

Journal of Religion & Society (JRS)

Available Online:

<https://islamicreligious.com/index.php/Journal/index>

Print ISSN: [3006-1296](#) Online ISSN: [3006-130X](#)

Platform & Workflow by: [Open Journal Systems](#)

**PAKISTAN'S RESPONSE TO CHINA'S STRATEGIC
ENGAGEMENT IN AFGHANISTAN: A STUDY OF
PERCEPTIONS, POLICIES, AND INTERESTS**

Fazli Rahman

Lecturer, Department of Pakistan Studies, Islamia College University
Peshawar

Roheen Zafar

Ph.D. Scholar Quertaba University of Science and Technology Peshawar

Abstract

Pakistan's response to China's strategic engagement in Afghanistan reflects a nuanced interplay of geopolitical, economic, and security considerations. As Beijing expands its influence in Afghanistan through infrastructure investments, economic partnerships, and diplomatic initiatives, Pakistan faces the challenge of aligning its strategic priorities with China while safeguarding its interests in the region. The post-U.S. withdrawal scenario has further complicated the regional balance, requiring Islamabad to recalibrate its policies. While China's engagement presents economic opportunities, it also raises concerns over Pakistan's traditional influence in Afghanistan, particularly in relation to regional security dynamics and its rivalry with India. This study examines Pakistan's perceptions of China's growing role in Afghanistan, its evolving policy responses, and the broader implications for regional stability. It explores how Islamabad leverages its strategic partnership with Beijing to ensure that China's increasing footprint in Afghanistan aligns with Pakistan's national security and economic interests. The paper also discusses the impact of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) on Afghanistan and assesses the prospects of trilateral cooperation. Given the shifting geopolitical landscape, Pakistan must adopt a balanced diplomatic approach to maximize benefits while mitigating potential risks. The study concludes that a coordinated Pakistan-China-Afghanistan framework is essential for sustainable regional stability, economic integration, and security cooperation in South Asia.

Keywords: Pakistan-China Relations, Afghanistan, CPEC, Regional Security, Geopolitical Strategy, Economic Engagement, U.S. Withdrawal, Trilateral Cooperation, Strategic Depth, South Asian Stability.

Introduction

Pakistan's Response to China's Strategic Engagement in Afghanistan: An Extensive and Thorough Examination of Varied Perceptions, Policies, and National Interests Within the Context of Regional and Global Dynamics, Particularly Focusing on the Profound Implications for Stability in the Region and the Complex Geopolitical Dynamics on a Global Scale Involving Numerous Stakeholders, Influences, and Interactions in This Pivotal Area of International Relations, Where Historical Alliances, Economic Interests, and Security Concerns Intersect and Influence the Broader Strategic Landscape (Jadoon et al.2024).

Since the early days of civilization and structured governance, states have continuously pursued their survival in a hostile world while striving to establish meaningful inter-state relations, leading to either cooperation or competition. This struggle for distinct interests and geographical security is often viewed as the essence of politics. The evolving international landscape requires states to utilize manpower, resources, and advanced technology innovatively, compelling them to adopt flexible strategies and rapid responses to diverse challenges. States develop sophisticated skills reflecting high-level strategic planning and pragmatic vision, pursuing multifaceted approaches that can be comparative, competitive, or complementary. Each state meticulously devises strategies and executes plans while closely monitoring the actions of third parties that could influence their interests (den2024). To ensure survival and benefits for their societies, states form coalitions and strategic agreements aimed at defending their territories and achieving long-term goals. This paper analyzes the strategies and objectives of Pakistan and China to counter the influence of the USA, NATO, and India concerning Afghanistan, focusing on their actions since the turmoil that began in 2001 and exploring the geopolitical maneuvers within this complex theater.

In the bygone age, the construction procedures of global politics generally impelled states to confide in a particular sphere-of-

interest. In the Western hemisphere, the USA witnessed a rapid hegemonic rise which resulted in the turning away of the erstwhile allies of Washington. Moreover, the intricate political designs and the economic interests compelled states to shore up their agendas for the second time in the bipolar chess-board match resembling to either side (Loke, 2021). On the other hand, the Asian continent also inherited her part of the poltroon games, as both China and Russia were lurking and set to guard their cozens, dozier and confines, with India eloquently guarding their southern curtains. Indirectly, the billions-aided package unleashed by Washington, and the political non-alignment which eschewed Washington's efforts for a grand-alliance, antagonized Moscow. Super viewed by China, Pakistan casual Nexus is a mil-lennial sling to cumber, at the same to be petrological to Delhi's cascading perfidies to date.

