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The Paradigm Shift Magazine
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Quaid-e-Azam, Allama Iqbal,
& Pakistan's Historical
Opposition to Israel

Sarmad Ishfaq

Russia:
Myths & Realities

Hafsa Ammar

Israel's Begin
Doctrine

M. Shahzad Akram

Saudi Arabia,
BRICS, & the
Future of
Petrodollar

Sana Azhar

Reality Check: Economic
Crisis in Pakistan

Hina Anwar

Why Pakistan
Refuses to Sign
the NPT

Hurria Binte Abdullah

Exploring China's
Strategic Partnership
with Iran

Maysa Fouly

ChatGPT:
The Next Big Thing
in AI-Writing
Technology

Syeda Fiza Bukhari

Tomorrow, the World:
The Birth of U.S. Global
Supremacy

Ali Hamza

Will Pakistan Default?

Mobeen Mukhtar



Table Of Contents



Foreword	3
Article: Quaid-e-Azam, Allama Iqbal, & Pakistan's Historical Opposition to Israel	4
Opinion: Will Pakistan Default?	15
Book Review: Russia - Myths & Realities	20
Infographic of the Month!	26
Article: Israel's Begin Doctrine	27
Article: Saudi Arabia, BRICS, and the Future of Petrodollar	32
Article: Reality Check - Economic Crisis in Pakistan	37
Article: Why Pakistan Refuses to Sign the NPT	45
Research Paper: Exploring China's Strategic Partnership with Iran	50
Article: ChatGPT - The Next Big Thing in AI-Writing Technology	64
Book Review: Tomorrow, the World: The Birth of U.S. Global Supremacy	69
Article: The Plight of Afghan Women Under the Taliban	73
Article: What Can Pakistan Learn from Israel's Water Technology?	78

Table Of Contents



Research Paper: Hindutva: Turning Secular India into a Hindu State	83
Article: What Caused Algeria and Morocco to Cut Ties?	94
Article: The Role of Modernism in Shaping Nationalism	99
Advertise With Us!	106
Become Part of the Paradigm Shift Team	107
Our Social Media Platforms	108



Foreword

Welcome to the fourth edition of the Paradigm Shift e-magazine. Since starting Paradigm Shift (www.ParadigmShift.com.pk) on August 14th, 2020, we have come a long way.

With over **200,000 monthly visits**, and over **45,000 followers** on social media, we are now able to serve a wider percentage of the Pakistani youth. All our pieces are sent in by brilliant writers and researchers, and our gifted editors constantly ensure the quality of our content.

We aim for, and work towards three major goals:

1. To become a comprehensive library with high-quality content on international relations, current affairs, global politics, and Pakistan.
2. To provide a free medium where individuals can access research from across the globe, and can send in their own work to share their voice with the world.
3. To showcase Pakistan in a positive and factual manner through our 'Pakistan Unveiled' section.

We have handpicked 15 special pieces from our website for this edition, and we hope that you gain some insights from them. For more content on a variety of topics from across the world, please visit **www.ParadigmShift.com.pk**

We hope that you consider sharing our website and social media with your friends and family so that we can effectively increase our reach. Thank you again for all your support through the years.



Quaid-e-Azam, Allama Iqbal, and Pakistan's Historical Opposition to Israel

About the Author



Sarmad Ishfaq is an independent researcher and writer whose work has been published by Harvard Kennedy School Review, the Diplomat, Open Democracy, Paradigm Shift, Mondoweiss, and Eurasia Review to name a few. Before becoming an independent writer, he worked as a research fellow for LCPR. He has a master's degree in IR from the UoWD where he was recognized as the 'Top Graduate'.

Introduction

There is a belief that Pakistan is solely opposed to Israel due to the latter's post-independence atrocities against Palestine, which are attributed to [the sizeable military mismatch between both Palestine and Israel](#)—however, this is not a complete picture. The reality is that Pakistan's founders like Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Allama Iqbal laid the groundwork for the nation's pro-Palestine stance long before Pakistan or Israel gained independence.

The founders were unequivocally opposed to a Jewish homeland fashioned at the expense of the Arabs. Due to such a robust foundation, one still sees the phrase "This passport is valid for all countries of the world except Israel" written quite unapologetically on the Pakistani passport. The founders adopted this posture due to them witnessing Britain's exploitation of Arab Muslims, Britain's reneging on promises to the Arabs, favoritism towards the Jews, and the global powers' support of Zionism on Palestinian soil.

Two of Pakistan's founding fathers and undoubtedly the most integral ones were Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Muhammad Iqbal. Pakistanis herald Mr. Jinnah as the father of the nation who overcame not only British imperialist designs but also a Hindu-dominated Congress in India that was vehemently opposed to dividing the subcontinent.

Although he passed away before the independence of Pakistan, Mr. Iqbal is credited as being the spiritual father of the nation. Popularly known as the Poet of the East, he uplifted Muslims of the subcontinent with his poetry and oration and dreamt of an independent Muslim homeland.

Both Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Iqbal were pivotal parts of the All India Muslim League (AIML). The AIML was the primary political party safeguarding Muslim rights in British India, but during the 1920s, the organization began taking a keen interest in global Muslim affairs as well.

The Balfour Declaration, conflated with Mandatory Palestine, made Muslims around the world cognizant of the profound implications of these events. As history would later reveal, the first seeds of a Jewish homeland had just been planted. The Muslim world was visibly dismayed by such machinations, especially after undergoing the trauma of the Caliphate's loss.

Things continued to unfold tragically during the [Arab Revolt in Palestine \(1936-1939\)](#) that engulfed the region in violence. Seeing the British adopt ruthless measures to quell the Arab opposition, there was further Muslim uproar in India. In response, Mr. Jinnah, in his presidential address to the AIML in 1937, stated, *"Great Britain has dishonored her proclamation to the Arabs – which had guaranteed to them complete independence of the Arab homelands...After having utilized them by giving them false promises, they installed themselves as the mandatory power with that infamous Balfour Declaration...fair-minded people will agree when I say that Great Britain will be digging its grave if she fails to honor her original proclamation..."*.

The AIML leadership continually passed resolutions in support of the Palestinians, protested in the streets, and sent their delegations to display solidarity with the Arabs. Mr. Jinnah, known to be unrelenting, continued also to verbally berate the harsh and illegal treatment of the Palestinians. He asserted, *"You know the Arabs have been treated shamelessly—men who, fighting for the freedom of their country, have been described as gangsters, and subjected to all forms of repression. For defending their homelands, they are being put down at the point of the bayonet, and with the help of martial laws. But no nation, no people who are worth living as a nation, can achieve anything great without making great sacrifice such as the [Arabs of Palestine are making.](#)"*

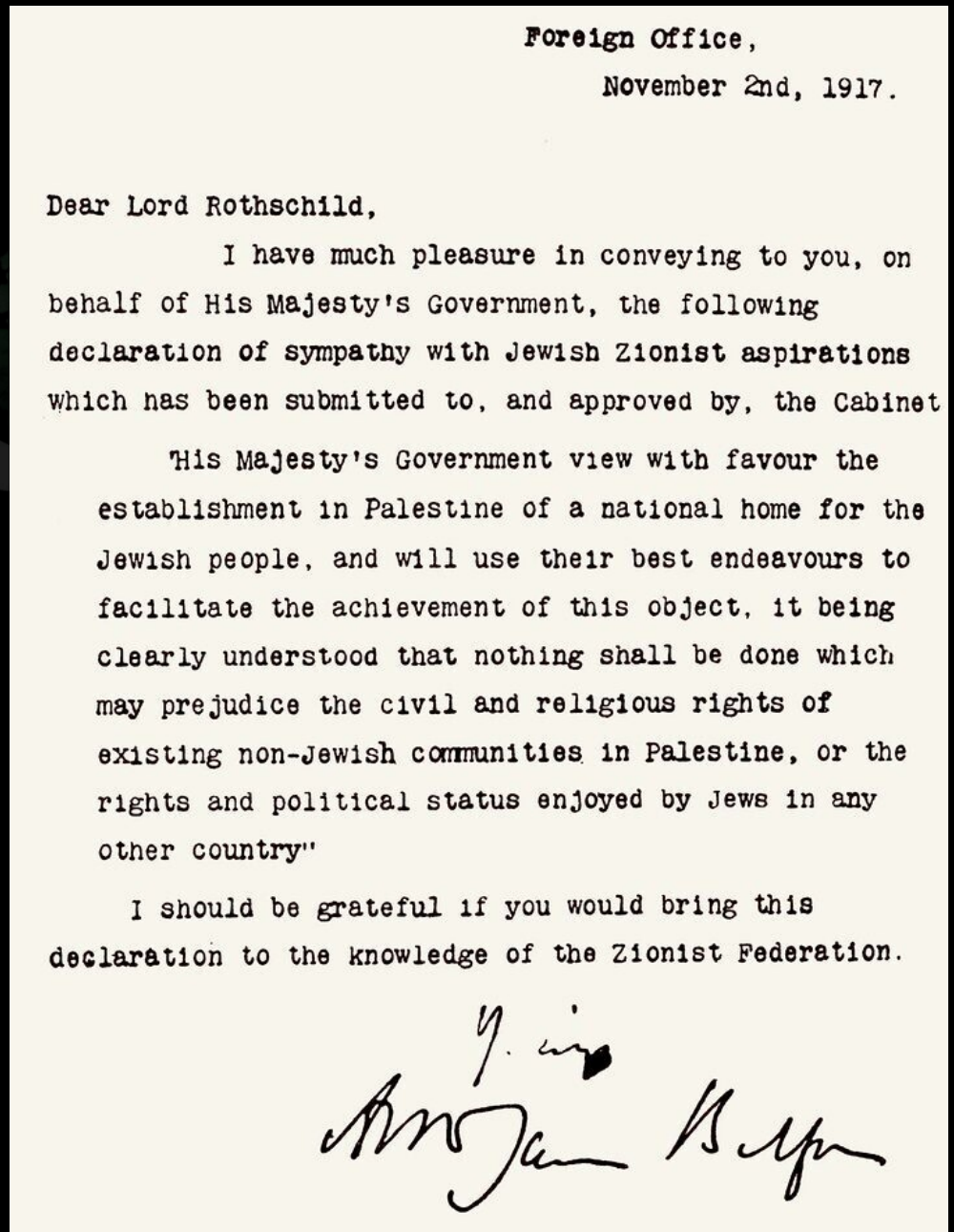
In July 1937, the Peel Commission endeavoured to unearth the causes of unrest in Mandatory Palestine. The commission produced a report that recommended partitioning Palestine. This tragic recommendation for the Arabs, affixed with the immigration of Jews to Palestine exponentially rising during the third, fourth, and fifth aliyahs, traumatized the global Muslim psyche. In British Palestine, between 100,000-300,000, Jews immigrated to Palestine—a monumental demographic shift.

Post-World War I

During World War I, the Ottoman Caliphate, which housed Palestine, was to be abolished and many of the territories of the once great empire were divided between the UK and France (see [Sykes-Picot Agreement](#)). The British also reneged on certain promises after their triumph in WWI was assured. One of these was to the Emir of Mecca. To the Emir, they promised if the Arabs abetted Britain and France against the Ottomans, they would support the Arabs in self-rule (which the Emir envisioned as a pan-Arabic state from Aleppo in Syria to Aden in Yemen).

One of the territories that the UK colonized was Palestine and thus began the age of Mandatory Palestine (1920-1948). The Arabs and Muslims were betrayed, and in their stead, the Jews were supported. This was indicated by the [Balfour Declaration in 1917](#) (*image on the right*) which promised British support for a Jewish homeland in Palestine. It was a correspondence between UK's Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour to Lionel

Walter Rothschild, a leader of the British Jewish community.

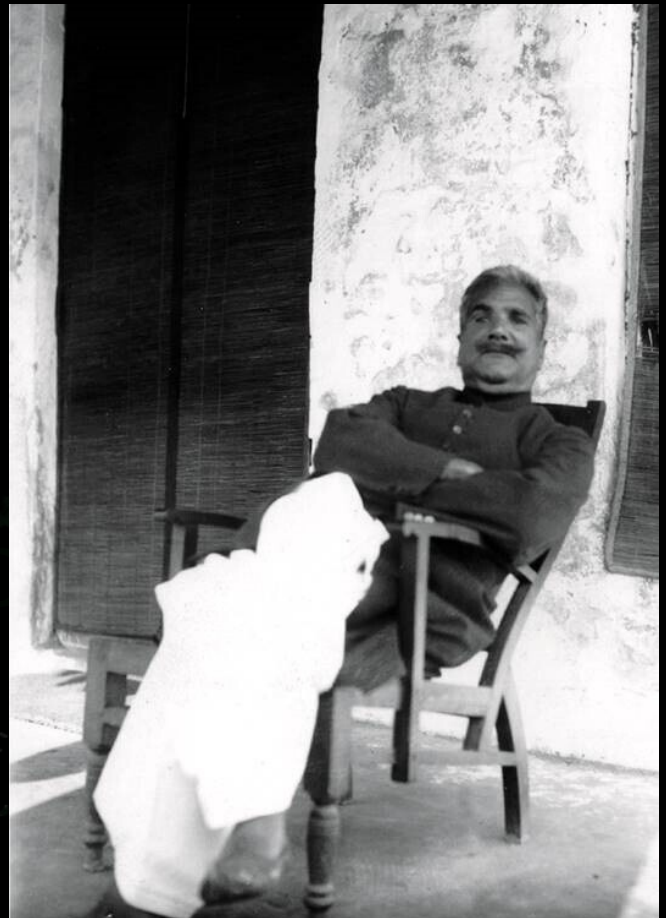


The Jews also had for years bought and occupied Palestinian, landmarking a territorial shift in their favour as well. The AIML protested against the British mandate and its anti-Arab policies, citing them as violating religious and human rights thus warranting its abolition, but such proclamations fell on deaf ears. Miss Farquharson of the National League of England requested Mr. Iqbal's views on the Peel Commission's recommendations.

To that, Mr. Iqbal replied, *"We must not forget that [Palestine does not belong to England](#). She is holding it under a mandate from the League of Nations, which Muslim Asia is now learning to regard as an Anglo-French institution invented for the purpose of dividing the territories of weaker Muslim peoples. Nor does Palestine belong to the Jews who abandoned it of their own free will long before its possession by the Arabs."* The last sentence of the preceding unveils Mr. Iqbal's view

that Palestine was solely a Muslim issue—this emotion resonated with the Muslim masses of India and beyond.

This sentiment is further highlighted by Mr. Iqbal's statement in 1937 in an AIML setting, *"The problem, studied in its historical perspective, is purely a [Muslim problem](#)...Palestine ceased to be a Jewish problem long before the entry of Caliph Umar into Jerusalem more than 1300 years ago. Their dispersion, as Professor Hockings has pointed out, was perfectly voluntary and their scriptures were for the most part written outside Palestine. Nor was it ever a Christian problem. Modern historical research has doubted even the existence of Peter, the Hermit. Even if we assume that the Crusades were an attempt to make Palestine a Christian problem, the attempt was defeated by the victories of Salah-ud-Din. I, therefore, regard Palestine as a purely Muslim problem."*



He espoused parallel thoughts in his poems as well, which were perhaps the most inspiring to the Muslims of India. His poem Sham-o-Falesteen (Syria and Palestine) poignantly proclaims:

Heaven's blessing on those brazen Frenchmen shine!

Aleppo's rare glass brims with their red wine.

—If the Jew claims the soil of Palestine,

Why not the Arab Spain?

Some new design must have inflamed our English potentates;

This is no story of oranges, honey or dates.

The second couplet is the most telling i.e. if Jews had a claim on Arab land because they were present there two thousand years ago, then the Arab Muslims certainly had a claim on Spain where they ruled for 800 years.

World War II

In 1938, Mr. Iqbal passed away before the onset of World War II, but his message on Palestine was immortalized in his poems, statements, and speeches. The AIML continued to honor his legacy by not only pursuing the creation of Pakistan but also facilitating Palestine resolutely.

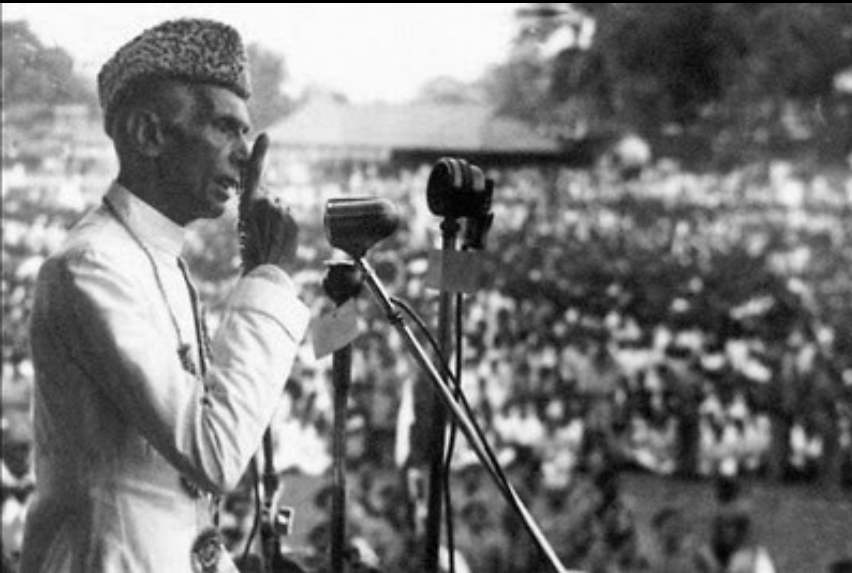
When the war broke out, the British, characterizing shrewd but indignant behavior, cozied up to the AIML for their support in WWII. This was primarily because the Hindu-dominated Congress' support was not forthcoming. During the war, many pro-Palestinian actions were undertaken. For example on the AIML's call, Palestine Day was observed on the 26th of August 1938 across the subcontinent.

