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of the requirement for the MS International Relations degree award*

**EFFECTS OF REGIONAL GEO-POLITICAL CHANGES ON
PAKISTAN-RUSSIA RELATIONS**



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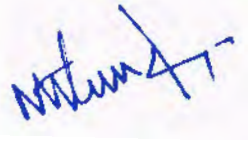
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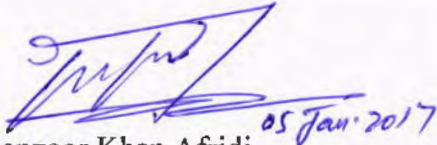
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Abstract

Throughout Cold War era Pakistan didn't cultivated fruitful ties with Russia. It was the international structure which compelled Pakistan to join Western bloc in order to meet the security and economic needs of a new born state and in the same manner the then USSR supported India which lead the south Asian region to a strategic imbalance. But global politics is not static. 21st century and specially the event of 9/11 transformed the entire global political arena. Contemporary global politics is witnessing new alliances, there is a policy shift in both of the south Asian giants, India in cold war era was looking towards East and Pakistan was in western block but today Pakistan is looking towards East and Indian tilt is toward West. Geo-political and geo-strategic changes are determining the fate of global politics. This study "Effects of Regional Geo-Political Changes on Pakistan-Russia Relations" is an attempt to highlight the changing geo-political scenario of the region, factors responsible for policy shift, response to new global geo-strategic scenario and how it helped to bring closer the two rivals of the Cold War.

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List of Abbreviations

BCIM	Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar
BIT	Bilateral Investment Treaty
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
CARS	Central Asian Republics
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CPEC	China-Pakistan Economic Corridor
CSTO	Collective Security Treaty Organization
CTBT	Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty
ECO	Economic Cooperation Organization
FATA	Federally Administrated Tribal Areas
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMU	Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
LNG	Liquefied Natural Gas
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NDS	National Directorate of Security
NPT	Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty
NSG	Nuclear Supplier Group
NSTC	North South Transport Corridor
OBOR	One Belt One Road
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
PAC	Patriot Advanced Capability
PTA	Partial Trade Agreement
RAW	Research and Analysis Wing
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation

S&CD	Social and Community Development
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
TAPI	Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India Pipeline
TTP	Tahrik-e-Taliban Pakistan
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UPA	United Progressive Alliance
US	United States
USIBC	US-India Business Council
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WMD	Weapon of Mass Destruction

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my beloved family and someone special

..... *RJ*

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Chapter-I

Introduction

Global politics is very dynamic, it never remains steady, and there always remain ups and downs with the rise and fall of powers. Geo-politics, geo-strategic location and according to neo-realists international structure determines state behavior. New world order developed after the demise of Multi-polarity at the end of World War Two. The bi-polar world or Cold War era witnessed certain realities in the form of decolonization and emergence of new states in global arena. The same era witnessed conflict between two great powers the US and USSR and the rivalry between the two divided the world into two blocs, capitalist and communist and the prevailing international structure compelled the states to respond either to join the capitalist bloc or communist bloc. That international structure also affected the South Asian region particularly Pakistan and India the newly born states and both facing internal and external threats. In US and USSR's tug of war Pakistan in its infancy days moved towards Western camp in order to meet its economic and security needs which were easily fulfilled by US, and USSR in the same manner assisted India. Pakistan became part of US containment policy against USSR throughout Cold War era and didn't cultivated lucrative ties with former USSR.

The contemporary international politics is in new phase, the unipolar world which emerged after the collapse of Soviet Union is heading towards multipolarity and states are responding in same manner to the new World Order. Russia is once again gaining confidence in global arena and is no more in the shock of collapse of Soviet Union. Along with Russia, Pakistan is also in transition phase and there is a policy shift in response to the global system and changing geo-politics of the region

and thinking to get rid of the western dominancy. Pakistan wants relations with US based on equality, not masters and slave relation.

Regional geo-politics is compelling both Russia and Pakistan to co-operate and co-ordinate in various sectors particularly in terms of security. The episode of 9/11 posed serious threats to the regional security and which is a matter of concern for both Russia and Pakistan. Along with terrorism the region is witnessing new alliances in the form of growing Indo-US nexus about which both Russia and Pakistan are suspicious.

Keeping in view all these arrangements this study "Effects of Regional Geo-Political Changes on Pakistan-Russia Relations" highlighted Pakistan-Russia relations in changing geo-strategic scenario in South Asia, Pakistan-Russia response to regional security and terrorism, Pakistan's response to new geo-political scenario where Russia along with China can be a counter balance force against West and would be lucrative to maintain strategic balance or balance of power in South Asia.

Rationale of the study

In international relations there are very common sayings that there are no permanent friends and foes in international politics and nothing is permanent in international relations only national interest is permanent. Thus, it is evident that national interest determines states behaviour. Along with national interest in international arena there is prominent school of thought known as Neo-Realism and the neo-realists argue that international order or structure determines state foreign policy. The post Cold War era, particularly the event of 9/11 and the changing geo-political situation in the region is forcing both Russia and Pakistan to improve their bilateral relations in security and economic areas in order to counter the common perceived threats in the

region. Certain geo-strategic changes are occurring in the region such as growing Indo-US nexus and their dominance in Asia Pacific, the civil nuclear deal between US and India. The growing Indo-US-Israel nexus is disturbing regional stability in terms of balance of power and dragging the region towards strategic imbalance. These developments are the motivating factors to bring the two Cold War rivals closer to each other.

Pakistan is responding to these developments and there is a policy shift which can be witnessed in robust relations with China and also approaching towards Russia. On the other hand Russia in its recent "look east" policy is striving for new market due to its alienation from west particularly defence market and which Pakistan can provide due to India's tilt towards West. There is a convergence of interest on certain issues between the two states.

Statement of the problem

The international system is anarchic and states behavior is determined by the structures of the state system where predominantly geo-political conditions are the most important factors that determine state's policy. Asia and particularly South Asia is witnessing changing geo-strategic scenario in the form of growing Indo-US ties particularly security ties and this is disturbing the regional stability. These developments have sliding down effect and helped to bring the Cold War rival Russia and Pakistan closer.

Objectives of the Study

- To analyze the importance of Pak-Russia relations in geo-political context
- To Highlight the factors leading to a major policy shift
- To explore regional geo-politics and its impact on Pak-Russia relations
- To evaluate geo-political importance of Pakistan in recent Russia “look east policy”

Research questions

- What is the impact of regional geo-politics on Pak-Russia relations?
- How/why did the Indo-US strategic nexus lead to major Pak-Russia policy shifts?
- How did geo-politics force Pakistan and Russia to cooperate on countering terrorism and maintenance of regional peace?
- What is the geo-political importance of Pakistan (prospects for Pakistan) in the recent Russian “Look East Policy” due to its alienation from the West?

Significance of the study

The study “Effects of Regional Geo-Political Changes on Pakistan-Russia Relations” will be lucrative to address the concerns related to:

1. Strategic imbalance in region/ shifting alliances.
2. Regional security after NATO drawdown from Afghanistan.
3. Pakistan-Russia improved relations would help Pakistan to get rid of the instability in which presently Pakistan is entrapped and will also be helpful for Russia and CAR's.

4. Pakistan's political and economical issues would be addressed within the framework of SCO.
5. This will provide Pakistan an opportunity to formulate an independent foreign policy and will curtail Pakistan's economic dependence on US and other financial institutions.

Literature review

The topic has been discussed by a number of authors; survey of the available literature is given below:

Adnan Ali shah (2015) in his article "Pakistan-Russia Relations Challenges and Prospects" argued that in the contemporary world, there is a convergence of interest between Russia and Pakistan in order to sustain regional stability. Both states are worried about post NATO drawdown Afghanistan and security issues of the region. He is of the view that regional and global politics is in transition for which co-operation between the two is need of the day. The region is witnessing close alliance of China and Russia to counter US hegemonic designs. Pakistan can also be economically benefited in developing relations with Russia.

Mohammad Hanif (2013) further argued that Pakistan can benefit more in fostering relations with Russia, a regional and emerging power in global arena. Russia with both economic and defence potential can assist Pakistan. Pakistan by developing relations with Russia can utilize Russia veto power card having already China's card in pocket. Regional security is a major concern for both especially in post NATO drawdown Afghanistan. Along with security Russia is worried about the romance of India and US. Pakistan is also looking for an economic partner and wants to get rid of US aid. Contemporary geo-politics is helping to bring the two closer.

Lieutenant Colonel Rehan Aqil Khan (2014) in his work focused on opportunities that Pakistan and Russia can assist better each other in defence, economic and energy sector. He further focused on convergence of interest between the two such as counter terrorism and SCO membership; which has been given to Pakistan, these developments will lead the region towards strategic balance. This study basically deals with opportunities for Pakistan particularly in trade sector and the gap here is the impact of current geopolitics on Pak-Russia relations.

Nazir Hussain (2012) suggests that Pakistan should revise its foreign policy. He suggests that Pakistan should move with new start. He is of the view that that certain change in region has taken place and Pakistan should formulate policy in that manner. The changing geo-political and geo-structural scenario demand new approaches and there should be no room for an error. There should be a bold start to develop relations between the two.

Mohammad Maqbool Khan (2014) analysed that with the changing regional scenario, Russia is emerging as great power in global politics and is no more in the shock of the collapse of USSR. Pakistan on the other hand is fed up with the existing arrangements and wants to get rid of US dominancy. The growing Indo-US nexus and US support of India for the permanent membership of UNSC is the motivating factor for Pakistan to revise its policy and approach Russia in this changing regional geo-political environment.

Air Marshal (R) Shahid Latif (2012) said that Pakistan is in deteriorating economic situation and economical stability can be brought by developing relations with Russia particularly in Russian access to Gawadar port. This initiative will be in mutual interest for both. Pakistan must head towards Russia in a balance approach keeping in view the interest of other allies such as China. The troika Pakistan-China-

Russia can play crucial role in order to maintain regional stability and can be counter balance force against US hegemonic ambitions.

Vladimir Moskalenko and Petr Topychkanov (2014) in their work shared their view Russia is focusing on Pakistan the situation is not like as it was in Cold War era, both states are facing common threats particularly in terms of security. They argued that it would be in favor of Russia to augment relations with Pakistan to curtail the common security issues. For this both states should co-ordinate and co-operate to overcome the existing difficulties keeping aside the historical rivalry.

Theoretical Framework

Neo-Realism theory and the concept of geo-politics are applied to develop theoretical framework for this research.

The well-known and renowned scholar of the Neo-Realist school of thought was definitely Kenneth Waltz. Neo-realist theory was first introduced by him in his work "Theory of International Politics" in 1979. Profounder of this theory are of the view that it is the international structure that determines state behavior, state responds to the prevailing global structure and there is no role of other factors to direct state behavior.

Prior to Waltz structural realism the global politics was dominated by the assumptions of classical and neo-classical realism which mainly focuses on human nature and state, and their approach was limited to individual and state level. They were of the view that state is unitary actor and there is anarchy in global arena and it is state that shape international structure. Waltz on the other hand used the same ideas and assumptions and developed it. Waltz recognizes that state is the actor in global politics and the international system is anarchic but Waltz departs from the two on the grounds that it is international structure that determines state behavior. Structure

creates and operates the system and there is no room for human beings and no role of the leaders. Individuals or the leaders are dependent on the structure which dictates their decision making process and conduct of their foreign policy. According to Waltz structural realism foreign policy of a state cannot be independent of international structure.

Significance of international structure according to Waltz *“the ruler’s and later the state’s, interest provide the spring of action; the necessity of policy arises from unregulated competition of states; calculation based on these necessities can discover the policies that will best serve the state interests; success is the ultimate test of policy, and success is defined as preserving and defining the state..... Structural constraints explains why the methods are repeatedly used despite differences in the persons and states who use them”*

Along with neo-realism, Geo-politics is another theoretical perspective for the conduct of this research. Geo-politics depicts that state behavior is dependent on state location, its resources and the surrounding environment. Alfred Thayer well known theorist of geo-politics argued in his book *“The influence of sea power in history”* (1890) that states with extensive coastlines and ports enjoyed a competitive advantage.

After the demise of USSR and the end of Cold War the world transformed from bi-polarity to uni-polarity. The post Cold War era and specially the episode of 9/11 transformed the entire global politics. World witnessed drastic changes both globally and regionally. In terms of security, the event of 9/11 provides opportunity for Pakistan and Russia in region to co-operate in order to counter the common security threat. The region is also witnessing certain geo-strategic changes in the form of US growing interest in Asia Pacific, the post-Cold War transformation of global politics and fast changing geo-political situation in the region following 9/11 have created new and strong imperatives for both Russia and Pakistan to come closer and

enter into productive bilateral cooperation in the political, economic and security areas. There are some momentous geo-strategic developments intriguing in Russia's vicinity. The US is increasing its influence in the Asia-Pacific, developing strategic ties with India, NATO presence in CAR's, post NATO drawn security situation in Afghanistan, at global level US hegemonic designs in middle east particularly in Syrian crises, all these factors provide a logical ground for both Pakistan and Russia to come closer to each other and all these factors helped to bring together the two rivals of Cold War.

Methodology

The research is qualitative and based on analytical and descriptive method. Data for this research is collected from secondary sources such as books and articles. There was focus on journals and articles from internet. In addition to this, reports from different organization related to topic are utilized. While processing data first of all the refined data was paraphrased and then summarized with mentioning of source in the bibliographical section. In order to follow the theme of Research topic different sources were reviewed to proof a point.

