

## Question No 4:-

### Introduction

The start of 21st century was marked by the revival of multi-polarity with new international player called China. Both Russia and China have same national interest.

Therefore, their ambitions allowed them to stand at a single forum or platform in order to change U.S. led world order. They align their foreign policies with the same mission, and their policies outlook are clearly indicating that they are not remained as at a status-quo positions.

### Ambitions of China and Russia

China and Russia have same national interest; to change the U.S. hegemonic presence on the world. China's peaceful rise threat-

ened America. As a result U.S. changed its policy in 2012 often called "Pivot to East-Asia", a policy of direct containment. However, this containment policy allowed china to change its policy from liberalism to Neo-realism. Furthermore, Russia on the other hand flexing its muscles on the Eurassian region. As a result U.S. expansion of NATO towards Russian borders made Russia once again a revisionist state. Openly challenged U.S. led world order by annexing crimea and then started full invasion of Ukraine.

## Russia and China As a Revisionist States and its foreign policy outlook and its Implications towards multipolarity

## (i) Change of Nuclear Doctrine of Both States

China and Russia

both pursue neo-realism in their foreign policy outlook. They both changed their "Nuclear Doctrine" in 2024. Russia changed its nuclear doctrine because of Ukraine, that struck U.S. made "Army Tactical Missile System" - a long-range ballistic missile - deep inside Russia triggered Russia to change its policy to "First use nuclear missile in case of any existential threat". Furthermore, according to SIPRI, China is willing to exceed its nuclear arsenal from 500 to 1000 by 2030. These change in nuclear doctrine are clear threat to U.S. led world order.

## (ii) Bypassing the Multilateral Sanctions of U.S.

Both Russia

are bypassing unilateral U.S. sanctions which America imposed on Russia and Iran. This creates Thucydides trap for America. As China imports more than 90 percent of Iranian oil in 2023. Furthermore, since the start of Ukraine war, China imports Russian gas at 44 percent of discounted rate, the report of Economist. These measures by both states shaken the U.S. hegemony which is actually started from sanctions.

### (iii) China and Russia's Close Ties with American Allies

Both China and Russia maintain their close ties with U.S. allies - creating security dilemma for U.S. as U.S. now cannot even trust its allies. For instance, Russia maintains close tie with India - the so-called strategic partner of U.S. - India since 2022 imported 4 times more

crude oil from Russia and sold it after refining back to Europe. On the other hand China, a largest economic partner of Europe. The report of Economist says, China's trade with European Union exceeded to 800 billion dollar in 2024. This creates more dependency on Chinese goods as U.S. is losing its close allies in the hands of China.

#### (iv) Challenging the U.S. Dominating World's Financial System

China challenging the U.S. domination on world's financial system by pursuing economic-liberalism in its policy. China created 'Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank' to counter U.S. hegemony over World Bank and IMF. On the other hand both Russia and China in BRICS. want new and alternative currency for trade to escape from U.S.

sanctions and its control over world trade. As Donald Trump says to BRICS+ member

"Leave dedollarization ambition for face 100 percent tariffs"

### (v) Race For Artificial Intelligence

U.S. once was called the champion of marketized economy now using tariff to expand its influence. U.S. an all time realist towards China, imposed ban on U.S. investment in China especially in "AI". In return China banned the export of "Germanium and other essential minerals" required for chips, to U.S. . On the other hand, Russia helped China, the report of SIPRI, to develop electronic warfare system, which give China a defensive leverage over U.S. defensive capabilities. These signs show that the revisionist policies of China and Russia

## Impacts of Their Policies Over U.S.

The policies of both revisionist partner trapped America in the "security dilemma". U.S. uses all its potential either in the form tariffs or NATO expansion towards Russian borders. However, the growing wars in West-Asia and Europe and the weakness of the hegemon allowed analysts like John Mearsheimer to tell the world that the "world has moved towards Multi-polarity"

### Conclusion

The revisionist Russia and China and their foreign policy outlook tells that the world has moved towards multi-polarity. The America is now not a sole legitimate of world. There are also other

player in the global arena as  
Fareed Zakaria says

"At political and military level  
we remain in the unipolar  
world. However, at very different  
level - economical, cultural, educational,  
the world is moving away from  
American domination?"

## Question No 5

### Introduction

The revival of terrorism  
in Pakistan characterized by U.S.  
withdrawal from Afghanistan. which  
led to the instability and  
strategic vacuum from banned  
organization to carry out their  
ill-ambitions inside Pakistan.  
However, the securitization of western  
border of Pakistan can come through



diplomacy, engagement with regional and global powers, intelligence-based precise operations and further more.

