

Geopolitical chessboard

Javid Husain Published September 1, 2022

MOMENTOUS یادگار developments **spearheaded** قیادت by China's dramatic rise, growing Sino-US **rivalry** دشمنی, an **assertive** جارحانہ Russia, and the emergence of new centres of power in Asia, Africa and Latin America are reshaping the global geopolitical chessboard. These developments **portend** the **advent** آمد of a **multipolar** world in place of the **bipolar** world marked by **US-USSR** rivalry during the **Cold War** and the relatively brief period of US unipolarity after the **disintegration** ٹوٹنا of the Soviet Union.

It is **evident** واضح that as China and other emerging economies in Asia **catch up** ملنا with the Western world in terms of economic and technological strength and military power, the centre of gravity of global geopolitics will shift to Asia. The next two to three decades would witness this **transition** تبدیلی. A study by **PricewaterhouseCoopers** in 2017 **forecast** پیشنگوئی کی that by 2050 China at a predicted \$49,853 billion will account for 20 per cent of the world **GDP**. Both China and India (\$28,021bn) will be the first and the third largest economies in the world with the US **relegated** درجہ کم to second position. Out of the 32 largest economies in the world, it is predicted that 12 will be from Asia with a **cumulative** مجموعی GDP accounting for 44pc of the world GDP. The share of the GDP of the US and EU in world GDP will be

reduced.

With the increase in economic strength, Asian countries' military power is also **likely** پر ممکنہ طور پر to witness rapid growth. It is expected, **for instance** طور کے مثال, that China's military expenditure would **exceed** جانا بڑھ that of the US by 2035, **posing** للاحق کرنا a serious challenge to American **supremacy** بالادستی in both the economic and military spheres. Other countries such as India are likely to follow suit (do same), thus **fuelling** بھڑکانا regional disputes. It **follows** اس کے بعد **therefore** یہ ہے that the Indo-Pacific region will be the main **arena** میدان for competition for global supremacy and regional **hegemony** بالادستی، قیادت، leading to growing tensions and **localised** مقامی conflicts in the area, especially in the East China and South China Seas.

The convergence of the interests of the US and India in **containing** روکنا the **expansion** توسیع of China's power and influence will **strengthen** مضبوط کرنا their strategic partnership pushing Pakistan closer to China to maintain a strategic balance in South Asia. One can therefore anticipate growing tensions between China and India, on the one hand, and between India and Pakistan, on the other. US-China **rivalry** دشمنی will also lead to growing competition between the two countries for **influence** اثرورسوخ in Africa and Latin America.

As the Ukraine conflict shows, an **assertive** جارحانہ Russia will **flex its muscles** in the years to come to block **Nato's** eastward expansion and to strengthen its security in its near abroad,

especially the Caucasus. Growing tensions between the West and Russia have already strengthened strategic cooperation between Moscow and Beijing and the process is likely to continue in the **foreseeable** قیاس قابل future.

Geopolitics is a brutal game played by nations for power and influence in **pursuit** جستجو، حصول of their **perceived** گئے تصور کیے national interests. This power play is **cloaked** کر ڈھانپ in moral and legal **arguments** دلائل wherever possible to make it **palatable** قبول قابل to domestic and foreign audiences. In the modern world, economic strength and scientific and technological advancement are the most important **ingredients** اجزاء of national power and provide the base for the development of military power.

Unfortunately, Pakistan's policymakers have often misunderstood the play of geopolitical forces at the global and regional levels and ignored the dictates of **realpolitik** to the **detriment** نقصان پہنچانا of national security and economic interests. We have **overemphasised** زیادہ زور دیا the military dimension of security at the expense of the economic one instead of **pursuing** جاری رکھنا یا پیروی کرنا a **comprehensive** وسیع approach to national security with due emphasis on its political, economic, military and diplomatic aspects.

The pursuit of **overly** زیادہ حد سے ambitious foreign policy goals and the **preponderant** اہم سب سے role of the security establishment in our **polity** سیاست have **impoverished** کمزور کیا us economically, endangered our national security, and led us to the present stage of strategic **exhaustion** سستی، کابلی، تھکان

marked by slow economic growth, widespread poverty, political instability, and overdependence on foreign **doles** امداد حکومتی for economic survival. Our India and Kashmir policies, in particular, lack realism and suffer from strategic confusion.

