its relations with other bodies or states acting on the international scene in order to advance the national interest of that particular state (Akinboye and Ottoh 2007: 116).

Role conception:

Daniel (2018) noted that role conception is defined by a broader public rather than a single or few policy makers, domestically shared views and understanding regarding the proper role and purpose of one's own state as a social collectivity in the international arena, while the concept is related to other concepts such as national self-image and state identity as the role concept can be determine either through individual/group(s) or state(s). National role ascribes to the state an organic and social nature which national interests may not do. It establishes the basis for the social functionality of states and provides the platform for the comprehension of state behaviour (Folarin 2011: 4).

National Interest

National interest is the sum of the objectives and goals of a nation-state. It is the basic motivation for foreign policy formulation and execution as a guide for policy makers. It is considered as the simplest means of understanding or explaining how and why nations do what they do when they engage in international action (Eminue 2013: 67-68).

Regionalism

Regionalism is a concept which refers often to formal cooperation and integration arrangements of a group of countries within a common geographical space aimed at facilitating or enhancing a sense of common identity and purpose through the creation of institutions that give shape to, and drive collective action. In defining the concept of regionalism, regional cooperation and regional integration are two distinct concepts often used together (Jibowu 2015: 7).

Economic Integration

Dalimov (2009) argued that economic integration is a process of a formal unification of previously separate economic areas: after cancelling tariff and non-tariff barriers, as it increases volume of trade among members of economic union, generates more economic activities and changes inner dimension of integrated economies towards better united welfare.

Theoretical Framework

Role Theory

Role theory first attracted attention in foreign policy literature after the publication of [Holsti's \(1970\)](#) study of national role conceptions. [Walker \(1987\)](#) sets the stage for further advances in foreign policy and international relations' use of role theory which has descriptive, organizational and explanatory value for the study of foreign policy. Descriptively, role theory provides a rich vocabulary for categorizing the beliefs, images and identities that individuals and groups develop for themselves and others, as well as types of processes and structures that govern the government in particular situations. Organizationally, role theory allows the analyst to focus on any level of analysis commonly used in the study of foreign policy, in addition to bringing those levels through a peace-orientation that joins agents and structures. The explanatory value of role theory may derive from its own middle-range theories as well as harnessing its concept to other theoretical approaches ([Theis 2009: 3](#)).

Role theory is derived from the concept of role as used by sociologists, psychologists and anthropologists in distinguishing individuals or groups, role perceptions and actual performance in any social gathering. This could be family, peer group, religious group, workplace community, market and in this case, the political groups ([Folarin 2010: 89](#)). Role theory is a perspective in sociology and social psychology that considers most of everyday activities to be the acting out of socially defined categories. Each role is a set of rights, duties, expectations, norms and behaviours that a person has to face and fulfil ([Role theory 2017: 3](#)).

It refers to the explanation of what happens when people are acting out in a social process and the consequences of doing so. The essence is to provide a model of behaviour in a specific situation like the principal function of role-playing in conflict resolution and discovering details of a manifested behaviour which helps elucidate social positions in education, the economy, science and government, among many categories (Role theory leadership, 2016). Various scholars are credited to have been the founders and proponents of role theory, and these include Margaret Mead, Talcott Parson, Robert K. Merton (1957), B.F Skinner, Mintzberg (1978), Ivan Nye (1976), Linton (1945), Goffman (1959), Turner (1956), Lopata (1991) and Stryker (1968). The theory formalized discussion in the 1920s ([Role Theory 2017:5](#)).

Role theory concern with one of the most important features of social life, characteristic behaviour patterns or roles. It explains role by presuming

that persons are members of social groups and hold expectations for their own behaviour and those of other persons. Recent developments suggest both centrifugal and integrative forces within the role field. The former reflects differing perspectives of commitment by scholars, confusions and disagreements on the use of role concepts, and the fact that role theory is used to analyse various forms of social system. The latter reflects the shared, basic concerns of the field and efforts by role theorists to seek a broad version of the field that will accommodate a wide range of interests (Biddle 1986: 68).