Chapter -II

Changing South Asian Geo-Strategic Scenario and Pak-Russia Relations

Realism is the most renowned theory of International relations. Its main proponents are Thomas Hobbes, Machiavelli, and Thucydides etc. Neo-realism is the modern form of realism which was introduced in response to the introduction of liberal thoughts in late 1920s which stressed on the peace through international organizations. The main theoreticians of neo-realism are John Mearsheimer and Kenneth N Waltz. The main assumptions of the theory are as following.

First, there is anarchy in the world and states are responsible to secure their national interests, sovereignty and territorial integrity by advancing their power. The idea of 'government of government' is just a false perception and states should rely upon self-help for their own security (Toft, 2003).

Second, states intentions cannot be predicted, any state can open fire on another state any time. This doesn't mean that states always have intentions to fight but due to anarchy, the uncertain intentions of the states are inescapable.

Third, security should come first as survival is the most important goal of any state in the international system while all other goals are secondary (Toft, 2003).

One of the main ideas of neo-realism is security dilemma. It's a concept that means there is always an arm race among states because if one state increases its military power, other states view it as offensive and is consider a move of state A to wage a war with state B though the state A may not have those intentions. Viewing this development, states observing military maximization of other states maximize their own arms (Tang, 2008).

The idea that diverts neo realism from realism is the argument of structure of states. Neo realists are also called structural realists because they believe that neither states nor statesmen are selfish in nature neither states only way of conducting its foreign relations is by the means of war. Neorealist believe that structure of the World is anarchic and thus states fight each other because of the International environment which make them fight as there is no central authority to stop states from warring each other.

However, it's a general saying in International relations that you may change your enemy but you cannot change your neighbor. The evolving geopolitics of Asia, south Asia and perhaps of the world has invited some serious challenges for states. The evolving multi-polarity of the world brought states to the position where old alliances failed to meet the interests of the states and new paradigm shifts are taking place. This change is less evident in almost all the continents of the world than in Asia because of the presence of China in East Asia and Russian influence in North Asia and Central Asia as well as its bilateral ties with Iran. Two powers which are countering the sole authority of US have so far taken their start from Asia and particularly south Asia.

Asia is one of the largest and the most populated continent of the world. The importance of Asia has never been lessened throughout the course of history. Be it Islamic empires or European colonies, Asia have always attracted the people and states due to its geography, richness in resources, and most vital routes that connect Asia with Africa and Europe which provide brass tacks of trade from Asia to all major continents of the world. Asia not only now but also in future will be the main source of economic growth which will invite most serious security implications not only for Asia but for the world as well (Bower, Hiebert, Nguyen, & Poling, 2015).

In Asia, South Asia is the most densely populated region and resource rich. It's famous for its vegetation and wildlife that cannot be seen in any part of the world. South Asian region mainly comprises of 7 States, i.e. Pakistan, India, Afghanistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Srilanka and Maldives (Rajesh, 2015). However, Bangladesh is also considered a part of South Asia. The regional organization that deals with South Asia is South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC) which was created on December 8, 1985. The member states as well as the founding members of SAARC are Nepal, Bangladesh, Pakistan, India, Bhutan, Sri-Lanka and Maldives while Afghanistan joined late in 2007 (Shaheen, 2013).

Strategic scenario in South Asia

South Asia has been playing vital role in World politics. Be it Cold War or war against terrorism, South Asian states have proven their significance in the world. However, the geopolitics of the region is now facing a serious geostrategic change. With Pakistan being an ally of US, it helped US to become a sole super power by aiding militants in Afghanistan which became the reason of collapse of USSR. It had also facilitated America in fighting terrorism in Af-Pak (Afghanistan-Pakistan) region, whereas India has always been a close friend of Russia. But this situation is changing and it's changing the geo-strategic scenario of South Asia.

Indo-US nexus

With recent developments in the region, much has changed for India and equally for Pakistan. The geostrategic setting of the region changed with the beginning of US and Indian bilateral relations to the unprecedented expectations. US recently changed its policy towards South Asia after a decade of global war against terror but the US-Indian partnership isn't sudden, it was started back in 2005. The June and July deal of

nuclear agreement in 2005 is a big example of strategic change for both states (Fani, 2009). Both of the states have interests linked with each other. India needs US against the expanding power of China and its friendship with Pakistan which is its oldest enemy whereas US too have somewhat same interests with India as US fears the expanding influence of Russia in the region and it needs India to counter any threat which is a threat against the US hegemony in the region. Meanwhile, India can also provide US with a big market for its Military industrial complex (Kronstadt & Pinto, 2012).

Since 2001, the relations between India and US have been thriving in security sector despite of US understanding with Pakistan. Indian defense minister Pranab Mukharjee visited US in 2005 in which 10 years defense agreement was signed which increased cooperation in trade, commerce, security, and technology sector. In 2002, US provided India 8 Raytheon long range radars whose worth was about \$146 million and it also approved sale of Israeli Phalcon warning system to India whose worth is more than 1.2 billion \$. In 2004, US and India signed strategic partnership by entering into civil nuclear deal which was the cooperation in nuclear technology, trade and information while US also claimed that it would make India as major power of the World. While in the same year joint working group was created to work together in the field of technology and nuclear cooperation. In 2005, the strategic partnership was further strengthened and the nuclear cooperation was additionally strengthened. In the same year both states signed another deal known to us as 10-years of defense pact in Washington D.C that was about cooperation between both states against terrorism, it enabled both states to do joint collaboration in military production, and encourage military capabilities of both states. This treaty also enabled India to get imports from

US on fissile material without signing CTBT. In 2008, US congress approved the civil nuclear pact among both the states which reinforced treaty (Nazir & Bhat, 2014).

But these relations were further strengthened after 2013 and it dramatically changed the geostrategic scenario of the region. In 2014, the 10-year defense pact which became dormant in recent years was activated again. The defense secretary Chuk Hegal visited India in 2014 and the deal of renewal of defense pact was signed between the both actors, he paid the visit to India because India showed interest to buy 22 US Apache and 15 Chinook helicopters of \$ 1.4 billion worth. Both states over the past decade conducted joint military exercises. Now India does more military exercises and personnel interactions with US than any other state in the world.

In the field of navy, India and US have conducted combined large scale naval exercising as Malabar, Habu Nag, and Spitting Cobra. These exercises were guided by naval chiefs from US and India respectively. In case of air, both states were involved in joint air exercises such as Cope India while India for the first time participated in multilateral 'Red Flag Nellies' air force exercise held by US in 2008 (K. Alan & Pinto, 2013). While in field of land, Yudh Abhyas has been conducted in which American tanks for the first time stationed on Indian soil in 2001 for the joint military workout, while in 2012, Indian personnel were trained in US in Yudh Abhyas exercise held in Alaska. While the nuclear deal among both parties was signed in 2008 which received much attention now and opened doors for future nuclear deals between both the states (Tyagi, 2015). Further in the field of nuclear deal, in 2015, Obama and Modi signed an agreement in which US would assist six nuclear reactors in India which would be financed by Indian and American banks of import and export and also the Indian nuclear power cooperation of India and Toshiba Corp's (Reuters,

2016). Beside the nuclear reactor establishment, US also committed that it would help India to meet its energy needs and will reduce its reliance on the fossil fuels in the same deal was confirmed (Reuters, DW news, 2016). The most threatening thing for Pakistan is US assistance to India in developing its supersonic interceptor missile that would destroy any incoming of intercontinental missile, after the 11th time failure, it's the 12th test that proved fruitful for India (Rasheed, 2016). US too is assisting India in this regard and also showed its support to get India member of Nuclear supply group (NSG) which was not favored by several members of NSG such as Russia, Brazil, China etc. and India's bid for the membership of NSG met its doom.

The diplomatic ties between both the states increased rapidly. The total trade of both the states recently rose up to 5 times with total trade transaction over 100 billion dollar and it's expected to increase more over a course of few years, while both states have reached to unexpected level of defense transaction that rose to 14 billion \$ from 300 million in just a time period of ten years (Raees, 2015). However, the US-India civil nuclear deal has boasted the fear of strategic non-proliferation community. This deal have not only rose the fears of members of NPT but have always put states of South Asia on unrest challenging the Balance of Power of the region and inviting states to follow the footprints of US and India and enhance their nuclear weapons facilities. It has disturbed the regional peace and states of the region have shown their grievances by stating that the deal would have implications for the region and India having no check on advancement of its weapons stock would further contribute in issues plus the states like Iran and North Korea would be pressed to further maximization their nuclear weapons (Mukhtar, 2014).

Both states are reviving their talks regarding Bilateral Investment Treaty (BIT), this treaty will allow American companies to be treated fairly in India and

would similarly allow Indian companies to work in US and abandon any unfair treatment to its companies (Singhal, 2015). US have also promised to assist India through strategic partnership and opening new doors for India to progress as it declared that the India is new emerging major power (Bukhari, 2011). India and US bilateral relations with regard to trade and commerce also enhanced in last 15 years and reached to 100 billion \$. This has lowered trade tariffs among both the states and also have lowered trade barriers between the both. The leaders of both states in 2015, met twice in the period of two years in which they discussed the high level bilateral Investment agreement, civil-nuclear collaboration, the discussion over partnership to commerce and strategic negotiation and discussion over collaboration on services, intellectual property, agriculture etc (Novelli, 2015). On the other hand US and India have signed Strategic and Commerce Dialogue (S&CD) for the first time which is a prove that how strategic environment of South Asia is changing with the new agreements and alliances to move forward. The S&CD is the annual forum which is signed among the states for the advancement of Strategic and Commerce. India received US exports up to 38 billion \$ in 2014. This economic partnership has brought two countries on the same page against Russian influence expansion and defense partnership of Russia and Pakistan. The US direct investment in India was \$28 billion while the Indian direct investment in US was 7.8 billion \$ (DC, 2015). Moreover, the US firms and US-India Business council (USIBC) welcomed Mr. Modi's new economic reforms and showed that the US companies were willing to invest in India. The head of Boeing said in 2014 that the US investment in Indian defense is increasing day by day (Sahoo, 2014).

Perhaps this is the major development which has changed the geostrategic image of South Asia but not the only development. India has not only strengthened ties with USA but has also strengthened defense ties with Afghanistan and Iran. Both of these states are neighbors to Pakistan which is perceived threat to Pakistan. Moreover, this partnership will not only make position of Pakistan fragile but it will also strengthen the position of India and US in the region blurring the expanding influence and allies of Russia and leaving behind its ramification on Pakistan's security.

Indo-Iran nexus

Beside US, Iran is another player in the region. Historically, Pakistan and Iran have had good relations but the proxy war of Iran and Saudi Arabia on Pakistan soil have contributed much to the cooling down of friendly relations. Secondly, Pakistan's leadership stopped the development of Iran-Pakistan gas pipeline whose work was already completed on the Iranian side which was a huge loss for Iran and this was done by the pressure of US as well as Saudi Arabia due to which construction on Pakistani side was stopped and on this event, Iran announced that if Pakistan wouldn't complete pipeline construction till 2014, it will be paying penalty of \$1 million daily to Iran till its completed (Fareed, 2016). This had created a vacuum which brought India and Iran closer to each other.

Iran is a resource rich state having 10% of World oil. It's the route that can connect India directly to Central Asian Republics which are extremely rich in natural gas and other resources. India is the sixth largest buyer of energy resources as per the figure of US department for energy figures as its consumption would rise to 27.1 quadrillion in 2025 from 12.7 quadrillion in 2000s. It's also expected that India would become second largest consumer of energy after China very soon. Thus India needs to

maintain good relations with Iran because Iran can not only provide trade route to India but it's the second largest oil producing country among OPEC's nations and second largest holder of natural resources in the World. According to the Petroleum ministry report of India in 2004-05, India is trying to establish good ties with Iran and reach agreements, this was materialized later when Iran and India signed a deal of India importing 5 million tons per annum (MTPA) of LNG. While Iran needs a big market for the sale of its natural resources and goods. Thus the mutuality of interests brought both states closer to each other. Moreover, both states have mutuality of interests in Central Asia as well. India's energy production is very limited if its consumption is to be analyzed. India doesn't only need Iran for the provision of energy but it also requires Central Asia to meet the need of its industry which is not possible without Iranian access to India toward Central Asia. Secondly, Iran's development and expansion of its railway lines towards Central Asia is the major attraction for India and for this India invested \$ 70 million \$ for the construction of roads connecting Zaranj to Delaram. India, Iran and Afghanistan signed a deal of Development and Construction of the Transit and Transport infrastructure. Thirdly, Iran, Russia, India have signed an agreement in 2000 that would link Bandar Abbas to Mumbai and to St. Petersburg which would connect Indian Ocean to Baltic sea and finally to Europe. This corridor is called North-South economic corridor which was joined by Belarus and Kazakhstan later. It was reported that as per this corridor largest highway of Asia would be made and would link sea to lands. Fourthly, India wants to make this region as free trade zone as the cost of transportation in this region is very low, in the same way, Iran has recognized some free trade zone in the region which are very worthy for Iran such as Sarakh free sector between Iran and Turkmenistan, Anzali on Caspian Sea, Doghran with Afghanistan. This has been very

fruitful for Iran and India have expressed its desire to make such important and custom free zones in a region to bear fruitful results from the trade (Kiran, 2010).

