

**EMERGING POLES OF GLOBAL SUPREMACY AND
ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR PAKISTAN:
AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF POST 1996
DEVELOPMENTS**



RESEARCHER:

SUPERVISOR:

KASHIF SUHAIL MALIK

DR. ABDUL ZAHOOR KHAN

REGD. NO. 5-FSS/PHDPS/F-14

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR

**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY & PAKISTAN STUDIES
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY
ISLAMABAD**

2022



Am

Accession No. TH25283

PHD
327.109
MAE

Global politics - history

Pakistan geopolitical significance

Global supremacy

**EMERGING POLES OF GLOBAL SUPREMACY AND
ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR PAKISTAN:
AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF POST 1996
DEVELOPMENTS**



Submitted by

**KASHIF SUHAIL MALIK
PH.D-PAKISTAN STUDIES
REGD. NO. 5-FSS/PHDPS/F-14**

**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY & PAKISTAN STUDIES
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY
ISLAMABAD**

2022

**EMERGING POLES OF GLOBAL SUPREMACY AND
ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR PAKISTAN:
AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF POST 1996
DEVELOPMENTS**



Submitted by

**KASHIF SUHAIL MALIK
PH.D-PAKISTAN STUDIES
REGD. NO. 5-FSS/PHDPS/F-14**

Supervised by

**DR. ABDUL ZAHOOR KHAN
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR**

**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY & PAKISTAN STUDIES
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY
ISLAMABAD**

2022

**EMERGING POLES OF GLOBAL SUPREMACY AND
ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR PAKISTAN:
AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF POST 1996
DEVELOPMENTS**



Submitted by

**KASHIF SUHAIL MALIK
PH.D-PAKISTAN STUDIES
REGD. NO. 5-FSS/PHDPS/F-14**

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) in the Discipline of Pakistan Studies at the Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University, Islamabad

**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY & PAKISTAN STUDIES
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY
ISLAMABAD**

2022

**In the name of Allah,
the most beneficent, the most merciful**

To my mother's passion, to see me as a doctor one day

To my father's silent prayers

To my wife and children who have suffered the most

&

To my restless nights and reborn passion for research

DECLARATION

I, KASHIF SUHAIL MALIK, hereby declare that this dissertation has been written by me in its entirety on the basis of my research work under the sincere & pragmatic guidance of my supervisor, Assistant Professor, ABDUL ZAHOOR KHAN (Doctor of Philosophy) at the Department of History & Pakistan Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University Islamabad. No portion of this Dissertation has been copied from any source. No portion of the research, presented in this Dissertation, has been submitted before for any degree or qualification in this or any other university or educational institution.

KASHIF SUHAIL MALIK

PH.D-PAKISTAN STUDIES

REGD. NO. 5-FSS/PHDPS/F-14

FORWARDING SHEET

The Dissertation; titled "EMERGING POLES OF GLOBAL SUPREMACY AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR PAKISTAN: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF POST 1996 DEVELOPMENTS" put forward by MR. KASHIF SUHAIL MALIK, REGD. NO. 5-FSS/PHDPS/F-14 in partial fulfillment for the award of the Degree of *Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)* in Pakistan Studies has been successfully completed under my guidance, care and supervision.

I am satisfied with the excellence of scholar's research work and he is now allowed to get this Dissertation submitted for the finishing point of go forward course of action so that he may be awarded the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) in Pakistan Studies as per modus operandi of International Islamic University, Islamabad.

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR DR. ABDUL ZAHOOR KHAN
(Doctor of Philosophy)
Research Supervisor

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iii
LIST OF TABLES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.....	iv
ABBREVIATIONS & ACRONYMS	v

Chapter 1: A Historical View

1.1	Introduction	1
1.2	Ancient Empires	2
1.3	Pre Colonial Empire	3
1.4	Colonial Empires	7
1.5	Empires, Alliances and Global Wars	24
1.6	Bipolarity and Unprecedented Empires	47
1.7	A Model of Empires Exerting Influence	62
	References	68

Chapter 2: Framework for Global Supremacy

2.1	Post 1996	72
2.2	Scope and Significance of Research	85
2.3	Objectives of the Research	87
2.4	Research Questions	87
2.5	Literature Review	88
2.6	Theoretical Framework for the Study	103
	References	111

Chapter 3: Geopolitical and Geo-economic Indicators

3.1	Rationale	115
3.2	United States of America	128
3.2.1	The Geopolitical Advantage	130
3.2.2	Geo-economic Superiority	132
3.2.3	US Military Might and Weapons Superiority	136
3.2.4	American Dream (Soft Power)	139
3.2.5	Global Political Influence and Intentions	142
3.3	China	146
3.3.1	Geopolitical China	148
3.3.2	Geo-economic Strides of China	152
3.3.3	Chinese Firepower and Military Prowess	157

3.3.4	Chinese Charm Offensive (Soft Power)	160
3.3.5	Growing Chinese Global Political Influence	164
3.4	India	168
3.4.1	The Geopolitical Challenge	170
3.4.2	Indian Geo-economics	173
3.4.3	Indian Military Strength	175
3.4.4	Indian Soft Power Pursuance	178
3.4.5	Global Political Intentions	181
3.5	Russia	184
3.5.1	Reliving the Mastery of Geopolitics	185
3.5.2	Geo-economic History and way forward	187
3.5.3	Russian Military Background	189
3.5.4	Russian 'Soft Power' Weaknesses	190
3.5.5	Global Political Agenda: Past, Present and Future	192
3.6	European Union	196
3.6.1	The Geopolitical Blessings	197
3.6.2	The Geo-economic Miracle of the European Union	199
3.6.3	Military Stretch to Shared Defense	200
3.6.4	Soft Power Superpower	201
3.6.5	Global Political Ambitions and Intentions	203
3.7	The Case of Japan, Turkey and Brazil	205
3.8	The Silent Marchers: Saudi Arabia, South Korea and South Africa	209
	References	212

Chapter 4: Emerging Poles of Global Supremacy

4.1	Global Supremacy	221
4.2	From a Multipolar to Unipolar World	224
4.3	From a Unipolar to Multipolar World	245
4.4	Towards a bipolar world	257
	References	282

Chapter 5: Race for Global Supremacy and Implications for Pakistan

5.1	Pakistan – Country Profile	287
5.1.1	The Geopolitical Crux	289
5.1.2	Geo-economics	294
5.1.3	Pakistan Military Strength	298
5.1.4	Soft Power Pursuance	300
5.1.5	Global Political Status and Compulsions	305
5.2	Implications for Pakistan	310
	References	333

Chapter 6: Conclusion

6.1	The After Thoughts	339
6.2	The Six (1+5) Country Case Studies	343
6.2.1	Korean Peninsula	344
6.2.2	Turkey	349
6.2.3	Cuba	353
6.2.4	Germany (East Germany)	356
6.2.5	India	359
6.2.6	Yugoslavia	363
6.3	The Way Forward	365
	References	369

BIBLIOGRAPHY	372
---------------------------	------------

ABSTRACT

The topic under study encircles the two prime dimensions; one to review the changing pattern of global supremacy and second, how would this contribute to the overall structural changes in the international power system as well as impact the role and status of Pakistan owing to its geopolitical significance? Though extensive literature has been consulted and cited to provide a background as well as an insight into the past trends of supremacy and global rivalries, the study encircles and explores post-1996 developments in the global political order. It highlights the forces, factors, and political actors working as a counter-balance force for US influence in the world, its impact on the region and specifically Pakistan. It also provides a framework for such studies and a way forward for the political science experts, foreign policymakers and students and public interested in international relations. The study proposes that modes and instrument of political influence are in an ever-changing process and there are two distinct transitions, one reflects the character and actions of the various empires from the pre-colonial to the post-colonial period while the second one is marked with a transition before and after the Second World War.

For the first dimension of the study, the world is heading for a new balance of power and theoretically unipolar, factually world political system is passing through a transition period. It suggests that by 2045, the world will be distinctly bipolar. A race for supremacy between the two major contenders is turning intense and would transit to a global rivalry much similar to the USA and USSR clash in the last century. Geo-economics remains at the heart of this rivalry and it will be exercised and faced through proxies on foreign lands and propaganda around the world. A distinct feature of this phase is the pursuance of soft power as a tool to win more allies. In this short bipolar phase, new and major blocks will be formed and led by the prime contenders while mini power blocks will start emerging in the global political system. Owing to the nuclear capabilities and fourth-generation revolution, the rivalry will germinate another Cold War. The mini power blocks are likely to gather enough power and the ability to transform the world into a multipolar foreground.