The linkage and relevance of role theory to this study lies in the attempt to interpret and examine the foreign policy behaviour of the Nigerian state as projected by different actors with different ideological and political orientations. It x-rays the role of each player in the conception, formulation and implementation of the country's foreign policy. The role of Nigeria as a nation with respect to its foreign policy objectives and principles that are Afrocentric, making Africa its centrepiece and theorizing/prioritizing initiatives in the forms of concentric circles around the African Union regional integration process.

Like all theories, role theory has its own shortcoming as argued by scholars, which include the following: (i) the central weakness of role theory is in describing and explaining deviant behaviour; (ii) it does not and cannot explain how role expectations came to be what they are; (iii) it does not explain when and how role expectations change; (iv) it has a hard time explaining social deviance when it does not correspond to a pre-specified role; (v) it is only a snapshot of activity performed by an individual and may not be representative of everyone and for all time (Role Theory Leadership 2016: 3).

Findings

The findings of the study revealed across the key informants' interviews that Nigeria has to review its role in Africa to reflect the domestic politics and reality. It requires the country having been a frontline state in the past for countries struggling to attain their independence to consider its national interest. Again, the dynamism to international integration concept especially in EU and ASEAN demands robust and appropriate move for African states to integrate economically and politically which Nigeria is best expected to take the driver's seat. However, that should not make the country dumping site for dumping goods. Again, it revealed that the political will to integrate in order to enjoy the fruits of economic and financial gains collectively is not exercised and as the institutions are weak, it makes the observance practically impossible. Again, it requires the full commitment of government and institutions to ensure appropriate measures to safeguard smooth path for economic and

political integration devoid of war, climate change, migration, corruption, sit tight syndrome, hunger, famine, weak institution, nationalism etc. which are antithetical to continental integration.

Interrogating the Key Challenges of the African Union

Talking of integration in an environment of distrust and division is a big challenge, yet it must be embraced that integration is not static at all.

- Dependency on the West or East remains a dividing line defining the member states of the African Union, while African Union has to devise African solutions to African problems. The global world is seeking solutions to global challenges, like climate change, financial crises and civil unrest. Africa has so much of its own problems from which also are vast embedded opportunities.
- There are political, economic and social disparities in Africa. The modelling of the African Union was along that of the EU. It has been observed that there are overt African disparities which are the recipe for weakening the African Union.
- Africa continues to engage at the periphery of the global economy as is evident from the continent's declining share in global production and trade with the majority of Sub-Saharan Africa's 47 countries being labelled small and least developed ([UNCTAD 2007: 8](#)).
- Apart from wars, conflicts and the crippling poverty, another unexpected development is the scourge of the remnant HIV/AIDs pandemic and the new emergent contagious disease Ebola and their debilitating impact on the African continent as majority of the victims are Africans between the ages of 15 and 49. The scourge has adversely impacted on every segment of life in the worst affected countries in education, agriculture and food production especially health enterprises and life expectancy ([Sesay 2008: 15](#)).
- The sluggish progress of member states' economic development has been a recurring concern as Africa is the continent with widest gap between rich and poor, with more than 40 percent of the population in Sub-Saharan Africa living on less than one US \$ a day, and for many an average of only 65 percent in that regard.
- Insufficient funding and absence of critical logistics capability are the most debilitating constraints to Africa's peacekeeping operation as member states fail to pay their annual subscription to the African Union, while those that pay, even pay small amount of money ([Grimm & Katito 2010: 3](#)).

Prospects of the African Union in a Rapidly Changing Global World

Africa's greatness in the international system has long built and rested on the fulcrum of Pan-Africanism. The idea is hinged on the understanding that confronting the challenges of globalization requires a coordinated/continental interaction and unity of interest.