Historically India and Iran had good relations with each other, Iran's President Mohammad Khatami visited India on its independence day in 2003 and signed a deal of New Delhi declaration with India. This deal was called as strategic partnership among both states by Indian Premier Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, this deal contained collaboration in the field of trade, energy, and counter terrorism. Moreover, three months later, both states channeled joint military exercises especially in Navy. India had been helping Iranian military and providing Iran with new engines with which Iran can develop the better technology and it could elevate its Russian prepared MiG-29. India is also training Iranian engineers at Vishakhapatnam and in Mumbai while Iran is also looking forward to purchase warships from India. There is also news that Iran's T-27 tanks are further developed by India as well as its BMP fighting vehicles are getting upgraded by the assistance of India. As per some news, India will have a right to use Iranian military bases if any other war between India and Pakistan will break out in future (Hathaway, 2014). After Mr. Rouhani held office, both states relations reached to the unprecedented heights. Both states are working together for the formation of trade routes that would link India, Iran and Central Asia while not entering into Pakistan. For the same purpose of trade and economics, India and Iran are collaborating with each other on the Chahbahar port, Chahbahar-Faharanj-Bam railway line and the marine oil tank station with the cooperation of Afghanistan and also developing North South Transport Corridor (NSTC) with collaboration of Turkmenistan. India have huge interest of oil in Iran whereas Iran wants the market to sell its petroleum and goods as relaxing of sanctions imposed on Iran by the Western powers has begun. Beside this India's strategic environment is decided in terms of

Indian Ocean. India's neighbor through the Indian Ocean in east stretches to Strait of Malacca while in West stretches to Persian Gulf and Strait of Hormuz. It's in best interest of India to strengthen its ties with Iran and India has acknowledged it far earlier. Secondly the unrest in Central Asia brought India and Iran together. Iran see Sunni extremism as threat to its own security in Central Asian Republics and it believes that with the help of India and Russia can eradicate the growing tensions in Central Asia to reach its own home as said by Iranian diplomat in India. Thirdly, Iran also needs friends to eradicate its label of axis of evil (Hathaway, 2014)

India has also contributed in negotiations of Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan and to designate its concerns over Iranian nuclear matter. Although India have concerns over Iranian nuclear project as India doesn't want to lose its position in the region but India has far greater interests with Iran and that is to encircle Pakistan through making alliances with Pakistan's neighbors (Hameed & Halterman, 2014).

Iran holds an important position for Pakistan, firstly because it's a neighbor to Pakistan and secondly because as a part of Muslim state. The close relation with India that is an enemy to Pakistan is threatening. However, Iran is not the only neighbor that is making good ties with India. Afghanistan too has always remain very good friend of India which has been irritating Pakistan since long but the recent marriage of Iran with India has changed much scenario not particularly for Pakistan but as well as for region itself.

Indo-Afghan nexus

Beside Iran, Afghanistan is another actor which has become problem for the security of Pakistan by strengthening strategic ties with India. Just after the peaceful transfer of power in Afghanistan in 2015, President Ashraf Ghani overcame with the policies of Hamid Karzai and falsifies modus Vivendi towards Pakistan. Both states initiated

joint counter-terrorism between among intelligence agencies. Just after 3 months of promise of strategic cooperation in 2015, Ashraf Ghani accused Pakistan of Kabul attacks and said Pakistan is prompting Afghanistan towards war (Panda, 2015). This has encouraged revival of bilateral ties of Afghanistan and India.

The diplomatic relations between India and Afghanistan that faced 'lost year' due to Afghanistan's inclination towards Pakistan, revived again. Ghani expressed his views that it was a wrong experience of trusting Pakistan in early months of 2016. After this statement, there was news that Afghanistan brought helicopters and weapons from India. Earlier in 2015, Afghan security adviser and deputy foreign minister visited India while Indian government confirmed the news that Russian Mi-25 helicopter would be sent to Afghanistan from Indian air force while Indian foreign Minister said that the Indian Afghan strategic partnership would revive again and reach to the unprecedented opportunities in days to come (Panda, 2015). This strategic partnership would enhance cooperation in military, economy, strategic relations, commerce and education, joint venture against terrorism, civil society relations, trade and people to people cooperation. India is also the fifth largest donor in Afghanistan contributing \$ billion for the security of Afghanistan. India has also invested a lot in security and economics of the state. The Indian assistance in Afghanistan is on four sectors, humanitarian support, infrastructure, small and underprivileged community development and education sector. It has also made 200 plus kilometer roads in the border areas of Iran for fostering Iranian trade in its neighborhood. India is also providing biscuits etc, every day in 32 to 33 provinces schools to more than 2 million children as the part of its humanitarian aid. In educational field every year it offers more than 600 ICCR scholarships to Afghan university students, many of Indian teachers are also sent as per cultural exchange program and Afghan teachers also went

to India for teaching (Matira, 2012). Afghans have also benefitted themselves by Indian Council on Agriculture in cultivating its large land successfully. Moreover Indian Afghan bilateral trade in 2013-14 was recorded \$680 million. Afghanistan is also an ally of India in making Chahbahar port and trade route to enhance the trade among these states as well as to establish strategic ties (Haideri, 2015). India has also delivered Russian made helicopters for the defense of Afghanistan in December 2015 (Team, 2016).

Similarly, both states have been doing much home work against Pakistan. Indian RAW and Afghan NDS both have joined hands against destabilizing Pakistan. The arrest of Indian officer Yadav at Pakistan and revealing both his activities in Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa following the arrest of Afghan spies involved in explosions and killing of people in these two provinces is a valid proof of the Indo-Afghan nexus which is not only a threat of Pakistan's strategic interests but also a move of destabilizing Pakistan by these both actors (Lodhi, 2016).

Pakistan's response

However, these developments in South Asia have not only challenged geo politics of this region, but have also invited fears of other states that come under the umbrella of South Asia. Pakistan is one of the major players in South Asia because of its status as a nuclear power and a state that helped US become sole super power due to the strategic game it played in late 1970s and early 1980s. The above mentioned developments in the region are the biggest threats to Pakistan because India and Pakistan are belligerent states while Afghanistan and Iran are neighbor states to Pakistan. Close relations among India, which is rival of Pakistan in Pakistan's neighborhood is creating tensions for Pakistan as well opening ways of Pakistan to also consider other states and make bilateral ties with them in order to secure itself

from any external threat. Pakistan thus have not focused itself on US only, because US is providing military assistance to India and it have also expressed its desire to see India as a major power of the World, nevertheless, it's unacceptable for Pakistan to let India become a major power as that would be a threat to Pakistan's own security. As to counterbalance all these issues, Pakistan has decided to advance towards other nations. China has always been its friend and now both states have declared each other as 'well-weather friends'. But Pakistan is not only limited to China. It have also advanced towards Russia; though both states had limited bilateral ties since the inception of Pakistan but now both states have acknowledged that their interests lie in their friendly and interest based bilateral ties. For Pakistan, its Indo-US relations and sponsorship of Indian nuclear program by US by getting it de facto recognition for its nuclear power either by signing nuclear deal or by supporting Indian membership in Nuclear Supply Group. This is perceived threat by Pakistan as it would let India to become a major power of the region. Whereas for Russia, US is an anathema for Russia, following the Ukrainian crises and expansion of NATO into Russia's doorsteps, propelled Russia to search for allies. Traditionally, Russia have always been friendly to India, but India's closeness with US pulled Russia away from India whose recent example is Russia voted against the Indian membership of Nuclear Supply Group (Syed, 2016).

Relations between Russia and Pakistan have never achieved unprecedented level due to Pakistan's inclination towards US. After the episode of fall of communism, relations among both states have been very limited but recently, due to the efforts of both states and an acknowledgment that both states could achieve their ends through bilateral relations on the eve of new strategic change in the South Asian region.

Russia was also skeptic of Pakistan and its ambitions since Pakistan was the major factor in fall of Russia and later Pakistan had been supporting Taliban regime in Afghanistan before the episode of 9/11. After the episode of 9/11 and Pakistan's stance of eradicating terrorism not only in Pakistan but also in Af-Pak region by becoming an ally to US and non-NATO ally against terrorism changed perception of Russia towards Pakistan. Later in 2003, Mr. Musharraf's visit of Moscow and India signing nuclear deal with US changed the scenario for Pakistan as well as Russia for each other. Russia has given a closer look about how much dedicated Pakistan is to stamp out terrorism in Afghanistan and acknowledged Pakistan's effort to banish terrorism from the region which is of major interest to Russia. However, with the decision of NATO withdrawal from Afghanistan opened same questions for both states while brining both actors together to help out themselves to clear terrorism which disturb them. In this regard, Russia needs Pakistan to eradicate terrorism which would halt extremism in Central Asian Republics (CARs) as well as in Russia whereas Pakistan needs Russia's support economically as US promise of aid to Pakistan is not seen certain by Pakistan and it also needs Russia because it's the member of United Nations Security Council and can veto any decision that is against Pakistan's sovereignty if relations between both achieve exceptional peaks as that of China and Pakistan (Hanif, 2013).

Pakistan and Russia in 2002 formed a joint working group on strategic studies and also signed an accord to wipe out threats to the region. In the same year, Russian business delegation visited Pakistan due to which Pak Russia business forum was created and the big investment of worth of one billion dollar was achieved through trade in the coming year. The relations among both actors was more strengthened in 2003 when President Musharraf of Pakistan visited Moscow which raised the level of

mutual trust and surprisingly. While the meetings among head of states and people from foreign office never stopped in years to come, in 2006, Russian foreign minister visited Pakistan and met his counterpart Khurshid Kasuri, during the talks among both foreign ministers, the cooperation in sector of energy, security, economics was focused. While Russian Gazprom also showed interest in investing money in Pakistan by giving good sum of money for the creation of Iran- Pakistan gas pipeline. In 2007, Russian Premier Mikhail Fradkov visited Pakistan, this was the first time in 38 years that Russian Premier visited Pakistan, he met President Pervez Musharraf and Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz and discussed about cooperation in field of economics plus the MOU among both states was signed for the mutual oil exploration. In 2009, Pakistan's head of army staff visited Moscow while in 2010, representatives of both countries met in the session of SCO held in Dushanbe and in 2011 both states' representatives negotiated over trade and currency exchange to enhance bilateral trade.

All these arrangements laid a milestone that contributed in bringing both states together. However, developments in South Asia pave the way for both states to agree on the bilateral terms similarly counterbalancing Indo-US nexus which can be proved fatal for the interests of Pakistan as well as Russia.

However, the quick progress in relations among the two was reinforced in 2011 when Russian Statesman Vladimir Putin openly supported Pakistan for attaining full membership of SCO and in the same year it offered Pakistan for the expansion of Karachi steel mills plus it has offered support in sector of energy by supporting Muzaffargarh and Guddu Barrage also the progress of Thar Coal Project. In the same year, President Asif Ali Zardari visited Moscow, it was the first visit of Pakistan's head of state to Moscow in last 37 years. On this occasion, MOU in the sector of

security, energy, investment, agriculture and economy was signed between both states. The very purpose of this visit was to acknowledge Russians to forget the past legacy and establish relations on the basis of mutual trust. Meanwhile in 2012, Russian foreign minister Lavrov stated with reference to drone strikes in land of Pakistan as a violation to Pakistan's territorial integrity and that it was unacceptable for the Pakistan as well as for all the sovereign nations. Pakistan on other hand is also considered strategic pivot for Russia in this region as Pakistan has shifted her tilt towards states in the region ignoring US and growing Indo-US ties in which it can play its role in emerging geopolitics of the region. Russia is also fearful of the news in Western media that it's the start of second cold war thus Russia realized it soon that relations with Pakistan could be proved useful and so can Pakistan gain from these bilateral ties with Russia (Maitra, Ramtanu, 2012).

Pakistan and Russia are doing more to counterbalance US-Indo nexus as well as Indo-Afghan party. Russia is investing gradually in Pakistan, it has given proposal for the development of Thar Coal project, expansion of Karachi steel mills, Muzaffargarh and Gaddu thermal power plants, investing in textile mills and mechanical industry located in Taxilla, half payment for TAPI, and Gazprom's desire to invest in Iran-Pakistan gas pipeline while in summit of SCO in 2013, Russia supported Pakistan for its trade and support to undo energy crises (Hanif, 2013).

The major recent achievement in the bilateral ties among Russia and Pakistan was seen in years 2014 and 2015 when both states agreed on the point of joint naval exercise. Both states agreed to advance their bilateral ties in the sector of defense, transport, industry, energy, security, etc. While both states ready to materialized the desire of setting five mutual working group on industry, one group for Pakistan steel mills, one for finance and banking, group of food and agriculture, transportation

group and group on education. Russia on other hand have invested a lot of money of 2 billion\$ on Pakistan through Inter governmental pact on North South gas pipeline. While Russia has also allocated 117 billion \$ for projects with Pakistan following two treaties by both governments on dispute settlement. Both states have also signed PTA, Partial trade agreement as they view current status of trade as unsatisfactory for both (Rana, 2015). Another shocking news and perhaps unexpected news came in 2014 which not only bugged India when PM Modi desired to further ties with Russia but also irritated US was the announcement by head of Russian technology corporation Rostec that Russia has lifted the military hardware embargo on Pakistan and both the states negotiated with each other on the sale of Russian made Mi-35 helicopters to Pakistan (Sharma, 2014). This embargo was materialized when Pakistan showed desire to purchase Mi-35 helicopters and Russia agreed to sell 4 mi-35 helicopters to it. While the sale of Sukhoi- Su 35 fighter is agreed but yet to be delivered. Furthermore, Russia doesn't only lift weapon embargo on Pakistan but both states also signed a defense pact in November 2014. Russian first ever ground troops would come to Pakistan as per the defense minister of Russia for the joint military exercises especially in mountainous terrain and this joint military exercise is to be undertaken in 2016 (Hashmi, 2016). This defense pact was followed by another agreement among both states on technological cooperation. In a very less course of time, Pakistan and Russia had achieved much in military sector in very less time, Pakistan have also purchased RD-93 engines for its military purpose. Both states have also agreed to share information to counter terrorism once NATO troops would abandon from the region as both actors are worried on the withdrawal of NATO troops. Pakistan had already experienced how US left it during 1990s which jeopardized its security and haunting Pakistan since long, Russia is also aware and acknowledge such problems.

