

## EFFECTS OF REGIONAL GEO-POLITICAL CHANGES ON PAKISTAN – RUSSIA RELATIONS

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**Abstract.** This article aims to analyze how, throughout the Cold War era, Pakistan did not cultivate strong ties with Russia. It was the international structure that compelled Pakistan to join the Western bloc, addressing the security and economic needs of a newly born state. Similarly, the USSR's support for India led to strategic imbalance in the South Asian region. However, global politics is dynamic, not static. The 21st century, especially post-9/11, has transformed the global political arena. Contemporary global politics is witnessing new alliances; today, Pakistan is looking towards the East while India's focus is towards the West. Geo-political and geo-strategic changes are reshaping global politics. This study aims to highlight the changing geo-political landscape of the region, the factors responsible for policy shifts, responses to the new global geo-strategic scenario, and how these changes have helped bring the former Cold War rivals, Russia and Pakistan, closer. Gradually, Russia and Pakistan are strengthening diplomatic ties, with Pakistan securing Western support. While Pakistan has signed military cooperation deals with the USA and other European countries, it is also compelled to reassess its foreign policy weaknesses and forge closer ties with Russia and other regional states. This shift is driven by a need to build trust and move away from the hegemonic designs of Pakistan and the US in the South Asian region.

**Key words:** Geo- politics, regional security, Pakistan, Russia, Cold War, multi-polarity.

### 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 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's response to new geo-political scenario to maintain strategic balance or balance of power in South Asia.

### Literature review

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

Abbas, Khan (2014) in his article «). Russia's Revival: Opportunities and Limitations for Pakistan» 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 cooperation 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 defense 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. Khan, S. A. (1994) in his work focused on opportunities that Pakistan and Russia can assist better each other in defense, 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. Hashmi, S. R. (2016) 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) analyzed 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 Haider, M. (2015) said that Pakistan is in deteriorating economic situation and economic 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. Korybko, A. (2015) in their work shared their view Russia is focusing on Pakistan the situation is not like as it was in Cold War area, 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 explain 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.

### ***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 are 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 (Rais, R. B. 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).

### **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.

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. 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.

3. 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.

### ***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, Data collection & Data Analysis***

1. What is the impact of regional geo-politics on Pak-Russia relations?

2. How did geo-politics force Pakistan and Russia to cooperate on countering?

3. 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?

The study is based on a qualitative method of research. The data is collected from secondary sources such as books, articles, newspapers, and journals. The data was analyzed on descriptive, explanatory, and analytical lines. The researcher used different methods while conducting the data analysis in order to reach certain conclusions.

### **Results & Discussions**

#### ***Regional security***

Russia and Pakistan share common perspective on the circumstances in Afghanistan. Both nations are crucial partners in the Afghan endgame and look for a safe guide towards quiet move in Afghanistan after US/NATO withdrawal by 2014.

Under US-Afghan strategic partnership agreement the US troops and security contractors will remain stationed in Afghanistan. The presence of US troops in Afghanistan after NATO forces drawdown will not be welcomed by Russia and Pakistan because it could keep the region in general and country in particular destabilized. Russian support of peace and Settlement process in Afghanistan which is being proposed by Pakistan is a critical political achievement. Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov, amid his visit steadily confirmed that Russia is against any motion of Afghanistan issue that is constrained from outside and is not Afghan possessed and 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-strategies convergence between Pakistan and Russia on regional issues (Dmitri, 2014).

#### ***Strategic Regional security scenario in South Asia and Terrorism***

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 Afg-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.

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 date 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 (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 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 in declining order according in their importance.

#### ***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 Former government in Afghanistan is was so weak and there is uncertainty along with a potential threat of ISIS, there likewise exists genuine concerns about the non-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 we he region and it will in this way be reckless to disregard it with new government , tone 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 (Toy, 2014).

### ***Pakistan's response to new geo-political scenario***

New-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 new realists 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 inly 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 in the primary assumptions, First war is a usual action of states in an international politics. In a multi-polar system, bipolar or unipolar, war is likely to be happened and a permanent feature of strong states foreign policies. Secondly, international cooperation is only possible when a state's 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 state lead toward doubts of other states thus resulting in arms race. Neorealist also put up that there is a possibility of three systems based on the Number of powers existing in the world. These systems are called multi-polarity, in which are more than two powers bipolarity, in which there are two main powers in 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. The new geo politics 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 is by signing various treaties with USA in military and economic sectors plus is declining Military purchases 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).

### 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 the last century were aligned, in the 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 behavior 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. This study 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 is 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. 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. Russia considers 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. Keeping in view these arrangements here come, geo-political and geo-strategic importance of Pakistan which Russia recognizes. 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 unipolarity 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. 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 riving for new friends or alliances in the east and at first stance approached China. Russia in the same look east policy is looking for a defense market which can be provided to Russia by Pakistan. This dimension of global politics also has spillover effect on the region particularly the South Asia.

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