

Russia-Ukraine War: Implications on Pakistan



By

Qurrat Ul Ain

(Registration No: 00000363067)

Centre for International Peace and Stability (CIPS)

National University of Sciences & Technology (NUST)

Islamabad, Pakistan

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By

Qurrat Ul Ain

(Registration No. 363067)

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Supervisor: Dr. Ansar Jamil


Centre for International Peace and Stability (CIPS)

National University of Sciences and Technology (NUST)

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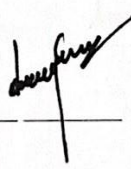
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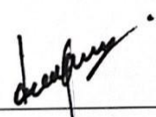
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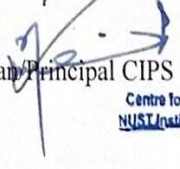
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Student Name: Qurrat Ul Ain

Signature: _____

Examination Committee:

a) External Examiner 1: Name Dr Bakare Najimdeen

Signature: _____

(Designation and Office Address) HOD Research, CIPS

b) External Examiner 2: Name Dr. Muhammad Makki

Signature: _____

(Designation and Office Address) Assoc Dean CIPS

Name of Supervisor: Dr. Ansar Jamil

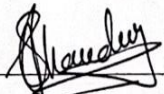
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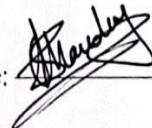
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DEDICATION

This research is dedicated to all the life-changing circumstances that have inspired us to dream. Above all, it is dedicated to my wonderful and loving parents and husband, whose heartfelt prayers and selfless love are as deep as the sea, as pure as an untouched lily, as steadfast as the northern star, and whose advice and suggestions are as valuable as the finest diamonds. Their unwavering support has always turned my dreams into reality.

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Table of Contents

Abstract.....	xiii
Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1	12
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: APPLYING REALISM WITH FOCUS ON OFFENSIVE REALISM.....	12
1.1. Introduction	12
1.2. The Characteristics of Realism	14
1.2.1. Neorealism with main focus on Offensive Realism	16
1.2.2. Offensive Realism.....	17
1.3 Applying Realism to Ukraine Russia War	18
1.3.1. Russia-Ukraine War through the lens of Offensive Realism by John Mearsheimer	19
Chapter 2	25
Realism, Wars and National Security	25
2.1. Introduction.....	25
2.2. Realism and National Security	26
2.2.1. Realist scholars on National Security	26
2.2.2. National Security according to domestic political realists	28
2.2.3. Government and National Security	28

2.3. Realism explaining War.....	29
2.3.1. Neo/Structural Realism explaining war	30
2.3.2. Wars through the lens of security dilemma	32
Chapter 3	34
Russia-Ukraine War: An Overview	34
3.1 Introduction	34
3.2. Overview of the Russia-Ukraine War.....	34
3.3. History behind the Russia-Ukraine War.....	37
3.4. Russia’s Interest in Ukraine	39
3.5. Russia’s Objectives behind war in Ukraine	41
3.6. Ukrainian’s Stance	43
Chapter 4	45
Ukraine-Russia War and its Impact on Pakistan.....	45
4.1. Introduction	45
4.2. Impacts on Economy of Pakistan	47
4.3. Impact on Pakistan’s Political Situation Vis a Vis Foreign Policy of Pakistan	51
4.4. Impact on Pakistan’s Geo-Strategic situations	54
Conclusion.....	57
Bibliography	61

APPENDIX: A.....	65
Plagiarism Report	65

Abstract

This thesis critically examines the Russia-Ukraine conflict through the paradigm of structural realism. Looking through the lens of realist principles towards the conflict, this research analyses the actions and rationale of the belligerents while also highlighting the limitations to the study. It also explores the complex dynamics of international relations by examining the interplay of great power politics, geo-economics and geo-strategy and its implications on the regional arena, particularly Pakistan. The study further investigates the conflict's profound effects on Pakistan's geopolitical standing and economic complexities. It concludes that Pakistan must cautiously navigate through the conflict and its evolving global landscape by adopting adaptive foreign policy framework in the light of existing and emerging great power rivalries.

Keywords: Russia-Ukraine conflict, structural realism, great power politics, Pakistan

Introduction

Russia invaded Ukraine on the night of February 24, 2022 and war is ongoing. Most nations felt the heat of the war as a result of shortages of basic goods and rising costs as Russia's war on Ukraine lingers on. It is inevitable for certain nations to escape the effects of contemporary wars in a globalized international system. One can get a justification for such an aspect from the notions of the International Relations, especially from the Realist point of view that states may exert their power or influence in pursuit for dealing with their security concerns or to achieve certain geopolitical agenda(s). The war between Russia and Ukraine being regarded as a development that ensures the power struggle and dealing with the opposing influences by “greater powers” from the side of leading Western philosophers of the Realist school of thought including the John Mearsheimer. As scholars like Mearsheimer put an ultimate denunciation towards the Western powers due to expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to be source of putting Russia on a deck of consideration of the option of invasion against Ukraine. It is quite evident from here that Russia went for the opting of the point of such a move with a focus of the Realist tendency of an “anarchic world” where the weak or relatively low influential states in neighboring regions of a relative state come under the sphere of power of other powerful states to create security issues with multiple dynamics. It will be discussed in the related context that nation-states actually don't trust the intentions of states that are either securitized or viewed by such states as sources of threat in the international order. Definitely, states may focus on the prospects and endeavors to maximize their capacities and to vouch for considering the options in which they opt to use military force to ward off the influence of hostile actors or states from specific regions or domains. This is the reason why actions of such states may not only create geopolitical shifts through violent or securitized methods setting potential impacts to the security and stability in the respective region where it pursues such prospects. But also create widespread geopolitical concerns in regions beyond its sphere of influence as the dynamics in terms of people-to-people connections and movements along with trade and political ties with such a region eventually face potential shifts or transitions. People all throughout the world are directly impacted by the war, as seen by the Russia-Ukraine conflict.

In some regions of the globe, it had put political and social impacts due to the outbreak of refugees from Ukraine, especially inside the states of the Western world or in the developed world. The war had also made number of the leading Western powers to rally or mobilize support on collective basis to Ukraine with the provision of diplomatic, moral, technical, material and financial supports. While there had been imposing of plethora of sanctions and trade embargos against Russian Federation by the similar powers in which the United States had led a major campaign to punish Moscow and its leadership for violating the sovereignty of Ukraine. On the other side, some of the regions had been facing drastic human security impacts in the shape of food security crisis especially during the phase of grain shipment crisis to the supply lines of wheat and other potential food commodities coming via Black Sea which is also a flashpoint of the entire conflict. There is also an economic cost on an international level to the different regions especially inside the Asian continent that had been posed due to the aspects linked to the conflict in-between the Russia and Ukraine. The impact on energy supplies in which the strategic and important commodities like oil, liquefied natural gas (LNG) and coal, eventually posed economic and logistical concerns for several states globally. It is undeniable from the present fact that crisis emerging in the shape of the Ukraine-Russia War had also posed consequences for Pakistan that will be put on a major focus under the respective study. The conflict is now contained within Ukraine, but it is likely to spread beyond of its borders and persist longer than expected. If so, the majority of nations, including Pakistan, would be up against formidable obstacles. Nevertheless, the conflict between Ukraine and Russia has been explored in this study along with its ramifications for Pakistan at the political, security, economic, and sociological levels. It is to put in focus under the context of the Realism that which of its specified theory perfectly draws the overall evaluation of the war in-between the states of Russia and Ukraine and how they provide a complete conclusion to identify the importance of outcomes drawn from such a conflict. There will be a focus in the lens of Realist principles that what are the relevant issues emerged from the war in-between Russia and Ukraine. With observations of the impacts and consequences that had set for different regions and states, especially for the region where Pakistan exists and for Pakistan itself.

In the final analysis, a focus will be developed on the point that how Pakistan came under the geopolitical impacts with significant challenges to its political, economic and geographical prospects due to the war that broke in the Eastern Europe where the whole world was alarmed due

to the aggression that was put into practice due to the desires of expansions from the side of NATO. It is also to put in focus in such regard that how Pakistan will face the prospects in coming future as its position on the war had also been questioned by number of corridors and pressure groups in West due to its stance to not fall again in the “camp politics” like it fell in past. For the observations that are to be accommodated in this research study, there will be an in-depth insight of the already developed literature sources which provides credible academic evidences and focal points regarding the overall outcomes of the Russia-Ukraine War in a world where great power politics has largely influenced the course of international order.

Research Questions

- Which theories of International relations explain Russia-Ukraine war?
- How has this war happened and impacted different countries across the globe?
- What are the implications of Russia-Ukraine war on Pakistan?

Literature Review

In her paper, Iliya asserts that Ukraine is now undergoing a tumultuous and anxiety-inducing condition. Paradoxically, the Russian military invasion is both a deliberate undertaking and an unforeseen expedition. One aspect is the security crisis between the Western countries and Russia, which started in autumn 2021. The heightened conflict in Ukraine poses a substantial threat to both bilateral security and peace. Unfortunately, Ukraine has become the primary source of conflict between the Western countries and Russia. Conversely, other experts predict that Russia may opt for a comprehensive assault, which would inevitably lead to substantial military casualties and exert influence on the global economy¹.

¹ Kusa, Iliya. “Russia-Ukraine War: Harbinger of a Global Shift A Perspective from Ukraine.” *Policy Perspectives* 19, no. 1 (2022): 7–12. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48676292>.

The book *Roots of Russia's War in Ukraine* provides a great summary of the different perspectives on the causes of the current war. The insightful chapter by Elizabeth A. Wood emphasizes the importance of domestic dynamics and focuses on the Putin regime's pursuit of an ideology that redefines itself as "conservative" starting in 2012. William E. Pomeranz explores the erroneous views and calculations that led to the entire Ukraine issue, including the failed attempt to enlist the nation in the Eurasian Union. The works by former career diplomat from the United States Merry and Russian journalist Maxim, who present knowledgeable but diametrically opposed perspectives on the causes of the war, are enough to warrant this evaluation. The failure of Russia to follow a foreign model in the 1990s infuriated the Russian elites, yet under the auspices of 2000, Russians saw a sharp rise in income that was incredibly frightened, dedicated "the official propaganda machine to the tasks of fabricating or different threats the Russians were allegedly confronting." The Kremlin launched a "conservative attack" against protest NGO's receiving foreign financing, gays and lesbians, and blasphemy culture disputes, which state-controlled media expertly stoked, and Russians' focus has since shifted away from governance. Vladimir Putin was driven by the same survivalist mindset. Yanukovich's regime in Ukraine quickly fell to pieces, and Putin made a decision that was well received by the Russian people.²

In another article³, author states that in order to further geopolitical objectives in Ukraine, The Western countries, including the European Union and the United States, have shown a willingness to support a coup orchestrated by ultranationalist forces. Despite being technically illegal, Russian actions in the semi-autonomous region of Crimea seem to be driven by the desire to offset Western influence in the country's neighbouring regions. Currently, the prevailing conditions suggest that the Ukrainian crisis will not conclude well. It is crucial to now increase awareness about the potential for a global cascade of instability triggered by the economic disruptions resulting from the crisis in Ukraine. In order to get a deeper understanding of the potential dangers posed by these

² Delwaide, Jacobus. *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 35, no. 1/4 (2017): 550–53. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44983564>.

³ CHENOY, ANURADHA M. "Ukraine's Conflict and Resolution." *Economic and Political Weekly* 49, no. 12 (2014): 24–26. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24479320>.

sudden and unexpected events, and to seek out effective strategies for minimising political disturbances, it is imperative for conflict resolution specialists to form partnerships with economists, trade experts, and specialists in the fields of food and energy. Despite the seeming lack of relevance to Ukraine, it is premature to discard the principles and teachings of post-Cold War conflict resolution.

In addition to the aforementioned, John J. Mearsheimer's conception of offensive realism under the broader umbrella of neorealism posits about the inherently conflictual nature of relations amidst great powers. With respect to this inherently conflictual nature of relations between states, Mearsheimer echoes Waltzian notions of paying attention to the structure of the international system in order to comprehend what drives great powers to take certain decisions. He further outlines five core assumptions on the basis of which states, and especially great powers operate in any given scenario. Firstly, he echoes realist notions when outlining the nature of the international system being anarchic, with the absence of a supra-authority in place to keep states in check which brings into the equation an element of insecurity that consequently reflects in interstate relations. Secondly, to carry forward the previously mentioned element of insecurity, states in the anarchic international system are skeptical and therefore insecure of the intentions of other states, particularly the intentions of their opponents and adversaries; states' threat perception outlines that the threat of use of force from an adversary is an always present possibility that informs states' decision making postures and capabilities. To further add onto the issue of intentions, Mearhseimer opines the concept of 'imperfect information' and/or misinformation with respect to states' intentions. In addition to that, he asserts that intentions are rarely rigid and often swing between being either 'benign' or 'malignant'. Thirdly, states' primary objectives are security and survival –while these are ends within themselves, they also are the only means to ensure all other ends (goals and objectives that states may have). Fourthly, as per Mearsheimer's neorealist conception, states are rational actors that are more often than not in the pursuit of survival and security maximizing strategies' employment and adoption. And lastly, Mearsheimer asserts that states always tend to maintain a level of capacity in terms of military capabilities that ensure that the power to hurt and/or to destroy an opponent rests with them. This further breeds the

aforementioned insecurity in the international system which paves way for conflictual situations to arise and even escalate drastically in interstate relations⁴.