- The regionalization of economic activities will enable national economies to build capacities in all critical areas from the absorption and generation of new technologies to production and marketing as a springboard for more meaningful participation in the world economy.
- While the foundation for regional economic cooperation and integration in Africa has been well laid through the establishment of the AEC, the RECs should continue to build their capacities, harmonize and coordinate their institutions, improve performance and avoid wasteful duplication of effort. This will include the harmonization of national reconstruction programmes of the member states with those of the RECs, in such a way that one can complement the other. It applies to relationship among the RECs, the AEC, countries, the multinational organizations and the African Union.
- The African Union together with the RECs and their various member states should invest more energy and resources in promoting the integrity of electoral processes as a strategy to prevent electoral violence and support peaceful post-election transitions. Joint activities between the African Union and the RECs and other international actors offer important opportunities to build trust and strengthen collaboration, highlighting the synergies and complementariness of their mandates.
- The African Union must realize that Africa's enemies such as disease, illiteracy, poverty, wars, famine, conflicts economic recessions, sit-tight leadership, corruption, refugees/migration crisis can only be eradicated through common action and joint efforts of African Union government and parliament as it must struggle to achieve universal human dignity and racial equality across the continent and the world at large. Africa's political and economic integration are interlinked involving democratization of African regional organizations, free movement of goods and people among countries and actions to address such cross-border issues as AIDs, child labour, and trafficking in women to be noted.

- Rationalizing Africa's many different regional institutions, to reduce overlap and inefficiency.
- Pursuing a pace of integration that is simultaneously ambitious and realistic. Reconciling conflicting interests of countries with diverse sizes, natural resources and economic performance.
- There must be legal reform in African states to address issues of corruption, money laundering, human trafficking and other deterrents to foreign investment.
- External aid is incentive to African states to signal their supports for the programmes and policies of regional integration.
- The African Union now pays more attention to international development cooperation and relationship with international partners than before, especially as the China's ever-growing influence and presence in Africa. African Union would have to adopt an appropriate strategy to manage international cooperation in an era of globalization and in a changing world to come out with relevant and practical conceptualization of innovative and transformation partnership which its member states will need to complement national development efforts ([Lisk 2012: 2](#)).
- African Union needs to be more firm in its use of force. The organization's conflict management strategy lack effective coercive measures to ensure compliance of its members and implement forceful intervention as provided under Article 4(h) of its constitutive Act and as proposed under the responsibility to protect (R2P) concept where and when consensual interventions and peaceful negotiations are in appropriate or inadequate. Delay in reaching political agreement among African leaders on collective security, norms and practices should be reduced or absolutely eradicated ([Joshua & Olanrewaju 2017: 12](#)).
- The building of social capita through spreading of information, which would enhance trade and reduce the probability of conflicts as well as building a strong social infrastructure in addressing other constraints.
- It has already been pointed out that primary factors of success for regional integration in Africa would require firstly political liberalization and sound macro-economic reforms. This would underpin by infrastructure development, attracting and nurturing private economic activities, supporting socially and economically viable indigenous practices, and creating the right climate for the

expression of a plural and divergent political voice in civil society as these factors together would contribute significantly to the vitality of Africa's integration process.

- ECOWAS has adopted a single currency called ECO for the West African region which African Union show learn from it to adopt a single currency, defence and political platforms for the continent in the fulfilment of African Union agenda 2063-SDGs.
- Monetary integration can also provide the basis for more efficient coordination and monitoring of the social and regional impact of structural adjustment policies. Improved regional coordination and commitment of donors to such policies are equally decisive for the success of the creation of stable monetary areas (Bach 1999: 8).

Summary & Conclusion

The study justified the role of Nigeria in the quest for continental integration in terms of economic and political agitation for union/ unity. Its roles be it hegemonic, solidarity affirmative, selfless and assertive to either cater for her national interest and foreign policy realization or the attributed affection of the continent as its centrepiece, all worked for the actualization of continental integration of the desires of the founding fathers of African Nations to be economically relevant, prosperous and self-sufficient countries.

The study justified the role of Nigeria in providing the lead amongst countries in Africa by ensuring that its vacuum cannot be easily filled as observed in the Africa continental Free Trade Area (AFCFTA) where its admission into it was initially delayed as African Union felt it badly.

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The Commonwealth of Independent States. A Constructivist approach to a Neo-realist construct

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Abstract: International relations have experienced different manifestations over time, that states had in certain periods or in relation to other similar entities. Scholars tried to establish a vocation for each type of attitude that states have setting theories that can explain more or less behaviour in international relations. International organizations also play a significant role, either having inherited attitudes that perpetuate or because they manage to draw new trails to follow, thus, variations in behaviour in the international system.