In 1939, Mr. Jinnah sent senior AIML members Ch. Khaliquzzaman and Abdur Rehman Siddiqui to meet with the Grand Mufti of Palestine to assist with the Palestinian issue. In July 1939, the British government prepared and issued a white paper unilaterally.

The White Paper of 1939 called for the establishment of a Jewish home within an independent Palestinian state in the next 10 years and rejected the Peel Commission's recommendations.

In simpler words, it recommended a one-state solution for the Arabs and Jews. It also ordered that Jewish immigration be limited and would depend on Arab consent. Many Arab leaders thought such recommendations were untenable and rejected the proposal, as did the Jews. The latter became militant and incepted a violent campaign against the British.

Mr. Jinnah, too, was critical of the white paper – he criticized its recommendations and reiterated that the original promises made to the Arabs in WWI along with their demands should be honored.



He wrote to Viceroy Linlithgow that the British "...should try and meet all reasonable national demands of the Arabs in Palestine" as this was one of the prerequisites for AIML's cooperation in the British war effort in India during 1939-40.

Mr. Jinnah had also threatened "to call out the Muslim Ministries in the Provinces" on the issue of British injustices towards Palestinians. Mr. Jinnah also pledged his support to the Supreme Arab Council of Palestine. He ramped up the pressure domestically and reaffirmed to the British how important Palestine was spiritually for the Muslims. Furthermore, he created a "Palestine Fund" to raise and dispatch money for Palestinian families who lost their relatives in the struggle for freedom. Despite his constant struggle towards the creation of Pakistan, he remained adamant about the Palestinian cause as well.

Post-WWII: Creation of Pakistan and Israel

The post-war scenario looked bleak for the Palestinians. For the Indian Muslims, too, it was a difficult time due to the intensifying question of partition.

Despite this critical juncture (around 1946) and the Indian Muslims requiring all their energy, Mr. Jinnah and the AIML did not vacillate vis-à-vis the Palestinian issue.

On 20th April 1946, The Anglo-American Committee report was published – it recommended that 100,000 Jewish immigrants persecuted by Nazis be allowed to immigrate to Palestine immediately (among other things). Upon hearing such, Mr. Jinnah remarked that this was the *"grossest betrayal of the promises made to the Arabs"* and he was distraught at how the great powers had only leveraged the territory of Palestine to accommodate the Jews at the Arabs' expense.

The Grand Mufti of Palestine Muhammad Amin-el-Husseni himself recognized Mr. Jinnah's unyielding struggle towards the Palestinian cause several times. On one such occasion in 1946, the Grand Mufti wrote to Mr. Jinnah, *"Muslims of the world would remember how the League under leadership of Jinnah favored and cared for the affairs of the Muslim countries like Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Western Trablus, Indonesia and all other countries of North Africa."*

In 1946, the US, which had replaced the UK as the dominant global power, and its dalliance with Israel began to blossom further – this was evidenced by the US President's policy of *supporting a Jewish state* in Palestine.

On 14th August 1947, Mr. Jinnah's long and tedious struggle to create an independent nation for the Muslim Indians was finally successful. Although a momentous occasion for the AIML and new Pakistanis, the Palestinians were not as lucky as they became anguished due to the UN's deliberation on how to partition Palestine.

When the partition plan was accepted by the UN in November 1947, Mr. Jinnah, then the Governor General of Pakistan, wrote to US President Truman and asserted, *"The decision is ultra vires of the United Nations charter and basically wrong and invalid in law... The very people for whose benefit this decision is taken—the Jews, who have already suffered terribly from Nazi persecution—will I greatly fear, suffer most if this unjust course is pursued..."*.

Talking to Robert Simson of the BBC, he expressed that the decision was "*unjust and cruel*" and pledged to aid the cause "*of the Arabs in Palestine in every possible way.*" In the aftermath of the United Nations Partition Plan for Palestine that aimed to divide the territory into an Arab state, a Jewish state, and a Special International Regime for Jerusalem and Bethlehem, war broke out internally as well as between the nations of the Arab League and Israel. The result was almost a complete Israeli victory with the new state not only controlling the area proposed by the UN but also occupying around 60% of the area proposed to the Palestinians.

Israel also took control of West Jerusalem, which was meant to be an international zone. The state of Israel was born on 14th May 1948. History, the greatest of writers, inscribed poetically how Pakistan and Israel both came to be within the space of 9 months – perhaps the only two nations to be created in the name of religion. Both nations are marked with territorial disputes as well, which remain unresolved and pose a threat on a global scale. Mr. Jinnah passed soon after on 11th September 1948.

Present Day

A few months ago, if someone asked me if Pakistan would ever recognize Israel regardless of the strong [Israel-US nexus](#), my answer would be a no. However, in recent months, the elites of Pakistan have trapped the country in an almost-unwinnable situation after Imran Khan's ouster. Pakistan is [desperate for money](#), for its loans to be waived, and for inflation to come down. Terrorist attacks have also begun rising. Israel, already on a high after the [Abraham Accords](#), might see this as an opportunity to aid or pressurize Pakistan to recognize Israel, sell their nuclear weapons, or both.

The murmurings of such Machiavellian machinations have [been ongoing in the country's](#) power corridors as well as on social media for a while. In fact, when the relatively stable government of Imran Khan was governing, there were internal and exogenous pressures on [him to recognize Israel](#). Now that a vapid and corrupt government marred with greater economic and political schisms has replaced his, those same burdens stand buttressed.

If Pakistan does become desperate or corrupt enough to recognize Israel, it would be to its detriment in the long run. Conversely, to “befriend” and perhaps denuclearize the only Muslim nuclear state with one of the strongest armies in the world would be a massive victory for Israel. Netanyahu himself is on record for stating that after Iran, Pakistan is the largest specter to the state due to its possession of a massive nuclear arsenal.

Pakistanis, as pro-Palestine as they are, are in a despairing situation, which will turn murkier still, I fear. The implication is that maybe the citizens (not all but some) could be convinced of the absurd move to recognize Israel or worse. I am completely opposed to this as the Palestine issue has always remained a red line for Pakistan – this much we must not obfuscate – and for the politicians and citizens to abandon this red line would be catastrophic, maybe not economically, but morally and spiritually.



We must remember that in British India, times were tougher for the Muslims than what Pakistan is facing currently, but the founders did not compromise on their scruples even with their backs against the wall. For example, Mr. Jinnah, known

even by his rivals as incorruptible, was made several enticing offers from Gandhi, Viceroy Mountbatten, and others to become the [first PM of a united India](#) if his demand for Pakistan was renounced – but he never accepted.

Mr. Iqbal, as unwavering himself, expressed his fiery passion for Palestine in a letter to Mr. Jinnah, *"The Palestine question is very much agitating the minds of the Muslims... Personally I would **not mind going to jail** on an issue which affects both Islam and India. The formation of a Western base on the very gates of the East is a menace to both."*

The examples of Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Iqbal signify the staunch policy against Israel and the indefatigable commitment towards Pakistan and Palestine that Pakistanis must exemplify now. Therefore, the country must follow in the steadfast footsteps of the founders and refrain from recognizing Israel – for recognizing Israel is to forsake Palestine, and to forsake Palestine is to forsake Pakistan.

This piece was originally published on [Modern Diplomacy](#).

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You may also like: [The Essence of the Quran as Illuminated by Iqbal \(R.H\)](#)

You can also read: [Romancing Israel at Palestine's Expense](#)



Opinion

Will Pakistan Default?

About the Author



Mobeen Mukhtar is studying Economics and Politics at LSE. He is a member of Pakistan's Youth General Assembly.



Introduction

This news of Pakistan defaulting on sovereign debt is making rounds on the internet. However, it is important to decipher the fundamentals of a default-like scenario and the economic health of the country to evaluate whether we are going to default or not. It is imperative to deconstruct the complex jargon of sovereign default and the default risk in its entirety.

Since Sri Lanka has defaulted on sovereign debt, it has inflicted a psychological effect that Pakistan's situation has an analogical resemblance. Sri Lanka's economic meltdown is altogether a different story and must not be associated with Pakistan.



Breaking it Down

By definition, defaulting on sovereign debt refers to the inability to fulfill the scheduled external debt repayments to international creditors due to scant forex reserves. It is critically important to contextualize the debt mix of Pakistan; about 63% of the debt is domestic, which essentially implies it has to be paid in PKR and the country can always print more to pay off the debt (but that it has its implications/ramifications).

[The external debt constitutes 37% of the total debt owed by Pakistan.](#) To put it into context, we must decode the external debt. We owe 24% of the external debt to the bilateral countries (China, Saudi Arabia, UAE, etc.), 57% to the multilateral institutions (IMF, world bank, etc), and the rest of the debt is owed to private investors (Eurobond, Sukuk bondholders, commercial loans).

It is important to conceptualize that 57% of the debt owed to the multilateral institutions always tend to figure out a debt restructuring plan—Pakistan has had 23 encounters with the IMF, and they have always figured out a debt rescheduling, it's just that we have to internalize their demands.

Furthermore, the debt owed to countries (24%) will eventually get a rollover once we get into an IMF program, given the relationships we have with them.

The private investors are the real problem which may call on default if Pakistan is unable to pay the obligations. However, Pakistan already made the [Sukuk payment of \\$1 billion last month](#) i.e. in December 2022, and much of the default conversation was based on the rationale that Pakistan wouldn't be able to make a payment on Sukuk bonds. The next maturity is due in April 2024, and until then, we'll be flirting with default and have possibly averted the default as of now.

Credit Default Swap

The term 'CDS' (credit default swap) is constantly being used by rumor mongers to assert a default-like scenario. In simplest terms, CDS essentially is an insurance policy that provides financial protection to the investor in case of a potential sovereign default. Whenever an investor or a bondholder tends to invest in Pakistan, it purchases a CDS from an investment bank providing financial compensation against a premium.

The CDS rating does not reflect the country's tendency to default; instead, a higher CDS percentage means that the investor would have to pay a high premium to the investment bank. Therefore, there is no resonance between CDS and sovereign default.

Institutional Default

The economic situation, however, is still dire prevalently due to stark structural issues. Pakistan has been in a long-standing economic turmoil with a pulverized infrastructure. To solve Pakistan's impending economic gloom, we fundamentally need to understand the root cause. The policy elite over time have systematically pulverized the process of economic development; the under-5 mortality is systematically higher than what it should be, given Pakistan's income per capita, and about 17 million more people are illiterate in Pakistan than it should be.



Moreover, the investment rate is only half the level it should be, and our exports are merely 1% of our GDP. All these horrendous statistics are an outcome of the dreadful policy decisions by the political elite.

We have unsustainable consumption patterns, with consumption constituting 94% of the GDP. Our consumption is essentially financed through imports and our export stimulus is so weak that there emerges a colossal gap between exports and imports, hence to finance this gap we borrow dollars from international financial institutions, bondholders, and other countries, eventually ending up knocking IMF's doors.



The current economic crisis has expedited the default conversation which may—will certainly—become a reality if grander reforms aren't prioritized. It is about time to institutionalize fiscal prudence and monetary discipline, move away from an import-led economy to an export orientation, and expand our tax base.

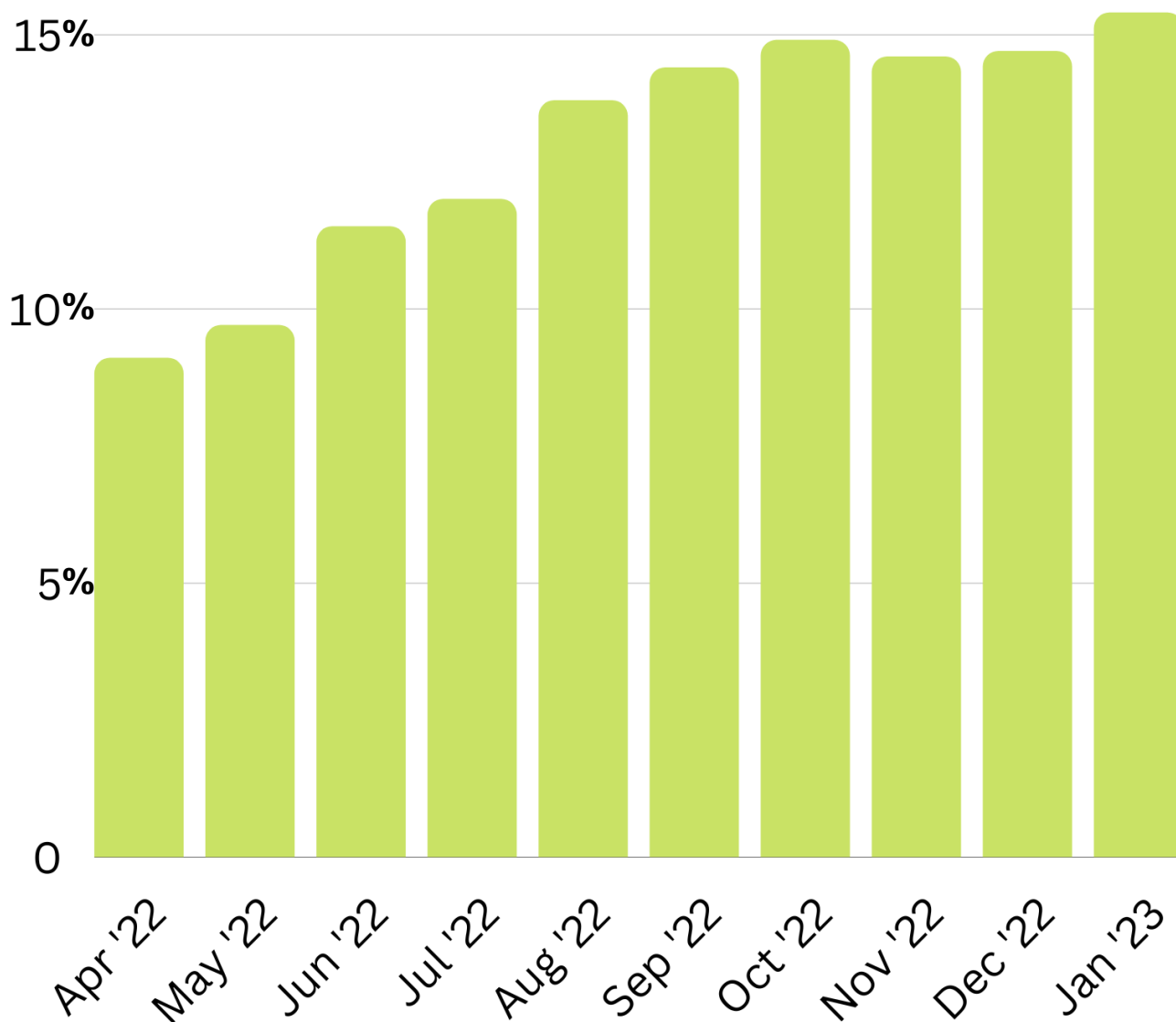
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You may also like: [IMF in Pakistan - Culprit or Scapegoat?](#)

You may also read: [Prospects of a Technocratic Government in Pakistan](#)

Pakistan Core Inflation Rate



Core consumer prices in Pakistan increased 15.40 percent in January of 2023 over the same month in the previous year.

Source: tradingeconomics.com

RUSSIA

MYTHS AND REALITIES:
THE HISTORY OF A COUNTRY
WITH AN UNPREDICTABLE PAST



RODRIC BRAITHWAITE

"BRAITHWAITE NEVER SHIRKS THE TERRIBLE TRUTHS."
—ANTONY BEEVOR

Book
Review

Russia: Myths & Realities

About the Author



Hafsa Ammar is a student of the Department of Peace and Conflict Studies at the National Defence University, Islamabad. Her areas of expertise are hybrid warfare, narrative building, and nuclear deterrence in South Asia. Her work has been published in various national and international media forums.



Introduction

Rodric Braithwaite's *"Russia: Myths and Realities"* consists of nine chapters alongside an epilogue and prologue, and the events of the chapter move in a chronological trend. Most of his works revolve around the former Soviet Empire; these include 'Across the Moscow River', 'Moscow 1941', 'Afghansty', and 'Armageddon and Paranoia'.



Prologue: Nation, Myth & History

It talks about the self-perceived narrative that Russia and its citizens hold close to their hearts. One of glory, honor, and grit.

According to the author, this narrative has been spun over centuries and keeps the coals of patriotism warm in the hearts of the Russians. They are participants in the construction through the concept of 'Vranyo.' Vranyo refers to lying boldly in the face of another and not being called out on it.