The above-mentioned findings of the first dimension attest to the prospects and challenges of the coming future for the international community and states. A proactive approach requires nations to prepare to face the challenges of an emerging pattern of global supremacy. As a second dimension to the research, the study draws a whole set of implications for Pakistan. These range from geopolitical to geo-economic. Based on the extensive study and data trends and grounded in the country case studies through a 5+1 model, the study concludes that Pakistan needs to learn lessons from active engagement in the process through intensive studies of the countries central to the Cold War.

The general implications for Pakistan have been listed in chapter five in the light of global developments and pressures and opportunities offered in the emerging geopolitical and geo-economics systems. The findings of chapter five are itself very productive and useful as well as provide a framework for the policymakers and students of international relations but the (1+5) model proposed and discussed at length in chapter six provides a more specific and insightful

analysis of the situation. The country case study model helps to solidify the arguments while providing focused suggestions and recommendations for Pakistan.

Each one of these country cases describes the pressures and prospects of its policy and practices that have some association with Pakistan. The implications of the emergent cold war are not going to be very different from the implications of the past Cold War. Although the role of technology, artificial intelligence-based warfare, big data analysis, economic and strategic cyber-attacks, media and social media propaganda wars will be instrumental in setting up the stage as well as decisive factors for winning or losing the war, the prospects and challenges for allies will greatly depend on their right orientation and capacity to evolve and align their foreign policy accordingly.

How Pakistan acts and reacts to the pressures of emerging global powers will be similar to what had been studied and instrumented for the selected country case studies. Pakistan's decision to align with a close ally in geographical proximity with a flexible and less antagonism for the opposite pole will determine different outcomes. The involvement of the public in policymaking and respect for the democratic opinions within the country will also help the country to make better decisions

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Innumerable thanks to Allah, the lord of all the worlds and blessings upon Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). Any scholarly work requires laborious work and effort of day and night with the support and contribution of many individuals and entities.

First and foremost, I would like to acknowledge all those teachers from my primary school years through the university level who have contributed to making me what I am today. They deserve it the most at the culmination of my formal studies. I must acknowledge the critical evaluation and sincere feedback of members of the departmental board and faculty board as well as members of the subcommittee of BASR. All these forums helped to refine my research proposal and added more finesse to my thought process.

There is an endless list of names to acknowledge. It will be very unfair even if I drop a single name therefore, I am taking a little non-traditional approach and would like to acknowledge *each and every one* who has helped me in any way possible. It begins with a note of thanks for the family, friends and fellow fraternity. I am grateful to academia and faculty members from various universities and research institutes, all the librarians in Pakistan and abroad. I sincerely appreciate all those with whom I held discussions at airports lounges, during flights, walkways and parking lots and lobby areas and corners during conferences and seminars. I offer my heartfelt thanks to all those who spared time for telephonic inquiries and those who responded to my irritating WhatsApp messages. I am indebted to many people at the University of North Carolina system, various embassies, scholars, politicians, army men for their time and insightful discussions.

The only individual to acknowledge by name is Dr. Abdul Zahoor Khan, not because he is my research supervisor but because he is a great human being. His silence has a message, and his words have the strength to inspire. I thank him and all the faculty members and students at the Department of History and Pakistan Studies for their courtier ship.

KASHIF SUHAIL MALIK

LIST OF TABLES

3.1	Top 15 Economies of the World 2019 GDP (nominal) Size and World % Share	118
3.2	Top 15 Countries by Economic Strength, Past Trends (Nominal GDP 1989 – 2019)	119
3.3	Top 15 Countries by Economic Strength (Nominal GDP Projections 2030 -2050)	119
3.4	Top 15 Countries with Largest Trade Volume 2018	120
3.5	Largest 15 Exporter Countries of the World, 2018	120
3.6	Largest 15 Importer Countries of the World, 2018	121
3.7	Top 15 Countries with Largest Foreign Exchange Reserves 2020	121
3.8	Top 15 Countries with Most Military Spending and Largest Militaries	122
3.9	Top 15 Countries with Most Powerful Militaries (2005 - 2020)	122
3.10	World's Largest Exporter and Importer of Arms Countries 2019	123
3.11	Soft Power Rankings (World and Asia) 2019	123

List of Illustrations (Diagrams & Charts)

1.1	Diagrammatic Representation of Phases and Modes of Political Influence	63
2.1	G7 & BRICS Comparison and World GDP ratio (Nominal)	80
2.2	G7 & BRICS Comparison and World GDP ratio (PPP)	80
3.1	Countries Frequency and Relative Rankings	124
4.1	U.S. and Chinese Annual Real GDP Growth Rates, Projections through 2050	279

ABBREVIATIONS & ACRONYMS

AIIB	Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
BRI	Belt and Road Initiative
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa
CARS	Central Asian Republics
CENTO	Central Treaty Organization
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CPEC	China Pakistan Economic Corridor
CSDP	Common Security and Defense Policy
CSTO	Collective Security Treaty Organization
ECC	European Cooperation Council
ECFR	European Council on Foreign Relations
EC	European Commission
ECO	Economic Cooperation Organization
EEU	Eurasian Economic Union
EU	European Union
FATF	Financial Action Task Force
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IBEF	Indian Brand Equity Foundation
ICLD	International Commission on Large Dams
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IISS	International Institute for Strategic Studies
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
IIUI	International Islamic University Islamabad
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IRI	Islamic Research Institute
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NAP	National Action Plan
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NSS	National Security Strategy
OAS	Organization of American States
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OIC	Organization of Islamic Cooperation
PIPS	Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies
PLA	People's Liberation Army
RCD	Regional Cooperation for Development
RCEP	Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SAFTA	South Asian Free Trade Area
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
SEATO	South East Asian Treaty Organization
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UK	United Kingdom
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UN/UNO	United Nations /United Nations Organization
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
USCENTCOM	United States Central Command
USINDOPACOM	United States Indo Pacific Command
US/USA	United States/United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Social Republics
WB	World Bank
WEF	World Economic Forum
WEO	World Economic Outlook
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction
WPR	World Population Review
WTO	World Trade Organization

CHAPTER 1

A HISTORICAL VIEW

1.1. Introduction

Documented history has always witnessed political powers with local and regional magnitude exercising or pursuing efforts to bring the neighbouring areas and populations under their influence. However, a political power to exercise its influence on a global level is a relatively new concept. Brzezinski (2012) believes that the knowledge about the 'distant' world could be traced back to eight hundred years and later the expeditions and explorations to find new resources and areas helped form a pattern of imperialistic designs igniting global rivalries (p.2). These rivalries gave birth to two world wars. These wars were not global in extent but had global implications and impact. One of the offshoots of these wars was the emergence of a bipolar world. The emergence of the USA and the USSR on the world political front in an epic rivalry of global magnitude. The confrontation between the two in the cold war was aimed at establishing their supremacy at a global level.

There is enough evidence to draw a historical pattern of states and empires to exert influence over the adjacent territories and form alliances with the distant political entities to pursue their

hegemonic designs in a wider geographical landscape. From the oldest times, empires like Akkadian, Sumerian and Babylonian to relatively less old Roman, Byzantine, Arab and Ottoman empires had all reflected the pursuance of political influence through various means. Mostly through direct military intervention in history to the most sophisticated propaganda and systematic diplomatic processes in contemporary world politics. The medieval era witnessed the rise of the Ottoman Empire which ended with the emergence of European states transformed into regional and global actors especially the British Empire.

The modern empires in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were no exception be it the British Empire or contemporary imperial states. Pursuance of political influence remains the foremost important agenda of the political powers today. The rulers of these empires had multiple reasons to pursue such an influence from personal ambitions to defending the frontiers of an ally. Many times, the most important factor was to find ways to feed large militaries or protect trade channels to keep the empire alive through economic means. The human instinct to influence other humans is precisely reflected in the character of empires.

