

a) Define Concept of Strategic culture and highlight major determinants of Pakistan's Strategic culture

A. Introduction

Strategic culture is not a new concept, it can be deemed as old as nation-state system or Sumerian city state system. It is a framework through which policy makers sees external and internal factors, and develop a viable policy option.

According to Jack Snyder, Strategic culture is the total sum of ideas, conditional emotional responses and patterns of behaviour of national strategic community have acquired over the time. There are certain factors such as, India's hostile posture, Irredentist claims of Afghanistan, lack of strategic depth, and Muslim nationalism, that determines the Strategic culture of Pakistan. The coming paragraphs will provide a detailed concept of Strategic culture, and major determinants of Pakistan's Strategic culture.

B. What is Strategic Culture?

Strategic culture can be deemed as a lense that is made up of ideas, beliefs, norms, and customs, through which policy makers view the external and internal security dynamics. The lense enables the policy makers to formulate a policy or choose a the most viable policy option available. "Strategic culture is collectivity of ideas, norms, beliefs, and experiences of the dominant elite of the polity that

influences their understanding and interpretation of security issues, and shapes their responses to these. ~ (Rizvi)

Strategic culture is not always based on reality, it is based on what policy makers presume to be true.

2. Major Determinants of Pakistan's Strategic Culture

1. India Hostile Posture - Hindu Nationalism

One of the foremost determinant of Pakistan's strategic culture is India hostile posture towards Pakistan. This hostile posture is due to prevalent Hindu Nationalism in the dominant elite of polity. They can never Muslims as their neighbours, and their expansionist ideology is another factor that makes India's posture hostile. Realizing these facts policy makers in Pakistan seldom resort towards policies of negotiations or dialogues, they rather pursue coercive diplomacy.

2. Lack of Strategic Depth

Pakistan lacks strategic depth, which is another determinant of Pakistan's strategic culture. Unlike India which has second strike capability, Pakistan lacks in it too. In order to overcome the issue Pakistan seeks strategic depth. For example, Pakistan tried to

and played crucial role in Peace dialogue between Afghan Taliban and United States. The move was an attempt to gain strategic depth in Afghanistan.

3. Security Conscious State - Vivisection of Motherland

India's reaction at time of Partition became a determinant of Pakistan's strategic culture. India's elite did everything in its power to create problems for Pakistan. For example, they influence the Britishers to award certain Muslim majority areas to India, mass killing of Muslims migrating towards Pakistan, and even hold the assets that were given to Pakistan. All these actions were in order to undo vivisection of Motherland, realization of these facts by policy makers made Pakistan a security conscious state.

4. Territorial Claims of Afghanistan - Irredentism

Afghanistan has claimed a vast area of Pakistan's territory as its own. They argue that Britishers had no authority to divide the land till attack as it was the part of the Afghanistan. Thus such irredentist claims have compelled the policy makers to develop and seek such policies

that can overcome or pacify such precedentist claims.

5. Two Nations Based On Muslim Nationalism

Pakistan was a result of two nation theory based on Muslim nationalism. Thus this factor played a crucial role in independence and become an important, and dominant strategic culture determinant. For example, Article 40-A of the constitution clearly mentions that Pakistan will make and maintain ties of brotherhood, ^{and} fraternity with other muslims countries.

D. Critical Analysis

Strategic culture is set of ideas, beliefs, norms and experiences of the policy makers that compel them to seek the most best possible policy options. Similarly, Pakistan dominant elite in polity have always seen India as an archrival, and choose policies that seldom resort towards peace and dialogue. This policy option was opted, keeping in mind the India's hostile posture due to Hindu Nationalism. In addition Pakistan has kept friendly ties with Afghanistan in order to overcome precedentist issues with them, and to seek strategic depth.

Pakistan's strategic culture is ^{heavily} based on past historical experiences with India and Muslim nationalism.

E. Conclusion

To sum up the discussion it can be said that strategic culture is based on factors such as historical experiences and nationalism. Any factor can influence the strategic culture, but strategic culture always revolve around national interest.

