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2023  
International Relations

### Paper One - Part II

Q3

Synthesize the neo-neo debate with relevant examples and analyze the distinctive contrasts between neo-realism, neo-liberalism, and constructivism.

#### Introduction

The classical theories of Realism and Liberalism evolved with time to keep up with the shifting dynamics of International Relations. Realist theory changed its focal point from the discussion on the nature of the selfish and egoistic human to the nature of the anarchic world order. Liberal theory in turn also morphed into the neo-liberal theory as its premise changed from banking on the assumption that all humans are good by nature to the belief that the world is indeed anarchic but co-operation could cure its ills rather than conflict. Constructivists see the world as a mere construct rather than a fixed pre determined set up, in their belief system anarchy is what we make of it.

#### Evolution of the Realist Thought

"The strong do what they have to do and the weak accept what they have to accept" - Thucydides (in his work History of Peloponnesian War 431 BCE). The realist school of thought is based on the belief that a man is selfish and sinful at the core and this natural programming is bound to lead to conflict and when it comes to International relations - it is simply the survival of the fittest. Niccolò Machiavelli showed how human nature impacts the governance of the state in his book "The Prince" (1513), he expounded the notion that National interest is the main goal for a ruler without regard for morals.

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A prince should use alliances, appoint realistic advisors and take sides in war time to come out on top in a world structure with 'lions' and 'foxes'. He said "Politics have no relation to morals." After the tragic and devastating world war Hans J. Morgenthau developed the theory of Realism in his book "Politics among Nations" where he stated the six principles of Political Realism as:

- ① TR is governed by objective laws that have roots in human nature.
- ② State interest is to maximise power
- ③ Interests of a State are always permanent but the nature may vary.
- ④ State's are the main actors in TR
- ⑤ There is no universal code of morality
- ⑥ Politics is an autonomous sphere rules of ethics and morality cannot apply.

Realism was modernised by Kenneth Waltz in 'Theory of International Politics' (1979) where he moved realism away from its persuasive assumption about human nature to a more scientific model termed 'neo realism' or 'structural realism', a states actions are based on the observable anarchic system rather than subjective human nature. This brought in variables such as how much power a state has, its geo-strategic location etc. Such a system leads to a security dilemma which automatically forces states to 'achieve a balance of power' to avoid annihilation. An example of this can be seen in the peak of the Cold War 1948-53 where both countries had to resist the urge to use nuclear weapons against each other due to the

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mutually assured destruction. Neo realism propagates that states behave in a defensive, offensive and self interest based manner because of the structure of the world we live in.

### Evolution of Liberal thought

"All mankind... being all equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty or possessions"- John Locke. Liberalism is a defining feature of modern democracy, in the realm of IR it features a variety of concepts and arguments about how institutions, behaviours and economic connections contain and mitigate violent power of states. It offers a more optimistic world view based on the premise that human nature craves cooperation and peace and the ultimate goal of the state should be to promote human development and quality of life. They believe IR is not a zero sum game. Liberals propagate communication and negotiation between global actors, instead of force, diplomacy provides a means to resolve conflict.

They advocate for:

- ① Liberal Institutionalism (UN, ICJ, ICC, EU)
- ② Liberal Commercialism (WTO, Free trade, dependency)
- ③ Liberal Internationalism (Promotion of democracy)

Immanuel Kant stated that 'Democracy best protects human rights and preserves peace through a check on leaders'

Neo-liberalism emerged as a challenge to neo-realism in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, neo liberals such as Joseph Nye hope that application of reason and universal ethics could lead to a more just and ethical world.

Neo-liberals believe that the only solution to anarchy is the path of co-operation. They advocate for the developments of more liberal institutions to promote multilateralism. G. John Ikenberry (1999) gives an account of a liberal world order as one: where there are more international agreements accompanied by international organisations e.g UN, spread of free trade and capitalism and international norms & rules to promote rule of law - an example of this can be when the European Union placed an arms sale embargo on China in 1989 after China violently suppressed pro-democracy protestors.