1.2. Ancient Empires

Akkadian, one of the oldest known empire (Liverani, 1993) emerged in Mesopotamia around 2300 – 2100 BCE. Of the eight rulers, Sargon the Great is referred to have spread the influence of the empire. He made efforts to bring the surrounded areas and populations under the influence of the languages being spoken in the empire and promote the same for the hegemony of the empire. He took many steps for irrigation, roads, development of infrastructure, and introduced taxes but his

greatest strength was his military invasions conquering a large part of Mesopotamia and expanding it to Syrian territories in the north to the central west of the Arabian Peninsula.

The first Babylonian Empire (1900-1600BCE) emerged much later but in almost the same area. Hammurabi who took the empire to its zenith is best known for his Code which was a set of laws to govern the land. His Code is considered one of the earliest surviving politically important writing of significant length. He sent his code not only within the Empire but also far and wide to spread the influence of his Empire. He turned a small city-state into a regional superpower (Charpin, 2012). While the influence of his Code continues to affect the present-day world as a set of rules and the USA Supreme Court building honours the Hammurabi by the depiction of his image on the South Wall Marble Frieze, his empire was instrumental causing one of the greatest political upheavals of its times during its decay.

1.3. Pre Colonial Empires

On similar lines, the Roman Empire had a very strong regional and global influence. Christopher Kelly, the author of *Ruling the Later Roman Empire* refers to the Roman Empire as a superstate (Kelly, 2004). In another book, Morley (2010) has made an entire case of Roman imperialism. Book does not give a traditional view of the empire's history starting with military expeditions and victories to the end of the empire rather offer a detailed account of its influence on the regions and the contributions towards modern-day imperialism. Though the Roman Empire as an integrated entity lasted for only about 350 years, the eastern part of the Roman Empire lasted for another 1000 years interchangeably referred to as the Eastern Roman Empire, the Roman Empire, or

popularly as Byzantine Empire. Byzantium became a buffer state (Duiker & Spielvogel, 2006) between Western Europe and the powers invading from the East. It was only in the year 1453 when the Empire fell in the hands of the Ottoman Empire. The Empire had gained a powerful political status and influence in the region. Western states instead of continuing their trade through the Eastern route under the Ottoman Empire chose to avoid the Muslim Empire which gave birth to very different kinds of political spread and invasions through seas.

Ottoman Empire was one of the greatest empires which emerged in the medieval age and lasted until recent times. The empire attained zenith in the mid-fifteenth century and lived for more than 600 years. To qualify to be an empire, a state is required to have conquered various areas and kingdoms with multi-ethnicity. In this regard, the Ottoman Empire was truly the greatest of all times. By the mid of sixteenth century, the Ottoman Empire had become transcontinental with present-day Turkey as its core region. It had conquered areas and regions in southeastern Europe.

Sulaiman the Lawmaker or the Magnificent as the most Europeans would recognize him expanded the limits of the empire from Norther Africa on one side to the Persian Empire on the other, from southern Poland to the end of the Arabian Peninsula. During this time, the Empire became the center of attention for regional power politics. According to Glen M. Cooper, "The Ottoman Empire had a tremendous impact on the West, not only through the transmission of goods and ideas but also as an ideological — and actual warfare — opponent" (Wadley, 2018).

The Empire was spread over almost 90,000 square miles encompassing three continents. Ottomans had one of the strongest naval force of the time. Ottoman influenced the regional as well as the global political environment of the time by creating the alignment and opposing poles. Ottoman became a threat to the West as the effort to conquer Vienna was made multiple times. Though the Ottoman's never tried to attack or besiege any central European territories after the second siege of Vienna in 1683, yet its involvement and influence in the European affairs continued till the Treaty of Berlin in 1878

Quataert (2005) states that "throughout nearly all of its 600-year history, the Ottoman state was as much the part of the European political order as were its French or Habsburg rivals" (p.2). Ottoman Empire had many vassals (tributary states) including but not limited to Wallachia, Transylvania, Crimea Khanate, Principality of Serbia, Moldavia, Bosnia, Serbia, Bulgaria, Duchy of Naxos, Eastern Hungarian Kingdom and Ragusa. Many areas under the political influence were not the vassal or tributary states while some areas were given special status like the Holy cities of Mecca and Medina. Empire is said to have signed most treaties ever in the history of any empire with the regional political entities and adjoining states and political powers. These treaties were aimed at diversified purposes ranging from royalties for the Ottoman Empire to the regulation of its vassal states. Though the extremely humiliating 1920 Treaty of Sevres marked the abolishment of the empire after having lost the First World War as part of an alliance with the central powers, the empire's cultural and religious influences have lived much longer like the Roman Empire.

A close look at the evolution, climax and fall of these early empires shows that influencing the regional and global political entities had been a clear and obvious motive of all. Mehmet (2011) argues that both the Roman Empire and the Ottoman Empire were empires of global influence justifying this argument in the context of the respective authority of the two in the religious sphere of Christianity and Islam. The argument also holds its strength for the reason that both empires were transcontinental, being able to control areas in Europe, Asia, and Africa and engage in extensive wars and political arrangements within the areas of influence. In the same context, the first one is often referred to as Holy Roman Empire while the second one enjoyed the de facto status of a caliphate (successor of the state of Medina and prime ruler of the Islamic Ummah).

Religion was an important tool for these states to pursue their political and military agendas. Both formed alliances and ignited and supported other political powers and military campaigns. Both the empires roughly ruled 5 million square kilometers in terms of the geographical landmass but their political and cultural influence was far more spread. Both empires pursued hegemonic designs especially early Ottoman rulers were very ambitious to extend the territorial borders. Numerous empires have existed in the world with enormous size and resources, large armies, abundant exploits and above all strong influence in the surrounding territories. However, this research focuses on the very special character of the empires to form political alliances and exert influence to pursue its regional or global supremacy. Empires like Umayyad and Abbasid Dynasties were central to the spread of Islam through political extension and outreach of its populations and armies. Both being successor to each other covered almost the same area reaching almost 11 million square kilometers at its peak and maintained their influence as far as the Indian subcontinent. A standalone and relatively short-lived empire of almost the same size was the Yuan

Dynasty in China. Yuan is an example of empires that swelled to large sizes but were relatively short-lived. Similar to the Yuan Empire, another humongous and the largest contiguous land empire was the Mongol Empire. Mongol empire's greatest achievement was to link Europe with Asia (Shackley, 2006, p. 89) influencing both the regions for eternity. It was only under Mongols that the trade between Europe and Asia flourished to the point that China on the farthest end of Asia started receiving traders the first time in history (Marks, 2007, p. 33).

1.4. Colonial Empires

In modern-day history, the Spanish Empire is recognized as the first global empire. Though the Portuguese Empire was the first European empire of a global magnitude the Spanish Empire had a much larger area and widest territories under its direct sovereignty (Maltby, 2009). Maltby also mentions that even today 300 million people speak Spanish. Spanish is the primary language of more than 20 countries. Empire at its zenith in 1800 covered an area of 14 million km² and was spread over to five continents with areas as far as in North and South Americas in the west and the present-day Philippines in the east. Spanish empire not only made economic exploits but also pursued its colonial ambitions as well as made attempts to form its supremacy over the other European as well as regional powers in the occupied territories.

Religion and economics were not the only factors for centuries old rivalry between The Spanish Empire and Britain, it was politics of colonial influence and a race for supremacy as well. Though Anglo-Spanish conflicting relations are traced back to the time of the Anglo-Portuguese alliances and the British support to its ally over Iberia. Finucane (2016) traces a complex yet collaborative

relationship of the two in Spanish Atlantic during the global colonial challenges which ultimately ended in Anglo Spanish conflicts. The legacy of these spoiled relations within Europe had marred the same outside the European continent wherever the two came across each other. Spain Empire had an equally tarnished relationship with the Portuguese Empire.

Portuguese were the first ones to colonize vast areas outside Europe and the Empire ballooned to be a global empire parallel to the Spanish Empire, yet it was much smaller in size and weaker in pursuance of its supremacy as compared to the former. Both the Portuguese Empire and the Spanish Empire are interchangeably referred to as the first global empire. Portugal was a mighty empire of more than a million square kilometers in the early decades of the 1800s which is a country of less than a hundred thousand square kilometers area today. Though officially the empire ended with the handing over of Macau to China in 1999 yet it started losing its territories to the emerging European colonial powers much earlier.

