• Vol. II, No. I (2019) • Pages: 15 – 23



The Impacts of International Structure on the Foreign Policy of Pakistan

Fozia * Abida Yousaf † Imran Ashraf ‡

Abstract

Foreign policy is one of the key tools to maintain the affairs of international relations. Foreign policy of a state is mainly shaped by domestic environment and international system. This study highlights the impacts of international structure on the foreign policy behaviour of Pakistan since 1947. During cold war period, the bi-polar world order mainly shaped the foreign policy of Pakistan. After independence, the economic, political and security challenges pushed Pakistan towards western bloc to protect its interests. Being an ally of west, Pakistan supported USA to contain the spread of communism. With the collapse of Soviet Union, the world order was shifted from bi-polarity to uni-polarity. Consequently, American supremacy shaped the world politics as a sole super power. With the start of 21st century, the incident of 9/11 and in response American invasion of Afghanistan again made Pakistani an ally of USA on their Global War on terror. Pakistan has faced serious consequences as an ally of USA. However, with the emergence of multi-polar world order, now Pakistan has opportunity to balance its relations with global powers like China, Russia and USA on the basis of mutual benefits, equality and equity.

Key Words:

Uni-Polarity, Bipolarity, Multi-Polarity, International Structure, Foreign Policy

URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.31703/gfpr.2019(II-I).03

Background of the Study

The role of Foreign Policy is significant to understand the relations of different states. International system works through the wheels of foreign policy. It consists on national interest of a State that are to be secured in relations with other countries. States formulate foreign policy according to their potential and capabilities in International system (Modelski, 1962). So, foreign policy will exist as long as independent states are there. High Gibson defines foreign policy is plan of a State that is comprehensive, based on experience and information. It helps a state to keep relations with other states, promote and protect national interest abroad. Therefore, a clear understanding of 'what, whose' interests and how long a state can go with that policy is also a part of foreign policy. According to Frankel Joseph, "Foreign Policy consists of decisions and actions, which involves to some appreciable extent relations between one state and others (Frankel, 1963)." Foreign policy is a way that a state adopt towards the economic, social, and military actions of other countries. Foreign policy is main factor in the process by which a state translates its broadly visualized objectives and interests into a course of action. The purpose of this process is to attain these goals and safeguard national interest abroad. Another scholar Gross argues that foreign policy aims to achieve the national goals through the available national means by interacting with other states (Gross, 1954).

Foreign policy of a state is shaped by its domestic environment and international structure as well. In this study, we will analyse the role of international structure in the formulation of foreign policy of Pakistan. Foreign policy is mainly about the interaction and relation of a state with other state(s), and it takes place only within an international system. Therefore, the role and influence of international system cannot be ignored in the formulation of foreign policy of a state. There is no doubt that domestic environment plays significant role in the foreign policy formulation process. However, International system, alliances, global organizations, international law, economic, military strength of a state, and role of great powers in international system also affect and shape the foreign policy of a State.

This study aims to analyse the impact of international system on the foreign policy of Pakistan. Since independence, Pakistan's foreign policy is affecting by the global world order. This study explores the impact of bipolar, uni-polar and the emerging multi-polar world order on the foreign policy of Pakistan. Furthermore, this

DOI: 10.31703/gfpr.2019(II-I).03

ISSN-P: 2788-502X ISSN-E: 2788-5038

^{*} Assistant Professor, Rawalpindi Women University, Rawalpindi, Punjab, Pakistan.

[†] Chairperson, Department of Economics and Finance, International Islamic University, Islamabad, Pakistan.

[‡] Assistant Professor, National Defence University, Islamabad, Pakistan.

study also analyzes how and why the international system compels Pakistan to decide its foreign policy goals and objectives. This study also addresses the challenges and opportunities for Pakistan in 2021.

