

Topic: Changing world order and Pakistan's Foreign Policy.

1. Introduction

Thesis Statement: The world is moving ^{towards} ~~from~~ multipolarity at fast pace. Compliance to changing world order has become indispensable for the foreign policy of the states. In the wake of this, Pakistan is facing challenges in its foreign policy. However, by taking adequate measures in its foreign policy, Pakistan can meet the ^{new} demand of the world effectively.

2. Changing world order from unipolarity to Multipolarity

- a. Emergence of economic powers in Asia.
- b. Resurgence of Russia a threat to US geostrategic hegemony
- c. US is losing its asymmetric clout over its allies; no more Hobson's choice
- d. A shift from geostrategic alliances to geoeconomic alliances
- e. Asia is attempting to reduce its dependency on Western monetary institutes
- f. Regional organizations are becoming powerful to counter US dominated international organizations
- g. Emphasis of US on its Indo-Pacific policy.

3. Challenges to Foreign Policy of Pakistan

- a. Hindrance in following its geoeconomic foreign policy
- b. Propaganda of US and its allies on CPEC is deteriorating relations with China
- c. US-India's growing partnership is deteriorating Pakistan's international reputation
- d. Pakistan's stance on Kashmir is weakening owing to India's diplomatic clout
- e. US pressure is hampering Pakistan's relations with its eastern neighbors

4. Important measures Pakistan needs to take to strengthen its foreign policy

- a. Political stability is indispensable to strengthen foreign policy
- b. Pakistan needs to expand its horizon of geo-strategic partners
- c. Reduce asymmetric interdependence on China; demand of its geoeconomic foreign policy.

5. Conclusion

In the little more than three decades, the world order has undergone massive change. Since the emergence of US as world super power, its imminent hegemonic decline has been ongoing for a quite time. The recent report published by The Economist, titled "The World Ahead 2023", termed the current world order as "Multipolar" with US, China, and Russia as dominant players in new & power equation. The rise of multipolarity is evident from the emergence of economic power of Asian countries. Also resurgence of Russia is giving competition to geostrategic hegemony of US. Furthermore, US is losing its asymmetric clout over its allies. The great power rivalry is shifting the alliances from geostrategic to geoeconomic. Moreover, Asian power are attempting to create their monetary and cooperation organizations powerful to reduce dependency on US-dominated international organization. In retaliation, US is strengthening its Indo-Pacific strategy. Pakistan being an ally of two great powers, US and China, facing severe repercussion in its foreign policy. It is facing challenges in following its geoeconomic foreign policy. Also propaganda of US and its allies on CPEC is harming its relations

with China. The growing Indo-US Partnership is demeaning Pakistan's international reputation and its stance on Kashmir. Furthermore, Pakistan could not maintain cordial relations with its eastern neighbors owing to US pressure. Although, by taking appropriate measures to strengthen its foreign policy, Pakistan can reap maximum advantage with minimum risk. In this regard, Pakistan needs to ensure political stability. Also it needs to expand the horizon of its geostrategic partner and reduce asymmetric interdependence on China. Hence, the world is moving towards multipolarity at great pace. Compliance to changing world order has become indispensable for the states. In the wake of this, Pakistan is facing challenges in pursuing its foreign policy. However, by taking adequate measures in its foreign policy, Pakistan can meet the demand of the new world effectively.

The first and the foremost trend in the changing world order is the emergence of economic power of Asian countries. The economy of China and India is growing after the cold war.

In 1990s, economies of both countries were stood at 300-350 billion dollar. However, currently, China has become the second largest economy of the world with the GDP of \$18 tr. Also, India is now world's 5th largest economy with the GDP of \$3tr (World bank annual report 2022). History is evident, Economic power of the countries had always been the forerunner in changing the world order. Therefore, analysts has accepted China as ^{key} player of the world, and India as dominant regional player.

Furthermore, resurgence of Russia after its annexation of Crimea in 2014 is posing a threat to geostrategic hegemony of US. Russia is expanding its geostrategic importance in the world. Currently, Russia is the second biggest arm exporter of the world giving a threat competition to the US (world trade organization). The main trade partner of Russia includes US allies. India is the biggest arm ^{importer} of Russia, followed by China (World trade organization annual report 2022). Russia's growing strategic partnership with ^{two} of the most important countries for US, ^{former} ^{is} ^{its} ^{cardinal} ally and ^{its} ^{arch} rival, is declining its strategic importance in the world. Present Biden also endorsed this in his recent national security policy 2022.