With respect to the crisis that unfolded in Ukraine, John J. Mearsheimer has, for quite some time, maintained the ideation that the primary reason behind Valdimir Putin's aggressive stance and actions in Ukraine are a result of what he terms as 'western intervention'. This, he outlines, the Russians viewed as an existential threat because it could result in Russia's backyard essentially transforming into a liberal democracy that is additionally pro-American. In the same interview, Mearsheimer states that it is imperative for states like Ukraine, that geographically find themselves positioned close to a great power such as that of Russia, to be extremely attentive of how their actions are perceived across their borders (in this case, how their actions will be perceived within Russia). He exemplifies this in the analogy that Ukraine ought not to poke Russia in the eye if retaliation and an escalation of conflict is to be avoided. Within this interview, Mearsheimer predicted that Putin would be 'taking' the Donbas region and that, with the developments in the current Ukraine-Russia conflict has become a reality⁵.

Similarly, Mearsheimer initially gained prominence in the framework of Russia-Ukraine conflict with his Foreign Affairs piece, 'Why the Ukraine Crisis Is the West's Fault' published in 2014⁶. In this essay, he said that the United States and its European allies are mostly responsible for the crisis. He said that Russia's decision to acquire Crimea and provoke instability in Donbas was primarily motivated by NATO's and the European Union's (EU) efforts to expand eastward, as well as their aspirations for promoting democracy. He expressed his opinion that the aforementioned posed a danger to Russia's fundamental strategic interests. Curiously, Mearsheimer argues that Moscow's goal is not to 'conquer' Ukraine, but rather to prevent it from becoming a base for Western expansion or aggression. According to him, Moscow would never

⁴ Toft, Peter (2005, August). *John J. Mearsheimer: an offensive realist between geopolitics and power*. Journal of International Relations and Development

⁵ Chotiner, Isaac (2022, March 01) *Why John Mearsheimer Blames the U.S. for the Crisis in Ukraine*. The New Yorker

⁶ Smith, Nicholas (2022, August) *Mearsheimer, Realism, and the Ukraine War*. De Gruyter Oldenbourg

feel comfortable, thrive, or even survive if it constantly faced a threat from Ukraine on its borders. He emphasised that, regardless of the dominant narrative around NATO, comprehending Moscow's perception of the alliance's behaviour is crucial for understanding the fundamental causes of this conflict⁷.

In the conclusion of one of his articles, Mearsheimer stated that the US and its European allies today confront a decision on Ukraine. They have the option to continue with their current position, which would exacerbate tensions with Russia and further harm Ukraine—a situation that would result in losses for all parties involved. Alternatively, they may alter their trajectory and strive to establish a prosperous but unbiased Ukraine that does not present a threat to Russia and allows the Western nations to repair their relations with Moscow. He confidently said that with such a mindset, everyone would achieve success⁸.

Both the political and the economic ramifications of this conflict on Pakistan might be considered. There would be pressure on Pakistan to choose a side. Diverse facets of society are racing to jump onboard the Russian ship in an effort to convince the west that Pakistan is still relevant to the rest of the globe. Under no circumstances can Pakistan afford to compete economically with Ukraine. A conflict breaking out would be extremely disastrous for Pakistan. Food prices, consumer goods prices, and energy prices are already rising⁹. Last year, 39% of Pakistan's wheat imports came from Kiev. Among other things, it imports from Ukraine corn, barley, grain, and seeds. Supplies will be disrupted if conflict breaks out.

The inevitable adverse domino consequence will be inflation. In turn, this will make life even worse for the average person because consumer spending power will further decline and production will likely decline as production costs rise. The economy will continue to shrink as the

⁷ *John Mearsheimer on the causes and consequences of the Ukraine war*. Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies - European University Institute

⁸ Mearsheimer, John. (2014, October) *Why the Ukraine Crisis Is the West's Fault*. Foreign Affairs

⁹ Salamat, S. (2022, February 26). *Ukraine-Russia war and Pakistan*. Daily Times

investment graph declines. The labour market will experience more stress. The rupee may reach 200 to the dollar, making imports highly price. Khan's administration has failed to halt the economy's decline. Its existence depends on bouncing from one loan to the next. This is impacted by some international issues. Many attribute it to the government's inability to effectively address complex challenges. With only a year and a half until elections, his party's support is going to plummet and there won't be much left to campaign on against opponents in the upcoming elections but slogans. As a result, this circumstance would not be considered "exciting." No matter how you look at it, it is quite concerning for Pakistan. To create a strategy to deal with the impending crisis, there needs to be communication among Pakistan's opinion leaders and stakeholders.

Realists often exhibit cynicism since they believe that ideologies and objectives lack significance, and that conflict is an intrinsic aspect of human nature. Put simply, ideologies are used to provide specific justifications in favour of war in various situations and circumstances. Wars have been waged since Alexander the Great rallied his troops to engage in combat for Greece, Attila the Hun persuaded his forces to raid the cities of Western and Eastern Rome, Napoleon fought in support of the French Revolution and the pursuit of freedom, and Khrushchev feigned concern for the working class. Thus, despite seeming progress in human comprehension, the fundamental incentives have remained same throughout history, resulting in battles that persist as an inherent consequence of politics¹⁰. Wars may be waged in order to preserve or extend national security. Both the aggressor and the defender may engage in combat to safeguard their security - one by actively defending their country, and the other by neutralizing the danger that the opposing country provides to their security or interests.

As the world's supply chain faces difficulties as a result of Russia's invasion of Ukraine, LNG prices have increased by a record amount. Due to LNG companies' decision to take advantage of lucrative European markets, these circumstances have already generated problems for Pakistan.

¹⁰ Lisinski, K. (2012, May 6). *Explaining War: A Comparison of Realism and Constructivism*. E-International Relations. <https://www.e-ir.info/2012/05/03/explaining-war-a-comparison-of-realism-and-constructivism/>

Now, Pakistan is constrained to buy costly LNG¹¹. Additionally, Pakistan no longer imports any fossil fuels from Ukraine, including coal, LNG, and oil. As a result, Pakistanis will have lengthy and frequent power outages, exorbitant utility bills, and difficulties accessing other services in the coming months. Since the beginning of the war, the price of a barrel of oil has risen above \$100, and supply and development have stalled. Future fuel price increases would be bad for Pakistan since its foreign exchange reserves would get even less. Because Pakistan was importing steel from Ukraine, the building industry has also suffered. Additionally, no longer exporting to Ukraine, which will hurt regional businesses and the economy.

Pakistan's diplomatic status is complicated by its desire to retain ties with both Russia and the West, especially the US and EU. Pakistan's negative experiences with camp politics led Islamabad to abstain from voting against Russia at the UNGA in order to maintain its neutrality. People all throughout the world are directly impacted by the war, as seen by the Russia-Ukraine conflict¹².

In all of its manifestations¹³, the conflict in Ukraine is damaging the global economy, which was already reeling from COVID-19. Along with climate change, the effects on developing countries are particularly severe. According to UNCTAD forecasts, the global economy will grow by one full percentage point. The war, which is already substantially disrupting already limited food, energy, and financial systems, is causing GDP growth to be lower than planned. Ukraine and the Russian Federation are the world's major grain producers. These countries provide more than 30

¹¹ Kaushiki, Nishtha. "Factors Contributing to an Emerging Russia-Pakistan Strategic Proximity: An Indian Perspective." *Journal of International and Area Studies* 26, no. 1 (2019): 43–64.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/26909952>.

¹² *ibid*

¹³ Kramer, David J. "THE UKRAINE INVASION: One Year Later." *World Affairs* 177, no. 6 (2015): 9–16.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/43555264>.

percent of the world's wheat and barley, a fifth of its maize, and more than 50 percent of its sunflower oil. Russia is also the second-largest oil exporter on the planet and the largest natural gas exporter. Collectively, Belarus and the Russian Federation export more than one-fifth of the world's fertilisers. The invasion of Ukraine by Russia raises questions regarding national sovereignty, democracy versus autocracy, human rights, and the entire international order. This indicates that, regardless of the outcome, the global security scene may undergo a significant transformation. There is a danger that the security architecture that was established after World War Two will be overthrown. This may have an impact on the global economy. As investors examine the consequences of the Ukrainian crisis, anticipated interruptions in commodity flows, and the tightening of international sanctions against Russia, according to UBS, global market volatility has grown.

According to the second school of thought, Pakistan had extended periods of close involvement with the USA, which is still its top trading partner, and that cooperation was hardly ever seen between Pakistan and Russia in terms of politics and the economy. Supporters of this perspective immediately questioned why Pakistan's behaviour appeared to be upsetting the USA and Europe when Pakistan chose to abstain from voting at the UN. But in the end, it shouldn't matter which side Pakistan supports¹⁴. Pakistan does, after all, have close bilateral ties with both the USA and Russia. What counts is Pakistan's adherence to the principles outlined in the UN Charter. Pakistan must take a stance in accordance with fundamental interstate relations principles in an era of unilateralism and preemptive strikes. Pakistan's challenge is to fortify ties with Russia, maintain those with China, and prevent alienating the United States. Pakistan must understand that the Sino-Russian camp is where it is headed as a result of its recent actions and rhetoric. By firmly opposing Russia's attack on Ukraine, it must rebuild relations with Western countries if it genuinely believes in a no-camp politics. Contrary to Islamabad's concern that adopting such a position would force it to adhere to Western policies, condemning the invasion on the grounds that one supports

¹⁴ibid

Ukraine's territorial integrity would improve that nation's diplomatic standing and return it to a more balanced position, which its recent actions have shifted away from.

America and Europe are exerting pressure on Pakistan on its foreign policy as a result of Russia's invasion of Ukraine¹⁵. The West viewed Pakistan's first visit to Russia as acceptance of Russia's incursion. They insisted that Pakistan support Ukraine unreservedly and unreservedly. They were attempting to establish our foreign policy. As a result of the Ukraine crisis, political turmoil has extended to Pakistan. Despite Western pressure, India has chosen not to vote against Russia at the United Nations. As a result, Pakistan must pursue a peaceful and impartial foreign policy to safeguard its own interests¹⁶.

All the above literature have no doubt commendable explained the dynamics of Ukraine Russia war, implications on Pakistan trade, its impact on Pakistan foreign policy and the description of major realist and neo realist theories. But all this research have gaps in explaining the implications of Russia-Ukraine war in a holistic manner. This research focuses on analyzing the implications of war on Pakistan's economy, security, politics and society. Neo-realism has been applied to this topic.

Hypothesis

Russia-Ukraine war has various implications for Pakistan's security, politics, economy as well as society.

¹⁵ ibid

¹⁶ <https://www.voanews.com/a/western-led-pressure-grows-on-pakistan-to-condemn-russia-s-invasion-of-ukraine/6465104.html>. Accessed on November 02, 2022.

Chapter 1

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: APPLYING REALISM WITH FOCUS ON OFFENSIVE REALISM

1.1. Introduction

Realistic thinking posits that any state will strive to optimise its power and security. States will use all feasible strategies to avert extinction, assuming they possess a basic level of rationality. In a tumultuous and cutthroat climate, tiny states that are susceptible to harm will actively want the shelter and support of influential friends. Furthermore, even powerful nations will implement security measures due to concerns of potential attacks from other major powers. This is often achieved by establishing a sphere of influence, which serves to deter invasions from other major powers and prevent neighbouring weaker states from encroaching on the territories controlled by hostile major powers. Realism asserts that a dominant nation would use all possible resources, including military force, to hinder a smaller nation within its area of influence from falling under the authority of a weaker nation. Furthermore, in the event that the country being invaded does not promptly surrender to the aggressor, empirical evidence indicates that other influential nations, who naturally have a stake in ensuring that any potential competitor is weakened and unable to pose a threat, will provide their support. This support aims to exhaust the invading force and gradually diminish its influence over time. Furthermore, realism posits that these battles will

persist until one side achieves victory by fulfilling its fundamental security requirements or until both sides exhaust their resources and reach a state of Mutual Assured Destruction¹⁷.

Realism has its own clarification that the country state (regularly abridged as a 'state') is the essential actor in global relations. Different elements, like people and organizations, do exist, yet their power is restricted. Second, the state is a solid entertainer in the political field. During seasons of war, public interests propel the state to talk and act as one. Finally, judicious leaders are roused by a craving to propel the public interest as rational analysis advances that goal.

It would be illogical in this situation to take actions that would make your state weak or vulnerable. Realistic leadership suggests that all leaders, regardless of their political affiliation, recognize this as they attempt to manage their state's affairs to survive in a competitive environment. Finally, states exist in an environment of anarchy, which is defined as the absence of a central authority on an international scale¹⁸.

Types of Realism

There are various types of realism, and these are follows:

- Classical Realism
- Neo-Realism
- Neo-classical Realism
- Defensive Realism
- Offensive Realism

In classical realism, the imperfect nature of people is emphasized as a cause of interstate conflict. Neo Realism posits that anarchy in international politics arises from the combination of flawed

¹⁷ Jervis, Robert. "Realism in the Study of World Politics." *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (1998): 971–91.

¹⁸ Ibid.

human nature and the lack of a centralised authority governing nation-states. Neo-classical realism posits that internal considerations inside a nation state exert influence on its foreign policy, alongside flawed human nature or the absence of a global authority in international affairs. According to defensive realism, the international system's anarchic structure encourages governments to pursue cautious and moderate policies for their own security. Therefore, it favors maximizing security. In contrast, offensive realism contends that states often seek to increase their influence and strength in order to achieve security through hegemony and dominance.