What went wrong to a mighty empire of a global magnitude was partially the emergence of the new political actors with more resources and military might and partially the weakness of the Portuguese rulers to counter and confront the aggressive influence of these states. Britain had such an influence on Portugal that it was stated as "Client state of Britain" (Clarence-Smith, 1985, p. 1) and it signed treaties that drained its wealth to other imperial powers mostly Britain.

The states in the 19th and beginning of the 20th century were more imperialistic in their scope and character (Smith W. D., 1982). European age of exploration gave way to competition among

European states that culminated with a race for supremacy beyond the regional level if not truly global. Other than Spain and Portugal, France and the British became the major power players due to active colonization and imperialistic plans. France had started colonization as early as the 1600s and by 1670 it had an area of 3.4 million squares kilometers. The aggressive colonization which started with Parts of North America followed by western parts of Africa reached to an extent of 11.5 million square kilometers by 1920. As the earlier expansion had driven the French empire to pursue its influence within Europe which resulted in aggressive Napoleonic Wars.

By 1800, France became the most powerful country in Europe and later victories encouraged the French political ambition to experiment with the colonial advancement in Asia and brought considerable success. As a powerful country in Europe and likely at a global level, France developed alliances and confrontations challenging its status. The French empire had a tumbling blow during its war with the Kingdom of Prussia. However, Germany and the United Kingdom remained major rivals for France until the end of the Second World War. Parry et. al. (2002) state that "From 1800 to 1945 its [France] main rivals were Germany and the UK, for the control of Europe and of Empire. These antagonisms have been largely settled, by the development of the EU and the loss of the overseas empires" (p. 253). German confrontation was to gain a better status and role within Europe while UK's rivalry on both fronts European and global level was determined by its emergence as a powerful European state harnessing global gains and pursuance of political agendas aiming at winning more powerful and imperial status.

Portuguese, Spain, France and the UK were not the only European empires which had overseas colonies, protectorates and mandated territories. The race for exploration and discovery of the newer routes to the foreign lands was intensified with more and more European states participating in colonizing the newer world. Greatly influenced by the economic gains and prosperity of pioneering colonial powers, other relatively smaller states also started exploration or perhaps subjugation campaigns while established imperial powers started the expansion of their subjugations campaigns to maintain their imperial status as well as to attain wider supremacy.

The status for the first colonial empire is contested between Ottoman and Portuguese Empires. However, most historians believe that Portugal was the first European state to have an overseas colony. Spain, France, and Denmark were the earliest ones to follow while by the end of the 15th-century number rose to seven. With the joining of the UK, USSR, Dutch, Belgium, Italy and Germany, the colonial powers club had eleven powers in the 19th century not to mention Sweden that had a short-lived colonial empire.

A relatively lesser-known but covering a sizeable area of the world was the Russian empire. At the peak of its expansion, the empire was the only rival to the British Empire with an area almost equal in size. Professor of Russian Government at London School of Economics Lieven (2003) mentions that The British Empire, the Ottomans and Habsburgs were the major rivals to the Russian Empire with similar challenges and problems. Aksan & Goffman (2007) has also referred to their cross rivalries (p. 77). Being contemporary, all shared the dilemma of maintaining control over far-flung areas and to the outer stretch of the empire. Military strength and economic

resources to protect territories and feed such big empires had necessitated revolutionary reforms. During this time, the empire followed on the European trends for modernization. Russian rulers attempted multiple reforms in the political system, governmental working, educational policy, and financial supplies and tried innovation with industrial and agricultural fields as well. Russian Empire lasted for 200 years and was a complex mix of ethnicities, religious groups, culture and political entities.

By 1800, when the USA entered the global colonial club, more than 30 % of the globe was controlled by Europe. The only other notable colonial empire of the world was Japan in Asia. Japan did not have colonies to the extent of its European counterparts. USA and Japan enjoyed no direct rivalry in the mother countries. To the European comfort, both did not pose any serious threats to their motherlands yet they were bound to conflict with European imperial powers overseas. Spain and France were the pioneer colonizers of North America joined by the United Kingdom. Three held substantial parts of the continent under their control and heavily influenced the political arrangements and adjustments and readjustments with growing influence and colonial territories of the United Kingdom.

During the revolution years in America, the British used extremely harsh means to control the fast-growing resentments and struggle for independence. The original 13 colonies which declared independence in 1776 were all controlled by the Kingdom. After a breakaway, they made a military alliance with the French. French saw an opportunity to pay back the burden of the humiliation of the Seven Years War (1754 - 66) (Anderson, 2007) which had erased out French dominance.

French lost the war to the British Empire and lost colonial presence in North America forever. Joining hands with United Colonies to fight the British Empire paid well. The British lost the War and lost North America forever. The Empire's influence further diminished with its defeat by 1783.

It was within a short span of a quarter of a century that the USA joined the club of imperial powers. Perhaps equipped with the years of experience of dealing with the colonial powers and a large number of manpower that had been part of colonizing powers helped it. It had the advantage of being away from the main battleground or sphere of influence of most European colonial powers. This advantage provided steady growth and recent experience of fighting one of the leading imperial power prosed it to a mindset for its expansion.

Japan was a different case altogether as an island nation not much threatened by home rivalries and strengthened by a centuries-old empire that had influenced its neighboring islands richly through its culture and traditions. The areas historically influenced were first to be captured by Japan in the late 1800s. Japan kept intervening in Koreas from time to time following the pattern of European colonial powers and its influence grew stronger with time. Treaties were signed to get extraordinary benefits for its public while the main objective was to exploit these territories economically. Aggressive overseas occupations started as late as 1895. Its influence was also recognized in the European political power ambit and the UK signed an Alliance in the early 1900 which lasted for good twenty years establishing Japan as a non-European imperial power. To justify this state of affairs. O'Brien (2003) states "Japan was being asked by the World's most important power to provide security for some of its most important imperial components" (p. 1).

However, neither USA nor Japan ever qualified to be colonial powers to the extent of mighty European powers.

The emergence of such a large number of European powers in geographical proximity and with global outreach and influence gave birth to a new form of rivalries usually referred to as imperial rivalries (Sterling, 1940) and race for supremacy. In the early years of colonization, the globe had offered enough resources both in terms of lands for occupation, populations to conquer, and wealth and riches to invade that minor conflicts were handled through mutual adjustments and instruments of cooperation collective gains. Wherever these adjustments outbalanced conflicts emerged and a locally negotiated balance of power was maintained. Wars for taking superiority in the foreign lands remain a constant feature though none could attain the form of a global crisis. Europe remained stressed and strained during these newer forms of conflicts and adjustment but much of it happened on the foreign lands.

In 1801, Britain and Ireland joined together to form the United Kingdom that endorsed the British superiority over mainland Europe as well as its perception of a global power rolled out. By the early 1900s, the UK emerged as the largest colonial empire with established global superiority. This is called The British Imperial Century (Parsons, 1999) and historians scale it from 1815 to 1914. An enormous empire of 35 million square kilometers unprecedented in human history. It was unparalleled to any other contemporary empire with rule over more than a quarter of the global landmass. The term 'sun never sets in Britain' was a befitting title to the Empire. A huge empire required a political influence of an exceptional magnitude destined to political supremacy

unmatched in the human existence. Empire superseded its European predecessor Spain in terms of its continental presence in all six inhabited continents holding almost 1/4th of the world population.

The UK attained a superior status in terms of military might, economic edge as well as a political power player. In terms of trade, the UK became third in the line of states with global trade impact after The Roman and Mongolian Empires. However, Empire had a more diversified and wide spread trade network across the globe as compared to more linear trade routes under the earlier two empires. Roman empire offered an across Europe and west Asian Trade framework while the Mongolian Empire was instrumental in taking these routes as far away as the eastern ends of China. The United Kingdom superseded them both with global impact on trade through its strongest naval power and bases, ports and colonies across continents and oceans and slave labour and goods transportation from north to south and east to west.

