

## Embryonic World Order: Implications for Pakistan's Foreign Policy, Geopolitical Agendas and Foreign Affairs

Javeria Jahangir<sup>1\*</sup> and Sara Ahmed<sup>2</sup>

### Abstract

*The paper is a systematic review, based on secondary research outcomes and highlights the realism perspective which is of significant importance in understanding the post 9/11 emerging world order, realignments and implications for Pakistan, a thorough discussion has been made on by considering various aspects of the changing world order after 9/11. Based on the geopolitical state of Pakistan, it always has to stand the test of time and other external factors. This study has made a contribution by compiling and summarizing the important findings regarding the geo-economics, geopolitics and other aspects of Pakistan's foreign policy. The important concepts of world order, incident of 9/11 and impact on the foreign policy of Pakistan has been discussed. The research determines to serve objectives such as the Post 9/11 Emerging World Order, Realignments and Implications for Pakistan, the association of Pakistan's present political and economic condition with relation to international orders and capture the current picture of the Pakistan's emerging foreign policy and condition of international relations. The findings of the research illustrate how the incident of 9/11 has drastically changed the world economy, particularly of Pakistan. Since then, Pakistan has to bear a huge cost being a Muslim country and an ally to United States. Further the challenges and opportunities have been discussed with association to the present foreign policy realignments.*

**Key Words:** World Order, Pakistan, China, India, United States, Global Politics, Foreign Policy, Peace and Security

---

<sup>1</sup> Assistant Professor,

Department of Political Science & International Relations,  
University of Management and Technology, Lahore, Pakistan.

<sup>2</sup> Lecturer, Department of Politics & IR, Lahore Leads University, Lahore, Pakistan

\*Corresponding Author: javeriajahangir@gmail.com

## 1. Introduction

U.S. presence in Afghanistan since 9/11 to combat the Taliban, the 2005 US-India strategic partnership and the Indo-Afghanistan strategic partnership, posed a challenge to the Pakistan-Afghanistan-India relationship. The Northern Alliance strengthened its ties with the U.S. and India at the expense of Pakistan (Inayat, 2013, 79). Following 9/11, Pakistan became the United States' frontline ally in the battle against terrorism in Afghanistan as a non-NATO supporter. When the U.S. regularly violated Pakistan's sovereignty through drone attacks and covert operations, it presented Pakistan as the bad guy, accusing it of being part of the terrorism rather than the solution, and enhancing India's regional prominence through the US-India strategic relationship. Pakistan's foreign policy, which had been neutral and non-aligned without any ideological choice in the early years after independence, was quickly pushed by the stark reality of dependency on the U.S. for security, economic, and political reasons. With such a strategic location in South Asia, major challenges to Pakistan's survival as a nation-state arose from the subcontinent's politics, in which Pakistan's disputes and confrontations with India and Afghanistan, particularly the conflict over Kashmir and the water division dispute in the Indus basin, were no doubt central in shaping Pakistan's foreign policy (Kundi, 2009, 197-198).

In geopolitical and regional terms, the U.S. policy of incorporating littoral states of the Indian Ocean and Asia-Pacific into a cooperative strategic partnership architecture, such as Japan, South Korea, the Philippines, India, Vietnam, Singapore, Australia, and Indonesia, is bolstering its strategic outreach while on the other hand, provoking Chinese reservations about the former's policy toward the latter. Although the U.S. sought to emphasize multiple times that this cooperation framework was not intended to be unfriendly to China, it was being implemented in light of the present political and economic situation to assist preserve the value-based alliance. According to Kurt M. Campbell, a former Assistant Secretary of State who worked with President Obama on Asia strategy, relations between the U.S. and China have "gone from being generally excellent at the strategic level among the large powers to very challenging" (Khan, 2015).

The 9/11 attacks wreaked havoc on the U.S. economy as well as those of its allies. The repercussions have changed the relationship between the two countries (Levi and Wall, 2004). Following the 9/11 attacks, U.S. officials quickly identified Osama bin Laden and his Al-Qaeda organization to be the only perpetrators, ruling out any other options. Following the terrorist attacks of 9/11, the world community began to regard terrorism as a global security problem. The disaster affected not just American foreign policy, but also the global power and security system. These terrorist attacks marked the beginning of a new era in the U.S. and the rest of the globe. The US launched a military operation in Afghanistan against the Taliban and al-Qaeda on October 7, 2001. The ostensible

purpose of the strike was to catch Osama bin Laden. Within a few months of the invasion, the International Security Assistance Force had taken key cities in Afghanistan (Afzal, Iqbal and Inayat, 2012, 194).

Pakistan's relations with the U.S. and China extend back to the Cold War era and have altered as a result of major geopolitical events. As a consequence of post-9/11 dynamic global political developments and the increasing Indo-US strategic partnership, Pakistan has been compelled to seek strategic collaboration with China in order to maintain the balance of power in South Asia (Maqsood, 2021, 50). Pakistan was an important Cold War actor, and its grand culmination in Afghanistan (1979-88) was crucial. Years after the defeated Soviet army departed Afghanistan and the enormous American CIA operational unit was disassembled from Islamabad, the specter of that conflict and its numerous manifestations still haunts Pakistan. Events in Afghanistan have a huge influence on Pakistan's security, whether they are caused by natural calamities such as drought or the Taliban government's radical ideas (Shah, 2001). Pakistan faced a new type of terrorism as a result of a shift in its foreign policy. Suicide bombers and the indiscriminate targeting of foreigners were the first manifestations. International pressure could never force Pakistan to openly halt the operations of Jihadi/fundamentalist organizations (Kundi and Faiqa, 2005, 3-6).

Since the conclusion of the Cold War, Pakistan has faced a number of challenges. The dimensions of almost all the Pakistan's international relations are being assessed, and historical alliances and interconnections are being examined (Mazhar & Goraya, 2013, 96-97). Pakistan played a mixed role in gaining and maintaining operational access to Afghanistan after 2001. While diplomatic and economic instruments were helpful in persuading Pakistan to support and providing operational access to Afghanistan, they were insufficient in gaining access to areas Pakistan considered of vital interests, depriving the U.S. of its overall strategic goal of eliminating terrorist organizations that had come to rely on Pakistan as a safe haven (Rossbach, 2021).

In the aftermath of 9/11, Pakistan had to deal with a lot of problems while staying true to national goals. During the first decade of the twentieth century, Pakistan's international asylum relationship with the U.S. remained strong. Pakistan, on the other hand, began to assess its foreign policy alternatives as time went on, seeking new ways to engage. Pakistan's foreign policy has taken on a new color as a result of its major strategy toward China in particular, and the Golden Ring for Security in general. Pakistan, China, Iran, Turkey, and Russia formed the Golden Ring, a new powerful and influential group, since 2016.

In order to protect its national interests, Pakistan selected new pathways to create a balance of power in South Asia and maintain a multi-pronged foreign policy front. General Pervez Musharraf, Pakistan's president (1999-2018), could not deny the U.S. plea for assistance in the battle against terrorism after the 9/11 attacks.