### Neo-Realism and Neoliberalism: A Comparative Analysis

Points of Convergence	Points of Divergence
<p>1) <u>Anarchal World Structure</u>            → Both theorists agree that the international system is anarchal with no government.</p>	<p>1) <u>Prospect of Co-operation</u>            → Neo-Realists believe that power maximation to protect oneself is important as cooperate out of fear is more effective than co-operation out of agreements, norms, trade etc</p>
<p>2) <u>Rely on scientific/Positivist</u>            inquires rather than assumptions.            → following a more deductive approach than inductive.</p>	<p>2) <u>Collective interest over self interest</u>            → Neoliberals propogate the promotion of working on collective interest rather than pure national gain (e.g work for climate change). Neo-realists believe that <del>ssa</del> state will always put itself first.</p>
<p>3) <u>Humans are rational Actors</u>            → Both agree that humans act on their self-interest, at their core everyone wants to survive</p>	

We can see from the table above that 'the modern versions of the classical theories have more in common with each other than their predecessors' - as stated by F.H. Carr. The 'Great' Debate still remains as one view is still inherently pessimistic and the other remains optimistic.

Both the neo-realist and neo-liberal theory fails to answer some critical questions in the Neo Vs Neo debate, such as: Why wars happen today, the consequence of the malleable nature of humans and why inequality persists. To answer these questions other theories came into being such as the Constructivist theory.

### Inception of Constructivism and its overlap with the modern IR theories

Unlike Neo-realism and Neo-liberalism, Constructivism believes that "Anarchy is what states make of it." The foundation of Constructivism in IR is often associated with the end of the cold war - an event that the traditional theories failed to account for. The term Constructivism was coined by Nicholas Onuf, later scholars such as Alexander Wendt also wrote a book on it. His core argument rejects the neo-realist belief that anarchy leads to self help, he states: whether it does or doesn't cannot be known a priori as it depends on the interaction of states. For Wendt, the very interaction with others constructs our identity; the example he gave was that if the US and USSR decide they are no longer enemies, the war is over.

### Conclusion

The International ~~Community~~<sup>Order</sup> is not like the solar system - set in its ways to operate a certain fixed way - it is a construct. Unlike realists and liberals, the main contrasting point that constructivism brings is the importance of shaping of identities, creation of norms and asking why states and people behave the way they do. The realist school speaks of a past world order, the liberal school is seen all around us today and the constructivist school explains & asks why.

Q5

Examine the concept of hybrid warfare, delineate its key elements, and propose potential remedies based on international relations theory perspectives.

### Introduction

"It is an unfortunate fact that we can secure peace only by preparing for war" - John F. Kennedy

As unfortunate as it is, it is a reality and one that has become even more difficult to achieve due to the emergence of hybrid warfare. Hybrid Warfare (5<sup>th</sup> Generation Warfare) refers to the concurrent use of both conventional and irregular forces in the same military campaign. Military historian Peter R. Mansoor defines hybrid warfare as a "conflict involving a combination of conventional military forces and irregulars (guerrillas, insurgents and terrorists, which could include both state and non-state actors, aimed at achieving a common political purpose." This perspective shows that hybrid warfare is not a novel invention, there are numerous examples of hybrid techniques used at tactical, operational and strategic levels stretching back as far as the Peloponnesian War and the writings of Chinese philosopher Sun Tzu in 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.

### Key Elements of Hybrid Warfare:

Information Warfare	Cyber Attacks	Political Subversion	Economic Coercion	Irregular Tactics
• Dissemination of misinformation propaganda and social media manipulation.	• Utilizing cyber tools to disrupt critical infrastructure, network, websites etc	• Engaging in covert operations, support for proxy groups or even funding opposition.	• Imposing sanctions, trade restrictions or manipulating financial system.	• Employing asymmetrical tactics, such as guerrilla warfare, insurgent terrorism.

## Contemporary examples of Hybrid Warfare.

### ① → Israel's Hybrid War

The conflict between Israel and Hezbollah in 2006 is a classic example of Hybrid Warfare. At the strategic level, Hezbollah (despite being a non-state actor) made effective use of the internet and other media to spread information and propaganda. It is precisely through using guerilla tactics and an efficient social media strategy that public opinion swung in their favour. On the other hand we have the example of Israel using such lethal methods to annihilate Palestinians, after the October 7<sup>th</sup> 2023 attack the world saw a massive influx of misinformation on the internet like never before. Artificial Intelligence was also used as a tool against Hamas with doctored videos and photos surfacing - this led to further chastisement of Palestinians and world allies who support the cause of liberation.