Since 1947, the foreign policy of Pakistan is largely driven by its geopolitical and ideological factors. Pakistan is located at the crossroads of South Asian region and Middle East. Moreover, its geographic location is relatively near to Europe and Russia which is enhancing its potential as it is a bridge between Persian Gulf oil rich region, East Asia (hungry for energy resources) and West. Pakistan is also a part of greater Middle East region. However, this potential has never been utilized properly due to domestic, regional, and global factors. However, this article mainly highlights the impact of international structure on the foreign policy behaviour of Pakistan.

Structural Realism and the Analysis of Pakistan's Foreign Policy

Structural realism was outlined in 1979 by Kenneth Waltz in his book "Theory of international politics." Robert Gilpin, Stephen Walt, John Mearsheimer, and Joseph Griecoare are some key neo-realist scholars. Structural realism argues that the behaviour and policies of sovereign states can be explained by constraints imposed by the anarchic international system in the pursuit of their national interest. Due to the anarchic nature of international system, states adopt foreign policy to ensure their security and survival. Neo-realism relates this pursuit for security with the increase of power capabilities such as regional hegemony, economy, military and technological capacity.

With the end of cold war, numerous changes have occurred at global level. Moreover, the advancement in technology, increase in private sectors, social media and multilevel governance order also makes the states more independent. In the case of Pakistan, international structure deeply impacted its foreign policy behaviour. For instance, the key examples of structural influence on the foreign policy of Pakistan are Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan (1979) and American invasion of Afghanistan in 2001. Both invasions created critical situation on the Western border of Pakistan.

During cold war, Pakistan was an ally of western bloc and supported USA against Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 19780s. Moreover, on Global War on Terror, Pakistan was an ally of America post 9/11 era. However, Pakistan retained its relations with China as post 9/11 era China has emerged as a strong rival competitor of USA. The power competition between USA and China makes Pakistan uneasy to manage it relations between the two powers. However, Pakistan has managed it friendly ties with China. The key example of mutual trust and cooperation between both countries is China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC).

Though USA criticise the participation of Pakistan in CPEC project but CPEC is important for the economic development of Pakistan. As a result, Pakistan did not sacrifice its relations with economic power China, to please America. The former ambassador of USA, Alice Wells, <u>criticized</u> the Corridor on numerous occasions for increasing Pakistan's debt burden and dependence on China. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) government initially tries to improve relations with USA. While, Trump administration was critical about Pakistan and accused that Pakistan is using International Monetary Fund (IMF) money to pay-back Chinese loans.

President Trump's pursuit for peace process in Afghanistan brought opportunity for Pakistan to position itself as a key player in Afghanistan-America dialogue process. Due to the emergence of multi-polar Pakistan is trying to manage bilateral and good terms with all global powers including USA, China and Russia. Therefore, the impacts of international structure are undeniable particularly in the case of Pakistan's foreign policy behaviour. In this era of multi-polarity, Pakistan is in favour of continuing its engagements at multilateral forums, where Pakistan will not sacrifice its relations with one power to please others. In this regard, Pakistan's close ties with China and improved relations with Russia, and good terms with USA are the key examples.

The Impacts of Bi-Polar World Order on the Foreign Policy of Pakistan

Soon after independence, Pakistan has faced many economic, political and security challenges. Due to lack of resources, equipments etc at home the survival of newly born state was challenging. The economic and security needs pushed Pakistan towards USA for assistance. At that time, USA was trying to contain the influence of Soviet Union via making strategic alliances in Asia region. Pakistan also joined western bloc against Soviet Union. As a result, USA assisted Pakistan economically and militarily but at the same time encouraged undemocratic trends in Pakistan. However, this political environment in Pakistan was suitable for American interests so they supported

military rules.