Keywords: organizations, neo-realism, constructivism, security complex

Introduction

THIS PAPER PRESENTS THE *COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATES (CIS)*, an organisation considered mainly a legacy of the former USSR, with no credibility among other states or organisations, but strongly anchored in its own policy, which makes it probably a long term agreement of its members. The impact of their decision is reflected in international relations and in the regional security, based almost on a common policy around the interest of Kremlin. The dialogue between the members of this organization and the rest of Europe has been often vague, with no major commitments, and any attempt to overcome organisational policies is seriously criticised by other members and often repressed. In this regard, it can be listed cases of Ukraine or Republic of Moldova, which, in their attempts to get closer to the European Union, have had criticism within CIS.

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The importance of this organisation is given by the role it plays in regional level, in other words a Russia's attempt to keep control of these states through an appearance. During the Cold War the realist theory dominated the International Relations mainly because of the American-Soviet rivalry. Being a Darwinian approach to international relations, realist theory has managed to maintain a certain level and particular value, for the mechanism of the international system. What determined USSR member states to coexist on common principles, was actually the need to be in an alliance, to establish concepts that overcome neo-imperialist obstacles in the balance of power of a bipolar international system.

Thus, not only were held by political ideologies but a need to dominate international relations, as represented a counterweight in the international system. However, to what extent these states could remain in close cooperation after the fall of the Iron Curtain, under the principles set by the realist paradigm? Both Realism and Liberalism failed to anticipate the future of the international system, but the constructivist approach made various statements regarding concepts as common security, focusing on ideas and the capability to change by shaping beliefs and interests. A constructivist approach to the CIS is more than necessary, as it may explain how these former states of the USSR, which embraced concepts of Realism, can fail or not, to show, at least in appearance, the need to change an overused theory. We do not talk particularly about their ability to adapt to new international developments, but their ambition to establish for the future preservation of common principles.

This paper attempts to demonstrate to what extent the organisation manages to learn the principles of Constructivism, and whether these are successful in its application. Furthermore, I try to prove whether there is enough data to rule in favour of such a theory applied to the CIS, if there are common values, or just proximity that impugn certain behaviour. For this matter, I will consider scenarios that led to the formation of The Commonwealth of Independent States, how it managed to achieve its aims or if there is any future of this organisation. Not be neglected, component of regional security being the main force Eurasian security policy.

The conclusions are trying to reach on security regional complex, and to what extent this concept is applicable to the CIS. Covering an evolutionary line by presenting the main elements defining neo-realism and how it has helped to strengthen commonalities between the members of the CIS, go through the next step by analysing the applicability of constructivist approach and how it comes to responding the way that the member states of CIS, after dissolution of the USSR, tried and succeeded to some extent to keep the same format. From these considerations will be dotted elements of regional security complex, and the extent to which it conforms to the construction of the CIS.

As research tools in this analysis, I used historical and contemporary papers, interpretation being made on the basis of comparative and interpretative methods based on case studies and concepts developed by scholars in periodicals, and also from web sources of institutions of interest. This paper uses methods and techniques of research in the field of history, International Relations and legal sciences, through detailed analysis of articles and papers, especially those occurring in large schools in this domain, which were clearly parallel views, assumptions and clarifications essential in defining and developing this work.

A Neorealist foundation

In the context of the 1970s and 1980s, there was a return to realist theory motivated by the liberal trans-national momentum characterised by phenomena such as economic globalisation and interdependence (see [Keohane and Nye 1977](#)). Thus, historical events such as the Soviet attack on Afghanistan in 1979, ideological and geopolitical struggle against the United States and the "Empire of evil", political-religious revolution in Iran, the war against Iraq and U.S. hostage crisis resulted ([Baylis et al. 2014](#)), determined the Realism followers to admit that relations between states are most important, because they cannot regulate the actions of all actors involved. While not denying states the ability to relate to trans-national relations they were significantly decreased its importance ([Keohane and Nye 1981](#)).

