

International Relations - Paper I

Subjective Part

— Answer no. 3B —

Introduction

The neo-neo debate is the newly emerging debate between two groups: neo-realist such as Kenneth Waltz and John Mearsheimer who thinks that International institutions are toothless, and Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye who thinks that international institutions are effective for cooperation.

Detailed Discussion around the Neo-Neo Debate

Detailed discussion on Neo-Neo Debate is follows:

a. Major Proponents of Neo-Realism

Two major proponents of neo-realism are Kenneth Waltz and Joseph Nye.

i. Kenneth Waltz

Kenneth Waltz's major

work "Theory of International Politics" highlights the ineffectiveness.

ii. John Mearsheimer

Similarly, John Mearsheimer also highlights same concern in "The Tragedy of Great Power Politics."

b. Major Proponents of neo-liberal institutionalism

Two of major neo-liberal institutionalist are as follows:

i. Robert Keohane

Robert Keohane in his famous work "After Hegemony" argues about the importance of IIs.

ii. Joseph Nye

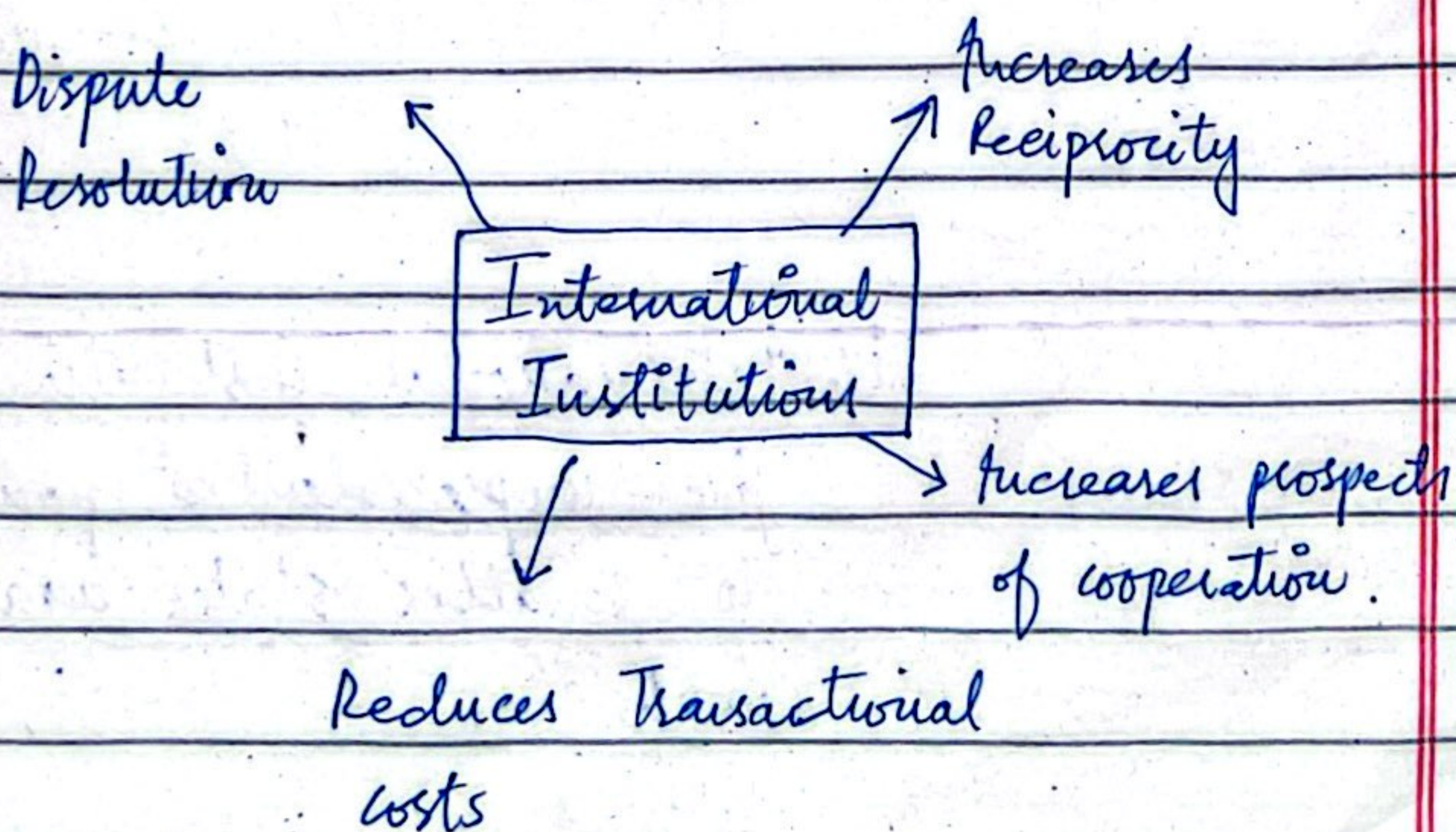
Similarly, Joseph Nye's work "Soft Power" highlights the effectiveness of IIs in international politics.