Moreover, Pakistan has faced numerous challenges such as huge incursion of Muslim refugees from India, poor administrative capacity, weak economic institutions inherited from British rule and Indian hegemonic ambitions in the region. Therefore, Pakistan has to align with a great power, USA. Although, Pakistan also tries to get relief from Commonwealth but it was not feasible by Britain due to their economic challenges after world war-ii. Secondly, Britain was more supportive for India as compare to Pakistan. So, all these factors have compelled Pakistan to secure its interests with the help of USA. The first Primer of Pakistan, Liaquat Ali Khan was the supporter of Parliamentarian system and non-aligned movement (NAM). He was interested to pursue a neutral foreign policy for Pakistan rather than alignment with any particular bloc. While India refused from aligning itself with west. There was possibility that Soviet Union might approach Pakistan to get access to warm waters to expand its influence, authority, and economic superiority as a great power. Moreover, Soviet Union's attitude was pro-India and Pakistan had weak political and diplomatic channels at home.

Moreover, there was no embassy of Pakistan in Moscow as Pakistan could not maintain bilateral relations with two super powers. Though, it was a huge diplomatic blunder by Pakistan. If, Pakistan would manage bilateralism in its foreign policy towards two global powers, Pakistan's role at regional level would have been better appreciated by America, and Soviet Union's behaviour towards Pakistan could have been more pacifying. Moreover, Soviet leader Khrushchev openly supported Indian in the United Nations (UN) platform and vetoes the all declarations on Kashmir favourable to Pakistan.

Following an official invitation from USA, Liaquat Ali khan visited Washington in 1950. He was trying to take USA help to solve the Kashmir issue but it could not happen as America's main focus was to contain the spread and influence of Communism. Moreover, USA used Pakistan's territory to gain its objectives against Soviet Union. In response Pakistan received aid from west like; from 1953 to 1961 Pakistan received \$2 billion from USA. During 1950s Pakistan turned into 'most allied ally of America' to contain the expansion of Soviet Union. Along with global factors, regional environment also plays key role in the shaping of Pakistan's foreign policy behaviour. Pakistan established diplomatic ties with People Republic of China in 1951. India was already posing serious threats for the security of Pakistan. This geography of Pakistan was unique in nature. Moreover, till 1971 Pakistan comprised in two main provinces; East and West Pakistan. The East wing was separated by one thousand miles of Indian Territory and it further allowed India to play negative role in the separation of East wing of Pakistan (now Bangladesh). Due to all these geographic and strategic challenges, Pakistan has to spend huge amount on its defence. Pakistan's alliance with USA was also need of the time to strengthen its defence via increasing its capabilities. Pakistan signed many defence agreements with USA, for instance in May, 1954 Pakistan signed a defence pact with USA and also become member of South-East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO). In 1955, Pakistan joined Baghdad Pact, later known as the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). While USA does not provide any guarantee for the security of Pakistan. All these happenings moved Pakistan from non-alignment towards unqualified ally of West.

One of the main purposes of becoming a part of these defence pacts was to ensure the defence capabilities of Pakistan against Indian threat. During cold war, Pakistan played the role of front line ally of USA especially in their war against Soviet Union in Afghanistan. It was the first test case as ally of USA. Pakistan's support on GWOT can be considered second major test in which Islamabad fully assisted Washington. Despite all this, the Pak-USA relations have been described as love-hate relationship. Regardless of these efforts to establish cordial cooperative relations, there were many misunderstandings and broken promises in Pak-USA relationship.

One reason could be the differences of interests between Islamabad and Washington; As USA seeks alliance with Pakistan due to different reason mainly because of Soviet threat. However, Pakistan seeks USA support due to its economic, military, strategic needs. As a result, Pakistan faced many trun-downs in its relations with USA. Though Pakistan supported USA against communism and terrorism but Washington did not address the Pakistan's concerns about Indian hegemonic ambitions in the region.In 1962, the Sino-India war erupted and it further disturbed the fragile balance of power in the region.USA economically and militarily assisted India against China, while Pakistan supported China. It also started a new era of friendly relationship between Pakistan and China. During 1960s, China provided arms equipments and helped Pakistan to improve its defence capabilities. Moreover, ballistic missiles such as, Shaheen missiles series was also provided by china. The cooperation between China and Pakistan progressed with the passage of time in economic, social and defence fields.