Pakistan and China are committed to collaborating to safeguard their sovereignty and expand their economies. The geostrategic significance of China and Pakistan's strategic partnership in the construction of Gwadar Port and the formation of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor cannot be overstated. The CPEC has grown in importance as a result of Gwadar Port's deep-water port, geo-strategic location, and the reliance of landlocked Central Asian nations and China's Xinjiang province on access to the sea for their exports. Through Gwadar, Pakistan may promote economic growth and strengthen strategic connections with other nations.

The participation of Russia in the CPEC, which would provide long-term investment, security, and stability to the region, should be made easier. Lines of communication connecting Pakistan and Russia via Central Asian countries might be another game-changer in the region, since they will boost regional commerce (Mumtaz, Ramzan, and Gul, 2018, 8).

Pakistan's prosperity would impact not just the fate of their region, but also global stability. Pakistan has developed into a prominent actor with a distinct identity. All of its major interests must now be safeguarded and preserved at all costs. Pakistan should demonstrate and conduct a principled foreign policy in order to promote its national interests. Pakistan, as an ideology state, seeks to improve connections with Islamic countries while also campaigning for the rights of underdeveloped countries in general and Muslim countries in particular.

## **2. Theoretical Framework**

To better understand the dynamics of the ever-changing Pakistan-U.S ties, the realism method was used to investigate major events that happened after 2000 that affected Pakistan's foreign affairs vis-à-vis the U.S. The major realism kinds of classical and structural realism have been combined to prove Pakistan's behavior. The most well-known and generally believed theory of international relations is realism. Realism, often known as political realism, is an approach to international politics that emphasizes the situation's challenging and conflictual aspects.

Realists argue that states are the dominating force in the global arena because they are concerned about their stability, operate in pursuit of their strategic interests, and compete for domination. The greatest drawback of realists' growing concentration on power and self-interest is their skepticism of the value of moral norms in inter-state interactions (Karpowicz, 2017, 3-4). In an anarchic world, realism holds that global politics is a heated competition among self-interested countries for strength, fame, and social position (Zaidi & Ahmad, 2021, 3). After 9/11 incident, the realism approach would lead to a better understanding of the Emerging World Order, Adjustments, and Consequences for Pakistan. One of the approaches used to govern the international political process is foreign policy. It may be described as the efforts made by governments to maintain international relationships. Realism is a simple notion that states that every

country wants to increase its power, and that only countries with more strength in the international system can develop.

According to the reasoning, any nation's primary purpose is to defend itself while accumulating power. If it is possible to attain national goals by lying and violence, the state will not follow moral principles. Every state, on the other hand, is self-contained and unaffected by intrinsic society, which might influence interstate relations. They can only start dating if they both agree. A realist thinks that in an anarchic society, state authority is the only way to protect and survive because it is the only way to defend and survive. Because they place such a high value on chaos and power, realists have a negative opinion of international law and institutions.

### **3. Global Politics: Post 9/11 World Order**

The events of 9/11, altered the dynamics of the globe politics. It ushered in a new age of global securitization and international security politics became the primary source of all-important policies in the global environment. Pakistan's post-9/11 alliance with the US, marked the beginning of a turbulent time in the country's political history. Pakistan became a battleground in the US war on terror, and paid a high price in terms of human and material loss. The reaction to 9/11 demonstrates the implementation gap, underlining economists' arguments for monetary policy over fiscal policy. The day after the attacks, monetary policy changes began, and the most of them were completed within a week. Economic scenario showed that 9/11 negatively influenced the fundamentals of supply and demand in energy markets having minimal long-term impact. Because there was no disruption in oil market fundamentals or large-scale economic consequences, there was no room for fresh government intervention to restore energy market stability. While the majority of the short-term financial implications of 9/11 were transient, there were some medium- and long-term consequences. The most evident medium-term impact is that people and organizations all over the world are looking for better security, yet security comes at a cost. Insurance premiums, in particular, have increased (Makinen, 2002, 7-9).

A hallmark of modern international politics is the emergence of an increasingly complex web of interconnectivity. While competing/counter-competing with one another, India and China are also cooperating with each other but the simmering tensions between India and China carry the possibility of escalation, which could be disastrous given that both sides are nuclear powers. China is one of India's primary commercial partners, there will be economic consequences because the trade of both states rely on the same maritime channels. It's possible that their mutual desire for marine routes may compel them to forge an alliance that may be indirectly hostile to the U.S. (Howell & Lind, 2009).

American and other foreign companies, legislators, and the media criticized changes in visa requirements for the sharp drop in travel to the U.S that occurred in the aftermath of the attacks (Neiman, & Swagel, 2009). The declaration of a global war on terror

heightened national and international security concerns. Anti-terrorist legislation, policies, and practices have been enacted by governments all over the world in response to the perceived danger of terrorism (Stares, Jia, Tocci, Jaishankar and Kortunov, 2020). Many alliances are presently being formed among governments throughout the world in order to improve specific countries' geopolitical and geo-economic positions e.g.

- North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD)
- Caribbean Community (CARICOM)
- Forum for the Latin American Progress and Development (PROSUR)
- Russia-Syria-Iran-Iraq Coalition (RSII)
- Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan
- Reciprocal Access Agreement (RAA)
- Sino-North Korean Mutual Aid and Cooperation Friendship Treaty
- Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO)
- Treaty of Good-Neighborliness and Friendly Cooperation between the People's Republic of China and the Russian Federation (FCT)

The purpose of these partnerships is to secure economic, political, and geographical frontiers. The alliances have enabled the nations to reap the benefits of geo-economics cooperation. On the other side, these ties have a substantial impact on allied nations' foreign policy shifts and realignments. As a result, Pakistan's foreign policy and international relations with the rest of the world must change. Following the 9/11, China's global exposure has expanded, and it is now seen as a world power based on its alliances. China, by focusing on its foreign policy frameworks, has improved its international connections. It has created agreements with Russia to protect international links. It has also reached an agreement with North Korea for the mutual defense of the two nations. As a result of developments in global foreign policy reforms, China has formed official and informal alliances. Despite some of its real and perceived hard power qualities, the U.S has very little influence on global outcomes if power is defined as the ability to learn and shape political events (Camroux & Okfen, 2004).

Although the interests of China and Pakistan appear to be aligned for the time being, the weight of Pakistan's unsustainable debt has increased Chinese presence in Pakistan, and intrusions into Pakistani internal affairs are all likely to cause discontent, potentially leading to a divergence of interests. Given the threat that China's BRI poses to U.S. interests today and in the twenty-first century, it appears that China's BRI does not pose the strategic threat that it is frequently depicted as in the short term, but could pose a significant threat in the long run if China is able to complete its vision. As a result of the new world order, significant changes in international relations occurred. A shift in conflict lines from the horizontal to the vertical realm, between governments and social actors, underpins the new global order (Kakihara, 2003, 5-6).