c. Views of Neo-liberal Institutionalists on International Institutions

Following are the views of neo-liberal institutionalists on IIs

i. Robert Keohane's four points on the importance of International Institutions

Robert Keohane's argues that IIs can reduce Transactional costs, increase reciprocity, increase the prospects of dispute resolution.



ii. Joseph Nye's Views on International Institutions

Similarly, Joseph Nye argues that IIs can be a means of soft power. Moreover, they can be helpful in influencing the behaviour of states which are powerful such as US & other western nations.

iii. Neo-liberal Institutionalists address Epiphenomenalism

Neo-liberal Institutionalists also argue and challenge the traditional notion that IIs only reflect the interest of powerful states.

iv. International Institutions give unprecedented power to smaller states against weak

To add more, Neo-liberals say that IIs have given

unprecedented financial resources through IMF.

d. Views of neo-Realist on the International Institutions

Views of neo-realists on IIs are as follows;

i. International Institutions are puppets of Muscular States

Critiques the notion of neo-liberal and argues that IIs are puppet. Countries like US hold significant influence in decisionmaking in IOs like UN or WTO.

ii. Epiphenomenalism

Neo-realist also argues that International Institutions only reflects the interest of powerful state and developing countries like Pakistan can not compete with Muscular nations.

iii. IIs are ineffective in the case of High politics Issues

Neo-realist also argues that

that IIs may be successful in securitization of climate but it cannot solve the issue of war.

iv. Conflict is a priori as there is no effective central authority

Moreover, the neo-realist school centers around the fact that since there is no effective central authority (such as a supra-national world government), therefore, there is anarchy and states have to rely on self-help.

Comparative Stance on different dimensions of International Relations

Both the groups have difference stances on different dimensions of IR such as,

a. Stance on Power

(i) Neo-liberal Institutionalists

IIs hold significant power in influencing the behavior of state.

(ii). Neo-realist Stance; (Offensive Realism)

According to J.M, States are the power maximizer, which means they seize every opportunity to maximize their power.

b. Stance on Security

(i). Neo-liberal Institutionalists;

All States are not concern about national security but some also think about "Collective Security" i.e NATO.

(ii). Neo-realist; (Defensive Realism)

According to Kenneth Waltz; states are security maximizer and not the power maximizer.

c. Absolute vs Relative

Gains

(i). Neo-liberalist believes

that if states cooperate through the IIs than they achieve Absolute gains

(ii). Whereas, Neo-realist believes

that states only look for their survival and only care about relative gains.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the neo-neo debate offers interesting insights into evolving and transforming global politics, where states are continuously evolving due to the globalization.