USA suspended military aid for India and Pakistan after the wars of 1965 and 1971. It was a major setback for the economy of Pakistan and it was a shock for policy makers at Islamabad being an ally of USA it was unexpected from Washington. However, India got full support from Soviet Union against Pakistan. Furthermore, Soviet Union fuelled apprehension between Pakistan and Afghanistan over Pushtoonistan issue. On the other hand, Pakistan was facing many challenges at domestic front when Ayub Khan resigned in 1969 and Yahya Khan took control of the country.

In March 1971, the elections disagreement between *Awami League* and Pakistan's People's Party (PPP) was resulted in the serious conflict. A s a result, Pakistan's army started operation Searchlight against to eliminate the nationalist movement in East Pakistan. Bengali created Muktibahini guerrilla force with the help of India and Soviet Union against Pakistan. This conflict was ended with the separation of East Pakistan, as independent State named Bangladesh in December, 1971. After that, Mr.Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto became the new Prime Minister of Pakistan, who was the founder PPP. The separation of East Pakistan also affected the Pak-US relations as the later supported India as a main regional power of South Asian region. However, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's efforts ended the arms embargo against Pakistan and help to improve the relations between Islamabad and Washington.

Moreover, Bhutto perceived American policy of appeasing India as unjustified and it led him to view China as a potential ally in the region. In 1976, nuclear agreement was signed between Bhutto and Mao Zedong. Due to few developments USA revised its policy towards Pakistan; such a Pak-China improved bilateral ties, Islamic revolution of Iran (1979) and Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. At that time, Zial-ul-Haq was the president of Pakistan and he fully showed his support for American interests against Soviet Union and Iran. Zia-ul-Haq adopted hostile approach towards Iran to please USA.

Meanwhile, Soviet presence in Afghanistan was a constant threat for the security of Pakistan. As a result, Pakistan supported American strategies to defeat Soviet Union in Afghanistan. After the withdrawal of Soviet Union from Afghanistan in 1989, America showed little interest to continue with Pakistan. Washington was doubtful about the nuclear ambitions of Pakistan. Moreover, with the collapse of Soviet Union the geostrategic importance of Pakistan was reduced for America. After the disintegration of Soviet Union, America was emerged as a sole super power and the new world order had its own implications for a developing country like Pakistan.

The Emergence of Uni-Polar World order and Pakistan's Foreign Policy

From independence (1947) to 1991, Pakistan hold and important position for global powers due to its strategic position especially in Afghanistan war of Soviet Union and USA. After the demise of Soviet Union, the international system shifted from bi-polar to uni-polar world order. These changes at structural level deeply affected Pakistan as it played a key role as American ally during cold war period. However, the end of cold war and American uni-polarity brought fundamental changes in the scenario for Pakistan. For instance, sanctions were imposed on Pakistan due to its nuclear programme. Almost \$ 700 million aid for Pakistan was suspended by USA. Moreover, Pakistan was pushed towards isolation at global level. It also weekend the support for Kashmir at international level. Furthermore, Pakistan's recognition of Taliban government in Afghanistan (1997), and nuclear tests in May, 1988 further created challenges at foreign front. Pakistan's sacrifices during cold war were completely ignored by USA.

Global World order Post 9/11 Era: Impacts of Foreign Policy of Pakistan

The incident of 9/11 changed the dynamics of world politics. Post 9/11 era can be marked as new era of US-Pak relationship. Once again, Pakistan was needed by USA to fight against terrorism and Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan. At that time, Taliban were in strong position in Afghanistan and they refused to return back Osama Bin Laden to America. As a result, President Bush decided to invade Afghanistan and punish the Al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden and their supporter government as well. For that's, USA needs Pakistan's help to gain their objectives. However, it was not an easy decision for Pakistan to join GWOT due to its security challenges at home. Therefore, it was perceived that being an ally of USA would enhance the security challenges and troubles for Pakistan. At that time, Pakistan was under the rule of military dictator Pervaiz Musharraf. Many *ulema* in Pakistan were not in favour of supporting USA against Taliban. Previously it was proved by USA that their alliance with Pakistan is based on their interests only. Despite the initial reluctance, Pakistan joined GWOT and once again become the strategic ally of USA.

