

Q. No. 2

1) Introduction:

The realist paradigm sees the world as always in a state of war. There are a number of issues which clearly verify this notion of realism. In academic understanding of International Relations, it becomes indispensable to analyse the contemporary issues at various levels. The contemporary issues such as the Ukraine War, Kashmir issue, Saudi-Iran rapprochement and US-China competition need to be analysed at individual, state, regional and systematic levels of analysis.

2) Multiple levels of analysis for the academic understanding of International Relations:

According to Joshua Goldstein:

<u>Level of analysis</u>	<u>Focus area</u>
• Individual level	• Individuals at the helms of affairs
• State level	• Society; nationalism
• Regional level	• Regional power structure
• Systematic level	• International and global setting; power relations

The above levels of analysis are debated by various International Relations scholars like Joshua Goldstein.

and Prof. Kegley in the book "Global Politics: Trends and Transformation". In the academic understanding of International Relations, these levels of analysis can help in understanding the various contemporary issues in the world.

3) Multiple levels of analysis and contemporary events of the world:

a) Ukraine War:

The Ukraine war started on 24th February 2022. It drew good deal of attention of International Relations scholars. They have tried to trace the roots of Russia's war against Ukraine. John Mearsheimer, an offensive realist and the author of "The Tragedy of Great Power Politics" and "Liberal Delusion", maintains in an article for "Foreign Affairs Magazine" under the title of "Ukraine War: Causes and Consequences" blames the US policy towards Ukraine that prompted Vladimir Putin to invade Ukraine. He writes that the US attempts to ~~make~~ "incorporate Ukraine in NATO" and make it a "springboard" against Russia. Therefore, President Putin attacked Ukraine. However, for academic understanding of International Relations, it becomes necessary to analyse the Ukraine war through multiple levels of analysis.

i) Individual level of analysis:

Under the individual level of analysis, scholars try to understand the personality trait and behaviour of individual who is at the helm of affairs. Many people in the West believe that if President Vladimir Putin were not in power in Russia, the Ukraine war would not initiated. It is the authoritarian behaviour of President Putin that resulted in Ukraine war. Similarly, it is also believed that if President Zelensky were not in power in Ukraine and he did not cooperate with the West, his country would remain ~~more~~ peaceful. Thus, at individual level of analysis, it is generally perceived that the reason of occurring certain issues is primarily due to individuals ~~at~~ in power.

ii) Domestic level of analysis:

Another level of analysis in understanding IR through academic studies is domestic or state level of analysis. The Ukraine war, as per this level of analysis, started due to nationalism factor. Russian ethnic people in Donbas region prompted Putin to wage a war. The public opinion in Russia were in favour of war because they considered that the West was subjugating their ethnic group in Ukraine. Therefore, it influenced Russia's foreign policy to initiate war against Ukraine.

iii) Systematic level of analysis:

This level is broader in context. It considers global power structure and policies of different countries trigger an event. The Ukraine War, in the light of this level, started due to tilting balance of power if Ukraine had been incorporated in the NATO. It certainly created security dilemma for Russia, so president Putin pre-emptively dashed the hope of West of make Ukraine a NATO member state.

b) Kashmir issue:

Kashmir has long been a bone of contention between Pakistan and India. It has resulted in multiple direct confrontations and hostile posture against each other. It becomes pertinent to analysis the Kashmir issue in contemporary context at different levels of analysis.

i) Individual level:

Why did India revoke the autonomous status of Kashmir? The individual level of analysis blames Prime Minister Narendra Modi and his authoritarian personality trait is responsible for this illegal action. If PM Modi were not in power in India, the fate of Kashmir would be different today.

ii) State level:

The state level of analysis considers that Hindutva ideology and ultra-nationalism of Hindu have shaped India foreign policy which resulted in the illegal occupation of disputed territory. It is believed that if public opinion was not in favour of this policy, PM Modi would not be able to carry out his nefarious design in Kashmir.

iii) Systemic level:

The systemic level of analysis considers - that changing global power dynamics and India's growing strategic partnership with US has given PM Modi confidence to carry out this policy to revoke the special status of disputed territory.

c) Saudi - Iran Rapprochement:

Saudi Arabia and Iran restored their bilateral relations after seven years of estrangement. Let's analyse it through multiple levels.