Later in 2016, Pakistan Chief of Army staff Raheel Shareef visited Moscow and the cooperation in military and technological sector was further promised and extended. Raheel Shareef also spent 15 hours at military expo near Moscow where he didn't only examined Russian weapons but have also seen their demonstration. Following his visit to Moscow, Russian defense minister Sergei Shoigu also paid his visit to Islamabad to materialize the defense talks and to show mutual desire of defense pact (Haider, 2015). Nevertheless Russia has also agreed to help Pakistan with modern weapons to track terrorists and to kill eliminate their existence in the region. Russia have also showed its desire for military exchange program to combat terrorism as Pakistan is an experienced nation in countering terrorism.

The other development that took place which enhanced Pakistan's position for Russia and brought these states together to counterbalance US and India in the region was formation of Eurasian Union. Eurasian union is an economic union which consists of five member states currently naming Russia, Armenia, Belarus, Kyrgyzstan, and Kazakhstan. This union officially started working from 1st January 2015. With this union came into force, Pakistan importance for Russia was enhanced as Russia is seeking for states to globalize the scope of this union, it needs Pakistan to eradicate terrorism first so that Russia and states of the union can think of including other Central Asian states in the Union such as Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan etc. as Russia is already burdened with extremism at home, it cannot support any idea of extremism in its backyard. Secondly, Russia also needs direct and safe access to the markets of Middle East, Pakistan through Gwadar can provide Russia with safest route to Middle Eastern states to build up its economy. With the inception of close ties among Russia and Pakistan, India has pulled itself away from Russia while Russia has

its own reason for pulling itself from India. The trade between Russia and India has already seen downfall since the weapon embargo on Pakistan was lifted.

Russia is also helping Pakistan to finish its energy crises by constructing a pipeline that would carry LNG from Karachi to Lahore to meet the needs of public. Russia can also benefit more from Pakistan by investing in China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) as it's not only for China and Pakistan but the states of whole region can be benefitted from it further by Russian investment, it could provide trade routes to Russia as well as can help it during time of strategic need (Rauf, 2016). Pakistan on other hand can also use Russian card to get aid from BRICS if deems necessary in future as Pakistan is losing its ties with US and probably would face problem of aid from America. In such circumstances, having China's vote already in hand, Pakistan can get aid in times of need with two major financiers and powers of BRICS just as Pakistan received money from Asian development bank to counter terrorism in the wake of operation Zarb e Azb against terrorism in Pakistan.

Conclusion

Over past few years, South Asia has witnessed shocking strategic change in states practices, national interests and changing of allies. Pakistan have been allied to US in Cold war as well as in Global war against terror while India had more good terms with Russia rather than any other major power in the World. India is also the only country in the region that has more Russian weapons than any other state. The recent arrangement and switching of allies among few states changed situation for not only Pakistan but the states for which south Asia have remained important. The signing of nuclear deal between India and US to counter China has not only brought grievances to China but it also invited threat for Pakistan and equally for Russia. Where US is anathema for Russia, India is same for Pakistan. Though Pakistan has been the major

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ally of US in War against terror in Afghanistan, US has been supporting Indian policies for Pakistan. Other than that, Pakistan can't sit quietly on the Indo- Afghan nexus which can prove deadly for security of Pakistan as both states are rival to Pakistan and the presence of their spies in Pakistan have been proven. However, these are not only two alliances that Pakistan had to tackle. The growing Indo- Iranian ties is also a threat for Pakistan because be it India, Afghanistan or Iran, the development in these states hold significant importance for Pakistan because it shares its borders with these states and gets directly affected by it.

Thus Pakistan has also strengthened its ties with the states with which it can secure its national interests in the region. The first state with which Pakistan tried to strengthen its bilateral ties are with Russia. Though Pakistan and Russia have not been into bilateral ties since long time but the new geopolitics of the region brought both states together to each other married with bilateral agreements in field of military, economic and technological sector. The recent developments in South Asia undoubtedly became the reason of this engagement providing both states chance as well as the interests of both states became dependent on each other. Russia has its own interests to wipe out American presence and hegemony while Pakistan has threats of Indo-US nexus. Following the deal of US with India on nuclear, Russia have also reduced its weapons sale to India. The relations between Russia and Pakistan are purely based on mutuality of interests and to counter balance US and its allies in the region.

Chapter -III

Regional security and Terrorism

The departure of Soviet forces back in 1980's from Afghanistan left the country with instability in every sector, whether it was political, economic, social and religious the state was in a great turmoil, having long lasting effects on the state and the overall region as well. The ramifications of that instability can be witnessed today one way or the other way. The most important set back of that instability was the gift of terrorism which dragged the regional security to its worst condition of the time. Terrorism not only affected Afghanistan's stability but also the whole region came in its fold and the regional security came at stake.

Afghanistan once again is facing the historical crossroad but this time the ground is same and the player is different. This time the US led international coalition combat troops, international security assistance force (ISAF) are leaving the country. Withdrawal of NATO forces from Afghanistan will leave behind less effective and poor state behind. NATO drawdown pose serious questions because country's present is unbalanced and future is vague, will Afghanistan develop positively or move toward pandemonium as was the case after soviet troop withdrawal? (Dmitri Trenin, 2014). How regional security and terrorism can bring Pakistan and Russia closer to each other? In order to answer such concerns or question regional dimension is necessary to analyses.

The regional scenario

There is a range of state actors and a web of international frame works in regional dimension in relation to Afghanistan. To understand the regional composition it is useful to divide the region into three ranks of state actors and international framework

depending on their relevance. The ranks are listed below in declining order according to their importance.

First rank: Pakistan & Iran

First rank is composed of two neighboring regional powers which have the greatest influence in parts of Afghanistan and are mostly highly affected by the situation in Afghanistan.

Second rank: China, India, Central Asia and Russia

The second rank is multi-layered. At top Afghanistan have two influential neighbors, China and India. China has less political but more economic interest on the other hand India has both economic and strategic interests which are basically based to balance the Pakistani influence (Stepanova, 2013).

Central Asian states also adjust in the region. It is necessary to differentiate between them. Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan are comparable to Afghanistan because both are economically weak states. Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan relatively have economic potential and can engage Afghanistan in economic affairs. However none of the Central Asian state has political influence over Afghanistan but any instability in Afghanistan has direct impact on the Central Asian Republics (Stepanova, 2013).

Russia, Turkey and UAE form the bottom layer of the second rank next to the region and around Afghanistan; none of the state is directly involved and affected. Russia main concern is the export of instability from Afghanistan to its Central Asian allies which is directly link with Russia.

Third rank: Multilateral frameworks

Third rank of regional composition is related to the multilateral regional formats related to the issue of Afghanistan. Here come the trilateral summits such as

Pakistan/Iran/Afghanistan or Pakistan/Afghanistan/Turkey. Quartet such as Dushanbe quartet, which include Afghanistan, Pakistan, Russia and Tajikistan. Economic cooperation organization (ECO), South Asian Association for Regional (SAARC) and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) are the part of multilateral frameworks. This rank can be a best tool for settlement of peace in post NATO drawdown scenario.

Keeping in view this regional dimension each state has its interest and fears in Afghanistan. America and Iran are pushing the country in one direction while Pakistan and India want to turn the state affairs in their own interests. Iran, China, Russia and Central Asian states are afraid of the presence of NATO forces in Afghanistan (Safi, 2013). So in this regard they have soft corner for Taliban while on the other hand in post NATO withdrawal Afghanistan they perceive Taliban as a potential threat. Taliban and Iran have ideological differences. China and Russia are of the view that Taliban have relations with the religious extremists in their own states and Central Asia and they believe that if Taliban got successful in Afghanistan then the religious extremism can be exported to their countries. India wants that whatever the case is there should be nothing under the influence of Pakistan. America wants control of resources in Central Asia which is possible through control on Afghanistan and if it is not possible for US then it wants that countries like Iran, China and Pakistan must not get any kind of benefit from it.

The regional scenario is very complex and will witness a huge setback in terms of security once NATO forces withdraw from Afghanistan. NATO drawdown from Afghanistan may lead the region to the possible emergence of the following threat scenarios:

1. Afghanistan government domestic predicaments such as poor law and order situation will refrain the government to continue efficiently which in turn will help the Taliban and with the help of other insurgent groups will take over Afghanistan (Afridi, 2015).
2. Drawdown will create a power vacuum and may lead the country towards civil war which in turn will create a security dilemma for regional powers compelling them for intervention.
3. Possible threat of export of religious extremism to the neighboring states particularly to Pakistan, CAR'S and Russia, already witnessing Islamic insurgency.

Pak-Russia concerns about the western withdrawal from Afghanistan

In the contemporary world, bringing regional peace is matter of concern for both Russia and Pakistan and both share common views on bringing regional peace, which is related with peace and stability in Afghanistan, following the withdrawal of US and NATO forces from Afghanistan (Tahir, 2015).

The threat of militancy and instability

Both Russia and Pakistan have concerns over the spread of the threat of militancy and instability following NATO forces withdrawal from Afghanistan. Moscow has voiced genuine worries about the potential impacts of the post-2014 circumstance in Afghanistan on stability in Central Asia. The potential overflow of insecurity and militancy from Afghanistan is seen by Central Asian governments, including Russia's security associates, as a major cross border threat. There is no direct threat to Afghanistan's northern neighbors by the Taliban-led insurgency. By and large the

instability is going to increase and the already fragile government in Afghanistan may further deteriorate, the cross-border trafficking, further militarization of northern Afghanistan may strengthen. The utmost worry for Moscow is the infiltration of militants from Afghanistan into the Central Asian states or to Chechnya (Saghafi-Ameri, 2011), along with this Russia is worried about the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU). IMU was formed after the civil war in Tajikistan by the exiled Islamists from Uzbekistan they were pushed out from Tajikistan following an end to the civil war, and witnessed a huge setback in Northern Afghanistan from Northern Alliance and US-led coalition forces in 2001. Several hundred fighters fled to the tribal areas of Pakistan. Since 2001, being a frontline ally in War on Terror and due to augmented pressure from US, Pakistan started pressurizing these IMU fighters and they moved back to Afghanistan and Russia have apprehensions over the influx of IMU threat from Northern Afghanistan to Central Asia in terms of security.

Russia perceives that it is extremely important to exchange the information and intelligence with Pakistan in order to control the processes shaping the region. Russia has frequently raised its apprehension to Islamabad about the likely pandemonium that threatens to subvert the borders of Central Asian Republics and also trickle across the southern borders of Russia. These apprehensions were recapitulated by Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Sergey A. Ryabkov when he visited Pakistan on January 24, 2011

“The ultimate objective of Pakistan and the Russian Federation is to combat the growing menace of terrorism and militancy, and to sabotage the nexus between transnational terrorist organizations. The transnational militant organizations have been undermining both states’ internal security. The link among al-Qaeda, Afghan Taliban, Tehrik-i-Taliban, the Islamic movement of Uzbekistan and militants from the

North Caucasus and other Muslim Russian regions has been devastating and destabilizing for both Pakistan and Russian Federation.”

Pakistan also has concerns over the developments on its border with Afghanistan, the Durand line, which always remained problematic. Since 2007, Pakistani armed forces are fighting with the Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) movement in federally administered tribal areas (FATA) and the wearing down of state writ in the proximity areas of Afghanistan is a matter of concern for Pakistan. Zarb-e-Azb the foremost military operation launched by Pakistani military forces in these areas with a firm motive to eliminate all the terrorist groups creating instability and fighting against Pakistani state. Pakistan is working to put a stop to anarchy. There is also a political and ethnic montage at the border areas (Rytövuori-Apunen, 2016).

If Taliban stood victorious in Afghanistan, the TTP, which as of now claims the border zones amongst Pakistan and Afghanistan, would be further encouraged: a different enclave along the border could be requested, in this way likewise restoring the disagreement about an autonomous Pashtunistan. Other conceivable courses of advancement are the upkeep of status quo; the outbreak of a full scale civil war between the competing groups or in any case a form of long-lasting chaos; and the reaching of an accord over a sophisticated power-sharing formula among the competing groups. All of the above developments have different implications for Afghanistan, central Asia and particularly a point of convergence for Pakistan and Russia (Crane, 2013).

Concerns about NATO/US presence in Afghanistan and Central Asia

Russia has apprehensions not only on the spillover of militancy or instability from Afghanistan to Central Asia and Russia but also worried about the expansion of US/NATO security forces presence in Central Asia particularly in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. On June 3rd, 2013 NATO opened its regional office in Tashkent. In return for Tashkent's security participation, the United States and the European Union lifted sanctions forced on Uzbekistan for its fierce treatment of the 2005 Andijan emergency. The US/ NATO forces are additionally prepared to leave a critical offer of their arms and equipment pulled back from Afghanistan for the utilization of the Uzbek and Tajik governments (Katzman, 2011).

The US prime interest in mounting security presence in Central Asia is to provide security to the remaining in Afghanistan and continuous transit through Northern Distribution Network without any interruption which Russia shares in giving. Additionally, NATO member states along with US are enticed to utilize this exit linked transit to keep eye on China and Russia in the region. The Russian security and defense establishment is extremely apprehensive about these long term motives and goals behind the mounting of US presence in Central Asia, seen by some as a trigger for another vital contention in the region.