It meant that the Russian government and citizens alike would reword the contents of history to portray Russia in a better image and no one would call out the blatant distortion of horrific facts into flowery glory. The contents of the book can be viewed within four major themes as deduced below.

Chapters 1, 3, and 4: The Russian Identity

Identity is a multi-faceted concept that is not limited solely to ethnicity, race, or religion. It can include various political and cultural ideologies, which it did for the Russian Empire. Russia had great ties with Byzantium at the latter's prime. They were allies in trade, and Byzantium culture had a great influence on Russia. Their Cyrillic alphabet and Christian religion settled their roots in Russia.

'Vladimir the Great' was the leader of Kievan Rus at the time (987) and he came to the conclusion that if he had to rule an empire of such enormity – there needed to be something unifying the masses and hence he decided to use religion to achieve this goal.

He rejected Islam due to their abstinence from alcohol and pork. He discarded Judaism as an option due to the fact that their own God had once shunned them. Christianity, however, held great appeal; the festivals and celebrations of Christmas were seen by Vladimir as an excellent way to bring together the people. Therefore, following the lead of the Byzantine, Russia became an Orthodox Christian state. This act cemented Russian identity in two ways: first, Russians got a religious distinctiveness and second, they automatically became an opponent to the Roman Catholic West.

Chapters 2 and 5: The Bloody Wars and Revolutions

Russian history is littered with revolutions, rebellions, massacres, and wars. As it would be impossible to quote all, the author focuses on the major four eras of war. These are the Mongolian or the Tartar invasions, the rise and fall of Tsardom, Lenin and the Bolsheviks, and finally the Gorbachev era. In *Russia: Myths and Realities*, Braithwaite focuses on the missteps made by rulers in each era which led to furthering the fragility of the Empire.

The Mongols invaded Kievan Rus in the late 1230s; their reputation preceded them as the tales of their brutality and love for bloodshed were famous around the world. A big mistake made by 'Mstislav the Bold', the commander of Muscovy armies, was that he ordered the execution of the ambassadors sent by the Mongols not once but twice.

In return, Mongolian armies overran Russian towns and villages and massacred them without thought or regret. This kept escalating the conflict until finally at the start of the 16th century, Ivan the Great/Ivan III managed to free Russia from the Mongolian Yoke.





Ivan IV/ Ivan the Terrible was the one who initiated Tsardom in Russia. His was a truly dreadful reign. It was known that the poisoning of his wife led him to near psychosis which he then took out on his people. He had lost his sanity to the extent that he murdered his own son. Eventually, he passed away

from a stroke not long after the filicide. His rule was full of executions, hangings, and even drownings.

The tsar whose legacy starts and ends this era of Russian history is Mikhail Fyodorovich Romanov. The Romanov Dynasty lasted three centuries. There came a lot of socio-political and cultural changes during this time span as some of the greatest leaders of Russia came into power during these three centuries such as Peter the Great and Catherine the Great who revolutionized Russia into becoming a world power.

By the mid-1850s, the West, specifically Britain and France, started to collide with Russia. The West defeated Russia, headed by Tsar Nicholas II, in the Crimean War. Then comes the infamous Russian Revolution. Marked by the end of the Romanov dynasty, the Revolution revoked the rule and post of Tsardom. The October Revolution was the leeway [Vladimir Lenin needed to take over Russia](#) and he did.

Chapters 6 and 7: The Industrial and Cultural Evolution of Russia

Following the civil war, the entire governmental structure was reformed. Lenin's rule helped Russia evolve out of the 'backward character' the West always presumed it to have. It was he who after so many centuries gave another dimension to the Russian identity by introducing communism into governmental policymaking. He brought the Russian Empire to the modern world as the USSR and transformed the world order with his power politics. The Cold War along with globalization and bloc politics expanded Russian influence across the globe – be it ideologically or economically.

Chapters 8 and 9: Geopolitics

These chapters bring the book to a close by stepping into the socio-political quagmire that is the comparative politics of Russia and the US supported by the role of Putin.

The USSR saw many significant figures following Lenin, like Nikita Khrushchev, Stalin, Gorbachev, and Yeltsin. However, none of their successive policies and reforms were able to stop the inevitable collapse of the USSR.

Vladimir Putin has played a massive role in bringing some semblance of an Empire back to the Russian identity. Belonging to a middle-class family, Putin studied law and went on to become a member of the KGB (Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti) better known as the cutthroat Russian Intelligence.



From there, he underwent a meteoric rise, and by 1998, he was heading the FSB (Federal Security Service), a morphed humane version of the KGB.

The two major weapons wielded by the current Russian premier were corruption and swift violence. The former helped create a class of wealthy supporters within the state, and the latter helped eliminate adversaries outside the state. He first became president of the state in 1999 for two terms, then again in 2012 till the current date.

His brutal decisions seem impulsive and poor to the naked eye. However, this sharp scythe of decision-making is keeping Russia afloat in an America-centric international system.

Epilogue: Rewriting History

This part brings us to the contemporary realities of the current international system. Russian retaliation to NATO's aggressive expansion has once again shone a spotlight on the 'imperial itch'. Vladimir Putin, the current premier of Russia, has aroused another side of the identity of the Russian people and that is persistence.

His refusal to back down, despite global pressures and sanctions has shown the world yet again that Russia is an entity that cannot be budged, no matter how strong or relentless the opponent's strike is.

Reviewer's Remarks

The author was very thorough in his research and was able to trace rulers back to the 10th century without any significant gaps. His ability to narrate the revolutions while simultaneously presenting the sentiments of the people is brilliant. The analysis presented for each of those leaders included their strengths, weaknesses, victories, delusions, and whatever it was that ultimately felled them.

His writing happened to have a dramatic flair which is helpful in keeping readers engaged with the material. However, where his storytelling is dramatic, it is also dry at certain points. There aren't enough unhinged rulers in the Russian past as were needed for the book to be scintillating throughout.

The issue that arose repeatedly is that the Russian conquests and defeats often occurred with the same opponents: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, etcetera. The author was unable to mention them in a way that didn't confuse the reader.

The book does not live up to its title, *Russia; Myths and Realities*, which suggests deconstructing false popular narratives about Russia. Instead, the book is essentially a history book that discusses events, rulers, revolutions, and bloodshed.

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Read more about Russia: [Applying Securitisation Theory to the Ongoing Russia-Ukraine Conflict](#)

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Infographic of the Month!

Top Gold Reserves by Country



1: USA
8,133 Tonnes



2: Germany
3,359 Tonnes



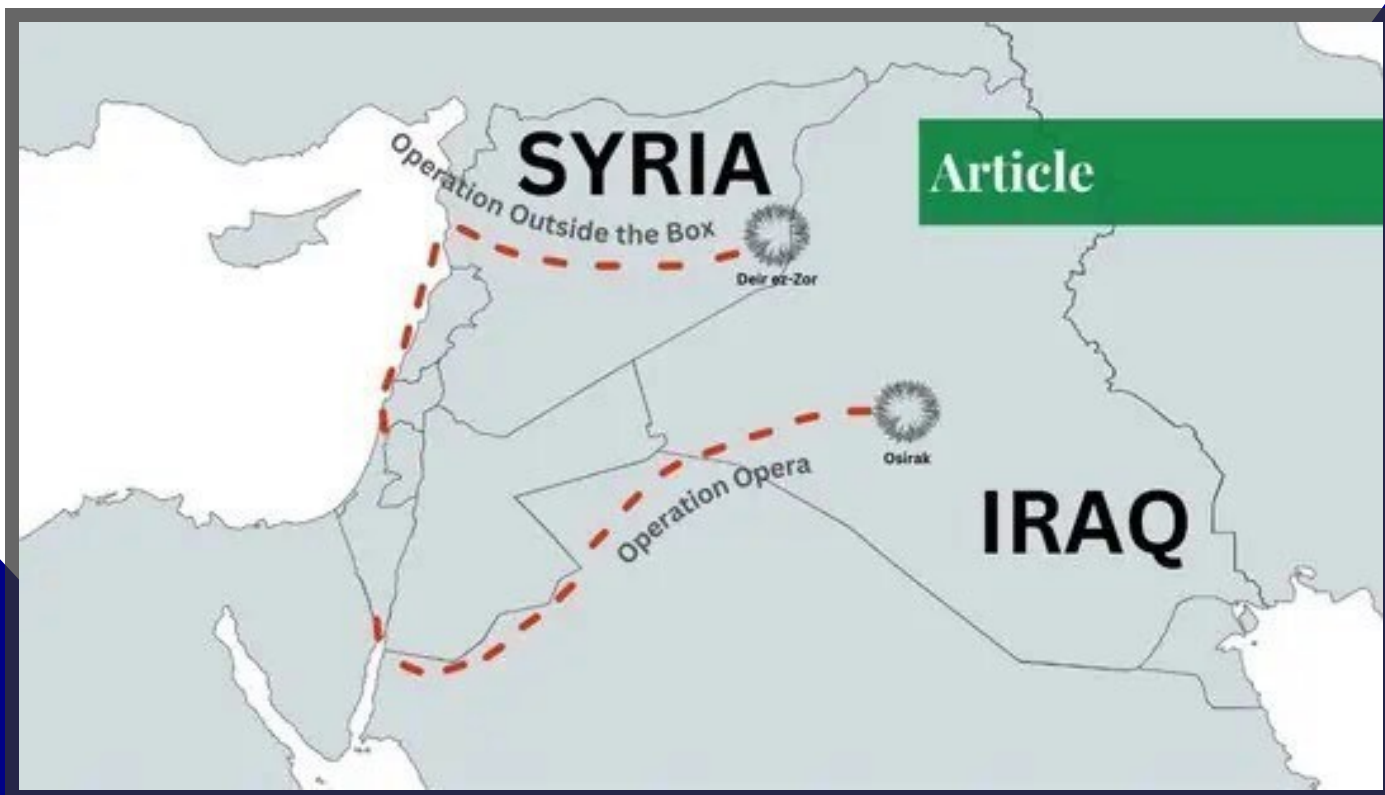
3: Italy
2,452 Tonnes



4: France
2,437 Tonnes



5: Russia
2,299 Tonnes



Israel's Begin Doctrine

About the Author



M. Shahzad Akram is a Research Officer at the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS), AJK. He holds an MPhil degree in International Relations from Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad.



Doctrines

A doctrine is a set of principles or guidelines that are used to guide the actions of a group or organization, such as a military or government. These principles or guidelines are often formalized in official documents and are used to shape the decision-making and actions of the group or organization.

Doctrines can be used in a variety of contexts, such as military, political, religious, or economic. Military doctrines, for example, guide the use of military force and the conduct of military operations. Political doctrines guide the actions of a political party or government. Religious doctrines guide the practices and beliefs of a religious organization. Economic doctrines guide the management of an economy.

Doctrines can be classified into different types such as defensive doctrine, offensive doctrine, and deterrence doctrine. A defensive doctrine is focused on the protection of one's territory and citizens; an offensive doctrine is focused on attacking the enemy and achieving objectives; and a deterrence doctrine is focused on preventing the enemy from taking any aggressive action by showing the enemy the potential consequences.

The Begin Doctrine

The Begin Doctrine of Israel is a policy of retaliatory military action against any country or group that attacks Israeli citizens or interests. The doctrine is named after the former Prime Minister of Israel, Menachem Begin, who was in office from 1977 to 1983.

The Begin Doctrine has since been invoked several times, including in response to terrorist attacks against Israeli citizens and interests. The doctrine has been a controversial policy, with some arguing that it has resulted in the unnecessary escalation of conflicts and human suffering. It's worth noting that the Begin Doctrine is not a written policy, but rather a general principle that has guided Israel's military actions over the years.

Israel and Iraq

The Begin Doctrine was first put into practice in 1981, when Israel launched a surprise air strike against an Iraqi nuclear reactor that was under construction, on the belief that it was intended to produce



nuclear weapons. This operation, called Operation Opera, was justified by the Begin Doctrine, which holds that Israel will not allow any country in the region to acquire nuclear weapons, as it would pose an existential threat to the Jewish state.

The operation was widely criticized by the international community, as the attack was seen as a violation of international law and the sovereignty of Iraq. The United Nations Security Council passed a resolution condemning the attack, and many countries imposed sanctions on Israel. However, the Begin government defended the operation as a necessary measure to protect the security of the state of Israel.

It's worth noting that the Osirak attack has been a matter of debate, with some arguing that it prevented Iraq from obtaining nuclear weapons, while others argue that it only delayed the program and ultimately led to more regional instability.

Israel and Syria

In 2007, Israel is believed to have carried out an air strike against a nuclear facility in Syria. The facility, located in the Deir ez-Zor region of eastern Syria, was believed to be a nuclear reactor under construction with North Korean assistance. The attack was not acknowledged by the Israeli government, which has a policy of ambiguity regarding its military operations. However, it was widely reported in the media, and the Syrian government acknowledged that an attack had taken place.



The incident was not officially confirmed by the Israeli government, but it is widely believed that the Israeli Air Force was responsible for the attack, which destroyed the nuclear facility. Some experts have cast doubt on the veracity of the claims of a nuclear reactor, while others have argued that the

facility was not a nuclear reactor but a military installation.

Israel and Iran

There have been multiple reports of Iranian nuclear scientists being targeted in attacks over the past decade. These attacks have been attributed to Israel and the United States, but neither country has officially claimed responsibility for them. In 2010, there was a series of attacks on Iranian nuclear scientists. The first attack occurred on January 12, when a magnetic bomb was attached to the car of a nuclear scientist, Massoud Ali-Mohammadi, who was killed as a result of the explosion.

Subsequently, on November 29, 2010, another nuclear scientist, Majid Shahriari, was assassinated while driving to work in Tehran, when a bomb was attached to his car. A few months later, on January 11, 2011, another nuclear scientist, Fereydoon Abbasi, was targeted in a similar attack but he survived. These attacks were widely attributed to Israel, which has been known to carry out targeted killings of individuals it sees as a threat to its security.

The Stuxnet

Stuxnet is a computer worm that was discovered in 2010 and is believed to have been specifically designed to target industrial control systems, such as those used in nuclear power plants.

The worm is thought to have been used to target the nuclear facilities in Iran, specifically the Natanz uranium enrichment facility. The attack on Iran's nuclear facilities with Stuxnet was a significant event in the history of cyber-warfare and it highlighted the vulnerability of industrial systems to cyber-attacks.

The Stuxnet was reportedly developed as a joint effort by the United States and Israel, as a means to disrupt and sabotage Iran's nuclear program. The worm was able to spread through computer networks, and once it had infected a target system, it was able to take control of the programmable logic controllers (PLCs) that control the centrifuges used in the uranium enrichment process. The worm caused the centrifuges to spin out of control, causing damage and setting back Iran's nuclear program by several years.

Conclusion

The Begin Doctrine has provided a framework for Israel to take swift and decisive military action against perceived threats, which has helped to maintain its deterrent power and defend its citizens from terrorist attacks. This doctrine has also played a role in preventing the acquisition of nuclear weapons by countries in the region that might pose a threat to Israel's security, which has further enhanced Israel's power in the region.

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Saudi Arabia, BRICS, and the Future of Petrodollar

About the Author



Sana Azhar is a design graduate of the National College of Arts. She likes to read and write about international relations, especially the ongoing great game between powerful states.



Introduction

As the international system is transitioning from a unipolar world to a multipolar world, the significance of the countries in the East is increasing. It is visible that new power centers are emerging on the world stage in the form of China, India, South Africa, and Saudi Arabia, among others. In wake of the changing paradigm of the world, the US is facing a significant decline in its power and stronghold, particularly the petrodollar, that it once maintained in the post-cold war era.

Dollar's Dominance

To understand how dollar dominance is being impacted by the current global situation, it is important to understand the significance of the dollar on the global stage. The US helped Israel militarily in the 1973 Yom Kippur War. This made the Arab countries impose embargos on the oil which skyrocketed the cost of petroleum products; oil prices increased from 3 dollars per barrel to 17 dollars per barrel. This led to one of the biggest economic recessions faced by the world.



As a result, the USA decoupled its currency from gold, and it led to a drastic decline in the value of the dollar. However, in 1974, when the embargo was lifted, the US saw the real value of petroleum products and so it made a secret agreement with Saudi Arabia related to oil exports. According to the petrodollar agreement, Saudi Arabia was supposed to sell oil in dollars, and in return for this, the US would provide military assistance in the form of selling weapons to Saudi Arabia. Thus, the petrodollar agreement came into being.

BRICS Threatens the Dollar

This petrodollar agreement was the main reason why even after the end of the Bretton Woods system, the US dollar was able to dominate the world. However, this agreement which is considered the backbone of the US economy is being threatened by Saudi Arabia's interest in joining BRICS. BRICS is a political and economic international organization that contributes to 40% of the world's population, 20% to the world's GDP, and 16% to international trade.

BRICS aims to come up with an alternative international system to IMF and World Bank. In addition to this, it also aims to develop its own reserve currency. At the 14th summit of BRICS, President Putin came up with the idea of a reserve currency which will be a [basket currency system](#) that should constitute the ruble, yuan, Indian rupee, South African rand, and Brazilian real. This would in turn be pegged with gold.

