INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES BULLETIN
ISSN: (E) 3007-1917 (P) 3007-1909
Volume 3, Issue 10, 2025

THE CONUNDRUM OF SUPREMACY: U.S - CHINA POWER RIVALRY TOWARDS PAKISTAN

Dr. Imran Ali[*1], Maria Ashraf[2], Muhammad Rizwan Majeed[3]

*[*1]Assistant Professor, Department of Pakistan Studies, The Islamia University of Bahawalpur*
[2]M. Phil. Scholar, Department of Pakistan Studies, The Islamia University of Bahawalpur, Pakistan
[3]Department of Pakistan Studies, The Islamia University of Bahawalpur, Pakistan

[*1]imran_ali@iub.edu.pk, [2]mariaashrafiub@gmail.com, [3]mrizwanmajeed78@gmail.com

Corresponding Author: *
Dr. Imran Ali
DOI: https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.17659452

Received	Revised	Accepted	Published
01 August, 2025	01 September, 2025	21 September, 2025	04 October, 2025

ABSTRACT

The U.S. and China are two powerful countries around the globe in the current era, hence, both the states always tries to dominant over the regions. This study try to high light the Washington and Beijing's race of hegemony towards Pakistan as well as their investments to secure their interests in the region. A descriptive research method has been used to explore the both countries influence over the Pakistan. The study finds that China has funneled the billions of dollars as economic, military and strategic support to Islamabad in the form of China-Pakistan Economic Corridor to secure its interests in the region. Educational and number of other initiatives are also the key parts of the cooperation between both the stats. Beside, U.S.-Pakistan have historical relations along with number of cooperation during war against terrorism, educational initiatives, military cooperation, and many more steps have been taken between both the Washington and Islamabad. Along with these initiatives, some mistrust has also been highlighted between both the states. The research further explore that Pakistan is trying to balance the relations between U.S. and China.

Key Words: *- U.S., China, Hegemony, Interests, Regional Dominancy, OBOR*

INTRODUCTION

The U.S.-China rivalry has shaped 21st-century geopolitics. Given their status as the top economies and global powers, their rivalry for supremacy has become increasingly evident, sparking ongoing discussions and anxieties about the future of the global order. Hegemony provides a useful framework for understanding and assessing US-China power dynamics. Hegemony is a state's international dominance. Pakistan has been heavily influenced by the US-China power rivalry in South Asia. This has affected the country's geopolitics and trade with both states. The United States of America and China have been engaged in a competition for power and influence in the region, and both countries have recognized the strategic importance of Pakistan as a key participant (Wohlforth, 2014).

Pakistan has long depended on the U.S. Pakistan has benefited greatly from U.S. economic and military assistance since decades. Despite this, the personal connection that exists between the two countries has been variable over the years. This has been the case despite the fact that the relationship has been consistent. This is mostly attributed to a number of factors, the most important of which are the United States moving its focus to other regions of the world and worries regarding Pakistan's attempts to combat terrorism. Because Pakistan plays such a significant role in guaranteeing the stability of Afghanistan, the United States continues to retain a sizable presence in the region and is working toward maintaining its influence in Pakistan. This is because Pakistan plays a vital role in ensuring that Afghanistan remains stable. Beside,

China has been progressively extending its economic and geopolitical influence over Pakistan consistently through its ambitious Belt and Road Initiative (Yi Dai Yi Lu). This has caused conflict between the countries. BRI, comprising the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor CPEC, is a key focus of China's regional dominance game. China's regional efforts center on this initiative. The CPEC (pinyin: Zhō ng bā jī ngjì zō uláng) allows direct trade between Gwadar Port in southern Pakistan and the northwestern area of China. In the future, it is projected that this project will contribute to the growth and development of the economy of Pakistan. The significant investments that China has made in infrastructure, energy, and a range of other types of sectors have resulted in China strengthening its relations with Pakistan and growing its influence in the region. This is partly because China has made these investments (Igwe, 2018). Hence, such kind of influences of both the powers, China and U.S., pushed Pakistan to play its significant role in the region as well as to enhance relations with both countries.