These apprehensions increased in the wake of Uzbekistan's withdrawal from CSTO (The Collective Security Treaty Organization signed on 15th may, 1992, Russia, Armenia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan signed the treaty, later joined by Azerbaijan, Belarus, and Georgia.). Karimov shifted focus from CSTO to NATO/US in line of ambitions for regional leadership. In any "Eurasian" amalgamation scaffold, Uzbekistan is destined to assume a part optional to that of

Russia and Kazakhstan. Uzbekistan is also hopeful to have a share in the arms and equipments withdrawn from Afghanistan.

The Uzbekistan withdrawal from CSTO, the US-Uzbek cooperation on Afghanistan has ambiguous implications on the interest of the CARS and Russia in the region. On the one hand, this confines the CSTO regional contact, on the other hand, Tashkent tilt towards west and incursion of westerns arms have escalated the anxiety in neighboring Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan which may intensify their by now tensions with Uzbekistan (Stepanova & Ekaterina, 2013).

Pakistan as a key player due to geo-political conditions

The recent developments between Russia and Pakistan is by all accounts basically taking into account financial matters of trade and energy and the requirement for stability in South and Central Asia, particularly in Afghanistan. Notwithstanding, a nearer examination demonstrates an intriguing interaction of a few geopolitical factors.

Developments in Afghanistan are a key target of Russia's expanded engagement with Pakistan. There exists gigantic vulnerability in case of NATO drawdown from Afghanistan. The new government in Afghanistan is weak and there is uncertainty along with a potential threat of Taliban. There likewise exists genuine concerns about the abilities of Afghan military in handling crime while opium generation and drug trafficking keeps on going on unabated. Russia has been worried of any turmoil spreading to its 'close abroad'. All the more essentially, terrorism exuding from Pakistan and Afghanistan has the capability of moving radical Islamists and blazing viciousness in Russia's own restive unsettled northern Caucasian regions. It has been acknowledged by Russia that Pakistan holds one of the key levers of bringing stability

to the region and it will in this way be reckless to disregard it. With new government in force in Islamabad, it is necessary to open new lines of correspondence. Consequently, Russia's careful yet consistent engagement with Pakistan can be found with regards to finding a shared view on issues which have consequences for the entire Eurasian region (Roy, 2014).

Putin's Eurasian Union project and Pakistan

West has portrayed Pakistan as a backward, poor and terror sponsoring state but neglected its potential geo-political importance in Eurasia. Pakistan in South Asia is an economic hope to connect the big economies of Eurasian Union, Iran, China and SAARC, and Russia recognizes this geo-political potential of Pakistan and has thus maneuvered to rapidly augment its relations with the South Asian gatekeeper.

Fasten together the blocs

Pakistan because of its geographical location and taking advantage of it can effectively intact a number of economic blocs.

Eurasian Union

Eurasian union is a trade organization led by Russia which also includes Belarus, Armenia, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. Tentatively Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan economic potential is in proximity to South Asia, but Uzbekistan unorganized nature and the security concerns in Afghanistan pose a major obstacles to trade directly with South Asia. In order to counter these geopolitical obstacles there are two alternatives to have access to the South Asian market, and they are the North-South

corridor between Russia-Iran-India via the Caspian and Arabian Seas and the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor. Furthermore, Pakistan, a growing economy, due to its geo-strategic location can provide a shortest land route to keep intact the Eurasian Union with South Asian countries.

Eurasian Union and Iran

The Islamic Republic of Iran is relied upon to encounter incredible financial development after the economic sanctions are lifted, and all sides are racing to capitalize on the bonanza particularly the West. The Europeans will most likely bring their ventures specifically into the nation through finance, yet as the Chinese and Indians bargain all the more intimately with the real-sector economy, their interests are to such an extent that specific physical connective framework must be made to encourage reciprocal exchange in the post-sanctions environment.

As far as China is concerned, there is Iran-Pakistan-China pipeline an extension of CPEC, while for the Indians, there comes two options that is investment in Chabahar port and making of undersea gas pipeline between Iran and India. In order to achieve economic efficiency, trade between Iran and India in real sector and energy sector would be conducted in a better way using land route via Pakistan.

SAARC and Eurasian Union

The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) extends from Pakistan to Bangladesh, with its biggest economy clearly being India. This regional integrational stage has had impressive trouble accomplishing its prime objective of closer economic relations among its member states, yet that doesn't imply that the potential isn't there. In the event that the political difference between adversaries Pakistan and India could be relaxed, may be inside the SCO structure, then the

association would at long last have the capacity to take advantage of its financial ability and completely incorporate with itself and rest of Eurasia.

SAARC, through its Indian and Bangladeshi members, could expand trade with China through the BCIM (Bangladesh, China, India and Myanmar forum for regional cooperation) passage between the three and Myanmar, yet the degree is restricted to India's Northeast and China's Yunnan Province despite the fact that it obviously gives a solid premise to future development.

The project itself was planned to develop India and China's least developed however most encouraging regions, and in addition fix the economic interrelations between these Eurasian monsters. Correlative to these goals, the requirement for another corridor is in this way evident, which for this situation would be fulfilled through CPEC. The reason behind India's use of this secondary trade route to China would be to interface its most economically gainful regions, (the parts of the country west of the BCIM's northeast regional scope) to two of China's least developed, but most in need of development, Tibet and Xinjiang.

Pakistan along with the Indian-Iranian integration can help the regional organization SAARC to enhance its trade ties with external world particularly with Eurasian Union. Keeping in view the North South corridor, a logistics network, which is aimed to connect India with Russia, it would be more efficient to divert the mode of transportation (sea to land) to direct ground based infrastructure. Thus, all this is easily possible if connective links are built from India to Iran via Pakistan without having to go about the long way round of sea-land-sea-land (Arabian Sea-Iran-Caspian Sea-Russia).

The Vision behind Eurasian Union

The impetus for connecting the four coalitions together through Pakistan's geostrategic location is CPEC, China's great vision of setting up a trans-Pakistani trade passage to develop a focal point of economic gravity that seals everything together. The center of this strategy rests in extending the Karakoram Highway between China and Pakistan and building parallel rail, industrial, and pipeline systems from the southern port of Gawadar as far as possible up to the Chinese fringe. The vitality prerequisites of this affected venture are required to be filled by Iran by means of the bigger Iran-Pakistan-China pipeline venture; however a strong segment will likewise be the world's biggest solar farm that Beijing and Islamabad are additionally working as a major aspect of CPEC.

This enormous multimodal integrational platform will actually extend China's shortest economic reach all the way to the Arabian Sea, thus by passing choking point at the Strait of Malacca and strategic losses that it's suffered in Myanmar. In a broader sense, CPEC is not only geopolitically important for China, but also of a great geo-economic importance, it will benefit the country to have an easy access to the oil rich Middle Eastern countries on which major portion of Chinese economy is dependent.

The Russia-Pakistan Strategic Partnership

South Asian geopolitics have conventionally been marked by the cordial relations between Russia and India, in Cold War era and after that in uni-polar world strategic partnership between Russia and Pakistan were un thinkable, but the evolving multipolar world is witnessing certain developments and realities which are perceived as a game changer for the region and as well as having impact on global politics. The developments which the world is witnessing is that Russia and Pakistan are moving

closer to one another and all this is happening despite Russia being close friend of India, in order to understand this it is necessary to depict the state of play in the South Asian region.

The state of play in South Asia

South Asia's geopolitics was changed by the end of the Cold War and the consequent nuclear bipolarity that emerged between India and Pakistan. The finish of the worldwide ideological stand-off diminished the force of the Russian-Indian Strategic Partnership and the US dealings with Pakistan, as South Asia was no more seen as a need territory of outside strategy center by either superpower after that time. Accordingly, India started to float Westward while Pakistan was moving Eastward, with New Delhi looking towards Washington while Islamabad grasped Beijing. This doesn't imply that both of them totally played Judas on their recorded accomplices, yet that the changing worldwide setting constrained them to adjust to another reality of relations that proceeded with the facilitation of their national self-interests.

By 2015, this procedure had advanced to the point that Pakistan is a stalwart Chinese partner and India is a civilizational pole adjusting between the US and Russia. Prime Minister Modi has been rehearsing multipolarity to its hypothetical fullest, fortifying his nation's military-technical partnership with Russia in the meantime as it economically and strategically moving towards supporting American goals in order to contain China. From India's viewpoint, Pakistan is a proxy of China and undermines its western fringe security, while China and Pakistan consider India to be an American accomplice overseeing them two for Washington's Lead From Behind benefit. The opposition between both South Asian states hasn't died down, yet they appear to will to give multilateral Eurasian institutionalism a chance as prove by their joint admission to the SCO.

The Kremlin's calculations

As far as how this all relates with Russia, Moscow has solid ties with Beijing and New Delhi, consequently giving it with the possibility to moderate between the two and guarantee that two-sided pressure doesn't overflow into something more awful. What Russia doesn't have is the capacity to do likewise between India and Pakistan, subsequently welcoming a non-Eurasian super nation (the US) in with the general mish-mash and giving it a lot of chance to isolate and overcome as indicated by the present geopolitical conditions. The reasoning goes that if Russia somehow managed to make up for its diplomatic 'blind spot' with Pakistan and reinvigorate the bilateral association with Islamabad, then it could reflect the part that it plays between India and China in additionally adjusting the strain between India and Pakistan.

If successful, then this strategy would dynamically press the US out of the playing field, as despite the fact that India will at present hold its present level of ties with the US (or something like it), it would have to a lesser degree a requirement for it in the feeling of counterbalancing Pakistan, since both itself and Islamabad would have the same trusted partner, Russia, which would work to keep pressures between the two as low as could be expected under the circumstances (like how it does with India and China). The absence of trust between India and Pakistan is the weakest connection in the "zipper" vision, since despite the fact that it could in any case make due without the SAARC segment and benefit incredibly, the majority of its parts (and particularly the Eurasian Union) would be more grounded with India's physical consolidation into this unified infrastructural system. Considering this future mindfulness, and joined with its multipolar belief system and Great Power restoration, Russia has a reasonable driving force to diplomatically and strategically intervene to

the best of its ability in keeping Indian-Pakistan pressures at minimum so as to augment the economic advantage of their peaceful collaboration.

Steps by Russia

The above sections clarify the thinking behind Russia's choice to start a strategic partnership with Pakistan, so it's presently time to take a gander at precisely what sorts of moves Moscow has made in this course. The initial step that truly got eyewitnesses talking was Russia's choice in June 2014 to start discussion with Pakistan about the offer of assault helicopters to help with drug combating efforts. Being portrayed as "paradigm shift", some imagined that it was persuaded by Russia's worries that Afghanistan's destabilization will quickly move cross-border after the NATO drawdown, yet as was depicted already, it can likewise be unequivocally derived that another strategic motivation was to in the long run balance India and Pakistan and make the multipolar world considerably more durable subsequently.

Development of relation between Russia and Pakistan is not only limited to military but also Russia plans to assist Pakistan on technical grounds and to work in building a portion of the Iran-Pakistan-China gas pipeline.

Keeping in view massive economic opportunities, Pakistan, on completion of CPEC has expressed willingness to sign a free trade agreement with the Eurasian Union, and this signifies the seriousness of the evolving relation between the two. Adjusting the new relationship and including a soft power touch, both sides are get ready for their first-ever cultural exchange year, and in a symbolic indication of what's prone to come, Pakistan's national military band performed at the Moscow International Music Festival. There should not be any doubt about the dedication of both sides to deepening relations with the other, and their mutual interactions are a long way from a passing pattern or impermanent merging of business interests. Both

sides realize the larger significance of what they're doing, which in the general feeling of things is to encourage their common vision of a integrated and multipolar Eurasia.

Pak-Russia convergence of interest

Regional scenario is at its swing, Russia is once again appearing as a power in global politics and repossessing confidence after the shock of disintegration and Pakistan is looking for new alliances to get rid of the western dependency. The strategic partnership between India and US and American support for Indian UNSC membership compelled Pakistan to reshape its policy and to look towards East (Russia) in this changing regional environment. This doesn't mean that Pakistan will totally stay away from US as it was from USSR in cold war, but will go with a balancing approach. The common interests or the point of convergence between Pakistan and Russia include

1. Terrorism and drug trafficking

Terrorism is a matter of concern for both Russia and Pakistan and both the states realize the importance of joint efforts to counter terrorism and drug related crimes, both terrorism and narcotics are threat to international peace and stability. The Ministry of Narcotic Control of Pakistan and the federal Drug Control service of Russia have signed agreement in October 2010 regarding cooperation in order to combat the furtive trafficking of drugs. Moreover, to combat terrorism joint working groups already exist. Terrorist organizations expand from Chechnya to CAR's to Karachi these organizations carry out their activities throughout the region. It is the demand of the day for states to counter terrorism (khan M. M., 2014).

Afghan-driven. Pakistan since long has also been stressing for an Afghan led settlement process comprehensive of all ethnic groups for a stable and peaceful Afghanistan. The Russian stand on Afghanistan as uttered by Foreign Minister Lavrov is an obvious affirmation of the greater geo-strategic convergence between Pakistan and Russia on regional issues (Dmitri Trenin, 2014).

4. Importance of Central Asia

Central Asia is a vital region for both Moscow and Islamabad. Strategically Central Asia is vital for Russia and Russia is very much worried about the situation in Afghanistan in the wake of NATO draw down which will certainly lead the country and the region towards instability and uncertainty which in turn will affect the CARs.

Central Asian region is a key market for economic prosperity of Pakistan for which it is striving. The combination of these factors is compelling Russia to consider Pakistan as a key player in any way out that emerges in Afghanistan. Both the countries recognise the importance of bilateral cooperation which will benefit both Pakistan and Russia mutually (khan S. A., 1994).