It is believed that the European empires which had emerged as global entities with their overseas colonies and massive foreign occupations mostly held mercantilist policy whereby using the wealth of the colonized entities for the benefit and development of the mother country or area. This itself was a new form of exploitation as mainly raw materials, cheap and slave labour was used to make luck across colonial and by the ending years of the 1800s, the British kingdom attained a superpower status greatly due to the wealth of the overseas areas and colonies which were instrumental in carving out the British kingdom's biggest weapon and central element to its strength, a global trade network. Fueled by trade advantage to the kingdom, it helped to develop in favour of the kingdom. From the provision of armies to the supplies of ammunitions and raw

materials, colonies provided with every possible resource to endorse UK supremacy amongst the imperial nations of the time.

The British role in it was to coin a successful economic policy of mercantilism (Smith P. J., 2015) which not only complemented economically but drained the subjugated territories of their precious resources and strength which could provide impetus to indigenous movements to throw away the colonial clutches. Growing commercially strong and exploiting the resources of these colonies for imperialistic designs became major elements of this mercantilist policy. A trade with massive profits and continuous money supply at the expense of colonized masses offered great advantages. If the industrial revolution geared the socio economic and politico-military developments in the kingdom, it was greatly due to the mercantilist imperialism that edged the UK ahead of other European and non-European imperial powers. The question arises that did the UK only had a mercantilist approach to its administration of the colonies or did other imperial powers also benefitted from this practice.

Originally coined in France, both France and the UK centered their economic policy on mercantilist models. Though the mercantilist ideas were common during colonialism and almost all the imperial states practiced them to some extent, UK aggressively endorsed (Philip J. Stern, 2014) practices, laws, and policies that restricted colonies to trade with the mother country only and stopped to trade with other states. According to the Navigations acts, use of foreign ships or at times employment of the British only staff, trade to be channeled through the empire and many other restrictions were legalized.

States before the 18th century focused more on the conquest of territories to enlarge their area and expand the influence on neighboring areas as well as gain manpower and wealth to support further expeditions. These victories brought wealth to incur expenditures on military and finances to run the affairs of the governments. Wealth whether in the form of treasures of the occupied lands, booty, or ransom often proceeded to be the ownership of the aggressor or ruler. No standard system or process other than the subjugated territories to pay a fixed amount as a ransom to the victorious existed.

The colonies existed for centuries but the European colonial era was exceptional in terms of the number of colonial powers and areas of the world colonized. Similarly, it was exceptional the way these colonies were treated and exploited by the colonial powers. Mercantilism emerged as a major economic policy and practice for many colonial powers viz-a-viz imperialism as a major political tool and policy to tackle political issues. From the government's functioning to the working of politico-economic institutions and socio-cultural structures, nothing escaped the changes and challenges of a huge empire. It was also different due to the industrial revolution and mass employment and production of goods.

The UK maintained its global imperial status for almost a hundred years from the early 1800s to the times of First World War and with a little lesser degree till the Second World War. Internal challenges and external pressures settled down as the empire strengthened by the middle of the 19th century. The empire pursued its supremacy against other imperial powers and earned its due share of rivalry. The territorial expanse of a global scale required a different political experience

to handle the contemporary rivals not comparable to any other rivalry in history. The emergence of the British Empire as a global power was not only detrimental to the neighboring European powers but also disadvantageous to imperial Japan and the USA.

British supremacy was not pursued through politics and diplomacy, it was reflected in every aspect of the empire's life. Advancement of Protestant Christianity, propagation of English lifestyle as grander and spread of British culture as regal, technological superiority, military supremacy, naval entourage and royal decrees. Rivalries driven by this supremacy were not new to the Empire. Most of the rivalries had historical traces purely inherited by the Empire as a legacy of European historical disorder and warfare but differed in nature and intensity and scope.

The first half of the nineteenth century experienced a wave of colonialism coupled with the industrial revolution in a much faster and radical manner. Expansionism accelerated but with it, the nature of trade with the colonies started changing a lot. Mass production encouraged imperial powers to find out ways and markets to get surplus consumed. Earlier the trend had been to get supplies of raw materials and cheap labour to provide the finished good to its mother country publics. Now a need for new markets with demand for the surplus raised the new challenges towards colonial policies. Thus it required a spread of colonialism as well as an approach to perceive colonies as customers as well. Extensive exploitative practices started being converted to transformed economic possibilities. It was against this backdrop more economic and some political (Hoffman, 2017) that Europe expanded its colonial realms extensively.

Emerging European powers were forced to channelize the flow of trade in both ways as compared to imbalanced trade between mother country and occupied areas. The exploitation of slaves, raw material, spices, precious metals, coupled with the stratification of social classes in colonies as compared to the occupants' people and officials, erecting trading posts and building forts and white settler areas and developing military might overwhelmed imperial powers.

To win their share of this changing scenario, colonial powers intensified the expansion plans and that led to a new era of rivalries. Rivalries to increase the global share of occupied territories, monopoly of trade routes and merchandise, aggressive policies to regularize global commercial enterprise germinated complex array of rivalries. Empires which had been strained by the local historical enmities within Europe and with neighboring European entities found themselves signing treaties, contracts, and documents of mutual benefits and cooperation at one place or colonized neighborhoods in contrast fighting and confronting each other in another setting. The only good that transpired in this backdrop triggered development in the colonies though largely aimed at fortifying the mother country but partially construed to mitigate colonial population resentment against their new lords.

The British Empire emerged as a state delimiting inter-imperial (Screpanti, 2014) rivalries and invoking global imperial rivalry with European as well as the USA and Japan as non-European actors on the rise. Screpanti discusses the five types of imperialism and explains how mercantile imperialism converted to colonial imperialism. He further states:

The third form was that of colonial imperialism. This began in the first half of the nineteenth century and peaked in the second half. It finally expired with the Thirty

Years' War (1924 – 45), when the inter-imperial rivalries exploded with the utmost virulence. In this system of international relations, capitalist interests again prevailed over state power politics, which they subordinated to the impulse to accumulate. The states became republics or constitutional monarchies in which restricted suffrage was used to turn governments into the 'business committee' of the capitalist class. Firms tended to organize into large financial and industrial groups, giving life to cartels and conglomerates that sought to gain monopolistic over national markets. The urgency of accumulation implied the need to enlarge markets and therefore expand empires. These spread toward Africa, the Middle East and the Indian subcontinent in the form of colonial occupation, and towards the Americas and the far East in the form of influence zones (p.43).

Power politics gained momentum from the zones of influence and extended in wider colonial zones where the financial and commercial interest of the states intersected. The global political scenario was being carved by the vicissitude of the emerging rivalries. British dominance in the political arena challenged the influence and control of other imperial powers and threatened their interests. This hegemony secured trade benefits of unprecedented scales for the British contrarily posed serious concerns for contemporary powers' economic gains and interests as well as for world politics.

The internal balance of power in Europe was tilting in favour of the British Empire. Britain had strengthened itself at home and stability with enormous commercial enterprise entrusted the home country with the confidence and enhanced ambitions to pursue its influence worldwide. Massive manpower support from colonies fortified militaries and strengthened the Empire's control over the colonies. It assured an environment free of multiple challenges at home and on the colonial front to pursue its global influence and build an image of a hegemon.

Of the eighty major wars the British Empire fought from 1801 to 1900, almost 19 were fought with the help of allies. At the War of Seventh Coalition, the number of allies reached almost 12 being the highest number of a coalition formed in the nineteenth century. War of Seventh Coalition as the name suggests was one of the series of wars fought with the help of allies. The various alliances formed under the British umbrella and the number of wars fought to testify to the growing hegemony of the Empire. In 1899, the United Kingdom, Japan, the United States of America, Germany, Russia, France, Italy, and Austria-Hungary formed a truly global alliance to quash the Yihetuan Movement (Buck, 1987) popularly known as Boxer Rebellion in China. The movement was brutally crushed in 1901 having left a changed approach in global imperial conquest for influence.

The turning of the century had turned the motives and objectives of imperial powers to form the political power coalitions. Most colonial associations and military expeditions in the nineteenth century had been for the sake of expansion, occupation of territories, and for mutually benefitting from the resources and exploits of the colonized. The Alliance of the Eighth paved way for the changed power play. It was formed to protect the Christian population, governmental officials and lift the siege of the Diplomatic Area in Peking China. In a humiliating defeat, indemnity of a huge sum was imposed on the Qing Empire to be paid to all the eight states of the alliance over the 40 years.

