

Emerging Multipolar World and Examine the Challenges, Opportunities and Options Available To Pakistan

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Abstract

Pakistan has remained a key ally to the US, whether it is Afghan Jihad or GWOT. To benefit from the emerging world order, the changing scenario demands a full understanding of the future international environment and a fresh look at policy options available to Pakistan. In this milieu, the paper will study the outlook of the globe in a multipolar world and examine the challenges, opportunities and options available to Pakistan. The objective of the Study is To study the emerging multipolar world and examine the challenges, opportunities and options available to Pakistan. The Scope of the study was mostly based on secondary sources mainly.

Keywords: Multipolar World, Pakistan, bipolar world, USSR, USA, World order.

Introduction:

At the beginning of the 20th century, the world was full of empires competing with each other for colonization of the globe. These empires entangled into two world wars resulting in the weakening of the overall world order and the decolonization of the globe. The end of WW II marked the beginning of a Bipolar World with the USSR and USA leading world politics on the ideology of Communism and Capitalism. However, with the demise of the USSR, began an era of a new world order (DeYeso, 2006), a Unipolar World with the USA being the sole superpower. The last two decades witnessed the expression of unipolarity in terms of unilateralism with invasions of Iraq, and Afghanistan and the endemic Global War on Terror (GWOT). A new global order is rapidly emerging where the United States will no doubt remain a very important player (Haider, 2012). Yet alongside the U.S. will be several others: China preeminently among them, but with EU, Russia, India, Turkey, Japan, South Korea and Brazil also demanding to be reckoned with (Brown, 2000). For now, the US dollar remains the most important international currency. The World Bank (2011) presents what it believes to be the most probable global currency scenario in 2025, a multicurrency arrangement centred on the dollar, euro, and renminbi. This scenario is buttressed by the likelihood that the US, the eurozone, and China will constitute the three major growth poles at that time. It is believed that the world economy is on the verge of a transformative change - the transition to a multipolar world economic order (Brown, 2000).

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China is only the largest part of a bigger story about the rise of new economic and political players. America's traditional allies in Europe - Britain, France, Italy, and even Germany are slipping down the economic ranks. New powers on the rise are India, Brazil and Turkey. They each have their foreign policy preferences, which collectively constrain America's ability to shape the world. How India and Brazil sided with China at the global climate-change talks (Sawahney, 2010) the votes by Turkey and Brazil against America at the United Nations on sanctions against Iran and the veto by Russia and China on the US resolution regarding regime change in Syria, all are signs and symptoms of changing unipolar world into multipolar and interdependent world. Pakistan has remained a key ally to the US, whether it is Afghan jihad or GWOT. To benefit from the emerging world order, the changing scenario demands a full understanding of the future international environment and a fresh look at policy options available to Pakistan.

Methodology:

The objective of the study is to study the emerging multipolar world and examine the challenges, opportunities and options available to Pakistan. This research assignment is mostly based on secondary sources. In this milieu, the paper will study the outlook of the globe in a multipolar world and examine the challenges, opportunities and options available to Pakistan.

Literature Review:

“Gradual, inexorable, and fundamental changes...are... occurring in the balances of power among civilizations, and the power of the West relative to that of other civilizations will continue to decline” (Huntington, 2010, p. 5). World order in this paper is defined as “rules that govern – albeit messily and ambiguously – the most important relationships of the interstate system in general, and the world's great powers in particular” (Goldstein, 2002, p. 43).

Concept of the Nation States and Polarity:

Nation-states are political organizations responsible for maintaining and sustaining community life. People historically expect their nation-state to provide them with security and certain inalienable rights such as life, liberty, and property. Citizens also expect their leaders to protect them from threats emanating from outside their borders. The origins of the modern international system can be traced back to the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648² (Beaudry, 2003).