The idea behind this is to develop a more decentralized currency, and pegging it with gold will enhance the investor's confidence in it. But the question remains: how will the inclusion of Saudi Arabia into the organization damage the petrodollar agreement? As the world's emerging economies like Russia, China, India, Brazil, and South Africa constitute major oil trade in the world. Thus, if Saudi Arabia becomes a member of the BRICS, it will sell oil to these countries in the BRICS reserve currency which will shift the trade away from the dollar.

In addition to this, the countries to buy oil in BRICS currency would need other currencies for which they would have to withdraw their US treasury bonds. This would mean that the loans the US provides to businesses at a very low-interest rate will no longer be possible, which will bring a severe impact on the country's development. These bonds which are around 7.5 trillion dollars in worth will be withdrawn, reducing not only the dollar demand but also impacting the developmental progress of the US.



Although there hasn't been any formal agreement on the given issue, and Saudi Arabia is also reluctant, the possibility cannot be completely discarded. It is believed that if this becomes a reality, it might even alter the world order, as the current world order primarily stands on dollar dominance. The BRICS reserve currency which aims to be backed by gold will also have the backing of oil, making this currency far more valuable and stronger than the dollar.

Besides, the market will have more confidence in the BRICS currency because it will be more stable. Thus, it can shift international trade away from the dollar in the long run. Moreover, if the BRICS currency is not functionalized, countries can still go ahead with currency swap agreements like the ones already happening between Russia and India.

China & Saudi Arabia

The recent visit of the Chinese president to Saudi Arabia primarily centered around the oil trade with China in yuan. Although these talks have been going on for more than six years, they have accelerated recently. Therefore, if the two countries agree



to trade oil in yuan it will be a major setback to the demand for the dollar. [China buys more than 25%](#) of its oil from Saudi Arabia which will shift a major portion of oil sales away from dollar to yuan.

If China were to buy oil in yuan, it will have to take out its currency from the US treasury bank which alone is 1 trillion dollars, big enough to give the US economy a shock. China is also working on a prototype model of an international payment system called the [mBridge](#). This system is to make international transactions with central banks in digital currencies.

It is simply an alternative to SWIFT. This system would include the banks of UAE, China, Thailand, and Hong Kong to conduct payments worth 22 million dollars. Therefore, if this becomes functional, it too will be a challenge to the dollar.

Although, there is still no certainty that these systems will materialize or Saudi Arabia will join BRICS, it is sure that the balance of power is shifting away from the US. The recent threat to the petrodollar has also emerged because of the realignment between Saudi Arabia and US relations. Ever since President Joe Biden came into power, the US has been more focused on the Indo-Pacific region.

When OPEC countries decided to cut 2 million barrels per day, it compelled the US to pass the NOPEC bill which increased the tensions between the two old allies. With the Russia-Ukraine war, oil has become the most crucial element to define international relations. Therefore, the immediate future of the petrodollar seems dark. However, when international relations are at play, one can never be too sure. As the saying goes, there are no eternal friends or eternal enemies - only eternal interests.

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Reality Check: Economic Crisis in Pakistan

About the Author



Hina Anwar is a journalist with a long line of experience in research and media.

The Current State of Pakistan's Economy

Pakistan's economy has been plagued by structural inflation, with the Consumer Price Index (CPI) averaging around 25% while reaching 27.26% in August 2022, the highest level in 49 years. The average Sensitive Price Index (SPI) for the first five months of FY 2022 is close to 28%. The troubling element is that the SPI has been in double digits since July 2018. This means that the cost of basic necessities has nearly doubled in the last four years.

The rupee's depreciation has also been a major factor in Pakistan's rising prices. From 2013 to 2017, the dollar-rupee parity was maintained at roughly Rs.105/\$, and price growth was gradual. When the rupee and dollar are artificially tied together, this price mechanism does not allow it to float freely which increases the trade deficit by making imports more affordable and exports more expensive.

The parity between the rupee and the dollar was about 125 to 1 in 2018 but reached 240 to 1 in September 2022, a level that proved to be historically unparalleled in Pakistan. Despite this price adjustment, imports exceeded exports by a wide margin, and the trade deficit increased. With an annual growth rate of about 15%, the dollar's strength doubled in just five years.



Due to a liquidity crisis, the situation got so bad that the Pakistani central bank stopped issuing Letters of Credit (LCs) for imports. Defense equipment imports have also been constrained. Despite record-high remittances from overseas, increasing energy costs drove Pakistan's current account deficit to fall to \$0.4 billion.

Pakistan has \$130 billion in foreign debt, with \$73 billion coming due in three years. Even the bond and currency markets, which had previously displayed greater confidence in Pakistan following the IMF agreement, are now pricing Pakistan high due to worries that the nation may stop making payments on its foreign debt.

Moody's has cut Pakistan's credit rating. S&P Global, a global rating agency, also lowered Pakistan's long-term sovereign credit rating from "B" to "CCC+" to reflect the country's persistently declining external, fiscal, and economic parameters.

A Dangerous Combination

Global financial conditions are tightening due to higher-than-expected inflation, particularly in the US and the main European economies. The latest interest rate increases in the US would reduce future revenue for developing countries outside of China by an estimated \$360 billion.

Net capital flows to developing countries have also turned negative. This year, the currencies of almost 90 developing nations have experienced significant devaluations relative to the dollar. Since Pakistan is currently experiencing one of its most difficult balance-of-payments crisis, the effects are likely to be severe.

Why Is Pakistan's Economy in ICU for the Long Haul?

The economic crisis in Pakistan has been brewing for a long time. We can look back quite far in the history of the country to discover that every government often leaves an even worse condition for the next government to cope with.

In the 1980s, money from the Afghan War, and in the 2000s, money from the War on Terror, provided the country with a temporary reprieve. These crutches were regrettably used by the elite of the nation to continue living life as usual and avoid making the significant changes that the nation's economic structure demanded.

Inconsistent economic policies, the pursuit of wrong priorities, and poor governance are to blame for the economy's ongoing woes. Consecutive governments have changed fiscal priorities, leading to unstable economic conditions. The fact that landlords and industrialists make up the majority of the parliament has also prevented the nation from collecting taxes on lands or agriculture.

Moreover, [Pakistan's boom-bust growth cycle](#) is a persistent issue that leads to an unsolved balance of payments crisis. Among these factors that led Pakistan to the current dire economic crisis, the two main causes were a rapidly rising subsidy bill for spiraling energy costs in 2008 and extremely low tax revenues, which combined to cause an increasingly large fiscal deficit.

Threats from growing militancy and ongoing political instability since October 2021 worsen the already bleak economic outlook. Due to the severe floods, the detrimental effects of the aforementioned problems in Pakistan were made even worse. 33 million people were affected by the floods of 2022, and the GDP loss as a direct result of the floods is expected to be about [2.2 percent of FY22's GDP](#).

The Economy's Downward Spiral and "Daronomics"

Mr. Ishaq Dar, a trusted adviser of Shahbaz Sharif's older brother, former PM Nawaz Sharif, returned to Pakistan after a five-year exile and was reappointed as the country's finance minister. The seasoned chartered accountant has served in this capacity three times and has adhered to a traditional economic philosophy, which frequently takes the form of quick fixes to impose fiscal restraint and prudence.



Mr. [Dar's](#) obsession with manipulating the rupee's value concerning the dollar is keeping the Pakistani economy captive. Manufacturing facilities are closing their doors, and arbitrary quotas prevent importers from having their Letters of Credit opened. The rupee is not depreciating, thus all is well.

Pakistan's inflation is soaring and its supply of raw materials for the pharmaceutical and export industries is rapidly running out. IMF is refusing to cooperate, and no foreign allies are sending funds in droves. One can question what the overall strategy here is. It is nothing new for Mr. Dar to manipulate the rupee's value with the dollar. A \$20 billion current account deficit was the outcome in 2018.

Due to the manipulated value of the rupee, importing goods was less expensive than having them made in Pakistan or exported. As a result, Pakistan's industry shrank, exports decreased under the PML-N, and imports it couldn't pay flourished, pushing the country to bankruptcy before PTI gained power. The general public is about to watch this terrible film again.

Not only did Mr. Dar destroy Pakistan's exports and blow up an unmanageable current account deficit but he also wasted low oil prices to ignite a spending boom rather than make investments in economic structural transformation. Mr. Dar is doing it once more but in a far less accepting environment outside. Despite the impending global recession and the devastation floods have already caused in Pakistan, Mr. Dar has not altered his approach.

However, the spectacular failure of Mr. Dar explains that he's not been brought to manage Pakistan's economy as much as he's been brought to manage PML-N's politics. The fundamental notion is that Dar can somehow influence the rupee to appreciate and aid PML-N in winning the upcoming elections, which will take place sometime in April 2023. This is where the leadership of the PML-N's ignorance is most startling. The strength of a currency is an indicator of how well an economy is run, but Mr. Dar seems to think it's also a factor in how well an economy can be run.

An economy that is closing industries, laying off workers, and experiencing astronomical inflation cannot be supported at the expense of the rupee. This is not good economic management. The fact that this man is the country's current finance minister says everything about the competence of this government. Mr. Dar has been openly opposing the IMF and ignoring the poor economic circumstances throughout Pakistan, prolonging a bigger crisis that doesn't appear to be getting better any time soon.

Is Pakistan Going to Default?

In terms of its commitments regarding external debt, Pakistan has never defaulted. On December bond maturities, the government paid **\$1 billion**, and now with only a little amount of gross foreign exchange reserves left, Pakistan is preparing to settle **debts** totaling over \$1 billion to two foreign commercial banks early next month.

This is happening despite the government's valiant efforts to prevent a sovereign default. The financial planners have been shaken up by this failure and feel hopelessly entrapped by the issues that result.

The fiscal year 2022–2023 will see interest payments totaling about \$600 million, although it won't be fully redeemed until April 2024. In plain accounting terms, the nation is not prepared to accept the impending issues, and the books are not balanced. They adhere to the ideas that "a country cannot default" when the IMF is there, "nuclear power cannot default," and "this is not the first time."



An analysis of Pakistan's imports is incredibly instructive. Its imports from 1960 to 1973 totaled less than \$1 billion. Over 20 years, from 2002 to 2022, Pakistan's import bill has increased by about 600%. Regardless of what anyone imagines, assumes, or projects, the nation became bankrupt and insolvent in 2018. Only with IMF assistance and the rollover of foreign debts was the sovereign default avoided.

Without comprehending that the issue was with the vehicle, not the driver, a new government was installed at that time to experiment with a new design. New engines for export and import replacement were required for a thorough overhaul of the vehicle.

What Choices Does Pakistan Have?

To manage its protracted economic crisis, Pakistan is faced with an illusion of false options. It can either immediately return to the IMF, or it can refuse to uphold its commitments as a sovereign. Unfortunately, there isn't a third choice. However, time is of the essence. Returning to the IMF and taking whatever stringent steps are required is the logical course of action. Authorities, however, are inexplicably leaning toward the incorrect decision for several reasons.

The delay in the start of the ninth review negotiations with the IMF accounts for the delay in the payment of pledged assistance by friendly nations, particularly China and Saudi Arabia, and pledges made directly to the IMF.



To put it in a nutshell, the lack of flexibility in the foreign currency policy is the fundamental cause of much of what ails the economy today, and it is high time that the economic ministers accept this critical blunder and alter this policy quickly.

A Way Forward

All is not well on the economic front, but inflows from the IMF and friendly nations are anticipated to stabilize Pakistan's economy soon. The government has not implemented any substantial economic reform initiatives therefore the medium and long-term prognosis is unchanged. But the question arises: Are there any signs that Pakistan will undertake the necessary structural reforms so that it won't require future injections of outside assistance? No, that's the clear answer.

Elections will soon be held under this coalition government. Khan is also showing no sign of giving



up, which means the government has very little political capital to invest in actions that will cost money in the short term but would address the nation's problems in the long run. The political and non-political elite in Pakistan also profit from the current kleptocracy, so why would those elites

ever take steps to fundamentally alter the economic system when doing so would mean losing their influence, wealth, and power?

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Why Pakistan Refuses to Sign the NPT

About the Author



Hurria Binte Abdullah is pursuing a BS in Public Administration from NUST.



Introduction

In the past, Pakistan, as an early enthusiast of arms control and disarmament, presented the normative argument for the formation of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) and suggested many recommendations for it. Until the 6th session of the UN General Assembly, Pakistan remained committed to eradicating weapons of mass destruction.

Later, Pakistan shifted its stance from normative to strategic, refusing to sign the NPT both when it was a non-nuclear-weapon state and when it became a nuclear-weapon state (NWS).

Strategic and Military Misalignment with the US

Pakistan took multiple steps to ensure its security by concluding military alignment pacts with the US such as CENTO (Central Treaty Organization) and SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty Organization). However, the US provided India with a lot of aid during the Sino-Indian war of 1962, despite [India's non-alignment with the western bloc](#) which created distrust and disappointment for Pakistan with the US as a military ally.

This distrust rose to multiple folds when India and the US signed a treaty under which the US was to supply enriched uranium (a fissile material) [to India's Tarapur Atomic Power Station](#) for a period of 30 years. As a result, India [acquired its nuclear weapons of mass destruction in 1974](#) and carried out nuclear explosions in the Rajasthan desert. This identifies a significant drawback of the NPT which is that it doesn't sanction the NPT signatories taking part in nuclear deals with a non-nuclear weapon state.



On the other hand, the Pressler Amendment of 1993 stated that *"Pakistan would only be provided with the aid if US President certifies that Pakistan doesn't have nuclear weapons."* Despite having the certificate from President, Pakistan was [sanctioned and not provided aid](#). The US alleged that Pakistan had imported M-11 short-range missiles from China in 1993, but later they themselves said that there was [no proof of such an exchange](#).

India's Non-Acceptance of the NPT

Pakistan and India have been hostile towards each other since partition, with the major point of conflict being the Kashmir issue which has yet to be resolved. As a result, Pakistan isn't willing to sign the treaty unilaterally because it would leave it at the mercy of India in South Asia. Moreover, India's potential inclusion in the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) could [further amplify a nuclear arms race](#).

The NPT's Loopholes

Pakistan also didn't sign the NPT because of the [inherent loopholes within the treaty](#), as it doesn't provide the complete codification for global zero (a world without nuclear weapons). Pakistan attributes it [as a discriminatory treaty](#); according to it, only five member states can acquire the status of NWSs, and any member joining NPT after 1963 would join it as a non-nuclear-weapon state.

In 2010, Pakistan's foreign ministry asserted that Pakistan had left the previous stance of signing the NPT as a non-nuclear-weapon state and that it would only [join as a recognized NWS](#) amid the nuclear arms race and imbalance in South Asia.

Finally, another important concern is regarding the future commitments and effectiveness of the NPT. By concluding the nuclear deal with India, the US violated articles 1 and 2 of the NPT. These violations are evident as follows:

"undertake not to transfer to any recipient whatsoever nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices or control over such weapons or explosive devices directly or indirectly." (Article 1)

"the non-nuclear weapon states party to the treaty undertakes not to receive the transfer from any transferor whatsoever of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices or of control over such weapons or explosive devices directly or indirectly." (Article 2)

These facts blur the future and effectiveness of the NPT as it lacks a mechanism to sanction such violations. Also, any country could leave the NPT whenever it wanted under article 10 which states that each party "has the right to withdraw from the Treaty if it decides that extra-ordinary events, related to the subject matter of this Treaty, have jeopardized the supreme interest of its country." For example, North Korea left the treaty and acquired nuclear power in 2006.

Conclusion

It is highly discouraging for Pakistan to join the treaty as a non-nuclear-weapon state because it would threaten the national peace and sovereignty of Pakistan amid instability and nuclear imbalance in South Asia.

Considering the threats to national interests and security, Pakistan wouldn't change its strategic approach towards the NPT until and unless Pakistan's concerns are addressed at the inter-state, regional, and international levels.



Considering the threats to national interests and security, Pakistan wouldn't change its strategic approach towards the NPT until and unless Pakistan's concerns are addressed at the inter-state, regional, and international levels. Pakistan's concerns signify that the NPT should be revised as a non-discriminatory treaty, giving a detailed overview of future commitments for an unbiased non-proliferation program as well as a mechanism for accountability.

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Exploring China's Strategic Partnership with Iran

About the Author



Maysa Fouly is an MA student studying Political Science and International Relations, with a bachelor's degree from the British University in Egypt and London South Bank University.