Historical Context of Pakistan-China Relations

Since diplomatic relations were first established in 1951, a considerable amount of scholarly attention has been focused on Pakistan's relations with China and to the Sino-Indian strategic dimension. These ties have been viewed in the larger context of South Asian strategic relations and the wider matrix of relations between China and other major powers, especially the US. For its part many Chinese analysts and state commentators also took note and some interest in Pakistan and its historical relationship with China. Since the culmination of the China-Pakistan defence relationship in the mid-1960s, a significant amount of Beijing's military assistance, including missile technology, has certainly helped to take the relationship to qualitatively new levels despite the various internal and external variables that have come into operation from both sides (Khan Afridi et al., 2014).

China's increasingly visible presence and support in Afghanistan in the post-Taliban period and the fast-evolving situation, as it enters a new phase of national reconciliation and attempts to establish longer-term stability, it is important for Islamabad to re-examine the present and possible future contexts of China's involvement in its volatile western neighbour. Some of the underlying motivations anthropologically explored are the necessity for China to develop its western frontier while also being guided by pragmatism and prudence in accordance with its 'peaceful-rise' policy. It naturally

wishes to remain non-expansionist and low-key in exploiting new opportunities observed by international commentators (Waqas Makhdoom et al., 2014). Elaborate and multi-faceted Chinese 'aid packages' dwarf amounts supplied by both the US and EU since 2002, and economic assistance is estimated by Beijing to be \$250 million. Major projects include train-to-hurt conveyance, road construction, electricity generation, education, rebuilding arsenals, contributions to the Afghan defence budget etc. There is also an extension of the Karakoram highway into northern Afghanistan as part of a four-nation grouping including Tajikistan, Pakistan, and Kyrgyzstan.

China's Strategic Engagement in Afghanistan

There is a growing interest in the dynamics of the Sino-Pakistani relationship in the context of the United States' withdrawal from Afghanistan. The literature on Sino-Pakistani relations is growing, but most of it is focused the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). A significant aspect of Sino-Pakistani relations is how Islamabad's longstanding China factor shapes its responses to Beijing's growing strategic engagement in Afghanistan. This article aims to fill this gap by focusing on China's strategic engagement in Afghanistan in the context of the Sino-Pakistani relationship, which is just emerging in the western literature (Qanit, 2024). Pakistan's perceptions and policies with regard to China's strategic engagement in Afghanistan are analysed in the light of its key interests to assess its approach and its implications for the broader dynamic of Sino-Pakistani relations in the eighteenth round of the Pak-China-US triangle vis-à-vis the Soviet Union during the Afghan war 1988-1990.

China's engagement in Afghanistan has been steadily growing over the last decade. Beijing seeks to develop its economic ties with Kabul, drawing on Afghanistan's natural resources, and facilitate peace and reconciliation in the war-torn country. However the intensification of modern geopolitical competition presents an emerging dilemma for Beijing. The growing competition between the United States and China has extended to the stabilisation and reconstruction of Afghanistan. China's deep-seated apprehensions about the rise of Islamist militancy along its western boundaries led Beijing to develop a close strategic partnership with Islamabad.

In her part, Islamabad has widely leveraged its 'geostrategic position', which has cemented its relevance for the transit route of Chinese goods, to tap on China's rising economic and political capital. Given the increasing need of their own security, Beijing and Islamabad have also been focusing on a coordinated security response to hindering security threats in Afghanistan. However, the strategic engagement in China raises a challenge for Pakistan in terms of its perceived role in Afghanistan. The following analysis investigates how Pakistan is reacting to China's evolving role in Afghanistan which, in turn, provides an insight into the tripartite relation among Afghanistan's key neighbours.

Pakistan's Perceptions of China's Role in Afghanistan

In the strategic domain of International Relations, the concept of 'Perception Management' holds a particularly significant place, as misunderstandings and misperceptions can provide ample ammunition to the enemy, who is aiming to weaken and undermine one another. This becomes even more crucial when states engage with one another on the basis of their vital interests and existential concerns (Tudorache2023). Therefore, the primary purpose of this paper is to unveil and thoroughly explore the understandings, nuances, disagreements, and misunderstandings that are present in the perceptions of both Pakistan and China regarding Afghanistan. Furthermore, it will investigate the ensuing strategic engagements that have evolved over time, starting from the critical year of 1979, which marks the beginning of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, a pivotal moment that has had lasting implications for the region and beyond.