Consequently, the international system is comprised of sovereign nation-states, not tribes, clans, city-states, or empires. As a result, each nation-state had to understand not only its internal security issues but also the dynamic relationship established between the components of the international system and the delicate balance of power maintained by hundreds of sovereign national entities. James Roberts and Alan Rosenblatt contend that international political systems are normally characterized by the number of system poles (polar powers) present at any given time. “A system pole, like a magnetic pole, is a nation-state with enough influence to attract or repel the interests of other nation-states in a way that affects the entire (international) system”

² The Treaty of Westphalia of 1648 brought an end to the Thirty Years War which had drowned Europe in blood, in battles over religion. The treaty defined the principles of sovereignty and equality in numerous sub-contracts and in this way became the constitution of the new system of states in Europe.

(Roberts and Rosenblatt, 2002, p. 24). For example, during the Cold War Era (1946-1990), the international system was bipolar and its two poles were the United States and the Soviet Union. Both of these world powers had enough influence and power to attract and repel smaller nations.

History of World Order:

The history of world order highlights a handful of important concepts. Analysis can be separated into two categories (Roberts, 2002; Overy, 2004): pre-AD 1000 and post-AD 1000. Pre AD 1000 time period underscores the historical reality of a fragmented world, disconnected for the most part into regional enclaves of conflict and interaction where typically, one Empire maintained order with minor exceptions where regional powers maintained a sense of multi-polar order concerning trade, cultural exchange, and communication. The areas excluded from such influence were characterized by competing tribes and local systems of power (Dailami & Masson, 2009). Post-AD 1000 (ibid.) world order evolved in similar ways with accelerated trends during the 1500-2005 timeframe. The world order has been characterized (Kennedy, 2000, p. 3) by the following: dominant Empires with regional order sometimes dictated by shifting multi-polar or bipolar relations then a shift toward balance of power order in Europe specifically, followed by a bipolar order during the Cold War (Moselle, 2008).

Bipolar World:

At the end of WW II, the world's two remaining superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, were creating a new international order dominated by two very rigid alliance systems, with very little diplomatic manoeuvring room between them, facing off against each other all over the world. For the next two decades (1960 – 1980) an arms race, surrogate wars, and détente dominated the Bipolar Era's Cold War. Unable to attack each other directly because of the proliferation of nuclear weapons, the US and the Soviet Union instead sponsored surrogates who fought in wars all over the globe for power, prestige, and influence (DeYeso, 2006, p.7). The world saw a new type of superpower conflict, one fought by every means possible except the military. Robert Libbon creatively uses a sports analogy to describe this new international order. "The international balance of power, once an intricate system of alliances, ententes and state systems, had become part of a global skins-and-shirts game, you either played for the Soviet Union or the United States; it was a very small league" (Libbon, 1996, p. 209).

The Unipolar World:

In 1991, the international system's Bipolar Era and its balance of terror standoff between the United States and the Soviet Union ended peacefully because the Soviets and their allies eventually succumbed to the economic burdens of competing in an arms race with the West for nuclear superiority. When the dust cleared, the Soviet Union disintegrated into sixteen independent nations and the iron curtain they threw over Eastern Europe disappeared. For two decades, the United States has dominated a new world order as a unipolar power. Political scientists, system theorists, and military leaders from nation-states in all corners of the globe are currently analyzing whether or not this US-led international system will last much longer. If it changes, what will take its place, another unipolar system, a bipolar system, or perhaps, a multipolar system? The analysis that follows suggests that a multipolar world, albeit one still dominated by the United States, will eventually replace the current unipolar system.

Evolving Global Scenario:

With too few Americans taking notice, history has entered a new era. The “unipolar moment”³ created by the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 has passed. To refer to the United States today as the world’s “sole superpower” makes about as much sense as General Motors bragging that it’s the world’s No.1 car company (Huntington, 1999): Nostalgia ill-befits an enterprise beset with competitors breathing down its neck. Similarly, to call Barack Obama the “most powerful man in the world” is akin to curtsying before Elizabeth II as “Queen of Great Britain, Ireland and British Dominions beyond the Seas”: Although a nice title, it confers little by way of actual authority (Bacevich, 2011).

After witnessing the expression of unipolarity in terms of unilateralism, we are now in a new, fast-evolving multipolar world. By 2025, six emerging economies - Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, South Korea, and Russia - will collectively account for about one-half of global growth (Lin and Dailami, 2011). For now, the US dollar remains the most important international currency. World Bank (2011) presents what it believes to be the most probable global currency scenario in 2025, a multicurrency arrangement centred on the dollar, euro, and renminbi. The world economy is on the verge of a transformative change - the transition to a multipolar world economic order.