The growing importance of China and Russia is causing US to lose its asymmetric cloud over its allies. US is notorious for giving hobson's choice to its allies in his rivalry to other countries. This can be evident from its behavior in war on terror (WOT). President Bush raised the slogan, "You are either with us or against us in our fight against terrorism"; hence, ^{he} compelled his ~~own~~ allies Euro-Asian allies to take part in WOT at the expense of their sovereignty. But the table has turned now, currently, India, being the US most favorite, is easily maintaining balanced relations with rivals of US; ~~and this~~

Owing to changing world order Indo-China trade partnership was recorded \$150 bn. in 2022 (which is greater than that ^{with} of US ("The year in review", India Today, 2022)). Also, Turkey is following its independent foreign policy amid Russia-Ukraine crisis. Recently, Turkey has signed a deal of S-400 missile systems with Russia (TRT International). Hence it can be inferred that US is losing its hegemony owing to the emergence of new powers in the world.

One of the prominent change due to multipolarity in the world is the emergence of ~~new~~ geoeconomic alliances. History is evident that US, in order to curb its rivals, made strategic approaches. During the Cold war, US made two strategic alliance, ~~namely~~ namely CENTO and SEATO, in its think to contain Soviet union. (Changing dynamics of US-Pak relations over the years, ISSI). But ~~in~~ ^{asht b} the current scenario of global politics, a change is witnessed. In order to curb China's BRI (belt and road initiative) project, US, with its G20 allies, has launched a multilateral, socioeconomic infrastructural project: Build Back Better World (B3W).

~~This~~ This is the first time in the history, that the world's two great powers are competing each other with the ^{sole} purpose of investing heavily in the countries, in order to contain each other.

Furthermore, Asian countries are attempting to reduce its dependency on the US' dominating monetary institutes under the leadership of China. ^{Joseph Stiglitz wrote in his book that} During the Asian financial crisis in 2000, Asian countries sought to establish their own fund to ^{cope} deal up with the crisis. But the then IMF president and US secretary of Treasury, Larry Summers, compelled

them to seek help from IMF. This makes Asia economically dependent on US dominated IMF ('Globalization and its discontent'). But now the condition is reversed. Asian countries, under the leadership of Xi Jinping, has established Asian Infrastructure Development Bank in 2016. The bank has the capacity equal to 50% of the world Bank. ('The new Asian Bank and new world order, Aljazeera'). Hence, in this way, Asian countries are reducing their ^{asymmetric} dependency of western ^{led} world order.

Moreover, US is strengthening its Indo Pacific policy. Obama to curb the Chinese threat to its dominance.

In this regard, US is aiming to consolidate its relation with India.

('US Indo Pacific Policy', The White House).

US is India's biggest investment partner.

Also, it provides diplomatic support to

India. This is posing great threat to regional countries, especially ^{for} Pakistan and China.

('Growing Indo-US partnership: a threat to regional security' IPR). Hence the

shift in global power game is changing the regional security dynamics as well.

In retaliation to US - Indo Pacific strategy, SCO is aimed to strengthen itself. In the recent SCO summit in Samarkand, Uzbekistan, Xi Jinping and Putin has shown their firmness in countering US dominance in the region in particular and in the global in general. In this regard, they asked their 8 members to reduce their ~~domin~~ dependency on single block and strive for ~~multi~~ multipolarity maintaining balance. (Insights into SCO summit, Uzbekistan, IPRI). This summit shows that regional organization are adamant in reducing US dominance in the region.

In the wake of rising multipolarity in the region, Pakistan is facing reorientation in its foreign policy. To begin with, rising disparity in global arena is hindering geoeconomic foreign policy of Pakistan. Ex PM of Pakistan, Imran Khan, made sweeping shift in making Pakistan foreign policy economic driven. He raised the slogan of "Absolutely Not" to providing strategic assistance to US. He urged to ~~prioritize~~ economic maintain dehyphenated foreign policy and prioritize economic

interest of the country. But recent tussle between US and Russia amid Ukraine crisis is impeding ^{Pakistan} geo-economic foreign policy. ~~The~~ US is pressurizing Pakistan to not to make oil trade with Russia. This is evident from the fact that Putin and Imran Khan accused US for the dislodging PTI govt. on a pretext ^{of the} visit the latter pay to Russia for signing trade deal. (Al Jazeera). Hence rising multipolarity is hampering Pakistan geo-economic foreign policy.

Furthermore, US and its regional ally are doing propaganda to deteriorate CPEC which is the flagship project of BRI. In doing so the west is labelling CPEC as a debt trap. This is creating uncertainty among the indigenous people, especially among the Balochs. Moreover, to fan the flames, India is supporting Baloch insurgency to impede CPEC. This was admitted by Indian spy chief K. Subramanian (K. Subramanian Yadav: 'The Story so Far', DAWN). Owing to the slow progress of the CPEC, Chinese FM has shown ~~its~~ dissatisfaction. ("Delay in CPEC projects sowing frustration in China", Dawn). Resultantly, it is affecting the relationship between Beijing and Islamabad.