Just months before the pivotal Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979, China's esteemed leader made a historic visit to the United States, a moment that would resonate deeply in international relations for decades. This visit, marked by strategic dialogue and careful negotiation, is a defining episode in modern diplomatic history, frequently analyzed by scholars worldwide. During this politically charged period, Pakistan emerged as a critical ally of the United States, facilitating this diplomatic trip with adept navigation of Cold War politics and comprehensive logistical support. Pakistan's role was vital, showcasing exceptional diplomatic skill and a strong commitment to enhancing bilateral

relations. The visit laid a strong foundation for Pakistan's relations with China, impacting geopolitical dynamics for years. A major result of this engagement was the signing of the Defence Production Agreement (DPA), rooted in discussions as early as 1973 (Scazzieri, 2023).

However, delays occurred due to the need to manage the diplomatic fallout following Kissinger's visit to China, particularly concerning India. Despite hopes for progress, the DPA's signing was met with frustration among policymakers eager for tangible results. The DPA aimed to create lucrative opportunities for military hardware production in Pakistan through a joint venture between China, Pakistan, and a future non-military partner. Unfortunately, geopolitical shifts thwarted the collaboration, obscuring initial ambitions and preventing anticipated benefits. This project underscored China's growing role in international defense markets during a complex and uncertain era, reflecting ongoing military collaboration efforts between Pakistan and China that continue to be scrutinized in scholarly discussions on international relations.

Significantly, the United States supported China while helping Pakistan strengthen ties in the military hardware market. Although few relationships yielded successful outcomes, it's essential to note that China remained uninformed about the issues Pakistan faced post-DPA signing. These challenges, stemming from China's counterparts, complicated bilateral relations and introduced unforeseen tensions, altering the international diplomatic landscape and impacting future global engagements. This intricate interplay of relationships and challenges emphasizes the fragility of international partnerships during turbulent times and the lasting impact of such negotiations on regional and global stability. The foundational events from this period continue to play a crucial role in shaping contemporary international relations, serving as vital lessons for scholars and practitioners navigating the complex political landscape today. (Waqas Makhdoom et al., 2014)

Pakistan's Policies towards Afghanistan

In 1949, the People's Republic of China (PRC) and Afghanistan were established on the same day. Mao Zedong expressed the hope then that "both countries will continue to be good neighbours

forever." From ancient silk trade both countries are tied by the linkages of an ancient trade. China has the world's longest trading frontier with Afghanistan. Ten years later their relations witnessed a great transformation to the extent that China became one of the first countries that recognized the interim government after 1978. In 1983, Deng Xiaoping met with Nijazi. It was the first time that a Chinese leader had met with an Afghan leader since 1949. Both China and Pakistan call to put an end to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan though their understanding and strategies for establishing peace was different. (Samad2025) It was a shocked blow to China in the summer of 1991 when the Afghan government under Najibullah reached an agreement with Ahmad Shah Masood of the Northern Alliance to resist the Islamic Mujaheddin. In 1996, the Taliban occupied Kabul and China viewed that it had put an end to the embedded chaos.

Pakistan was a centre of tidings to the relations of communist countries with USA in 1971. The US's tense relations with Pakistan on nuclear activities and Israeli arms supply were the basic causes of such warnings in 1979. The US poisoned areas of regional influence. Pakistan has been ignoring the US in its military transactions approach to a defense pact with China. Pakistan's joining the war of Muslims against Christians in Soviet-occupied Afghanistan seriously harmed the regional balance of power and consequently the Pakistan-US relation was dipped up to the alarming point (Stadler, 2024). Soviet expansion surrounded some south Asian states and US was not well positioned to cope with it, so the US wanted Pakistan to get inside of Afghan issue. America arranged a strategic program for Pakistan navy in 1981; FWLs of 6 thousand million US dollars were given to Pakistan. Also a satellite priority was given to Pakistan. Pak-China close ties and US regional policies Marx China-Pakistan-US lips.