## The Measures that Bring Stability on Western Border

### ① The Persuasion of Diplomacy with Afghan Taliban

Since the fall of Kabul, Pakistan main objective is to bring stability and influence in Afghanistan. However, the revival of terrorism turned Pakistan to maintain diplomatic isolation with Afghanistan. As per foreign office report, Taliban not only providing safe havens to terrorist organizations but also allow them to acquire sophisticated weapon that U.S. left in Kabul. The only solution left for Pakistan to convince Taliban that TTP is not only threat

for Pakistan, but also a threat to the legitimacy of Afghan Taliban government.

## (ii) Engagement with Regional and Global Players

Russia and China are the biggest investors in Afghanistan after the withdrawal of U.S. from Afghanistan since 2021. The government of Pakistan should take them into confidence that the TTP and ISAP not only threat for Pakistan but also a danger for China and Russia's interest in the South-Asia as well as in Kabul. Furthermore, the Western government, so far, did not recognize Taliban legitimacy. It is best for Pakistan to convince EU and U.S. to put pressure on Afghanistan to eliminate banned organization from Kabul.

### (iii) The Platforms like SCO can Provide leverage to Pakistan

The regional organization like SCO which established "RATS" to eliminate terrorism, separatism and extremism can be beneficial for Pakistan. The latter can use SCO platform to put pressure on Taliban to hand over all terrorists to Pakistan for justice. As Afghanistan is also willing to join the organization. How can a country join regional organization, if it is a threat to regional as well as global peace and security.

### (iv) Intelligence - Based Precise Military Operation Inside Pakistan

The banned organizations such as "Fitna - Alkhawariz" - TTP - is operational in newly emerged tribal areas and posing existential

threat to Pakistan. The latter can use National Action Plan strategy to carry-out (IBO) but with precise measures in order to reduce vulnerabilities of local population

### (v) Eliminate the Communication and Financial Network of Banned Groups

Foreign office has claimed that the rival intelligence agency like "RAW" is funding TTP to carry out terrorists attack inside Pakistan. The latter should use the "United Nation" platform and the show the world how the so-called world's largest ~~dem~~ democracy is supporting banned outfit to destabilize Pakistan. Earlier, Pakistan government imposed "Tariffs" on transit trade which brings goods from Afghanistan to India to put pressure

on Taliban.

## Conclusion

Pakistan has taken multiple measure to curb the menace of terrorists organization operating in Afghan soil. However, certain measure like regional organization, IB-operations etc can also prove best initiatives to eliminate the existential threats that TTP and other banned outfits pose.

## Question 6

### Introduction

West-Asia has emerged as a hotspot of global power politics shaped by war between Hamas and Israel. The global as well as regional power reshaped their foreign policies according to changing regional dynamics. This event provided more opportunities to convert arch rival into influential players with same interests. And has changed the regional leadership from U.S. to other states.

### The Regional Dynamics After October 2023

Since the war between Hamas and Israel the regional dynamics have changed some of them are given below.

(i) Delays in Normalization of Relation Between Saudi Arabia and Israel

During the first presidency of Donald Trump brought more Arab nations to normalize their tie with Israel in "Abraham Accords".

However, the balance of power efforts cultivated by U.S. have failed. Saudi Arabia now called off its normalization with Israel stating that

"Saudi Arabia will not recognize Israel until Palestine becomes independent state with East-Jerusalem as its capital"

the statement by Muhammad Bin Sulman gave blow to U.S. efforts and turned the states close to Iran.

(ii) Saudi Arabia and Iran Normalization of Relation

Both states since 1979 pursued realism in their foreign policies and their aims were to control the influence over Middle-East. However, the crisis of Gaza brought both countries at the same position with same interest - to stop the Zionist genocidal campaign in Gaza - the relations between two states are showed in the MBS statement

"Saudi Arabia will not allow Israel to target Iran by violating Saudi air space"

The statement came following Israel retaliatory attack in July 2023.

(iii) China Becoming More Influential Player in the Region

In the Past, America had maintained its influence over



Middle-East. However, the wars in West-Asia have changed the dynamics of the region. In the mid of the 2024, China reconciled between Al-fatah and Hamas, an arch rival before October 2023. China following the policy of liberal institutionalism took out America's leadership over the oil riched Arab states, creating strategic dilemma for U.S. in the region.

(iv) **The War in Middle-East has changed Global People Perception for U.S.**

America which called itself so-called a leader of liberal world. It has provided 101 billion dollars of financial and military aids to Israel and enabled Israel to snatch the basic principle of international institution - **The Right to Self Determination** - the un-discriminatory

support of U.S. turned Western people against him. which was witnessed in the student led protest of Columbia University since Vietnam war. The global people now do not want U.S. leadership on the world, providing opportunity to China to grow.