Europe witnessed a transformation of political associations and influences within the next decade post-Eight Nations Alliance. Relatively less powerful nations became suspicious of the more

powerful imperial nations in Europe. An environment of distrust towards each other caused a hostile political environment. Many attribute the incident of the First World War to this growing mistrust and rivalries when the imperial powers aggressively attempted to increase the zone of influence in the world.

Within a decade or so from the time of the Eight Nations Alliance, a very different pattern of alliance started forming. The arch-rivals for centuries namely France and the United Kingdom entered the new era of an alliance. Although both had not fought a major war in the 100 years of the nineteenth century and were allied to face Russia in the middle of the century. Both had times of tense relations and confrontations ensued in foreign lands of colonies vented badly at home grounds. Initially, the alliance born out of a threat from rising Germany (Johnson, Mayne, & Tombs, 2004) gradually strengthened for mutual interests and political influence. The signing of Entente Cordiale marked a new beginning.

Today the legacy of Entente Cordiale is two nations of extremely friendlier relationships and a peaceful neighbourhood. Both are not at the zenith of global political hegemony nor pursue hegemonic influence comparable to the times of Entente. However, both nations share many values within the European Union not only within themselves but with the wider European Community. It was certainly not developed out of a day's effort post Entente as it was not an agreement of cooperation or a document for peaceful relationships neither an understanding of alliances for future cooperation. It was to work out pressing issues between the two empires in colonial lands of overlapping zones of influence. Johnson, Mayne, & Tombs state:

That agreement between France and Britain was certainly not an alliance, nor even a treaty, both of which would have been a forward looking. Instead, it was a hotch-potch of a convention and two declarations signed in London on 8 April 1904 whereby Britain and France settle a number of outstanding colonial differences over far-flung parts of their respective empires.....rather than drawing the two empires together, it physically pushed them apart by establishing respective spheres of influence in Siam and West Africa (p. 3).

A simplistic definition of an alliance would be coming together of two or more states to pursue their interests that might range from militarily occupying territory or confronting aggression and/or pursuing or countering the political influence. It could be formed through an official and documented process or an understanding reached through considerate friendly means. Weitsman (2004) defines alliances as "any formal or informal agreement between two or more states intended to further (militarily) the national security of the participating states. It is a continuing security association among member states with an element of forward planning and understanding to aid member states militarily or through benevolent neutrality" (p. 34). Alliances are formed for multiple reasons and could be of various types. She further states six levels of security alliances based on the level of commitment of the states ranging from the least being 'benevolent neutrality' to extreme being 'integration of forces and strategy' (p. 35).

The same was the case in Europe where many alliances of various sizes, scope, and in the context of fast-changing political scenarios were formed. Alliances were formed to address local geopolitical issues such as the League of the Three Emperors (Runkel, 1925) aimed at effective control of ethnic groups and at the regional level to maintain influence on entire Eastern Europe by the members of the alliance namely, Austro-Hungarian, German and Russian empires. During intermittent periods of the alliance, another alliance was formed to avoid war by the Austro-Hungarian and German states in 1879. Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Italy formed a purely

military alliance with the title of the Triple Alliance in 1882 which lasted for more than thirty years. Another Dual Alliance between France and Russia In 1894 was triggered by informal contacts (Anderson, 2007) leading to a formal treaty. The alliance is considered an ignition (Kennan, 1984) what later became a glowing fire of the First World War. The two dual alliances emerged as power alignments for the future world war.

Britain's policy of staying out of continental European conflicts and engagement helped concretely. This disengagement made pursuance of global expeditions and motives progressive. Its reluctance to join the regional setup of power balance also out of need. The British Empire had been successful in keeping its image of a global hegemon and this status instrumented multiple benefits for the empire in purely imperialistic entanglements. Porter (1987) argues that it was the main pillar of the British Empire's foreign policy to be disengaged from Europe from 1830 onwards. He states:

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Britain was scarcely in any sense at all a 'European' power. It would have been impossible for her to be so: impossible, that is, without changing her social and economic structure and her political nature fundamentally. It would have been impossible for the Britain as she was then to become part of the continent as it was then: a different world, with different interests and values and priorities; full of tadpoles still, with not a frog in sight."

This disengagement policy helped Britain in many ways. Rather than draining its resources and energy on regional politics and conflicts, it focused much on its global expansion and colonizing and consolidating colonial entities as well as fortifying its naval power. This could also be a possibility that by the end the British Empire had attained a greater naval superiority on all the contemporary powers especially the Ottoman Empire that was now marked with old and outdated maritime strength. Hence the British ambitions of a World Power contrasted sharply with its tilt

for European power. It should be noticed that by the end of the century an important development was the German foreign policy shift to pursue its global power agenda. The initiation of 'weltpolitik' (Lee, 2003) posed the first challenge to British global ambitions. Lee (2003) lists three main reasons for this shift and mentioning the first one he states "the most obvious is that it was a logical stage in the Germany's growth as a major power" (p. 15).

1.5. Empires, Alliances and Global Wars

The first two decades of the twentieth century are marked with the formation and development of global alliances of greatest ever magnitude. No other alliances in history to pursue collective political power had been so damaging and catastrophic. The results of the First World War which was primarily fought between the two powerful alliances of this era prove the stance. The loss of human life and damage to property, trade, and emerging industrial activity was unparalleled to any other war in history.

The advent of the 20th century experienced a new form of global political power play. Technological advancement, the abundance of military resources and manpower, improvement of military warfare, the formation of alliances, and modification in mercantilist policies formed the very basis for the political engagements at that time. The political influence of empires and states spread beyond continental landmasses and expanded kingdoms of seas. Unparalleled human occupation of vast seas and sophisticated naval activities with state of the art navigational support initiated more maritime warfare possibilities. Maritime routes played a phenomenal role in the

development of trade and movement of the people across continents (Killingray, Lincoln, & Rigby, 2004).

It was not just helping people and power to travel to new places and colonies, it pushed the ideas and innovations of one place to another. Rule and consistent control over the maritime trade routes and ports was paramount to the hegemony of the imperial superpowers. These circumstances not only gave birth to a distinct but complex pattern of rivalries of diversified political powers i.e. USSR, Japan, UK, Germany, Italy, France, US but also ignited the world's most radical supremacy race. This race germinated the seeds for global conflicts of ever greater scope and intensity, far greater than any other conflicts among nations.

Continuing on efforts to form a balance of power in continental Europe and elsewhere in the world two famous alliances were formed before 1914 referred to as The Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy while France, Russia and Britain were the Entente of three. Twentieth-century alliances differed in nature to the earlier alliances much the way these were formed and also the way the legacies of these alliances exist till today almost after a hundred years. Alliances had come out of an expectation to maintain a balance of power. Such a balance of power was much needed more so to sustain the benefits of global trade and colonial loots. However, these alliances failed in maintaining a balance of power that could ensure the peaceful coexistence of the rising powers.

The Triple Entente surfaced out of Britain's apprehensions of a rising German power (McCullough, 1999) and the public image of the Triple Alliance formed in 1894. It was after a long period of disengagement of the British Empire that an alliance was formed on the mainland Europe of three European powers. Britain joined France and Russia to curtail and confront Germany and in totality the Triple Alliance.

The emergence of alliances maintained the fact for the emergence of power imbalances and the perception of threats by the political actors in Europe. The tensions and frictions that remain minimal for a brief period surmounted fast in the early years of the 1900s necessitating a struggle for a change in the status quo. In a short book *The Origins of First World War*, Ruth Henig states:

Since 1900, Europe had been wracked by a series of crises each of which had brought her great powers close to war. These crises were provoked by a number of serious issues which were causing mounting friction amongst the powers and which, by 1914, in the opinion of many European statesmen, were becoming insoluble by means other than resort to war (Henig, 2006, p. 1).

These years were critical for the European alignment to another wave of frictions and rivalries. At one side old inexplicable issues were being settled down in case of understanding reached by The British and Germans for the fate of African holdings of the receding Portuguese Empire. Balkans provided some respite despite the looming flames of war. French and German came closer mitigating their old differences and frictions. But on the other hand, underlying issues of greater frictions and differences, from the past transcended all these positive developments. Adversarial relations of European nations for centuries at the European mainland haunted the prevailing peace and tranquility.