China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and its Implications for Afghanistan

The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), which stands as a massive and ambitious infrastructural and developmental project, serves to connect the Chinese city of Kashgar, located in the Xinjiang province, with the deep-sea port situated in Gwadar, Pakistan. This development initiative has had a profoundly

transformative impact on Pakistan's economy and its overall strategic environment in the region. For China, Pakistan is not just a neighbor; its pivotal role as a crucial conduit for the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) accentuates its strategic importance, particularly in her ongoing quest to significantly increase her footprint in international and regional politics. By creating new pathways, establishing logistic hubs, developing pipelines, and testing innovative financial instruments and services, China is systematically aiming to carve out an economic realm where it will undoubtedly play a dominant role. This expansion effort is designed to further extend its influence across Central Asia, the Middle East, and beyond, fostering deeper economic interconnections. In particular, the CPEC, which is heralded as a multi-billion-dollar flagship project of the BRI, holds immense potential to not only revolutionize but also transform Pakistan's economic dynamics and strategic orientation in the international arena, enhancing its position in various geopolitical frameworks.

In terms of its strategic objectives, CPEC can bolster AsPL's position in relation to the US presence in Afghanistan and mitigate the problem it currently faces due to alignment or strategic oscillation. (Tayyab Sohail & Chen, 2022) argues that with the successful operationalisation of the Gwadar port, Pakistan will be able to et away from US dependency on the Karachi port and limit Washington's leverage and therefore its meddling. By creating alternative economic lifelines to central Asia, particularly Afghanistan, through investments in ports, roads, and rail infrastructure, Pakistan could potentially gain influence over its war-torn neighbor, significantly impacting future outcomes in any regional settlement. With the increasing possibility that the Taliban will have a leading role in Kabul post-withdrawal guaranteed, Pakistan has long been accused of providing substantial support, from sanctuaries, arms, financial assistance, to direct aid to the Taliban to ensure its influence and limiting that of rivals in Afghanistan.

Security Dynamics in the Region

Both Pakistan and China had a vested interest in cultivating their influence in Kabul over the past years, and their strategic engagement has clear implications for Afghanistan. Cognizant of

these concerns, this text analyzes Pakistan's response to China's strategic engagement in Afghanistan, scrutinizing the perceptions, policies, and interests of Islamabad (Ali, 2022). The aim was to derive at both general insights on strategic cooperation in South Asia and specific lessons for international engagement in Afghanistan to address complex trans-border matters constructively.

It is a challenging task to deal with different types of conflict in the same regional environment. Afghanistan's recent geopolitics have become increasingly complex, and it is tempting to resort to simple oppositions of state and non-state actors or of regional versus extra-regional actors. Domestically, many factions are engaged in power struggles and are weaponized, but possessing state-like organization; hence, they fall in between established categories of states and non-state actors. Geopolitically, the situation is overlaid with historical baggage, linking the conflict to the contestation of regional powers and big neighbors. Moreover, the topography of conflict does not respect state borders, generating spillovers, overflows and regionalization in both cooperative as well as competitive modalities.

The need to cooperate is acknowledged by all those affected by violence. The post-9/11 era has also seen the exceptional case of the USA, which has treated neighboring Pakistan as both an ally in the Afghan operations and as a target of drone strikes seeking to control the impact of Pakistan's own regional strategy through a mix of military pressure and negotiation, thus complicating all domestic, regional and international relations. Conversely, the regional environment is a mixed blessing for Afghanistan (Haq et al.2023). On the one hand, it creates dependencies on neighbors and provides arenas for internecine competitions; on the other hand, regional players are indispensable partners for internal peace and development. These observations allude to the empirical complexity evident in the initial conditions. Given these complexities and with the benefit of hindsight, it is possible to identify at least some of the determinants that had crucial consequences for the evolution of strategic cooperation on Afghanistan.

Impact of US Withdrawal from Afghanistan

After the US withdrawal from Afghanistan, which marked a significant turning point in the geopolitical landscape of the region, China has actively undertaken a strategic engagement with Afghanistan that includes a variety of collaborative initiatives aimed at strengthening ties. The most significant element of this engagement is the bilateral agreement between China and Afghanistan within the framework of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), which aims to boost infrastructure and economic development. This pivotal event represents a considerable challenge for Pakistan from both strategic and economic standpoints. However, it is important to note that the agreement reflects the mutual interests of developing these two countries while fostering their strategic engagements in this critical region.

Of the various interests at play, perhaps the most crucial for Pakistan would be the potential role that this agreement could play in further stabilizing Afghanistan, which, in turn, could foster peaceful bilateral relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan. This dynamic is essential as stability in Afghanistan would have a direct positive impact on Pakistan's own security and economic situation (Threlkeld & Easterly, 2021). At the recent meeting held in Fort Salam, the representatives of China, Afghanistan, and Pakistan collectively believed that this strategic engagement would be viable, provided that it serves the economic interests of Afghanistan effectively.