1.2. The Characteristics of Realism

Realists claim that their theory more effectively represents how statecraft practitioners view international politics. Because of this, realism is most likely the IR theory that informs policymaking, reflecting Machiavelli's desire to compile a guide for leaders. However, realist scholars assert that realists can help to uphold the hostile and violent society they depict. Realists assume that people are self-centered and disobedient, and that there is no hierarchy in the state system, which encourages leaders to act in ways that are based on mistrust, authority, and force. As a result, it is possible to see how realism is a self-fulfilling prophecy. Directly speaking, since realism assumes that the adversarial nature of the international system is unavoidable, it is frequently criticized as being overly pessimistic. However, realists assert that leaders have little opportunities for cooperation and face insurmountable challenges. They are therefore powerless to change the fact that power politics exist. Recognizing the reality of one's circumstances is seen by realists as prudent judgement rather than pessimism. The realist view of international relations holds that there are limits to the possibility for peaceful change, or in fact any kind of change. A leader would be irresponsible to rely on such an implausible outcome.

Realists see areas of strength in the contentious aspects of international relations (IR). The primary authentic human writings, particularly Thucydides' account of the Peloponnesian War, are occasionally described as the source of authenticity. Thucydides was not a "pragmatist" in his day because IR theory did not emerge until the 20th century. However, researchers believed that when viewed from the present, the thought processes and behavioural patterns of the past and present universes shared an unusual structure in a similar fashion. Then, at that time, they relied on his

works as well as those of others since they believed that there existed an immortal hypothesis that included all of known humanity's experiences. This theory was referred to as realism.

Realist discourse, which frequently draws on historical examples, strongly emphasises the idea that people are compelled by the repeated patterns of behaviour that nature has established in them. This assumption is based on the idea that people are egoistic and desire power. Realists contend that traits of the human condition such as egotism, a desire for power, and a lack of faith in others produce predictable results. The reason there have been so many conflicts in recorded history may be due to this. People are separated into states, and human nature has an impact on state behaviour. Machiavelli focused on what key human attributes mean for the security of the state in this present circumstance. The dominance of men in leadership at the time had an effect on the realistic perspective on politics.

Machiavelli emphasised that a leader's first priority should be to advance national security in *The Prince*¹⁹. In order to effectively carry out this duty, the leader must possess the qualities of both a lion and a fox. He must be vigilant and ready to address both internal and foreign threats to his power. Machiavelli contends that rulers should abide by the "ethics of duty" instead of the traditional religious morality that governs ordinary citizens. Consequently, they must be prepared to use coercion alongside ethical actions, wherever feasible, to ensure the preservation of the state.

Hans Morgenthau²⁰, in the years that followed World War II, he strove to formulate a comprehensive international theory. He held the opinion that human nature-based laws regulate politics and society as a whole. The ideas of historical giants Machiavelli and Thucydides were heavily cited in his books. His objective was to make clear how morals and interests relate to one another in terms of world politics. Morgenthau promoted a policy that put power ahead of morality, in contrast to more upbeat idealists who thought that global problems would be resolved via open

¹⁹ Belliotti, Raymond A. "MACHIAVELLI AND MACHIAVELLIANISM." *Journal of Thought* 13, no. 4 (1978): 293–300.

²⁰ Ghazi A. R. Algosaihi. "The Theory of International Relations: Hans J. Morgenthau and His Critics." *Background* 8, no. 4 (1965): 221–56

discourse characterised by compassion. In fact, it was claimed that morality shouldn't be considered when formulating policy. According to Morgenthau, all political activity strives to maintain, bolster, or exhibit power. It is believed that moral or idealistic measures could expose a state to invasion or obliteration by a rival state. This viewpoint claims that because serving the national interest is not driven by moral principles, it is "amoral."

1.2.1. Neorealism with main focus on Offensive Realism

Neorealism is a school of thought that emphasizes the importance of power politics in international relations, sees rivalry and conflict as constant elements of those relations, and holds that there is little room for collaboration. Defensive and offensive neorealism are the two categories under which neorealism can be categorised. In most cases, the field of international relations distinguishes between three levels of analysis: the system, the state, and an individual²¹.

Kenneth Waltz updated IR theory by stepping away from realism's alluring but fallacious presumptions about human nature. He stressed the idea of "structure" a lot in his argument, which led to the term "structural realism" or "neorealism" being applied to his theoretical contribution. Unlike human nature, a state's decisions and deeds are determined by a simple formula. All governments are limited firstly because they are a part of a global anarchic system. Second, they consider their strength in comparison to other states when choosing a course of action.

Waltz²² presented a kind of realism that advised thinkers to concentrate on components of the global system for remedies rather than digging into defects in human nature. He did this to bring in a new era of IR theory, one that sought to employ social scientific methodologies as opposed to

²¹ Shibley Talhami, "An Essay on Neorealism and Foreign Policy", *Journal on Perspectives of Structural Realism*, 2003, 105-118.
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/304769358_An_Essay_on_Neorealism_and_Foreign_Policy accessed on 18 August 2021.

²² Topper, Keith. "The Theory of International Politics? An Analysis of Neorealist Theory." *Human Studies* 21, no. 2 (1998): 157–86. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20011191>.

those of political theory (or philosophy). Waltz's variables, such as world anarchy and a state's level of power, can be measured empirically or physically, depending on the situation. The philosophical perspective from which an assumption, such as human nature, is developed determines how that assumption is evaluated. An examination at the person level seeks to pinpoint the source of events in particular leaders or the close-knit group of policymakers in a particular country. It concentrates on describing the characteristics of human decision-making in order to better comprehend the behaviours of human players on the world arena. The peculiarities of a particular state's domestic system are used in the domestic level of analysis to identify the root causes of problems. War is therefore caused by aggressive or warlike governments rather than by bad, incompetent, or misguided people or by the power structures in the international system.

2. By using a systemic level of analysis, you can also explain outcomes at a systemic level that considers all states. As a result, offensive realism analyses current events by analysing the nature or structure of the current world political order. The authors claim that it considers both the position of states within the international society as well as their course of relations with one another. States' perspectives are represented at the systemic structural level of the research. By using a systemic level of analysis, you can also explain outcomes at a systemic level that considers all states. As a result, offensive realism analyses current events by analysing the nature or structure of the current world political order.

1.2..2. Offensive Realism

Governments, as per offensive realism, are prone to rivalry and conflict because they are concerned with furthering their own agendas and strengthening their own positions of control. It also makes the case that states must act in this way to maintain their position in the global order. Aggressive realists can only enjoy a certain level of security. States are constrained to augment their quests of worldwide power and focus on matchless quality over equality as a result of the tumultuous idea of the global framework to expand their power getting by. Authority is a definitive objective of each and every extraordinarily powerful state. A state with more noteworthy strength and could will be less inclined to turn into an objective since more vulnerable countries will be discouraged from restricting it. States rapidly understand that keeping up with their strength as the most impressive state in the framework is the best method for guaranteeing their endurance, as per John

Mearsheimer. Because of vulnerability with respect to the goals of different states and the anarchic idea of the global framework, Powerful nations are compelled to take on forceful, serious, and expansionist techniques when the prizes offset the disadvantages. Each of the incredible powers take on a most dire outcome imaginable since expectations are seldom self-evident and a state may later end up being more forceful, which prompts extreme rivalry. For offensive realists, conquest frequently pays off and offensive actions frequently succeed²³.

1.3 Applying Realism to Ukraine Russia War

To have a comprehensive understanding of the current situation in Ukraine, it is necessary to analyse the U.S. efforts to enlarge NATO throughout the 1990s. Realists argue that the United States triggered a security crisis with Russia by expanding the alliance and offering NATO membership to countries such as Georgia and Ukraine. This, in turn, resulted in Russia's invasions of these nations in 2008, 2014, and 2022, respectively. All the events that unfolded due to the Russian-Ukrainian War unfolded precisely as expected by the principles of realism and as many realists had anticipated. Russia saw Ukraine's increasing alignment with the West as a departure from its sphere of influence. Moscow initiated a military incursion with the objective of preventing the Western powers, namely NATO and the European Union, from encroaching deeper into its territory after diplomatic negotiations failed to provide a sustainable resolution to the matter. The United States and its European allies provided an appropriate level of military support to Russia after Kyiv successfully resisted Moscow's first attack and the Russian invasion halted, with the intention of preventing Russia from achieving victory and causing significant damage to their military capabilities. The war persists due to the absence of a clear victor on either side and the persistent belief that victory is within reach for both parties.

An old argument over the definition of realism has come to light due to the war in Ukraine. It investigates whether the theory can be considered as a disposition that contributes little in that

²³ Snyder, Glenn H. "Mearsheimer's World-Offensive Realism and the Struggle for Security: A Review Essay." *International Security* 27, no. 1 (2002): 149–73. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3092155>.

regard, or if it can serve as a useful conceptual or analytical framework for comprehending occurrences in the global system. Two forms of justifications are necessary in relation to the crisis in Ukraine. It provides an explanation of why this invasion was inevitable; this defense originates from the theory of realism²⁴.

1.3.1. Russia-Ukraine War through the lens of Offensive Realism by John Mearsheimer

According to the offensive realism theory, nations are predisposed to rivalry and conflict because they are self-centered, power-hungry, and wary of other states since doing so is the greatest strategy for surviving in the international system's chaos²⁵. Kenneth Waltz's theory on Defensive Realism argues that governments should pursue a strategy of prudence and restraint in order to achieve national security. This perspective may be applied to the present situation in Ukraine. In response to the Russian strikes, Ukrainian President Zelenskyy expressed a strong desire for Ukraine to join the European Union. Ukraine has consistently sought aid from NATO and other countries to counteract its adversarial neighbour. The enduring conflict between Russia and Ukraine is primarily rooted in Russia's geopolitical instability and Ukraine's political and economic turmoil. States would eventually look for some unique "systemic activism" window opportunity in order to modify the international system to satisfy their long-term security needs. States with hegemonic aspirations and states content with the status quo would eventually look for this chance to signal their good intentions to one another and to identify one another. States with revisionist intentions and states content with the status quo would not. A counterbalancing role is played in this situation by international players.

²⁴ Barkdull, John. "Waltz, Durkheim, and International Relations: The International System as an Abnormal Form." *The American Political Science Review* 89, no. 3 (1995): 669–80. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2082981>.

²⁵ D'ANIERI, PAUL. Review of *Ukraine, Russia, and the West: The Battle over Blame*, by Rajan Menon, Eugene B. Rumer, Richard Sakwa, and Andrew Wilson. *The Russian Review* 75, no. 3 (2016): 498–503.

Since the start of the war in February 2022, there has been fierce debate about the applicability of "reality" in understanding Russia's choice to invade Ukraine. Mearsheimer is the primary analyst in this discussion. Despite Mearsheimer's aggressive realism, the Ukraine War can be explained by a variety of different realist hypotheses. It is contended that traditional and neoclassical realist discourse, which go past the obvious authority of underlying authenticity (the part of authenticity that Mearsheimer's hostile authenticity has a place with), can offer more nuanced and, eventually, persuading support for why the Russian President Vladimir Putin decided to attack Ukraine²⁶. This is because of the likelihood that neo-classical style authenticity might consolidate thoughts from non-pragmatist studies, like the ideas of development and ontological security, into an exhaustive power governmental issues structure. Despite the fact that neither classical nor neoclassical realism offer flawless solutions, they demonstrate that realism is capable of offering complex justifications for why a state, like Russia, decided to take action, like invading Ukraine²⁷.

Many US mainstream news outlets hastened to characterise Russia's aggression as a long-sought attempt by Putin and his KGB allies to recreate the Soviet Union at the outset of Putin's war on Ukraine. This was done in large part due to pressure from significant portions of the US foreign policy elite. According to the hypothesis, Putin is a strongman dictator who is wary of democratic movements. He has taken a number of actions to stifle democratic movements around the world, notably in former Soviet satellite republics, and his aggression towards Ukraine is the climax of those actions. This argument is based on the notion that Putin's overarching objective is to invade and fully annex Ukraine before moving on to annex and retake other former Soviet states in a methodical effort to reclaim and recreate the Soviet Empire. According to this theory, the West should vehemently respond to the invasion of Ukraine in order to prevent Putin from attaining his goal.

²⁶ "A Russian Perspective on the War in Ukraine." 2022. IEEE Spectrum. March 17, 2022.
<https://spectrum.ieee.org/stories-of-the-war-in-ukraine-roman>.

²⁷ Roberts, Kari. "Understanding Putin: The Politics of Identity and Geopolitics in Russian Foreign Policy Discourse." *International Journal* 72, no. 1 (2017): 28–55.

As per Mearsheimer, Russia's aggression is a response to the dangerous NATO expansion, in which the US aspired to admit all countries in the former Soviet Bloc, including Russia's immediate neighbours, to the alliance. This argument contends that Putin's response supports the Great Power Politics tenet that a nation's continued existence is its "paramount concern." This argument claims that the US has failed to respect Russia's security concerns and acknowledge Russia's sphere of influence by brazenly rejecting a notion that the US upholds. For instance, the Monroe Doctrine sought to prevent colonial powers of the time, such as Britain, Spain, Russia, and France, from interfering with or attempting to dominate countries in Latin America, a region that the United States considered and still views as falling within its own legitimate geographical sphere of influence.

As a result, this camp, whose theories are largely articulated by political scientists like Mearsheimer²⁸, claims that the US foreign policy establishment's assumption that Putin is attempting to "reincarnate" the former Soviet Union is untrue and may even have been "invented" for the benefit of the domestic populace. They assert that in reality, Putin seeks to defend Russia and Russian power through direct action against NATO expansion at its borders. The assertion that Putin's invasion of Ukraine is primarily meant to defend a long-standing sphere of "rightful" influence in the region may contain more than a grain of truth according to offensive realism, but it also has a number of issues²⁹. Starting with the reality of Russia's present situation, the idea that the US should respect Russia's sphere of influence only because Russia is a rival great power is untrue. In spite of the fact that Russia is still a major player in the Eurasian region and possesses a

²⁸ Mearsheimer, John J. "The Causes and Consequences of the Ukraine War." *Horizons: Journal of International Relations and Sustainable Development*, no. 21 (2022): 12–27. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48686693>.