Literature Review

There have been a great number of researchers who have commenced research on the aforementioned subject, pursuing it from a variety of angles and with a variety of goals in mind. The results of their investigation have produced a variety of outcomes. The book by Amitav Acharya titled "*Whose Ideas Matter? : Agency and Power in Asian Regionalism*" published on February 24, 2011, is an example to thoroughly investigate the regional power politics particularly in South Asia focusing on the roles that both the United States of America and China have played in the region (Li & Zhang, 2018).

T. V. Paul, a well-known author, published a book in 2014 with the title "*The Warrior State: Pakistan in the Contemporary World*." This book examines the impact that Pakistan's connections with powerful countries like the United States and China have had on South Asia at the same time that it dives into Pakistan's relationships with these respective countries. According to T.V. Paul, who is an expert in the field of international relations, he has made substantial contributions to the investigation of major power dynamics and security within certain regions. The author explains the reasons behind Pakistan's prioritization of military parity with India, even at the expense of other developmental areas, due to its possession of nuclear weapons. Even individuals who hold differing opinions regarding his findings will appreciate the valuable insights he provides on Pakistan's vulnerabilities and the resulting policies. He asserts that while historical evidence suggests that military preparedness and conflicts in Europe have stimulated economic progress, this has not been the case in Pakistan (Kim, 2019).

Further, a study published in 2005, by David Calleo "*Hegemony and Decline: Reflections on Recent American Experience*" offers a thorough examination of the variations in U.S. foreign policy during the preceding decades. Calleo's book likely explores the fluctuations and transformations in American power and influence on the international scene, analyzing the causes that have contributed to both eras of dominance and instances of fall (Idrees, 2019).

Beside, '*Will this be China's century?*' is the title of the book written by Mel Gurtov, where he explores the question of whether China will emerge as the leading power in the current era. In 2016, "*A Skeptic's View," An impartial appraisal of China's worldwide impact*, offers many thought-provoking perspectives on US-China relations. This book analyzes China's economic recovery and U.S.-China ties. China's rise is likewise questioned. Gurtov considers US-China relations the most crucial. Many anticipate China will surpass the US as a global power. The presumptions contradict his view. On the other hand, he highlights several limitations that will force China's ruling body to focus on domestic issues in the near future (Abb, 2023).

Another study titled "*South Asia and Great Powers: International Relations and Regional Security*" was written by Sten Rynning in 2017. The book focuses on the dynamics that exist among regional powers and big global powers. In this paper, it is argued that these powers possess the competence to offset the competing interests of international entities in the South Asian region. It also illuminates regional security dynamics when a big power helps maintain stability. This article shows the author's knowledge of Afghanistan's foreign participation policy and South Asia's security. They emphasize the importance of both regional and global actors including the nations of India, Pakistan, China, Tehran, and the U.S. The author examined the effects of war and peace on South Asia's political and economic changes in this study. The issues of nationalism in South Asia and the rivalry between China, the U.S., and India in the Asia Pacific region

have been examined. These rivalries are now shaping the region. Long-term investments like China's Silk Road initiatives help maintain regional peace and security. However, the US is building a strong cooperation with India to safeguard its regional dominance. The new agendas of major and regional governments are thoroughly examined in these publications. They are a useful contribution to our understanding of the diplomatic processes that are taking place in South Asia (Rynning, 2019).

These all studies highlighted the different aspects between the U.S., China and Pakistan and number of other countries, hence, a key space emerged to shed light on the actions and policies of China and U.S. particularly towards Pakistan and to explore how these powers influenced over this state to get their interests.