Theorising the direction of neo-realist theory was due to the work of [Kenneth N. Waltz \(1979\)](#) in "Theory of International Politics", where the author defines political structures in terms of frame, defining external behaviour of the states and internal implications. Thus, the first is the organisational principle ([Waltz 1979: 89](#)) in International Relations, characterised by a lack of order, the presence of anarchy, in contradiction with the internal hierarchy of states and also their ability to shape the international system as required, such as in an economy system. The second principle relates to the functions of units in the international system ([Waltz 1979: 93](#)), namely the states performing in an anarchic system, which instigate them to cooperate. However, even if the states functions are similar, they differ as units in the international system, each trying to carry out their own functions and interests. This leads to the third principle: distribution capabilities ([Waltz 1979: 97](#)); as pursuing their own interests, their place in the international system is in terms of power and methods of gaining and exercise it, that is inevitably leading to a multi-polar power international system. Another neorealist, [John Mearsheimer \(2013, but see also 2018\)](#), questions this theory to foreign policy, providing a structural theory foundation with offensive character, unlike defensive position

promoted by Waltz, the idea that the 'units' want to maximize and expand the power not only to maintain, risking further conflicts.

Since the anarchy of the international system is superior to its units, international political scene as coercion and violence, never changes, so neorealist method tries to identify the main ahistorical laws of evolution (Hobson 2000). Neorealism encourage the use of econometrics and quantitative studies, focusing on the international system (which can be hierarchical or anarchic) rather than international relations. This implies that states should always be careful how power is distributed in the international system in order to be concerned about their safety (Waltz 1979). Unipolarity is the least likely global configuration as international policy requires balancing power and balance of threat, according to Stephen Walt, in which states are no longer guided by abstract calculation but by the perception of threat felt in the international system from other actors (Walt 2002). According to Neorealism, states tend to prioritise the relative gains remaining in international politics the highest form of political expression, despite the phenomena of globalization and interdependence, as the state is a unitary actor and indivisible, whose only interest is military survival. For Waltz, "states that feel insecure must ask how the gain will be divided. They are compelled to ask not 'Will both of us gain?' but 'Who will gain more?'" (Waltz 1979: 105). That's why states have higher capacity than agencies, because their internal variations do not exceed decisive nature of anarchy, but to follow international competitive environment for survival (Hobson 2000).

Nonetheless, as any such theory, Neo-realism has suffered criticism, mainly because it has limitations, especially inapplicability in some cases in the international system. Thus, even if the claims that there cannot be a unipolar power, especially promoting the existence of multipolar power, Neo-realism seems to ignore the actual effects of globalisation and interdependence, that the international system is experiencing. A good example would be that in the present age there is a tendency in community development security, regional integration and economic interdependence, so that the applicability of this trend is only in the periphery of the international system of states on issues such as Iran, Korea North, Pakistan, Syria etc. There are in the world war zones and zones of peace, especially where states succeed during large periods of time, to maintain a practice of liberal ideas, democratic societies, free market etc. exceeding neo-realism paradigms. These "anomalies of the neorealist system" cannot be explained by theorists, as they underestimate the ability of states to promote change (Rathbun 2008: 294-321).

Morals and rules also may be important for the structure of the international system through promotion or abolition of values that were formerly habits. Realism does not take into account the fact that currently

there are more peaceful than militaristic states, so one of the major criticisms is that neo-realism focuses exclusively on military security, given that there are countries joining to create complex interdependencies of cooperation, which can cause other players to behave differently (see [Buzan and Hansen 2016](#)). Therefore, neo-realism is more appropriate for periods of conflict and war, or just to areas where such events are felt and now those areas are rare and tend to adapt to international system promoted by globalization and interdependence.

Thus, the post-Cold War period allowed the organisation and establishment of an organisation on neo-realistic backgrounds. CIS being an organization made up of former Soviet Union member states had the necessary structure to develop institutional and organisational collaboration. However, as we have shown above, neorealism fails to justify its functionality in peacetime, so organizations such as the CIS have seen themselves lose their identity and functionality. At the same time, following Fukuyama's explanation, liberalism succeeded to defeat both fascism and communism in the last century, but nowadays "there was no viable alternative left standing" ([Mearsheimer 2018](#)). The post-Cold War constructivist theory has another approach to the international system and international relations ([Buzan 2014](#)).