### ② → Russia's Aggression

Russia's actions in Ukraine intensified interest in the concept of Hybrid Warfare post 2014. Russia's annexation of Crimea involved a blending of tools and methods such as conventional warfare but also irregular combat operations such as: support and sponsorship of political protests, economic coercion, cyber operations and intense disinformation. In an interview in July 2014, former NATO Secretary General, Anders Fogh Rasmussen described Russia's actions as Hybrid Warfare. which he defined as "a combination of military action, covert operations and an aggressive program of disinformation."

### ③ India's Hybrid War against Pakistan

Because Pakistan is also a nuclear power, states and non-state actors may be hesitant to engage in direct conventional war but covert Hybrid operations remain. 5<sup>th</sup> Generation warfare 'targets the human mind; fake news is fed into minds of people in order to incite them against their own. Examples of such incitement we can link to regional adversaries are: funding of militants causing unrest in FATA and Balochistan, Spreading disinformation about CPEC and causing civilian protests in Balochistan through clandestine operations, in 2013 - the Indian Army Chief General Vijay Kumar Singh admitted that after the 2008 Mumbai attacks a Tactical Support Division (TSD) was created which carried out <sup>strategic</sup> sabotage actions in Pakistan.

"Our enemies know that they cannot beat us fair and square and have thus subjected to a protracted hybrid war. InshaAllah we will win this war and any other aggression as we did in 1965" - <sup>(former)</sup> COAS General Qamar Javed Bajwa

### Weaponization of Social Media: an emerging key element of Hybrid Warfare

From the first 'Internet wars' in Kosovo in 1999 to the Arab Spring in 2011 in Northern Africa and the Middle east to the ongoing conflicts in Myanmar, Palestine, Ukraine and even Sudan we have witnessed how social media is being used to shape public opinion, mobilize supporters, co-ordinate military activity and even be used to collect intelligence.

An example: Google maps was used to see the location of target political leaders' locations in Libya and then passed onto NATO.



## IR theory Perspectives on Hybrid Warfare ~~and~~

1) **Realism:** this theory suggests that states should prioritize their own security and power. To counter hybrid warfare states might focus on strengthening their military capabilities, forming alliances for mutual defense, and enhancing deterrence measures to dissuade adversaries.

2) **Liberalism:** this perspective emphasizes the importance of institutions and co-operation. Nations could work together through international organizations like the United Nations to establish norms, regulations, and treaties that govern cyber behavior and mitigate the impact of information warfare.

3) **Constructivism:** this theory highlights the role of ideas, norms and identities in shaping IR. Building trust, fostering dialogue, and promoting shared values among nations may help reduce tensions and minimize the effectiveness of hybrid warfare strategies.

4) **Critical Theory:** critical theorists focus on power imbalances and structural inequalities. Addressing underlying grievances, inequalities, and socio-economic disparities within and between nations may reduce vulnerability that hybrid warfare exploits.

### Conclusion

In an era of constant technological advancements, weapon innovation and ~~surveillance~~ <sup>ease of surveillance</sup>. Hybrid warfare poses a threat to all nations of the world, ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> combating it requires a multifaceted approach that integrates elements from various IR theories with a focus on self defence, deterrence and advancing one's national capability to counter threats but also a simultaneous focus on collaboration, institution building and trust.

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Q6 Analyze economic imperialism in international relations, emphasizing the Global North's exploitation of the Global South. Evaluate the underlying mechanisms and impacts on economic development, political autonomy and social dynamics in the Global South?

Introduction

In a journal article titled "The concept of Economic Imperialism" by Richard Koebner he defined the term 'economic imperialism' a phenomena where "The men representing the interests of capital in the greater countries of the West have obtained control of the foreign and colonial policy of their governments. The nations which are commonly referred to by the term 'Western civilization' have been goaded by their capitalists into bringing weaker peoples oversea within their grip and exploiting them." In this definition the few of the countries who arent aggressive expansionists is the role of being the weaker civilization. History has shown us the consequences of greedy economic imperialism and many countries including Pakistan face the after shocks of being a colony even today.

Key objectives of Imperialism

- 1) Economic gain: secure raw materials, gain access to trade routes
- 2) National Prestige: It promotes a sense of intrinsic superiority <sup>e.g. Nazi</sup> expansionism
- 3) Military or Defense Needs: To gain control over strategic areas.
- 4) Surplus Population: More space to settle people via migration.
- 5) 'White Man's Burden': a feeling/need to civilize savages.
- 6) Marxist-Leninist View: Imperialism compelled by control markets for surplus production and investment.

