

# Essay #2

## Changing World Order and Pakistan's Foreign Policy

### Outline:-

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- 3: Manifestations of changing world order:
  - (a) Intensive strategic competition between the great powers — China, USA and Russia
  - (b) Resurgence of Taliban in Afghanistan and implications for Pakistan
  - (c) Emergence of "India as a regional and global military and economic giant — Indo-US Nexus

(d) Changing nature of warfare from traditional military-based configurations to non-conventional proxies and hybrid warfare.

(e) Russia-Ukraine war and its repercussions on World Order.

(f) Decaying liberal world order and gradual move towards Hobbesian violent phase — primacy of power politics.

(g) Economic resurgence of Asian countries — Importance of economy in world politics.

(h) Climate change — a world in quest of calling attention to climate crisis.

4: What are the challenges faced by Pakistan's foreign policy amid changing world order?

(a) Difficulty in balancing relations between the great powers of the world - USA, China, Russia

(b) Hegemonic designs of India in South Asia - Indo-USA nexus and strategic partnership

(c) Afghanistan Conundrum - peace in Afghanistan an unstable equilibrium

(d) Breaking the begging bowl trap of monetary organizations - vicious circle of unholy trinity (WB, IMF, WTO)

(e) Unsettled issues of Pakistan on domestic front - Political, economic, social, and religious crises.

5: In what ways Pakistan can maximize its benefits from the changing world order?

(a) Implementation of National Security Policy - 2022, in Issue letter and spirit

(b) Need of structural economic reforms in order to ensure self-sufficiency

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### Thesis Statement:-

World is embracing a new order with the rise of new challenges. Therefore, Pakistan's foreign policy is also facing mounting challenges which require certain pragmatic redemptive measures for nurturing balanced approach in accordance with its interests.

# Essay:

The continuous transition of the world from one form of globalization to another has become an attribute of the world order. The rise and fall of great powers change the dynamics of world politics. When the key players in global system rise and fall, changes occur in the global power structure, players and interests. No country, particularly those which are important for competing powers, can escape this global transformation and power struggle. Similar is the case with Pakistan. Without any iota of doubt, the world is embracing a new order with the rise of new challenges, therefore, Pakistan's foreign policy is also facing mounting challenges which require certain pragmatic redemptive measures for nurturing balanced approach in accordance with its interests.

Intensive strategic competition between the great powers like China, United

States of America (USA) and Russia is leading the world towards Hobbesian violent phase due to decaying liberal world order; Russia-Ukraine war is the best instance of such rivalry. Besides, resurgence of Taliban in Afghanistan accompanied by Indian hegemonic designs and its resurgence as regional military and economic giant are further proving the fact that the world cannot sustain itself in one form for too long. In the same vein, changing nature of warfare and climate crisis cannot be shelved aside as they explicitly manifest the changing dynamics of world order. Pakistan is no exception to such transition. Amid such changing dynamics, foreign policy of Pakistan is facing manifold challenges of geo-strategic, geo-political and geo-economic nature. Difficulty in balancing relations between the great powers, India-USA nexus, Afghanistan conundrum, vicious circle of world monetary organizations and issues on domestic front are continuously wrecking

have to the very fabric of Pakistan's international relations. However, certain pragmatic measures, if taken timely, will help Pakistan to maximize its benefits from the changing world order. World political structure is never stagnant but dynamic in nature and, thus, it needs dynamic foreign policies on international front.

Changing global world order from one axis to another, from one region to another and from one state to another will create foreign policy challenges for smaller countries like Pakistan. Pakistan's engagement with great powers, viz., China, USA and recently Russia, has been on the basis of geopolitics and geoeconomics. Pakistan's geo-strategic position has provided great opportunities to great powers to deal with regional and global crises. Since its inception, Pakistan has structured its foreign policy keeping in view her interests

and changing world order from bi-polarity to Uni-polarity, which is now again transitioning to multipolarity. Bordering two nuclear powers and Asian giants, viz., Indian and China, Pakistan is crucial to world politics and, thus, needs to structure its foreign policy in more vibrant and robust manner.

Pakistan needs inclusive policy measures to deal with changing world order more effectively.