President Musharra has justified the alliance and said that USA had left no option for Pakistan except to join their WOT. As USA threatened Pakistan of bombing it into Stone Age, in case of denial. Consequently, USA used Pakistani air-bases for their operation in Afghanistan and assisted Pakistan via providing loan of \$1 billion for its support. Moreover, the Kerry Lugar bill was signed in 2009 to provide grant of \$7.5 billion to Pakistan. However, this aid was suspended after the killing of bin-Laden.Pakistan's support on WTO resulted not only in severe economic, security challenges but human causalities as well. Taliban blamed Pakistan and did many attacks in Pakistan. Therefore, America provided aid to Pakistan to deal with its economic and security challenges. For instance, \$20 billion aid was received by Pakistan from America. Pakistan's support for USA also provided some strategic advantages such as removal of American sanctions and to get support on Kashmir issue at international level.

Barack Obama becomes the President in 2009 and he said that President Bush has ignored many problems which were faced by Pakistan due to their alliance with USA. Meanwhile, the political set-up of Pakistan got changed President Musharraf was forced to resign. After the democratic elections of 2008, PPP came into power. On May 1, 2011 the master-mind of 9/11 was captured and killed by America in the territory of Pakistan.USA raided Abbotabad (the city of Pakistan) to capture Osama. This event poses serious challenge to Pak-US relations. Pakistan accused USA for the violation of its sovereignty and US blamed Pakistan for providing shield to Osama-bin-Laden. The Abbotabad incident reveals the distrust between Islamabad and Washington.

Furthermore, the emergence of Pakistani Taliban poses serious challenges for the security of Pakistan. The drone attacks by USA on the territory of Pakistan resulted many causalities and this incident further weaken the Pak-US relations. All these events left no choice for Pakistan except to launch operation in Federally Administrated Tribal Area (FATA) which was believed to be the safe haven of terrorists. Pakistan has successfully eliminated the terrorism inside its borders but the cast of this alliance with USA was much bigger. For instance, Pakistan has faced many economic, security challenges, terrorism which resulted in numerous civilian causalities, bomb blast, attacks on public places like it happened in Peshawar School. Therefore, Pakistan has faced the consequences of being an ally of USA for many decades. Pakistan being a developing country had no option except to support the interest of a superpower. Therefore, it is undeniable that how American uni-polarity and supremacy pushed Pakistan towards serious challenges.

Pakistan's Foreign Policy in the Era of Multi-Polar World Order

The global world order is shifted from uni-polarity towards Multi-polarity. The dramatic rise of economic giant, China poses serious challenges for American hegemony. China has the biggest economy of world in terms of purchasing power parity (PPP). Therefore, China is playing significant role in world politics and One Belt One Road Initiative, CPEC are key examples of this increasing influence. Moreover, Russia is also playing active role in world politics and Syria is the key example of it. In Syria, America could not remove President Bashar-al-Assad from power as he was backed by Russia and Iran. Many other economic powers such as EU, Indonesia, Turkey, Brazil, Japan and India will also share global platform in future.

From the perspective of Pakistan, US-Indian increasing strategic partnership to contain the influence of China is alarming. As a result, Pakistan is looking towards China to balance its regional rival, India. The cooperation between China and Pakistan is increasing in economic, political, security, military and defence fields. CPEC project worth \$ 60 billion is key example of close Pak-China collaboration. Both Pakistan and China are aware of the importance of their strategic partnership to deal with the economic, political and security challenges. The multipolar world order is bringing new opportunities for Pakistan in 21st century. Therefore, Pakistan is improving its relations with Russia as well. Pakistani leadership is interested to play the role to end the conflict between Iran and Saudi Arabia. Moreover, Turkey is also an important country and close economic-political ties will help Pakistan to get benefits of Turkey's economic model.