Q) Positivist and Post-Positivist debate offers a striking contrast in terms of approach and methodology. Describe and compare, evaluate critically the divergence b/w two debates. Are there any point of convergence?

A. Introduction

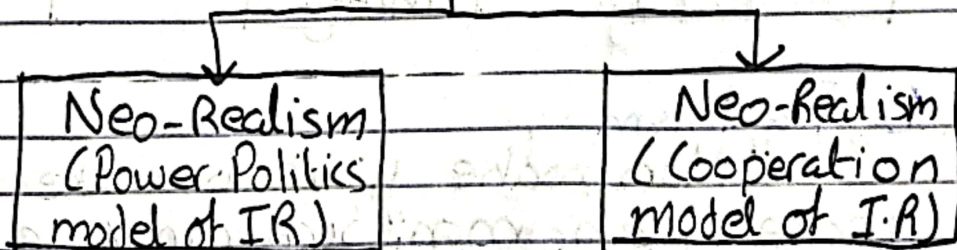
International Relation (IR) have four great debates, Positivist and Post-Positivist debates are the third and fourth debates.

Both the debates offers a striking contrast in terms of approach and methodology. Both debates have different theories such as, Neo-Realism and Neo-liberalism belong to third great debate, whereas, Feminism, Critical Theory and Constructivism belongs to the fourth great debate. Although, there many points of divergence between the two debates such as, Reasons of anarchy, they have done analysis on different levels, and have different solutions, to the reasons that leads to conflict.

But both the ~~theor~~ debates argues that anarchy is prevalent, and it aims to overcome this anarchy. The coming paragraphs will give points of convergence and divergence between these debates.

B. Positivist Sc Approach

Positivist Approach



1. Neo-Realism

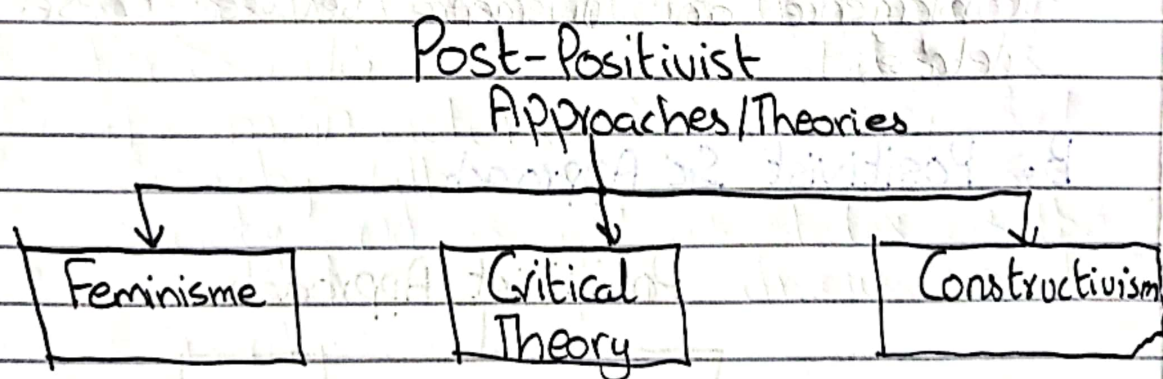
Kenneth Waltz is the foremost

proponent of neo-realism. Neo-realism sees states as the main actors, and argues that anarchical super structure influences the states to resort towards power maximization, because states are sovereign and cannot depend upon other states.

2. Neo-Liberalism/Wilsonianism

It is a cooperation model of T.R. The theory became prevalent at the end of World War I. Idealists or Liberals argue that anarchy exists in the structure, however, only cooperation between the states can overcome this anarchy.

C. Post-Positivist Approaches/Theories



1. Feminism

"Man make wars because wars make them men!" Such remarks clearly hint that anarchy exists in the society, however, the realist approach towards peace through power maximization

which is itself is based on patriarchal norms. Feminists argue that instead of men, women should be given the chance to enter High Politics, this approach can bring peace.

2. Critical Theory

Critical theorists have roots in marxism. They argue that anarchy exists in the society due to class differences and this difference is an outcome of liberal political, economical and social world order. They argue this difference can be overcome and anarchy can be eradicated when class difference will cease to exist.