The constructivist approach

The collapse of the USSR itself led to significant changes in the international system, such as theories that define relationships and international scene were faced criticism because they failed to demonstrate or to predict this fundamental change. The wave of critics attacked the theories of International Relations in their essence questioning their very existence and ability to be able to formulate clear theories about the international system, given the permanent changes and surprising. As [Griffiths \(2007: 63\)](#) emphasised, we could notice in International Relations community an inability to anticipate neither the fall of the Berlin Wall not the collapse of the Twin Towers. This fact demands to reconcile the discipline assumptions with a "more complicated and less state-centric environment in which global politics is now played out". In this respect, the analytical framework built by constructivists emphasise a leading influence of non-material factors on world policies but also their reshaping ability challenges the researcher to seek for different theoretical approaches.

In this context, constructivist approach comes to surprise critics in a coherent, trying not only to criticize but to bring a new vision of international relations theory. The emergence of Constructivism is determined by four

factors: first constructivist theory established that the wave of rationalist critics fail to observe international system because it essentially 'blinded' by critical and theoretical analysis and fails to make a substance on international relationships. Another was the determination of the end of the Cold War, which paved the way for new ways of explanation and ways the international system can be explained in depth. These issues were fully supported by the fact , that once the Cold War ended , and analysts and theorists in the field have changed , leaving room for new people more open -minded and with a broader perspective in explaining and reasoning functioning of the international system (Reus-Smith 2005: 195). Thus, this theory discussed more serious aspects of the social environment that greatly influence the international system. By doing so they wanted to put more in mind that traditional similarities, linguistic, folkloric, historical and cultural influences are those determining relations between states near them, or rather how they confront their differences.

In this respect, it is estimated that the Constructivism envisages more ideas role in the construction of social life, but especially the social nature of agents or subjects. To answer these questions, it is envisaged to use a holistic methodology, and not one that has the character of individuality (Adler 2013: 114-116). One of most exhaustive explanation the this approach has been given by Emanuel Adler, when he underlined that Constructivism is "an IR theoretical and empirical perspective that, building on the other two layers, maintains that IR theory and research should be based on sound social ontological and epistemological foundations. IR constructivism has led to new and important questions, for example, about the role of identities, norms and causal understandings in the constitution of national interests, about institutionalization and international governance, and about the social construction of new territorial and non-territorial transnational regions" (Adler 2013: 114).

Considering all these aspects, it is essential to develop a theory of International Relations and a better understanding of the international system, that approaches one essential aspect of states identity in defining how they can, want, need or try to maintain relations with other entities (Thies 2002: 149-151). This causes an important aspect to consider how the actors and subjects interact. How ideas occur between these subjects, in this case, states fail to interact, to know and be able to capture the main connections and relationships with others similar (Ishiyama and Breuning 2011: 4-7). Constructivists consider that the structure of relations between actors is based precisely on the idea that the identities of them are unable to establish relationships. More important is the aspect that these relations and especially properties keep evolving over time (Reus-Smith 2005: 197). Thus, subjects not

only have these common identities, but should keep and bring them permanently to a higher level.

One of the main concepts to be applied when discussing about CIS is the regional security complex. It was developed over time by establishing the general criteria that can identify, define and develop such a concept. First regional security complex can be seen as a structure or network of member interdependence creates a security point of view, to the extent that it creates a dependency between the security mechanism to protect the interests of all internal (Lake and Morgan 1997: 25-26). This may be manifested by overlapping multiple items that fail together to make a regional structure between its subjects:

- Perception between the member states that they form a region, but the perception from the outside, from other players about the existence of this.
- To have a geographic proximity between the members of such a structure.
- Evidence of distinction to the overall system in general, or other similar entities.
- Ability and interactions: clear, concrete and viable between those states which denote the interdependence created and exist within the structure.
- Vicinity of economic, cultural, traditional, linguistic, etc. (Lake and Morgan 1997: 25-26).

However, we can say that when third countries outside the states create similar links within the region, there is a security system penetration of these (Buzan and Waever 2013: 32-36). Therefore, constructivist approach establishes that the functioning of an organisation is not only determined by interests and maximizing power, but can also be achieved through the awareness, capitalisation and implementation of common policies, economics, cultural exchanges. This presupposes that an organization such as the CIS can have a constructivist approach, precisely because its establishment was also allowed by common elements, specific to a regional security system, based on common history and unanimously accepted geopolitics.