Despite the apparent grandeur of massive foreign aid or investments, great power interference or control over smaller states has the potential to generate resentment and

resistance, limiting great power actors' influence and causing more liabilities than benefits, especially when those states' perceptions of vital national interests differ. Although China may be able to get access to certain regions using the diplomatic and economic instruments, the financial costs may be prohibitive. Debt-stricken countries such as Pakistan, which require interminable financial bailouts, may jeopardize not just China's ambition, but also the Chinese state's financial solvency.

#### **4. Impact on Peace and Security of Pakistan**

India and Pakistan are on divergent strategic tracks, trends are expected to expand the gap between misperceptions and security perspectives, posing a serious threat to the region's strategic dynamics. In recent years, regionalism and regional security have grown increasingly essential.

Pakistan and India have been viewed as rivals since their establishment. The Kashmir issue principal source of contention; the two countries have fought three major wars over it. Now, India has reservations about the CPEC route via Gilgit-Baltistan, which is part of the disputed Jammu and Kashmir state and is classified as Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. India is apprehensive that Pakistan may legalize Gilgit-Baltistan as a fifth province, allowing Pakistan to expand its control over Kashmir. India has voiced its opposition to this idea (Curtis, 2012, 255). India urged China to cancel the project and called it as unacceptable since it passed through a disputed part of Kashmir. India also had reservations about the Chinese laborers and engineers on the project. Chinese involvement was considered as a threat to India's security interests. China's growing influence in South Asia effectively fill the hole created by the US's unwillingness to invest in Pakistan. The U.S. has aided Pakistan militarily and financially in the past, but it has never been interested in constructing infrastructural development projects (Jaleel, Naureen and Mahesar, 2018, 223). The projected megaprojects would not only provide Pakistan with huge economic and commercial benefits, but will also give Pakistan tremendous geopolitical leverage over India. Indian territorial ambitions in Pakistan's northern territories would be deterred by China's presence. Pakistan's security and economic prosperity would both benefit from this.

Terrorism became a global issue after the 9/11 attacks. Terrorism and extremism have reached an all-time high in Pakistan after 9/11, and the security situation has been awful. Many of people died and thousands were wounded as a result of terrorist assaults. The situation was dire across the country, but the surge in violence had a particularly negative impact in FATA and KPK (Ahmed, Nov 22, 2016). In that situation, Pakistan required national collaboration and solidarity. Pakistan's security situation was deteriorating on a daily basis, necessitating immediate action to address the security issues.

Pakistan's financial division estimated that its economy had incurred a 2.1 trillion-dollar cost as a result of its active participation in the war on terror. Foreign direct investment was inhibited, and export and industrial output were hurt, due to a lack of security. According to the State Bank of Pakistan, FDI declined by 54.6 percent in 2010, resulting in a loss of 1.18 billion dollars, due to internal security concerns, an unpredictable political situation, and terrorist fears. The government was unable to negotiate an agreement with foreign parties due to the scenario. The stock market had

fallen as the country's security situation had deteriorated, with suicide attacks and unsafe government security practices instilling fear and confusion among the public.

The U.S. foreign policy suggested a fundamental shift in U.S. international relations after 9/11. The economies of the United States' allies were mostly unaffected by those events. The attack's repercussions, on the other hand, resulted in a new world order. Adversity struck Europe, Asia, and the Middle East in particular, international links shifted dramatically, and foreign relations were badly affected. Anti-terrorism legislation and regulations became a significant part of international relations (Kakihara, 2003, 7-9). Western world united as one voice to combat terrorists across the world. Pakistan's President, General Pervez Musharraf, had no choice but to assess his options in such a predicament. Under the circumstances, he made the best decision he could. Since 9/11, Pakistan's foreign policy objectives have taken a number of detours. During the 2001 invasion of Afghanistan, Pakistan was an ardent backer of U.S. Pakistan had no option but to pursue its interests in conformity with the U.S. grand plan for South Asia, according to the principles of rational choice theory. Pakistan's foreign policy decisions changed as regional and local variables changed (Ahmad & Hashmi, 202, 126-128).

The various alterations in the new global order have been uncovered. The threat of terrorism has escalated as a result of the perception developed after 9/11. Almost all the countries feel that terrorism can strike at any time when the U.S. is powerless to defend them. Terrorist threats were more visible, and governments sought to protect their weapons in order to prevent widespread tragedy.

Changes in foreign policy are prioritizing tactics to deal with the potential for severe damage as a result of terrorist activities, which is one of the most important revolutions in international relations. The U.S. has transitioned from being a superpower to just influencing other countries. China and Russia have begun to exert influence on the world through allies and international relations.

Furthermore, the importance of diplomatic and economic instruments was frequently eclipsed by larger geopolitical considerations that compelled the U.S. and Pakistan to align their interests. The U.S. used diplomacy and economics to influence Pakistani behavior when their vital interests were aligned; however, when their interest diverged, diplomatic and economic instruments proved largely ineffective.

As a result of prolonged hostility, dizziness, deformation, decelerating trade and production, stagnation in export, swaying stockholders, and a corresponding law and order situation, Pakistan unavoidably became mired in crisis. Pakistan has one of the most comprehensive threat assessments of any country in the world. China, an emerging economic giant; India, a state with vastly superior industrial resources and a much larger human base, as well as intense conflicts with Pakistan over a variety of issues, particularly the Kashmir issue; Iran and Afghanistan, never friendly and a source of internal tension and domestic instability; and the Arabian Sea, which serves as a gateway to Central Asian states through Gwadar Port. Furthermore, two of Pakistan's most populous provinces

have substantial ethnic and tribal ties across the Afghan border, while Jammu and Kashmir's status on the Indian side remains unresolved. Pakistan's domestic politics are still closely linked to the political relations of its neighbors (Akbar, 2011, 4-5).

## **5. Pakistan Strategic & Economic Relations with China**

China and Pakistan's relationship has been an all-weather friendship because of its durability in the face of changing geopolitical situations. Beginning in the 1960s, both China and Pakistan fought massive wars against their neighboring rival India, which gave opportunities for further mutual cooperation. India says China's operational control of Gwadar encircles it. Despite the fact that Gwadar is barely 400 kilometers from the Strait of Hormuz, providing it a shorter way to the world's second largest oil customer, China, the other argument is that neither China nor India is powerful enough to make these claims realistic (Sumit, 2004, 117). In terms of the region's emerging strategic dynamics, the shift from traditional state behavior governed by the ethos of the Treaty of Westphalia to a post-Westphalia world in which states are increasingly subjected to a state of interdependencies shaped by economic openness, political imperatives for welfare maximization, and democratic political principles has a direct impact on India and Pakistan's foreign and security policies. This has had an impact on states' security requirements alone; security has evolved into a structurally conditioned social benefit. At the same time, this transformation in global structural politics has had an impact on India's and Pakistan's strategic orientations, national identities, instrumental preferences, and interaction preferences (Andrew, 2015, 54)

The China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is a railroad, road, and fiber optics project that intends to connect Pakistan's undeveloped province of Baluchistan (Gwadar Port) with China's underdeveloped region of Xinjiang. Both China and Pakistan are investing heavily on the CPEC. China has surpassed the U.S. as the world's top oil importer as a burgeoning economic powerhouse. The CPEC is the shortest and safest route for oil imports. Furthermore, CPEC has helped to elevate China's western regions out of poverty. China has implemented initiatives that will boost the Chinese economy's profitability (Jaleel, Talha and Mahesar, 2018, 222-223).