Intense strategic competition between the great powers such as the USA, China and Russia aptly manifests the nature of change in global power dynamics. The current global power structure is based on multipolarity as countries such as China, Russia and the USA are vying hard for dominating the world. There is an intense competition between these countries as China is an emerging power, has posed serious threats to the interests of the USA regionally and globally. It is manifested by the



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war of infrastructure corridors, viz., Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) of China, and Build Back Better World (B3W) of the USA which cause their shift from security alliances to economic one.

Thus, such strategic rivalries pose threats to many countries, including Pakistan, to depend either on the USA or China.

In the same vein, Resurgence of Taliban in Afghanistan is an essential change in global political order. The Islamic fundamentalist group returned to power in Afghanistan in 2021 after waging an insurgency against the USA-backed government in Kabul since 2001. The Taliban maintains close ties with al-Qaeda, analysts are concerned that they could provide it with safe haven and allow it to launch international terrorist attacks from Afghanistan soil. According to Graham Allison, Harvard University Professor, "The USA has no further vital national interests in Afghanistan."

clearly shows that the USA has sided from Afghanistan's condition, but, still Afghanistan's stability is paramount to the stability in the region and the world. Therefore, resurgence of Taliban is another unfortunate manifestation of the changing world order.

What to say of resurgence of Taliban in Afghanistan, the emergence of India as a regional and global military and economic giant is another instance of change in global order. India is making continuous progress in global political and economic arena. Its foreign trade is growing by leaps and bounds and thus the regional balance of power is shifting in India's favour. According to The Economic Times report, India is the fourth most powerful military strength after the USA, China and Russia. According to the same report, India has undertaken United Kingdom as the world's 5<sup>th</sup> best economy and could be third by 2030. Tony Abbott, 28<sup>th</sup> Prime

Minister of Australia, "India is most democratic Superpower." Hence, India's rapid pace of economic and military progress has critical impacts on global order, especially Pakistan.

Besides, changing nature of warfare. from traditional military-based confrontation to non-traditional proxies and hybrid warfare causes changes in the global order. The use of ideas, it blends conventional warfare, irregular warfare and cyberwarfare, fake news propagation, diplomacy and foreign electoral intervention.

Hybrid warfare is emerging as a buzzword in global strategic community. It is a victim-driven warfare wherein a victim often becomes an actor against itself.

Certain instances of hybrid warfare are as follows: Russia's activities in Crimea, election interference in the UK and the USA and effects on social media, news services are all examples for such new form of warfare.

thus, the changing non-traditional factors of warfare have been drastically changing the global dynamics.

In addition to that, Russia-Ukraine war is set to fundamentally transform the international order, providing a new impetus for what some call the world's "de-Westernization." Russia's invasion of Ukraine on February 24, 2022, marked the re-emergence of Hobbesian doctrine of force and might is right. The war led to global energy (oil and gas) crisis of unprecedented level. It caused European countries to re-evaluate their relations with Russia. According to a report of Reuters, Russia is using energy as a weapon, against European nations and the USA, as natural gas prices hit multi-year highs and oil is sold for nearly \$140 per barrel, leading the world into the jaws of inflation. It is, therefore, true that the global dynamics are changing by leaps and bounds due to

## The Russia - Ukraine conflict.

Declining liberal world order and gradual move towards Hobbesian violent phase are leading towards primacy of power politics and change in signing global affairs. It is without any tint of exaggeration that wars and chaotic state of affairs have been taking place on the world map. The world is moving towards the morass of power politics and territorial conflicts of an unprecedented nature. There are many instances to testify this fact; they are: Russia - Ukraine war, USA - China - Taiwan conflict, and rivalry between Iran and Saudi Arabia in the Middle East etc., are all help cementing the argument that world is indulging more and more into conflicts and turmoil. This amply testifies the fact that the world order is in continuous modification.

Furthermore, importance of economy is continuously increasing in world politics as the world has witnessed economic resurgence of Asian countries. The Asian countries, despite having abundance of natural resources, lagged far behind the West in terms of economic sufficiency. Now the page has been turned and these countries are pursuing progressive economic policies through advancements in technologies, education, and international and regional cooperation.

Two new Asian economic giants China and India are leading figures.