Two important developments of the early twentieth century were growing sentiments of nationalism and the Arms race. Nationalism had nourished greatly in the 19th century widely among European nations and impacted heavily the socio-political domains of everyday life. An enhanced feeling of connection with the same race, same ethnicity, or distinctiveness of people within territorial borders gave rise to nationalist movements. This cohesion was good for the nations to consolidate their internal populations and strengthen themselves. However, this strength to become a weapon of dominance and superiority towards other nations and cause clashes to the magnitude of a world war was not anticipated. By the end of the century, nationalism became antagonism (Porter B. A., 2000) towards other countries and nations. "In the reign of William II, German nationalism became more progressive and had an increasingly unsettling effect upon relations between the Great Powers" (Scaife, 2004, p. 60).

The supremacy of nations based on their natural superiority coined new waves of dominance and power. Pursuance of influence and dominance began to be a public interest area. There were multiple factors and causes which resulted in the fateful event of the First World War. Nationalism was not the only factor but one of the important and strong reasons to cause the First World War (Rosenthal, 2014). This provided enough fuel to the fire when men, the young and the old, were all invited and recruited to fight for their national pride and status.

The second development that the twentieth-century surmised a new race and a new competition among nations for deadly arms and mighty armies. Having formed multiple alliances, European states remained skeptical of the usefulness and continuity of these alliances at the time of any

major conflict. Economic development in addition to revenues from trade and commercial enterprise supplied enormous sums of money to invest in armament (Kennedy, 2017) especially maritime battleships and conflict infrastructure. The presence of the two provided a lethal combination for a war ground. Kennedy opines that the capacity of a nation in terms of its economic strength and productivity directly impacts its ability to dominate in the fields of politics and military strength. He convincingly proves that post-sixteenth-century wars are fought and won by the economically more resourceful empires (p.439).

For this reason, arms of mass destruction were manufactured and that too in massive numbers, great sizes, intensity and destruction with material resources of the booming economies. Naval build-up required to ensure control over the maritime routes combined with the military build-up to keep control over colonies and confront other imperial power compelled for enhanced military spending. The development of Naval armament intensified as Germany and the United Kingdom both invested massive money. They focused on improving their naval fleets which were extensively armed, bigger in size and better in speed. Alongside building up of naval bases created an intense naval rivalry. Ultimately this accumulation of resources for taking lead over each other sparked militarism.

The term militarism exclusively marks this period of huge spending on military enlargements, the superiority of military autocracy over public bureaucracy, and government policies (Johnson M. , 2013) as well as militant interpretations of the issues of mutual cooperation among states and a considerable increase in military manpower. European powers built huge armies and competed

with each other for the advancement of weaponry. Most imperial powers believed that a lead in military strength would allow for a natural allowance for dominating and winning over any situation of conflict of war following the customary stance of earlier empires. Nevertheless, some imperial powers emphasized more on the technological edge and lead to the customization of weapons.

Undoubtedly armament race could be considered as the single most central factor to facilitate a hostile environment. Though some recent works with the revisionist approach especially Ferguson (2012) who takes an opposite view on militarism and contests that Britain could not rather handle a war at continental Europe due to ineffective and insufficient military arrangements that it made efforts to inflate it to the global scale. Secondly, the German entry to the war was driven by its apprehensions of a weaker military position. Subsequently, the prime contestants of the war, Britain and Germany grossly indulged in a huge military conundrum.

Military built-up often supervised and planned by military minds and ideals transformed the approaches towards tackling the balance of power issues and conflict handling in Europe as well as in the rest of the world. Resentments caused by the whooping military might of the few like Germany and the United Kingdom stimulated other European states to accelerate their efforts to achieve minimum deterrence. Sustenance to the national/state security through strong defense structure and policies required more amplified spending on defense. These spending and military buildup threatened other nations. Increased budgetary spending of one state alarmed other states

to the extent that they felt compelled to balance this equation or surpass it by diverting more resources in this direction.

The total defense budget of the major powers in Europe increased from less than a hundred million British Pounds in the last quarter of the nineteenth century to almost four hundred million pounds by the time First World War erupted. These expenditures enormously increased when the war scene set in. The deadly war cost millions of human lives and loss of businesses, trade and damage to the economy, society and populations and property.

Changing socio-political environment, nationalism, imperialist designs, arms race, and regional hegemony and global dominance all led to the First World War. First World War was the first such event to bring a foray of supremacy and accelerate the rivalry among the multiple nations giving birth to a new form of poles termed as Allied Powers and Central Powers. First World War was fought between Allied Powers and Central Powers. In the beginning, the Allied powers namely France, Russia and the United Kingdom confronted the Central Powers namely Austro-Hungry, Germany and the Ottoman Empire. Later other countries started joining the war. The group of countries formed the first-ever distinct poles within a multipolar world. Great Britain, France, Russia, Romania, Italy, Japan, and later the United States of America had come together to form a unique block ever in the history of the political power in terms of their geographical, ideological and political differences and struggle against an opposite block of central powers consisted of Germany, Austria – Hungry, Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria.

Besides, other countries, territories under colonial powers and mandated areas also underwent the catastrophic war in the continuing months and years. Sparked by a small conflict between Austria and Serbia, took 32 countries onboard and entered in every zone of warfare land and sea adding a new zone of air raids. Catherwood (2015) highlights that war spread in every part of the world and gives detailed facts about its important battles fought in Europe and elsewhere from Africa to Spain and on Asian fronts including the Middle East. He also explains how technology advancement influenced war progression especially the introduction of Air warfare.

War revised the sphere, scale of and intensity of political influence, hegemonic impression and designs for global dominance. Furthermore, the social strata, economic conditions, political processes, and cultural manifestations all got affected within Europe and to a lesser extent but globally. Central powers faced humiliations on different fronts. Loss of human lives, economic meltdown, social chaos, demoralized populace, forfeiture of territories in the home country and extinction of rule over colonial areas. The war cost much to the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Ottoman Empire that were disintegrated. This dismemberment wiped out the first one forever while the Ottoman Empire survived with much less area and almost no influence that is modern day Turkey. Devastated and drained of resources internally and weakened militarily Germany encountered much of the inglorious defeat significantly a huge part of its European territory.

Alternatively, there was not much good news for the Allied Powers other than victory. The United Kingdom the major actor in Allied Powers lost its ambitions for a global superpower. Burdened under surmounting debt, it had more to lose than to gain out of the victory. Britain's surplus in

1913-14 of 6 to 7 million pounds converted to a deficit of 1529.8 million pounds in 1917-18. It was roughly three times the total revenue collected that year (Horn, 2002, p. 83). War destroyed the allied powers hegemony and imperial powers faced uprisings and independence movements in the colonial areas. Many new states emerged in the aftermath of war. Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia carved out of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and concurrently Latvia and Lithuania were freed from Russian control. Finland, Estonia and Poland also got independent status. Many others got control of their lost territories to the imperial nations. Huge reparations had to be paid by the defeated powers. Internal imbalances, revolutions, rebellions and political upheavals continued for years as aftershocks of the war.

One of the aftermaths of the First World War was the disruption of the balance of power. A feeling of concern developed by the ending days of the war when peace treaties were being signed among major European powers about the power balance in post-war Europe. Declaration of the First World War proved the biggest blow to the earlier balance of power approach based on the historical notion of balancing through alliances and treaties. Britain held the position of a balancer in Europe in the pre-war era that was almost lost. Empire also enjoyed a position of a global hegemon that was dwindling now. The defeat of the Central Powers formed a distinct supremacy block of Allies but within the next two decades, the changing dynamic gave rise to not only a readjustment to this pattern but also formed the next blocks of rivalry termed as Axis Powers and Allies.

For a solution to the European balance of power issues, the Treaty of Versailles offered an innovative solution. The first part of the Treaty included provisions for the Covenant of the League

of Nations. Formation of the League of the Nations could be termed the only blessing born out of post First World War developments and Paris Peace Conferences.

The solution had more global implications and certainly suited to war-torn Europe. None was happy with the conditions imposed in the treaty though it brought an end to the war actual process to ensure peace took another four years. During this period, the treaty was severely criticized by all, the victorious and the defeated. Neiberg (2017) describes this situation tactfully in the preface of his book *The Treaty of Versailles* as "it is the Treaty of Versailles for which the Paris Peace Conference will probably be best remembered, and most often damned". Many other treaties were signed to compliment it and to handle the post-war troubles but the Treaty of Versailles remained the most important and central to the disposal of war mess.