THEU.S.-CHINA SUPREMACY RACE TOWARDS PAKISTAN

The U.S.-China relationship and its effects on Pakistan are complex. It is important to rely that domination is a powerful phrase and that one country may not dominate another. These are some of the most important considerations to take into account:

From a historical perspective: A lengthy and frequently complex history has been the defining characteristic of the association between America and Pakistan. Collaboration and conflict have marked its history. The U.S. economic and military help has been vital to Pakistan. This relationship has been shuffle many times due to Pakistan's hidden assistance to extremist groups and nuclear proliferation initiatives. On the other side, the CPEC (中巴经济走廊) an important initiative involves major investments in Pakistan. Energy along with environmental and infrastructure development initiatives dominates this program. The result is that the two countries' economic ties have been deepened, and influence over Pakistan has been increased (Pant, 2012).

In maintaining regional security, implementing counterterrorism initiatives, and pursuing economic opportunities, the U.S. has been actively seeking Pakistan's help in operations to combat terrorism and peace and reconciliation projects in Afghanistan. China sees Pakistan as a key partner in the BRI, which stands for the Belt and Road Initiative and peacekeeping. The Pakistan uses its diplomatic relationships with the U.S. and China to shape its foreign policy. The careful balance of method seeks its hallmark. In addition to Chinese investments and support, the U.S. provides economic and military aid. The Pakistan's strategic geographical position places it in a position to be a prominent participant in the geopolitical affairs of the region, particularly with regard to Afghanistan and the South Asian region as a whole.

China's Engrossment towards Pakistan BRI Initiative

The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), which was unveiled by Chinese President Xi Jinping in 2013, has drawn criticism for having excessively lofty ambitions and a lack of transparency. The project is expected to cost $1 trillion. The Report of China's 18th Central Committee, the most recent document to address the matter, stated that the goal of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is to foster economic growth through the implementation of projects pertaining to trade, finance, and infrastructure. Improving China's global collaboration with other countries is the primary objective. The goal of the endeavor is to improve connection across all of Eurasia, according to public remarks made by China. China has started taking steps to improve its communication with the rest of the world. Partnerships such as these form the basis of China's ambition. In addition, this strategy involves bilateral ties between China and certain governments on an individual level (Roy, 1994).

The Pakistan is a significant participant in the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), primarily in South Asia. The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), an essential part of the BRI, was inaugurated in 2015 by President Xi Jinping. China is investing over fifty billion dollars in Pakistan, constructing highways, railways, and the Gwadar Port. The project aims to improve regional connectivity, expand geographical linkages, promote commercial operations, and disseminate intellectual, cultural, and regional information. The ultimate goal is to establish a unified region marked by common destiny, harmony, and progress, promoting peace, economic stability, and growth.

The Pakistan plays a major role in the Belt and Road Initiative due to its longtime connection with China, ongoing tensions with India, and ambitions to impose regional influence over the U.S. and Russia. Pakistan's strategic location between the Arabian Sea and the Persian However, Pakistan must enter because to its proximity to Afghanistan and ongoing border concerns with India. This

project could impact Pakistan and the region. The corridor also appears during Pakistan's East-West border conflicts. Tensions over Kashmir, assertions of the boundary of control, as well as cross-border shooting as well as assassinations define the relationship during these times (Chimhowu, 2019). The Islamabad, capital of Pakistan, sees the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) as a representation of its tight ties to China. Think tanks in Pakistan are of the opinion that the project has the potential to stabilize the energy sector, economy, and internal circumstances of the nation. Another benefit of this corridor is that it allows China to purchase a wider range of fruits. China and Pakistan stand to gain from the notion, but there are a few obstacles that need to be cleared before it can be implemented (Yan, 2015).

Infrastructure

The China's Belt and Road Initiative emphasizes regional connectivity between Asia, Europe, and the Middle East through maritime and terrestrial transportation. Pakistan is enhancing its transportation infrastructure, with $5145 million allocated for road construction and $8212 million for railway construction. This project aims to build numerous roadways and railway lines, covering a large area (Chance, 2016).

This significant component of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) represents a significant step forward in the direction of accomplishing the primary goal of the BRI, which is to establish a connection between China and South Asia, the Middle East, and the regions that are surrounded by the Arabian Sea and Persian Gulf. In addition, this project has the potential to stimulate economic growth and improve connectivity inside Pakistan, China, and the nations that are geographically next to Pakistan in the region.Within the context of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), China has placed a strong emphasis on the significance of regional connectivity between Asia, Europe, and the Middle East. This connection is to be achieved through the utilization of maritime and terrestrial transportation. As a consequence of this, the infrastructure, which includes the roads, railways, and ports, plays an essential part in the process of carrying out this function (Yelery, 2016).

Gwadar Port and Special Economic Zones

As a result of the China-Pakistan Economic Zones being a component of both the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), it is imperative that regional connectivity be expanded throughout the continent. The aim of the Pakistani government's comprehensive plan is to develop the Gawadar Port and increase industrial production by establishing 37 Special Economic Zones (SEZs) in four provinces of the country and at specified places inside the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPECThe goal that was previously mentioned is what this plan is intended to achieve. Special Economic Zones (SEZs) are highly valued since they support strategic and economic growth in both nations. For example, the Chinese ambassador to Pakistan, Sun Weidong, emphasized the importance of Gwadar, Pakistan's key port. He added that Gwadar, which China is developing as part of an estimated fifty billion dollar endeavor, will play a unique role in Beijing's ambitious goal to link with the Middle East market and to extend its economic influence in the region, according to a senior Chinese diplomat (Ali, Nadeem, and Aslam, 2023).

Pakistan-China Educational Cooperation

The Pakistan and China are working to make it a reality by increasing their educational cooperation and mutual interactions. The number of academic and intellectual contacts between the two nations has increased dramatically since 2017—the year the CPEC Consortium of Universities was founded. Joint conferences, workshops, and exhibitions will be organized, cultural events will be hosted, talent development will be encouraged, language training will be offered, study centers will be built in China, and collaborative research projects will be performed. There has also been an increase in the number of students from Pakistan who are learning Chinese and other Chinese languages, which has contributed to the strengthening of links between the two countries. Reforming talent development tactics, upgrading teaching standards, and developing individualized textbooks are some of the ways in which Chinese educational institutions are working to improve the quality of education that Pakistani students get. Considering the robust relationship that exists between Pakistan and China as a result of the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), it is of the utmost importance for both countries to aggressively explore and foster higher education exchanges and collaboration. As a result, this will result in the exchange of high-quality education and will build pleasant relationships that

are advantageous to both parties (Ali, Nadeem, and Aslam, 2023).

There are scholarships available to Pakistani students and scholars through the Chinese Scholarship Council, which is a government-run organization. These scholarships are intended to be used for the purpose of pursuing higher education and doing research at Chinese universities. The curriculum covers a wide variety of fields, including but not limited to the following: science, engineering, agriculture, medicine, economics, management, education, history, literature, philosophy, and the fine arts. An active exploration of ways to improve educational accessibility, create cooperation among multiple stakeholders, strengthen joint educational efforts, and speed up the development of language competency should be a part of the collaboration between China and Pakistan in the field of higher education (Bolsinger, 2021).

The United States and Pakistan Strengthen Higher Education

A $19 million program has been launched by a partnership between the United States Government and Pakistan's Higher Education Commission (HEC). Enhancing the employability of university graduates and bolstering Pakistan's higher education system are the overarching goals of the initiative. It is anticipated that the project will be beneficial to fifteen public universities in Pakistan, among which will be five universities that are exclusively designed for women. It will provide opportunities for research, instruction in soft skills, and direction for the development of job opportunities. Through the Higher Education System Strengthening Activity (HESSA), Pakistani institutions will be able to improve their capacity, students will be equipped with the skills necessary for employment, educational programs will be aligned with the requirements of industry, increased employment rates and productivity will be promoted, and economic growth will be fostered (Khan, Janjua, Naeem, & Kayani, 2014).

Both the states also worked together on different fields such as scholarships and exchanges, i.e. Fulbright Scholarships, Hubert H. Humphrey Fellowships, Community College Initiative, English Language Programs. Further, University Partnerships such as U.S.–Pakistan Centers for Advanced Studies (CAS), Linkages between U.S. and Pakistani universities, Virtual education projects, and one of the biggest programs is USAID Educational Programs.

U.S.-Pakistan Education Partnerships

Sister Schools

By participating in the Challenge 20/20 initiative offered by the CARE Foundation, Pakistani schools work together with their sister schools in the United States to foster online collaboration and facilitate the development of ties between students. Pakistan is the fifth largest country in the world in terms of population, with a total of 229.22 million its citizens. In private schools, English is the language of teaching that is most commonly used, and the government is making concerted efforts to guarantee that students receive an education of the highest possible standard. Literacy rates in Pakistan have been stable at 60% since 2014-2015, with urban areas having a higher rate of 74% and rural areas having a lower rate of 54%. The percentage of people who are literate in Pakistan has remained steady. It is estimated that there are a total of 182,600 elementary schools, 46,800 middle schools,
34,800 secondary schools, 7,648 higher, secondary, and intermediate institutions, and 3,729 technical and vocational institutes across the country. A total of four levels, each lasting for a period of twelve years, make up the national education system (Nasir, Bhatti, Zubair, Sarfaraz, & Miran, 2025).

There are over three thousand degree colleges in Pakistan, each of which offers comprehensive educational programs that last for four years and cover a wide variety of subject areas. A total of 202 universities, including both public and private establishments, are under the jurisdiction of the Higher Education Commission (HEC), which is responsible for providing financial assistance, overseeing, and awarding accreditation to these universities. When it comes to the Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) system in Pakistan, the National Vocational and Technical Training Commission (NAVTTC) is the body that is accountable for establishing and implementing policies connected to the system. The National Training Board is responsible for overseeing the Skill Development Technical Councils, which are specifically the Skill Development Councils in Lahore, Karachi, and Peshawar. These councils are established through partnerships between the public and private sectors through collaborations. The Higher Education Commission (HEC) mandates that all Higher Education Institutes (HEI) to build

Offices of Research, Innovation, and Commercialization (ORICs), which will ultimately result in the establishment of Business Incubation Centers (BICs). Currently, the government has developed eight national incubation centers. These facilities are located all around the country. Number of these programs are enhancing under the umbrella of U.S. aid program (Altaf & Shabir, 2024).

Market Analysis and Observations

With a total of 8,772 students choosing to pursue their education in the United States of America in 2022, Pakistan witnessed a significant increase of 17.2% in the number of its students who chose to pursue their education in other countries. Regarding the number of students from other countries that are enrolled in educational programs in the United States, the nation holds the sixteenth spot. The United States of America is the second most attractive location for students from other countries to study in. The majority of Pakistani students choose to attend public institutions, with a focus on subjects like as business studies, accounting, engineering and technology, medical, general studies, and the arts. Countries such as Australia, the United Kingdom, Germany, Malaysia, Kyrgyzstan, Canada, the Central Asian republics, Ukraine, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Italy, and China are among the destinations that have received the top rankings.

The rise in enrollments from metropolitan areas is evidence that Pakistani students have a strong preference for private education. This preference is reflected in the numbers. Through the implementation of collaborative projects with prestigious local universities, the United States of America has the potential to attract this particular market niche. These initiatives will concentrate on fields such as engineering and technology, as well as business education. Pakistan's Vision 2025 goals are intended to be accomplished through the implementation of the United States-Pakistan Knowledge Corridor Ph.D. Scholarship Program. The concept of virtual learning is becoming increasingly popular in both the academic and professional worlds. In Pakistan, students and professionals are increasingly choosing to pursue foreign certification, diploma, and degree programs through distance learning than traditional classroom instruction.

Combating Terrorism

The U.S. and Pakistan collectively fought the war on terror particularly in Afghanistan and Pakistan as well since the emergence of 9/11. However, the Washington continues to be tremendously concerned about the continuing threat of terrorism that originates from Afghanistan and Pakistan, although the media has paid less attention to the problem. Afghanistan and Pakistan are the countries that are of worry to the United States. The primary leadership of al-Qaeda witnessed a significant reduction in operational capability due to the U.S.' twenty-year military engagement in Afghanistan. This was the war's result. However, the Taliban and Haqqani Network took control of Afghanistan after the U.S. unexpectedly withdrew in August 2021. This was due to the U.S.'s surprise exit. Both the local Islamic State branch and Al-Qaeda are operating in the country. The Biden administration found that both organizations intend to attack the U.S. and might do so within seven months. We reached this conclusion before 2021 ended (D'Souza, 2006).

The current U.S. counterterrorism strategy in the region is inconsistent. Today, this contradiction exists. The U.S. may invade landlocked Afghanistan to achieve its short-term counterterrorism goals. In contrast, Afghanistan's neighbors have few positive options to fight terrorism. Below are the choices: Russia has barred former Soviet Central Asian states from forming deeper ties with the U.S. The U.S.-Iran relationship is so bad that it's impossible to discuss cooperating at this point. The Pakistan is currently the only viable option. The Pakistan agreed to limited tactical cooperation with Washington. For a more durable reform in Pakistan, the U.S. should sacrifice a temporary entry into Afghanistan (Tarzi, 2022).

Since 2001 Era; Pak-U.S. Cooperation and Strains Alliance during War on Terror

During the 2001-2008, both the countries stand together to fight the war against terrorism. Islamabad and Washington closely worked to destroy the terrorist's backbones with the collaboration of NATO (Weinstein, 2017).

Do More and Double Game

The cooperation between both the states went strain on asking the Islamabad "do more" and play fair role of Pakistan against the terrorists. Later on the case of Raymond Davis and Operation Neptune spear

2017, and Salala incident further shake the relations between both the states (Lynch, 2018).

Tactical Cooperation without Trust

The Pakistan and the U.S. continued work together against the terrorism however trustless steps were taken. The Islamabad and Washington also collaborated during Zarb-e-Azb and number of other operations. The President Trump's first tenure further shake the relations while his policy "Trump's South Asia Policy 2017" announced and declared the Pakistan as "safe havens" for terrorists, however, later during withdrawal of the NATO and U.S. from Afghanistan, Islamabad facilitated the U.S. and its allies. Such kind of mistrusts gave the space both the states to move forward hence the Washington enhanced ties with New Dehli and Islamabad moves toward Beijing (Khan, 2016).

CONCLUSION

The relations between the U.S. and China are on hot plate since decades. Both the powers always try to dominant and secure its interests in the regions. This study explores the Washington and Beijing's policy and role towards Pakistan. The study finds that China has funneled the billions of dollars as economic, military and strategic support to Islamabad in the form of China-Pakistan Economic Corridor to secure its interests in the region. Educational and number of other initiatives are also the key parts of the cooperation between both the stats. Beside, U.S.-Pakistan have historical relations along with number of cooperation during war against terrorism, educational initiatives, military cooperation, and many more steps have been taken between both the Washington and Islamabad. Along with these initiatives, some mistrust has also been highlighted between both the states. The research further explore that Pakistan is trying to balance the relations between U.S. and China.

REFERENCES

Abb, P. (2023). All geopolitics is local: the China–Pakistan Economic Corridor amidst overlapping centre–periphery relations. *Third World Quarterly*, *44*(1), 76-95.