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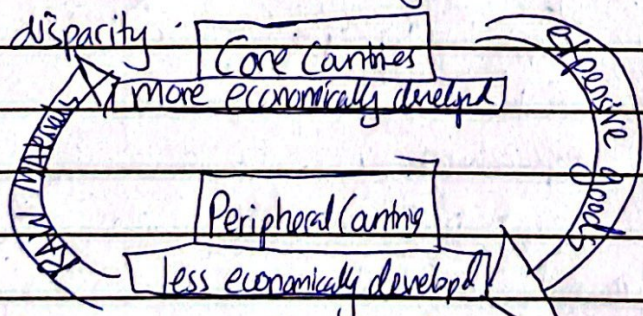
### Economic Imperialism: through the Lens of IR

The phenomenon of Economic Imperialism can be analysed through the lens of IR - at its very basic definition - it refers to the extension of economic influence or control by powerful nations or entities over weaker states or regions. There are several IR schools of thought.

1) **Realism:** Economic imperialism is seen as a manifestation of power politics. States seek to maximize their power and influence and their pockets by securing resources, markets, or strategic advantages to enhance their own security and dominance.

- ↳ Examples:
  - WWI German Expansionism (land/resources, power)
  - US Influence in Indo-Pacific to ensure it's economic, security and overall national interest.
  - British Colonisation of Global South

2) **Dependency Theory:** emphasizes on the structural imbalance in the global economy, where powerful nations dominate and exploit weaker ones. Economic Imperialism perpetuates and exacerbates the dependency of weaker states on stronger ones. → reinforces economic



- Trade Imbalance
- Depletion of foreign reserves
- Debt and more dependence
- More dependence

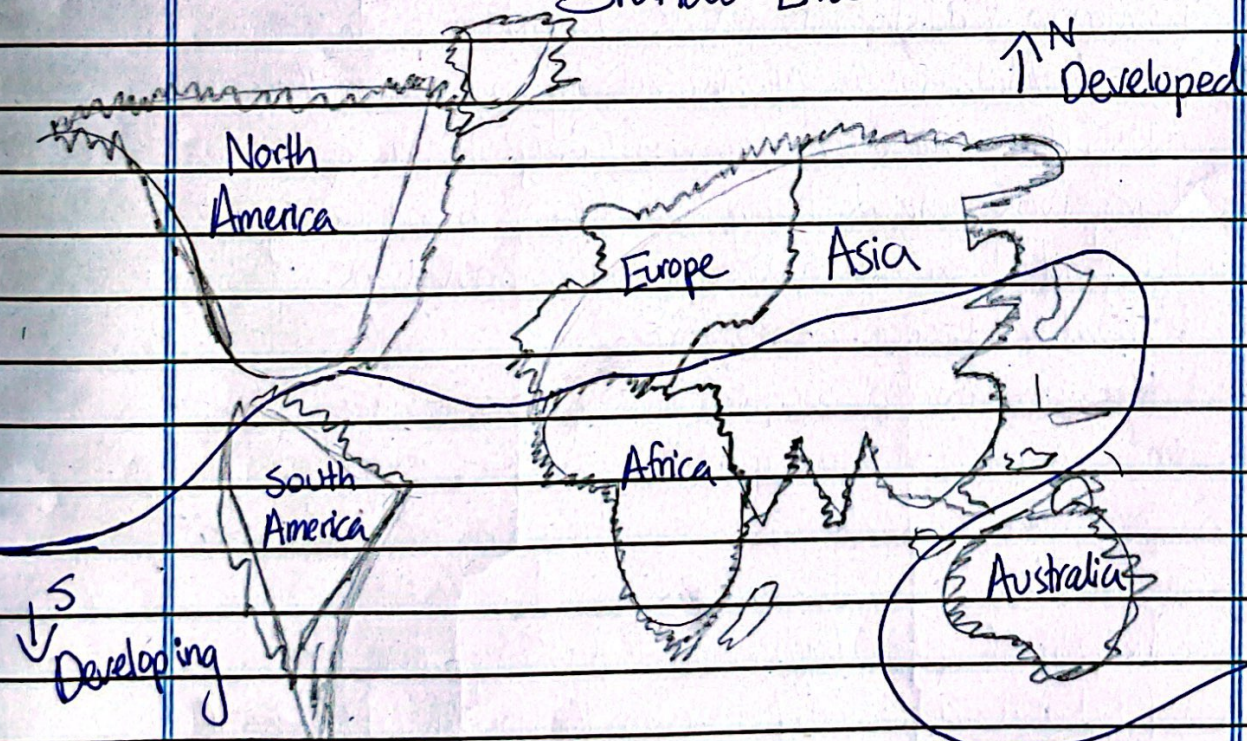
3) **Liberalism:** On the flip side - this theory advocates for more free trade, open markets and highlights benefits of economic interdependence such as increased FDI, more aid and development, sharing of technological advancement and innovations.