It is imperative that we **anchor** ڈھالنا our foreign and security policies in sound strategic realities at the global and regional levels. Further, we need to **reorient** از سر نو ترتیب دینا our external policies gradually towards Asian countries in view of their growing importance. Above all, we must build up our national power, especially economic and technological strength, instead of relying on foreign **crutches** بیساکھیوں or **merely** محض on legal and moral arguments.

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OP-ED

The War's Outcome—A Divided Ukraine

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Heartfelt **condolence** دلی تعزیت to Russia on the sad **demise** انتقال of Mikhail Gorbachev, the last president of the Soviet Union before its **dissolution** تحلیل, who died in Moscow on Tuesday evening at the age of 91 after a severe and **prolonged** طویل illness. His rule is termed as **tumultuous** خیز and associated with the terms of **perestroika** and **glasnost** – reform and openness. Rest in Peace Gorbachev.

Amid درمیان **contrary** متضاد statements of successes from both sides, the Russia-Ukraine war has entered its seventh month. In fact, Ukraine has lost many parts to Russia despite huge US military aid and NATO's support for Ukraine. In a recent statement, Ukraine has claimed to break several defences of Moscow.

On the other hand, the Russian Defense Ministry claimed on Tuesday that Russian forces have taken out hundreds of Ukrainian troops and dozens of tanks and armoured military vehicles after **repelling** پسپا کرنا an **ill-fated** بد قسمت **offensive** حملہ، کاروائی in the south of the country. "The effective actions by the Russian forces destroyed 48 tanks, 46 infantry fighting vehicles, 37 other armoured combat vehicles, eight pickups with heavy machine guns and more than 1,200 Ukrainian servicemen in one day."

One Russia is **confronting** کرنا مقابلہ all of the West at the moment like always and is blamed for all the **unrest** بدامنی in Ukraine – a country that was peacefully co-existing with Russia and other states in the region about a decade back. Long story that what happened to Ukraine's **co-existence** بقائے after the US influence increased in the country. What would be the future of Ukraine is the focused question in the West and the US.

The US and the West are sure about the divide of Ukraine into two parts on the pattern of South and North Korea. With the Russian **stronghold** گڑھ, the Eastern part will fall to them while the Western part will surely remain under the US and NATO's influence. It should be.

On the 31st anniversary of Ukraine's independence, the United States has **reinforced** دی تقویت its long-term **commitment** عزم to the nation with \$2.98 billion to train and equip the Ukrainian armed forces for their struggle against the Russian **invasion** حملہ. It is in addition to the aid the United States has committed more than \$13.5 billion in security **assistance** مدد to Ukraine since January 2021.

The European institution The **Statista** has concluded: "In absolute terms, the largest supporter as of August 3 – by a very large margin – was the United States, with a total of €44.5 billion made up of €25 billion in military aid, €9 billion humanitarian aid and €10 billion in financial aid."

Maximilian Hess, a Fellow at the Foreign Policy Research Institute and a Political Risk consultant based in London, has mentioned: At the beginning of the war, Ukraine's external debts stood at some \$129bn. Since the beginning of the war,

the United States has sent Ukraine significant amounts of financial aid and it is due to send a further \$4.5bn later this month. But even that will only be enough to **tide Kyiv over** for a month. More loans and a debt **standstill** دو ٹوک الفاظ میں **woefully** بری طرح، بری انتہائی، insufficient to address the fundamental problem [of Ukraine].

Ukraine's government – and its people – now stand on the **verge** دیوالیہ پن of **bankruptcy**. The national currency, the hryvnia, was devalued by the central bank in July. Now \$1 buys 37 hryvnias, up from 26.50 a year ago. The state's key energy company, Naftgaz, has already fallen into default. The country's sovereign debts are trading at a **fraction** ایک حصہ، جز **face value**, as low as 17 cents on the dollar.

Nowhere to go for Ukraine under such **conflicts** تنازعات and economic conditions but to fall in the **lap** گود of the West and the US. Long back, I had written about the fate of Ukraine at the end of the war, not less than the **economic slavery** معاشی market like many other countries. Now, the notion تصور of dividing Ukraine into two **radically** بنیادی طور پر different states is being widely discussed.