The success of China's substantial investment depends on Pakistan's ability to maintain security and stability. It is Pakistan's responsibility to guarantee that this large Chinese investment is feasible and valuable in the long run. The CPEC may transform Pakistan into an energy transit corridor and regional commercial powerhouse by providing financial assistance for infrastructure development. In addition, this collaboration acts as a check on India's colonial ambitions in South Asia (Maqsood, 2021).

The CPEC project provides Pakistan with an opportunity to address its difficulties and enhance its population's living conditions. Pakistan's economy is in shambles, compounded by the war on terror and internal security concerns. Pakistan has only attracted a little amount of foreign investment. Furthermore, the country is coping with an energy crisis that is limiting its economic development. Baluchistan's least developed

area is projected to benefit the most from the effort. Pakistan is extremely important to the China. Beijing's Belt and Road program would be nearly impossible to implement without Pakistan. China's geopolitical goals require Pakistan's strategic position and access to the sea.

Chinese investments in Pakistan as part of the Belt and Road initiative will boost Pakistan's global trade value. Stronger marine transport linkages with Gulf States and Africa can also assist Pakistan in expanding its commercial ties. Pakistan will benefit from regional integration and a collaborative pursuit of sustainable development in a peaceful and stable environment. If Pakistan can create a functional and efficient train supply route to Turkey via Iran, for example, it will improve its access to the European market (Ozkizilcik, 18 Jan, 2022).

## **6. Pakistan's Diplomatic Relations with United States**

Following 9/11, the U.S. reluctantly welcomed Pakistan into its bend to ease its occupation of Afghanistan, fight the longest war, and finally withdraw safely. Pakistan was coerced into joining the U.S. war on terror, which it fought tenaciously and produced the best results whilst also suffering the most and all of Pakistan's security forces' accomplishments infuriated both the U.S. and India. When the heavily fortified strongholds of Swat and South Waziristan were overrun in 2009, and all of FATA's tribal agencies, except North Waziristan, were recaptured in 2010, and the ISAF was forced to abandon its boots on the ground strategy in Afghanistan and announce a withdrawal plan due to the resurgence of the Afghan Taliban in Afghanistan, the befuddled Obama and Pentagon took their rage out on Pakistan in 2011.

The most recent hostile act against the so-called ally, which brought Pak-US relations to a halt, compelled Pakistan to respond defiantly. Throughout the war, the U.S. and its strategic partners conspired to derail Pakistan's nuclear program, while Pakistan considered each other allies and continued to do more, bleeding the country. Pakistan was critical to the success of Afghan peace talks that resulted in the historic Doha agreement, the launch of an intra-Afghan dialogue in September 2020, and the Taliban's failure to attack foreign military targets.

It played a historic role in evacuating and housing 10,000 people from Kabul, including US-NATO forces, US diplomats, IMF-World Bank officials, and Afghan nationals. Pakistan's sacrifices and efforts to please the U.S. were scorned and blamed for the war's catastrophic conclusion. In comparison, India, which failed the U.S. on all fronts, was kept in its tight embrace and handsomely rewarded simply because it offered profitable economic and IT markets, purchased large consignments of armaments from the U.S. and Israel and contributed to the game of intrigue and deception. Now that all of its troops have returned home, the U.S. wants to avenge from Taliban, who are allegedly supported by Pakistan.

The entire blame for the U.S. chaotic exit is pinned on Pakistan, a convenient scapegoat. Pakistan's diplomatic goals must be based on resolving the China-U.S. conflict

and managing adversarial relations with India and Afghanistan. Even in the face of ongoing geopolitical competition between major powers, Pakistan's diplomatic efforts must aim to secure its national interests. However, Pakistan must maintain peace, protect human rights, increase economic cooperation, promote democratic values, and strengthen society in order to combat terrorism and religiously motivated extremism. In this way, Pakistan will be able to reestablish its credibility, improve its image abroad, and secure its fair share of progress in Asia, which is poised to become the world's new power center in the twenty-first century.

Other hostile acts include the IMF's disturbing dictations, pressuring Pakistan to further devalue its currency and raise taxes on petroleum, gas, and electricity, the FATF's reluctance to whiten Pakistan, and India's recent threat of launching a surgical strike, as well as an Indian submarine sneaking into Pakistan's waters and being chased out. The U.S. encourages India's bellicosity. Under the circumstances, India may be the U.S. preferred South Asian partner (Karim, 2022).

Pakistan received significant military and economic assistance, allowing it to strengthen its security against Indian hostilities and survive in a harsh security environment characterized by conflicts with India over Kashmir and tensions with Afghanistan over the Durand line. Nonetheless, as Pakistan drew closer to China during the 1965 war, this warmth in its relations with the U.S. began to fade. Pakistan's firm belief in the axiom "my neighbor's neighbor is my friend" enabled it to gain diplomatic and material support from India's rival China.

The process of change and continuity in Pakistan's foreign policy in the mid-twentieth century can be studied from two angles: security dilemma and geopolitics. Security has remained a dominant factor in the formulation of a country's foreign policy. Pakistan inherited a hostile neighbor that was both bigger and stronger in terms of economic stability, military power, size, and geography since its independence in 1947.

Thus, Pakistan joined U.S. led military alliances and became a member of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) after adhering to the Eisenhower doctrine, which stipulated U.S. military and diplomatic support in the event of communist aggression against a country (Mahesar, April 23, 2022). The international community's warm attitude toward India's intentions to achieve regional hegemony further justified Pakistan's nuclear weapons development, which aimed to create nuclear deterrence. During the cold war (1979-1989), the U.S. fought a war against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, with Pakistan serving as a key ally. The country received massive American economic and military assistance. During this time, the U.S. supported an anti-Soviet war in Afghanistan, allowing Pakistan to continue its nuclear program.

Following the end of the Cold War, the U.S. imposed sanctions and, under the Pressler Amendment, cut off aid to Pakistan. Pakistani officials continue to insist in international and regional forums, as well as bilateral meetings with representatives of

the U.S. and other key Western states, that the Taliban takeover has not destabilized Afghanistan. The nightmare scenarios feared after the Taliban takeover have not come to pass because there has been no widespread violence or violation of human rights and the security situation has vastly improved. Given the changing security dimensions of the region, Pakistan's geo-strategic significance, increasing strategic depth through economic connectivity, and promising economic potential are important determinants of the rising national power's ability to influence the outcome of international diplomacy in its favor.