Foreign Policy of Pakistan in 2021: Opportunities and Challenges

The Prime Minister of Pakistan, Imran Khan has some clear goals at foreign policy front. At regional level, Pakistan is playing an active role to balance its relations between Iran and Saudi Arabia. Pakistan's friendly and cooperative relations with old friend China are a key focus of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) government. The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is key example of this mutual trust and collaboration. Pakistan wants to build relations

based on mutual benefit and trust rather than imposition by any other global power. In this regard, PTI government believes to maintain friendly relations based on equality with USA. Moreover, Prime Minister Imran Khan interested to play active role for the peace and stability in Afghanistan as it will also helps to maintain peace inside Pakistan as well. It will further provide an opportunity for Pakistan to initiate trade, economic agreements with Afghanistan. Pakistan's geographic location makes it is more suitable for the trade routes of landlocked country Afghanistan. Moreover, Pakistan also wants to bring peace with India especially on Kashmir issue. The normalization of relations between Pakistan and India will enable them to cooperate on economic fields. If, PTI government successfully manage to balance its relations with USA, China and Russia it will have far-reaching implications at regional and global level. The foreign policy vision of Imran khan has welcomed by regional and global powers like Iran, Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan, China and USA.

Findings, Recommendations and Conclusion

Findings

Foreign policy is a tool for states to maintain relations with other states. Pakistan is an important state of South-Asia and its role is important to analyze many developments at regional and global level. Since independence, foreign policy of Pakistan is deeply affected by international structure. From 1947 till 1991 the bi-polar world order shaped the foreign policy of Pakistan. Due to economic and security challenges, Pakistan played the role of an active ally of USA. However, America always looks towards Pakistan in the time of need and once their target is achieved they do not look back towards Pakistan as it happened after the end of cold war. After 9/11, once again America needs Pakistan's support to fight against terrorism. Pakistan was not in position to take stand against a superpower, so Pakistan has to support American interests in the region. With the rise of China as economic power, now Pakistan has options to maintain its relations with all major global power. For instance, Pakistan is improving its relations with Russia. With China, Pakistan is enjoying trustworthy and friendly relations in almost all fields and CPEC is the key example of this cooperation. Therefore, now Pakistan has opportunities in this era of multi-polar world to balance its relations with all global power.

Recommendations

- Pakistani leadership should focus on the developments of economy and infrastructure. Without economic progress Pakistan cannot formulate an independent foreign policy.
- Pakistan should maintain balance in its relations with all regional and global power.
- Pakistan is facing many challenges in energy sector and Russia has rich resources of energy. Therefore, good term will enable Pakistan to overcome its energy shortage. Pak-Russian cooperation in defence field is a key step in this regard. However, there is need to improve relations in economic, energy sectors as well.
- Pakistan should continue the policy of cooperation with China in all fields. The completion of CPEC project will help Pakistan to enjoy the fruits of economic projects.
- Pakistan should maintain its relations with USA on the basis of equality. Moreover, Pakistan should deny to follow the American demands of 'do more' every time. However, without economic progress Pakistan cannot make independent foreign policy decisions. Due to weak economy, Pakistani politicians look towards USA for economic grants, loans and aid. Therefore, Pakistan' leaders should stop taking financial aid from USA.
- Pakistan should work with all regional and global powers but do not allow any power to dominate its foreign policy behaviour and goals.
- Pakistan should continue its policy of neutrality between Iran and Saudi Arabia. Pakistan should keep offering the role of mediator between Tehran and Riyadh to find a solution of their conflict which are disturbing the peace and stability of entire Middle Eastern region.
- Pakistan should improve its relations with Turkey. Despite the fact that both states have friendly ties, the cooperation in trade, economic projects is still limited. Both Pakistan and Turkey can coordinate and raise voice on the issues of Muslims throughout world particularly for the rights of people of Kashmir and Palestine.
- > Turkey's support can help Pakistan to raise the voice for Kashmir issue. Both states can work together for the peace and stability of Muslim world.