3. Constructivism

Constructivism argues that anarchy is a social construct, and nation-states construct ideas to achieve their national interests. Thus, in order to gain their goals states construct an idea of anarchy, and it can only cease to exist when the state has achieved its goal.

D. Points of Divergence Between Positivist and Post-Positivists Debates

1. Anarchy Exists Due to Different Reasons

Positivist approach/debate argue that anarchy exists due to non-cooperation between the states, which ultimately causes the states to pursue power maximization for self help. On the other hand, Post positivist debate argue that anarchy exists because of male dominance of high politics, class difference in the society exacerbate this anarchy, and sometimes states socially construct anarchy to achieve their goals.

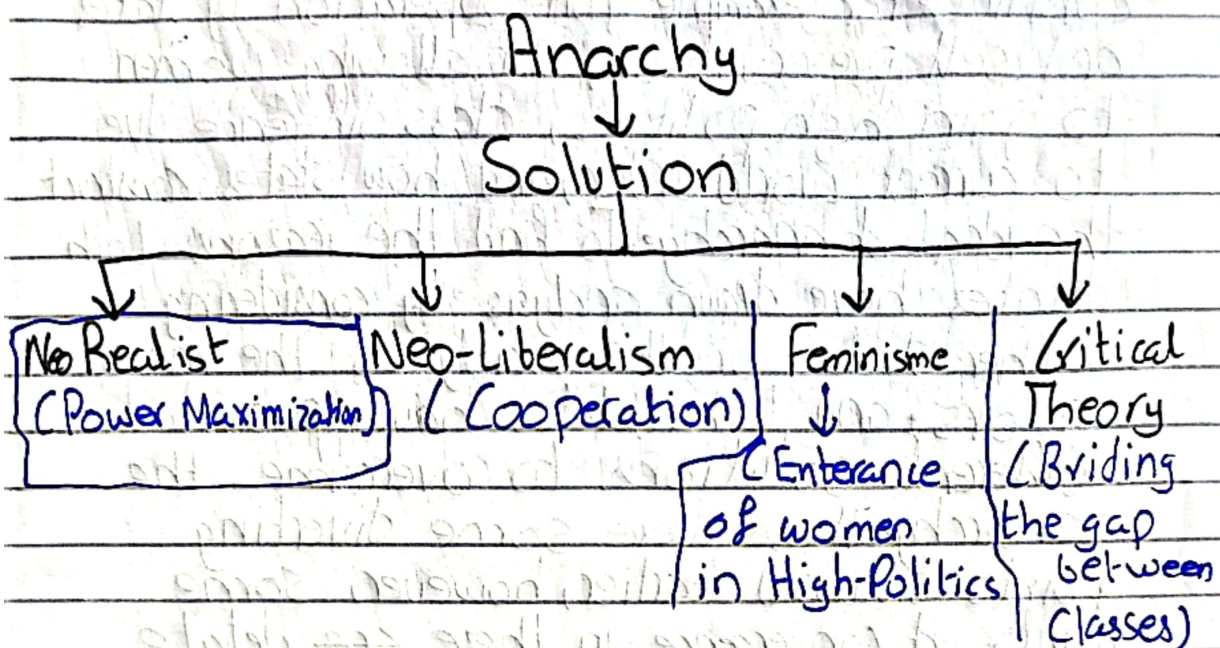
2. Analysis at Different Levels - Main Actors

Both the debates have different levels of analysis when they argue about causes of anarchy, and the reasons that exacerbate the anarchy. For example, Positivists see states as the main actors when discussing about anarchy. Whereas, Post-Positivists see society and as well as states as the main actors during the discussion of anarchy.

3. Solutions towards Anarchical Structure

The theories from these debates have different solutions to overcome the anarchy which is prevalent in the system. For example, For Realists Power maximization can create balance of power, for Liberals

Cooperation between the states can overcome anarchy. Similarly, On the other hand, Entrance of female in high politics will overcome the anarchy, and to Critical theorists argue that anarchy will be eradicated, when class difference will cease to exist



E. Points of Convergence

1. Anarchy is Prevalent

Both the debates argue that anarchy is prevalent in the society.