### ① Engagement of U.S. in ME An Opportunity for Russia

The U.S. direct involvement in the Israel's war provided opportunity to Russia which pursued neo-realism policy over Ukraine. The distraction of U.S. from Ukraine allowed Russia to capture four Western province of Ukraine. Furthermore, U.S. cannot enable multiple front wars on different region including Indo-Pacific. As a result, Donald Trump publically called to stop military

aid to Ukraine, giving Putin upper hand over Ukraine question.

## (vi) U.S. Policy of Balance of Power has Disturb

U.S. imposed sanctions on Saudi Arabia in 2021 and stopped it from acquiring long-range missile. However, growing ties with Iran and Saudi Arabia pushed U.S. to lift sanctions from Saudi Arabia in order to create "Security Dilemma" for Iran. However, the developments show that Iran has no more threat for Saudi Arabia as during the visit of Iran's foreign Minister to Saudi Arabia, both states pledged to carry out naval drill in "Red Sea" which means Yemen Houthis have created soft corner for their former arch rival.

## Conclusion

In a nutshell, the changing regional dynamics in the Middle-East have changed the past-rivals into strategic allies and turned the regional leadership from the hands of U.S. to China which is evident by the latter growing influence in the region.

## Question No 8

### Introduction

The start of 21st century was an era of liberal internationalism during uni-polar world order. However, with the revival of multi-polarity and the peaceful rise of China, turned the world into the arena of real politik. The rise of multi-polarity induced security dilemma for the America and the threat of transition of leadership changed national interests of the states. History tells that multi-polarity cultivates realism in states' behaviour.

### Failure of liberal Internationalism and the Rise of Real Politik (Realism)

The developments of Asia-Pacific and Euro-Atlantic region show the revival of Realism.

## (ii) Alliances Between Revisionist States

According to Western analysts, like John Meirshemer Iran, Russia, China and North Korea have aligned their policies with same national interest in order to change U.S. led world order. Four out of three states are humiliated by the unilateral sanctions of America. Therefore, all states are strategic partners with each other. Iran has the highest number of China's investment. North Korea and Russia have mutual defense treaty, and Russia and China have strategic partnership both providing each other military support in the name of dual-use equipment, creating insecurity for U.S.

## (ii) Balance of Power in the Asia-Pacific

China claimed the whole South-China sea as its territory and Taiwan also. America wants the freedom of navigation as South-China sea is the most strategic important for U.S. and Taiwan, on the other hand, the hub of sophisticated and cheap semi-conductor industry. The claims of China led to the presence of U.S. in the Asia-Pacific under the umbrella of QUAD or Mutual Defense Treaties with South Korea, Japan and Philippine. This BOP syndrome births the real politik of 21st century.

## (iii) The Credibility of Non-Nuclear Proliferation Regime

Biden administration after taken the office of presidency

initiated a nuclear deal with Australia under the umbrella of "AUKUS". Under this treaty, U.S. the so-called non-proliferation advocate pledged to give nuclear-powered submarine to Australia - a state having no existential threat nor any arch rival - the aim was to contain China's growing influence over India-Pacific.

#### (iv) U.S. Tariffs Policy towards China

Donald Trump after taking office in 2017 imposed 25 percent of tariffs on Chinese product. A country that once brought China into marketized economy and free trade agreement in 2001. Now using protectionist policy to curtail U.S. dependency on Chinese products.

The only challenge to liberal democracy in the world comes



from China. which has combined authoritarian government with partially marketized economy"

~ Francis Fukuyama

## (v) The Revival of NATO

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization was formed to contain Russia in Cold war had become isolate after cold war ended in 1991. However, following Russia annexation of Crimea in 2014 reenergized the NATO which in 2024 expanded towards Russian border by incorporating Finland and Sweden. The expansion of NATO created insecurity for Russia as what the theory of security dilemma says. The insecurity created by NATO expansion undermined the liberal internationalism and against the peace and security of the region.

## (vi) Trump's Policy of Isolationism

Trump administration in 2019 withdrew from Paris Agreement and World Health Organization. Both are essential for contemporary challenges. Trump calls climate change a myth and without the engagement of super-power, climate change continues to pose existential threat for the world. The policy of "Make America Great Again" is basically undermined liberal institutionalism which integrates states to resolve their existential crisis by mutual participation.

## Conclusion

These developments in the Asia-Pacific and Euro-Atlantic regions undermine the very first notion of liberal internationalism with the revival of multipolarity. However, mutual respect and trust can bring the states in the win-win scenario.