Identifying Players in the New World Order:

The world is changing. It is becoming increasingly multipolar with the emergence of China (Brown, 2000), India, and Brazil, and with the resurgence of Russia – forming the so-called BRIC⁴. The world is also becoming increasingly interdependent, not only economically as recently illustrated with the US financial crisis turning into a global economic crisis, but also regarding the threats and challenges modern societies face, such as terrorism, climate change, and poverty and energy scarcity. This multipolarity in the age of interdependence, or interpolarity⁵ as Grevi (2009) names it, will most likely shape the 21st century (Dollar, 2007).

The American unipolar moment has ended (Zakaria, 2011). Yet, it seems too early nonetheless to evoke true multipolarity. Indeed, the US remains the dominant power, or the “lonely superpower”⁶, and is likely to maintain its status for years and probably decades to come.

³ Charles Krauthammer coined the term “unipolarity” to describe the world structure that was emerging with the fall of the Soviet Union. Conventional wisdom of the late 1980s was that the bipolar world of the Cold War would give way to a multipolar world in which the U.S. was one of many centers of power, co-equal to the European Union, Japan, China, and others. Krauthammer predicted that instead, a unipolar world would emerge dominated by the United States with a power gap between the most powerful state and the second-most powerful state that would exceed any other in history. He also suggested that American hegemony would inevitably exist for only a historical “moment”, lasting at best for three or four decades.

⁴ BRIC acronym and concept was coined in 2001 by Goldman Sachs analyst James O’Neill in order to encourage investment in emerging economies, without any idea that his concept would turn into a real diplomatic forum almost eight years later. On 16 June 2009, the heads of state of the four BRIC countries (Brazil, Russia, India and China) held their first official summit in Yekaterinburg, Russia, at the end of which they claimed “a more democratic and just multipolar world order.”

⁵ Based on a diagnosis of current developments, Grevi (2009) argues that many factors point to the emergence of an ‘interpol’ world. Interpolarity can be defined as multipolarity in the age of interdependence. The redistribution of power at the global level, leading to a multipolar international system, and deepening interdependence is the two basic dimensions of the transition away from the post-Cold War world.

⁶ According to Huntington (2011), “There is now only one superpower. But that does not mean that the world is unipolar. A unipolar system would have one superpower, no significant major powers, and many minor powers.”

America's decline is not an illusion, but it must be understood in relative terms. US global influence is fading because it contrasts with the rise of the 'rest', i.e. the empowerment of other actors at the local, regional and global level. There is great uncertainty as regards who will emerge as a major power and when the US dominance will become definite history. Only a few countries will likely emerge as central hubs of the system in the 21st century, creating a sort of "asymmetrical multipolarity"⁷ with a distinction between dominant or central powers, major powers, regional powers and local powers.

Based on the analysis of several indicators,⁸ Renard (2009) has identified that the "BRIC dream" has turned into a more realistic BR-I-C scenario in which China appears to be the real story and the only emerging power that can challenge the US in the coming years. India follows the path of China but its emergence is slower and in all less impressive (Sawahney, 2010). Brazil and Russia are probably the least emergent among the emerging powers, but this is not to say that they are not emerging (Haider, 2012). What place will be left for the EU in this coming inter-polar order? According to most indicators, Europe has the appearance of a global power. However, there is a natural reluctance to join the words 'Europe' and 'global power' together.

Indeed, the EU is not a power in the classical sense as it is not a state in the classical sense. But if global power is defined as the capacity to influence the global level, then the EU has certainly *some* global power, for it is a leading voice in many important affairs, such as the fight against climate change. To become a true global power or even a great power, i.e. a major role in the coming order, the EU will need a more coherent approach and a more integrated strategy. On a global scale, all European countries are now small states. They are less and less capable of defending their vital interests on their own against rising powers and are even less capable of achieving major ambitions. Nevertheless, when the capabilities of all the member states are joined together, the EU becomes a significant power.

