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QUESTION No. 2:

The study of International Relations (IR) is replete with theoretical frameworks that attempt to explain the complexities of global politics. Two influential theories that have shaped our understanding of IR are English School's thesis on evolution of international society and Francis Fukuyama's thesis on end of history. While these theories have contributed significantly to our understanding of IR, they have also been subjected to criticism for being agenda-driven discourses that reflect western-centric bias.

I. Evolution of International Society:

The English School Thesis:

The English school a theoretical framework in international relations posits that the international system has evolved into an international society. This thesis, primarily developed by Hedley Bull, suggest that the international system has transformed from a primitive, anarchic system to a more complex, rule governed society.

II. Key Features of International Society:

According to English School, an international society is characterized by:

a. Shared values and norms:

A common set of values and norms that governed the behaviour of the state. These

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values and norms are shaped by a shared culture, history and institution

b. Institutions and Rules:

The presence of institutions and rules that regulate state behaviour and provide a framework for cooperation. These institutions and rules can include international law, diplomacy and international organisations.

c. Diplomacy and dialogue:

Regular diplomatic interactions and dialogues among the states to resolve conflicts and promote cooperation. Diplomacy and dialogues are essential for maintaining international order and preventing conflict.

II. The three stages of international society:

The English school identifies three stages in the evolution of international society:

a. The International system:

The most primitive stage, characterized by a lack of shared values and norms, and minimal institutionalization.

b. The international society:

A more advanced stage characterized by a shared set of values and norms and the presence of institutions and rules.

c. The World society:

The most advanced stage characterized by a high degree of integration and cooperation among states and the presence of global governance system.

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IV. Fukuyama's Thesis: The End of History.

Fukuyama's thesis "The end of history" posits that the end of cold war marked the triumph of **liberal democracy** as the ultimate form of governance. Fukuyama argues that the spread of liberal democracy and market economies has created a convergence of values and interests among nations, effectively ending the struggle for ideological supremacy.

V. Key features of Fukuyama's thesis:

Fukuyama's thesis is characterized by:

a. Liberal democracy as the ultimate form of governance:

Fukuyama argues that liberal democracy is the most stable and effective form of governance.

b. Convergence of values and interests:

Fukuyama argues that spread of liberal democracy and market economies has created a convergence of values and interest among nations.

c. End of ideological struggle:

Fukuyama argues that the end of the cold war marked the end of the ideological struggle between liberal democracy and communism.

VI. Critique of Fukuyama's thesis:

Fukuyama's thesis has been subjected to several criticisms:

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a. **Oversimplification:**

Fukuyama's thesis oversimplifies the complexity of international relations and ignores the diversity of cultures and civilizations.

b. **Western-centric bias:**

It reflects a western centric bias prioritizing western values and institutions as the benchmark for governance.

c. **Ignoring alternative perspectives:**

Fukuyama's thesis ignores alternative perspectives and experiences from non-western cultures and civilizations.

VII - Agenda Driven Discourses:

Both English school's thesis on evolution of international society and Fukuyama's thesis on end of history can be seen as agenda driven discourses.

a. **Western-centric bias:**

Both reflect a western-centric bias, prioritizing western values and institutions as the benchmark for international society and governance.

b. **Liberal democratic Hegemony:**

Fukuyama's thesis in particular promotes liberal democratic hegemony, implying that liberal democracy is only viable form of governance.

c. **Ignoring alternative perspectives:**

Both these ignore alternative perspectives from non-western cultures and civilizations.

|| realist-liberal continuum, sharing a

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Such as Chinese concept of "tianxia" or the Indian concept of "vasudhaiva kutumbakam" offer different understanding of international society and governance.

d. Post colonial critique:

Post-colonial scholars argue that both these reflect a colonial mindset, imposing western values and institutions on non-western societies.

VIII. Conclusion:

Both the English school's thesis on the evolution of international society and Fukuyama's thesis on the end of history can be seen as agenda-driven discourses that reflect a western-centric bias and promote liberal democratic hegemony. Alternative perspectives from non-western cultures and civilizations offer different understandings of international society and governance.