"Their overall Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is more than 3 Billion USD. While Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) is now 5<sup>th</sup> largest economy," says Sohail Ahmed, Pakistan Foreign Secretary. Thus, economic resurgence of Asian states has brought unprecedented change in world order.

Another factor is climate crisis which has put the world in quest of calling attention to the climate change and its drastic repercussions. Climate change is one of the several challenges to the existing international order. Since countries are developing pro-climate policies at different speed and magnitudes leading to unbalanced climate policies. According to United Nations Climate Change Conference, 2022, held on 8<sup>th</sup> November until 20<sup>th</sup> November, 2022, in Egypt, climate technology solutions in developing countries be promoted; otherwise regional and international climate actions will lead to chaotic hodgepodge of competing rules leading to future geo-political tensions. Therefore, it can be deduced that the world order is rapidly transforming due to climate related political crises.

Pakistan's foreign policy is challenged by changing global order in myriad of ways of which one is

difficulty faced by the country in balancing relations between great powers. For instance, China and the USA are currently engaged in a trade war; while Russia and the USA are also at loggerheads over Ukraine issue, Pakistan is trying hard to remain neutral because it cannot afford to be involved in a battle with either of them. The Western powers led by the USA are engaged at China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and emergence of China. As aptly remarked by Michael Mullen, former USA military Chief, "I think we have already distanced ourselves from Pakistan over the last decade and Pakistan has more and more fallen under the umbrella of China." Pakistan is facing difficulties in maintaining equilibrium between the great powers.

What to speak of global powers, emerging hegemonic designs of India in South Asian region and Indo-US nexus



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have further added miseries to the foreign policy challenges entailed by Pakistan. Since India, with the helping hand of the USA, is fast growing economically and militarily, will lead to an imbalance in regional balance of power. The USA is assisting India to adopt nuclear technologies against emerging China; it will lead to arms race in the region because Pakistan, too, will take counter measures. Basic Exchange and Cooperation Agreement (BECA) was signed between the USA and India in October, 2022 for geostrategic and aeronautical cooperation which testifies the fact that India is soon becoming South Asian giant. India's such factors, therefore, threaten Pakistan's foreign policy initiatives.

Similarly, Afghanistan's condition and peace and stability in Afghanistan are posing serious challenges to Pakistan's future foreign policy measures.

Without any shadow of doubt, peace in Afghanistan, Pakistan neighbour on Western border, is indispensable for peace in Pakistan and ultimately to its foreign policy initiatives. If Afghanistan remain unstable, which it is currently, millions of refugees will again cross the border and will burden the country. Peace in Afghanistan is also essential for Pakistan's security. As alleged by Mohammad Yaqub, Afghanistan's defence minister, "The drones are entering through Pakistan to Afghanistan." This clarifies that Afghanistan's issue and resolute blame game on Pakistan are posing challenges to Pakistan's foreign image and relations.

Another most important challenge is the begging bowl trap of international monetary organizations and their vicious circle which damages Pakistan in a very profound manner. International monetary organizations such as: International Monetary Fund (IMF).

World Bank (WB), and World Trade Organization (WTO), are all dragging Pakistan into their vicious debt and loan traps, further weakening its economy and leading to paralyzed foreign policies short of any benefits for the country. IMF has tight monetary structure working on neo-liberal philosophy, unsuitable to countries like Pakistan. According to State Bank of Pakistan (SBP) Report, 2022, IMF called for exchange rate to be market-based, thus, the Pakistani rupee depreciated by 17% in 2022. Country with weak economy has weak international standing and Pakistan is already facing it due to vicious circle of such organizations.

More importantly, unsettled issues of Pakistan on domestic front are further weakening havoc to the already frayed image of the country in biblical proportion. A country's prosperity on international front is majestically determined by its

domestic strength and vigour. Pakistan is facing myriad of politico-economic-social-religious crises, which seriously threaten the smooth and vibrant policy making on international front. The country is witnessing polarized politics, constitutional crises, civil-military relations are fragile and there is low Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), thus, lack of economic development. As rightly written by William E. Gladstone, "Here is my first principle of foreign policy: good governance at home." So, foreign policy is always the reflection of domestic policy, and Pakistan is facing severe challenges on both fronts.