Based on the success of the BRIC dream, in late 2005 Goldman Sachs introduced the concept of the Next Eleven⁹ (Sachs, 2008). The purpose was to identify those countries that could potentially have a BRIC-like impact in rivalling the G7. Their main common ground and the reason for their selection was that they were the next set of large-population countries beyond the BRICs. The result was a very diverse grouping that includes Bangladesh, Egypt, Indonesia, Iran, Korea, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Turkey and Vietnam. The N-11 weight in the global economy and global trade has been slowly increasing, with a contribution to global growth of around 9% over the last few years.

Apart from Sachs's concept of N-11, where seven out of eleven emerging economies are Muslim states, Friedman (2009, pp. 77-88) has identified Turkey as a stable Muslim country

Huntington thinks, "Contemporary international politics" ... "is instead a strange hybrid, a uni-multipolar system with one superpower and several major powers."

⁷Asymmetrical Multipolarity signifies the scenario when one of the powers becomes markedly stronger than others and if its decision-making elite internalizes an ideology that demands or at least justifies hegemony, the inherently unstable system. In all three such instances known to history: Napoleonic France after 1799, the Kaiserreich from around 1900, and the Third Reich after 1933—the challenge could not be resolved without a major war (Trifkovic, 2008).

⁸Traditionally, seven major dimensions of power have been identified. These are divided between natural determinants (geography, population and resources) and social determinants (economy, military, diplomacy and culture). Recently soft power is being considered more important than hard power. It depends upon quantity of natural resources, level of urbanization or level of technological advancement, perception of comfort and human resource development.

⁹N-11

amidst chaos created by the Balkans, the Caucasus, and the Arab world. Turkey is also strategically located among Europe, the Middle East and Russia and it is the most modern economy in the entire Muslim world. Turkey's economy and military are already the most powerful in the region, so Turkish influence will increase making it the most powerful state in the Muslim world in the 21st century (ibid.). To sum up it is inferred that along with the US, China and India are progressing rapidly on the ladders of international power stature whereas Brazil and Russia are also rising slowly. For the EU to play a major role in the coming order, it will need a more coherent approach and a more integrated strategy. Among the Muslim world, Turkey is the emerging Muslim power of the 21st century (Haider, 2012).

Pakistan in a Future Multipolar World:

“Our foreign policy is one of friendliness and goodwill towards the nations of the world. We do not cherish aggressive designs against any country or nation. We believe in the principle of honesty and fair play in national and international dealings and are prepared to make our utmost contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world. Pakistan will never be found lacking in extending its material and moral support to the oppressed and suppressed peoples of the world, and in upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter” said Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah.¹⁰

Evolution of Pakistan Foreign Policy:

Pakistan began with an independent foreign policy in 1947. Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan and its first Governor-General, gave two special talks on radio to introduce Pakistan to the people of the United States and Australia which is the quintessential expression of Pakistan's foreign policy. Pakistan joined the United Nations on 30 September 1947, as a new member and stayed in the Commonwealth. Its leadership established contacts with other states, emphasising friendship with all, promoting peace and harmony, supporting for liberation of the colonised people, and strictly observing the principles of international conduct as enshrined in the UN Charter. However, it tilted towards the West in 7 years due to serious economic and security pressures (Rizvi, 2005, p. 27).

It maintained a policy of close interaction in the security and economic fields with the West in general and the U.S. in particular in the mid and late 1950s, the 1980s, and now since September 2001. It pursued independent to non-aligned foreign policy from the mid-60s to the end of the 1970s and assigned great importance to its interaction with the Muslim states and the issues and problems of the developing world. Pakistan is currently an active player in the global efforts to combat religious extremism and terrorism with a policy that extremism and terrorism pose serious threats to global security as well as to Pakistan's internal peace, stability and economic development. Pakistan has made some difficult decisions in pursuing counter-terrorism and for ensuring peace and stability in the immediate neighbourhood, to boost its image at the international level, restoring international confidence in the ability of the Pakistani state and government to put their socio-economic house in order and shape up as a democratically oriented, modern and enlightened Muslim polity that does not allow its territory to be used by extremist groups.