5. Drone attacks

Russia condemned drone attacks and military strikes on Pakistani forces; this has strengthened the ties between the two. Pakistan got unexpected support from Moscow against drone strikes. Russian foreign minister said that counter terrorism should be within a legal way. Drone strikes are violation of Pakistan's sovereignty. Such remarks by the top Russian diplomat suggest the prospect of new alliance in the region following the NATO drawdown in Afghanistan (khan M. M., 2014).

6. Shanghai Cooperation Organization

Pakistan's membership in Shanghai Cooperation Organization (Shanghai Cooperation Organization - a regional international organization, founded in 2001 by the leaders of China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan) since 2005 was supported by Russia and Pakistan became a permanent member of SCO. In order to counter American designs in the region SCO is the vital anti-American initiative to maintain peace and stability in the region. The SCO participation would not just improve Pakistani status in the local Pak-Russia Relations strategic environment yet would likewise help into expel Russian, Chinese and Iranian fears about Pakistan being the part of Western/US security framework (Khan & Altaf, 2013).

7. Islamic Insurgency

The chief Islamist political union in Central Asia is the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) stationed in Afghanistan and is a source of apprehension for Russia because of its involvement in terrorist activities. Terrorism is also a matter of concern for Pakistan and has faced a huge loss. Russia with the help of Pakistan would be able to counter the IMU related terrorist activities in Central Asia. In a defense expo at Karachi, IDEAS 2014, and the Russian Defense Minister valued the skill and expertise of Pakistan's armed forces in fighting the war against terrorism as well as Pakistani defense production. He stated that "IDEAS itself signifies the leap Pakistan had taken in manufacturing defense equipment. The world community, not only praises, but wants to do business with Pakistan now" (Abbas, 2014).

8. Pakistan's energy needs an alternate market for Russia

Russia is the largest producer of oil and gas and Pakistan welcomes Russian investment in the power sector. The capability of Russia's oil firm like Rosneft and Gazprom Gas Company can contribute substantially in budding Pakistan's oil and gas prospective. On September 20, 2013, a Russian delegation led by the Deputy Minister for Power, and comprised of representatives of main power firms called on Federal Minister for Planning Development and Reforms, Ahsan Iqbal and discussed cooperation in the power sector. Russia has presented Pakistan investment in the power sector, and the export of 5000 MW electricity via Kyrgyzstan-Afghanistan route. It can play its part in meeting Pakistan's power requirement. Russian firm Gazprom is ready to invest in Iran-Pakistan-India (IPI) gas pipeline. It also presented its cooperation in trans-national power projects, such as CASA-1000 and TAPI gas pipeline. In the wake of the Western embargoes, Russia is hunting for alternate markets for its gas sales. Its \$400 billion gas deal with China has been the most prominent response to Western sanctions. Key Russian firms in the power sector, like Techno promexport, Rostec-Global resources, Rushydro International, Power Machines, Inter RAO, United Engine Corporation, and Stochinsky Institute of Mining have shown keen interest in cooperation with Pakistan (Abbas, 2014).

Conclusion

Security situation in post NATO drawdown Afghanistan is a matter of concern for both Russia and Pakistan both are suspicious about the export of terrorism to their mainland. Terrorism is a common threat for both states and is a point of convergence between the two and in this regard Russia recognizes

Pakistan's role and strategic importance and wants to extend strategic ties with Pakistan. Contemporary regional politics is playing a role of catalyst in bringing together Russia and Pakistan. Along with terrorism drug trafficking, Islamic insurgency, energy needs and economics are the points of convergence between the two.

Chapter-IV

Pakistan's response to new geo-political scenario

Neo-realism is one of the most important theoretical traditions of International relations. It emerged in response to the liberal theories which got currency in 1920s that believe in cooperation and peace which is possible to attain with the presence of central authority in shape of organization. The main theoreticians of neo-realism are Kenneth N Waltz and John Mearsheimer. These neorealists maintain that the International structure of the world is anarchic and there is no central authority to protect the states and govern their actions against the others.

There are three main assumptions about the neo-realism. Firstly, Neorealist believes that states are the unitary actors in International politics and perhaps the power and interests maximizes. They nevertheless, acknowledge the presence of international organizations but disregard their presence in dictating states anything which states do not feel that are in their interests. Secondly, the International structure is anarchic, having no higher authority to deal with actions of the states. State actions are unimportant in regard to shape the International structure, but it's importantly the International structure that dictates the state actions. States are also the power maximizes for their own survival and to guarantee their very security. Thirdly, the economic and military capabilities as well as its development and maximization is the only and most important variable of foreign policy of the states so that the states can maximize their sphere of influence plus to serve their national interests (Donnelly, 2013).

There are further three secondary assumptions of the neorealist tradition based on the primary assumptions. First, war is a usual action of states in an International politics. Be it multi-polar system, bipolar or unipolar, war is likely to be happened and

a prominent feature of strong state's foreign policies. Secondly, International organizations have no independent value of their own. They are tools of big states and if basic power structure fluctuates, these regimes would come to their end. Thirdly, cooperation within state is utopian aspiration. Cooperation does exist among states only because of their interests but the international cooperation is only possible when there is unipolar World and the sole hegemon keeps check on the interplay among states (Mearsheimer, 1990).

Neo-realist considers that the primary goal of each state is to advance the national interests of the state (Pham, 2008). States never subordinate their own interests for the gains of other states because states try to achieve relative gains in which one state gets more than another. This relative gain brings state relations to the point of mistrust and suspicion that's why it is important for states to engage themselves in self-help system and do not rely on alliances neither on the international organizations for their survival.

Security dilemma is very important point in the neorealist and overall realist tradition. Security dilemma is a concept which defines that states increase and maximize their military capabilities in a competition of other states' military capability as states perceive threats from the states that maximize their powers although that state may not have any aggressive designs against other states but maximization of military capabilities of one states lead towards doubts of other states thus resulting in arms race.

Neorealist also put up that there is a possibility of three systems based on the numbers of powers existing in the world. These systems are called multi-polarity, in which there are more than two powers; bipolarity, in which there are two main powers to affect International system and uni-polarity in which there is only one sole

superpower (i.e., today's world). Neo-realist believes that the world of bipolarity is more peaceful than the world of uni or multi-polarity because there are less wars in the bipolar system due to alliances with either of the power.

However, neo-realist withdraws from the realists' assumption that states shape International system, neorealist accounts that International system and structure shape states actions and behavior. Neorealist also come up with the global level of analysis with states as their units to be analyzed in the anarchic international system.

This theory also gained a lot of currency after world war especially in Cold war when it was a world of competition between two competitive major powers and each was looking for its relative interests in different regions of the world. After the demise of USSR, the bipolar world that is seen more peaceful by realists was decayed. Just after the two decades of unipolar world, the states started countering US, the sole super power, in one way or another. Today the scenario is somewhat different, states like China and Russia are finding allies in their own respective regions and moving beyond their regions to overcome the hegemony of US in their sphere of influence or area. When it comes to developments in South Asia, Pakistan is serving the interests of China and gradually moving towards making bilateral ties with Russia to counterbalance the newly wedded US-India in the region. Moreover, the smaller states falling in the alliance to China, Russia or America is also a reason of their survival. The geographical positioning of a country plays important role for states to choose with whom should they align or not? It is because of this, that China and Russia both are exerting their influence and power politics in South Asian region by making alliances, while US is making new friends in the region is the sign of new geopolitics.

This new geopolitics too is taking place as per the realist tradition. With changing national interests, alliances of the states are changing. The former ally of Russia, India, though not showed back to Russia but proved about its new ties by signing various treaties with USA in military and economic sector plus its declining military purchase from Russia whereas Pakistan has proved its position by increasingly making new agreements with Russia.

However, Hans J. Morgenthau also predicted about the greatness of China in future to come, he explained that China would be a great player in Asia which would offend the powers of west and with its capability of making ties, it will strengthen its sphere of influence not only in its region but in Asia and moving towards the other part of the world (Sempa, 2015).

1. Russia as a counter balance power along with China.

Pakistan and Russia, unlike their experiences with each other in past are on the track of betterment with each other. Both states are trying to forget the unpleasant experiences of past and ideological aversions not only because it will further the mutual interests but most importantly because of change in the geostrategic setting of the region. The new geostrategic environment has provided opportunities for both the states to open gates of cooperation to each other. Nevertheless, China has played its role in establishing long harsh relations into the cooperative ones.

Pakistan and Russia both have been through the major improvement in the relations after the episode of 9/11. Both states for the very first time after the demise of USSR came closer to each other. The bilateral agreements were begun with number of visits from the foreign ministers of each side. The visit of President Musharraf to Moscow in 2003 had much to do with the geostrategic realities and the common interests of both states to tackle with emerging new trends in geostrategic affairs.

While both states opened up the forum to discuss about the security issues and counterterrorism concerns in 2006 during a gathering of the Pakistan-Russia Joint Working Group on Counterterrorism was held on the visit of Russian deputy trade representative Vitaly A. Glinkin.

Russia is very important for the elevation for regional peace and prosperity. Strengthening the economic ties with Russia; Pakistan can prove its capacity to play a vital role in the promotion of cooperation in the region. (Ghani, Ahmed, Alam, Mujahid, & Gul, 2013). It's not possible for Pakistan to restore its image and play its role in geopolitics alone without a power like Russia, as Russia may not be the superpower but Pakistan would never give up for the state that is the World's biggest in area and rich in resources.

Russia and China, both states have started exercising their power in their regions and also on overseas observing the developments in the world and in the wake of evolving multi-polarity. China is the first state that is considered as a hurdle for Western hegemony by the West. China came up with the new developments especially in East Asia and gradually including all the states from each continent to brand its developments on global scale such as the formation of BRICS. As far as Russia is concerned, never then before, Russian involvement was seen in the world politics after its demise of socialist republics, nor that of China. But after 2005, Russia and China, both seemed very active in the world politics and asserting their power for the protection of their interests. The Russian involvement in Syria in 2012 and its stance on the NATO's involvement in Ukraine in 2014, have given the clear image to the world that Russia is not a silent actor in World politics anymore and its intentions are seen as a power to counterbalance US. So far, Pakistan has been witnessed as a key helper to advance the model of China to counterbalance US in the region, it is

also reshaping its foreign policy as per the strategic and changing environment of the international as well as regional politics because Pakistan has high security and economic concerns and the best example here to quote is Pak China economic corridor in which China is investing 46 billion \$ in Pakistan. It is also engaged with Russia in maintaining bilateral ties for supporting each other against the western hegemony in the region and its biggest example is Russia's lifting of weapon embargo on Pakistan in 2014 and Russia supported Pakistan to get full membership in SCO in 2011 where as Pakistan also supported the aspiration of Russia in attaining observer status in OIC and SAARC; all the three states have mutuality of interests when it comes to the western hegemony.

Russia and Pakistan hold very significant importance for each other in the changing scenario of the world politics. Russia needs Pakistan to establish good relations with Muslim states especially in the south west Asia that share borders with Common wealth of independent states (CIS) to halt any threat of security approaching its borders. Similarly Pakistan and Russia signed a deal for the sale of MIL and Mi-35 helicopters to Pakistan in 4th annual Moscow International Security Council is one of the major steps that both countries are taking to overcome the threat of security in present and as well as in future. The bilateral relations between both the states is a prove of a policy shift of both as Pakistan historically had shattering relations with Russia and only focused on the bilateral ties with US whereas Russia had bilateral ties with India ignoring the importance of Pakistan. This policy shift is seen with loud skepticism by the West, not only because of the bilateral ties between the two but also because of the importance of the geographical importance for the interest of West. The coalition between the two states, Pakistan and Russia, together with the rising power of China can prove deadly for the hegemony of the West in the region. On the

other hand, Pakistan and Russia also convene regular meetings for countering new strategic and international challenges. Both the states also have joint working groups to deal with the problems of security and counter terrorism.

Apart from the developments mentioned above, there are other developments that brought Russia, China and Pakistan together. As Russia is worried about the NATO's expansion in its region especially west trying to bring Ukraine in its sphere of influence, Pakistan too is worried about growing relations of India and America that are no more in Pakistani interests. Both states see US unilateral designs threaten the security and interests of both the states.

Though Pakistan failed to make its importance on International media as it's regarded as a poor state with big issue of terrorism but Pakistan's location in the heartland of South Asia, connecting West Asia via Iran and Arabian Sea to East Asia and vice versa confirmed very important for the rising power of China and Russia. With the development of Eurasian Union on January 1st, 2015, Pakistan's scope for Russia was widened. Eurasian economic Union is a treaty organization among the states of North Eurasia. The treaty was first signed among Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan on 29 may 2014 with inclusion of Armenia and Kyrgyzstan on October 9, 2014 and formally came to force on January 1st 2015 (Khristenko, 2015). Today there are only five countries destined together for economic partnership while Russia is looking for more partners to be added to widen the scope of this newly born union. In this regard, Pakistan can play a vital role not only in opening up routes and states for Russian economy but also for the SAARC to find more trading states. Pakistan can easily connect, Iran, Arabian Sea with China from the new development of CPEC whereas Pakistan, India, Iran, Central Asian states can be connected together via rail route. Today India needs sea-land-sea-land route (Arabian Sea- Iran- Caspian Sea-

Russia) to conduct its trade relations with Russia, with Pakistan as a central trading unit, can connect Russia and India via Iran which would be more feasible for both the states. Furthermore, Russia can't include Uzbekistan in union until and unless there is unrest in Afghanistan which harm the peace of Uzbekistan and is considered as a threat for its own security. For including all the states of Central Asia to widen the scope of Eurasian Union, Russia needs the assistance of Pakistan for elimination of terrorism even in the lengths and widths of Afghanistan by its persistent commitment to eradicate terrorism from the region. With no security issues at home, Russia can easily widen its economic ties not only through the Eurasian Union but as a state unilaterally. It can also have an easy access to the Middle Eastern states via Pakistan through Arabian Sea just as China is to grab Middle Eastern region in its access by its large investment in Pakistan in the form of CPEC. This will help PRC not only to strengthen ties with Middle Eastern states via exporting its goods to the region but also purchasing of oil from Middle East on which the economies like China are heavily dependent. This can also help China to build its vulnerable and backward provinces through the economic transaction. Likewise, Russia can use the same model for the development of not only its economic sector but to grab allies or establish far better bilateral ties with the states that do not belong to its own region and continent, the policy which was missing during the Cold war and resulted in its demise due to shortage of friends and allies in the world.