India is a key prospective ally for the U.S. to counterbalance China. India has the world's second-largest population, a rapidly developing economy, and a strategic location that permits U.S. to extend its containment strategy to the Indo-Pacific. For years, American representatives have maintained that India will have to choose sides and has predicted that India will support the U.S. While India may strive to avoid making such decisions, structural realities would force it to. India will side with the U.S., just as Australia was driven to join AUKUS by the international system (Ward and Mcleary, 15 September, 2021). Border confrontations between China and India in 2020 were simply a taste of the international system's overwhelming strength.

## **7. Pakistan's Foreign Policy: Changes over the Years**

Foreign policy refers to a country's pattern of interactions with the rest of the world in order to advance its national interests, and it is a constant in international politics. The outside world is made up of state and non-state actors such as Non-Governmental Organizations and International Governmental Organizations. Foreign policy is defined as a state's actions toward the external environment and the conditions under which international acts are generated (Younas, 2003, 69). The relationship between national goals and the resources available to achieve them is a recurring theme in statecraft. Pakistan has always aligned its foreign policy with Western goals. Despite Pakistan's foreign policy favoring foreign interests, the west has backed Pakistan on both instances (Kundi and Faiqa, 2005, 1). In conclusion, external elements and national determinants (domestic elements) of foreign policy, have a significant impact on the design and orientation of a state's foreign policy (Gimba and Ibrahim, 2018, 122-123)

Pakistan's foreign policy has been characterized by self-denial in the past. External factors, particularly the U.S. are blamed for defining Pakistan's foreign policy, although several local elements also provide challenges. As Pakistan is an ideological country, ideology occupies a special place in its foreign policy and has always been a top priority (Akbar, 2011, 1). Pakistan's foreign policy is hampered not just by its commitments in Kashmir and limits in Afghanistan, but also by its unclear regional position, as seen by the country's shaky relations with Iran. Pakistan's connections with China, were not as strong in the 1990s as they had been in the past. China has made it clear that Pakistan must put the Kashmir issue on hold and peacefully live with India. China has made significant progress in its relations with India. Pakistan's stance of steadfast support for Muslim countries and causes has been badly damaged.

Pakistan's anti-Israel approach appears to have lost credibility, given that the principal antagonists, Palestinians and Israelis, have been communicating directly to each other since the commencement of the 1993 Oslo peace process. Many Arab countries have reached an agreement with Israel, leaving Pakistan trying to justify its policy. In actuality, numerous Middle Eastern countries that Pakistan has aided in the past, such as Iran, Jordan, and Turkey, have recently shown signs of disinterest (Shah, 2010).

After 9/11, Pakistan's foreign policy took a turn, discarding a number of values that had been in place for decades. It was a fundamental change in its Afghan strategy from partners to opponents. The Talibanization of Afghanistan, which began with Pakistan's active aid after the 9/11 attacks, was rapidly rejected under the core-periphery relationship. Pakistan has expressed its support for the U.S strong military presence in Afghanistan. Pakistan's foreign policy toward India had also shifted significantly after 9/11. The reactivation of abandoned motorways, the normalization of cross-border trade, the relaxing of visa restrictions, and the signing of a slew of protocols were all evidence of a reformed Pakistani foreign policy (Khan, 2005, 48-49).

Pakistan aided US efforts in the area at the expense of its own core interests, but the US responded by adopting double standards and abandoning its crisis partner. From the beginning of the alliance, when Liaquat Ali Khan abandoned a planned visit to Moscow in favor of a trip to Washington, DC, until its 2001 U-turn on Afghanistan, Pakistan has backed all accords and directions with sincerity and devotion. Pakistan joined the SEATO and CENTO coalitions, which were cobbled together by the US in a fit of Pactomania. Around 1959, Pakistan gave American intelligence and monitoring facilities in the Peshawar area. As a result of this, the U-2 Plane incident happened, pitting Pakistan against the Soviet Union. A diplomatic row broke out between two countries (Sunawar and Coutto, 2015, 5)

As a result of the U-2 plane incident, Pakistan's security was jeopardized. The Russians shot down the plane and the pilot was detained on Russian soil. As the jet flew from Pakistani land from facilities provided to the U.S. for surveillance and espionage objectives, Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev warned Pakistan of the implications. When the U.S. was denied a contract extension for another decade, the base was deactivated in 1968. The US-Pakistan relationship is notable for its backing for huge military regimes and managed democracies in Pakistan, rather than a true representative government (Sattar, 2009, 49-50)

Internal policies based on tolerance and moderation, as well as drastic changes, must be enacted to resist extremism. As a fundamental planning technique to foster societal peace, Pakistan incorporated extremism and terrorist concerns into policies and development programs.

Many countries in the region accepted much stiffer combating terrorism stances as a result of wars, while others saw them as political and geopolitical opportunities to reshape domestic security policy and realign themselves with the U.S. and its allies.

Others, however, saw the attacks as an opportunity to increase violence and oppression of minority communities, particularly Muslims. At the same time, the fall of Kabul, an ignominious defeat in the global war on terror that began 20 years ago, demonstrates the sharp limits of military power in the face of deep ethnic divisions and inequity (The Diplomat, 13 Sep, 2021).

The U.S. and Pakistan must define a mutually beneficial and long-term relationship because, despite significant strategic adjustments, the global community has never been more mutually dependent and immersive. Both countries must recognize that extremes can and should be avoided, and that the middle ground on almost all issues should be pursued.

Pakistan's threat perceptions have grown as India's military strength and conventional weaponry have improved. India's testing of unconventional weapons in 1974 heightened Pakistan's sense of vulnerability. The Indian nuclear explosion increased threat perception and provided the impetus for the development of nuclear weapons. Furthermore, the Pakistani government must revitalize its relationship with the U.S through various channels of digital and non-digital diplomacy, as well as carefully manage the situation created by the foreign conspiracy-related narrative of regime change. Pakistan's security and foreign policymakers first focused on the international strategic environment. Since 9/11, Pakistan has concentrated on regional security because the regional security climate primarily affects Pakistan. The stability of Afghanistan, India's regional hegemony plans, Pakistan-Iran relations, and the CPEC is currently the primary geostrategic problems influencing Pakistan's foreign policy.

## **8. A Rule Based Order**

Rule based order signifies the supremacy of U.S. in cultural values, political ideology and economic system. After World War-II, U.S. and its allies propagated the idea that the non-western allies should abide by the rule-based liberal order. The declining dominance of U.S. has raised questions over its global hegemony. It has been facing increasing economic challenges as a result of domestic stagnation, whereas the GDP of Asian countries has been steadily increasing.

Moreover, China's upward economic expansion over the last two decades has posed a threat to the economic and political management in international arena, U.S. danger assessments are at all-time high, U.S. has been devising strategies to counter China by whatever means necessary. The AUKUS (Australia, United Kingdom, and the U.S) security collaboration has sent shockwaves throughout Asia and Europe thus destabilizing both regions. Moreover, Indo-Pacific region is seen as a geopolitical clash between the U.S. and China, the AUKUS countries have praised their efforts to assist peace and stability in the region by sending nuclear-powered submarines to Australia. The agreement might trigger an arms race, putting the region's security in jeopardy. In the South China Sea, it has also conquered islands and developed port facilities (Makwana, April 17, 2022).