Final remarks

By weighing the foregoing, I conclude that this case study on CIS, include essential aspects of theories analysed. Without going into too much technical detail, of a presentation of the CIS, without minimize the objective hypothesis

and our work, I wanted to capture those elements mentioned above in relation to the two theories and the concept of regional security complex. Thus, during the Cold War, the countries of Eastern Europe, Caucasus and Central Asia were a unit, by setting the USSR. Applicability of neo-realist theory comes to its surprise features for this kind of association, whereas the need for security policy, establishing major objectives in the global hierarchy, which are framed and tested in the anarchic system full of Cold War competition. After completion of the Cold War, constructivist theory demonstrates that in these circumstances such an organization can and wants to continue its work. The applicability of this theory comes as a response, which shows that the common values that they share by their Slavic language, culture or history, but not least geographically, have led them to pursue a structure common, which needed to establish inter creating a regional security complex .

The principles that establish the general characteristics of a collective security complex is well defined within this organization. It finds a common interest, economic and cultural relations, close geographical area and especially their desire to preserve the character of the exclusivity from other organizations or global implications. In this respect, the view that their voice is done by the Kremlin, which otherwise cannot give up the safety and influence zones and strategic territories of other Member States. My opinion in this regard, is that the CIS is within the evolution of the theories presented, managing to surprise, we could say, in a classic way the development of complex regional security of organizations and with the character evolved from a predominantly neorealist , and the failure of its confirmation, with a constructivist approach, makes CIS today a classic example.

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THE COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATES. A CONSTRUCTIVIST APPROACH
TO A NEO-REALIST CONSTRUCT

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Book Review

European Union integration shaped by the Court of Justice

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“Fernanda Nicola and Bill Davies (eds). *EU Law Stories. Contextual and Critical Histories of European Justice*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2017. ISBN 978-1-107-54503-8”.

HARDLY, A RESEARCHER OF THE EUROPEAN INTEGRATION PROCESS is able to comprehend the whole mechanism of the European Union decision-making. There are many actors involved in this construction and they play such a different role that often it is impossible to match their interests. In a dialectical approach of agent-structure logic the last question is Who shapes the European Union? In the last two decades, the Court of Justice enjoys increasing attention from researchers of the EU integration. Two Professors of Law at American University proposed a new approach of the CJEU impact on the EU integration process.

Reasons of a book about the CJEU cases

In 2017, Cambridge University Press published Fernanda Nicola and Bill Davies’s edited book “EU Law Stories. Contextual and Critical Histories of European Jurisprudence” (660 pages). This represented an impressive work of 32 contributors from 13 countries to draw up the first picture of the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU) after the release of more than 270 boxes of official documents “with restricted access to the public”. These boxes are hosted at the Historical Archives of the European Union at the European University Institute in Florence. This book provides first interpretative sketches of these documents. They testify the long way of the European integration

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process and provide the image of the deep integration discretely shaped by the CJEU judges.

The two editors of this collective volume are members of American University and they managed to bring together a large number of lawyers, historians and political scientists to narrate the history of EU law “linearly and incrementally” (Davies and Nicola 2014: 3). However, following all 29 chapters of the book, we find the reasons of “persistent gaps between the law in books and the law in action” (Ibid). In this respect, I find justifiable the connection described by Ronald Dworkin between justice, law and morality. In his words,

“Even a fidelity to the abstract Constitution that is disciplined by integrity requires judges, lawyers, legislators, and others who interpret the Constitution to make fresh moral judgements about issues that deeply divide citizens” (Dworkin 2006: 132).

In this respect, it worth mentioning here the paramount importance of the opinions and decisions made by CJEU in its cases along seven decades. Their work is to interpret the European Communities/Union legislation in order to clarify the right path of the European integration.

The main topics

As structure, the book follows “the classic Anglo-American tradition” of EU law teaching books, clustering the ‘stories’ of the EU law around the case law easing the understanding of different parts of this field. Impossible mission to include every single case law in these stories, that is why the authors chose a selective manner following “a solid canon” developed in the CJEU jurisprudence and tried to clarify the background of different decision made in relevant moment of the European integration.

These interpretations were divided into six main topics:

- (a) Manufacturing EU law stories
- (b) Constitutionalization and democratization
- (c) Human rights and citizenship
- (d) Market integration: competition, corporate and private law
- (e) Beyond the Market: gender and anti-discrimination
- (f) Beyond the EU borders.