— (Answer no. 8) —

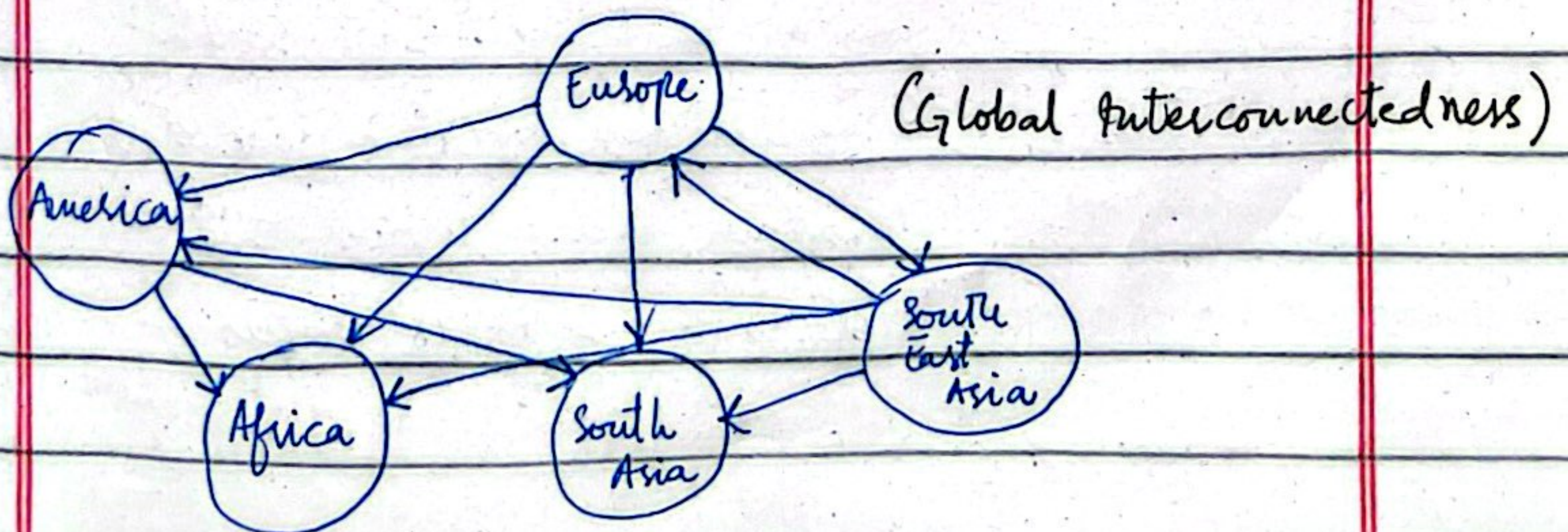
Introduction

The world has become more interconnected than ever due to the globalization. The Globalization of our life can be evident in every sphere from education to #MeToo movement, and from politics to Technology. But the Globalization recently is losing its ground as Emmanuel Macron says,

“Globalization is in Crisis and we need to work collectively to safeguard it”

An Overview of the Concept of Globalization

“Globalization means the deepening, widening and broadening of world interconnectedness, even eclipsing the idea of national territory to such extent where the difference between Global and domestic affair evaporates”



Engines of Globalization

(i). Technics; Advancement in Information and Communication Technologies.

(ii). Politics; conducive policies for the spread of Globalization

(iii). Economics; Free Market Economy and removal of Trade Barriers.

Facts highlighting that Globalization is losing its Ground

Following are the facts highlighting that Globalization is losing its ground.

a. Recurring Crises in Geo-Political Arena.

While the interdependence and interconnectedness has increased many times, conflicts (such as in Middle East, South-Asia, Taiwan, Ukraine) are still prevailing which shows the supremacy of Power Politics.

"Globalist have failed to address the biggest problem that disrupts international Trade"

b. Frequent disagreements in Multilateral Organizations

Moreover, despite having huge disadvantages of Globalization such as free flow of ideas, states are unable to reconcile their differences for instance, Donald Trump recently signed an executive order to withdraw from WTO.

c. Rising Global Inequality

Global Inequality has increased many times, 1% are holding 45% of the wealth. Recently, CEO of Boeing got 32.8 million in pay (a 45% increase from previous year), whereas employees only got 1% increase in 8 years.

d. Global Injustices

Problem regarding climate injustice,

women rights, migration are still unsolved. For instance, US decided to draw a wall around the Mexican border to stop immigrants.

Reason for the decline of Globalization

Reasons for decline are as follows;

a. Western Hegemony is in decline

World reserve in dollars have declined to 58pc, whereas previously they were at 67pc.

b. Rise of Populist Nationalism

Donald Trump have accelerated its MAGA campaign, which disrupts Global activity.

c. Aversion to Multi-culturalism

Similarly, the rise of right wing parties in European Union spreading hate speech against Muslim, shows their aversion to multiculturalism.