¹⁰ Quaid e Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah address on radio to people of USA in then Foreign Minister Hina Rabbani Khar's statement at the General Debate of the 66th Session of UN General Assembly on 27 Sep 2011.

Pakistan Foreign Policy Preferences:

Pakistan recognises that it is neither possible nor advisable to stay in isolation in the present-day interdependent and complex international system. It needs to interact with other states, international and regional organisations and supranational actors to protect and promote its national interests and sovereign identity.

The major focus of Pakistan's foreign policy is security against external and internal challenges to its national identity, territorial integrity and independence. Pakistan's goals have remained more or less constant, although their scope was often redefined and new dimensions were added to them. The diplomatic and military strategies to pursue these goals varied over time. The changes in the strategies are understandable because a host of factors influence the foreign policy choices of a country, which include the dynamics of regional and international situations, the availability of human and material resources and the disposition and priorities of the policymakers. As these change over time, foreign policy must also change in its approach to bilateral, regional and global issues and problems.

Changing Geopolitical Environment:

The dynamic nature of the geo-political environment is transitioning from American efforts to retain its unipolarity to a stage where the emerging competitors and challengers are moving to a position of asserting their influence (Zakaria, 2011). This is likely to result in geo-economic, geo-political and geo-strategic changes, realignments and re-assertions, in certain regions, which are likely to play important roles. The diplomatic historian Paul Kennedy, and his associates, have forecast the emergence of new, "pivotal" states important in regional politics, regional development, preventive diplomacy, and global stability/ governance - e.g., India, Algeria, South Africa, Egypt, Brazil, Mexico, Turkey, Pakistan, and Indonesia (Haider, 2012). He (2000) named Pakistan as one of the nine pivotal states whose future evolution would not only determine the fate of their region but also affect international stability.

He maintains in his article in the *Foreign Affairs Quarterly* that "progress by a pivotal state such as Pakistan would help not only the region but also promote US interests in trade and investment." Pakistan has developed as a principal actor and a vital personality of its own. Now it is supposed to secure and protect its all vital interests at all cost. Pakistan should demonstrate and follow an independent and principled foreign policy in the pursuit of its national interests.

In the current phase of a rapidly globalizing world, Pakistan's foreign policy needs a fresh look drastically. The main features of the emerging global order to which our foreign policy has to be adjusted over the coming years in a manner best suited to secure our interest.

Challenges for Pakistan:

To maintain the geo-political status quo, major US concerns are likely to remain focused on Asia. These include an emerging China, sustaining support for a countervailing India, a resurgent Russia and a concerned Muslim world attempting to redefine its place in the world polity. While US-led efforts aimed at containment of Russia are stabilizing almost along the original Russian borders in Europe, endeavours to curtail her expansion towards the south and limit Russian and Chinese influence in the Eurasian hinterland are underway (Sufyan, 2011).

Pakistan therefore sits at the crossroads of strategic interests of major world powers – an unenviable predicament or an enviable opportunity. Other than that, Pakistan has at least six

different regional clusters (Shah, 2011) of countries that represent huge opportunities. These include Afghanistan and Central Asia; Iran and the Middle East; the East African coastline; SAARC countries to the east; the ASEAN countries in the east Indian Ocean region; and China to the northeast. There is a need to develop a strategy of engagement with each of these sub-regions to maximise mutual economic and commercial benefits. Pakistan's security and prosperity in the future therefore depends largely on how it exploits this geo-political tangle vis-à-vis these major contenders and different regional clusters. It is here that Pakistan's ability to generate a cooperative response from the great powers would be tested. Pakistan may not and should not become a party to any of the big powers and use its influence to generate a cooperative and all-supportive environment for the future stability of the region. Pakistan's decision-makers must appreciate the strength Pakistan has placed itself in, despite the impediments and must not lose this strategic advantage. The success of Pakistani grand strategy depends upon its ability to manipulate the co-relation of contending powers to its advantage.