The Russian sources are quoting the US journalist David Ignatius: President Joe Biden has started a hidden trade with Russia, realizing that there is no **alternative** متبادل to a **diplomatic** سفارتی settlement of the Ukrainian conflict. If Washington's plans are **implemented** عمل در آمد، لاگو، Ukraine will be **doomed** لکھنا to division similar to

South Korea and North Korea with the establishment of a **fragile** نازک state border.

Dr Richard Connolly, a Lecturer in Political Economy at the University Birmingham's Centre for Russian and East European Studies, has written in *The Conversation*: It is increasingly difficult to predict what the future holds for Ukraine. One scenario sees the country becoming divided along roughly **ethnic** نسلی lines, with an ethnic Ukrainian western state and a more Russia-oriented eastern state comprising today's southern and eastern Ukraine. So what would the economies of these **potential** ممکنہ new states look like?

Can Ukraine be divided into two? Aljazeera has quoted the researcher Pavel Baev saying, Top military leaders must now carefully prepare Putin to accept a variety of different possible **outcomes** نتائج.

Divided or undivided Ukraine, the US and the West have to permanently sit there to watch their strategic, military and economic interests in the region with the **containment** روک of China and Russia blocking their strategic and economic exits to the world. To **curtain** ختم یا تباہ کرنا Russia, severe **sanctions** پابندیاں have been imposed عائد and their financial assets have been seized. On the other hand, President Putin seems to be **deadly** خطرناک طور پر determined for global positioning. In the given scenario, the question is will Putin agree to a divided Ukraine.

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unipolar, bipolar, multipolar

If the great powers are more than two, the system will be multipolar; if they are two, it will be bipolar, while systems with only one great power are considered unipolar.

The **Soviet Union**, officially the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (**USSR**), was a transcontinental country that spanned much of Eurasia from 1922 to 1991. A flagship communist state, it was nominally a federal union of fifteen national republics; in practice, both its government and its economy were highly centralized until its final years. It was a one-party state governed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with the city of Moscow serving as its capital as well as that of its largest and most populous republic: the Russian SFSR.

cold war

noun

a state of political hostility between countries characterized by threats, propaganda, and other measures short of open warfare.

the state of hostility that existed between the Soviet bloc countries and the Western powers from 1945 to 1990

PricewaterhouseCoopers is an international professional services brand of firms, operating as partnerships under the PwC brand. It is the second-largest professional services network in the world and is considered one of the Big Four accounting firms, along with Deloitte, EY and KPMG.

GDP

Gross domestic product is a monetary measure of the market value of all the final goods and services produced in a specific time period by countries. Due to its complex and subjective nature this measure is often revised before being considered a reliable indicator

flex one's muscles

give a show of strength or power.

"the committee likes to flex its political muscles from time to time

NATO

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization), also called the North Atlantic Alliance, is an intergovernmental military alliance between 30 member states – 28 European and two North American. Established in the aftermath of World War II, the organization implements the North Atlantic Treaty, which was signed in Washington, D.C., on 4 April 1949.

geopolitics

noun

politics, especially international relations, as influenced by geographical factors

realpolitik

noun

a system of politics or principles based on practical rather than moral or ideological considerations.

Perestroika was a political movement for reform within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) during the late 1980s widely associated with CPSU general secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and his glasnost (meaning "openness") policy reform. The literal meaning of perestroika is "reconstruction", referring to the restructuring of the Soviet political and economic system, in an attempt to end the Era of Stagnation..

Glasnost) has several general and specific meanings – a policy of maximum openness in the activities of state institutions and freedom of information, the inadmissibility of hushing up problems, and so on. It has been used in Russian to mean "openness and transparency" since at least the end of the 18th century. This word is included in the English dictionary.

Statista is a German company specializing in market and consumer data. According to the company, its platform contains more than 1,000,000 statistics on more than 80,000 topics from more than 22,500 sources and 170 different industries, and generates a revenue of about €60 million

tide over

transitive verb. : to support or enable to survive temporarily money to tide us over until payday

face value

Noun

the value printed or depicted on a coin, banknote, postage stamp, ticket, etc., especially when less than the actual value.

"touts offer tickets priced at many times their face value