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# Global North's exploitation in the Global South: An Overview

The 'North-South Divide' or in layman terms may also be called the Rich-Poor divide refers to the socio-economic and political division that exists between developed nations and the developing ones. There is a long exploitative history of both Imperialism and Colonisation of many countries in the south. The Human Development Index of countries [HDI] is also poorer in comparison to the north - but this is no coincidence. Post cold war era the world shifted from an ideological East-West divide to an Economic and political divide of the North and South.

## Brandt Line



Proposed by the West German former Chancellor Willy Brandt in 1980s. It encircles the world at a latitude of approximately 30° North. It includes the rich north above the line and dips down to also include Australia and New Zealand in their club.

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## Not Fair or Lovely: the devastating consequences of Imperialism

The colonization and imperialist policies enacted in the Global South have had devastating consequences for the state and its people.

### Social consequences

The people of the subcontinent were initially only given the jobs of the lowest ranks, especially the Muslims - this in turn would no doubt cause psychological and social feelings of inferiority. Culture and language of nations also were a casualty of economic exploitation - to gain employment people in the south now had to wear the clothes and speak the language of their colonizer. The complexes of slavery, exploitation, class divides go skin deep where even today women in Pakistan, India, Bangladesh and other parts of Africa and the Middle East try and lighten their skin with products like 'fair and lovely' because being white means being beautiful, rich and worthy but being black or brown holds inferior connotations.

### Political and Economic consequences

"Accumulation of wealth at one pole is at the same time accumulation of misery, agony of toil, slavery, ignorance, brutality, mental degradation, at the opposite pole."

- Karl Marx

The political system followed in India, Bangladesh and Pakistan is a copy of the system the British left behind. The same can be said for African colonies of the French or the Belgian. India's share in the world economy decreased from around 24.4% in 1700 to 4.2% in 1950 due to colonial exploitation. Other examples can be seen such as the American Imperialism in

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Latin America

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'The United Fruit Company', an American corporation controlled large parts of land in Guatemala and other Central American colonies - they supported a coup in Guatemala to ~~protect~~ protect its economic interest which led to the removal of President Jacobo Arbenz who aimed for land reforms.

The above examples show that a major consequence of economic imperialism is the victim Nation's economy suffering and even possible political unrest and instability.

### Conclusion: the way forward

Many quotes, examples and instances exist in history and even in the present moment as I write this answer about the after effects or consequences of economic imperialism and the divide of the North and South. - all of this evidence only goes to show the need for bridging the gap and enacting policies which empowers the south. Taking advice from Realists: Nations should install protectionist measures and accumulate and enhance their economy but if all nations do this the divide will further deepen. Liberalist scholars present a practical model as the world we live in is already highly globalised - Liberal institutions should give more representation and power to countries in 'the south' and this could help aid in development with no strings attached. ~~and~~ Policy change and strict implementation should be the <sup>the</sup> forefront of developing Nations manifestos because Neo-imperialism and Neo-colonisation bring with them new challenges.

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Q7

Examine the rise of nationalism and decline of globalization in current international relations. Assess the causes & consequences of these trends, including political, economic and socio-cultural factors shaping the resurgence of nationalism and its challenges to globalization?

Introduction

"Nowadays one country cannot go it alone"

"This is a global village" - Sheikh Hasina

Globalization refers to the interconnectedness and integration of economies, cultures, societies, and systems across the world. It involves the exchange of goods, services, ideas, technology and information. This leads to increased interdependence and interconnectedness among nations. This interdependency does come with risks and disadvantages too, to protect their interest - some states have shifted their focus towards nationalism. As Mahatma Gandhi once said "A national spirit is necessary for national existence" - indeed it is. Nationalism is a political ideology or sentiment characterized by a strong identification with one's own country, it emphasizes the interests, culture, identity and sovereignty of a nation. Its premise is that the nation's interest come before those of others.