²⁹ Russett, Bruce M., Thomas Risse-Kappen, and John J. Mearsheimer. "Back to the Future, Part III: Realism and the Realities of European Security." *International Security* 15, no. 3 (1990): 216–22. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2538912>.

sizable nuclear arsenal capable of wreaking havoc on the military, it does not hold the same position or pursue the same objectives as it did decades ago.

Considering the onset of the crisis in Ukraine in 2014, it is reasonable to assert that the fears of structural realists about the changing power dynamics in Eastern Europe and the potential consequences of increased instability and violence in that nation were remarkably prescient. Moreover, the apprehension of structural realists over the West's reluctance to alter its policies towards Ukraine in response to systemic feedback may explain the widespread astonishment provoked by Russia's eventual choice to invade the nation in 2022. Russia's activities, prompted by increasing external pressure, might be seen as an endeavour by a regional powerhouse to safeguard its area of influence in proximity to its borders. They lack a distinct Russian essence; instead, they adhere to the conventional course of action that any superpower would take in a comparable situation.

1.3.2. According to Offensive Realists: US Caused Russian Invasion

This group adamantly maintains that the West, particularly the US, is to blame for the Ukraine conflict. Its supporters include John Mearsheimer³⁰. This viewpoint holds that Russia was unhappy and wary as a result of the West forcing Ukraine to join NATO. Another accusation is that following the fall of the Soviet Union, the West broke its vow to refrain from doing so and abandoned Russia by enlarging NATO eastward. The latter's claim might or might not be accurate. For instance, according to Mark Kramer, pledges were made regarding the role that NATO would play in eastern Germany during the discussions for the reunification of Germany, but no one received any assurances or promises regarding its extension. He believed that NATO's growth only became relevant after the fall of the Soviet Union and the unification of Germany. Putting aside rhetoric, one should question how far the West is willing to go to defend Ukraine against Russia's

³⁰ Motyl, Alexander J. "THE SURREALISM OF REALISM: Misreading the War in Ukraine." *World Affairs* 177, no. 5 (2015): 75–84.

possible military escalation. Will the West help Ukraine fight Russian and separatist forces? Will Putin be encouraged to make tough policies to meet Russia's ambitious goals?

He goes on to say that the U.S. used a twin policy, telling the Soviets up front that NATO wouldn't grow while simultaneously secretly hoping to project American influence over Eastern Europe, which was made feasible by growing NATO. Some claim that the issue stems from the fact that both the U.S. and Russia have some merit. In order to completely comprehend the reasons for Russian opposition toward the 1990 German reunification negotiations, it is important to evaluate both US-Soviet and West German relations. She claimed that Helmut Kohl's ideas, not those of James Baker, the US Secretary of State, were what motivated Mikhail. She further claims that Gorbachev failed to urge that the U.S. put in writing that it would not only not expand NATO to Warsaw Pact nations, but would also not raise objections to the U.S.'s conflicting viewpoints. The U.S.-Russian competition is thus to blame, and this group views the Ukraine situation through the prism of great-power politics.

Moreover, if we incorporate the Russian perspective, then an Eberhard³¹ has suggested that Putin sees the West in economic, moral, and political turmoil. The Obama administration has given Russia the chance to disrupt the current quo and upset Europe's power balance. Russia believes it has a unique chance to "take back" what it lost when it was weak. Russia's purpose in Ukraine is to dismantle the post-Cold War order and abolish Western dominance of the international system. According to Eberhard, Russia has set "red lines" for the West but none for itself. Putin's perception of the post-Cold War global security order's illegitimacy has influenced Russia's Ukraine policy. Russia's drive to avoid strategic failure and public humiliation stems from its idealistic ambition to regain lost power. Russia wants to destabilize Ukraine to hinder its political reform. Russia wants to prove NATO is ineffective and that US strength and influence will wane. Given that Ukraine's success would weaken Russian legitimacy, it's doubtful that Russia will heal relations and end its assault on the country's sovereignty and economy.

³¹ "The Crisis in Ukraine: The Peculiarities of the Russian Perspective." n.d. Australian Institute of International Affairs. <https://www.internationalaffairs.org.au/the-crisis-in-ukraine-the-peculiarities-of-the-russian-perspective/>.

China's attitude on the Russia-Ukraine war is consistent with its foreign policy and perspective of international alliances. China's war announcements have been limited to a few main messages since the invasion. The West, especially the U.S., is also to fault for what transpired in Ukraine because it ignored Russia's security concerns. According to China, it's vital to build a shared security paradigm in the area and the world that doesn't favor the West. Moreover, the key inflection points in China's thought are that the West should recognize the principle of indivisibility of security, which states that one country's security should not come at the expense of others', and make it the cornerstone of a new international security architecture. China wants the Ukraine war to end quickly, but U.S. engagement prolongs it. Drop the Cold War mentality and blocs and change to a multipolar, realistic international structure in which non-Western countries play a bigger role. Ukraine is a sovereign country that was attacked, but Taiwan is part of China and recognized as such. China opposes unilateral Western sanctions against Russia because the US utilizes them to enhance its geo-economics influence.³²

To sum up, structural realist research has undoubtedly improved our comprehension of and defence of Russia's strategy employed in Ukraine. It is clear that the emphasis on surviving under anarchy in offensive realism is pertinent. Because it is clear that the distribution of power affects the conflict, even if just subtly, it would be absurd to completely ignore it. In addition, it has provided some useful advice for those who make foreign policy decisions, such as its key warnings to the Western side against perpetuating the same course in Ukraine. It has also proven to be foresighted in its pessimism over the shifting geopolitics of Eastern Europe. But by focusing only on the structural variables, such conceptual frameworks have gaps to take into account a huge numbers of significant variables which are important for expanding and improving our understanding of why Russia has pursued different actions against Ukraine as well as why America has been planning to act against Russia.

³² Kusa, Iliya. 2022. "China's Strategic Calculations in the Russia-Ukraine War | Wilson Center." [www.wilsoncenter.org](https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/chinas-strategic-calculations-russia-ukraine-war). June 21, 2022. <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/chinas-strategic-calculations-russia-ukraine-war>.

Chapter 2

Realism, Wars and National Security

2.1. Introduction

In the study of international politics, the oldest theory and the one that is currently dominant are both considered to be political realism. Realists place a high priority on their own safety. The insecurity of states is the primary issue at play in international politics, from the point of view of the realist school of thought. This perspective portrays the international system as one in which "self-help"³³ is the primary driver of action; states are required to guarantee their own national security because they cannot rely on any other agency or actor to do so. Realists, moreover, point to a variety of factors that contribute to the lack of safety. As a result, they center their attention on a wide range of different mechanisms and causal factors, such as the basic need for power that is inherent in human nature; conflicts of interest between states that have different resource endowments, economic systems, and political hierarchies; and the "ordering principle" that underlies international anarchy and high possibilities for war. Realists believe that the aforementioned factors contribute to the mystery of why there is so little safety to go around. They also offer a large variety of factors, including as polarity, shifts in the overall balance of power, the "offense-defense balance," and domestic politics, all of which have the potential to either make

³³ James, Patrick. "Structural Realism and the Causes of War." *Mershon International Studies Review* 39, no. 2 (1995): 181–208. <https://doi.org/10.2307/222750>.

the underlying security problem worse or make it easier to manage. All of these factors have the potential to influence the primary security concern³⁴.

2.2. Realism and National Security

Realists place a high value on the issue of security, but they are of the opinion that nothing can be done about it if the government does not take appropriate action. In this atmosphere, having a strong military to back up diplomacy, foreign policy, and ultimately security is essential and absolutely necessary. When it comes to the preservation of national security, economic might is not even close to being as significant as military might.

According to the proponents of this view, the historical evidence demonstrates that people have fundamental flaws and are self-centered, both of which render them inefficient. Realists contend that the international community exists in a perpetual state of anarchy, and that the primary goal of every government is to amass power in order to ensure the safety of its citizens. When it comes to their worldview, power and force, which they refer to as the "military component,"³⁵ serve as the foundation of their ideas and ideals.

2.2.1. Realist scholars on National Security

People with perspective Kaplan's, Morgenthau, Huntington's and Kissinger's have a significant impact on the definition of national security. Realists place a high value on a definition of state security in which the state is seen as a threat to the security of both the nation and the world. Realists believe that this definition is the most accurate. Foreign actors, who are frequently armed

³⁴ Wohlforth, William C. "Realism and the End of the Cold War." *International Security* 19, no. 3 (1994): 91–129. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2539080>.

³⁵ Evan Braden Montgomery. "Breaking out of the Security Dilemma: Realism, Reassurance, and the Problem of Uncertainty." *International Security* 31, no. 2 (2006): 151–85.

forces, pose the greatest threat to the security of countries; territorial integrity and national sovereignty are frequently the primary targets of these threats.

In light of this plan, the government ought to provide top billing to the following actions in order to guarantee the country's safety: The construction of fortifications is an effort to achieve military dominance as well as, in the long run, military equilibrium. Throughout the entirety of the Cold War, this recommendation to bolster defenses proved to be an effective deterrent, at least for the superpowers of the world. Following the unexpected conclusion of the Cold War, the realist camp was confronted with an intellectual crisis. It was completely out of the question for them to imagine that the Cold War would ever come to an end or that the Soviet Union would ever collapse.

The difficulty with the realism theory is that it attempts to find a balance between opposites, which is something that can never be achieved. Both the military strength and the general population's satisfaction with the status quo served as a deterrent to the superpowers³⁶. On the basis of such views, one is able to anticipate this. On the other hand, he did not forecast that the state of world affairs would rapidly deteriorate in the event that a superpower failed. Realistically speaking, security refers to a world that has a lower risk of danger and violence. However, in terms of the ideal, a safe, just, and peaceful society is ideal. It is impossible to achieve total safety given that international anarchy serves a crucial role.

In this conception of safety, governments are, without a doubt, regarded as rational actors who are also skilled. In this context, having a solid understanding of the benefits as well as the costs associated with the various policies is vital. Although the state of the global climate is considered to be extremely dangerous, those in positions of power concerned are thought to be very skilled. The primary focus of the system is on these actors, which are the governments. These governments are responsible with providing both internal and foreign security for the population³⁷. It is difficult to construct a safe environment on this scale without the insight of governments to develop a

³⁶ Snyder, Glenn H. "Mearsheimer's World-Offensive Realism and the Struggle for Security: A Review Essay." *International Security* 27, no. 1 (2002): 149–73. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3092155>.

³⁷ Zakaria, Fareed. Review of *Realism and Domestic Politics: A Review Essay*, by Jack Snyder. *International Security* 17, no. 1 (1992): 177–98.

malleable order, and governments are the only entities that have the ability to implement such safety measures. They do not have any bias in their nature. Realists contend that there is no reason for residents to be concerned for their safety so long as authority is maintained within the borders of the nation in which they reside. You should not be concerned with what other people think of you; instead, you should simply be yourself, secure in the knowledge that external safeguards such as the law, the police, and jails are available to you if you require them. On the one hand, people's demands for power can be controlled and channeled in more adaptable ways; on the other hand, the structure

2.2.2. National Security according to domestic political realists

Domestic politics, on the other hand, are hierarchical and based on guardianship and obedience, in contrast to politics on the international level, where independent government parties view themselves as the ultimate authority. Therefore, from the standpoint of domestic political realists, the problem is that the term "existential security"³⁸ does not have any value and is largely defined at the level of security that is applicable internationally. Realists are primarily concerned with the study and policymaking of international security. In contrast, the concept of national security is meaningless to realists. It is not possible to find a solution to the problem of security on a global scale.

2.2.3. Government and National Security

Because they have faith that the government can provide sufficient safety, conservatives choose to disregard worries about domestic security. The judicial, police, and penitentiary institutions all have the same overarching goal: to establish order within the framework of the international system and the origin of all occurrences. Think about the risks associated with the lack of security in international relations. They reach this conclusion by noting that governments are the most influential actors in the international system and are therefore the most likely to guarantee safety.

³⁸ Ikenberry, John G. "The Intertwining of Domestic and International Politics." *Polity* 29, no. 2 (1996): 293–98. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3235304>.

This conclusion is based on their evaluation of the existing status of security. Took. On the other hand, political theories such as Marx's, Weir's, Hobbes', and Kant's are utilized in order to evaluate the performance of the government. The government practices discrimination because it considers itself to be the exclusive representative of the will of the people, as demonstrated by the results of these ballots. The welfare and protection of the populace are not the responsibility of the government³⁹.

The issue of self-help is the primary moderator of government behavior in international politics. This is because self-help is practically justified by the absence of world governance, and at the same time, it prevents us from seriously cooperating between governments despite our high hopes for such an outcome. From a realistic point of view, self-help is the primary moderator of government behavior in international politics. Realists believe that nations can't put their reliance in the security of other governments because they place an extreme degree of importance on the concept of national sovereignty.

2.3. Realism explaining War

The 'realist' paradigm is used as a starting point for hypothesis testing in the majority of conflict studies that use the international system as the unit of analysis. States are viewed as unitary actors, and their actions are explained by referring to the system's structural properties. The anarchic nature of the interstate system is arguably the most notable quality of this transportation network. In contrast to the politics that take place within states, international relations take place in what Hobbes called a "state of nature." As a result of the fact that all states in an anarchic system are consistently exposed to actual or possible threats, the primary objective of these nations is to ensure their own safety. In a system like this, security can only be attained by preserving one's hold on

³⁹ BULL, HEDLEY. "Hobbes and the International Anarchy." *Social Research* 48, no. 4 (1981): 717–38.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/40970843>.

power. According to realist theories, the primary factor that determines the number of times states go to war with one another is the power structure of the international system⁴⁰.