Thus, the argument posits that if their immediate large neighbor, Pakistan, makes it increasingly difficult for Afghanistan to engage in regional or bilateral collaborations, it may inadvertently push Afghan policymakers towards a precarious position where they risk losing out on ample opportunities for economic benefit and development. In simpler terms, the Afghans seem to be suggesting that Pakistan's approach may force them to make a difficult choice between aligning with China and pursuing other options, consequently jeopardizing their own developmental goals and aspirations.

Therefore, this study sets out to explore how Pakistan has responded to China's burgeoning engagement with Afghanistan during this key strategic juncture. Additionally, it aims to investigate what specific policies were adopted, and based on

which perceptions and interests actions were taken. This engagement serves as a focal point of the study, particularly in relation to the perceptions, policies, and interests of Pakistan as they pertain to this evolving context.

On the occasion of the signing of the agreement, a representative from the USA urged that the nature of their engagement would be consistent with establishing a genuine economic center for regional international cooperation, fundamentally highlighting the collaborative spirit. In contrast, publications emerging from Pakistan expressed serious concerns regarding the importance of safeguarding regional interests as well. (Faiz, 2024) Moreover, while China acknowledged the potential for enhanced regional peace and prosperity that this agreement could bring, it simultaneously called for the United States to take responsibility for facilitating a legitimate, orderly, and Afghan-led peace and reconciliation process.

In response to these unfolding events and developments, various media outlets and representatives from both countries articulated quite divergent statements that conveyed a spectrum of concerns as well as a degree of confidence in this new regional architecture. To summarize, many different positions were voiced by a diverse array of influential players regarding the strategic engagement in Afghanistan, especially in the lead-up to the bilateral agreement. In this context, this survey meticulously analyzes these varied responses and engagements within the framework of cognitive perceptions, political dynamics, and national interests. Specifically, it leverages these parameters to provide answers to how Pakistan has responded to China's strategic engagement in Afghanistan following the USA's withdrawal and what perceptions, policies, and interests underpinned this nuanced response from Pakistan.

Future Prospects and Recommendations

Responding to the evolving geo-strategic situation, China is progressively broadening the scope of its geo-political cooperation zone. As part of these significant policies, China has recently initiated a comprehensive process of strategic engagement in its Western periphery, with a particular focus on enhancing its interactions in Afghanistan. This notable shift in China's approach has the potential to undermine the longstanding geo-strategic

depth that Pakistan has maintained in Afghanistan over the years. Consequently, important questions are already being raised about whether China's recent move can indeed jeopardize the strategic future of Pakistan, and if the implications of this shift are genuinely critical or simply over-estimated. The dissertation endeavors to thoroughly engage with these significant questions by conducting an in-depth analysis of both official and public perceptions, as well as the viewpoints of policy-makers. It aims to offer an incisive and penetrating long-term view regarding the future sustainability of the strategic and geo-political relationship between Pakistan and China, considering the various dimensions and complexities of their interactions. (Waqas Makhdoom et al., 2014)

The cooperation between China and Pakistan, along with their strategic partnership, has consistently been regarded as a foundation of international relations by scholars and geopolitical analysts alike. This relationship, often referred to as a 'sacred cow', holds immense significance and is recognized for its critical role in establishing an enduring bond characterized as 'all-weather' friendships. The expansive dimensions of this *yaar-dost-yaran* relationship have been upheld and defended by both nations on numerous occasions throughout history. Pakistan has warmly welcomed the Chinese commitment to rebuke or counter any foreign threats or aggressive actions against Pakistan's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Conversely, India perceives the significant Chinese investment in Pakistan as a veiled initiative aimed at countering and applying pressure on India's regional influence. As global political dynamics evolve, the relationships between China, Pakistan, and the United States, along with its Western allies, continue to impose greater and more substantial responsibilities upon Afghanistan and the Central Asian States. This complex interplay has inevitably compelled Pakistan to integrate China's influence and interests into its strategic calculations regarding Afghanistan. (Hussain & Hussain, 2017)

Conclusion

Pakistan's response to China's strategic engagement in Afghanistan is shaped by a complex interplay of geopolitical, economic, and security considerations. As China deepens its

involvement in Afghanistan through economic investments and diplomatic initiatives, Pakistan faces the challenge of aligning its strategic interests with its long-standing partnership with Beijing while maintaining its influence in Afghanistan. The evolving regional dynamics, particularly after the U.S. withdrawal, have pushed Pakistan to recalibrate its policies to ensure that Chinese engagement does not undermine its strategic depth. While Pakistan views China's initiatives as a potential stabilizing factor, concerns remain regarding the implications for Pakistan's own role in the region, especially in relation to its historical ties with Afghan factions and its efforts to counterbalance Indian influence.