QUESTION No. 3:

I. Introduction: Framing the Neo-Neo debate:

The neo-neo debate refers to the intellectual discourse between neo-realism and neoliberal institutionalism, two dominant theories in IR during the late 20th century. Both school of thought emerged from the realist-liberal continuum, sharing a

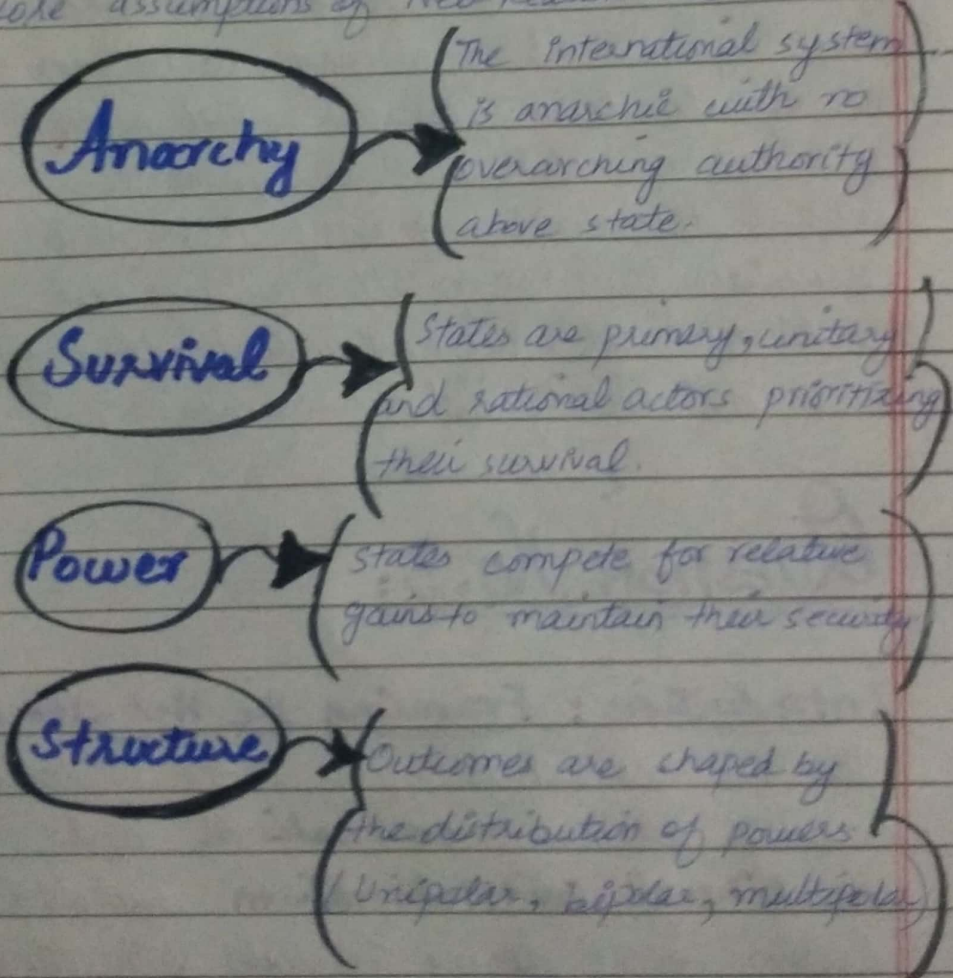
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positivist epistemology while differing on key dimensions of global politics. The debate primarily centers around the nature of anarchy, cooperation and state behaviour in international system.

II. Foundations of the Neo-Neo Debate:

a. Neo-Realism: The structural logic of power:

Kenneth Waltz is the key proponent of Neo-Realism who gave Theory of International Politics, 1977. The core assumptions of Neo-Realism are:



b. Neoliberalism: The role of cooperations The proponent of Neoliberal institutionalism

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is Robert Keohane (After Hegemony, 1984)

The core assumptions of neo-liberal institutionalism are:

Anarchy

Agrees that the system is anarchic but views it as manageable through cooperation.

Interdependence

Economic and institutional interdependence fosters cooperation.

Absolute gains

States focus on mutual benefits rather than relative gains.

Institutions

International regimes and organizations mitigate anarchy and enhance cooperation.

III. Comparative stance on Dimensions of international relations:

a. Anarchy and its implications:

• Neo-Realism:

Anarchy inherently leads to self-help behaviour. States cannot trust others and prioritize military power that is security dilemma.

For example, cold war bipolarity where US

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USSR viewed each other's relative gains as existential threats.

- **Neoliberal institutionalism:**

Anarchy does not preclude cooperation. Institutions create trust and transparency, reducing the effects of ~~transparency~~ anarchy.

For example, EU as a supranational institutions that mitigates conflict through economic integration.

b- **Cooperation and gains:**

- **NeoRealism:**

Cooperation is difficult due to concerns over relative gains. States fear that others may gain disproportionately, threatening their security.