Realist theories universally acknowledge that the allocation of power is a crucial factor in determining the probability of war. However, there is disagreement among these ideas on the particular power arrangements that are most prone to causing conflict. Morgenthau's balance-of-power theory posits that a society with a fair distribution of power promotes peace, whereas an imbalanced distribution of power results in conflict and war. They argue that maintaining parity among states prevents any state from participating in violent conduct, and that an imbalanced allocation of power would often result in the strong using force against the weaker. When a state begins to acquire a dominant amount of power in the system, a group of less powerful nations will form an alliance to safeguard their security by inhibiting the further growth of the dominant state. This occurrence will transpire when the dominant state starts to acquire a significant superiority of power inside the system. It seems that this pattern was replicated in the establishment of coalitions aimed at countering Louis XIV, Napoleon, and Hitler.

2.3.1. Neo/Structural Realism explaining war

In one of the most famous lectures on structural realism, given by Kenneth Waltz in 1979, he argued that an effective theory of international politics must have a systemic nature rather than a reductionist one. In Waltz's view⁴¹, the operation of any system goes beyond the features of its individual elements; in other words, a system is more than the sum of its parts. Because of this, explanations of features of the international system, such as the tendency toward conflict, cannot be founded on an examination of foreign policy in and of itself. Because the persistent qualities of

⁴⁰ Waltz, Kenneth N. "Structural Realism after the Cold War." *International Security* 25, no. 1 (2000): 5–41.

⁴¹ Polansky, David. "Drawing Out the Leviathan: Kenneth Waltz, Hobbes, and the Neorealist Theory of the State." *International Studies Review* 18, no. 2 (2016): 268–89

the system play such an important part in providing an explanation for its operations, we need to pay attention to the impact of system attributes itself (variables at the system level).

In a world that is bipolar, there is attention paid to each other by the two dominant forces. There is the potential for one or more powers to play a "balancing"⁴² function in a universe with numerous great powers due to the presence of these great powers. Therefore, there is a greater chance of maintaining stability in a world that contains at least three major powers, each of which controls less than fifty percent of the overall capabilities. In a world with three spheres of influence, for instance, disparities in the relative capacities of the three powers can be balanced out if the two lesser powers join forces against the third. However, such alliances should not result in the removal of the single great power because that power can always try to fracture the partnership by offering one of the partners a better deal. This could lead to the destruction of the alliance. In contrast, such balancing is not only unattainable in a world with just two major states, but only extreme equality can guarantee the globe's continued stability. In a nutshell, coalitions, at the very least in theory, have the potential to contribute to the avoidance of war.

Last but not least, the possibilities of war is "lessened" by multi-polarity as compared to bipolarity. Cleavages that cut across political boundaries assist to prevent big powers and their client states from forming two separate exclusive coalitions⁴³. If and when hostilities break out, there is a greater chance that they will not involve everyone and will be seen as zero-sum games. On the other hand, in a system characterized by bipolarity, states that priorities security are more likely to view affiliation with one of the world's two most powerful military forces as the most sensible course of action to take. The level of the system's competitiveness is increased as a result of this process.

⁴² Nexon, Daniel H. Review of *the Balance of Power in the Balance*, *World Politics* 61, no. 2 (2009): 330–59.

⁴³ Väyrynen, Raimo. "Bipolarity, Multipolarity, and Domestic Political Systems." *Journal of Peace Research* 32, no. 3 (1995): 361–71. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/425670>.

2.3.2. Wars through the lens of security dilemma

States do not trust the motives of other states, and as a result, they are always attempting to increase their own level of security. The security conundrum explains why states that are seeking security (as opposed to states that are not pursuing security) are more likely to end up in war, despite the fact that they have good intentions. Realists maintain that the absence of an all-encompassing, centralized authority is the primary factor that shapes the nature of the international sphere. This factor, rather than human biology or anthropology, is the primary factor that shapes the nature of the international sphere⁴⁴.

Kenneth Waltz makes the observation that the requirements of state activity are imposed by the circumstances in which all states exist. Because of the anarchic nature of the environment, it is hard for those in charge of making decisions to determine with complete confidence the goals of the other people⁴⁵. Because of this, each state is forced to rely on its own resources in order to pursue what it considers to be in its rational self-interest. This is typically understood to be the achievement of existential security as well as the maximization of relative power in comparison to other states. This puts states in a position where they face a security dilemma and makes it more likely that they will engage in armed conflict or war. For instance, it was noticed during World War I, World War II, and the cold war; more recently, it was observed during the conflict between Russia and Ukraine.

It should not come as a surprise to anyone that there is still a strong philosophical relationship between realism, conflicts, and national security. This is because of the aforementioned reasons. Or, to put it another way, it is difficult to ignore the notion that realism is making a comeback in the 21st century, as that is how one professor stated it. Or, to put it another way, it is impossible to

⁴⁴ Glaser, Charles L. "The Security Dilemma Revisited." *World Politics* 50, no. 1 (1997): 171–201.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/25054031>.

⁴⁵ Forsyth, James Wood. "The Past as Prologue: Realist Thought and the Future of American Security Policy." *Strategic Studies Quarterly* 5, no. 3 (2011): 102–20.

resist the concept that realism is making a comeback in the 21st century. Alternatively, or to phrase it another way, Even though there has been a significant decrease in the overall level of violence across the globe and especially in the amount of violence between states since the end of the Cold War, governments still do not typically take security for granted. This is because there is still a significant amount of violence that occurs between states. The reason for this is that there is still a considerable amount of violence that occurs between different states. Ironically, the levels of violence may even be decreasing as a direct result of states taking security seriously, but doing so in ways that are both more astute and more farsighted than what they did in the past. This would be an interesting development to observe. If this is the case, then the contributions of realist theory ought to be given at least some of the credit for what has been accomplished. At the very least, this is something that should be done. Realism is a compelling way of thinking about the security challenges that all states face and the solutions that they deploy in their never-ending attempt to overcome those challenges. Despite the ongoing dispute among academics over its historical origins, conceptual foundations, and predictive accuracy, realist philosophy remains a compelling method of thinking about these issues. This is the case in spite of the fact that its beginnings, conceptual underpinnings, and predictive usefulness are still the topic of fierce debate in the academic community. It is irrelevant how long the realist philosophical position has been around because this is still the case.

Chapter 3

Russia-Ukraine War: An Overview

3.1 Introduction

The most recent Russian invasion of Ukraine, in February 2022, has been going on for nine months at this point, and it is still unclear what the outcome will be. It would appear that the Russian military has no chance of conquering a substantial portion of Ukraine or even taking control of the Ukrainian capital of Kyiv. The Ukrainian armed forces have been victorious on the battlefield for the past three months, and there is a good probability that they will continue to make advancements in reclaiming land. There is also the possibility that neither side may be able to make a substantial advance for a period of time, which would result in a drawn-out conflict for both sides⁴⁶.

It's hard to say how this disagreement will end up being settled. However, the negative effects on Russia's relations with Ukraine, Europe, and the United States are now glaringly obvious. This war has been a disaster for Russia on many fronts, including the military, the economy, and the geopolitical sphere, as well as for Ukraine and the Ukrainian people. Moscow's geopolitical position in Europe has been dramatically affected, and the conflict has led to a huge depletion of Russia's armed forces, a lowering of the country's prestige, economic turbulence, and a worsening of Russia's economic situation. Because of this, it will be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to normalise relations between the United States and Russia in the near future.

3.2. Overview of the Russia-Ukraine War

On February 24, 2022, Russian President Vladimir Putin issued the order for his troops to begin an extensive invasion of Ukraine that would be carried out in a number of various ways. This invasion would be carried out in a variety of different methods. Putin's description of the offensive

⁴⁶ Mankoff, Jeffrey. "Russia's War in Ukraine: Identity, History, and Conflict." Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), 2022

as a "special military operation"⁴⁷ provided a strong indication that Moscow's objectives were to quickly seize Kyiv, most likely displacing the current government, and to control as much as the eastern half to two-thirds of the country. These objectives were made clear by Putin's description of the offensive as a "special military operation."

The Russian military was successful in seizing control of certain regions in the south of Ukraine; but, they were unable to capture Kiev, the country's capital city. The Russian forces that were stationed in the north started evacuating at the end of the month of March. The capture of the entirety of the Donbas region, which includes the oblasts (regions) of Luhansk and Donetsk, has emerged as the primary objective for Moscow in this conflict. In the years 2014 and 2015, Russian troops and forces supported by Russia took control of approximately 35 percent of Donbas. After three months of intense battle, the Russian forces were successful in achieving one of their primary objectives, which was to capture a sizeable chunk of the city of Luhansk. However, they were unable to make significant gains in Donetsk, and by the month of August, there were signs that the front lines were beginning to stabilise.

As a direct response to the invasion carried out by the Russian military throughout the month of September, the Ukrainian armed forces initiated not one but two separate offensive operations. Because of the ongoing conflict in the region's northeast, the Russian military was compelled to relocate its base of operations from Kharkiv oblast to Luhansk oblast. Previously, it was located in Kharkiv oblast. In November, the second southern counteroffensive was launched, and it was successful in driving Russian soldiers out of Kherson city and the territory surrounding it. Only on the Ukrainian side of the Dnipro River, which generally flows from east to west through the country of Ukraine, are Russian military installations to be found.

There is no evidence that Moscow's armed forces are eager to engage in good faith to stop the war, despite the fact that they have been losing ground on the battlefield for the past three months. On

⁴⁷ Kusa, Iliya. "Russia-Ukraine War: Harbinger of a Global Shift A Perspective from Ukraine." *Policy Perspectives* 19, no. 1 (2022): 7–12.

September 30, Vladimir Putin said that Russia would be absorbing the Ukrainian regions of Luhansk, Donetsk, Zaporizhzhia, and Kherson into its borders. In spite of this, Russian forces did not have complete control over the territory, and they continued to suffer defeats there over the course of the following few weeks. To make up for their losses on the battlefield, Russian forces ramped up their missile attacks on Ukrainian cities, with the intention of simultaneously knocking down the country's electricity and heating systems in the process.

At the conclusion of November, the government of Ukraine led by President Volodymyr Zelensky formally requested that Russia vacate all territory that is presently under Ukrainian administration. This encompasses the entirety of the Donbass region as well as the land that makes up Crimea. Because of the harsh way in which the demonstrators were treated by the Russian government, compensation was demanded, and legal action would be taken against it. When the history of Ukraine is considered, these expectations are completely reasonable; nonetheless, it may be challenging to live up to all of them. In spite of the fact that winter is approaching, it appeared as though Kyiv was hopeful that it would be able to liberate additional territory⁴⁸.

Although they have been fighting in Ukraine for the greater part of nine months, Russian soldiers have been unable to gain control over a significant portion of the country despite their efforts. In addition to this, they have not been successful in making any significant geographical advancements. If the conflict is successful and Ukraine emerges as a free and independent nation, then Europe will continue to include it. The reality of the situation does not shift over time. In addition to this, it will be a significantly larger state than the rump state that the Kremlin anticipated when it began its invasion in February.

On the 23rd of February, it was uncertain whether or not Ukrainian troops would be able to push the Russians fully out of the area, or at the very least back to their former lines of defence. According to the opinions of certain military experts, the prospect of achieving victory in the

⁴⁸ Kuzio, Taras. "Why Russia Invaded Ukraine." *Horizons: Journal of International Relations and Sustainable Development*, no. 21 (2022): 40–51.

conflict raging against Russian occupation in the Donbas and Crimea should not be written off entirely as improbable. The projections offered by the various other sources are, for the most part, pessimistic. Analysts in the United States who work in the field of intelligence are concerned that the current standoff could swiftly escalate into violence.

3.3. History behind the Russia-Ukraine War

When the Soviet Union broke up in 1991, Moscow lost a significant chunk of its old empire and union, but the loss of Ukraine was the most significant to the Russian people. Although Moscow lost a significant portion of its former empire and union, the loss of Ukraine was the most significant. Their pasts, cultures, languages, and religions, in addition to every other facet of their life, were closely intertwined with one another in complex ways. During the author's time spent working at the United States Embassy in Kyiv at the tail end of the 1990s, the vast majority of Ukrainians held a favourable view of Russia, while others took a stance that was indifferent toward the country. The situation is far more dire than it was before. The vast majority of individuals who currently reside in Ukraine harbour hostile feelings toward Russia.

During its three decades as a sovereign nation, the Ukraine has pursued its own path while also seeking deeper ties to western organisations such as the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. This has led to the current state of the country. This simultaneous effort to strengthen ties emerged at the same moment. On the other hand, Kyiv struggles to maintain a careful balance between its links with the outside world and the resolution of the country's major domestic challenges. Ukrainian speakers in the west tend to have a greater feeling of nationalism and a desire for deeper ties to Europe, whilst Russian speakers in the east prefer to advocate for tighter ties to Russia. In other words, Ukrainian speakers in the west are more inclined to desire deeper relations with Europe.

In 2014, Russia began supplying support to rebels in the Donbas region of southeast Ukraine, which led to the transformation of Ukraine into a battlefield. This support also coincided with Russia's annexation of Crimea in 2014. After the end of World War II, a European nation's government had not taken such a step until Russia annexed Crimea. This made it the first time

since then that a European nation had taken such an action⁴⁹. It is believed that roughly 14,000 people lost their lives as a result of the carnage in the Donbas between the years of 2014 and 2021, making it Europe's bloodiest conflict since the Balkan Wars in the 1990s. These deaths took place between the years of 2014 and 2021. The outbreak of hostilities brought about a fundamental change in the global security environment, which transitioned from a unipolar period marked by the dominance of the United States to one that was marked by renewed competition among the world's main powers. This was the result of a shift that occurred as a direct consequence of the beginning of hostilities.