China has developed significantly in technology, acquiring Anti-Access and Area-Denial capabilities, as well as hypersonic capabilities. This has significantly altered the nature of U.S-China combat. It is important to understand that U.S. is a maritime power and its prowess depends on the seas. Every year, commodities worth of billions of dollars, are carried from U.S. ports. As international trade expands, the seas have become increasingly important to U.S.

Furthermore, technological advancement and its usage under the ocean bed is creating a space for future problems in territorial seas. The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) is the sole global legal framework that controls the law of the seas, and the U.S. is the only government that has signed, but not yet approved it. Similarly, the U.S. believes that relying on UNCLOS arrangements and expecting that other nations follow the same pattern will ensure its ability to traverse unhindered on missions and patrols.

Conservative and liberal presidential administrations have relied on Reagan's precedent to legitimate and direct the Freedom of Navigation Program (FONOP) in sensitive areas such as the South and East China Seas. The U.S. has been projecting strength in the Indo-Pacific through the FONOP while maintaining the protection of its allies (Makwana, April 17, 2022). The growing dominance of China and Russia has caused an alarming situation in the West, particularly in the US. Since the Covid-19 pandemic hit the world, affecting the world's greatest economies and imposing lockdowns, the U.S. has been working hard to use all of its resources, allies, and even NATO to put pressure on both to ensure its relevance in the ever-changing international order.

## **9. Pakistan's Foreign Policy Implications and Realignments**

After 9/11, the manner of collaboration created between Pakistan and the U.S. was obscured by unequal relationship status, resulting in major ramifications for Pakistan. Pakistan suffered greatly on political and strategic fronts as a result of the changing geopolitical circumstances following 9/11, which were caused by U.S.-led military operations in Afghanistan. The magnitude of the implications, which were primarily driven by U.S. security politics, put a huge dent in the country's overall sustainable development, as an already slowly developing country was forced to face additional military and strategic compulsions as a result of cooperating with the U.S. in the war on terror.

Despite being allies, there were numerous policy differences between the U.S. and Pakistan, ranging from the U.S's drone operations program in Pakistan, to the strategic partnership. This imposed a new layer of consequences on Pakistan's governmental system, encompassing economic, military, political, and social consequences.

Pakistan has changed its foreign policy from geopolitics to geo-economics. Geopolitical competition among major powers has threatened international peace and made diplomacy unpredictable. Geo-economics refers to the use of geography as a tool for maximizing economic well-being. Concentration on geo-economics would help minimize

the consequences of escalating U.S.-China competition. While Pakistan believes that geo-economics would maximize its self-interest, the international system may hinder it; Pakistan cannot ignore geopolitics.

Pakistan is in a strategic location, surrounded by Afghanistan, Iran, China, and India, which presents both problems and possibilities. Pakistan's policy reversal after 9/11 was purely pragmatic. Pakistan was obliged to assist the U.S. in dislodging the hardline Islamist administration that Pakistan's military establishment saw as crucial to the country's security after spending the previous seven years assisting the Taliban. The U.S. considered Pakistan's large store of Afghan intelligence vital to launching military action against the Taliban and Al Qaeda.

However, the reversal was not simple. The threat of U.S. annihilation if Pakistan did not comply was a powerful argument in favor of the policy shift. The U.S. has previously been promised logistical help and access to all of India's military facilities. India had approved its airbase in Farkhor, Tajikistan, on the Afghan border, for American soldiers to use. Fears of an American-Indian alliance leading to Pakistan's designation as a terrorist state swung the decision. Ironies abound in the US-Pakistan relationship after 9/11. While U.S. and Pakistan's coordination against Al Qaeda was tremendously efficient, that understanding was lacking when it came to taking action against Taliban commanders in Pakistan's border regions.

The Taliban had evolved into a powerful resistance movement capable of fighting the invading army within a few years. Pakistan's security worries were genuine in certain ways, but the fear of encirclement bordered on psychosis. It also led to Pakistan's continued support for Afghan Taliban elements such as the Haqqani Network, which it saw as a crucial instrument for opposing Indian influence, even if it meant jeopardizing the country's relationship with the U.S. The deterioration of US-Pak ties had a significant impact on America's combat efforts in Afghanistan.

Since the start of the CPEC, Pakistan's foreign policy has shifted significantly. The CPEC's goals are consistent with Pakistan's foreign policy principles, which include developing friendly relations with all countries, particularly immediate neighbors; safeguarding national security and geostrategic interests, including Kashmir; and ensuring the best possible use of national resources for regional and international cooperation.

A series of occurrences in 2011 had strained an already strained relationship. Pakistan's biggest commercial partner is the U.S. Pakistan's largest export market and a key source of foreign remittances is in the U.S. Pakistan would undoubtedly require U.S. assistance to attain economic stability. In addition, the country has a burgeoning technological industry that might benefit from U.S. assistance. Trade, security, and human rights have all been vexing issues in China-U.S. ties since the end of the Cold War.

## **10. Challenges & Opportunities Shaping Pakistan's Foreign Policy and Relations**

The opportunities and challenges of the evolving global order necessitate a flexible and innovative approach as well as well-articulated statesmanship.

### **10.1. Challenges**

Pakistan has faced an existential danger from India since its independence. However, Pakistan's strategic situation has gotten more difficult since 9/11. Pakistan has been fighting terrorism for the past sixteen years. Pakistan's strategic environment has improved as a result of successful military campaigns against terrorists and the signing of the CPEC agreement with China. India will continue to pose a huge national security danger to Pakistan because it is destabilizing the country by using Afghan soil and isolating Pakistan.

Pakistan's relations with China will continue to take precedence. While long-standing strategic connections have gained a strong economic dimension, relations must be maintained by continued high-level interaction and consultation. CPEC is on pace, but concerns in the second phase must be addressed. They include making complicated bureaucratic approval procedures for investors easier to understand, eliminating the issue of deferred payments and encouraging more business-to-business interaction (IPRI, 2022). Pakistan is struggling to strike a balance between its connections with the Afghan Taliban and the U.S. Both claim that Pakistan is supporting the opposing side. Pakistan, they claim, batters down on them without returning anything substantive. Both believe they are the victims of Pakistan's deception. Surprisingly, both are on a revenge mission. Pakistan is having trouble balancing its politico-economic connections with China and the US. Both believe Pakistan is delaying fulfilling its obligations. They see Pakistan as a scumbag, believe their influence over Pakistan is waning.

Pakistan is confronted with internal difficulties regarding economic instability and political uncertainty which is the result of inexperience and gaffes. Pakistan is confronted with external challenges too. The first is dealing with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the second is getting rid of the Financial Action Task Force (FATF). According to the IMF, Pakistan must reduce its spending to meet its income. The FATF is unforgiving of the human and material losses inflicted on India by the Mumbai attacks of 2008.