Economic Impact: Globalization Vs Nationalism

Globalization leads to:	Nationalism leads to:
• Interdependence of trade among nations	• Selective to little trade
• Foreign Investment	• Rigid economic policies
• Innovation & Advancement	• Risk of economic disruption
• Risk of exploitation or too much dependency	• Isolationism
	• Possible self sufficiency
	• Protection from exploitation



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## Decline of Globalization:

While globalization offers numerous benefits, there has been a trend of it reducing as reliance on it can pose a threat to countries. There are numerous case examples to show this decline.

### Risk posed by Globalization

- 1) **Economic Vulnerability:** over reliance on global markets for trade & investment makes countries vulnerable to downturns
- 2) **Income inequality:** wealth benefits of Globalization can exacerbate income inequality due to unequal distribution.
- 3) **Cultural Homogenization:** increased globalization can lead to a spread of dominant cultures.
- 4) **Environmental Impact:** with increased globalization comes more production, more waste, more CO<sub>2</sub> emissions.
- 5) **Loss of Sovereignty:** decisions on trade, finance and regulations might be regulated/decided by international actors.
- 6) **Job displacement:** MNCs come and go, outsourcing of labour to cheaper countries, leads to reduced labor costs, wage stagnation.
- 7) **Dependency on Imports:** trade disputes, natural disasters or geopolitical tensions in supplier countries leaves countries vulnerable to disruptions.
- 8) **Financial Instability:** | vulnerable to disruptions.

the interconnectedness of global financial markets may lead to transmission of financial crises.

### Case examples

- **United States:** the Trump administration imposed tariffs on billions of dollars worth of goods, particularly targeting Chinese imports. Tariffs upto 25% were placed.
- there was also the renegotiation of NAFTA resulted in the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA) altering certain trade provisions.
- In 2018 the trade deficit with China was \$ 419 billion

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## → United Kingdom

- The Brexit referendum in 2016 led to the decision to leave the European Union in January 2020
- The UK government aimed to negotiate trade deals on its own terms and secure its own interests outside the UK.

## → Russia

- Russia faced sanctions from Western countries due to geopolitical tensions, prompting the country to bolster domestic industries and reduce reliance on imports.

- The sanctions and lack of dependency/trade options made Russia focus on self-sufficiency; the country became one of the world's largest wheat exporters.

## → Brazil

- The Bolsonaro administration in Brazil implemented measures to protect domestic industries, including advocating for economic policies favoring local businesses.

- Brazil periodically employs trade restrictions to protect domestic industries like steel and agriculture.

## → India

- Initiatives such as "Make in India" and raising tariffs aim to boost local manufacturing and protect national interests.

## Strengths and Limitations of the shift to Nationalism

## 1) Strengths of Nationalism

The case examples and the many disadvantages of Globalization show us how there are many advantages to shifting the focus to one's own industries and to also

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listen to the wishes of your people. Some of the major strengths of reducing globalisation and focusing on nationalism are:

- i) Political Stability
- ii) Cultural Preservation
- iii) Unity and identity
- iv) Mobilization towards common goals.
- v) Economic development
- vi) National Solidarity

### 2) Disadvantages of Nationalism

As History has shown us Extreme Nationalism has devastating disadvantages not for one nation but for the international community as a whole. These are:

- i) Conflict and Division
- ii) Xenophobia and Discrimination
- iii) Suppression of dissent
- iv) Isolationism and Protectionism
- v) Undermining Global Cooperation
- vi) Economic Stagnation

### Conclusion:

The world has most definitely seen a rise of Nationalism and despite its many disadvantages, it may be a need of the time. As we can see that excessive globalisation harms a nation a lot more than moderate nationalism. The war in Ukraine has impacted Pakistan adversely due to our reliance on Russia and Ukraine - this sets an example for all countries to work on their development and in turn increase self-sufficiency and trade to boost economic prosperity but not have to trade to survive.

Anything in moderation will not damage a Nation. We must work to find and then maintain the balance between nationalism & Globalisation.