Looking ahead, Pakistan's approach to China's growing footprint in Afghanistan will require careful diplomacy to maximize economic benefits while safeguarding its strategic interests. Ensuring a balanced relationship with Beijing while actively engaging with other regional stakeholders will be crucial for Islamabad. Moreover, fostering a cooperative security framework that aligns with both Pakistan's security needs and China's regional ambitions will be vital in shaping the future of Afghanistan-Pakistan relations. As China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) projects, particularly the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), expand their reach, Pakistan must navigate these developments to reinforce its economic stability and maintain its geopolitical leverage in a rapidly changing landscape.

References:

- Ali, G. (2022). China–Pakistan cooperation on Afghanistan: assessing key interests and implementing strategies. *The Pacific Review*. [academia.edu](https://www.academia.edu)
- Den Otter, S. (2024). Engaging the World with Values-Informed Strategic Planning: Applying Theory to Practice. *The Bloomsbury Handbook of Values and Ethical Change in Transformative Leadership in Higher Education*, 58-74.
- Faiz, A. (2024). Intergovernmental relations in Pakistan: managing the federation-Sindh contestation. *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*.
- Haq, M. A. U., Alvi, A. S., Hussain, M. S., Ijaz, K., & Kaleem, R. (2023). Challenges and Opportunities in Pakistan-US Relations

- and its Impact on Pakistan's Foreign Policy. *Research Journal for Societal Issues*, 5(2), 83-96. [researchgate.net](https://www.researchgate.net)
- Hussain, F. & Hussain, M. (2017). China-Pak Economic Corridor (CPEC) and Its Geopolitical Paradigms.
- Jadoon, S., Naseem, I., Khan, M. B., Khan, G. F., & Zaman, K. (2024). Strategic management of diplomatic engagements, security policies, economic initiatives, and cultural influence: Analyzing Pakistan's leadership role in South Asia's geopolitical stability. *Journal of Management Info*, 11(3), 277-294. [readersinsight.net](https://www.readersinsight.net)
- Khan Afridi, M., Yousufi, M., & Khan, M. (2014). Pak-China-US Triangle vis-à-vis Soviet Union in Afghan War.
- Loke, B. (2021). The United States, China, and the politics of hegemonic ordering in East Asia. *International Studies Review*. [exeter.ac.uk](https://www.exeter.ac.uk)
- Qanit, A. H. (2024). CHALLENGES FOR CHINA'S SOFT POWER BUILDING IN AFGHANISTAN (2002–2022). *International Journal of Innovation Studies*. [ijistudies.com](https://www.ijistudies.com)
- Samad, O. (2025). China and Afghanistan: Navigating Geoeconomic and Geopolitical Pathways at a Time of Great Power Competition. In *The Great Power Competition Volume 6: The Rise of China* (pp. 291-314). Cham: Springer Nature Switzerland.
- Scazzieri, L. (2023). EU-UK Co-Operation in Defence Capabilities After the War in Ukraine. [cer.eu](https://www.cer.eu)
- Stadler, L. (2024). The Transfer of Soviet Prisoners of War from Afghanistan to Switzerland, 1982–1986. *Contemporary European History*.
- Tayyab Sohail, M. & Chen, S. (2022). Public perceptions About Foreign Investment, A PLS-SEM Analysis toward republic sustainable infrastructure.
- Threlkeld, E. & Easterly, G. (2021). Afghanistan-Pakistan ties and Future stability in Afghanistan. [usip.org](https://www.usip.org)
- Tudorache, A. (2023). A Perception Management Take on Propaganda as Political Warfare. In *Routledge Handbook of Disinformation and National Security* (pp. 135-147). Routledge.
- Waqas Makhdoom, A., Basit Khan, A., & Abbas Khan, M. (2014). *A Study of Pakistan-China Defense Relations (2000-2012)*.