Opportunities for Pakistan:

Any challenge can be turned into opportunity provided a suitable response is generated based on natural and acquired strengths. Pakistan has all the natural strengths needed to make it a strong and progressive country. These include:

- i. A large and industrious nation with a rich cultural and historical heritage,
- ii. A large and fertile land mass, large freshwater rivers and lakes (Syed, 2011),
- iii. Multiple agro-climatic zones,
- iv. Large mineral resources and
- v. Substantive fossil fuel deposits and important geo-strategic location.

In addition, Pakistan has also acquired strengths, which give it further advantages. These include:

- i. a large skilled workforce comprising excellent scientists, engineers, doctors, technicians, educationists, bankers and businessmen,
- ii. A potentially invigorating and unifying national ideology based on Islam,
- iii. A large and veteran military equipped with modern weaponry,
- iv. Indigenously developed nuclear capability, and
- v. A strong and experienced bureaucratic system capable of providing a strong framework for the state structures.

The Pakistani nation possesses the most important trait of resilience (Ejaz, 2012) which was evident in the past e.g. 1965 War, the Floods in 2010 and 2011, Swat IDP crises. Although Pakistan has been blessed with natural and acquired strengths in abundance, its image has been deteriorating into a misgoverned and failed state. Goldman Sachs argued that, since Brazil, Russia, India and China are developing rapidly, by 2050 their combined economies could eclipse the combined economies of the current richest countries of the world. The name 'BRIC' was given to this group of countries and it began splashing on every piece of publication ensuring the presence and emerging strengths of the respective countries. It helped build investor confidence in these economies. Af-Pak, Islamic bomb and failed state are all marketing buzzwords used to brand Pakistan. Pakistan was unable to cash on the N-11. The Next 11 is yet another list of

countries published by Goldman Sachs in late 2005, which includes Pakistan (Sachs, 2008). With time, it was clarified that the N-11 may never be as big as BRIC, but they will emerge nonetheless. Maybe this is not as exciting, but there is a need to pursue the thought in any case. Pakistan is one of the biggest users of the Internet and mobile phones in the world. Access from China to warm waters; from Central Asian countries to the most densely populated democracy in the world, we have it all. Moreover, an overflowing supply of the young population. These are signs investors all over the world look for. There is a need to exploit the inherent and acquired strengths of Pakistan. Simon Anholt, an expert in nation branding said that “Places can only change their images by changing the way they behave” (Butt, 2010).

Realisation of Changing Winds:

Fortunately, Pakistani authorities are cognizant of the changing world scenario. A seminar was also held on the topic “*The Contemporary Environment: Is a New Cold War in the Making*” at the National Defence University Islamabad on 28 May 2009. The findings of the seminar were;

- i. Unipolarity is already declining. The US may be a dominant power in the future but with reduced muscles in the wake of emerging economic entities.
- ii. There is an unprecedented transfer of economic power from the West to the rest of the emerging influential blocs (EU, Russia and China). Consequently, this flow of wealth also brings a change in their military prowess; these transformations are directed towards big shifts in the international political system.
- iii. The direction of Pakistan’s policies must be in consonant with evolving global realities in the next decade. It would be unwise to continue putting all eggs in one basket.
- iv. A much-needed diversification in Pakistan’s posture should be adequately depicted in the quality and depth of its relationship with the EU, Russia and China. The policy direction should keep all options open to establish tracks of cooperation and collaborations with these regions or countries.

Adjusting Sails for Multipolarity:

The unfolding scenario dictates that US influence on world affairs will remain a reality for years to come. However, severe mistrust has been created between Pakistan and the US in the aftermath of the Abbottabad Operation and the attack on the Salalah Check Post, which needs to be removed.