The tight relations that Ukraine has with the European Union were a contributing factor in the escalation of tensions with Russia in 2013 and 2014. Late in 2013, President Yanukovich abandoned up on his efforts to create deeper economic ties with the European Union. He capitulated to the pressure that was imposed on him by his supporters who were based in Moscow, and he gave in to their demands. At the same time, Russia was attempting to persuade Ukraine to join the EAEU, which was not yet an operational organisation at the time. The decision of Yanukovich to run for reelection was seen by many Ukrainians as a betrayal by a government that was intrinsically corrupt and incompetent. As a result, large demonstrations began, which later became known as Euromaidan.

Putin portrayed the unrest that occurred during Euromaidan and resulted to Yanukovich's ouster as a "fascist coup"⁵⁰ that was backed by the West and posed a threat to the Russian majority in Crimea. (Western authorities have dismissed it as unfounded propaganda from the time of the Soviet Union.) As a form of revenge, Vladimir Putin carried out an undercover invasion of Crimea, which he later justified by claiming it was a rescue operation. Everything has its bounds and

⁴⁹ WOOD, ELIZABETH A., WILLIAM E. POMERANZ, E. WAYNE MERRY, and MAXIM TRUDOLYUBOV. *Roots of Russia's War in Ukraine*. Columbia University Press, 2016.

⁵⁰ Pifer, Steven. "Crisis Between Ukraine and Russia." Council on Foreign Relations, 2009, 5-12.

boundaries. In an address given in March of 2014, Russian President Vladimir Putin made the official announcement of Russia's annexation of Ukraine.

The defence that Vladimir Putin offered for his support of separatists in southeast Ukraine, another territory with a considerable population of Russian speakers, followed a line of reasoning that was quite similar to the one that was employed in the example that came before it. He is credited with popularising the use of the word Novorossiia to refer to the region, which was the name given to it during the period of Russian imperial domination in the eighteenth century (New Russia). Anti-Euromaidan separatists in the region are of the opinion that the uprising was brought about by the involvement of armed Russian provocateurs, some of whom were agents of the Russian security agencies. Despite this, Russia did not openly admit responsibility for its role in the conflict in the Donbas until 2022, when it began its invasion of Ukraine in a more widespread fashion. The Ukraine was the location of this event.

3.4. Russia's Interest in Ukraine

Ukraine is an integral part of Russia's identity and global vision, and Russia has strong cultural, economic, and political ties to the country.

- **Ancestral Ties:** The historical connection between Russia and Ukraine dates back many centuries. Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine, is often known as "the mother of Russian cities" because of its historical and cultural importance, comparable to that of Moscow and St. Petersburg. Christianity was introduced to the Slavic peoples in Kyiv around the eighth or ninth century as it expanded from Byzantium. Furthermore, Christianity served as the foundation of Kievan Rus, the historical Slavic state from which present-day Russians, Ukrainians, and Belarusians sprang.
- According to a 2001 census, around eight million individuals who spoke Russian were living in Ukraine. The bulk of these individuals resided in the southern and eastern parts of the nation. Moscow rationalised its 2014 incursions into Crimea and the Donbas by asserting that it had an obligation to safeguard the inhabitants of these regions.
- **Powerful impression:** A significant number of Russian politicians, particularly those who were elected after to the dissolution of the Soviet Union, saw the separation between Russia

and Ukraine as a historical mistake that poses a threat to the country's role as a major global power. Allowing Ukraine to firmly align with the West would be widely seen as a significant blow to Russia's global reputation. In 2022, Putin portrayed Russia's escalating confrontation with Ukraine as a component of a broader struggle against Western forces, which he alleges have intentions to dismantle Russia.

- **Crimea:** In 1954, Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev transferred Crimea to Ukraine with the aim of fostering amicable ties between the Ukrainian and Russian populations. Several Russian nationalists in Russia and Crimea have shown a strong inclination to have the peninsula restored to Russia after the collapse of the union. The city of Sevastopol is home to Russia's Black Sea Fleet, which is the dominant naval force in the area.
- **Trade:** In the past, Russia had the position of being Ukraine's primary commercial ally. Nevertheless, in recent years, the quality of that association has significantly declined. The volume of trade between China and Ukraine has ultimately exceeded that of Russia. Prior to its invasion of Crimea, Russia had intentions to integrate Ukraine into the Eurasian Economic Union, an organisation now comprised of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan.
- **Energy:** For many years, Russia has been making yearly payments of billions of euros to Kyiv as compensation for using Ukrainian pipelines to deliver its gas to customers in Central and Eastern Europe. In late 2022, gas supply to Ukraine persisted despite the continuous conflicts between Russia and Ukraine. However, the supply was reduced and the pipeline remained at significant risk.
- **Influence in government:** Following Viktor Yanukovich's defeat to a reformist opponent during the Orange Revolution in 2004, Russia was determined to safeguard its political sway in Ukraine and the rest of the former Soviet Union. The Kremlin's election losses in Georgia during the Rose Revolution in 2003 and in Kyrgyzstan during the Tulip Revolution in 2005 have greatly alarmed Russia's interests in other regions. In 2010, Yanukovich was elected president of Ukraine in response to voter dissatisfaction with the Orange administration.

3.5. Russia's Objectives behind war in Ukraine

It has been said that Putin's Russia is a "revenge power," which means that it strives to regain the reputation it once held. According to the book *Near Abroad* written by Gerard Toal, a professor of international affairs at Virginia Tech, "It was always Putin's aim to return Russia to the position of a significant power in northern Eurasia." According to Toal, this was the end goal that Putin had in mind. The ultimate goal was not reform of the Soviet Union but rather the restoration of Russia's former greatness.

The annexation of Crimea by Russia in 2014 gives them a more secure hold on a strategically important peninsula located in the Black Sea. 2014 was the year when this took place. Russia's conventional sphere of influence does not extend very far into the Mediterranean, the Middle East, or North Africa; nevertheless, if Russia were to establish a larger and more technologically advanced military presence in that region, it would be able to accomplish this goal. As a result of the West's failure to impose genuine consequences on Russia in response to Russia's annexation of Crimea, some experts believe that Putin's willingness to use military action to achieve his foreign policy goals has increased. This is said to be the case because the West has failed to make it clear that it will not tolerate such behaviour from Russia. The unwillingness of Western nations to impose significant costs on Moscow is being held responsible for Russia's invasion of Crimea. Before Russia's entry in the Donbas in 2022, the country's victories there were more precarious. It had, at least temporarily, improved its bargaining power in relation to Ukraine as a result of its support for the rebels⁵¹.

In July 2021, Vladimir Putin released an essay that was seen by several Western foreign policy analysts as ominous. Putin elucidated his controversial perspectives on the shared history between Russia and Ukraine in the article. Putin has issued many remarks, one of which characterises Russians and Ukrainians as "one people" who essentially inhabit "the same historical and spiritual

⁵¹ Marples, David R., ed. *The War in Ukraine's Donbas: Origins, Contexts, and the Future*. Central European University Press, 2022.

domain."

Russia deployed a large number of soldiers along its border with Ukraine and later into Belarus, a country it considers a close ally, under the pretext of conducting military exercises throughout the year. This action was undertaken based on the assumption that Russia was carrying out the exercises. In February 2022, Vladimir Putin ordered Russia to initiate a thorough invasion of Ukraine. The invasion was executed by deploying a contingent of around two hundred thousand military personnel into Ukrainian territory, originating from Crimea in the south, Russia in the east, and the northern region of the nation (Belarus). The major objective of this invasion was to depose the current administration, as well as to capture strategic cities such as Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine. Putin expressed his intention to "de-Nazify" Ukraine and "de-militarize" it as part of the overall objectives.

During the first weeks of the invasion, Ukrainian soldiers put up a strong resistance that effectively slowed down the Russian military in several areas, including Kyiv. One of the primary goals of the Ukrainian military was to achieve this. Several defence specialists have reported that the Russian armed forces have had low morale, insufficient supplies, and a poorly planned military strategy that wrongly assumed Ukraine would be quickly and easily conquered. In late August, the Ukrainian military launched a substantial counteroffensive against the Russian forces, leading to the recapture of a considerable amount of land, spanning several thousand square kilometres, in the Kharkiv and Kherson areas. Russia had a significant setback due to the military actions, which caused humiliation. Putin commanded the deployment of almost three hundred thousand more soldiers, unlawfully seized control of four additional areas in Ukraine, and issued a warning about the potential use of nuclear weapons to protect Russia's "territorial integrity." The majority of security specialists see a low probability of diplomatic resolution in the next months, since both parties possess compelling incentives to persist in their conflict. Putin unlawfully

incorporated an additional four areas of Ukraine and issued a threat to use nuclear weapons in order to safeguard Russia's "territorial integrity."⁵²

3.6. Ukrainian's Stance

Russia's hostile activities in recent years have bolstered popular support for Ukraine's inclination towards the West. Petro Poroshenko, a wealthy entrepreneur who strongly advocates for Ukraine's involvement in the European Union and NATO, was chosen as the president of Ukraine during the Euromaidan protests. Poroshenko strongly advocates for Ukraine's inclusion in both institutions. In 2019, Zelensky emerged as the winner in the competition against Poroshenko, indicating the public's strong discontent with the political system's inability to effectively combat corruption and the dominance of an oligarchy over the economy. Prior to the invasion of 2022, research indicated that Ukrainian attitudes on joining NATO and the EU were equally split. Over 50% of the respondents showed their endorsement for involvement in the European Union (excluding inhabitants of Crimea and the disputed eastern territories). Additionally, approximately 40-50% of the interviewees voiced their approval for joining NATO. Shortly after the invasion, President Zelenskyy of Ukraine formally requested the European Union to expedite the country's application for EU membership. In June, the country was given candidate status. However, experts warn that the process of applying for membership might take many years to complete. Zelenskyy filed Ukraine's formal application for NATO membership in September. Furthermore, he championed the expeditiousness of the alliance's membership acceptance procedure. Similar to Ukraine's bid to join the EU, several experts in Western countries believe that their country is unlikely to become a member of NATO in the foreseeable future⁵³.

The world community condemned the invasion, seeing it as an act of aggression. The Russian Federation was expelled from the Council of Europe, the International Court of Justice issued an

⁵² Ploky, Serhii M. "Ukraine and Russia in Their Historical Encounter." *Canadian Slavonic Papers / Revue Canadienne Des Slavistes* 35, no. 3/4 (1993): 335–44.

⁵³ "Abstracts." *Osteuropa* 64, no. 5/6 (2014): 347–51. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44937289>.

order for the cessation of all military activities, and a resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations called for the complete withdrawal of all Russian soldiers. Several governments implemented further sanctions, resulting in significant economic repercussions for both Russia and the global economy. Simultaneously, these nations provided both humanitarian aid and military support to Ukraine. Following Putin's enactment of a legislation in September 2022, which mandated a 10-year imprisonment for anybody who opposed conscription, the world community initiated a drive to provide refuge for Russians avoiding conscription.

Chapter 4

Ukraine-Russia War and its Impact on Pakistan

4.1. Introduction

The conflict that Russia is waging in Ukraine is having ramifications that are being felt all across the world. These repercussions take the shape of increased prices and shortages of essential goods. These repercussions are directly attributable to Russia's participation in the armed war. Even though the conflict is currently confined to the territory of Ukraine, it is a widely held belief that it will spread to neighbouring countries and continue for a significantly longer period of time than anybody currently anticipates. Even though the conflict is currently confined to the territory of Ukraine, it is widely held belief that it will spread to neighbouring countries. In the event that this occurs, a large number of countries, including Pakistan, will be placed in a position in which they will be forced to face with substantial obstacles.

Throughout its entire existence, Pakistan's economic ties to both Russia and Ukraine have been on the relatively weaker end of the spectrum. In the year 2020, Pakistan was hit hard by significant wheat shortages due to inadequate management and the export of wheat in anticipation of a bumper crop. Both of these factors contributed to the wheat crisis. As a consequence of this, the government eventually gave in and conceded that it should be up to private firms to import wheat in order to contribute to the preservation of stable prices and the expansion of supplies. In the year 2020, the months of July through November saw Ukraine serve as Pakistan's principal supplier of wheat. During that time period, Ukraine shipped 1,200 metric tonnes (MT). Russia sent 0.92 MT to Pakistan over the same time period that the United States did. Wheat in excess of 2.1 metric tonnes was imported into the United States from both Canada and Mexico during the period of time between 2020 and 2021.

Two of the world's largest agricultural exporters have been severed from the supply chain of food for the rest of the globe as a direct result of the conflict that is still occurring between Russia and Ukraine. Wheat and other basic goods have been among the major deliveries from Ukraine that

have been either delayed or totally interrupted as a direct result of Russia's blockade of Ukrainian ports. Because of this, a lot of countries have been forced to deal with food shortages, and Pakistan is one of those countries that has been forced to resort to other nations in order to fulfil its requirement for wheat. Wheat imports could end up being quite pricey for the government, but if there is a scarcity of wheat, they could be necessary in order to make up the difference.