2. Aims to Overcome the Reasons leading Towards conflict

Anarchy leads to conflict and both debates aims to overcome anarchy in order to avoid conflict.

F. Critical Analysis

All the great debates of IR have tried to unveil the reasons and causes of anarchy that leads to conflict. Positivist and Post Positivist debates have put different lenses on anarchy, and have found different reasons of conflict. For example non-cooperation by states and self preservation, not allowing women to join high politics, class difference due to current world order, and how states construct the idea of anarchy. To find the reasons both debates have drawn analysis by considering either state or the society as the main actors, and both debates have provided different solutions to overcome the anarchy. These were some diverting points discussed earlier, however, some points of convergence in these ~~are~~ debate are following, both sees that anarchy is prevalent, and both aims to overcome the reasons of anarchy leading towards conflict.

G. Conclusion

In a nutshell, all the debates have different views over the reasons and causes of anarchy, however, all the debates aims to overcome these reasons in order to create peace in the society and avoid wars.

(d) What are the changing dimensions of security and how they vary from classical concept on International security.

A. Introduction

The topic of security is the most important of International Relation. The term security is relative, however, different scholars have concluded that security can be deemed as absence of threat, or as emancipation. Classical concept of security revolved mainly around threats to State, solutions based on zero-sum game such as, Balance of Power (BOP), Balance of terror and formation of alliances. However, Barry Buzan in his work of People, state and Fear explained the concept of security in 21st Century. According to him notion of security from military has changed, and new dimensions of security have become equally important such as, economic, environmental, societal and political security. The coming paragraphs will provide a detailed insight into the new concept of security, and it will highlight difference between the classical ^{concept} and new concept of security.

B. Concept of Security in 21st Century Based on New Dimension.

Societal Security

Political Security

Environmental Security

Concept of Security in 21st Century

Economic Security

Military Security

1. Societal Security

Societal security exists when a society labels an event or ^{act} event as a threat to society. For example, Refugee Crisis, particularly in Pakistan. Refugees from Afghanistan are deemed as a societal threat by Pakistanis, because their presence as upset the demography, and instigated ethnic rift, especially between Pashtuns and other Punjabis. Thus, it proves that societal security is important for states existence.

2. Political Security

The states wants to exercise its internal sovereignty without any guidance. However, globalization has increased the cooperation between the states which in turn have led to

Compromise on Political security of the states. For example, United Nations through its peace mechanism, dictate terms to Nation-States.

3. Economic Security

States have always got it themselves involved in economic field in order to generate revenues for supporting the military. However, in 21st Century State actors such as, Multinational Corporations (MNCs), IGOs and Transnational Corporations (TNCs) have become more significant actors, and states play from very little role to no role at all in economics.

4. Military Security - Based on Classical Concept

The new concept of security is also has old concept as a part of great importance. Military security means to acquire state of the art technology, training, equipment, advanced weapons and forces with sufficient numbers.

5. Environmental Security

States must guard themselves from this aspect as well. Industrialization where it has brought many benefits, it also has brought too many consequences. For instance, states now have to prepare themselves from famine, droughts,

Floods, and other such natural crisis, because these crisis causes serious problems for the states.

Co Difference Between the Classical Concept of Security and Concept of Security in 21st Century

1. Individuals Versus States

In classical concept of security, states were considered as significant actors. Whereas, the new concept of security also see people as ends rather than means, and states have their own importance.

2. Classical Concept is Purely Realist based, whereas new concept is an amalgamation

Realists have been the foremost proponents of classical concept of security. However, Gorbachev's New Policy changed this view, and idealist tried to claim the win. However, Barry Buzan clearly stated that new concept of security revolves around human welfare as well as States welfare.

3. Military Role has Changed

In classical concept military was given an utmost importance, and it was deemed as the sole institution responsible for states survival. However, in new concept of security, role of military has not been subsided entirely, but over the time it has declined.

4. Importance of territorial Integrity has Declined

Territorial integrity has been a central point of security in classical concept. The states resorted towards power maximization in order to keep their territorial integrity intact. On the other hand, the new concept highlights that due to globalization, territorial integrity importance is declining by days and nights.