1) Individual level:

This level of analysis makes it clear that this development has occurred due to the personality of Crown Prince Muhammad bin Salman. He has changed his policy in broader context.

that resulted in Saud-Iran rapprochement.

ii) Domestic level:

Another factor for this development is considered to be due to Saudi Vision 2030. Under which Saudi Arabia ~~has~~ will widen its economic base, so it can be realized only good relations with all countries, especially neighbours. Thus, it helped in the deal between Iran and Saudi Arabia to restore ties.

iii) Systematic level:

Many scholars endorse the international level of analysis is the reason behind Saud-Iran thaw. The rise of China and diminishing role of US at international affairs said to have been a reason for Iran-Saudi normalization.

d) US-China Competition:

The US and China are at odds over a number of issues. "Inter-state strategic competition, not terrorism, is now the primary concern in US national security." — US National Security Strategy, document 2018. Growing competition between US and China can be analysed under various levels.

A) Individual level:

Although president Donald Trump started competition against China under his new National

1 Security Strategy 2018, President Biden continued that policy. It is believed that Donald Trump's aggressive behaviour made him pursue competitive policy towards China, as it can be seen in his "Trade War" policy. However, Joe Biden seems to have shown some lukewarm in his policy of competition towards China as President Trump did. It becomes clear that individual's personality guides a state policy, so US-China competition has its roots in individuals.

ii) State level:

It is also believed that the rise of populism in American politics and white supremacy or nationalism have driven US policy towards China. Public opinion is growing against China, so it has resulted in competition against China by the state at large.

iii) Systematic level:

The rise of China and decline in the US position globally is believed to have triggered competitive approach of the US against China. The US containment policy under QUAD, AUKUS and Five Eye alliances has started competition against China. The economic supremacy of China is a concern for US, so it started competition against China.

4) Conclusion :

In the light of above discussions it can be concluded that multiple levels of analysis are indispensable for academic understanding of International Relations. Therefore, the contemporary issues of Ukraine war, Kashmir dispute, Saudi-Iran normalization and US-China competition needed to be analysed through the lenses of multiple levels of analysis in order to comprehend these complex issues.



Q. No. 4

1) Introduction :

Pakistan faces a number of non-traditional security threats at present. The events of extreme heat waves due to climate change, flood disasters, population explosion, food shortage, economic meltdown, and water crisis make it evident that the country grapples with various non-traditional security threats. These non-traditional security threats need to be analysed under the rationale of Barry Buzant's concept of security in 21st century. It includes climate degradation, population explosion, food crisis, water scarcity, economic melt down and others.

2) The recent events in Pakistan and the non-traditional security challenges

a) Climate change and floods:

Pakistan has faced devastating flood in 2022. It has created multiple impacts such as human loss, damage to crops, road infrastructures. The environmental degradation has compounded the challenge of national security and human well-being.

b) Food shortage:

Recently, Pakistan faces acute food shortage. Even Pakistan has been a food surplus country that exported food items to global markets, but climate change has resulted degradation of crops yield. Thus, the country faces food shortage.