Contemporary Relevance of Globalization

a. Benefits of Globalization in Contemporary world

Some benefits are as follows:

i. Free flow of ideas

Globalization have allowed the free flow of ideas regarding economics, and social life through social media.

ii. Technology Transfer

Globalization has helped in technology transfer from Global north to Global South.

b. Negative Impacts of Globalization in contemporary world

Some Negative impacts are as follows:

i. Rise in non-conventional security threats

Due to globalization, cyber attacks have increased, moreover, pandemics such

as Covid-19 have become more frequent.

ii. Global Inequality is on the rise

For instance, An American household have to work 751 years to get the same amount of pay as Elon Musk. This shows Global Inequality is on rise.

c. Future of Globalization: An optimistic Approach

An optimistic future of Globalization is painted by Amitav Acharya;

i. Global Politics is

going through a period of Transformation

According to him, politics is becoming geo-centric

from state-centric and

eventually we will

reach to a point of

Global Governance.

ii. Key Features in the future of Globalization

Anitave Achaiga also highlighted that future of Globalization will be;

(i). Diverse; which meant there will be no global hegemony.

(ii). Pluralistic; it will also cater the non-state actors such as MNCs etc.

Conclusion

In conclusion, while the Globalization is in decline for some time, but it is also true that it is so embedded in our daily life that drifting out of it will be a daunting task.

Answer no. 4 B

Introduction

Foreign policy decisions taken by any decision maker are immediate decisions, while it is easier to analyse them in hindsight, it is very difficult and complex some times to take them in the crisis situation. Therefore, different determinants play key role in F.P decision making.

An Overview of the Concept of Foreign Policy

An overview of the concept of foreign policy is as follows;

i. Definition :

“Strategies or a set of strategies states employ between each other to achieve their national interests and advance their strategic goals”

ii. Purpose;

The purpose of any foreign policy is generally to attain economic prosperity and national security.

Determinants of Foreign Policy

Foreign policy determinants can be divided into two parts: Internal Determinants and External Determinants.

a. Internal Determinants

Key internal determinants of foreign policy are as follows;

i. Geography

Geography of a state is one of the major determinant as it includes states national resources and geographical location.

For Example, F.P makers take Geo-strategic location of

Pakistan into account.

ii. Military Power

Similarly, Military power also influence decision making. Military power of a nation depends on generally two things; material capabilities (such as weapons/nuclear) and experience of war.

iii. Economy

Joyce P. Kaufman in his book said;

“Trade in Foreign Policy” which highlights the importance of a strong economy in F.P decision Making.

For Example, Pakistan GDP is dwarf against US or China.

iv. Political System

Moreover, the political situation inside the country i.e is their stability or not, and political system such as Democracy

autocracy also guides the foreign policy of a state.

V. Strategic Culture

Strategic Culture is also a major determinant of a state which depends on its identity, history and domestic culture.

For example, Pakistanis being a 64% young population takes pride in Nuclear Capacity of Pakistan.

Flow chart ↘

F.P Determinants



Internal Determinants

External Determinants

1. Geography
2. Economy
3. Politics
4. Military
5. Strategic Culture

1. International order
2. Alliances
3. Influence
4. Economic structure
5. Neighbouring states

b. External Determinants

External Determinants are as follows;

i. International order

Foreign policy also depends on the world order whether it is unipolar, bipolar or multipolar (as in 21st century)

ii. Relations with the Neighbours

For instance, Pakistan and India being Arch-rivals, their policy is largely revolving around the security of borders.

iii. International Economic Structure

Similarly, if a state (such as Pakistan) which is largely dependent on

IMF for loans and pay back huge sums in interest cannot exercise independent F.P.

iv. Web of Alliances

A state's web of alliances also affects the foreign policy formulation. For instance, US and India closer ties in the form of Quad alliance raises insecurity in Pakistan.

v. Influence over International Media

According to post-structuralist, the entity who holds knowledge and who the source of knowledge is more powerful than anyone else.