South Asian geopolitics has always been shaped by the interplay of relations between Russia and India and this have been the major reason for setback of relations between Russia and Pakistan (Korybko, 2015). But the present geopolitics of South Asia has seen a very drastic change in which India is showing its tilt towards US while Pakistan is tilted towards East, Beijing. It doesn't really mean that both India

and Pakistan have started showing their backs to their former allies completely. Pakistan is considered as a partner of China to destabilize the power of India whereas India is considered a partner of US to counterbalance China and Pakistan. Russia understand growing tension between India and Pakistan a source of a problem for the region, it believes that US game in the region would be over if India and Pakistan gets united and so Russia is bringing platforms to unify these both states such as from the platform of SCO etc. Russia and Pakistan on other hand are also furthering their ties to counterbalance the allies of US in the region. The ties between the both states furthered after the Russia decided to begin dialogue with Pakistan over selling military helicopters. Few believe that Russia advancement to make bilateral ties with Pakistan is the reason that Russia is concerned over its security after NATO forces would withdraw from Afghanistan (Korybko, 2015). But the bilateral ties between the both gives more clear picture that it's beyond the issue of NATO's withdrawal from Afghanistan and the changing scenario of the world politics where power like Russia needs allies like Pakistan for counterbalancing the power of USA not only in the World but also in the region where US interests basically lie.

“There are no political differences between Russia and Pakistan” (Malek, 2004), this statement was delivered by Mr. Putin in 2002 when Musharraf spoke about the importance of Russia in World politics as well as Russia can be a key player in cooling down tensions between two big states of South Asia. Since Pakistan's inclusion in the Global war on terrorism, Russia and Pakistan's tension started cooling down as Russia encouraged Pakistan's effort of eradicating terrorism. Historically Russia saw Pakistan with doubts and believed that Pakistan sponsored terrorism in Russia and elsewhere in the region (Owais, 2007). This however, became a major reason of the contacts between both the states but not the only reason. Today both

countries share commonality of interests against the Western hegemony which have cost a lot to both states as well as the region. Pakistan also wants to get rid of institutions on which it depends as those institutions come under the supreme hegemony of US such as IMF and World Bank. The changing scenario of US internal politics is also working as a catapult for Pakistan to align with Russia together with the geopolitics of its own region. Just as Mr. Donald Trump, A candidate for 2016' Presidential elections of US expressed once, "In 2011, *NDTV* reported that Trump had called for an urgent pull-back on aid to Pakistan unless it demolishes its nuclear arsenal." (Haque, 2015). Pakistan can predict its future while analyzing these developments in US. It's possible that Pakistan will move towards other organizations for rather being at mercy of US for aid from World Bank or IMF. So far, the only alternative to this development is BRICS. It might be very strange for Pakistan to disconnect itself from IMF and to look forward for aid of BRICS. Even for this Pakistan needs the support of Russia. With China as trustworthy ally, Pakistan would need Russia to vote for Pakistan to support its economy via BRICS. With two main powers and financiers of BRICS in favour, Pakistan can grab enough support in BRICS for backing its economy that even Indian presence here won't help much against it and can easily get rid of American based International institutions plus this withdrawal of Pakistan from US-led institutions can become game changer for US in the region backed by Russia and China.

Despite the fact Russia and Pakistan remained limited in developing the bilateral ties with each other. It's a need of time that brought both states together because of a strategic compulsion for both the states to shape their foreign policies in a way to benefit each other. States' interests of both states require pleasant relations even in the case of security, as NATO forces are soon to leave Afghanistan, Pakistan

have already witnessed that US left Pakistan to deal with extremists alone who were created to fight USSR and served US interests, yet Pakistan alone had to deal with its consequences. It's also evident that same would happen after NATO troops will leave Afghanistan. The disturbance of Afghanistan can cause disturbance in Pakistan as well as in Russia and both states are well aware about it. Russia can help Pakistan by more military support to get rid of terrorism in region as well as preventing it to reach its doorsteps. Secondly both states are aware of US intention of destabilizing both states, thus it's a geostrategic requirement for both sides to embrace positive and meaningful relations in order to garner positive outcomes. Apart from that, Russia is also worried for the American presence in Central Asian Republics via Caspian Sea either directly or indirectly. Russia interprets this expansion of US as new great game (Rehman, 2014).

Since Russia along with China is proving to be the counterbalance to US because of the new strategic environment. Pakistan can become a key player for Russia to get rid of the US hegemony in the region. One of the main reason that Russia decided to make better contacts with Pakistan is, the world famous intellectuals saw Crimean crises as the start of New Cold War, Russia perhaps would not wish the history to be repeated and starting viewing Pakistan as the important actors in the region, it also want to grab states to establish new ties for further strengthening its position in the world.

2. To strengthen ties with others to counter Indo-US nexus

As the International politics have entered the new phase with countries giving up their old allies and focusing on making new allies in their respective regions. Same situation is apparent in South Asia. With the start of 2014, very visible change in International politics was seen. When Russia annexed Crimea and faced sanctions by

the West, it started looking towards east (Tikhonova, 2015). Moreover, West was also overwhelmed by the Russian troops stationed in Eastern Ukraine. Looking all these developments, Russia had to find new friends in east and ultimately reformed its policy from 'look west' to 'look east'. Russia reshaped its foreign policy to 'look east' with Vladimir Putin holding the office of President. The 'look east' policy for Russia started with strengthening ties with China and eventually moving towards other states (Storey, 2015).

This case of finding new allies, however, is not only with Russia; it is same with US as well. Pakistan so far has served American interests in the region to its fullest. But regional scenarios are changing now, the countries used as allies are turning their partnership with others. In case of Pakistan, America is suspicious of its designs because of its very strong bond with China. Thus US is also looking for new and strong allies in the South and part of East Asia. US has advanced to India for making its robust ally to counter China. India has so far responded very quick and positive to US call for alliance. This partnership of interests started with US president Obama's visit to India in 2015. It's the mutuality of interests that brought both states together with each other. This is not only Indo-US nexus, but it's actually an alliance of three states, US, India and America's biggest ally that is Israel, this Indo-US-Israel nexus is in the making for the great geostrategic changes to come (Niazi, 1998). China, however, is not only a traditional competitor for US but also seen as old enemy to India because of their territorial dispute.

Observing the US- Indo nexus, another development in the region became center of attraction in the world politics. This development was Pakistan-Russia-China bond to counter US-Indo Nexus. China sees India as the enemy just as India perceives China. Whereas Russia needs allies in the Eastern region because of the

hostilities with the West. Nevertheless, Pakistan too, fed up with 'do-more' from US feels need to be allied with other powers for its protection as well as for the protection of its interests. This Pak-Russia-Sino relationship is not only serving the interests of the both but also is the counterbalance nexus against that of US-India.

In case of Russia, the two rivals of cold war are getting closer due to contemporary geopolitics. This is inviting an alarming scenario for the West. When the Russian economy was troubled by the sanctions imposed by West in 2014, Russian Kremlin moved its foreign policy from West to East- particularly Pakistan. Firstly, Moscow lifted weapon embargo on Pakistan and then both states signed an agreement for the collaboration in field of trading political and military information that brought both states together in the sector of counter-terrorism and security plus making their efforts for the future of peaceful Afghanistan because both states want to escape from the ramifications coming from terrorism. Furthermore, improvement in the relations of both the state wouldn't only benefit CARs states but would be an initiative to take them out from the trap of US. (Maitra, Ramtanu, 2012). Russia not only encouraged Pakistan's forces for eliminating terrorism in Pak-Afghan region but also supported the idea of Pakistan getting full membership of SCO (Dedov, 2016).

Though Russia and India have been the strongest allies since 1960s, the military cooperation between both the states have seen sudden and serious decline (Singh, 2015). Since India signed number of MOUs and treaties with the west, the bilateral ties between both Russia and India had been vulnerable. India's strategic partnership with US or the 123 agreement with US has restrained the relations of India and Russia and made a vacuum for the relations between Pakistan and Russia for conservation of peace, stability and security of the region as well as to keep region gradually clean from the Western influence. Keeping faith in newly made ties

between Russia and Pakistan and declining of relations between India and Russia is an example of geostrategic change as well as an example of counter-alliance of Indo-US nexus.

While in case of China, it has been the oldest ally of Pakistan against India which is the common enemy of both states (Tikhonova, 2015). China is the major reason between Pak-Russia and China alignment against the West particularly US-Indo relation, where China is worried about the developments in South China Sea and so as Russia for the development in Oder-Neisse River plus Pakistan's grievances about US intentions in the region brought all these three states together. China and Pakistan are doing much in field of military, security and diplomacy to counter Indo-US link.

In the field of defense and security, China has been supporting nuclear reactors for Pakistan whereas Pakistan has remained the biggest purchaser of Chinese military goods (Hibbs, 2014). Both the states are always doing joint development and cooperation in the development of JF-17 fighter jets. Pakistan is also expected to buy S20 or Yuan-class diesel-electric submarines (SSK) from China (Mitra, 2015). China has invested huge amount of money on Pakistan, making its Gwadar port and land route all the way connecting Gwadar with China through all the provinces of Pakistan naming it as China-Pak economic corridor. Furthermore, Pakistan and China started joint military training exercise and named the exercise as Shaheen-V. Both states labeled each other as 'All Weather Friends' against their common neighbor India and a desire to keep US out of Asia and its affairs (Express Tribune, 2016). China has also vetoed the application of India to join Nuclear supply group (NSG), stating that it's impossible for India to get admission in NSG unless Pakistan is given its membership (Dawn, 2016).

For China and Russia, US is a threat that must be sidelined to protect their security against the US hegemonic designs. Pakistan on other hand has the golden chance to be the part of this nexus to architect Asian security structure that is being made by China. On other side Russia too face no impediment in making bilateral ties with Pakistan to undo American ambitions in the region since Russia see India as no more serving Russian interests in the region.

Pakistan, Russia and China are not only key actors that are containing Indo-US nexus in the region. But the bilateral ties between Pakistan and Central Asian Republics are also containing US-India in the region. It's not only in the interest of Pakistan to extend ties with Central Asia but also in the interest of Central Asia to extend ties with Pakistan not only in the field of transaction of gas or petroleum but also in the field of security as security of Afghanistan and American free Afghanistan is in the best interest of CARs. CARs can also provide an intersecting point for Russia, Pakistan and China to meet each other and prevent the vulnerabilities they are facing by the American influence in the region. Shanghai Cooperation organization in this regard, can make a better ground for the strategic ties of these states. As Russia, China and Pakistan are already making relations to deal with Indo-Russo relations, CARs states like Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Kazakhstan are also members of Shanghai with India being on one side as a partner to USA and all other states on another side to overcome US designs in the region. SCO is an anti-NATO and multilateral collective security organization. SCO is providing a ground for China to further security relations based on bilateral interests to counter US and to compel it on letting all states to have equal participation in the region in future.

Along with these, Pakistan had always maintained good bilateral ties with Turkey. It is making contacts between China and Turkey from which China can utilize Eurasian

land bridges that can connect China to European landmass via Turkey (Ghani, Alam, Gul, & Shah, 2013). Pakistan can also utilize this China-Turkish nexus. Moreover China can benefit by escaping itself from the sea routes to reach states where US troops are stationed especially in east and South China Sea. As China is a trading economy, it cannot let US and India to stop its trade in the time of crises, thus it is finding land routes to reach nations and the safest route that China could utilize in the time of crises. Little dependency on US and India is also a reason to make ties with states to be independent of US-Indian nexus and counter it through making alliances in other parts of the World from where it can have easy access to other states and also can easily counter US and India in the region.

3. To maintain balance of power in South Asia

In the world where there is no central power to govern states' actions, power is always a need to deter potential enemies and its aggressive designs. This concept of acquisition of power is very old. It was present in the old Empires to the European colonialism and finally occupied its place in the modern world politics.

Firstly the concept of balance of power has not gone short of relevance in today's world just as it was the case with the old empires and kingdoms. This concept will remain be the part of international politics until there is a state system as states need power to achieve their national interests by hook or crook. The structure of the world has always been changed from multi polarity to bipolarity and moving on to uni-polar system with rise and fall of the nations. The emergence of new power, its selection of allies, friends, strategic companions and its international plans affected much to the policies of regional players. Second, the problems that have changed or dominated our world have always been changing and tend to change in future, the

example of ideological conflict of Cold War to problems of terrorism in today's world, however, the choices that nations make among these issues impact their countries for long (Rais, 2015).

Balancing of power by gaining power has been the major factor in relations of Pakistan and India. Where the states of East Asia had forgotten their rivalries and started focusing on economic up gradation, development, progress in the field of science, technology, education and military, the two major players of south Asia had been busy in counterbalancing each other's power by making and remaking alliances with the parties that best suited their interests over the course of time.