### **10.2. Opportunities**

The withdrawal of NATO from Afghanistan, Russia's comeback, China's growing stakes in Pakistan following the launch of CPEC, and Iran's favorably situated actions have all transformed the regional strategic landscape. As a result, Pakistan has more diplomatic opportunities than in the past, which would aid in the restoration of its economy and the strengthening of its international image. Furthermore, the NATO withdrawal from Afghanistan has increased Pakistan's regional importance. The U.S.,

Russia, and China are currently requesting Pakistan's assistance in facilitating Afghan reconciliation negotiations (IPRI, 2022).

In the framework of the Afghan reconciliation effort, the US-Pakistan relationship is one of the most promising. Pakistan, the US feels, may be a useful partner in the reconciliation process, not necessarily in bringing the Taliban to the table to discuss, but in pressing the Taliban to help the U.S. achieve its aims. Pakistan may persuade the Taliban to speak with Afghan officials, something the Taliban has previously refused to do.

Pakistan has benefited from a shifting global order. This unipolar era may be coming to an end as other countries such as China, India, Russia, and Turkey rise. Several mid-level powers are becoming more powerful. Pakistan maintains positive relations with emerging nations such as China, Russia, and Turkey. As the world grows more multipolar, Pakistan will gain from its partnerships with these growing nations. Pakistan is the central lynchpin in this entire scenario as long as the CPEC survives. After undergoing considerable domestic economic changes and rebranding itself as an open international market, Pakistan can realize its aim for an economics-driven foreign policy.

## **Conclusion**

The event of 9/11 has centered the world on a framework of global security that is tainted by American viewpoints. This framework demonstrates the need for extraordinary measures in the fight against terror. Many nations have seen significant changes in their national dynamics as a result of 9/11. However, Pakistan's consequences were far more severe than in other countries. Pakistan continues to pay the price of security politics in the form of long-term consequences in a variety of areas, from security to social, political, and economic. Geographical compulsions cannot be eliminated, the historical and political integration of Pakistan's national security with events in Afghanistan is too deep to be scraped out of its policy framework.

However, Pakistan's post-Kabul reality is just as unpredictable as the world's. The future of Pakistan's regional prominence after any new setup in Afghanistan is inextricably linked to the severity of the security politics that the U.S. may still pursue in Afghanistan. Because of CPEC and Pakistan's strategic position in the area, strategic collaboration and interdependence between China and Pakistan have expanded dramatically in the post-9/11 era, and this cooperation will continue to grow in the coming years. Both China and Pakistan want Afghanistan to be a part of the CPEC. Pakistan's foreign policy is to establish a peaceful and stable neighborhood. Pakistan has brokered a round of peace talks between the U.S. and the Afghan Taliban, breaking with its history of joining blocs or participating in proxy wars.

Pakistan's foreign policy has prioritized regional integration, peaceful cohabitation, and economic development. Regional rivalries, particularly between Iran and Saudi Arabia, can limit Pakistan's options, compelling it to select one over the other. Pakistan's geostrategic and political realignment with China and Russia has aided the

country in defusing India's hostile diplomatic posture. Similarly, the CPEC has helped to dispel the notion that Pakistan's geo-economics options are restricted to the U.S.

Pakistan's diplomatic goals are based on resolving the China-U.S. conflict and managing adversarial relations with India and Afghanistan. Even in the face of ongoing geopolitical competition between major powers, Pakistan's diplomatic efforts aim to secure its national interests. However, Pakistan needs to continue its efforts for maintaining peace, protect human rights, boost economic cooperation, promote democratic values, and make society resilient in fighting against terrorism and religiously inspired extremism. This way, Pakistan will be able to restore its credibility, magnify its image abroad and secure its due share in making progress in Asia, which is likely to become a new power center of the world in the present century. Pakistan is at a crossroads in history and at a critical moment in time. Through geo-economic regional cooperation, trade promotion, and economic integration, it requires visionary policies and practical steps to strengthen its position in the region. Peace and regional stability can promote regional collaboration and long-term sustainable growth, which can assist the country's economic investment and growth. Pakistan needs to focus more on this technique in order to gain legitimacy, alliance, and a prestigious position in the international community.

## References

- Afzal Saima, Iqbal Hamid, and Inayat Mavara. 2012. *Terrorism and Extremism as a Non-traditional Security Threat Post 9/11: Implications for Pakistan's Security*. *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, 3(24), 194-203
- Ahmad Muhammad and Hashmi Rehana Saeed. 2021. *Pakistan Foreign Policy Choices in Post 9/11 Period: Options and Challenges*. *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, 58(3), 126-135
- Ahmed N. 2016. *CPEC's Territorial Impact*, *The Dawn*, 22 November 2016.
- Akbar Muqarrab. 2011. *Pakistan's Foreign Policy: Internal Challenges in New Millennium*. *Berkeley Journal of Social Sciences*. 1(2), 1-11.
- Camroux David and Okfen Nuria. 2004. *Introduction: 9/11 and US-Asian relations: towards a new 'New World Order'?*. *The Pacific Review*. 17(2), 163-177. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0951274042000219806>
- Curtis, Lisa. 2012. *The Reorientation of Pakistan's Foreign Policy towards its Region*, *Contemporary South Asia* 20, No.2 (2012): 255-269. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09584935.2012.670205>
- Gimba Zainab and Ibrahim Sheriff Ghali. 2018. *A Review of External Factors That Determine Foreign Policy Formulation*. *Indo-Iranian Journal of Scientific Research*. 2(1), 119-130.
- Cost of War on Terror for Pakistan Economy*. 2011. Government of Pakistan, Economic Survey 2010-11. [http://www.finance.gov.pk/survey/chapter\\_11/Special%20Section\\_1.pdf](http://www.finance.gov.pk/survey/chapter_11/Special%20Section_1.pdf)