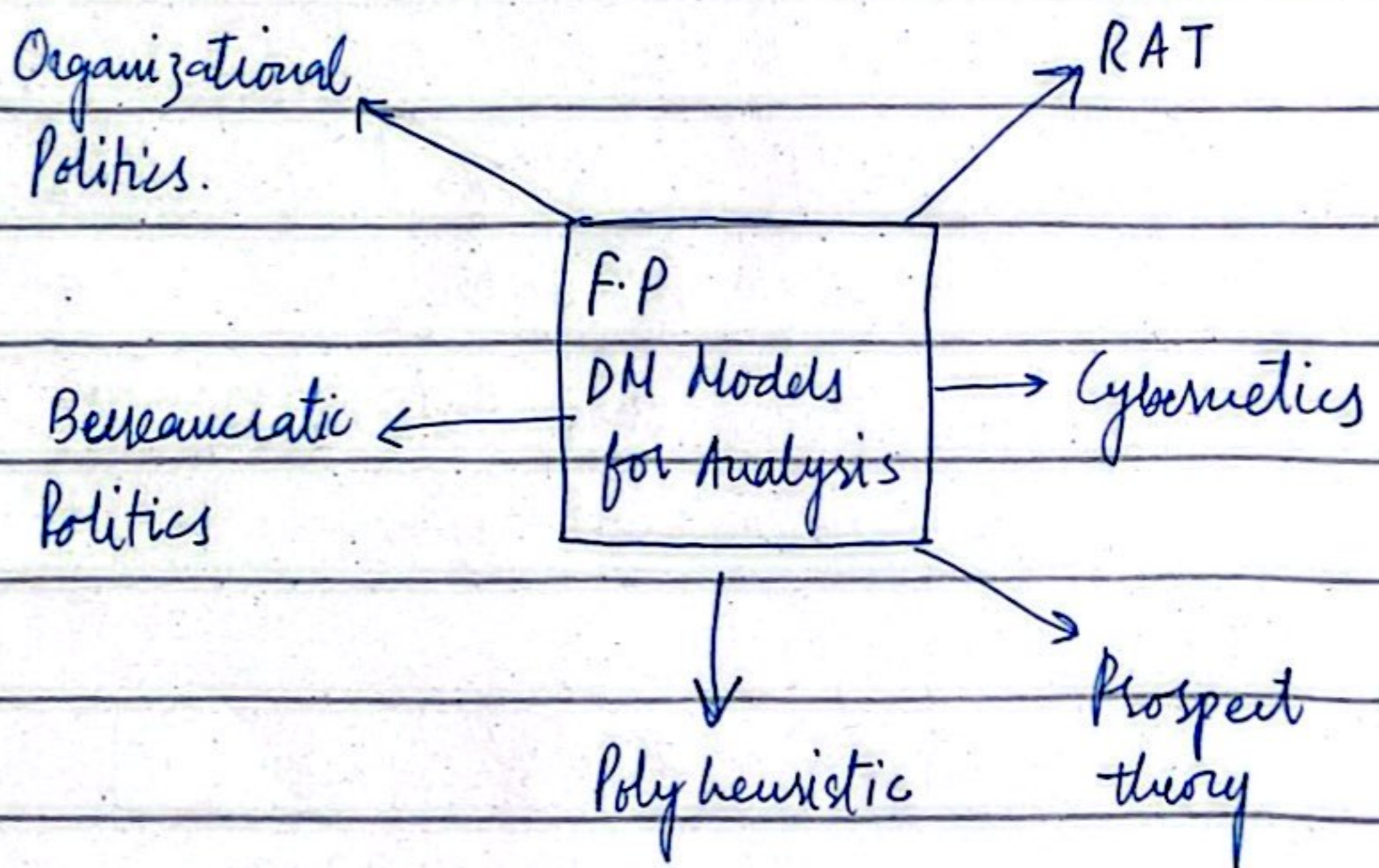
vi. Leverage over International Organization

Similarly, countries with veto power in UN holds significant leverage which allow them to carry forward their F.P goals.

For Example, Russia vetoed UNSC resolution to stop war in Ukraine and continued the war.

Decision Making and Analysis Model

Following are the decision making and analysis models;



a. RAT - Rational Action Theory

According to Graham Allison,
"Consistent value-maximizing
choices made by Decision makers
within specific constraints"

b. Polyheuristic Theory

"Decision maker divides complex

Problem into simple form and then take decision"

c. Cybernetics Explanation

"Decision makers have limited cognitive ability to go through all alternatives, therefore they choose which is good enough option"

d. Prospect theory

"States are risk averse to potential gains and risk acceptant to potential losses"

e. Bureaucratic Model

According to this model, bureaucratic institutions engage themselves into debate and then a hybrid or a specific alternative F.P is selected.

f. Organizational Politics

According to this model, organizations work under SOPs which leads to efficient (speedy) but sub-optimal F.P alternative because they avoid risk.