Because of the potential for this attack to disrupt the global supply chain, the price of LNG has increased significantly as a result of Russia's invasion of Ukraine. This is owing to the fact that there is a higher risk of supply chain disruption as a result of this invasion. As a direct consequence of this, Pakistan is currently in the midst of a crisis because LNG companies have terminated their contracts with the nation in order to pursue chances in the more lucrative European market. In other words, the European market is more lucrative. Because of this, Pakistan is now in a position where it must make the costly purchase of LNG. Additionally, Ukraine will not supply Pakistan with oil, LNG, or coal as a source of energy going forward. As a direct result of this, Pakistanis in the next months could be subjected to power outages that are frequent and last for an extended period of time, excessive electricity bills, and a variety of other disruptions in service. Since the beginning of the conflict, oil prices have soared around the world to an average of more than \$100 per barrel, and production as well as exploration have both come to a standstill as a result of the spike in price. Any future increases in the price of fuel will have the effect of draining Pakistan's foreign exchange reserves to an even greater extent. The construction industry in Pakistan has been severely harmed as a direct result of the decrease in steel supplies that have come from Ukraine. Additionally, the cessation of Pakistan's exports to Ukraine has had a detrimental effect, not only on the manufacturing industry of that nation, but also on the economy of that country as a whole.

In public remarks, a number of nations in Europe and North America have made it very apparent that they are eager to take in Afghan refugees who are fleeing the rule of the Taliban in their respective countries. Migrants escaping the unrest in Ukraine can currently seek refuge in these same nations, which are giving asylum. It is probable that Afghan refugees who have found safety in other countries could soon be forced to return to Afghanistan to abandon the places they have sought refuge in. As a result of these turning points in the conflict, a new batch of Afghan refugees is currently making its way into Pakistan. There is a possibility that the refugees from Afghanistan

who are currently residing in Pakistan and who have applied for visas to enter other countries would never be granted access to those other nations. These refugees have submitted their applications for visas. A bigger number of refugees will be forced to settle in metropolitan zones illegally as a consequence of this, which has the potential to produce social turmoil and a strain on the resources of the nation. Due to the fact that Pakistan wants to keep relations with both Russia and the West, the country's political situation is in a vulnerable state as a result of this ambition (particularly the United States and the European Union). Islamabad came to the realisation that partaking in "camp politics" would only lead to negative results in the past, and as a result, it made the decision to abstain from casting a vote against Russia in the United Nations General Assembly. If Russia continues to participate in the dispute at the same level as it has been up to now, the West may try to persuade Pakistan to shift its posture by applying pressure⁵⁴.

In addition, as a result of geopolitical considerations, Pakistan is compelled to keep its diplomatic channels with both Russia and China open and active at all times. It is probable that it will soon find itself in a situation analogous to that of the Cold War, in which it will be obligated to choose a side. In this scenario, the United States will be forced to decide whose side it will support. The dynamics of contacts between the two countries might be impacted by alienation on either side of the conflict. As the situation continues to develop, the administration needs to proceed with the utmost prudence in order to avoid making any mistakes. There is no way to get around the presence of states that are immune to the consequences of modern wars in a globalised international system. This is something that cannot be avoided. People from all over the world are being impacted by the conflict, and a good example of this is the conflict that is currently going on between Russia and Ukraine.

4.2. Impacts on Economy of Pakistan

Pakistan's economy is expected to be adversely affected by the ongoing geopolitical tensions between Russia and Ukraine. Both countries are major agricultural producers that play a crucial

⁵⁴ Claudia Chia, Zheng Haiqi, "Russia-Pakistan Economic Relations: Energy Partnership and the China Factor," Institute of South Asian Studies, October 6, 2021, <https://www.isas.nus.edu.sg/papers/russia-pakistan-economic-relations-energy-partnership-and-the-china-factor/>

role in the global food supply chain. The transportation of wheat and other important goods from Ukraine to many countries has become more challenging due to Russia's embargo of Ukrainian ports. Consequently, some states have expressed grievances over their dwindling food supplies, prompting Pakistan to seek an alternative supply of wheat. Due to its limited shelf life, wheat may need the government to incur significant expenses in the case of a shortage in order to compensate for the shortfall⁵⁵.

Due to Russia's engagement in the crisis in Ukraine, Pakistan is presently experiencing escalated expenses for food and electricity, along with scarcities of both. The war is now limited to Ukraine; however, it is expected to last for a longer duration than first predicted, and it is projected to ultimately extend beyond the territorial boundaries of Ukraine. If this is actually true, then the majority of the emerging countries in Africa and Asia, including Pakistan, would face substantial challenges. Pakistan has established enduring economic connections with both Russia and Ukraine. Pakistan had significant challenges in procuring wheat in 2020 due to inadequate administration and premature exports. Consequently, the government was compelled to grant private firms authorisation to import wheat in order to accumulate reserves and ensure price stability.

In the year 2020-2021, wheat imports from the two countries surpassed 2.1 megatons, notwithstanding the existing constraints faced by Pakistan. The Russian invasion of Ukraine has resulted in significant disruptions to global supply chains and unprecedented price increases in liquefied natural gas (LNG). Pakistan is presently experiencing significant issues as a direct consequence of LNG firms violating their contractual guarantees with the country in order to get access to profitable European markets. Shipments of coal, liquefied natural gas (LNG), and other fossil fuels from Ukraine to Pakistan have ceased. As a result, Pakistanis will face ongoing energy shortages, food insecurity, and other service challenges in the coming months.

⁵⁵ "South Asia Sees Slower Growth as War in Ukraine Impedes Recovery, Worsens Existing Challenges," World Bank, April 13, 2022, <https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2022/04/12/south-asiasees-slower-growth-as-war-in-ukraine-impedes-recovery-worsens-existing-challenges>

From the start of the conflict, the price of oil has surged to above \$100 per barrel. This is an immediate consequence of supply interruptions and delays in development. Further gasoline price hikes would have detrimental effects on Pakistan's economy, since they will deplete the nation's already limited foreign currency reserves. This would have detrimental implications for Pakistan's economy. Pakistan's procurement of steel from Ukraine has adversely affected the building industry in the country. This is especially true when it comes to the home building industry. Pakistan is now experiencing the consequences of the escalating crisis between Russia and Ukraine, which has had a substantial impact on the country's economy. Recently, there has been a significant surge in the prices of steel, food, raw materials, petrol, and semiconductor chips in my area. Consequently, there is a potential for geo-economic instability, which might lead to civil unrest and further exhaust the nation's resources. Pakistan's need to maintain a delicate equilibrium between Russia and the West, both diplomatically and economically, has put the country in a vulnerable position on the global platform⁵⁶.

Prior to the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, Pakistan was grappling with political instability, soaring inflation, and lacklustre economic development. Given that Ukraine constituted 41% of Pakistan's overall wheat import demand in the previous fiscal year and provided 39% of Pakistan's wheat imports, any changes in this situation would directly impact Pakistan's wheat imports. After the crisis in Ukraine, there were substantial fluctuations in oil prices worldwide. The subsequent disturbance in the supply and demand has had a catastrophic impact on the economy of Pakistan, which was already excessively indebted to the International Monetary Fund (IMF). If Western countries impose more restrictions on Russian oil supplies, it is expected that oil prices would increase even further. In the event of such a situation, the State Bank of Pakistan (SBP), responsible for managing monetary policy, would be compelled to implement measures to restrict it, since there is a potential risk of a significant depreciation in the value of the Pakistani rupee. There is absolute certainty among everyone that the escalating geopolitical tensions related to the Russia-Ukraine war would impact Pakistan's economy. The political turmoil in Pakistan may

⁵⁶ Tom Balmforth and Max Hunder, "Ukraine President Sacks Security Chief, Cites Hundreds of Treason Cases," Thomson Reuters, July 18, 2022, <https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/ukraine-presidentsacks-security-chief-cites-hundreds-treason-cases-2022-07-18/>

potentially exacerbate the country's current account and budgetary imbalances, impede economic progress, and increase the vulnerability of the economy to external shocks. The conflict has already caused an inconceivable number of casualties, and it will undoubtedly have enduring impacts on global commerce, especially in the energy commodities markets. Pakistan, already grappling with political instability, high inflation, and poor economic development, is further disheartened by the news⁵⁷.

Russia, which is the world's largest energy provider, has seen a stoppage in its production, which has led to an increase in prices across the board. This is a terrible setback for Pakistan, a nation that is wholly dependent on outside sources for necessities such as food and oil. Even though it is just a supplement, this nevertheless has the potential to deplete a country's national reserves and bring about a reduction in the purchasing power of the country. If the conflict is allowed to continue, it is possible that the cost of electricity will increase, that loan rates will go up, that wage demands would drive businesses to raise prices to compensate, and that job losses will occur as a result of a smaller labour force.

In addition to strengthening ties with neighbouring states, the country needs to examine its strategic position in relation to regional and global contexts. After doing so, it must make decisions at precisely the right time that strike a diplomatic balance while also ensuring that its food and energy supplies are not jeopardised. In the event that protracted tensions lead to a spike in wheat prices, Pakistan will be forced to boost its wheat imports in order to maintain price parity with the market. As a consequence of this, the conflict in Ukraine is likely to make the situation worse, which would ultimately result in higher inflation in Pakistan. In order to weather the difficult period of high oil prices, face the temporary shocks in the country's economy, and avoid excessively subsidising the products used for energy and food, Pakistan should think about various impacts following this ongoing conflict in the Ukraine, such as a temporary ban on luxury imports and the arrangement of an oil credit facility. This will allow Pakistan to weather the difficult period of high oil prices,

⁵⁷ Farwa, Ume. "Russia's Strategic Calculus in South Asia and Pakistan's Role: Challenges and Prospects." *Strategic Studies* 39, no. 2 (2019): 33–47.

face the temporary shocks in the country's economy, and avoid excessively subsidising the products used for energy and food.

Undoubtedly, Pakistan's economy would suffer due to the ongoing geopolitical tensions arising from the situation involving Russia and Ukraine. These tensions stem directly from the long-standing dispute. Pakistan's current account and fiscal balances may deteriorate, and economic development may stagnate, as a result of the country's existing vulnerability to the disease. Consequently, the country has to thoroughly analyse its strategic position in relation to both the global and regional settings, and then make informed and timely decisions. These judgements are crucial for the ongoing survival of the country.

4.3. Impact on Pakistan's Political Situation Vis a Vis Foreign Policy of Pakistan

The protracted struggle that has been going on between Russia and Ukraine has had an impact on each and every location on the face of the earth. For instance, Europe is very reliant on Russian gas, and Ukraine is a key provider of food and agricultural products to countries all over the world. Both of these examples illustrate the interconnectedness of the world's economies. In addition to this, the United States continues to hold such a preeminent and prominent position in the international arena that all nations are compelled to choose between aligning themselves with the West or preserving their neutrality; opposition appears to be utterly out of the question. Even sticking to a policy of neutrality has its own unique set of obstacles as a direct result of the disproportionate influence held by the West and the United States.

The situation has been particularly perilous for Pakistan because of the country's long history of relations with the United States and the European Union, who are two important stakeholders in the war between Russia and Ukraine. The United States and the European Union have a lengthy tradition of friendship and cooperation with Pakistan. This article's objective is to analyse the

reasons why Pakistan has to maintain its neutrality, with a special emphasis on geo-economics and geostrategic issues as the primary areas of focus⁵⁸.

The fact that Pakistan's former prime minister happened to be in Russia at the same time that the war between Russia and Ukraine broke out caused the topic to rocket to the top of Pakistan's foreign policy agenda almost immediately. As a direct consequence of it, there was a heightened level of discussion and debate around the synchronicity. Since the commencement of the conflict, Pakistan has maintained the position that it will "not take sides," which means that it does not back any of the two contending parties. Regarding the confrontation that is currently taking place between Russia and Ukraine, it has, up until this point, maintained a policy of neutrality and moderation in reference to the situation. It's likely that a lot of people won't approve of this strategy, but it's worth a shot. It is possible to make the argument that there is no better time than the present to take the side of the United States and oppose the measures that Russia is taking in Ukraine than right now, when Russia is hesitating to move closer to Pakistan. If this is the case, then there is no better time than the present to oppose the actions that Russia is taking in Ukraine.

In spite of this, Pakistan is obligated to maintain her status as a neutral party. Pakistan and the Ukraine have great working relationships in a wide variety of fields, which benefits both countries. In the year 2021, the value of the trade that took place between the two nations came to a total of 411.184 million dollars⁵⁹. In addition, the armed forces of both countries maintain open and consistent lines of communication with one another. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), Pakistan is one of the primary arms markets for Ukraine, with contracts scheduled to be finalised by the year 2020 worth a total of USD 1.6 billion. Over 3,500 Pakistani students who were pursuing their studies in Ukraine were given the order to come home as a direct result of the turmoil that is taking place in that country. Both nations have been working

⁵⁸ Kaushiki, Nishtha. "Factors Contributing to an Emerging Russia-Pakistan Strategic Proximity: An Indian Perspective." *Journal of International and Area Studies* 26, no. 1 (2019): 43–64.

⁵⁹ Kusa, Iliya. "Russia-Ukraine War: Harbinger of a Global Shift A Perspective from Ukraine." *Policy Perspectives* 19, no. 1 (2022): 7–12.

together in the fields of scientific research and technical advancement as part of an ongoing cooperative effort. Taking a side in the conflict is not in anyone's best interest as a result of this, as doing so ensures making new enemies and may alienate existing ones.

Along the same lines, Pakistan and Russia have overcome their history of enmity towards one another during the time of the Cold War, which has resulted in increased economic and military connections between the two countries. The whole value of their company in the year 2020 was estimated to be 790 million USD. Both nations have indicated that they are enthusiastic about broadening the scope of their current collaboration to include the industries of industry and energy. They have also made the decision to proceed with the construction of a gas pipeline that will be referred to as the "Pakistan Stream." This pipeline would span for a total of 1100 kilometres and would transport 12 billion cubic feet of gas on an annual basis. They have made significant strides over the past few years towards improving their ability to collaborate in areas pertaining to the military. Pakistan has acquired some of Russia's Mi-35 helicopters through a sale made by Russia. On the other hand, throughout the course of the past few years, the armed forces of both countries have been actively participating in joint training exercises. Pakistan has expressed an interest in deepening its ties with Russia; however, this should not be done at the expense of Pakistan's existing partnerships with other nations.