Notwithstanding the challenges to foreign policy of Pakistan, certain measures can ameliorate the situation for Pakistan; such as, implementation of National Security Policy - 2022 (NSP) in true letter and spirit can help maximize benefits for Pakistan from

Changing world order. The NSP was formulated by Pakistan government in the year 2022. It was the first comprehensive NSP ever formulated in the country addressing issues and challenges of wide range. It seeks to co-locate Pakistan in emerging global trends. It is a citizen-centric comprehensive national security policy ensuring safety, security, dignity and prosperity of the people of Pakistan. As a whole, it is an impressive document and, if implemented in true sense, will help Pakistan to prosper by leaps and bounds.

More importantly, Pakistan is in dire need of structural economic reforms in order to ensure self-sufficiency in international affairs. Pakistan is on the verge of economic default and it needs economic reforms to tackle obstacles to the fundamental drivers of growth by liberalizing labour, product and service markets, thereby encouraging job creation and

and investment and improving productivity. They are designed to boost an economy's competitiveness, growth potential and adjustment capacity. The models of China and India's economic prosperity could be imitated to cope with the economic crisis. A country's international standing is mostly determined by its economic stability. Pakistan needs to focus on its economy to cope with its foreign policy challenges.

Moreover, capacity building of state institutions to counter threats like hybrid warfare is a promising step to formulate robust and vibrant foreign policies. Pakistan's security institutions; such as, police and counter terrorism institutions are in dire need of amelioration. Moreover, there is a dire need for the efforts by government to professionalize the public sector at the political and administrative levels to cope with

Challenges faced by the policy makers. The country is faced by deteriorating shackles of hybrid warfare, thus, robust structural and non-structural measures are needed such as, administrative reforms, police and law and order reforms, judicial reforms etc.

- No country can forge a vibrant foreign and domestic policies, if its state institutions are extractive, and Pakistan needs to work on building inclusive institutions.

Besides, setting the house in order and focusing on internal chaos faced by the country is direly needed, as foreign policy is the reflection of domestic policy. Pakistan, since its inception, has been faced with scores of politico-economic - socio-religious issues of unprecedented nature. Such crises not only haunt the country internally, but also weaken its image globally by affecting its

foreign policy. A country divided and disturbed internally cannot project its soft image externally.

There is political instability, economic issues, terrorism etc., which the country is faced with. For robust and vibrant foreign outlook, the country needs to focus over the national issues first, only then it can project its progressive image outwardly.

Lastly, the pacific settlement of disputes with regional and neighbouring countries by devising friendly, robust and vibrant foreign policy is the need of the hour.

Keeping in view the geo-strategic location of Pakistan, it cannot afford isolation, as it is surrounded by two major economies India and China, and a war-torn nation Afghanistan on its West, Pakistan has to resolve its disputes with India and forge trade ties with it.



Regional connectivity could be ensured by roads and rail communication, cultural exchange programs, religious tourism and free trade. This will enhance Pakistan's prestige in the eyes of global community and its soft image would come forth on international forum.

To wrap it up, without any shadow of doubt, global dynamics are changing dramatically and pose drastic challenges to the foreign policy of Pakistan which need to be addressed timely. Despite being caught up between the rivalry of great powers or threats from neighbours like Afghanistan or India, Pakistan still has enough potential to draw its foreign policy in ways which can, and will, maximize its benefits from the changing world order.

Implementing NSP-2022 in real terms, structural economic reforms, capacity building of state

institutions along with amelioration of domestic issues and specific settlement of disputes, are some pragmatic measures to help Pakistan form vibrant, robust, and progressive foreign policy. Therefore, these reforms are sine qua non for Pakistan's engagement with other countries in a changing world.

Precis #2Title : Death and Rebirth of Religion

History is replete with the instances that religions decay and get resurrected. Many a time, religion and God died and got reborn after certain duration. Whether Ikhraon, Buddha, Oriental faiths or Heber and Charneite, Robespierre and Napoleon, provide ample proofs that their attempts to destroy and resurrect religions were simultaneously going on; that religion has many lives. England, too, agreed to support Anglican Church on an understanding of reducing it to the state. Americans religious revival further cement the idea of religion as a living organism with many lives.

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