As Russia, India and China are emerging powers; Pakistan is adjusting its sails according to the changing winds of multipolarity. Pakistan already enjoys very cordial relations with China (Sawahney, 2010). Recently a currency swap agreement has been signed between Pakistan and China for enhancement of bilateral trade (Dawn, 2011). Pakistan has also started pursuing good relations with Russia and India. At the invitation of Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov, then Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Mrs Hina Rabbani Khar (UNGA, 2011) paid an official visit to the Russian Federation on 7-9 February 2012. Earlier then President Mr. Zardari undertook an official visit to Moscow in May 2011 and then Prime Minister Mr. Gilani met with his Russian counterpart on the sidelines of the SCO’s Heads of Government meeting in November 2011. The two sides agreed that the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) had become an important

forum for regional security and economic cooperation. The Russian side reaffirmed its support for Pakistan's full membership of the Organization (GOP, 2012a). Negotiations are also underway for modernizing Pakistan Steel Mills with the assistance of Russia. Pakistan has decided to grant Most Favoured Nation (MFN) status to India. Pakistan has diplomatic relations with Brazil and purchased 100 MAR-1 SEAD missiles from Brazil in 2008 (Brazil to Sell MAR-1 SEAD Missiles to Pakistan, 2008). In part of the regional approach, within the framework of trilateral cooperation Presidents of Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan held the Third Trilateral Summit in Islamabad on 17 February 2012. The three Presidents pledged to enhance cooperation among the countries comprehensively to realize the shared aspiration of their peoples for peace, security, stability and economic prosperity (GOP, 2012b). Turkey and Pakistan already enjoy a very cordial relationship based on common heritage and similar views on world affairs. Recently a currency swap agreement has been signed between Turkey and Pakistan on 01 November 2011 for enhancement of bilateral trade (GOP, 2011).

To sum up, Pakistan started its foreign policy as an independent, sovereign and non-aligned state. However, repeatedly it had aligned with the West to protect its security concerns and socio-economic uplift of the country. These alignments have resulted in a donor-based economy, tarnished the social fibre of the society and stopped the economic uplift of the country due to deteriorating law and order conditions. Pakistan already enjoys very cordial relations with China and Turkey. Pakistan has started pursuing its relations with other emerging powers, Brazil, Russia and India. There is a need to formulate an independent and sovereign foreign and economic policy to cater for future changes in the international order and to capitalise on the strengths enjoyed by Pakistan.

Conclusion:

World history is full of tales of rising and falling empires. Power centres or poles emerge in the world and diminish with time. The only permanent attribute of the world order is change. The twentieth century has seen a transformation from a multipolar world before WWI to a bipolar world after WWII and finally a unipolar world after the demise of the Soviet Union. The 21st century is believed to have a multipolar world order where the US will no doubt have the dominant role but along with the US, China, India and Russia are likely to appear as major economic poles. The signs and symptoms of changing scenarios are appearing in international political and economic forums. Pakistan is located at a strategic location and is termed a 'Pivotal State' and N-11. So far, our foreign policy has remained aligned with the West primarily. It is the need of the hour to adjust our course according to changing winds. Engagement with rising powers is required in diplomatic, economic and defence forums to meet challenges and exploit opportunities provided by emerging scenarios.

Recommendations:

Given the changing scenario, recommendations are made in the ensuing paragraphs:

- i. Pakistan should capitalize on regional countries for better trade, investment and energy shortfalls. The existing forums of ECO, SAARC, SCO and OIC may be exploited for diversified foreign policy options.
- ii. The existing relations with the US may be fostered for the long-term benefits of the country. The mistrust caused by the Abbottabad operation and Salalah Check

- Post attacks may be removed after mutual discussions and not comprising core national interests.
- iii. Avenues may be explored for greater cooperation with Russia. The modernization of Pakistan Steel may be taken as a springboard for enhanced cooperation.
 - iv. The cooperation and collaboration with Turkey and China will further enhance to people to people-to-people level.
 - v. India's rise as an economic giant equipped with requisite hard and soft power is a reality. Options may be explored to engage with India in a win-win situation without compromising on national interests. Bilateral trade and transit trade to the Central Asian Region are considered important aspects, which can be beneficial for both states. These initiatives are likely to increase the economic dependence of India on Pakistan, which can be used to avert wars.
 - vi. Concerted efforts are required to improve the image of Pakistan for foreign investments and to change the destiny of the country. Notions of N-11 and pivotal states may be exploited for the generation of favourable perceptions among the international community and foreign investors.
 - vii. The available manpower be trained and used as an asset for domestic and overseas human resource requirements.

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