Ali, I., Nadeem, M. F., & Aslam, M. (2023). Towards Modern South-Asia: China-Pakistan Economic Corridor its Components, Challenges and Opportunities. *Journal of Development and Social Sciences*, *4*(1), 53-67.

Altaf, H., & Shabir, Q. A. A. (2024). Systematic Evaluation of Existing Policies and Practices in Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) and their Implications for Employment and Industrial Growth in Pakistan. *International Research Journal of Management and Social Sciences*, *5*(2), 140-165.

Bolsinger, D. (2021). Not at any price: LBJ, Pakistan, and bargaining in an asymmetric intelligence relationship. *Texas National Security Review*, *5*(1), 55-80.

Chance, A., & Mafinezam, A. (2016). American perspectives on the belt and road initiative. *Institute for China-America Studies*, 68- 75.

Chimhowu, A. O., Hulme, D., & Munro, L. T. (2019). The 'New'national development planning and global development goals: Processes and partnerships. *World development*, *120*, 76-89.

D'Souza, S. (2006). US-Pakistan Counter-Terrorism Cooperation: Dynamics and Challenges. *Strategic Analysis*, *30*(3), 525-561.

Idrees, M., Rehman, A. U., & Naazer, M. A. (2019). Afghan peace process and the role of Pakistan in engaging the stakeholders. *Liberal Arts and Social Sciences International Journal (LASSIJ)*, *3*(2), 20-34.

Igwe, I. O. (2018). History of the international economy: The Bretton Woods system and its impact on the economic development of developing countries. *Athens Journal of Law*, *4*(2), 105-126.

Khan, M., Janjua, S. Y., Naeem, A., & Kayani, F. N. (2014). United States agency for international development's role in reforming higher education in Pakistan. *Business Education & Accreditation*, *6*(1), 73-80.

Khan, Z. (2016). Strategic Conundrum of US–China and India–Pakistan: A Perspective. *Margalla Papers*, *20*(1).

Kim, M. H. (2019). A real driver of US–China trade conflict: The Sino–US competition for global hegemony and its implications for the future. *International Trade, Politics and Development*, *3*(1), 30-40.

Li, X., & Zhang, S. (2018). Interdependent hegemony: China's rise under the emerging new world order. *China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies*, *4*(02), 159-175.

Lynch, T. F. (2018). The decades-long" double-double game": Pakistan, the United States, and the Taliban. *Military Review*, *98*(4), 64-79.

Nasir, F., Bhatti, A. H., Zubair, M., Sarfaraz, M., & Miran, G. (2025). Globalization Impact on 21st Century Educational Leadership: Challenges and Adaptation in Pakistan. *The Critical Review of Social Sciences Studies*, *3*(1), 830-844.

Pant, H. V. (2012). The Pakistan Thorn in China–India–US Relations. *The Washington Quarterly*, *35*(1), 83-95.

Roy, D. (1994). Hegemon on the horizon? China's threat to East Asian security. *International Security*, *19*(1), 149-168.

Rynning, S. (Ed.). (2019). *South Asia and the great powers: International relations and regional Security*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

Tarzi, A. (2022). Three decades of US intervention in the Mediterranean region: Limits of the counterterrorism approach to stabilization. *Confluences Méditerranée*, *123*(4), 99-110.

Weinstein, A. (2017). Future of the US-Pakistan Alliance in the War on Terror. *Pakistan Horizon*, *70*(3), 85-102.

Wohlforth, W. C. (2014). The stability of a unipolar world. In *The Realism Reader* (pp. 383-395). Routledge.

Yan, H., Soon, W., & Wang, Y. (2015). A composite sea surface temperature record of the northern South China Sea for the past 2500 years: A unique look into seasonality and seasonal climate changes during warm and cold periods. *Earth-Science Reviews*, *141*, 122-135.

Yelery, A. (2016). The national development reform commission's report at the 4th session of 12th national people's congress: a review. *China Report*, *52*(3), 228-234.