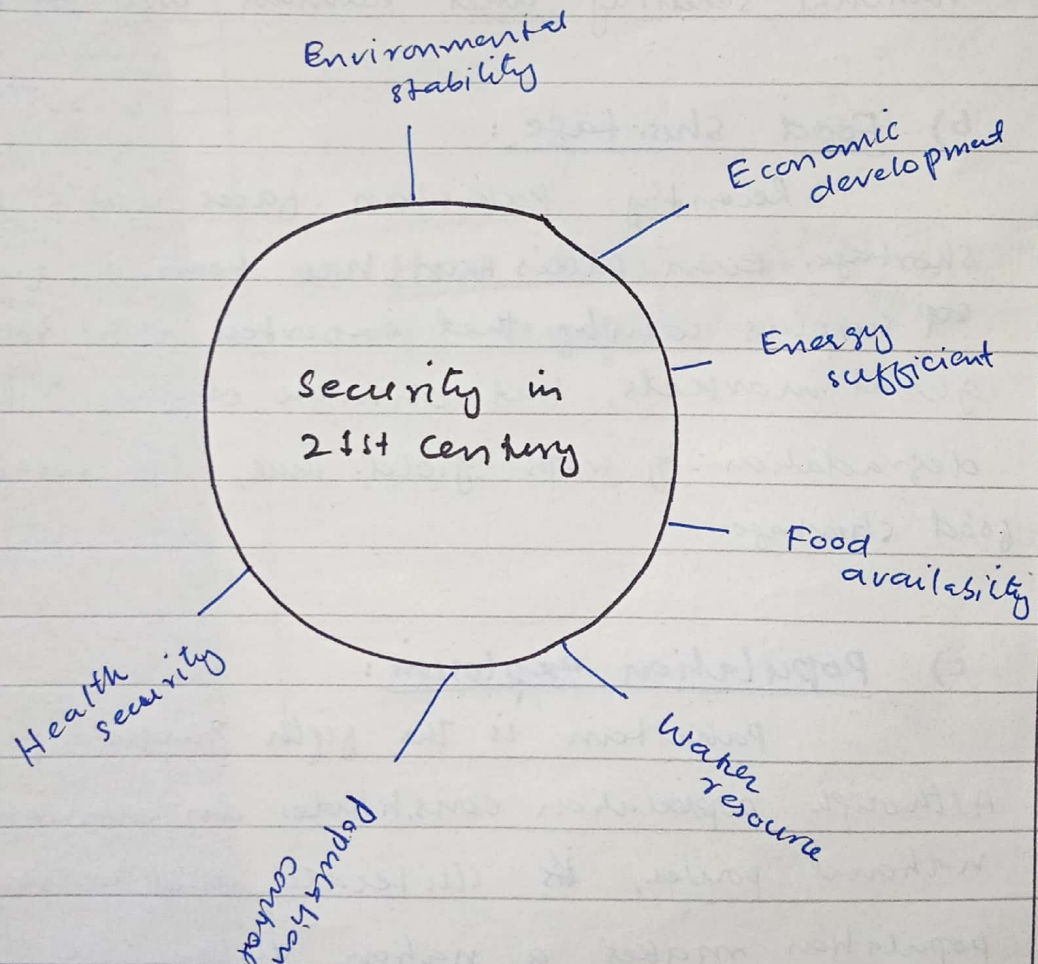
c) Population explosion:

Pakistan is the fifth largest population. Although population constitutes an element of national power, its illiterate and unskilled population makes a nation vulnerable to internal instability if state fails to provide jobs and services.

1) Economic melt down:

Pakistan's current economic status paints a grim picture for the future stability of the country. Depleting foreign reserves, balance-of-payment crisis and failure of GDP growth can add to the non-traditional security challenges of the country.

3) Barry Buzan's security concept of the 21st Century and Pakistan:



According to Barry Buzan, those states do ~~not~~ not ensure these security in the 21st century.

they will face national security threats. Unfortunately, Pakistan faces most of the threats which can damage its security in the 21st century.

4) Theoretical framework and Pakistan's non-traditional security threats:

The realist paradigm often makes it clear that states must ensure their survival. Once war and hostile military appeared to be only threat to the survival of nations; however, the emergence of non-traditional security threats can threaten the survival of many states. These soft threats which were identified by Barry Buzan would challenge the national security of states.

However, liberals consider that security can be ensured through mutual cooperation and increased economic interdependence. They are with the view that states cooperation on issues like climate change, tackling contagious diseases, negotiation on transboundary resources and equal energy supply can help in stability of national security of all states.

On the other hand, constructivists believe that security is a constructed idea in the public discourse. These threats can be damaging, but the threats have created due to the overexploitation of resources for elite services; and the concept of non-traditional

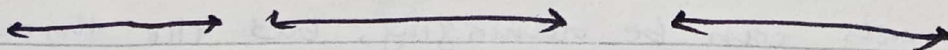
security was established to shape public opinion.

a) Pakistan and non-traditional security threats:

In theoretical context, Pakistan's survival can be challenged by non-traditional security threats. Yet, it needs to accelerate its climate diplomacy to gather support from the world. For its economic stability and energy need, Pakistan ought to cooperate with prosper countries and meet its national need. However, realists considers this a delusion because state needs to ensure its own survival through protectip its national interests.

4) Conclusion:

Pakistan is faced with multiple non-traditional security threats. These threats are justified by portraying different events. The concept of security in the 21st Century has also been discussed under the rationale of Barry Buzan. Finally, the theoretical understandip of non-traditional security threats deliberated in the pceedip paragraphs.



Q. No. 8

1) Introduction :

The Ukraine-Russia war appears to be a last nail in American unipolar world order. This war will change the dynamics of power balance in a great magnitude. The US extended deterrence seems to have failed in the aftermath of Ukraine war. It not only reduced America's global credibility, but it also significantly changed the concept of balance of power. The US is ~~not~~ ^{losing} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~only~~ hegemonic power of the world. As power poles distribute between great powers, the US can exert its influence on all global affairs. However, deployment still can yield result to end Ukraine war.

2) How Russia-Ukraine War end the US unipolar order: