Question No. 1

INTRODUCTION

Transition of unipolarity into multipolarity is characterized by conflict and cooperation of great powers, regional powers, and smaller states. The balance of power is maintained through alliances and bandwagon- ing to alter the geopolitical order of the world. The intermediaries — middle power — often support the action of their relative ideological leader in global governance while asserting its own position is particular region. This shift from unipolarity to multipolarity also reinforces the principles of security dilemma, leading to militarization and power maximization. In contemporary world, the logic of deterrence and demonstrate behaviour of one actor is reciprocated by another. In words of K. Waltz.

"State reciprocate each others actions to gain strategic leverage."
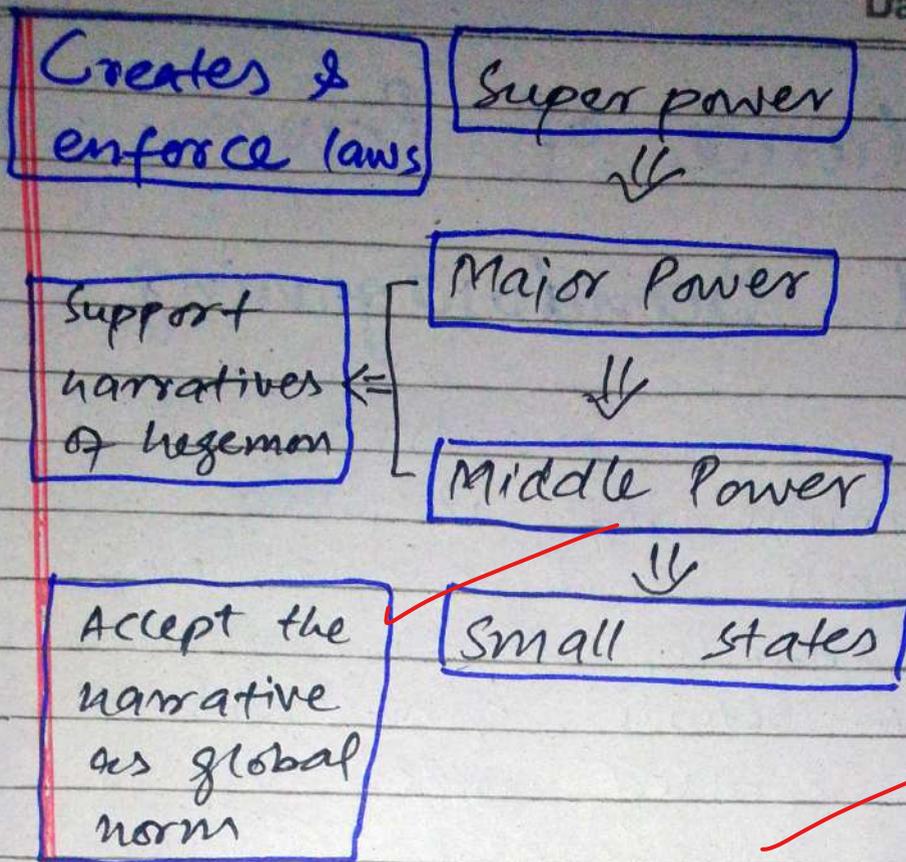
Hezemonic Stability Theory

J. Mearshiemer, Giplin, and J. Ikenberger supports the idea of unipolar system as more stable form of international order.

Logic of stability

→ Hezemon Preserve global order.

→ Global a hegemon is responsible for enforcement of values of status quo.

Example: US intervention in Iraq and Iran to preserve peace.

→ Hezemon is creates verticle relations with other states

Date: _____

Creates & enforce laws	Super power

↓

| Support narratives of hegemon ⇐ | Major Power |

↓

| | Middle Power |

↓

| Accept the narrative as global norm | Small States |

Unipolarity itself is Transition to multipolarity

H Kissinger notes in "world order" that unipolarity itself is transition from bipolarity to multipolarity where a hegemon govern with legitimacy consented by middle powers.

Balance of Power and Bandwagoning

Hegemon preserve the equilibrium by making alliances and cooperating with smaller states. Smaller states in return give legitimacy to its created order.
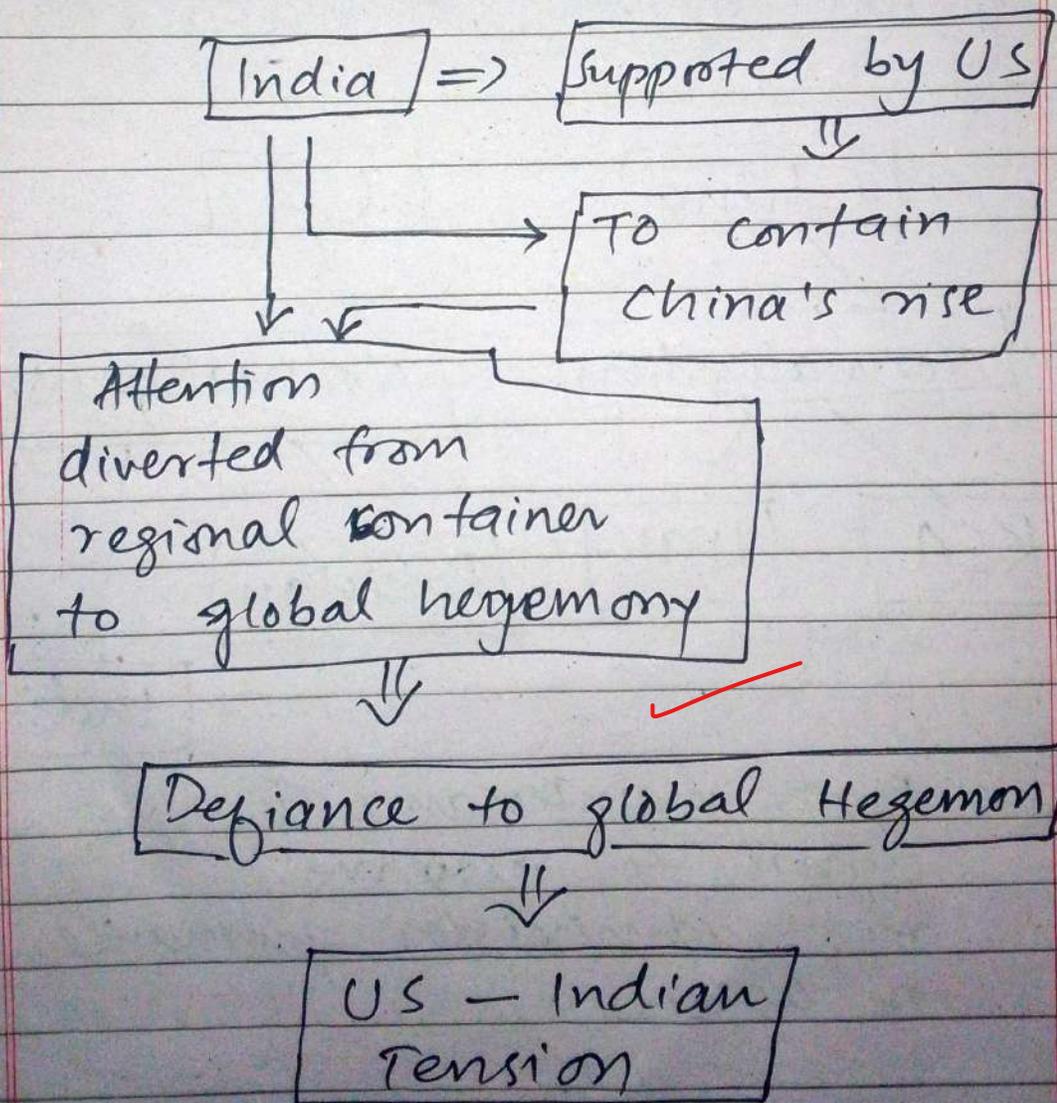
Revisionist Powers and altering hierarchy

In terms of principles and functions, states are equal; however, they vary in terms of relative power distribution (K. Waltz). In this situation revisionist assert their power by showing intentions to alter the hierarchy of int'l system. They justify the existing order as reducing parity.
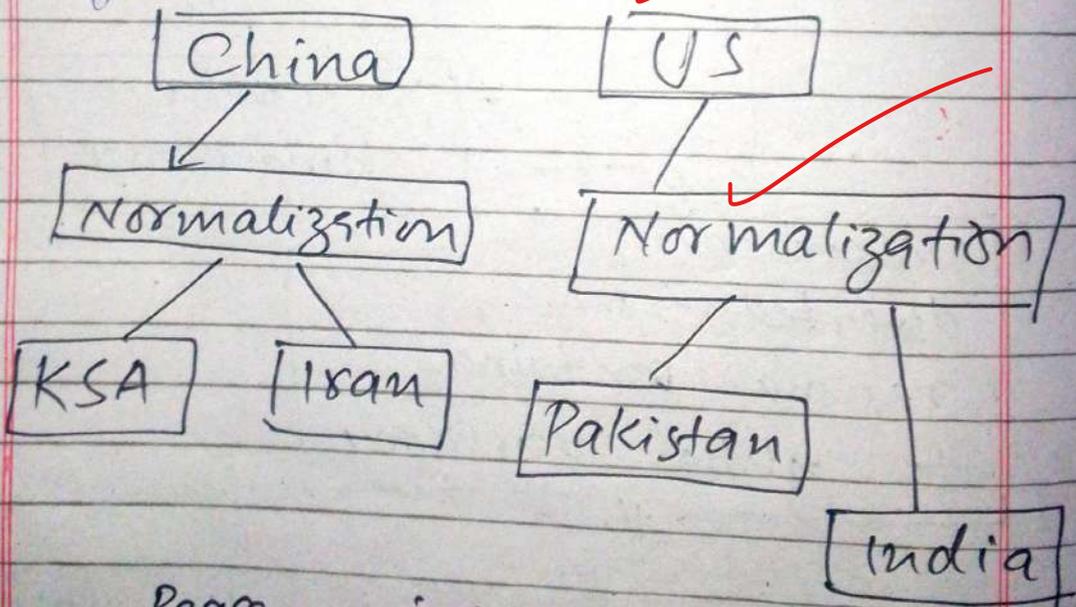
"China → Non-intervention Policy"

Rise of Middle Power

With intention to contain the rising power, hegemon empower middle powers to contain any challenger; however, in so doing, the middle power also turn their ambition from being supporter to leader of the region — regional hegemon.

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┌─────────┐        ┌──────────────────┐
│ India   │ ══>    │ Supported by US  │
└─────────┘        └──────────────────┘
     │  │                   ⇓
     │  └──────────────> ┌──────────────────┐
     │                   │ To contain       │
     ↓   ↙───────────────│ China's rise     │
┌─────────────────────┐  └──────────────────┘
│ Attention           │
│ diverted from       │
│ regional container  │
│ to global hegemony  │
└─────────────────────┘
           ⇓
┌──────────────────────────────┐
│ Defiance to global Hegemon   │
└──────────────────────────────┘
           ⇓
     ┌──────────────┐
     │ US — Indian  │
     │ Tension      │
     └──────────────┘
```

Management of Global Global Governance

In competition and power struggle to enforce its own values, great powers struggle to show their capabilities in managing global affairs or regional affairs.

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┌─────────┐              ┌──────┐
│ China   │              │ US   │
└─────────┘              └──────┘
     ↓                       │
┌──────────────┐      ┌──────────────────┐
│ Normalization│      │ Normalization    │
└──────────────┘      └──────────────────┘
     /    \                  │        │
┌──────┐ ┌──────┐     ┌──────────┐    │
│ KSA  │ │ Iran │     │ Pakistan │    │
└──────┘ └──────┘     └──────────┘    │
                              ┌──────────┐
                              │  India   │
                              └──────────┘
```

Peace maintenance is signal to preserve and administer governance of actors.

Geopolitics in Multipolar world

Geopolitics in emerging multipolar world is, thus, characterized by alliance and varying degree of cooperation.

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┌─────────────────────────┐
│  Pakistan and US        │
│  mineral deals          │
└─────────────────────────┘
            ⇓
┌─────────────────────────┐
│  Russia and Pakistan    │
│  Trade and cooperation  │
│  Agreement              │
└─────────────────────────┘
            ⇓
┌─────────────────────────┐
│  Pakistan and China     │
│  CPEC Phase 2           │
└─────────────────────────┘
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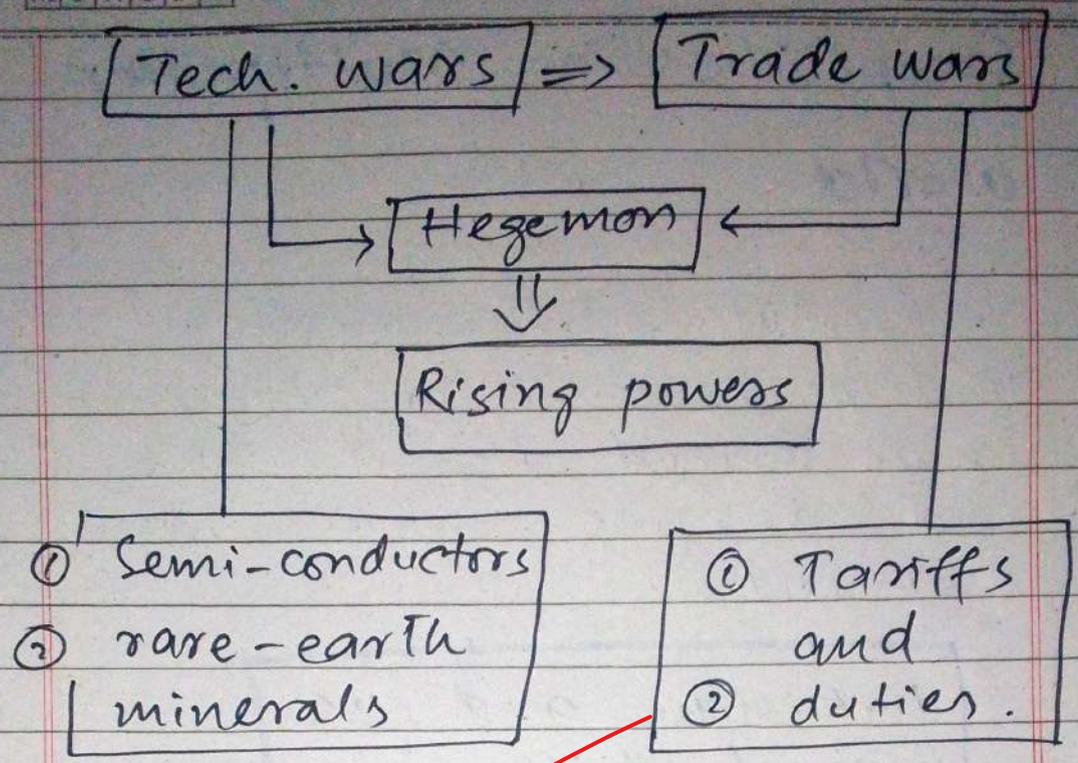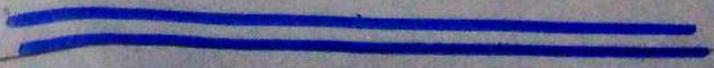
Robert Jervis in "Perception and misperception in Int'l politics," argue "demonstrated behaviour of one power to set the course of action for another to maintain balance."

Tech. wars $\Rightarrow$ Trade wars

Hegemon

$\Downarrow$

Rising powers

① Semi-conductors
② rare-earth
minerals

① Tariffs
and
② duties.

Conclusion

Thus, rising competition
to dominate each other lead
to alliance-making, treaties,
and defense pacts. Similarly,
balance of power is sometimes
disturbed by fear of security
threat, leading to maximization
of power to neutralize threat.
~~Em~~ Emerging powers resist
or enforce these neutralization
strategies.

Question No. 2

INTRODUCTION

After the dismemberment of USSR, Francis Fakuyama presented his thesis of "End of history", arguing the end of resisting force to western ideals. Thus, the meanings of thesis infered that its time for universalization of western ideas. Huntington opposed the thesis by presenting his anti-thesis, forcasting clash of civilization instead of perennial peace and stability. War on terror proved clash of civilizational values correct by presenting and introducing the labels against Islam and Confucianism. The Chinese attempt to counter US liberal order with revival of old silk route, albeit shows interconnectedness of world economy, is an attempt to spread its civilizational values.

END OF HISTORY

End of history thesis was presented by Francis Fukuyama in 1991 after the collapse of communism. The notion argued that with the collapse and defeat communism, resisting forces to western liberal order eliminated. The peace is enevitable.

```
┌─────────────────────┐
│  Collapse and        │
│  Defeat  of          │
│  communism           │
└─────────────────────┘
          ⇓
┌─────────────────────┐
│  No resisting        │
│  Force to the        │
│  western ideals      │
└─────────────────────┘
          ⇓
┌─────────────────────┐
│  Universalization    │
│  of western          │
│  ideals.             │
└─────────────────────┘
```

Universalization of Western ideas:

Fukuyama forecasted a liberal world order dominated by the US as hegemon. The notion of hegemon would export the western values abroad.

Unipolarity and stability of world order

Fukuyama assumed that world order became unipolar because of the acceptance of the communist leader. For example, Gorbachev's policy of Glasnost and prestroika was admittance of ~~open~~ openness and reforms, that align to liberalism.

Spread of Democracy and Human Rights

To liberal world order, democracy acts as foundational

concern because it deemed as protector of human rights

Key Developments under Thesis of End of History

1 — **Establishment of WTO**

Trade - liberalization was widely accepted and the the principle of Lassaize faire was widely adopted.

2. **Doctrine of Pre-emptive Intervention**

US adopted a policy of intervention during 1989 to preserve human rights. For example intervention in Kosovo to claim hegemonic right

Arsenal of Democracy

During 1996, Robert Kagan and William Kristol devised policy and a think tank PNAC (project of new American century) to make the world order compatible to US interests. Thus, exporting the neo-cons democracy abroad. It was implemented in 2003 during intervention in Iraq.

CLASH OF Civilization

S. Huntington saw the other angle of such developments before it even took place by presenting anti-thesis of clash of civilization.

"World is fragmented into various civilization, each opposing its opponent ideology."

Huntington

Civilizations mentioned
By Huntington

Western civilization | ⇒ Brazil civilization / Latin civilization

African civilization | ⇒ African Union

Confucius civilization | ⇒ Chinese civilization

Indian civilization | ⇒ Hinduvata nationalism

Japanese civilization | ⇒ Expected to merge in western civilization

⇓

Egyptian civilization | ⇒ Adoptable and flexible civilization

⇓

Islamic civilization | ⇒ Fiercely resistant civilization.

Huntington's Thesis

Huntington deduced that Islamic and confucius civil civilization would clash because of their values. He opposed the idea of peaceful world order and showed more realistic and pessimistic picture of civilizational clash. Additionally, identity becomes the basis of conflict in future world order, Huntington assumed.

Key developments
under Huntington Thesis

1- War on Terror

War on Terror was basically ideological and civilizational conflict, which united the west against Islamic civilization.

2 - Islamophobia and West

The rise of radical Islam and labelling Islam as extremists religion by western media show that the perception is manufactured based on identity, bringing Huntington's Thesis into play.

3- Non - Recognition of Islamist Government

Afghan government is not recognized as legitimate by western countries, showing that recognition is subject to their compliance of the western values.

Global development Complemented Both Thesis

Both thesis are complementary to each other because both theses have

Following flaws:

① [End of History] ⟹ [Missed politics of identity and civilizational values]

② [Clash of Civilization] ⟹ [Missed nature of political environment]

Synthesis of Thesis & Anti-Thesis
Hence politics of identity is based on civilizational values under the western exported model of democracy

Conclusion

Key developments in the world have complemented that events are shaped by identity politics to dominate their civilizational values under the rubric of int'l legitimate world order

good 12/20

Question No. 3

INTRODUCTION

League of Nations was the manifestation of Wilsonian institutionalism; however, it couldn't prevented the second world war. Multiple reasons reinforced the notion of failure of league of nation: absence of any Major power; security enforcement mechanism; and rise of dictatorship created a power vacuum at global level. Thus the struggle to fill the vacuum led to the war and also rejected the notion of utopians of putting the lion into zoo. The reason is states operate in anarchical structure and they seek power maximization to quest their hunger and thirst for dominance in resources. In current world order under the UN, the mechanism of collective security and nuclear environment have assured mutual

destruction, preventing states from striking the nuclear threshold of another. Similarly, UN system has P-5 members who reinforce the liberal values.

Failure of League of Nation

1- Absence of hegemon in the league

Presence of a hegemon is important to regulate the conduct of organization and behaviour of states.

2- Lack of Security Enforcement Mechanism

The league had the concept of collective security, yet it was theoretical and no mechanism was there to enforce the notion of collective security.

The Liberals Logic of Failure of league of Nation

Liberals argue that the league was failed because states were not ready to cooperate and compromise on ~~some~~ core issues related to security.

1. Lack of cooperation
2. Rise of dictatorship
3. Rise of protectionism halted free trade and mutual interest.

Rise of Nationalist Ideology

The rise of dictator on the basis of nationalist sentiments gravely damaged the institutional arrangement, leading to withdrawal from democratic norms of global governance.
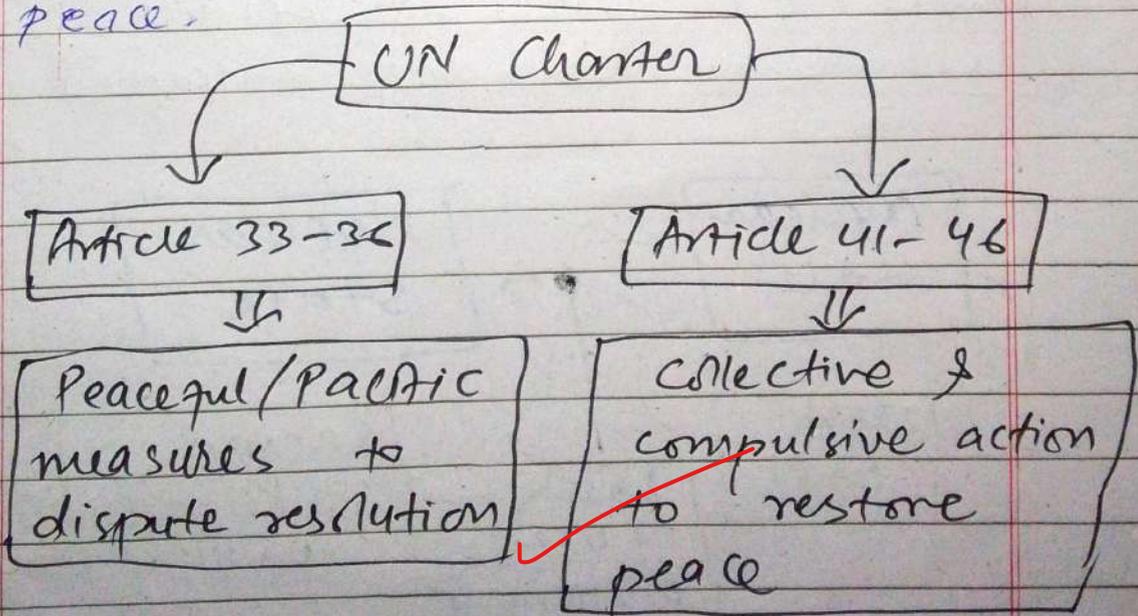
UN as Divergent

Institutional Arrangement

The Security enforcement Mechanism

∠ Collective security, article 25, of UN charter is further supported by article 42 of UN charter binding member states to provide military assistance in times of compulsive means of maintaining peace.

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                    ┌─────────────┐
                    │ UN Charter  │
                    └─────────────┘
              ┌───────────┘       └───────────┐
              ▼                               ▼
     ┌─────────────────┐            ┌─────────────────┐
     │ Article 33-36   │            │ Article 41-46   │
     └─────────────────┘            └─────────────────┘
              ⇓                               ⇓
 ┌───────────────────────┐      ┌──────────────────────────┐
 │ Peaceful/PACAIC       │      │ Collective &             │
 │ measures   to         │      │ compulsive action        │
 │ dispute resolution    │      │ to  restore              │
 │                       │      │ peace                    │
 └───────────────────────┘      └──────────────────────────┘
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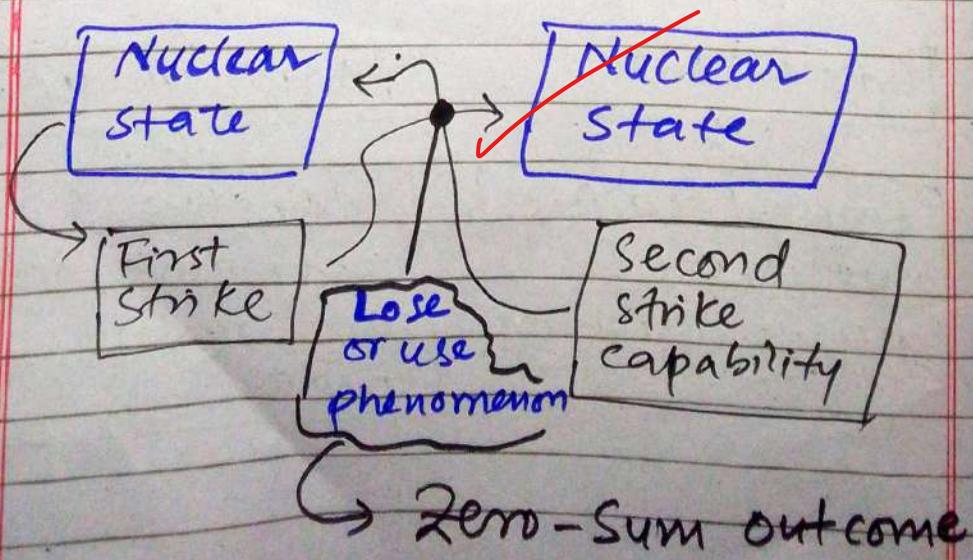
P-5 as Values enforcers

Permanent five members of UNSC enforce the values of current world order. Although, the UN itself doesn't allow intervention, yet the preservance of status quo requires great powers to intervene for peace and stability.

The Nuclearized Environment

During league of Nation, nuclear was not revealed to the world; however after nuclear tests and rising dangerous missiles system, states prevents wars for their own benefits because of zero-sum outcomes.

```
┌──────────┐          ┌──────────┐
│ Nuclear  │ ←···→    │ Nuclear  │
│ State    │          │ State    │
└──────────┘          └──────────┘
    │                      │
    ↓                      ↓
┌───────┐  ┌──────────┐ ┌──────────────┐
│ First │  │ Lose     │ │ Second       │
│ Strike│  │ or use   │ │ Strike       │
└───────┘  │ phenomenon│ │ capability   │
           └──────────┘ └──────────────┘
```

→ Zero-Sum outcome

Cooperation under UN.

1 — UN Convention on Environment

Int'l community cooperate because of mutual benefits and shared interests.

2 - Covid - 19 Cooperation

To protect humanity and reduce their suffering earn credibility of governments from citizens. Thus they cooperate under the rubric of UN.

Assessment of UN and Lo.Nation

UN is dynamic and divergent model from that of league of Nation. The scope and authority of league of Nation was limited but UN has wide range of powers

and domains to operate, Thus, its flexibility and global dynamics make it more effective than league of Nation. Additionally, hegemons regulate conduct of global governance by compelling or compromising on core issues.

Conclusion

In short, UN is divergent model from its predecessor League of Nation because of its conspicuous role in maintaining peace with the cooperation of its member states to preserve and protect each others interest.

Question No. 7

INTRODUCTION

The current phase of Israel Palestine conflict has become more ideological than military struggle between two warring parties. Israel denied the right to self determination of Palestinian statehood by asserting its hegemonic stance, preventing the region from stability. In contrast, the Palestinian suffer at multiple levels. The UN monitoring body claimed the Gaza is facing the worst humanitarian crisis while citing more than 60,000 deaths. Recent, Gaza Peace Plan announcement by Trump has claimed to have ceased the violation of human rights however, media reports show that Israel is still violating the terms of ceasefire. Similarly the stabilizing force to monitor or protect the citizens seems

far beyond reality, making the regional security matrix more complex. Being participant of Gaza peace plan, Pakistan has to avert the challenges of choosing sides between Hamas and Fatah, while avoiding active military participation or engagement in the conflict.

Israel and Palestine:

The corridor of Conflict

Israel was established as a Zionist state, subordinating the already existing population of the area. The conflict arises mainly from:

① — Religious affiliation to Jerusalem
② — The factor of identity and claims of the land as their due right.

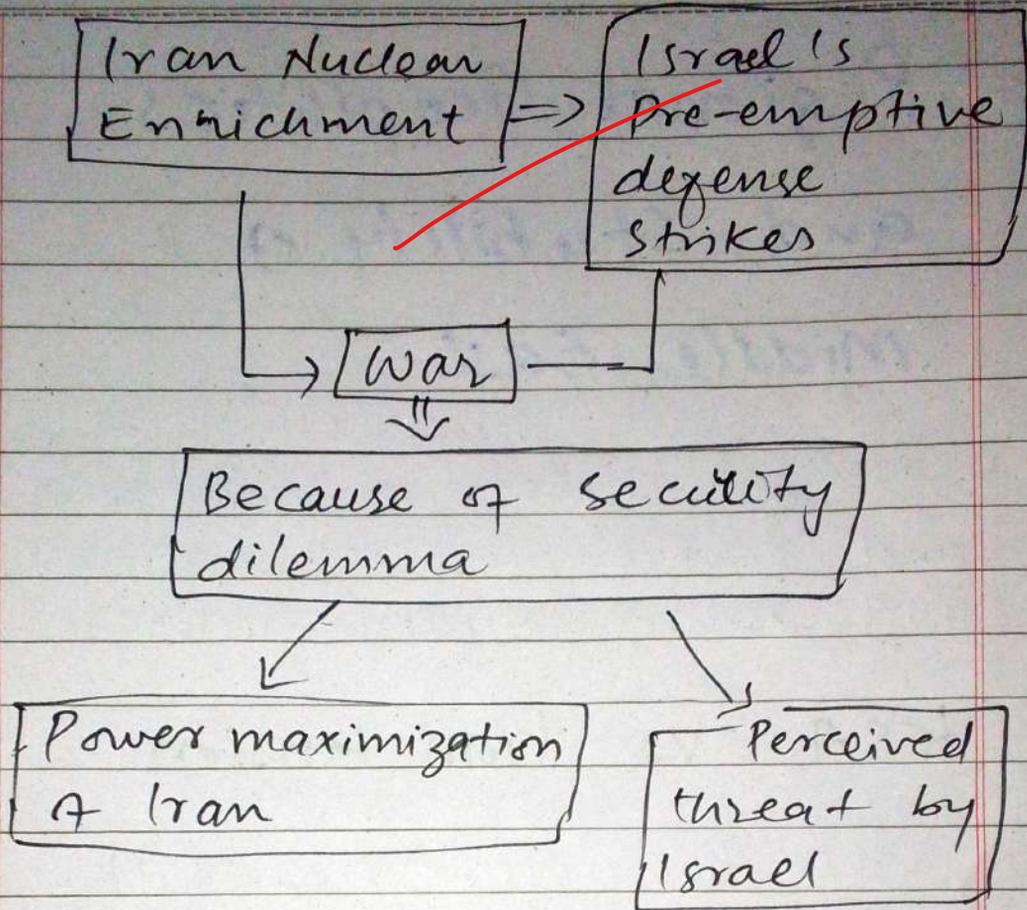# Regional Geopolitics and Stability of Middle East

There exists a sectarian and ethnic tension between and among many parties.

1- KSA vs Iran tension

The Sectarian tension of Sunni-Shia in the middle East has divided the united stance of Muslim world on Palestinian issue

2- Iran and Israel as existential rivals

Israel and Iran have geopolitical tension of claiming one to be hegemon. This hegemonic ambition bred the seeds of mistrust and reinforced security dilemma.

```
┌─────────────────┐      ┌──────────────────┐
│ Iran Nuclear    │ ═══> │ Israel's         │
│ Enrichment      │      │ Pre-emptive      │
└─────────────────┘      │ defense          │
                         │ strikes          │
                         └──────────────────┘
        │                        ↑
        │    ┌──────┐            │
        └──> │ War  │────────────┘
             └──────┘
                ⇓
┌──────────────────────────────┐
│ Because of security          │
│ dilemma                      │
└──────────────────────────────┘
        │                    │
        ↓                    ↓
┌──────────────────┐   ┌──────────────┐
│ Power maximization│   │ Perceived    │
│ of Iran          │   │ threat by    │
└──────────────────┘   │ Israel       │
                       └──────────────┘
```

Rise of Turkey and Qatar

Turkey and Qatar asserts their power in the middle east as intermediate powers. This align their interests to the middle east stability.

Power vacuum and Balance of Power

Amid the struggle to dominate the region, the power vacuum is yet to filled by the victorious. This struggle than require external actors to worsen o improve the conditions f region.

Global Geopolitics in ~~World~~ Middle East

US- Russia in Middle East

According to katzman, Russia doesn't want to replace US-led order in the middle East, yet it sells its weapons and ammunition to the conflicting parties — Hamas — to support its economy.

US- China competition

US struggle to secure the supply chains and dominate

energy ring of middle east, yet china's struggle is to normalize and squeeze more resources from the middle east.

Pakistan in the Middle East

Challenges from resulting order in Middle East

1 - Avoid Choosing side

Pakistan should care for the challenge of choosing side because of Gaza Stabilizing force.

2 - Military Engagement

Pakistan face the challenge of engagement in the middle east because of SAUDI-DEFENSE Pact and NATO clause in it in times of conflicting interest with Iran.

Opportunities for Pakistan in the Middle East

Strategic Defence Pact extension of Diplomatic Clout

Being tied to saudi Arabia in Defense Pact, pakistan can influence the diplomatic course of action, squeezing more monetary benefits.

United voice on OIC Plateform

OIC platform strengthen the muslim world's voice in presence of Pakistan cooperation to Saudi Arabia, because both held prominent and dominent positions.

Saudi Arabia → Economic strength

Pakistan → Defense strength.

Conclusion

In short, the Israel and Palestine conflict is not confined to particular territory but the interests of more powers and states are associated with the conflict; thus bringing challenges and opportunities for Pakistan and other regional states.

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