- Pakistan can play constructive role for peace and stability in Afghanistan. Currently, Imran Khan Government is actively trying to find a solution of US-Afghan issues. Therefore, Pakistan should continue its support for peace in Afghanistan, as Pakistan can help to find a way of conflict between Taliban Vs Afghan government and Taliban-Afghan government and USA. Moreover, peace in Afghanistan will open new doors of trade opportunities for both states.
- Pakistan always seeks for peace with India and willing for dialogue on Kashmir conflict. However, due to Indian leaders it could not happen yet. Pakistan and India have serious issues like poverty, unemployment, corruption and numerous people are deprived of their fundamental facilities of life. Therefore, the politicians of both states should work for the development and betterment of their public and region. Both states can end the conflict, as European states did after world war-ii and worked together for the welfare of their public.

Conclusion

International system affects the foreign policy of states and Pakistan is the key example of it. During cold war, the nature of international system was bi-polar.

During cold war, it was not easy to balance the relations between two Super power; America and Soviet Union. Pakistan was a newly born state and had many economic, political and security challenges. To deal with these threats, Pakistan needs the support of global powers. However, Pakistani leaders looked towards USA for help and it affects the foreign policy of Pakistan throughout cold war. As a result, Pakistan could not maintain good terms with Soviet Union. Despite the fact that Pakistan was an ally of West, it did not get support in the wars of 1965, 1971. America did not even support Pakistan's stance on Kashmir issue.

Furthermore, after the collapse of Soviet Union, America become the sole superpower and it affects the geopolitics of the world. After 9/11, President Bush said to Pakistan, "either with us or against us," once again no other option as left for Pakistan to support America on WOT. Pakistan was an ally of US on WOT and it affected the economic-social-political infrastructure of Pakistan for years. Moreover, many innocent people died, Pakistan faced bomb blast and attacks on almost daily basis which further affects the peace and stability of Pakistan. Mnay terrorist took shelter in FATA and threaten the peace and security of Pakistan. As a result, Pakistan has to launch operation to eliminate these threats. The armed forces of Pakistan have successfully eliminated the terrorism from Pakistan but the consequences of being an American ally was to bigger for Pakistan. With the emergence of multi-polar world order, Pakistan has more opportunities to balance its relations with all major powers such as China, Russia and USA. Pakistan should avail the opportunity to secure its interest at regional and global level. An independent foreign policy would not be possible with economic progress and development. CPEC is an important project that will enhance the economic and geostrategic importance of Pakistan in the region. Pakistan's bilateral relations with Russia, China and USA will open new doors of opportunities. However, the relations with these global powers should be based on mutual benefit, equality and equity.