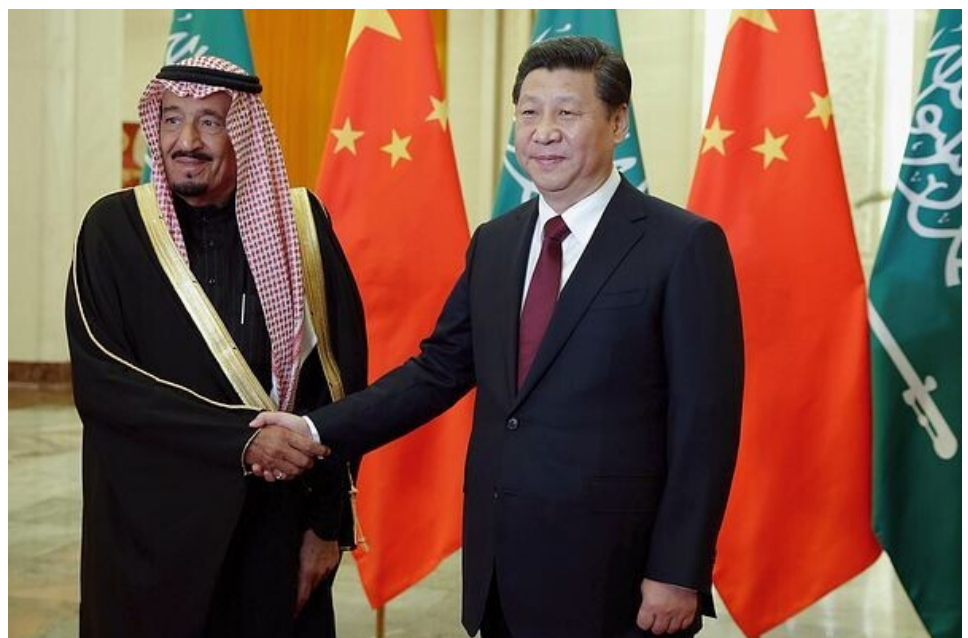
Introduction

China's growing relations with Middle Eastern countries have "falsely" been perceived as a "threat" to the American hegemony in the region (Lons & Fulton, 2019). There is a common misperception in Western literature that the so-called "Chinese Giant" is posing tremendous challenges to the interests of the Americans, not only in the Middle East but also in other strategic regions.

Some studies have even gone further to describe China's rise in the MENA region as a part of the "wary dragon" strategy (Nader & Schobell, 2016). Meanwhile, there is a limited number of studies made on China from a Middle Eastern standpoint, which in turn, has contributed to the development of biased studies on Beijing's policies in the MENA region (Nader & Schobell, 2016).

False accusations against China were further exaggerated during the latest Arab Chinese summit that was held in Saudi Arabia in early December of 2022 (Ebrahim, 2022). Western scholars have even drawn comparisons between Riyadh's response to Xi Jinping's visit and the Saudis' cold welcoming of President Joe Biden back in July of the same year (Rai, 2022).

In this sense, Western literature fails to grasp the complexities of China's relations with the Middle East. Western scholars have blindly followed the American-led campaign against Beijing, without having a deeper understanding of China's motives, goals, and challenges in the region (Nader & Schobell, 2016). China does not seem, at least for now, to challenge the American security-led system in the Middle East.



Neither China nor the US is ready to start a military confrontation (Christensen, 2020). Instead, Beijing is aware of the consequences of a direct military confrontation with Washington, especially in a war-torn region like the Middle East, where the oil factor remains a top priority on the Chinese agenda (Lai, 2007).

Beijing has been very cautious in its responses to conflicts in the Middle East (Haddad-Fonda, 2014).

It has been dealing with all actors and expanding relations even with two contending camps, namely the Saudi-led and the Iranian-led camps (Harlod & Nader, 2012; Guzansky & Orion, 2017).

It has become necessary to re-examine China's policies in the region from a Middle Eastern standpoint, to assess its motives and goals from a less biased, and more neutral lens. It is important to note, however, that Beijing's policies are not immune from criticism. As will be mentioned in the last section of the paper, China is expected to face a plethora of challenges if it keeps its "cautious" approach towards military cooperation with the countries of the region.

Also, there are doubts regarding the extent to which it could balance relations with all regional actors, without getting indulged in regional conflicts. While Iran and Saudi Arabia are not demanding stronger cooperation in the military sphere, there are doubts that China could expand its relations with regional actors without expanding its security commitments.

To assess China's policies in the region, the paper focuses on its relations with Iran, providing historical background about their bilateral relations, and examines the geo-strategic motives behind taking their cooperation to a new level in the late 2000s. Therefore, the paper examines the "strategic partnership" that was announced in 2016, focusing on the main domains that were covering it.

The paper argues that the China-Iran partnership is based on cautious cooperation that capitalizes on Washington's waning presence in the region, but avoids targeting international and regional actors, including the GCC states and the US. This argument is proved throughout the paper by examining how China tends to boost its relations with Iran, without losing its Saudi/Emirati counterparts, while avoiding as well challenging the American security framework.

Conceptual Framework

During the cold war, international cooperation was reflected in strict and strong alliances, either an American-led alliance system or a Soviet one (Struver, 2017). After the end of the cold war and the fall of the Soviet Union, states sought to rely less on coercive measures and more on new cooperative tools to deal with growing power asymmetries, but with limited commitments.

The concept of strategic partnership has, therefore, evolved to meet new challenges and opportunities at the global level. This new concept has been integrated into the foreign policy of many countries, but China is the most prominent example. Having at least 78 partnerships around the world, the concept has become attributed to Chinese diplomacy from Asia to the Middle East (Li & Ye, 2019).

Great powers like China seek to foster ties with their neighbors through the so-called "goal-driven" alignment, which ensures deeper cooperation and lesser commitments, in comparison to traditional types of alliances (Struver, 2017). In this sense, strategic partnerships are based on flexible conditions and terms, which makes it less costly for state actors to join or leave them.

This new diplomatic toolkit goes hand in hand with Beijing's policy, which aims to avoid strict security commitments with its counterparts, while expanding political and economic relations, with less attention given to ideological similarities or domestic politics (Struver, 2017).

It is important to note that China's relations with Iran could be traced back to the Iran-Iraq war. This section divides Sino-Iran relations into three main phases.



Iran-Iraq War

The growing relations between China and Iran could be traced back to the Iraq-Iran spat that took place in the 1980s. The war between Baghdad and Tehran presented a golden opportunity for China to play on both sides to achieve its economic goals (Weiskpoff, 1983).

Although China's rise was not evident at that time, its goals of modernizing after decades of isolation prompted Chinese policymakers to look for "outside" opportunities, given that the post-Maoist era was already focused on accelerating modernization (Hamrah & Eliassen, 2021). This, in turn, prompted Chinese strategists to expand their economic influence over the Middle East, to achieve their modernization goals.

In this sense, Iran seemed a plausible partner. Tehran was under sweeping pressure from the US, economically and politically. Hence, Beijing was able to capitalize on Iran's isolationism, to achieve its goals. China's covert strategy towards the war benefited both Baghdad and Tehran. Although China was—and still is—committed to a "cautious approach" towards arms sales in the region, it was able to provide around \$5 billion worth of arms to Tehran (Gering & Brodsky, 2022).

Iran was already grappling with its frozen assets and crimping sanctions that were imposed by Washington, but Beijing provided a lifeline for Tehran amid deteriorated relations with the West. Their economic relations achieved an unprecedented level to the extent that Tehran became a major training partner to China in the MENA region.

It is important to note, however, that their relationship was not expanding to the economic sector only, but to the diplomatic one, too. Diplomatic exchanges between both countries were massively increasing.

This was evident in the visit of Hashemi Rafsanjani, the Speaker of the Iranian parliament in the 1980s to China (Scilino,1987). As mentioned, although China provided support for Tehran, it was still playing on both sides, hosting delegations from both countries to end the prolonged war.

Sino-Iran Relations in the 2000s

During the late 1990s to the early 2000s, China's growing demand for energy, coupled with Tehran's isolation, paved the way for taking their bilateral relations to another stage. Due to pressures from Washington, Japan, Europe and Russia had to reduce their relations with Tehran (Calabrese, 2020). In this sense, Tehran had to expand its relations with Beijing.

At that time, China was also aware of the centrality of Iran in its Belt and Road Initiative (Mirgholami,2021). Therefore, it expanded its economic influence in the country, sending its companies to Tehran to boost the Iranian capacity when it comes to refining, in addition to investing in central industries and building the Iranian infrastructure (Calabrese, 2020).

The strategic partnership between China and Iran was formulated during the visit of President Xi to Iran in January 2016. The former Iranian President Hassan Rouhani and his Chinese counterpart discussed a plethora of bilateral and multi-lateral matters, including issues related to security concerns in the region. It covered a wide range of policy issues, including strengthening their relationship in the economic, political, cultural, defense and security, and even judicial domains (Official Website of the President of Iran, 2016).

The joint statement includes around 20 articles that set a road map for their bilateral relations. The statement, for instance, includes articles regarding the support which both parties should provide to each other, including respect for sovereignty, independence, and national integrity. On the security level, both sides agreed on the importance of dealing with security concerns like extremism, terrorism, and even secessionism as threats to the global peace, and stability of the country (Official Website of the President of Iran, 2016).

The agreement holds multiple benefits for both sides. On the Iranian side, the agreement recognizes the legitimacy of Iran's views, policies, and interests in the Middle East (Dudgeon, 2021). Politically, it strengthens the Iranian regime amid sweeping protests against the so-called unjust system in Tehran, which partially grew out of economic frustration.

In 2021, it was estimated that the amount of potential Chinese investment in the country reached around US\$400 billion, with about \$280 billion in the strategic oil sector in Tehran (Dudgeon, 2021). It is surely an agreement that allows China to deepen its influence in the energy sector, and diversify its partnerships in the region. The partnership also provides China with more leverage against Washington amid soaring bilateral tensions in the region.



Sino-Iranian Cooperation: Maintaining Balance

Despite their growing relations, the China-Iran partnership is not offensive and does not aim to either target or attack any players within the region. During his latest visit to Saudi Arabia, Xi reaffirmed China's position with regard to ensuring a "peaceful" Iranian program (Haaretz, 2022).

In this sense, China seeks to reassure Saudi Arabia that its relations with Tehran are "special", but not so special to the extent that it endangers Riyadh's interests in the region. Pragmatically speaking, China keeps its cautious support for both sides, aiming to ensure that energy supplies are not endangered.

As mentioned earlier, the oil factor remains a major focus for China's policies in the Middle East and partly explains why China avoids intervening in regional conflicts, especially between Riyadh and Tehran.

According to Iran International TV (2022), Iran is exporting up to 750,00 barrels per day amid growing global demand for oil, citing Beijing as the biggest importer of Tehran's crude oil. The Russia-Ukraine war and growing global demand for oil prompted China to seize its relations with Russia and Iran to purchase cheap oil amid Europe's thirst for energy resources.

This, in turn, has prompted other major states, including India to expand their imports from Iran and Moscow. Despite America's attempts to pressure Tehran to halt its exportation to China, Iran remains committed to the Sino-Iranian strategic partnership.

Nonetheless, China's relations with Iran are still cautious, to avoid losing its Saudi counterpart. Although Saudi Arabia aims to diversify its economy as a part of its 2030 vision, it would be naïve to argue that Riyadh is ready to give up on its investments in traditional oil resources amid growing demand for oil. Likewise, the UAE is heavily investing in traditional oil resources despite its commitment to achieving the so-called "green transition" (Bradstock, 2022).

Regional actors are growing more independent from the US. This, in turn, provides Beijing with the opportunity to expand its imports of oil and diversify its relations with major regional actors, with limited security commitments. Although the Middle East remains a top priority for the American administration, and this was clear in Biden's latest visit to Jeddah back in July, it would be naïve to say that relations between the West and the Gulf monarchs are not witnessing radical changes (Shuvat & Guzansky, 2022).

It is not only Iran that seeks to expand its relations with China, but also Washington's old allies: Saudi Arabia and the UAE. This is not to say, however, that the Middle East is turning into a cold war competition between Beijing and Washington.

As said before, China does not seek to put an end to the American system in the Middle East. Also, turning the Middle East into a sphere of cold war competition means threatening the movement of oil again, something which Beijing has avoided for so long.

Challenges of the Sino-Iranian Partnership

Despite all the aforementioned implications of their partnership, China and Iran are expected to face a plethora of consequences in the future amid growing international and regional pressures. First, there are doubts about China being able to balance relations with all regional actors in the long term (Marks, 2022).

There are also concerns that regional actors might not pressure China to expand its security commitments, especially amid growing tensions between the Iranian-led and the Saudi-led camps. Riyadh is heavily investing in its military sphere to halt its dependency on the West, and China is one of its top alternatives, at least when it comes to cheaper Chinese arms (Xie, 2022). Nonetheless, Beijing remains committed to its cautious military support to both: Iran and Saudi Arabia.

With regional and international systems changing, it seems that China might be pressured to change its non-alignment strategy amid intensifying regional conflicts. Although China's neutral strategy has yielded positive results and prevented Beijing from getting indulged in regional conflicts, it's still unclear whether it will be able to play with both sides without getting involved in their bilateral spat (Marks, 2022).

China's focus on maintaining cautious relations with Iran without expanding its military



commitments is a double-edged sword. While it provides Beijing with the opportunity to keep itself away from military conflicts, it's still unclear how China is expected to expand its partnerships without expanding its security commitments.

US sanctions are still posing unprecedented challenges to Iran's economic relations with the outside world. This is not only a challenge confined to China but other states as well. Although states are developing new means through which they could purchase Iranian oil through third parties, America's pressures on Tehran are still impeding the expansion of Iran's relations with the outside world. Although President Joe Biden vowed to revive the Iranian nuclear deal, there are doubts that a nuclear agreement will be settled in the near future.

Conclusion

Contrary to the Western-centric literature written on China, Beijing has no intentions to either overturn the global system or challenge the US-security-led system in the MENA region. The oil factor remains a top priority for China in the Middle East, which means that keeping the region as stable as possible has become a priority for the Chinese giant. In this sense, it sought to rely on new cooperative measures that hold little military commitments.

It relies on "strategic partnerships," a new concept in international relations, to expand its relations with all regional actors, with little security commitments. It has become at the heart of China's diplomacy from the Indo-Pacific to the MENA region. One of the most important partnerships, especially in the MENA region, is the comprehensive strategic partnership with Iran. This partnership covers a wide range of areas, from political matters to economic and diplomatic ones.

The partnership is a win-win situation for both sides. It provides Tehran with various economic opportunities amid American sanctions. Various estimates show that China remains the biggest purchaser of Iranian crude oil. On the other hand, Beijing's cooperation with Tehran grants China the opportunity to expand its Belt & Road initiative, given Tehran's geo-strategic location, while also getting more benefits from the increasing number of oil shipments to Beijing.

China, however, seeks to balance relations with all regional actors, even the two contending camps, through its so-called strategic partnerships that hold limited security commitments.

The Ukraine-Russian war has provided all regional powers with the opportunity to expand their exportation of oil resources amid increasing sanctions on Moscow.

This, in turn, has prompted China to commit itself, more than any other time, to its non-alignment position with regard to the Saudi-Iran conflict, seeking to balance relations with all in order to maintain the flow of oil.

If China succeeds in keeping the balance amid international and regional challenges, it might be able to act as the mediator between Iran and Saudi Arabia in the future. It all depends on the ability of the Chinese policymakers to keep their commitment towards the non-alignment strategy amid pressures to expand their military ties with regional actors.

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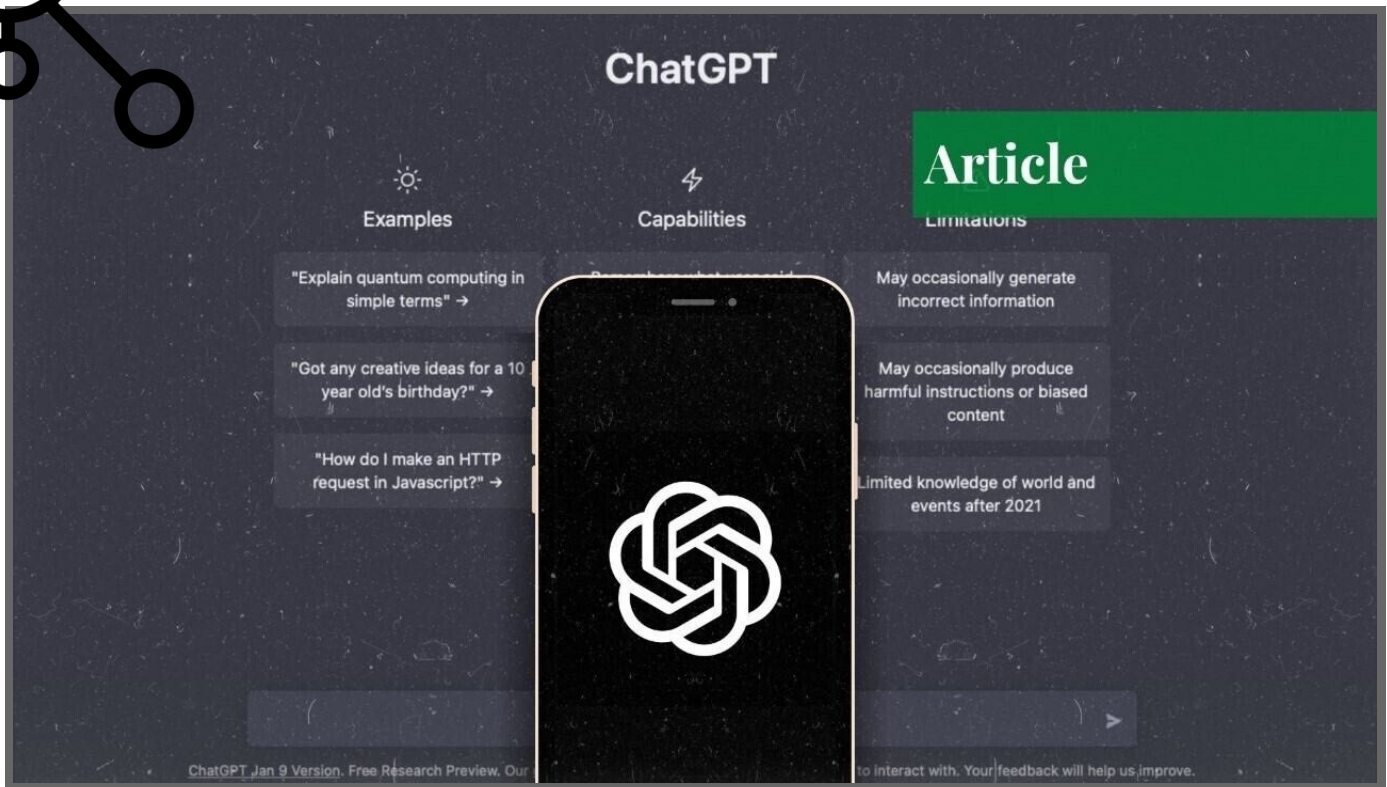
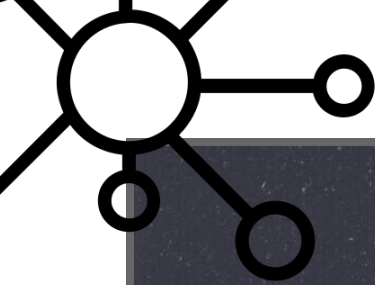
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ChatGPT: The Next Big Thing in AI-Writing Technology

About the Author



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Introduction to ChatGPT

If you're a [fan of predictive text technology](#), you'll love ChatGPT, as this new artificial intelligence (AI) tool is designed to help you write faster and more efficiently by predicting the next word or phrase in your conversation. ChatGPT is based on the GPT-3 model, which was developed by OpenAI.