Historical Outlook

of Pakistan's Foreign Policy

An historical outlook of Pakistan

F.P is as follows,

In early years, Pakistan looked for

relevance than from 1952-60s. The era of alliances with US started, where Pakistan joined four alliances including SEATO and CENTO to counter communism and attain security against India. Then after the war of 1965 with India, Pakistan was sidelined by US making it to rethink its foreign policy strategy. A permanent in F.P of Pakistan came after the Debacle of 1971, when Pakistan decided to build its nuclear program. Then during Gen. Zia Era, Pakistan formally entered in NAM. Uptill now, Pakistan faces serious challenges with regards to its foreign policy.

Conclusion

In conclusion, Pakistan has to steer away from the troubled water by avoiding to get in the crossfire between Geo-political rivals and work towards finding space for US-Pakistan relationship.

— (Answer no. 6) —

Introduction

The world economy is now deeply interdependent. A crisis in one state (such as GFC 2008, US) can trigger panic in almost all the states of world.

Therefore, different schools of International Political Economy such as Marxism, and Neo-Marxism, Protectionism and economic liberalism provides valuable insights.

An Overview of Protectionism

An overview of protectionism is as follows;

i. Tariffs

Protectionism calls for increase in tariffs on imports from other countries. Such as Trump has decided 60% increase on China.

ii. Supporting local industry

Protectionist also calls for

import substitution which means supporting and subsidizing local industry to make it competitive.

iii. Trade Sanctions of specific countries

Similarly, protectionist measures may vary from country to country depending upon their relation.

For example, US has also threatened EU for trade sanctions.

iv. Fixed Quotas on Imports

They also set specific quotas, for example, in response to US threat, China has retaliated by curbing exports of critical goods to US.

An Overview of Economic Liberalism

An overview of economic liberalism is as follows:

a. Adam Smith

In his work 'Wealth of Nations', he introduced famous concepts like

freemarket and invisible hand.

b. David Ricardo

Similarly, David Ricardo presented the "The Theory of Comparative Advantage", according to which comparative advantage is the driver of global trade.

c. John Maynard Keynes

John Maynard Keynes theory such as Keynesianism helped the world to get out of the Great Depression of 1929.

An Overview of Marxism and Neo-Marxism

An overview of Marxism and Neo-Marxism is as follows;

a. Classical Marxism by Marx

Marx introduced the concept of "Historical Materialism", which posits that the economic development (Base) is the biggest driver of social and political change (super-structure)

b. Neo-Marxism: Addressing the problems of Classical Marxists

Neo-Marxist came to address some serious flaws in the classical marxism and highlighted why the prediction of working class revolution has failed or not arrived yet.

Neo-Marxism at the Real-Shapes of Global International Economic Order: Fact or Fiction?

An Analysis that it is fact or fiction is as follows.

a. Antonio Gramsci - Culture and Hegemony

Antonio Gramsci, an Italian, introduced the concept of culture hegemony, where he said that the capitalist are successful in maintaining dominance over the culture by spreading their ideas such as private

property and free-market economy.

b. The Frankfurt School

The Frankfurt school developed in Germany, where different scholars debated on capitalism and classical Marxism.

i. False Consciousness

They came to a conclusion, that capitalist class creates false consciousness among working class i.e. by giving them

Best employ of the youth awards.

ii. Working Class: No more a threat

Frankfurt school

also argued that,

with the advancement in technology, working

class is no longer

a threat to capitalist

as "Capitalist have

absorbed the socialist movement"

c. Critical Theory - Andrew Linklater

Andrew Linklater also provides interesting insights in Neo-Marxist framework.

i. Human Emancipation as an Ultimate Goal

According to him, human emancipation should be the ultimate goal of every state and they should work for it.

ii. Cosmopolitanism

Moreover, it is time that we establish a state-less society, where there are universal rights and nobody is exploited.

d. Neo-Marxism: Provides a Critique rather than a viable Economic Alternative

Neo-Marxism is a strong critique of traditional theory of international political economy

as it thinks that Capitalism exploits the working class but it offers no better alternative.

Conclusion

In conclusion, while marxist believe that capitalism has the seeds of its own destruction, it also needs to come up with better and viable economic alternative model, if it really wants to shape global international economic order.