For Example, The US withdrawal from Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) due to perceived relative disadvantages.

- **Neoliberal institutionalism:**

Cooperation is feasible when states focus on absolute gains facilitated by shared interests and institutional frameworks.

For Example, The Paris Climate Agreement where states collectively pursue environmental goals.

c- **Role of Institutions:**

- **NeoRealism:**

Institutions are ephemeral, reflecting the interests of powerful states rather than independently shaping outcomes

For example, The UN often criticized for

une rivalry in

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being dominated by great powers through the Security Council

- **Neoliberal Institutionalism:**

Institutions have an independent role in mitigating anarchy, creating norms and facilitating repeated interactions.

For Example: The WTO which enforces trade rules and resolve disputes

d. **Human Nature and Rationality:**

- **Neo-Realism:**

Rejects classical Realism's emphasis on human nature but retains the assumption of rational, egoistic states under structural constraints

For example, Arms race, such as the buildup of nuclear weapons during the cold war.

- **Neoliberal Institutionalism:**

Also assumes the rational actors but highlights the role of interdependence and Issue linkage in achieving cooperation.

For example: Multilateral agreements like the **Kyoto Protocol** linking environmental and economic issues.

e. **Power dynamics:**

- **Neo-Realism:**

Focuses on hardpower, including military and economic capabilities as the key determinant of state behaviour.

For example: The US-China rivalry in

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the Indo-Pacific as a struggle for Regional Hegemony.

• Neoliberal institutionalism:

Emphasizes soft power and the influence of norms and culture and institutions in shaping outcomes.

For example: The spread of liberal democratic norms through organizations like NATO.

IV. Critical Reflects on debates:

a. Convergences:

Both share a positivist methodology and focus on systemic-level analysis. Both recognize state as primary actor in IR.

b. Divergences:

Neorealism see limited prospects of cooperation whereas neoliberalism emphasizes institutional facilitation. Moreover, neorealism prioritize material capabilities whereas the other includes non-material dimensions like norms.

V. Conclusion:

The neo-neo debate highlights the complex interplay between power, anarchy and cooperation in IR. While both theories provide valuable insights, neither offers a comprehensive framework to address emerging challenges like cyberwarfare, terrorism and climate change.



QUESTION No. 8:

I Introduction: The changing contours of globalization:

Globalization, the process of increasing interconnectedness across the globe, has profoundly shaped the post cold war international order.

However, in recent years, its relevance has been questioned due to rising protectionism, geopolitical rivalries and global crises such as the Covid-19 pandemic.

While globalization remains significant, its scope and nature are undergoing transformation leading some to argue that it is losing its ground.

Globalization operates across multiple dimensions such as:

a. Economic globalization:

Integration of markets, free trade, and capital flows (e.g. World Trade Organization frameworks).

b. Political globalization:

Growing influence of international institutions and transnational governance e.g. United Nations, G20.

c. Cultural globalization:

Diffusion of norms, ideas and values across borders. For example hollywood, global social media platforms.

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d. Technological globalization:

Rapid advancements in information and communication networks. For example 5G networks, AI.

II. Contemporary Trends Challenging Globalization:

a. Rise of protectionism and economic nationalism:

Countries are increasingly prioritizing national interests over global economic integration. For example The US - China trade war disrupted global supply chains and challenged free trade principles. It is increasing de-globalization trends, such as the reshoring of industries and emphasis on economic sovereignty.

b. Geopolitical Rivalries and multi-polarity:

The global shift from unipolarity to multi-polarity has led to fragmented alliances and competition. For example The US - China rivalry in Indo-Pacific undermines cooperative framework like the Belt and Road Initiative. Regional blocs (BRICS, QUAD) are challenging the idea of unified global order.

c. Covid-19 Pandemic and Supply Chain Disruptions:

The pandemic exposed vulnerabilities in global supply chains and led to calls for

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self-sufficiency. For example vaccine nationalism and disruptions in semiconductor production. It influenced greater focus on regionalism and local production over global dependency.

d. Technological Fragmentation:

The rise of techno-nationalism, where states seek to control critical technologies. For example US restrictions on Chinese Tech companies like Huawei and TikTok.

e. Environment and climate concerns:

Globalization is being criticized for exacerbating environmental degradation and carbon emissions. For example Activists advocate for localized, sustainable production models over global trade.