When looking at Pakistan's history, it is easy to see that any breach of the country's neutrality principle has resulted in serious repercussions for the nation. For example, Pakistan spent decades engaged in the politics of various blocs throughout the time of the Cold War in order to pursue the geostrategic goals it had set for itself. Regrettably, this did not result in any advantages that could be classed as long-term. Pakistan has joined the United States as a frontline state in the fight against terrorism in the aftermath of the attacks on September 11. However, in order to accomplish this goal, a significant number of lives and a substantial amount of money had to be sacrificed. It was responsible for the loss of around 83,000 lives and 150 billion dollars' worth of economic production. In spite of Pakistan's greatest efforts and sacrifices, the United States has repeatedly shown a lack of trust and has altered the goals of the partnership on several occasions. This has caused Pakistan to feel as though its efforts and sacrifices have been for nothing. It is true that India has established itself as a vital role in the political affairs of the area and has become an

important partner for the United States. This has clear ramifications for Pakistan, which is continuing to lag behind in spite of the fact that it has committed a sizeable portion of its resources to the cause.

Choosing a side throughout history has never resulted in any monetarily substantial or long-lasting rewards. This holds true for both the economic and political spheres. Even though the United States was Islamabad's largest export market in 2021, bilateral trade between Pakistan and the United States totaled 8.81 billion US dollars; however, this was not enough to cover the country's high import costs. Despite the fact that the United States was Islamabad's largest export market, the United States For instance, in the year 2021, the total value of trade between Pakistan and the United States was 8.81 billion US dollars.

As a consequence of this, we are in a position to assert that the war between Russia and Ukraine marks the beginning of a new stage for the politics of major powers and the upkeep of global stability. Europe is in the centre of the fight, Russia is a major participant in the conflict, and the outcome of the conflict must be decided by regional and large international parties who have an interest in Europe. If Pakistan were to take part in the fighting in another country and then return to their political blocs after doing so, it would serve no useful purpose. If the country wants to avoid repeating the same mistakes in the years to come, it is essential for it to learn from its past experiences of coming out on the losing end of competitions between two superpowers. It is in Pakistan's best interest to maintain its policy of neutrality in the midst of the ongoing crisis that is taking place between Russia and Ukraine. It is in Pakistan's best interest for this to happen.

4.4. Impact on Pakistan's Geo-Strategic situations

Pakistan has been harmed not just economically, but also geopolitically and geostrategically as a result of the crisis as a result of the conflict that is currently going on between Russia and Ukraine. As a result of the never-ending conflict, Pakistan is currently experiencing a grain crisis, which imperils the nation's capacity to ensure that it will always have access to sufficient food supplies. In order to guarantee that its own population would always have access to food, Pakistan needs to devise a way to mitigate the negative effects of the conflict. In the midst of the conflict between Russia and Ukraine, if Pakistan does not carefully weigh its strategic options and positioning

globally and make educated and mature decisions that are crucial for its geo-economic, political, and strategic survival, it will fall into an even more precarious economic condition, further worsening its current as well as fiscal account balance, and thus increasing the pressure on economic stagnation. In addition, the conflict between Russia and Ukraine will likely worsen Pakistan's geo-economic, political, and strategic survival. If Pakistan does not make judgements that are intelligent, mature, and necessary for its geopolitical position, it will place its economy in an even more perilous position, and it will crumble.

In addition, Pakistan's political situation will become more unstable, which would make it more challenging for the country to preserve its geo-economic, political, and military status quo. There is a conflict going on between Russia and Ukraine, and Pakistan is in the centre of it. This battle poses a threat to Islamabad's economy and food supply, but it also helps strengthen Pakistan's relations to both Russia and Ukraine. Pakistan is in the middle of it. Pakistan is located in the heart of the crisis that is taking place between Russia and Ukraine, which not only puts Islamabad's economy and food supply in jeopardy but also helps strengthen Pakistan's relations to the United States. Pakistan is currently caught in the crossfire as a result of the conflict that is raging between these two countries. The protracted nature of the conflict has become a significant obstacle for Pakistan's prospective economic progress in the years to come. This is because the conflict has been going on for so long.

Due to the fact that the conflict has the potential to raise prices around the world for commodities such as oil and food, to impede global trade by disrupting supply chains, and to increase the amount of pressure that is exerted on inflation, it has been regarded as a major threat to the economic prospects of Pakistan. This is the reason why the conflict has been regarded as a major threat to the economic prospects of Pakistan. This is because it has the potential to push up the price of gasoline and food around the world. The reason for this is due to the fact that it has this potential. It is of the utmost significance to maintain neutrality and engage in some capacity with the United Nations while simultaneously abstaining from openly criticising any of the warring parties. At the same time, it is also important to work with the United Nations. It is of the utmost significance that it does not become known as a member of a group and instead works towards developing a new solution to its issues over food and energy. This is because it might have serious consequences.

Because of this, avoiding having it categorised as being a part of a bloc is of the utmost significance. In the event that sanctions are imposed on Russia, Pakistan will be required to devise a strategy to evade them in order to mitigate the damage that will be caused to its economy and its ability to import vital foodstuffs like wheat. In the event that sanctions are imposed on Russia, Pakistan will be required to devise a strategy to evade them. Pakistan will be required to devise a strategy to eva This is going to be the situation regardless of whether or not there are sanctions placed on Russia. The World Bank is of the opinion that the impact of the conflict between Russia and Ukraine will exacerbate Pakistan's already severe economic issues. These challenges include rising prices for food and gasoline as well as disruptions in supply networks. This is due to the fact that Russia and Ukraine are currently engaged in a territorial conflict with each other. The fact that the conflict between Russia and Ukraine has already had a negative effect on the economy of Pakistan serves as the foundation for this prognosis. This projection is based on the fact that the crisis between Russia and Ukraine has already had this effect.

The recent floods in Pakistan have caused considerable damage to wide swathes of land, which puts the current harvest as well as the agricultural future of the country in peril. This contributes to the already acute lack of food and gasoline that has been a consequence of the ongoing violence that has been taking place in the country. The violence that has been taking place in the country has been going on for some time now.

If the violence continues for an extended period of time as it has been happening so far this year, then the construction of a natural gas pipeline between Pakistan and Russia, which is projected to cost \$2.5 billion, could be put in jeopardy. This would have a significant negative influence on Pakistan's ability to meet its existing energy demands, and it would also be a major hindrance to the country's ability to do so. Additionally, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and other financial organisations are in the process of reevaluating the terms of their loan programmes for countries that continue to maintain commercial relations with Russia at this time. It is possible that Pakistan will come to the conclusion that it is necessary to adopt a more confrontational stance in the direction of Russia in order to secure authorization for the loan. It is possible that this is the case because of the stance adopted by the IMF as well as the way votes are broken down.

Conclusion

To summarise, the research that is based on the structural realist paradigm has definitely improved not only our ability to defend ourselves against Russia's approach in Ukraine, but also our understanding of that strategy in the first place. It shouldn't come as much of a shock to find out that offensive realism places a significant emphasis on surviving in hostile circumstances. It would be foolish to completely disregard the distribution of power because it is evident that it has some type of impact on the argument, even if that impact is very subtle. This is why it would be stupid to completely ignore the distribution of power. In addition to this, it has provided some useful advice for those who are in charge of making judgements regarding foreign policy. For example, its key warnings to the western side are that they should not continue along the same road in Ukraine as they have been. It has also been proven to be prophetic in that it was right in its pessimism over the shifting geopolitics of Eastern Europe, which it predicted would occur. Yet, because these conceptual frameworks only analyse structural elements, they fail to take into consideration an extremely large number of significant variables. These factors are essential for expanding and improving our understanding of the reasons why Russia has pursued a variety of actions against Ukraine and why the United States has been planning to take actions against Russia. Both of these questions have been on the minds of policymakers in both countries.

It should not come as a surprise to anyone that there is still a strong conceptual relationship between realism, conflicts, and national security. This is something that has always been the case. This is because of the several elements that were covered earlier in the discussion. Or, to put it another way, it is impossible to dismiss the idea that realism is making a resurgence in the 21st century, as that is how one professor defined it. In other words, realism is making a comeback. The idea that realism is making a resurgence in the 21st century is one that is tough to disprove, to say it another way. It is difficult to refute the notion that realism is making a comeback. Or, to put it another way, the idea that realism is making a comeback in the 21st century cannot be refuted since there is no method to disprove it. This is because realism has consistently been a favourite among people. Alternately, or to put it another way, despite the fact that there has been a significant decrease in the overall level of violence across the globe and especially in the amount of violence between states since the end of the Cold War, governments still do not typically take security for

granted. This is because there are still a number of threats that exist in the world today. This is due to the fact that there is still a significant amount of violence that takes place between various states. This is because there is still a substantial amount of violence that occurs between different states. The reason for this is that there are a lot of different states. In this particular instance, the contributions made by realist theory are entitled to at least some of the credit for what has been accomplished, and they certainly deserve that credit. That is one of those things that, at the very least, ought to be done, and this is one of those things. The lens of realism, which is a way of thinking about these issues, provides a compelling way to look about the security concerns that all states face and the solutions that they deploy in their never-ending quest to overcome those obstacles. This is a compelling way to look about these issues because realism is a lens. Even though academics continue to fight about its historical origins, conceptual foundations, and predictive accuracy, realist philosophy is an appealing way of thinking about these concerns. This is despite the fact that realist philosophy is an appealing way of thinking about these concerns. In spite of this, the realist philosophical approach is still a significant method. This is still the case in spite of the fact that its beginnings, conceptual underpinnings, and predictive efficacy continue to be the topic of intense debate in the academic world. It is irrelevant how long the realist philosophical approach has been around because the circumstances have not evolved significantly in any way.

The war that Russia is conducting in Ukraine is having implications that are, right this moment, being felt all over the world in various different places. The manifestation of these implications can be seen in the form of increased prices and shortages of essential necessities for day-to-day existence. The engagement of Russia in the armed war, which is the direct cause of these repercussions, may be traced back to where they originated. Although the conflict is currently confined to the territory of Ukraine, there is a widespread belief that it will spread to neighbouring countries and continue for a significantly longer period of time than anybody currently anticipates. Even though the conflict is currently confined to the territory of Ukraine, there is a widespread belief that it will spread to neighboring countries. Although the conflict is presently contained to the territory of Ukraine, there is a common assumption that it will extend to neighboring countries. In the event that this occurs, a large number of nations, including Pakistan, will be placed in a

position in which they will be forced to contend with substantial obstacles. Pakistan will be one of these states.

In addition, because of the stakes involved in the region's geopolitics, Pakistan is compelled to keep its diplomatic lines of communication open and active at all times with both Russia and China. Pakistan is under a perpetual obligation to fulfil this commitment. This study provides an evaluation that Russia-Ukraine War had posed multi-dimensional consequences for the world due to different aforementioned aspects. It is the factor of globalization and interconnectedness amongst the states in the contemporary era that became a factor of transnational or global impacts being disseminated due to the war in-between Ukraine and Russia. The study had focused on the developments of different events that led to the war and also provided a holistic evaluation of the events that happened during the relevant conflict. It is also being added that history of the conflict had been discussed as there had been a follow-up on the political, social, regional and cultural dynamics which remain as sources for upbringing such a conflict and eventually led Russia to consider military force and intervention in the neighbouring state due to the political changes in the favor of the West and the EU that was happened in Ukraine. There is also highlighting of the point that how the Russian leadership consider Ukraine as an important state in their respective worldview of the “Eurasianism” that has been introduced in the grand strategy of Russia under the President Vladimir Putin. It was due to the relevant point that Russia mobilized troops near its border with Ukraine and into Belarus, a closest ally of Russia.

In February of 2022, Putin eventually ordered for launching a comprehensive invasion of Ukraine. The study also provides a Realist overview that why states consider the option of using military as a source to pursue their geopolitical aims or to secure their interests that are determined through their foreign policies. With evaluations provided under the contexts of Neorealist terminology, it is being added that Russia used an offensive stature to give a message to the Western powers for not expanding their influence under the Euro-Atlantic alliances towards the neighborhood of Russia in which its former Soviet states are also included. There is also a broader discussion that how the relevant conflict turned out to be not only a source of crisis in terms of propping of economic challenges or impacting the political decision-makings in the world, but also impacted the concept of globalization.

Pakistan got significantly impacted by the conflict. The situation has been particularly problematic for Pakistan because of the country's long history of relations with the Western great powers particularly the United States and the EU. The attaining of a neutral stance eventually put Pakistan's relations with the West on a stake as Islamabad was on the point of not putting itself in the camp politics that may pose long-term consequences for its foreign policy and geopolitical status. It is also to justify that Pakistan's relationship also remained crucial not only with Russia in shifting geopolitical dynamics, but also with Ukraine due to various stated reasons in which economic, strategic and diplomatic ties are included. The country had to pass from the crisis of Wheat supplies that emerged due to the war in-between Russia and Ukraine. Since the conflict is ongoing, it leaves much more room for further research in the current domain. Consequently, Pakistan should continue to adopt adaptive foreign policy measures as well as keep its strategic and economic engagement with key stakeholders along with its diplomatic advocacy for peaceful solution of the conflict in order to yield the best outcome in the interest of their state.

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APPENDIX: A

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