Moreover, growing Indo-US partnership is deterring Pakistan's International reputation. US owing to its Indo-Pacific policy, is giving unprecedented diplomatic support to India. Taking advantage of the opportunity, India is turning over every stone to depict Pakistan as a terrorist state. This was revealed by the EU disinfo lab, last year, ~~that~~ According to the EU disinfo lab, "India is spending billions of dollar on fake media industry and on its films to malign Pakistan. This was one of the reasons, that Pakistan put on the grey list of FATF. Hence, India's emergence as regional player is demeaning Pakistan international standing."

Also, the key element of Pakistan's foreign policy, the cause of Indian occupied Kashmir is weakening ^{due} ~~owing~~ to India. India's economic power is giving it the leverage to spend heavily, ~~on~~ to spread its stance on Kashmir. It is utilizing its film industry for this cause. Recently released film, "The Kashmir Files" is one such example. The film, to ~~achieve~~ aim

Pakistan for the insurgency in Kashmir. This movie was globally much celebrated and as it was ~~trans~~ dubbed in English as well. ("The dangerous fourth of The Kashmir Files" al Jazeera). The main reason of India's investment in such tactics is its economic growth owing to changing world order in general and US Indo-pacific policy in particular. Therefore, rising multipolarity is causing burnt on Pakistan standing on Kashmiri cause.

One of the grave challenges Pakistan is facing owing to global politics is in its relations with eastern neighboring countries. Pakistan is sustaining US pressure in dealing with Iran and Afghanistan. Pakistan cannot import hydrocarbons from Iran due to US sanction on Iran. A Pak-Afghan relation is also molded by US. The recent government in Afghanistan is skeptical to build good relations with Pakistan due to the bitter fight against them in War on Terror. In the presidential address of 1947, Quaid-e-Azam showed his aspiration for building cordial relation with muslim countries of the world in general and of the region in particular. However, the current

delimitations in the foreign relations ~~was~~ due to US is the clear violation of the country's founding father's foreign policy.

Although, the changing world order is posing several challenges in Pakistan's foreign policy, yet by taking adequate measures Pakistan can be able to cope up ^{with the} dynamics of the world. The foremost measure in this regard is to ensure stable political system.

Foreign policy of Pakistan is the victim not only of external challenges but also the internal challenge of political instability. According to Richard Hass, "Foreign policy begins at home". Hence, in order to tackle external challenges, Pakistan has to put its house in order first.

Furthermore, amid the rising rivalry among the global powers and ^{prevalent} culture of sanctions, Pakistan needs to expand its horizon of geo strategic partners.

According to the economic survey of Pakistan, 2022, China is the main supplier of arms to Pakistan. The asymmetrical dependency on China can be vulnerable.

future possible sanction of US on China, which Pakistan cannot sustain owing to rising military might of India. Therefore, ~~it~~ it is the demand of the highly polarised global world, that Pakistan should find new ~~strat~~ trade partners.

Moreover, Pakistan needs to be vigilant on skewed economic dependency on China. China is the single largest investor of Pakistan. In 2022, China invested \$500 million on Pakistan (Pakistan Economic Survey, 2022). However, one sided dependency give Chinese government a leverage in negotiations. Former SAPM on CPEC said, ~~that~~ "Former government had negotiated sheepishly with China". Also, Pakistan geo-economic policy and the constitution of Pakistan, require it to expand its partners in economic domain. Learning with the experience of US-China and Indo-China trade partnership, Pakistan should also consider ^{bilateral} trading with India. According to analysts Pak-India has the potential of \$40bn trade annually. Therefore Pakistan should revamp ~~the domain~~ its economic policy in order to pursue

its geostrategic foreign policy in better
and spirit and reducing asymmetric depen-
dency on China.

To sum up, it can be said that
multipolarity in the world order has
seen the light of the day. Asian powers
are rising and US hegemony is decreasing.
On account of changing world order, Pakistan
is facing multidimensional challenges in its
foreign policy. It is affecting Pakistan's
geoeconomic policy and relation with neighboring
countries. Also, rise of India has become a
looming threat for Pakistan's international
reputation. However, by taking adequate
measures, Pakistan can make most of
the changing world order. In this regard,
political stability at home, expansion in
the economic and strategic partners can
play the crucial role. These measures are
not the illusion to achieve. To put it
in the words of Nelson Mandela, "it always
seems impossible until it's ~~over~~ done". There-
fore mentioned measures can pave way
for the stable and more effective foreign
policy in the current world order.