5. Isolationism is no more an option.

States could easily resorted towards isolation, when they were forced to get themselves aligned. On the ^{other} hand, today's complex interdependence has taken this liberty away from the states. For example, India remained non-aligned during Cold war, and now it is bandwagoning with the United States.

D. Critical Analysis

Security is a relative concept, both realists and liberals over the time have tried to achieve security in real terms. Realists have offered Balance of Power (BOP), Alliances, and Deterrence as means of achieving security. Whereas, Liberals have given their cooperation model of IR. Security has not and will not cease to exist. The concept is rather not changed rather it has expanded. For example; classical concept revolves only around Militarization. Whereas, new concept revolves around Militarization, economy, politics, society and environment. Therefore, it cannot be concluded that realists have failed, only the concept of security has expanded, and both schools need to put forward their views regarding this new concept.

E. Conclusion

To conclude the above discussion, it can be said that new dimensions of security have emerged in 21st Century, which have a striking contrast with classical concept of security. However, importance of States have not declined; but

4) Explain the concept of economic liberalism and relate its core interests with the concept of Neo-imperialism or creating economic dependency?

A. Introduction

International Political Economy deals with the topics that revolves around the relations between the economy and politics. Economic Liberalism is a theory that argues that role of state in the economy should be minimum. ADAM SMITH and David Ricardo have the chief proponents of this theory. However, theorists of other school of thought, especially critical theorist argue that economic liberalism is the form of Neo-Imperialism. They argue that economic liberalism promotes, unequal distribution of labours, class distinction at global level, means of dictating terms through institutionalized means, and, role and importance of nation-states has begun to decline. The coming paragraphs will give in depth and detailed concept of economic liberalism. Moreover, it will highlight how economic liberalism leads to neo-imperialism.

B. Concept of Economic Liberalism

This theory argues that the role of the state or government in the economy should be minimum or no role at all. They support free market economy, and separation of state and economy. Two of the following theorists supports economic liberalism.

Q) Explain the concept of Economic Liberalism and relate its core interests with the concept of Neo-imperialism or creating economic dependency?

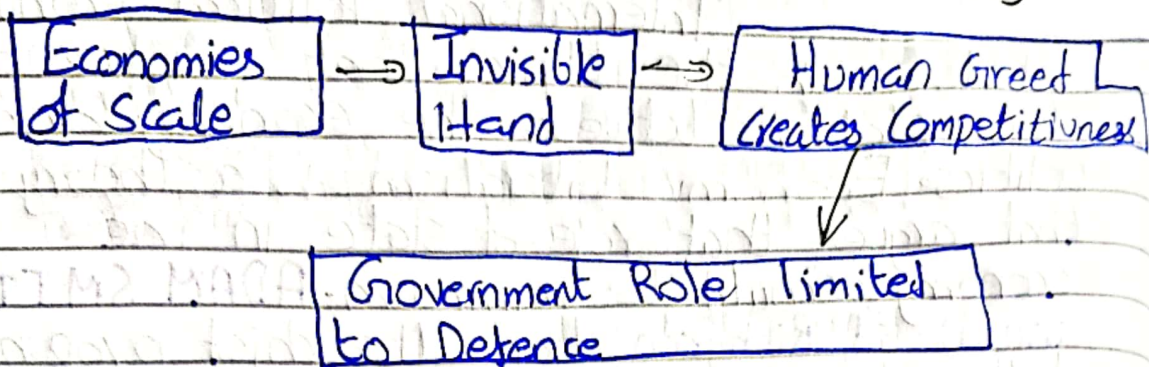
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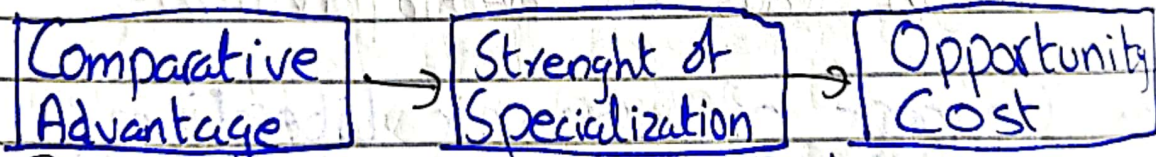
This theory argues that the role of the state or government in the economy should be minimum or no role at all. They support free market economy, and separation of state and economy. Two of the following theorists supports economic liberalism.