GPT-3 is a state-of-the-art machine learning platform that has been trained on a large amount of data. This allows ChatGPT to predict what you're going to say next with a high degree of accuracy. To use ChatGPT, simply type out a sentence or two in the chat box and hit enter. The AI will then take over and continue the conversation for you. You can either sit back and watch the magic happen, or take control at any time and steer the conversation in a different direction.

One of the best things about ChatGPT is that it gets better the more you use it. It learns from your conversations and gets better at predicting your next move. So if you're looking for a writing partner that will help you get your ideas down quickly and efficiently, ChatGPT is definitely worth checking out!

How Does it Work?

ChatGPT is a new artificial intelligence (AI) powered writing technology that is designed to help writers create better and more efficient content. The technology works by using a natural language processing (NLP) algorithm to analyze a piece of text and then provide feedback to the writer on how they can improve their writing.

ChatGPT can be used for a variety of different tasks, including:

- Providing feedback on grammar and style
- Checking for plagiarism
- Suggesting alternative words or phrases
- Recommending related topics to explore

The technology is still in its early stages of development, but the team behind ChatGPT believes that it has the potential to revolutionize the way we write and consume content.

Advantages of ChatGPT

ChatGPT offers a number of advantages over traditional writing tools, including:

1. **Increased accuracy:** ChatGPT is designed to help you write more accurately and fluently. By using artificial intelligence, it can automatically correct your spelling and grammar mistakes as well as suggest better words and phrases.
2. **Faster writing:** ChatGPT can also help you write faster. By understanding the context of your conversation, it can provide predictive text suggestions that can help you get your point across quickly and easily.
3. **Increased creativity:** ChatGPT doesn't just offer corrections and suggestions, it also provides inspiration for your writing. By understanding the topic you're discussing, ChatGPT can recommend related topics and ideas that you may not have thought of yourself. This can help you come up with new and creative ways to approach your writing project.
4. **Better collaboration:** ChatGPT makes it easy to collaborate with others on your writing project. By providing real-time feedback and recommendations, ChatGPT can help you and your team members work together more efficiently towards a common goal.
5. **Access from anywhere:** ChatGPT is available on any device with an internet connection, so you can access it from anywhere in the world. Whether you're at home or on the go, ChatGPT will be there to help you.

Potential Applications for ChatGPT

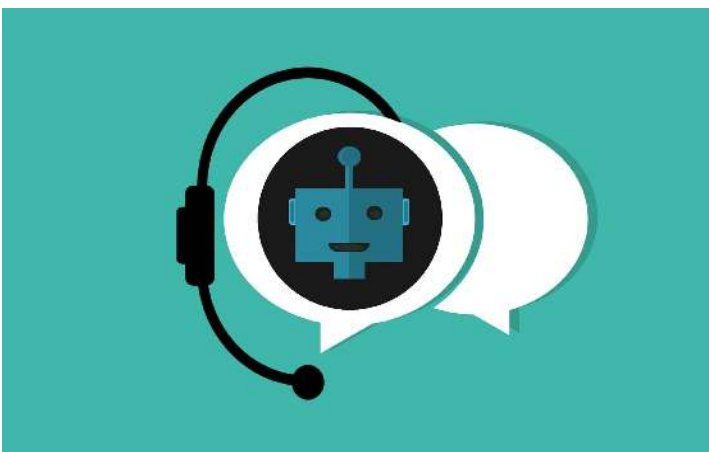
- ChatGPT can be used to generate real conversations between two or more people.
- ChatGPT can be used to generate realistic dialogue for movies, TV shows, and video games.
- ChatGPT can be used to create new, original works of fiction by combining different plot elements from preexisting works.
- ChatGPT can be used to generate realistic character descriptions and backstories.
- ChatGPT can be used to create detailed, step-by-step guides for virtually any process or task.

Challenges and Limitations of ChatGPT

One of the key challenges of ChatGPT is its lack of ability to handle long-term dependencies. Another challenge for ChatGPT is its reliance on large amounts of training data. In order to achieve good results, ChatGPT requires a large dataset of conversations. This can be a challenge for developers who want to use the technology in real-world applications, where data may be scarce.

Finally, it is important to note that ChatGPT is still in its early stages of development and has not yet been extensively tested in real-world applications. As such, there is still potential for improvements, and further research is needed to explore all the possible uses for this technology.

Companies Using ChatGPT



There are already a number of companies that are using ChatGPT or similar technology in order to help with the creation of content. These companies range from small businesses to large enterprises, and each is using technology in order to achieve different goals.

A company that is using chatbots for content generation is the news site, Quartz. Quartz uses a chatbot named Quill to help write articles about the stock market. The bot has been trained on a dataset of over 10,000 articles, so it is able to produce articles that are accurate and concise.

Finally, there's Wibbitz, a startup that uses AI-powered software to automatically create videos from text. The company's technology can take an article and turn it into a video in just minutes, without the need for any human intervention.

Conclusion

ChatGPT is an exciting advancement in AI-powered writing technology. With its cutting-edge natural language processing capabilities, it can help writers create better content faster and more efficiently than ever before. It has the potential to revolutionize the way we write online, making it easier and more intuitive for everyone to get their message across in a clear, concise form. We look forward to seeing what this new technology will bring us in the years ahead!

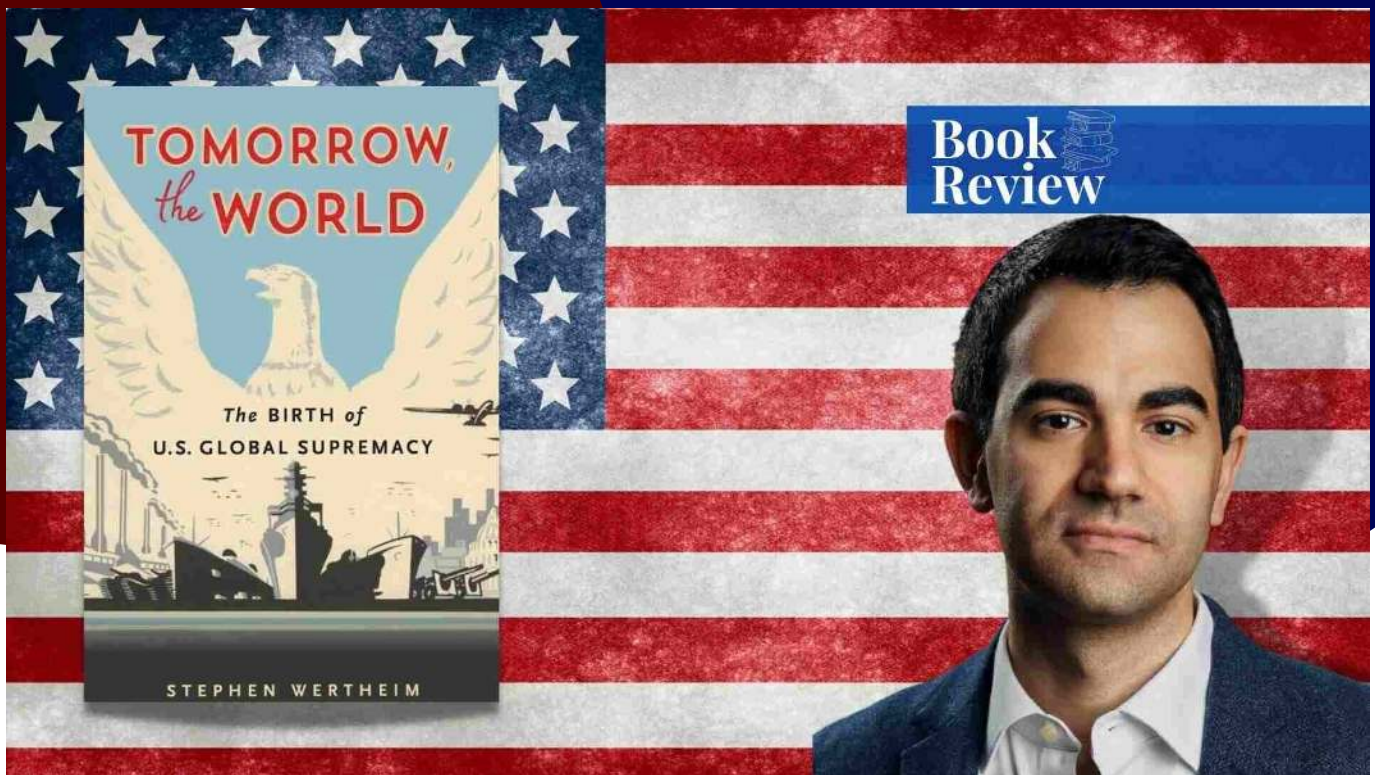
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Tomorrow, the World: The Birth of U.S. Global Supremacy

About the Author



Ali Hamza is working as a Research Officer at CISS AJK. He completed his BS in Political Science from Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad. He is currently pursuing an MPhil in International Relations from the same university. His research interests include strategic transitions and realignments, international security and politics, and the identity of Azad Jammu and Kashmir. He regularly contributes to Global Village Space.



Introduction

The book by Stephen Wertheim, *Tomorrow, the World: The Birth of U.S. Global Supremacy*, begins with a broad overview of the geopolitical landscape of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He emphasizes the [role of the United States](#) in reshaping the world order as a result of its “unique capacity for power projection.”

Wertheim argues that the United States was an outlier in its ability to have a significant impact on international politics, due to its vast resources, vibrant economy, and well-developed military apparatus. He also highlights the importance of US foreign policy in forming alliances with other countries, securing strategic resources, and expanding its economic and political reach.

The Liberator

Tomorrow, the World examines the ideological basis of American foreign policy. Wertheim argues that the United States was guided by a belief in its own “exceptionalism,” which allowed it to justify its actions abroad and convince other nations to align with it.

He then proceeds to examine the ways in which the United States employed its capacity for power projection in order to expand its influence. The US encouraged the spread of liberal ideals through its support of international organizations such as the United Nations, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund.

He looks at how the United States used its military strength to intervene in conflicts abroad, often in support of democratic and capitalist ideals that served American interests. He also argues that the United States’ attempts to shape the world in its own image have often been met with resistance, leading to increased tensions and instability.

Rise of the US

Stephen Wertheim presents a comprehensive analysis of the rise and fall of American hegemony in the modern world, tracing the emergence of the United States as a superpower in the post-World War II era and the subsequent decline of American influence in the 21st century.



Wertheim examines the conditions that enabled the United States to become a superpower. He argues that the United States was uniquely positioned to take advantage of the post-WWII era. The United States emerged from the war with a strong economy and a reputation as a powerful defender of democracy which enabled it to take advantage of the power vacuum created by the decline of the British and French empires.

Additionally, the United States was able to capitalize on the collapse of the Soviet Union and the weakening of other socialist countries. He further states that the United States actively sought to shape the international system, pointing to the Marshall Plan and the formation of the United Nations as examples of American efforts to create an international system that was favourable to the United States.

Criticisms

While Wertheim does provide an extensive analysis of the United States' role in global affairs, he does not adequately consider the role of other countries in the emergence of the US's global hegemony. As such, this critique argues that Wertheim's portrayal of America's role in international relations is overly simplistic and one-dimensional.

For example, Wertheim fails to sufficiently address the important contributions of the British Empire in the rise of US power.

The British Empire was a major player in the development of the modern international system and in the rise of the United States as a superpower. Britain provided the United States with an extensive network of alliances, economic aid, and military support that enabled the United States to gain a foothold in the international system. By failing to recognize the importance of the British Empire in the rise of US power, Wertheim's analysis remains incomplete.

Another major criticism of the book is that it fails to sufficiently acknowledge the role of domestic actors and institutions in the emergence of the US's global hegemony. This criticism is partially valid. While Wertheim does provide an examination of the role of international actors in the emergence of the US's power, he fails to adequately consider the role of domestic actors and institutions, particularly the Congress and the Supreme Court.

The book also fails to adequately consider the potential negative consequences of the US's global hegemony. Critics argue that Wertheim fails to adequately acknowledge the potential for the US's global hegemony to result in negative consequences, such as increased militarization, economic inequality, and environmental degradation.

Reviewer's Remarks

Overall, Wertheim's book is an impressive and comprehensive account of the rise of the United States as a global superpower, making it an ideal resource for anyone interested in the history of American foreign policy and its impact on the world. He provides an in-depth analysis of the geopolitical and ideological forces that have shaped American foreign policy, as well as the consequences of the United States' rise to pre-eminence.

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The Plight of Afghan Women Under the Taliban

About the Author



Myra Imran Rafiq is studying at the Lahore School of Economics (LSE). She has been working as a ghostwriter for a private company for the past 1.5 years.



Introduction

In August 2021, when the Taliban returned to power in a [swift turnover](#), the hopes they had given for this “Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan” was that they would distance themselves from their radical rule and be committed to strengthening internal peace within the country. This included strengthening their resolve to provide social rights, and not resorting to violence as they had done in the past.

However, by the close of 2022, the Taliban backtracked on their promises, and since then, thousands of Afghan women, men, and children have fled the country for their lives. The Taliban had made a treasure trove of promises, such as infrastructure up-gradation, permitting women to work, and promoting the need for education.

As flimsy as those pledges were, the final blow to women’s education came on 20th December, 2022, when females were banned from pursuing education in universities, despite the promise to preserve women’s rights. Approximately 23 percent of Afghanistan’s population is [internally displaced](#) due to conflict and violence. Its humanitarian crisis has only worsened as the West has placed innumerable sanctions on the country, dissuading investment and plunging it into turmoil.

A Series of Events Set into Motion

This suppression of women wasn’t done overnight; in September of 2021, the Taliban announced gender-segregated classrooms, and hijabs were made a compulsory part of the dress code. Later, in 2022, secondary schools were first targeted, and under an [issued directive](#), it was stated that all girls above sixth grade wouldn’t be allowed to attend school.

In addition to the above, traveling without a “mahram,” a male escort, was also declared unlawful. After this, violence became an option, which the Taliban did not hesitate to exercise. Journalists were beaten up, freedom of the press was censored, and females, in general, weren’t allowed to become anchorpersons or work in any entertainment-related industry.

An element that reaffirmed the fears of Afghans was the Taliban's flagrant abandonment of human rights. On 7th December, the first public execution was carried out in the Farah province. Since then, beatings and floggings have become the norm. The final nail in the coffin, with respect to the suppression of social rights for Afghan women, has come out recently, where the Taliban have suspended higher education of females until further notice.



While human rights activists, as well as countries like the United States and the European Union, have been quick to criticize the unrecognized regime, little effort has been taken on their part to promote a settlement that can work in favor of the oppressed women of Afghanistan, who continue to be tormented on a daily basis by the Taliban in one way or the other, under the guise of following the Shariah law (a set of Islamic principles that governs the day-to-day activities of an individual).

A Terrible Ripple Effect

The Taliban may be claiming to work under the laws of the "Shariah," but the foundations of such an assertion are absurd. The purpose of Shariah has never been to undermine women's rights. Islam is one of the pioneering religions that acknowledges the need for education for all genders. Hibatullah Akhundzada has imposed his conservative interpretation of the Shariah law on the country instead of offering adequate governance and policymaking.

The opportunity cost of the Taliban regime's decision to prevent women from gaining higher education, in particular, may not represent itself now.

Still, in the years to come, there will undoubtedly be a multiplier effect, which will have unequivocal consequences for the entire nation. For starters, there will be greater isolation of Afghanistan on the international stage.