- Howell Jude and Lind Jeremy. 2009. *Changing Donor Policy and Practice in Civil Society in the Post-9/11 Aid Context*. *Third World Quarterly*. 30(7), 1279-1296. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436590903134924>
- Hussain, Dr. Syed Rifaat. 22 May, 2017. *Pakistan's Foreign Policy and Emerging Geopolitical Situation: Opportunities and Constraints*. A Conference Paper, Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI). <https://ipripak.org/pakistans-foreign-policy-and-emerging-geopolitical-situation-opportunities-and-constraints>
- Inayat, Mavara, Dr. 2013. *Conflict and Cooperation in South Asia post 9/11: Implications for Pakistan's Security*. *Margalla Papers*, 17 (1), 75-96. Islamabad: Institute for Strategic Studies, Research & Analysis National Defence University.
- Jaleel Sabahat, Talha Dr Naureen and Mahesar Paras. 2018. *Pakistan's Security Challenges: Impact on CPEC*. *Journal of Grassroot*, 52(1). 219-230 <https://sujo-old.usindh.edu.pk/index.php/Grassroots/article/view/4822>
- Kakihara Kuniharu. 2003. *The Post-9/11 Paradigm Shift and Its Effects on East Asia*. Institute for International Policy Studies, IIPS Policy Paper 292E. 1-15. <https://npi.or.jp/en/research/data/bp292e.pdf>
- Khan, Zulfiqar. 2015. *India-Pakistan: Emerging Trends in Strategic Dynamics*. *The Korean Journal of International Studies*, 13(3), 577-607 <https://doi.org/10.14731/kjis.2015.12.13.3.577>
- Korab-Karpowicz W. Julian. 2017. *Political Realism in International Relations*. *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. 1-40 [https://www.academia.edu/3098655/W\\_Julian\\_Korab\\_Karpowicz\\_Political\\_Realism\\_in\\_International\\_Relations\\_The\\_Stanford\\_Encyclopedia\\_of\\_Philosophy\\_Summer\\_2017\\_Edition\\_Edward\\_N\\_Zalta\\_ed](https://www.academia.edu/3098655/W_Julian_Korab_Karpowicz_Political_Realism_in_International_Relations_The_Stanford_Encyclopedia_of_Philosophy_Summer_2017_Edition_Edward_N_Zalta_ed)
- Kundi, Mansoor, Akbar. 2009. *US Pakistan's Relations under Khan 1958-69: Impact on South Asia*. *South Asian Studies*, 24(2), 192-203
- Khan, Rashid Ahmad. 2005. *Strategic Partners or Tactical Allies: Pak-US relations in the post-9/11 Era*. *Al-Siyasa, A Journal of Politics, Society and Culture Special Conference Issues, Pakistan's Foreign Policy: Challenges and Options*, 8. 47-52
- Kundi Mansoor Ahmed and Faiqa. 2005. *Pakistan's Post 9/11 Foreign Policy: Challenges and Responses*. *Al-Siyasa, A Journal of Politics, Society and Culture Special Conference Issues, Pakistan's Foreign Policy: Challenges and Options*, 8. 1-17 [http://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/pols/pdf-files/issue\\_8\\_2005%20.pdf](http://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/pols/pdf-files/issue_8_2005%20.pdf)
- Karim Umer. March 4, 2022. *Uneasy Relations: Geopolitical Challenges for Iran on its Eastern Border*. The Arab Gulf States Institute in Washington. <https://agsiw.org/uneasy-relations-geopolitical-challenges-for-iran-on-its-eastern-border/>
- Levi Michael, David S. Wall. 2004. *Technologies, Security, and Privacy in the Post-9/11*. European Information Society. *Journal of Law and Society*, 31(2), 194-220. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6478.2004.00287.x>
- Makinen Gail, 2002. *The Economic Effects of 9/11: A Retrospective Assessment*. Report for Congress. Library of Congress Washington dc Congressional Research Service. <https://irp.fas.org/crs/RL31617.pdf>

- Maqsood Asia. 2021. *China-Pakistan Strategic Partnership and India's Regional Ambitions in South Asia*. *Strategic Studies*, 41(3), 48-65.
- Mazhar Muhammad Saleem and Goraya Naheed Shabbir. 2013. *Foreign Policy of Pakistan: Internal Challenges*. *Journal of Political Studies*, 20(2), 91-103
- Mumtaz Jazib, Ramzan Muhammad and Gul Saima. 2018. *Determinants of Pakistan's Foreign Policy with Respect to Russia's Past, Present and Future*. *Global Political Review*. Vol. III, No. I (Spring 2018). 76-84.  
[http://dx.doi.org/10.31703/gpr.2018\(III-I\).08](http://dx.doi.org/10.31703/gpr.2018(III-I).08)
- Mahesar Prof Dr Shuja Ahmed. April 23, 2022. *Pakistan's Foreign Policy Challenges: Past and Present*. Daily Times. <https://dailytimes.com.pk/924095/pakistans-foreign-policy-challenges-past-and-present/>
- Makwana Vidhee. April 17, 2022. *A Battle for the 'Rules-Based Order*. The Geopolitics, <https://thegeopolitics.com/a-battle-for-the-rules-based-order/>
- Neiman Brent and Swagel Phillip. 2009. *The Impact of Post-9/11 Visa Policies on Travel to the United States*. *Journal of International Economics*, 78(1), 86-99.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jinteco.2009.01.014>
- Ozkizilcik Omer. 18 Jan, 22. *The Limits of Pakistan's Strategic Pivot to Geo-economics*. <https://www.trtworld.com/opinion/the-limits-of-pakistan-s-strategic-pivot-to-geo-economics-53779>
- Roszbach MAJ Todd J. 2021. *Gaining and Maintaining Access by Diplomatic and Economic Means: The Implications of China's Belt and Road Initiative*. A Monograph by Army Command and General Staff College Fort Leavenworth KS. 9-50,  
<https://apps.dtic.mil/sti/pdfs/AD1161662.pdf>
- Shah Shafqat Ali. 2010. *Pakistan's Foreign Policy Dilemmas in the New Millennium*. The Round Table, *The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, 90(360), 345-356. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00358530120065417>
- Stares, Paul B, Jia, Q., Tocci, N., Jaishankar, D., and Kortunov, A. 2020. *Perspectives on a Changing World Order*. Council on Foreign Relations.  
<https://www.cfr.org/report/perspectives-changing-world-order>
- Sumit Ganguly. 2004. *India and China: Border Issues, Domestic Integration, and International Security*, in Francine R. Frankel and Harry Harding, eds., *The India-China Relationship: What the United States Needs to Know*, Columbia University Press. 117-118
- Sattar Abdul. 2009. *Pakistan Foreign Policy 1947-2009: A Concise History*.  
<http://www.sanipanhwar.com/Pakistans%20Foreign%20Policy%201947%202009.pdf>
- Sunawar Lubna and Coutto Tatiana. 2015. *U.S. Pakistan Relations during the Cold War*. *The Journal of International Relations, Peace Studies, and Development*. Vol. 1:Iss.1, Article 6. : <https://scholarworks.arcadia.edu/agsjournal/vol1/iss1/6>
- The Diplomat. 13 Sep. 2021. *9/11 and Asia: Two Decades Later: A virtual Conference Announcing the Launch of Diplomat Risk Intelligence Probes how 9/11 changed the Asia-Pacific*. <https://thediplomat.com/2021/09/9-11-and-asia-two-decades-later/>

- Ward Alexander and Mcleary Paul. 2021. *Biden Announces Joint Deal with U.K. and Australia to counter China*, <https://www.politico.com/news/2021/09/15/biden-deal-uk-australia-defense-tech-sharing-511877>
- Younas Muhammad. 2003. *Foreign Policy, A Theoretical Introduction*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Zaidi Syed Muhammad Saad and Ahmad Azhar. 2021. *From Friend to Foe: Post- 9/11 Pakistan-US Relations; a Realist Perspective*. Asian Journal of Comparative Politics. XX(X) 1-17 <https://doi.org/10.1177/20578911211007936>