1. ADAM SMITH - Invisible Hand Economy



Adam Smith has argued in one of his works, and said, that markets should not be regulated instead free hand should be given. The greed of humans will ultimately create a competitive environment and the economy will start to regulate itself. The government should not interfere in the process, and their role should be limited to defence.

2. David Ricardo



David Ricardo argues that every state should indulge itself in the production of things that have some sort of comparative advantage. To properly understand an example is given, US and China both can generate 2 tons of Rice, however, China cannot generate 1 ton of oranges, and US can generate 2 tons of it as well. The theory suggests that US should grow

oranges, and China should grow rice. In short, it suggests to produce things in which they have an advantage or specialization, it will automatically reduce cost benefit analysis.

C. Economic Liberalism is the form of Neo-Imperialism

Critical thinkers suggests and argue that economic liberalism has become a tool of imperialism, that is being used by Centre of the centre, and periphery of Centers. Following are the outcomes that leads to neo-imperialism or dependency

1. Unequal Distribution of Labours

Critical thinkers have argued that economic liberalism has distributed the per labours unequally. Labours of core/centre of centre are few, and belongs to capital intensive industries.

On the other hand, Peripheral countries labours belongs to industries based on nature, for example, mining, fishing, and agricultural industries.

2. Class Distinction is Increasing at Global Level

Critical theorists have also argued that

Center of Center all cooperate with each other to maintain and hold powers whereas periphery peripheral countries have no power, thus class distinction is increased

3. A Debt trap is Set For the Peripheries

Theorists belonging to critical school have explained how the economic liberal system act as a debt trap for periphery countries.

They argue that this system does not lead peripheries to change their living standards and economy, and with rising needs, and stagnant growth they resort towards financial institutions for loans. This is how peripheries are led down the spiral of debt trap.

4. Sovereignty of Peripheries is Undermined

Critical theorists at times have argued that this economic liberal systems undermines the sovereignty of the peripheral states. When these states take loans, they sign different agreements with the financial institutions that bounds them to follow the instructions of these institutions, that sometimes undermines their sovereignty. For example, Pakistan had to give the airspace to US, because US has a great influence over International Monetary Fund.

5. ^{Center} Dictating Terms Through Institutionalized Means

Critical theorists have also expressed their sorrow on how this economic liberal system has become a tool for center to dictate the terms through institutionalized means. For example, World Trade Organization took the side of US in US-China trade war. Although, US unilaterally suspended the trade, W.T.O was suppose to pass the judgement in China's favour. This clearly illustrate that Center is using these institutions as means of dictating terms.

6. Role of State is Declining- World Bank Provides Funds only through MNCs

Since the spread of economic Liberalism the role of state has began to shrink not only in economy, but in political sector as well. States can no longer participate in private sector, which has a severe negative impact on ~~at~~ peripheries. For example, peripheries rely on World bank (WB) for development funds, and WB doesn't provide the fund directly to the government, but it provide it through multinational companies. Thus, state is not able to participate in the competition and decision making. Authority of state is sometimes compromised.

D. Critical Analysis

Economic Liberalism promotes free market economy. The scholars argue that role of the state should be minimum in the economy, the greed in human will bring competitiveness which in turn will bring prosperity globally. On the other hand, Critical theorists argue that economic Liberalism is a technique or theory that will lead towards the neo-imperialism. To support their arguments they have highlighted some facts such as, the peripheries are spiraling down into a debt trap, ^{and} their sovereignty is being undermined; moreover, role of states is becoming and, center of center is using different platforms to dictate their terms to peripheries.

E. Conclusion

To cap it all, economic Liberalism emerged as a light at the end of the dark tunnel after the fall of USSR. However, this system is causing serious problems for the third world countries rather solving them.