As India is gradually becoming the most powerful state in the south Asian region by strengthening its ties with US avoiding periodic impediments. US and Indian ties are growing rapidly, the trade between both the states had rose to 5 times in past 10 years to over \$100 billion and is expected to have a boost in next five years. Whereas the defense sector between both has got more currency than that of economic sector. The defense transaction between US and India rose from 300 million \$ to 14 billion \$ over the course of ten years and is expected to expand more. US is investing a lot of money on India with the name of bilateral investment treaty (BIT) (Singhal, 2015). Because of its strategic interests in the region it has also introduced US-India defense, technology and partnership act, while introducing this Senator Warner of US said, "The bill bestows upon India the status it deserves as a partner in promoting security in Asia and around the world" (Baqai, 2016). US on other hand have plans to provide India with Patriot Advanced Capability (PAC)-3 missiles which is the most advance technology of the time that can provide a security shield to India which can destroy missiles that carry Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD), cruise missiles and other aircraft. Moreover, India had also planned to sign a

defense agreement of United Progressive Alliance (UPA) which was later denied by a government because India believes that it would threaten the non-alliance symbol of India. Together with all the developments stated before, India and US are also collaborating in the field of Navy. Since 1992, with the gap of 1998 to 2001, both the states are conducting Malabar joint naval exercise in Indian Ocean (Ali, 2015). It's also expected that the joint military and naval exercises of both the states will increase with the new days to come.

With the developments mentioned above, Pakistan too is strengthening its ties with China day by day because China can't afford Indo-US hegemony in east and south Asia. The close relation between China and Pakistan is seen with utmost doubt by the Western powers especially for the cooperation against terrorism. On the visit of Mr. Yousaf Raza Gillani in May 2011, both states celebrated 66 years of friendly ties stating that the relations between both the states are "higher than mountains and deeper than oceans." (Rousseau, 2014). On one of the occasion, Chinese former Premier Wen Jiabao has said that Pakistan and China are "all-weather strategic partner" (Rousseau, 2014).

Pakistan is aware of the fact that US only use Pakistan for its strategic interests and see India and Pakistan with a different approach. It has been exerting pressure on Pakistan on the issues related to India and have been appeasing India for its aggressive designs (Ashraf, 2014). Thus Pakistan has moved towards China to counterbalance power like India in south Asian region. The military budget of India in 2015 was 46 billion dollar whereas Pakistan could only afford to fix its defense budget to 6 billion (Rais, 2015). India's defense budget of only one year has been more than the overall defense budget of Pakistan. Thus for counter balance India and new US-Indo nexus, Pakistan needs the help the China. So far China and Pakistan

gained a lot from each other in the field of military. Both states have also signed number of treaties to counter the new strategic challenges. As both states believe that India funds terrorists in their territories and give asylum to their most wanted people such as Dalai Lama, both states have signed the treaty in 2005 of 'Pakistan-China Treaty for Friendship and Cooperation and Good Neighborly Relations' (Kabraji, 2012), to deal with new geostrategic implications and issues of terrorism, separatism and extremism. Whereas in 2012, the Chinese ambassador to Pakistan highlighted Pakistan as the 'fulcrum of Asia' (Kabraji, 2012)

In case of military relations between Pakistan and China, China in 2011, gave 50 JF-Thunder to Pakistan following the Osama Bin Ladin episode. It has also assisted Pakistan for developing its first indigenously made frigate in August 2011. It also launched a communication satellite for Pakistan while Pakistan gave China an access to US helicopter that was collapsed in Abbottabad operation. Furthermore, to counterbalance the strength of standing army of India, Pakistan and Chinese military carry out joint exercise every two years and have tested their capability of joint operation and intelligence gathering (Kabraji, 2012). Pakistan is though not able to provide China with military equipment but has the ability of joint production just as JF-17 and FC1. This joint production has elevated the restlessness of Indian security.

Not only this, Both the states also signed a treaty for the joint sales and marketing of JF-17 thunder and Pakistan have bought Chinese made Radar system and SD-10 mid-range missiles to equip its fighter Jets in 2010. Moreover, one of the Chinese companies which is the second largest producer of fighter jets, Chengdu Aircraft Industry, has been cooperating with Pakistan's aviation company for the making of Fighter China-1. China has so far supplied Pakistan with F-6, FT5, A5, F-7P, and K-8. It has also provided Pakistan with Navy F-22P, Air force Awacs aircraft

and FC-20 aircrafts. Pakistan Air Force (PAF) too has plans to buy new manufactured Chinese J-10 fighters to further the reputation and skills of PAF.(Khan M. U., 2016).

Not only military relations, but Pakistan and China are also working on strategic interests of both the states as to counter US and Indian designs in the region. China's One Belt, One Road (OBOR) with the major contribution of Pakistan as Pakistan is providing China with road and Gawadar port is intensifying suspicion and irritation of India and USA (Baqai, 2016). China and Pakistan can further exert their influence and bring the countries of the region close if they play their cards right. In contrast to this development, India is desperately finding allies and so far has signed treaty to develop Chahbahar port with collaboration of Iran and India. It's the direct response of India to Chinese-Pak Economic corridor.

Pakistan on other hand is not only strengthening its bilateral ties with China, it has also so far been successful to start bilateral agreements with Russia. Pakistan and Russia signed a military cooperation deal in November 2014, for the exchange of military equipment as well as intelligence. It was the landmark for the diplomatic history of Russia and Pakistan. Pakistan's interest in Russian Mi-35 combat helicopters and importing Russian RD-93 engines. Apart from the developments in military sector, Russia and Pakistan also share mutuality of interests when it comes to Afghanistan as Russia is concerned about the NATO withdrawal of Afghanistan and its consequences on the region whereas Pakistan is much bothered with the terrorism at home, can't afford more terrorism in the region that would further jeopardize its security. Thus there is possibility that both states in future would sign an agreement to deal with the new strategic environment which is neither in interest of Russia nor of Pakistan. Both states are also focusing on economic cooperation as Russian state

owned Rostekh Corporation has plans to build 680 mile long gas pipeline in 2017 in Pakistan which would be worth 2.5 billion (Mitra, 2015).

Conclusion

Together with Russia and China, Pakistan is gradually strengthening its diplomatic ties with the states around to protect its position in the South Asian region where India has got the support of West. With India signing military cooperation deals with USA and Israel, Pakistan on other hand is compelled to revisit the weaknesses in its foreign policy and make closer ties with Russia plus other regional states with the element of trust for departing hegemonic designs of India and US from South Asian region.

Conclusion

Contemporary global politics is witnessing certain geo-political and geo-strategic changes. The world is in a phase of new and shifting alliances. The regions or states which in last century were aligned, in 21st century are moving towards opposite poles. As per realist and neo-realistic perspective national interest is the prime objective of state and it determines state behaviour and with this stated goal there exist no permanent friends and foes in global politics, yesterday's rival can be the best partners of today.

The study "Effects of Regional Geo-Political Changes on Pakistan-Russia Relations" is also an attempt to highlight the regional and global changing geo-political and geo-strategic scenario that how it affected the relation of Pakistan and Russia, what are the motivating factors, where comes the convergence of interest, what geo-political changes the region is witnessing that the rivals of Cold War era today in 21st century are moving towards new bond.

South Asia always remained a focal point in global politics and played a very crucial role throughout the course of history whether it is Cold War or war against terrorism. Contemporary South Asia is witnessing drastic changes in the form new alliances particularly in security sector which is dragging the region towards strategic imbalance and it is a matter of concern not only for Pakistan but also for great powers such as china and Russia. South Asia is once again going to be a battlefield of great powers via proxies against each other.

The changing geo-strategic scenario in South Asia is compelling the two major powers of the region towards a policy shift namely India and Pakistan. Throughout cold war era India policy was towards east and Pakistan was tilted towards west but the situation is on its opposite direction. Today India is looking

towards west and Pakistan is heading towards east and as per neo-realist perspective it is the International structure that determines state behavior. South Asia is witnessing growing Indo-US ties in all sectors such as defense including naval and aerial ties, the civil nuclear deal and ten year defense pact, economic ties including foreign direct investment and so on. Along with US there is boost in Indo-Iran relations, Iran, a resources rich country can meet energy needs of India and also Provide Indian access to the oil rich region the Middle East. There also exist strategic ties between India and Iran. India is assisting Iran in terms of defense. Apart from US and Iran there is growing nexus between India and Afghanistan. India the fifth largest donor in Afghanistan and is assisting Afghanistan strategically, economically and in commerce and education sector.

Keeping in view all these developments there is not only Pakistan's apprehensions but also exist concerns of China and Russia. For Pakistan growing ties among India, Iran and Afghanistan is a kind of containment and a security threat to Pakistan. US support of India in region is to counter China as India and China are old rivals and US is doing all this with ambition to make India a regional power in order to counter China. On the other hand Russia is also suspicious about these developments particularly between US and India as the old rivalry between the two exists and the concerns gained more momentum after civil nuclear deal between India and US. These regional arrangements are indicating the convergence of interest between Russia and Pakistan and compelling both Pakistan and Russia towards policy shift.

Nevertheless, South Asian region also served as a battle ground for terrorism which has shaken the regional security. Terrorism has its roots back in Cold War era particularly in 1980's after soviet invasion of Afghanistan. With the end of the cold

war and USSR withdrawal from Afghanistan left an unsettled issue of terrorism which threatened the security of entire region. Terrorism is not only a matter of concern for Pakistan but also Central Asian Republics and Russia comes in its fold. Pakistan is witnessing militancy on its western border particularly FATA and Russia is also suspicious of it that it must be contained and eliminated in Afghanistan. Russia is witnessing militancy in its Southern region in the form of IMU and Chechnya. Russia is worried about the export of terrorism to Russian mainland, that's why Russia consider it necessary that there should be information sharing and joint collaboration with Pakistan in order to counter the threat of terrorism and maintain regional security. Drug trafficking is also a matter of concern for Russia and needs Pakistan help to curtail it. Along with terrorism Russia is worried about NATO presence in Afghanistan and central Asia as it is an eye check on Russia and China by US.

Keeping in view these arrangements here comes, geo-political and geo-strategic importance of Pakistan which Russia recognizes. In terms of economics Pakistan can provide a shortest land route to link Russia with South Asia and Particularly India via Caspian sea-Iran and Pakistan. This scenario is leading the region towards new alliances and a kind of triangle is going to develop in the form of Russia-China-Pakistan. In this regard in 21st century the relation between the two are growing day by day throwing back the cold war rivalry in backyard and both consider the development of ties as the cry of the day.

However, as per neo-realist perspective that it is international structure that determines state behavior, state responds to international structure. Contemporary world is in transition and witnessing the emergence of new world order. Cold war alliances are in its opposite swing. Alliances are shifting, trend of uni-polarity is

transforming to multipolarity with the emergence of China and Russia on global arena and western hegemony has been questioned with certain developments.

It is not only South Asia or regional geo-political and geo-strategic changes that are playing role in growing relations between Russia and Pakistan but the global politics also have share in it. The episode of 9/11 brought both the countries closer to each other and Russia supported Pakistan's role as front line ally in global war on terror. Russia's concerns over NATO expansion in its region the Ukraine and its presence in Afghanistan and CAR's and on the other hand Pakistan is worried about the growing ties of India and US. In both scenarios US is involve and both Russia and Pakistan are worried about these unilateral designs of US and consider it as a threat to their security which would result in the emergence of Russia-China-Pakistan as a counterbalance force against west.

This global arrangement is not only limited to Pakistan and Russia but it also include the rising China. Russia is practicing "look east" policy since 2014 and striving for new friends or alliances in the east and at first stance approached China. Russia supported China's stance on South China Sea case and both were at same page in Syrian crises. Russia in the same look east policy is looking for a defense market which can be provided to Russia by Pakistan. On the other hand the Russia-China nexus is heading towards Pakistan in the form of CPEC. Same arrangements are taking place on the western side as US is approaching India and want to make India as a regional power and on this end there is growing Indo-US-Israel nexus.

This dimension of global politics also has spillover effect on the region particularly the South Asia. The two-great powers of South Asia, Pakistan and India, are struggling for balance of power and resulting in the said alliances, Pakistan heading towards China and Russia and India towards US and Israel.

Recommendations

The preceding analysis indicates that both the states are committed and determined to foster the relations regardless of constraints which are not manageable. In this regard the following recommendations may help out the policy makers.

- Terrorism is a matter of concern for both, Pakistan should discuss with Russia that what role they can play in order to bring peace regional and particularly peace in Afghanistan.
- Pakistan should take efficient diplomatic moves to reschedule the Russian president visit to Pakistan.
- As the region is witnessing arms race and strategic imbalance, Pakistan should make long term strategic and economic ties with Russia to supply military hardware to Pakistan and maintain balance of power in region
- In order to develop strategic partnership Pakistan must initiate dialogue with Russia to meet Pakistan's defense needs.
- While fostering relations with Russia Pakistan should keep in mind the interest of other allies as well such as China and Saudi Arabia.
- Pakistan should also ensure US that growing relations with Russia will not harm its strategic interests in the region.
- In order to meet Pakistan's energy need, Pakistan should give incentives to Russia to attract Russian investment in energy sector, steel mill, infrastructure development etc.
- Pakistan should support Russia bid for observer status in OIC.
- Pakistan should utilize the China-Pakistan-Russia alliance in order to benefit from BRICS.

- There is a need to invigorate the conduct of both countries. There should be exchange visits to bring Pakistani and Russian people closer to each other. A lucid approach ought to be adopted for augmenting people-to-people contacts in the field of science, trade, education, tourism, culture and sports etc.

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