In his seminal 1981 article, Eric Stein noted that “the European judicial process, characterized by a symbiotic relationship between national courts and the Court of Justice, is a complex dialectic process” (Stein 1981: 1) where many actors play different even concurrent roles. Stein emphasised the independent position assumed by the Court of Justice in relation with the European

Commission and the Council. From this posture, the Court has led the European integration.

Starting with “manufacturing EU law stories”, the authors of this book lead the reader to notice the importance of a deep study of “Europe’s founding decisions” setting the pillar principles of this organisation such as: *direct effect* (Van Gend en Loos case), *supremacy* (Costa v Enel case), *non-discrimination* (Defrenne case), *mutual recognition* (Cassis de Dijon case).

Over sixty years of existence, the Court of Justice made more than 9.500 of judgements, called by Pierre Pescatore as “jurisprudential acquis” (Pescatore 1981: 617-651 *apud* Vauchez 2014: 26). Of them, some cases were selected as “landmark cases”. However, building the meaning of the European integration on few cases “tend to obscure the rest of the case law” (Vauchez 2014: 27) which could bear many other nuances crystallising the general image. Or, this book conveys that looking for a progressive feature of the ECJ jurisprudence enhances our understanding of the real sense of European integration. The first step in this refreshment of our knowledge is to admit that “a CJEU judgment is thus a collegiate document” (McAuliffe 2014: 39) ending a complex process involving different actors working in a language that, in many cases, is not their mother language. In this respect, Karen McAuliffe managed to throw a light on the CJEU decision-making mechanism, enlightening the active role of *référéndaires* working with judges and advocates general. In spite of this complexity, bureaucracy “may paradoxically foster elements of non-bureaucratic culture” (Cohen 2014: 59).

The next parts of this volume take the main issue of the European integration. They are written laying on a spread literature and sometimes even on boxes sent by the Court of Justice to Historical Archives of the European Union, at Florence. Readers of this book are provided with new different perspectives on the same cases law. In the end, this volume was built around the classic legal tradition, but the demystification of these pillars is the first step in the process of humanising the image of the CJEU and additionally equipped researchers with different interpretative tools applicable to many other cases law. Mark Pollack warrants us that “any insights or lessons from these stories must be drawn cautiously, because the cases examined here do not constitute a representative sample of all CJEU cases.” (Pollack 2014: 579).

Methodology of the book

The editors of this volume stated that the authors were encouraged to act as “EU law ‘detectives’” to seek the causes of the cases solved by the CJEU judges and how they solved them. Thus, methodologically, we could identify

three groups in this authorship: (a) legal historical, (b) personal files and interviews with parts of the cases, (c) interdisciplinary methods such as “comparative law, intellectual and economic history, political science, feminist theory and the political economy of international trade” (Nicola and Davies 2014: 16). All these methods were due to the authors’ backgrounds and multiplied the lens through which these cases were analysed. I found useful Rasmussen’s historical approach to understand by “Van Gend En Loos” case the main path to decision making in the CJEU as the personal backgrounds of Michel Gaudet and Walter Hallstein influenced an “overall federalist approach to European integration” (Rasmussen 2014: 112). Furthermore, reading about the case of Man Lavette Chen, “a pretty, petite twenty-five-year-old Chinese woman”, I understood why this case law appears in every textbook and how it managed to shape European Law. The method chosen by Kochenov and Lindeboom to explore all the stages of the case’s evolution was a working one to comprehend the whole process in the CJEU. Finally, after pursuing this way and reading the interview with Mrs Chen, we could explain why the “EU citizenship law became more convincing and coherent” (Kochenov and Lindeboom 2014: 222).

Final remark

This storytelling method to present the history of the CJEU jurisprudence emphasises the importance of characters who took part of the judgment making. Told by experienced researchers, lawyers and professors, these cases have been supplemented with a new image.

The comprehensive introduction written by Nicola and Davies offers a supportive guideline in this book, along side with a high expectation about those “270 boxes of official documents” sent to Historical Archives in Florence. In the end, readers could be confused when notice only few references to those archives but many others to the classic literature on those cases law. On the other hand, this book represents another argument of the paramount role played by CJEU over more than six decades in shaping the content of the EU integration.

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