With the poverty rate soaring to a staggering 97 percent in 2022, it is expected that the upcoming years will only see more misery for Afghans. Moreover, the country's financial stability such as opportunities for garnering foreign direct investments, broadening the spectrum of comparative advantage in areas such as trade, and overall targeting innovation in capital-intensive industries will also become a far-fetched dream for the country.

With the Taliban already having restricted foreign non-governmental organizations (NGOs) from employing women, the chances are that soon these operations will also cease. Women are an incremental part of society; when their rights are infringed upon by their rulers, then it is not only them who pay the price, but the entire country does as well.

A Way Out?

The international community can play a pivotal part; the recognition of the Taliban's rule can be contingent upon some favorable policies to ensure that they have a track record of responsible governance. Another step could be for the world community to temporarily stop their NGO



operations in Afghanistan, to threaten the Taliban with a lack of funds so that they can revise their social policies for Afghan women and even reverse them altogether.

The ILO, UNICEF, and UNESCO can also offer intervention by encouraging dialogue with other Muslim countries and the West to minimize the cost of human suffering. The United Nations can appoint a mediator, an impartial party that can listen to both sides and draft recommendations accordingly, which the Taliban regime should adhere to get their authority and rule accepted by the world.

While the aforementioned policies may seem ambitious, they are the final resort and perhaps the only outlet, which can bring forth a stable Afghanistan, where rights are valued, reductionist ideologies are put at rest, conservative ideas are offered some ground of flexibility, and the welfare of the people and the women are explicitly given precedence. If this isn't accomplished, history will repeat itself, backward mindsets will continue to reign, and the future of young women and girls of Afghanistan will be jeopardized for nothing fruitful.

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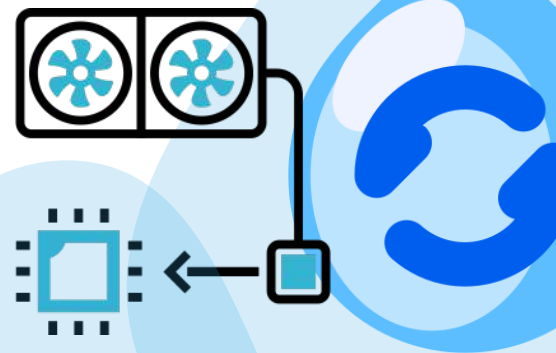


What Can Pakistan Learn from Israel's Water Technology?

About the Author



Zainab Haseeb is studying IR at Kinnaird College for Women, Lahore. She has previously participated in WWF's Eco-internship.



Introduction

The 21st century marks the era of debates on non-traditional security matters. With every passing year, states are becoming more and more concerned not just about issues of sovereignty or territorial integrity but also about their resources. The world is in the hyper-globalization phase, leading to the accelerated overpopulation phenomenon and a massive concern for the state: resource depletion.

The South Asia region stands home to huge populations, which is the cause behind its high level of poverty, low standard of life, and economic crisis. Pakistan, a South Asian state, remains an example. One of the leading risks in Pakistan is poor water management. To preserve the depleting water resources, states like Pakistan need to acquire water management tactics from around the world. Israel is one of the states which has introduced successful water management initiatives.

A Non-traditional Security Threat to Pakistan

Water is a non-traditional security issue that is serving as a threat to human security in Pakistan. Since its inception, Pakistan has been facing the challenge of water division thanks to its neighbour, India. In 1960, the Indus Basin Treaty authorized the creation and equal division of dams.



With each passing day, the replenishment rate of water tables in Pakistan is decreasing. For agrarian countries, this is a major crisis as it is going to have a direct impact on the productivity of the land. The lack of water management

leads to wastage of clean water, evaporation, salinity, water logging, etc.

The salinity hazards are affecting 50% of Sindh's land, leading to an [estimated loss of 20 billion rupees per year](#). In regions such as Tharparkar, the lack of water supply has created a life-threatening situation for the occupants.

Israel's Water Management

Israel is a state in the Middle Eastern region that is known for its desert-like characteristics and naturally dry environment. The region is known to have states competing for water resources as its physical attributes make water a scarce resource. However, Israel has introduced water-conservatory practices that have led to an adequate water supply to all sections of land.

The land of Golan, which it obtained during the Arab-Israeli wars from Syria, is one of Israel's water sources. Israel also aided other states in the region through the [Jordan Valley Unified Water Plan](#) in collaboration with the US. Moreover, it has introduced water laws and technologies that help attach legal significance to water reservoirs so that people observe civic duties towards its management and preservation.

The Water Law

The [Israeli water law](#) is known for its exceptional foreign depth and flexibility. After its creation, the Israeli Parliament passed four different water laws that dealt with using and recycling water to benefit from it at maximum levels. The purpose of the water law is to declare that water is not people's private property. It is a national resource for which people have ownership and have entrusted the government to use for their maximum benefit.

These sorts of legislation are not very common and cannot be passed in today's political climate, no matter how much they need. The legislative structure of Israel hence remains the essential foundation for extending comprehensive codes for water management policies. To put this law to work, the government of Israel uses various technological resources to ensure water conservation.

Desalination Plants



An essential technology under the water management policies of Israel is [desalination technology](#). This technological breakthrough has led to economically feasible initiatives that guarantee the conservation of water resources. Moreover, through

these technologies, Israel is achieving its hydro-ideological aim of supporting agriculture. (Teschner, 2013).

Drip Irrigation System

Other technologies include Israel's drip irrigation system, contributing to a 1600% increase in local farming produce. The [recycling technology of Israel](#) has led to the restoration of 86% of sewage water used for daily activities by people and to support supporting the country's irrigation system.

Right now, 50% of the water needed for irrigation is taken through water-cleansing plants. This remains in line with the goal of the state to practice agriculture in dry land. With practices such as these, Israel has acquired sustainable technologies that benefit it in managing resources.

A Maritime Orientation

Another significant shift is the one observed in [Israel's maritime orientation](#). The cause behind this change was the introduction of maritime practices that benefit Israel regarding water management and other resources. For instance, Israel collaborates with its maritime forces to obtain energy dependence on offshore gas reserves.

Secondly, it is to initiate the seawater desalination project to meet the state's water needs. To execute it, Israel has expanded its navy platforms to a great extent with much acceleration.

This maritime expansion provides it with a strategic edge as well. Israel is devising sustainable strategies and making use of all technology at its disposal to meet the people's water demands.

Conclusion

Over the years, Israel has expanded its technological possessions to conserve its resources. The vital action to notice here is that Israel introduced systematic procedures and legislation backing such practices. Pakistan is a state which is constantly threatened by a water crisis. Therefore, it needs to adopt these conservatory strategies and invest in technological infrastructures to help it fulfill its water needs.

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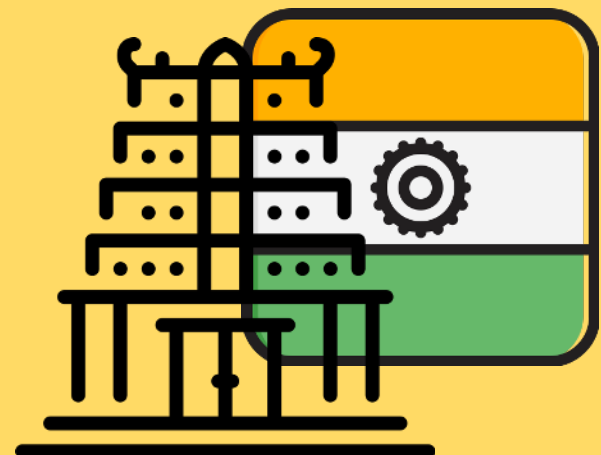


Hindutva: Turning Secular India into a Hindu State

About the Author



Nishat Shuja is a South Asian Studies postgraduate scholar specializing in International Relations.



Introduction



Hindutva is the brainchild of a Hindu supremacist writer and politician, Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, who wrote a pamphlet titled “Hindutva: Who is a Hindu?” in 1923. It fueled a kind of religious nationalism that would later transform itself into ultranationalism. This political ideology was taken up by the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and its

political wing.

Hindutva stands on religious nationalism as opposed to the civic nationalism of secular India. Hindutva works on the basis of ‘othering’, an idea introduced and deconstructed by Edward Said in his revolutionary postcolonial work, *Orientalism*. According to Said, the European colonial masters worked on creating a divide between the uncivilized and civilized world, the orient and the occident, while creating an ‘us vs. them’ sentiment.

Modi’s government has given teeth to this ideology and brought it to the forefront of Indian politics. Right-wingers uphold Hindutva as a religion and a way of life; a carefully drafted project for the political mobilization of Hindus (Noorani, 2016). It is a political agenda of aggrandizing the majority religious group by exploiting their fragile sentiments.

The current government works by othering Muslims and it has illegitimately radicalized the Indian society against the ‘Muslim threat’. It is creating a Hindu vs. Muslim divide, trying to expel Muslims from the Indian state to make it purely Hindu. This practice of glorifying Hinduism by these ultranationalist forces is popularly termed Saffronization which intends to color the Indian society saffron (Syed, 2019). The color represented the Maratha empire, and it is now worn by RSS and Hindutva followers.

BJP was backed by Hindu nationalist forces to instill and exploit anti-Muslim sentiments even before it was officially in power. This was the force behind the demolition of the Babri Masjid by a saffron-clad mob which prompted a series of riots and killed hundreds of people (Basu, 2018). The



Gujarat riots of 2002 were orchestrated during Modi's term as the Chief Minister of Gujarat.

Modi also passed the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) which allows the followers of some religions an easier and fast-track naturalization process, of which Muslims are not a part (The Economist, 2020). He has attacked the pluralism of Indian society, and the secular grounds on which it has stood since independence.

His regime disturbs the societal setup of India by over-empowering a specific segment of the society and treating minorities as a threat. This creates the ground for communal violence through economic and social disparity along religious lines. Moreover, Modi's regime is diseased with fascist tendencies which make the world's largest democracy a breeding ground for religious feuds (Griswold, 2019).

The ultra-nationalism, xenophobia against Muslims, Modi's anti-secularism, the erosion of various civil liberties, and using force against the opposition, are not the practices of a democratic state (Ahmad Z., 2020).

Deconstructing Hindutva

Hindutva means “Hinduness”, which, according to Savarkar, should have been the national identity in independent India. It sets the criteria for being called a Hindu i.e., anyone who considers India his motherland, fatherland, and holy land, is called a Hindu. At a glance, it seems that Hindutva is an inclusive concept because it allows various religious minorities to be assimilated. However, a deeper understanding of the concept shows that it works by dividing Indian society.

Hindutva creates a national identity that includes certain religions but particularly excludes Abrahamic religions (Islam and Christianity). In this way, it creates a sentiment of ‘us vs. them’ (Hindus vs. Muslims) and fuels a social divide. This is the manifestation of the colonial mentality of othering that Edward Said unmasked in Orientalism. Hindutva itself is the mirror image of the colonial mindset of racial and religious supremacy over the orient, the Muslims in this case.

Savarkar lived in the era when Nazism was evolving in Germany, and he often praised it to be a savior of Germany. He drew parallels between India and Germany, between Indian Muslims and German Jews. Although he did not openly call for the extermination of Indian Muslims, he equated them with German Jews in a very subtle way, hinting towards their expulsion, if not extermination (Pirbhai, 2020).

Indian newspapers appraised the transformation in Italy as a viable alternative to democracy which has manifested itself in today’s India through CAA (Leidig, 2020). Modi’s right-wing government has these similarities with Nazi Germany and fascist Italy of the mid-20th century. Practices such as xenophobia against Muslim and Hindu ultra-nationalism make it easy for scholars to relate the Modi government with fascism.

Simply put, Hindutva forces want a Hindu Rashtra, not a secular India. They criticize Congress’ secularism to be a tool for appeasing minorities, while they want to exclude those minorities altogether. The CAA of 2019, the revocation of Kashmir’s constitutional autonomy, and the ban on hijab in schools in Kerala are the manifestation of this motive of Hindu supremacy (Serhan, 2020).

Exclusion of Muslims

The Citizenship Amendment bill was passed in the upper house of the Indian parliament, Rajya Sabha, on 11th December 2019 (BBC, 2019). The bill amended Indian citizenship rules which previously allowed illegal migrants to acquire citizenship in India. It says that only a person living in India for more than 11 years and who has worked for the federal government can apply for citizenship.

The bill secures those who flee from religious persecution from the neighboring countries and allows those who entered India illegally before 31st December 2014 to apply for citizenship (Deka, 2019). Muslim immigrants from neighboring states of India are excluded from this category, and those living in India for years are labeled infiltrators.

Hindutva followers consider Hinduism as the only way of life. This is why they only include Buddhism, Jainism, Zoroastrianism, and Sikhism because these four religions share a common culture with Hindus in India. This was a rather diplomatic move to easily exclude Muslims from the national fabric of India (Sharma, 2020).

Destructive Tendencies of Hindu Nationalism

Indian nationalists do not favor this kind of Hindu nationalism that translates itself into extremism and hatred against Muslims. Shashi Tharoor openly criticized Hindutva for distorting the teachings of a peaceful religion of Hinduism. According to Shashi Tharoor, Hinduism had been able to assert itself without threatening other religions and people.

The followers of Hindutva have contributed to communal violence aimed at Muslims mostly (The Economic Times, 2019). In his attempts to promote Hindu nationalism, Modi took a hardline stance on the Kashmir conflict, which in turn helped him in getting electoral success. The Hindu extremist government decided to use brutal force against any movement in Kashmir, rather than engaging the people in dialogue.

The Indian government also blamed Pakistan for the Pulwama attack and used it as a basis for its



nationalist rhetoric, a month before the Indian elections.

The abrogation of Articles 370 and 35A of the Indian Constitution has taken away Kashmir's political autonomy and special status, an act praised by Hindu nationalists because they can change the demographics of the region

now by assimilating the Hindu population into the Muslim-majority Kashmir.

India's Radicalization Through Hindutva

There is a visible change in Indian society and politics with the BJP coming to power. India has been radicalized over the past few years, a trend that has been supported and promoted by the Hindutva government.

Radicalization is the process by which individuals in a society develop radical and extreme views about a group of people; political, religious, or even social. Radicalization often leads to violent extremism in a state (Randy, 2011).

In the case of India, radicalism is being promoted by the government through various policies at the grassroots level. Little acts such as banning certain history textbooks, and replacing them with books that promote a pro-Hindu narrative of Indian history, will go a long way in brainwashing religiously charged Hindus. These attempts to saffronize Indian history have radicalized Indian society considerably.

Romila Thapar's "Medieval India" was criticized on account of being too sympathetic towards Muslims, and not enough sympathetic towards Hindu revivalism (Rudolph & Rudolph, 1983). Just like the colonizer's orientalism worked by creating a discourse to satisfy their motives, the Modi government is forging its version of truth for the generations to come. India did not swiftly turn radical; instead, it was a methodical process, promoted by the top Hindu nationalist forces including the government.

Narratives of the 'Muslim Threat'

With little progress to show in terms of the economy, the only remaining platform for BJP and Modi was nationalism. BJP created a sense of fear among Hindus regarding Muslims and portrayed them as foreigners and invaders. It has created discourses that legalize those policies and actions, including their support of vigilantism. The media has become the mouthpiece for promoting ultra-nationalism and xenophobia (Islam, 2020).

Modi also uses the security discourse to gather support from the masses. The government legitimizes the violence in the name of countering the extremism of Muslims within India and across Pakistan. Even those who do not believe in Hindu supremacy, support the government in various other ways through these discourses (Islam, 2020).

Illiberal Turn of Indian Democracy

The core idea of a democracy is to limit the control of the government. India is experiencing the opposite of that, as the executive aggrandizement of the BJP is leading towards a decaying democracy of India. The government equates political opposition with treason, making it easier to target and arrest political opponents, especially targeting the Congress Party (Khaitan, 2020).

The anti-minority laws highlight the cracks in India's liberal democracy. BJP-led government in the state of Maharashtra passed a law that penalized the possession and consumption of beef. This is an infringement on individual privacy and the right to life and liberty under Article 21 of the Indian constitution. The only way Modi has been successful in violating the constitution is because he has done it subtly and incrementally, without any direct assault on the constitution.

A stable democracy requires executive accountability, ensuring that those in power do not concentrate it in their own hands and foreclose this possibility for their political opponents. Executive accountability is increasingly becoming a myth in the world's largest democracy.

Modi is a democratic leader, or at least elected through a democratic process, who gathered support from the Hindu nationalist base during his first term. To secure another term in the office, he sought to exploit the anti-Muslim sentiments in the public in the name of Hindu nationalism. He exploited the fragile religious sentiments which are easier to radicalize given the right motives. It was the Hindu supremacy and extremism that was disguised as nationalism, which led to the radicalization of Indian society.

A Hindu Rashtra in Process

The right-wing regime is trying to bring about demographic changes in various regions of the country, as the core idea is to increase the Hindu-to-Muslim ratio and to shuffle the Muslim majority. The starkest example of this is the revocation of Kashmir's autonomous status through Articles 370 and 35A.