References

- Ahmed, R. (2012). Pakistan on the Brink: The Future of Pakistan, Afghanistan and the West. Allen Lane.
- Arya, H. C. (1966). "A Study of Some Aspects of the Relations of the U.S. with Pakistan," (Ph.D. Thesis), Indian School of International Studies. New Delhi, 1966, p. 2
- Bose, S. (2005). Anatomy of violence: Analysis of civil war in east Pakistan in 1971. Economic and Political Weekly, 4463-4471.
- Chakma, B. (2002). Road to Chagai: Pakistan's nuclear programme, its sources and motivations. Modern Asian Studies, 36(4), 871-912.
- Choudhry, I. A., Mahsud, M. N., & Hasan, S. (2005). Reflection of US Policy Towards Pakistan in Pakistani Press. European Journal of Scientific Research, 20(2), 326-339.
- Dar, F. A. Federalism in Pakistan: A Case Study of Liaquat's Role in Punjab Politics, 1947-1951.
- Fani, M. I. (2005). Pakistan's Foreign Policy: Challenges and Opportunities after 9/11. Pakistan Horizon, 58(4), 53-64.
- Farooq, T. (2016). US-Pakistan relations: Pakistan's strategic choices in the 1990s. Routledge.
- Frankel, J. (1963). The making of foreign policy: An analysis of decision making (Vol. 200). London; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ganguly, Š. (2002). Conflict unending: India-Pakistan tensions since 1947. Columbia University Press.
- Gibson, H. (1944). The road to foreign policy. Doubleday, Doran, Incorporated.
- Haggani, H. (2006). History repeats itself in Pakistan. Journal of Democracy, 17(4), 110-124.
- Haqqani, H. (2013). Magnificent delusions: Pakistan, the United States, and an epic history of misunderstanding. Public Affairs.
- Hasnat, S. F. (2014). Pakistan-US Relations on Slippery Grounds: An Account of Trust and its Deficit. Pakistan Vision, 12(1).
- Husain, J. "Multipolarity and Pakistan," The Nation, January 15,2019. https://nation.com.pk/15-Jan-2019/multipolarity-and-pakistan
- Hussain, T. (2005). US-Pakistan engagement: The war on terrorism and beyond (Vol. 31). United States Institute of Peace.
- Jaffrelot, C. (Ed.). (2004). A History of Pakistan and its Origins. Anthem Press.
- Keohane, R. O., & Nye, J. S. (2012). Power and Interdependence. Boston: Ed. https://southasianvoices.org/exploring-the-impulses-in-pakistans-foreign-policy/
- Khan, M. T. F. (2018). Pakistan's Growing Relations with Russia. Strategic Studies, 38(2), 87-103.
- Knutsen, T. L. (1999). Kenneth Waltz'theory of international politics. INTERNASJONAL POLITIKK, 57(2), 338-361.
- Kronstadt, K. A. (2015). Pakistan-US relations: Issues for the 114th Congress. Congressional Research Service.
- Leffler, M. P. (1992). A preponderance of power: National security, the Truman administration, and the Cold War. Stanford University Press.
- Liaquat, A. K. (1951). Pakistan, the Heart of Asia: Speeches in the United States and Canada, May and June L950. Harvard University Press.
- Malik, A. Rahman, "The new world order and Pakistan," Daily Times, February 18,2019. https://dailytimes.com.pk/355675/the-new-world-order-and-pakistan/
- Mastny, V. (2010). The Soviet Union's Partnership with India. Journal of Cold War Studies, 12(3), 50-90.
- McMahon, R. J. (1988). United States cold war strategy in South Asia: Making a military commitment to Pakistan, 1947–1954. The Journal of American History, 75(3), 812-840.
- Mearsheimer, J. J. (2001). The tragedy of great power politics. WW Norton & Company.
- Modelski, G. (1962). A theory of foreign policy (No. 2). Center of International Studies, Princeton University.
- Nawaz, G. (2013). The British Plan of the Partition of the Punjab in 1947. Pakistan Journal of History and Culture, 34(2).
- Padelford, N. J., & Lincoln, G. A. (1962). Dynamics of International Politics. Naval War College Review, 15(8), 4.
- Rashid, A. (2009). Descent into Chaos: The US and the disaster in Pakistan. Afghanistan, and Central Asia, Barcelona, Ediciones Península.
- Sattar, A. (2010). Pakistan's foreign policy: 1947-2009 (pp. 18-19). Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Sayeed, K. B. (1980). Politics in Pakistan: The nature and direction of change. New York: Praeger.

- Sunawar, L., & Coutto, T. (2015). US Pakistan relations during the cold war. *The Journal of International Relations, Peace Studies, and Development, 1*(1), 6.
- Sunawar, L., & Coutto, T. (2015). US Pakistan relations during the cold war. The Journal of International Relations, Peace Studies, and Development, 1(1), 6.
- Waltz, K. N. (1979). Theory of international politics/Kenneth N. Waltz.
- Wirsing, R. G. (2003). Precarious Partnership: Pakistan's Response to US Security Policies. Asian Affairs: An American Review, 30(2), 70-78.
- Yamin, T. (2015). Examining Pakistan's strategic decision to support the US War on Terror. Strategic Studies, 35(2), 113-135.