III. Globalization's contemporary relevance:

a. Economic interdependence:

Despite setbacks, global trade remains critical. Global trade accounted for 60% of the world GDP in 2023. For Example: The EU-China comprehensive agreement on investment highlights ongoing economic interdependence. Thus economic globalization remains a key driver of prosperity.

b. Global governance and transnational issues:

Global challenges necessitate multilateral

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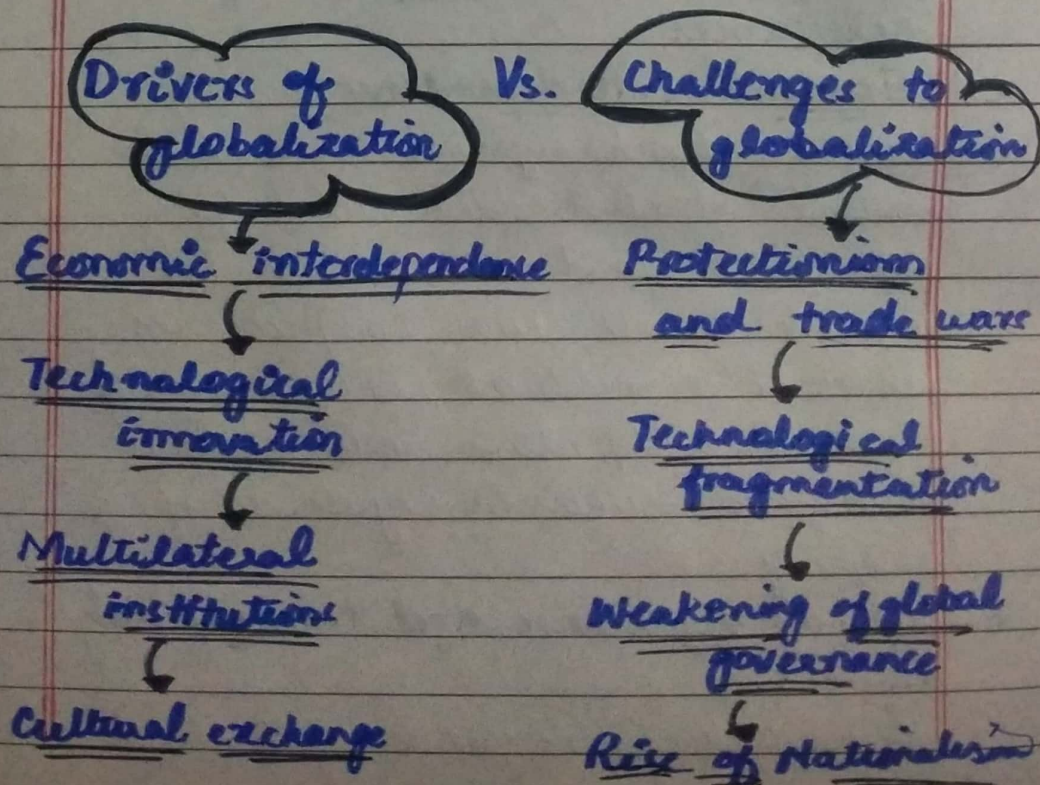
cooperation. For example The Paris Climate Agreement and WHO-led initiatives during the pandemic. Globalization facilitates collective action on shared challenges like climate change and pandemics.

c. Cultural Connectivity:

The digital revolution ensures cultural globalization persists. For example social media platforms like Twitter and TikTok maintain global cultural exchange. Despite geopolitical fragmentation, cultural interconnectedness endures.

d. Technological integration:

Global collaboration continues in research and innovation. For example The International Space Station (ISS) and multinational AI research.



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IV. Theoretical Perspectives:

a. Liberal Institutionalism:

Liberal theorists argue globalization fosters cooperation through institutions like WTO and UN. While it faces challenges the interconnected nature of global issues necessitates its continuation.

b. Realism:

Realists view globalization as secondary to state power and national interest. The rise of protectionism and economic nationalism aligns with realist predictions.

c. Constructivism:

Constructivists highlight the role of norms and identity in globalization. Cultural globalization persists despite geopolitical fragmentation.

d. Marxism:

Marxist critique globalization as a tool for capitalist exploitation, emphasizing growing inequalities and the exploitation of labor in global south.

V. Conclusion:

Globalization, while under pressure remains relevant in interconnected world. Rather than a complete retreat, we are witnessing a shift towards **selective globalization** emphasizing regional cooperation, sustainability and resilience. However, its future trajectory will depend on how states navigate balance.

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between national sovereignty and global
interdependence.