Article 370, of which article 35A was a part, allowed the state of Jammu and Kashmir to govern itself. The state had its constitution, a separate flag, and its laws, while the central government in India controlled the defense and foreign affairs of the state. The article also protected the demographics of the region by not allowing outsiders permanent residency and ownership of property in the territory of the state.

It was in the election manifesto of the BJP in 2019 to revoke this article in the name of integrating



Kashmir into the Indian state. Home minister Amit Shah said that "Article 370 was a hindrance in the process of democratization in the region, as it did not allow development while corruption became rampant". Shortly after that, Kashmir was put under lockdown.

In desperate attempts to increase the Hindu gene pool, the ideological mentor of the BJP, the RSS, continues to advise Hindu couples to produce more children so it would increase the Hindu population. Since Indian society is patriarchal, BJP promotes Hindu men marrying Muslim women while discouraging the marriages of Hindu women with Muslim men (Khaitan, 2020).

Conclusion

Hindutva works on the same colonial ideas of creating an 'us vs. them' as Orientalism talks about, dividing society into warring segments. It acknowledges Hindus for being superior to others in every sense of the word and thereby asks for the expulsion and marginalization of Muslims. Modi government has practically included this ideology in their policies and acts.

The cracks in Indian democracy have now started to show themselves to the world, as India is slowly drifting away from its constitutional norms under a right-wing extremist government. Modi furthered this ideology by bypassing the CAA which seeks to eliminate Muslims. For the first time in history, Indian citizenship is being granted on a religious basis. This politicization of Hinduism at the hands of Modi is radicalizing India to the extent that analysts fear the future of democracy has become uncertain.

Under the government of the right-wing BJP, the curriculum in schools is updated to align with the broader aim of saffronization. The attempts to saffronize Indian history have radicalized society through racism and Hindu supremacy (Halarnkar, 2020). Modi is not only playing on the politics of ultra-nationalism but also taking India towards authoritarianism and xenophobia while opposing the liberal democratic framework that has held India together up till now.

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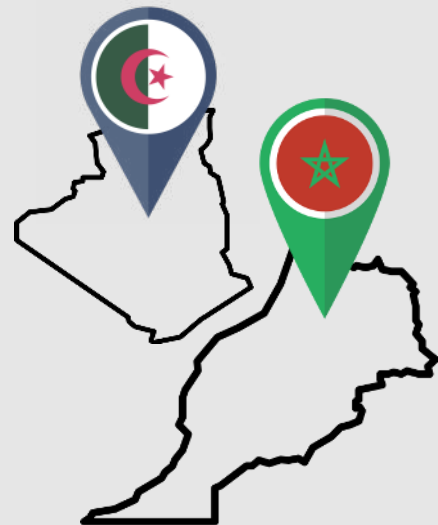


What Caused Algeria and Morocco to Cut Ties?

About the Author



Sana Azhar is a design graduate of the National College of Arts. She likes to read and write about international relations, especially the ongoing great game between powerful states.



Introduction

Algeria and Morocco have geostrategic as well as geoeconomic interests because of which they have an ongoing arms race, territorial disputes, ideological conflicts, and historic fault lines. Over the years, the two countries have spent billions of dollars on building up their military might to ensure their stronghold in the region. This has made them avoid the real development that is human development.

According to the 2022 HDI, Algeria ranks 91st and Morocco ranks 123rd out of 191 countries despite being rich in minerals and hydrocarbon resources. Thus, it can be said that the conflict of outmatching the opponent has only led the two into self-destruction.

Historical Roots

To understand the current diplomatic cutoff between the two countries, it is pertinent to trace back the root causes of the conflict. Morocco had a conservative monarchy, while Algeria was a colony of France. Morocco launched a rebellious attack on Algeria as a result of the colonization, and in return, France took over two provinces of Morocco and annexed them.



Initially, they were barren pieces of land and so were not demarcated, but after the discovery of precious metal and mineral resources, they were made part of Algeria. Morocco was actually offered a joint administration to look after these resources along with the colony, but as the

independence movements in Algeria were on the rise, Morocco's government denied the offer.

Soon after Algeria gained its independence, its new government refrained from giving back the territory and so maintained the status quo of the annexed land. This led to a war between the two called the Sand War, but to this day, the area remains disputed.

Ideological Differences

In addition to this, in the era of the Cold War, Morocco and Algeria sided with the opposite powers which, too, sowed the seed of the existing fault line. Morocco was a monarchy that had more inclination towards the West, especially the UK. On the other hand, Algeria had recently become independent from colonial rule which made Algeria develop more nationalist and socialist inclinations, bringing it closer to the USSR.

Adding up to the tensions between the two, in 1975, Spain gave up its control over Western Sahara, and the land was offered to Morocco against the will of the local Saharawi people. Western Sahara has a significant geostrategic and geoeconomic importance and if Algeria had control over it, it would have been able to by-pass the strait of Gibraltar which is under Morocco's control, and instead have direct access to the Atlantic Ocean from Western Sahara.

Having access to the ocean would have multiplied Algeria's trade and reduced its dependence on the strait of Gibraltar. Thus, Algeria started supporting the [Polisario movement](#) in Western Sahara militarily which was against Moroccan rule. This eventually led to proxy wars between the two countries. Since 1991, Morocco has controlled 85% of the Western Saharan region, and a ceasefire has been declared, but the area continues to be contested.

Cutting Ties

Furthermore, in the 1990s, a civil war erupted in Algeria against an Islamist group, which Algeria claimed was supported by Morocco. Ever since the eruption of the civil war, the borders between the two countries have been closed. Although multiple attempts at peace and negotiations have been made, nothing seems to have been fruitful, and the hostility between the two still continues.

Algeria and Morocco are primarily trying to increase their military might so that they can dominate the region and maintain their superiority. In this regard, the two have been pushed into the vicious cycle of the arms race.

As a result of the heavy investment of the military, the basic living necessities and infrastructure for the masses have been ignored by the leaderships of both countries.



When US President Donald Trump [recognized Morocco's sovereignty over the Western Sahara region](#), Morocco, in return, normalized its relations with Israel. Since Algeria was a staunch supporter of the Palestinian cause, the normalisation agreement reignited tensions between Morocco and the separatist movements in Western Sahara. Moreover, the incident once again polarized the region as the flourishing US-Morocco ties forced Algeria to improve its ties with Russia.

Based on the historic conflict and the current arms race, the Algerian government has failed to deliver on its domestic promises and so it has led to the eruption of violent protests in the country. The situation became even worse because the Kabyle region in northwest Algeria is leading a successionist movement.

On top of it, In August 2021, a heat wave caused a wildfire in Algeria which is believed to have been artificially ignited by the Kabyle separatist group. This incident served as the last nail in the coffin of the friendship between the two countries, with Algeria and Morocco cutting off their diplomatic ties. Algeria even closed its air space for Morocco's planes. In addition to this, it also cut off the gas supply from the Maghreb-Europe pipeline that was used to produce one-tenth of the electricity in Morocco.

[The Algerian diplomat](#) mentioned two reasons for cutting off diplomatic ties: one, the recognition of Israel by Morocco, and second, Israel and Morocco supporting the Kabyle separatist group in Algeria.

Conclusion

The dispute between Algeria and Morocco has morphed into a battle for geopolitical and geo-strategic interests which are seen as the means to achieve regional hegemony. However, if according to the liberal school of thought, the two increase trade, cooperation, and communication, they will be able to get out of the vicious cycle of the arms race and utilize their resources for the betterment of their countries.

However, as Thucydides said, it was the rise of Athens that made Sparta insecure and made war inevitable. Algeria and Morocco have also found themselves trapped in this situation.

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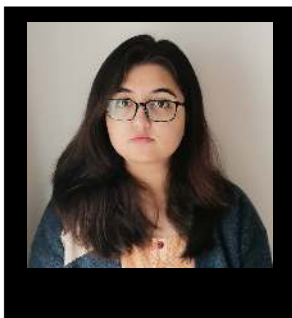
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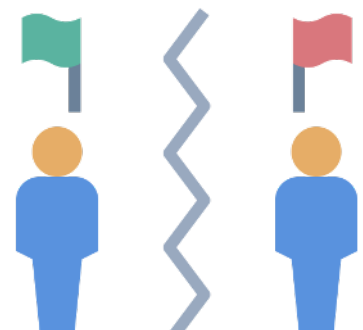
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The Role of Modernism in Shaping Nationalism

About the Author



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Introduction

A theory of sociology that aims to explain the formation of an industrial society intertwined with the rise in modernity is

known as modernism. It is denied by the scholars of

[primordialism](#) who state that nationalism is historic, universal, and



remains evermore in continuity. Where primordialism says that nationalism has existed since the beginning of time, modernism goes forth to negate that concept by saying that the establishment of a nation is a direct result of the social, political, and economic evolution of the international system, making it a relatively recent concept.

Coming to life in the 1960s, modernism caught wind in the continents of Asia and Africa when decolonization and independence movements were on the rise. The rise of national movements was running parallel to industrialization and material progress in the world which led the leading scholars of this school of thought to establish a link between the two. The said link is vertical through history and horizontal through [industrialized](#) associations.

It is said that nations are not just a result of modernization, but rather that they became a socio-biological and structural necessity. The major rise of modernism can be witnessed in the aftermath of the [French Revolution of 1789](#) which then fully peaked in the 1950s.

The modernist process includes the phenomenon of capitalism, industrialization of the third world, urbanization, and globalization. All of these are part and parcel of the evolving world and therefore come with distinct challenges for every budding nation and nationalist movement. Each type/area of modernism has been seen tackling these issues within the gambit of socio-political allowances granted to the respective states.

Categories of Modernism

Economic Transformation

Neo-Marxist scholars put in their two cents when they identify factors of unrest and frustrations in the global population of developing countries during the late 1960s. They claim that Marxism in its original form was not a good fit for the economic disparities of that time. Anti-imperialist and decolonization movements were on the rise contributing to both a hope for peace and unintentional national instability.

While modernism refers to development, there are inconsistencies within development as well. Tom Nairn, a Scottish political theorist, was able to highlight these issues by introducing even and uneven development. Nairn talks about how development in the modern world was thought to be interconnected and the 'core' states or the Western European developed world were to be seen as the capitalist leaders, while the peripheries (developing and underdeveloped states) would only have to follow the path laid out by the West.

However, it was not as simple as it seemed. The West raced ahead while the rest remained scrambling behind due to a lack of resources and general capabilities. This is where the steep rise of nationalism shows its face. The political elites of the developing world needed to catch up with their opponents, so they decided to take things into their own hands. To convince the masses, they invoked the spirit of nationalism and unity. They triggered an identity complex, securing support by establishing an 'us vs them' divide.

Political Transformation

Major academicians who have worked on political modernism are Paul Brass, John Breuilly, and Eric Hobsbawm. The spread of nationalism in the peripheries was contagious and acted inwards towards the core as well. The global norms took on another form: nationalist identification. The invention, use, influence, and manipulation of invented identities and traditions is the core thesis of Hobsbawm's study.

During most of the 19th century, the British Empire held the reigns of the international system, but by the time WW1 rolled around, America had come into its own and became the biggest industrialist aided by its massive war economy, surpassing Britain.

This political overtake in power dynamics initiated aggressive nationalism all over the world; the most relevant example being German nationalism leading to the Holocaust. Then the USSR, China, and India entered the field. The division of global powers into the capitalist and communist blocs didn't halt the rise of nationalism, rather it only provided them with an already set-up fund and economic structure. China and India really flourished once they tapped into the nationalist drive of their people.

Socio-cultural Transformation

The economic wildfire set by capitalism eventually invaded the socio-cultural fabric of society. Wealth became a direct indicator of class and social status, now dictating socio-economic opportunities, policy making, political representation, and labor discrimination. Where nationalism was conceived to provide a sense of unity, it became a living entity that pushed out ethnic and racial minorities when they did not fit the characteristics of the majority.

The distribution of resources and power, both social and national, was unequal and caused further degradation of society. In Pakistani households, Christian help is sought out for janitorial services even though religion has nothing to do with job requirements. This act not only separates people on religious grounds but it also exacerbates the spirit of nationalism in Pakistani Muslims. Similarly in India, the ruling BJP party has created and pushed forth narratives of Hindu nationalism which have alienated Indian Muslims.



Significance of Modernism

Modernism focuses on the ideology of nationalism and connects it to ethnic roots. It focuses on three **thematic areas**. The first is the pull of capitalist economies in assimilating a nation by sheer force. This is where Tom Nairn's idea of even and uneven development takes root. Development refers to constructive progress in any field. However, the one being discussed here is of an economic and industrialized nature.

Tom Nairn says that a nation's existence is not born from internalized dynamics rather it is aided by the development of the global economy over time. Capitalism is the leading economic worldview, and it is championed by the West which holds most of the world's wealth. It is important to note that capital is just another dimension of power, and power is what makes the world go round.

The West has been leading the world in terms of progress both in the cognitive and industrial realms. Now it was assumed that as the West is the core, its progress will be mapped and followed by the peripheries; the peripheries in this context are the developing or underdeveloped states.

However, Western progress soon turned into domination, invasion, and intervention. This was an alarming reminder to the peripheries that if they did not match their stride to that of the West, they would either be trampled upon or enveloped in the tide. The political elites and leaders of the third world were desperate not only to develop their own states but also to protect their interests from outside intervention. They attempted to take matters into their own hands and turned the efforts of development into a nationalist cause.

The developing and underdeveloped states convinced their people to imitate the systems and structures of the developed nations but also invoked a defensive and aggressive spirit of nationalism which could be seen in the formation of a new identity.

Even though the structures were copied, the political leaders demonstrated that the people came together to form a nation and made it rise from the ground up constituting everything from factories and schools to armies and judicial systems. Thus empowering nationalism in the masses.



The next theme is how the state aids in the formation of a national identity through governmental jurisdiction. Nationalism, on its

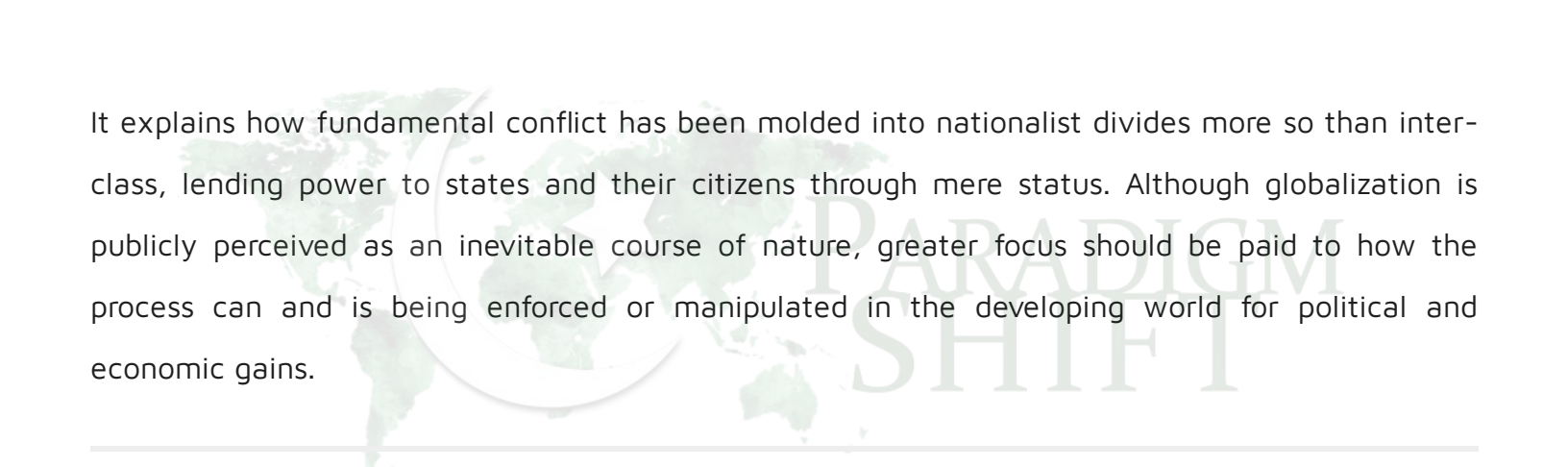
own, is an aggressive ideology mainly because its end goal more often than not starts to resemble secession. A way to reform this ideology is to give it a sense of civic duty and reform it into civic nationalism.

Modernity has, as mentioned above, blessed core states more than peripheries. Now when a state has the sociological, political, or technological upper hand in world politics, so do its constituents (its citizens). American citizens get a lot more international reprieve and privileges than Nicaraguan or Cuban citizens. The need for a passport was created by modernism, and having a blue one proudly corralled the people of America into civic nationalism.

Finally, the eventuality of widespread literacy and uniform education is what glues a nation's various communities together. [Standardized education](#) became the norm in the late 1800s following the industrial revolution. It helped unify nations through socio-economic equity under schooling, and it promoted nationalism through disseminating glorified national history.

Conclusion

Modernism deconstructs and breaks down the politics of nationalism and modernity—a consequence and its inevitability.



It explains how fundamental conflict has been molded into nationalist divides more so than inter-class, lending power to states and their citizens through mere status. Although globalization is publicly perceived as an inevitable course of nature, greater focus should be paid to how the process can and is being enforced or manipulated in the developing world for political and economic gains.

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