Many believed the treaty was vindictive and exclusively favoured Britain. France being one of the beneficiaries did not accept it wholeheartedly. For the defeated nations, Germany had to bear the major brunt of the insidious treaty. Stewart Ross mentions, "...It is now clear that to blame Germany solely for what had happened in 1914-18 and punish her economically, militarily and territorially was short-sighted and almost certain to lead to further trouble" (Ross, 2003, p. 31). It was felt by the allied circles also that it was exploitative and hence never got ratified by the American congress. US government signed three separate treaties with Germany, Austria and Hungary in August 1921.

Imperial European powers were so much war-torn and wary of each other in the post-war times that hardly anyone claimed or pursued the prewar influence or claims of hegemony soon after. They were more inclined to find ways to avoid future such events and Woodrow Wilson had suggested a novel idea in his fourteen points. The last of the fourteen points suggested forming a body to ensure 'political independence' and 'territorial integrity.'

League of the Nations was formed in the aftermath of the First World War and its central objective was to prevent future wars. However, the term 'collective security' implied a lot more and Leagues undertook beyond this as Housden narrates:

The League of Nations attempted to address the traditional security areas of the military competition between states, diplomatic relations, alliances-building and the peaceful settlement of international disputes by negotiation; but it is also aimed to remove the very causes of war by promoting social and economic justice among its members, and by addressing the needs of vulnerable people (Housden, 2014, p. 6).

League of Nations was not a haphazard wish nor a pragmatically conceived idea of the nations. It can be judged from the structure, activities, performance and life of the League. League could neither prevent war nor stop nations' pursuance of influence and development of political power to undermine other nations.

Woodrow Wilson one of the US presidents proposed the idea of an association while the very next president, Warren G. Harding was a total anti-League of Nations. It was partially the national political opposition but supposedly a shift in the US foreign policy as the country started to dream for an expanded role in world politics. When Woodrow Wilson, the US president proclaimed "the

world knows America as the savior of the world” (United States of America, 1919) who knew that the US would be picking up the reigns of world power so quickly. During his short two years rule, the US signed treaties bypassing the League and had minimal communication with its bodies.

European energies were focused on the development of the League of Nations and the US focus was on becoming a more influential political power. The Power vacuum left by the demoralized European nations and exhausted British Empire had to be filled by a new actor in world politics. It is believed that the league itself became a tool of influence by not having an army of its own and relying on the armies and support of the major powers of the time, its policy and that of its agencies and organizations was driven by the victorious allies who were the members of the decisive body namely Executive Council. France, Italy, Japan, and the United Kingdom had a central role in enforcing any sanctions or passing resolutions.

Because of this League became a body to pursue the collective influence of the powerful and whenever and wherever a power felt bound by the covenants and conditions of the League hindering or hampering their national interest of pursuing political influence or military aggression, it was convenient for the state to quit. The same is aptly explained in the following lines:

Unlike the present, in the period between the two World Wars, the League of Nations was the only entity in the world community that could exercise worldwide pressure. Although this pressure was limited and mostly ineffective, it did influence the governments of those Member States that chose to violate their international obligations. The inclusion of "international obligations" was the drafters' aim at ensuring the longevity and stability of the League; however, this never materialized. The Convention did not effectively control and prevent negative actions undertaken by its Member States, thus, this leads to the eventual failure of the experiment with the League (Magliveras, 1991, p. 31).

One of the greatest disadvantages it had was that the US did not join and within ten years of its existence, it could not prevent aggression by its members which were allies. It swelled to be an international organization of 58 members for a very brief period in the mid-thirties. Membership started dropping gradually. Japan abandoned it over the League stance for Manchuria. Russia was expelled over invasion in Finland. Hitler in Germany announced withdrawal. Mussolini announced Italy's withdrawal over the Abyssinia issue. Members' attitude towards the League of Nations left it defunct.

On the other side of the Atlantic, the US was fully prepared to take a lead role. It had all the elements to be a superpower and to its luck, the leadership was, well aware of this fact. The US entered the colonial race much later but in a short period, its limited colonial ambitions precisely forecasted its long-term global designs. The US also enjoyed the advantage to be not directly involved in the First World War from the beginning as the initial US policy had been of Neutrality and restraint. It saved the US from being economically hit as worse as other European powers. While the UK was drained of its economic resources, it was the US lending which helped during wartime expenditures. These huge lendings raised through war bonds over \$ 17 billion were mostly injected in Europe in three phases. The US was lending money before 1917 entry to the war and supported the Allied Forces with an enormous \$ 2.25 billion. The US borrowed money to 17 nations amounting to \$ 10 billion and this debt indebted them to the US for the coming times.

The United States' experience with inter-allied war debts continued to influence its foreign policy for years to come; this influence is evident in the Johnson Act in 1934, the Neutrality Acts of the 1930s, and the Lend-Lease program in the Second World War (Department, 1919).

Economic stability, the role of prime lender, mediator during the Paris Peace Conference put the US in a favourable condition. Despite a wave of isolationists who wanted the country to stay away from war and any such commitment which could indulge the US in future European conflicts, its strong position demanded it be actively involved in world politics. It was considered the US civic responsibility as well as political obligation to enter the war and later help settle the post-war disputes. War brought the US an opportunity to step forward as the only contender of global power was out of the theater.

All these factors contributed to a shift in US foreign policy. For more than a century the US had maintained an isolationist stance towards European matters in line with its policy of abstaining imperialism and involvement in the political power play. Benjamin Franklin dreamt of the US as a great power of the new world. On the contrary, other than post First World War compulsions and changes, twentieth-century developments of fast-paced US economic interests and expanding business ventures forced it to pursue and expand its activities and influence. Whether the US intended to take over this role or not, it was struck in a situation to assume the role of an emerging power with a large sphere of influence encircling world politics.

The decade of the 1920s' experienced a great boom in socio-cultural activities across the globe. The end of the war aroused new hopes for the revival of economies and improved business undertakings. Loss of life and human sufferings of the war geared nations and societies to start a desperate search for peace and normalcy. The economic boom generated a boom in every aspect of life. There was a transformation in various fields, energies wasted and technology diverted for

armament reverted to useful purposes. The restoration of peace gave way mass to the media movement. In the US alone radios were sold in roaring numbers of hundreds of thousands. From literature to media, peace politics to national revolutions, educational institutions to policymaking, rebuilding steps to infrastructural developments, advancement and constructive efforts characterized the European and at large world societies.

However, the late 1920s' were haunted by the Great Depression which jolted the US economy as well as the world. This was a lull period in global political developments. Minor issues kept disturbing the regional as well as global political scenes such as the Turkish war of independence, clashes in the Middle East, the Soviet-Polish war, as well as civil wars in China, Russia, Ireland and Afghanistan. This was also the decade that alarmed the world through the spread of Russian communism and European Fascism with the rise of Mussolini in Italy.

The US for most of the 1930s' remained busy handling the bad effects of the Great depression in the form of growing poverty, inflation, unemployment and resulting unrest and turmoil. Paradoxically, the period is marked with creative processes in handling political issues, experimentation in art and literature as well as innovations in economic and social circles. The rise of authoritarian governments raised concerns for the US being a strong prodemocracy nation but it had so much at stake on the home ground. US influence kept growing in Latin America and it ensured its interests both economic and military in the neighbouring continent but distanced itself from Europe. President Roosevelt's efforts to play a role in international developments or conflicts often backfired. Isolationists overwhelmingly opposed any such moves in the congress hence the

absence from world politics. By 1935, Isolationism (Jonas, 1966) prevailed extensively across the US and affected domestic politics as well as foreign policy.

The absence of a hegemon could be ignored for a decade post first world war but a continuous absence could raise serious repercussions and exactly that's what happened. UK's absence and US reluctance left the place open for other entrants. It was after 70 years of continental power politics that no single European state was in a position to pursue its influence and no new alliances emerged to take over the field. There were diverse plans of ambitious and relatively young imperial powers like Italy to expand its territories and Spanish efforts to restore and retain its influence away from the mother country. The absence of intense political interference across nations maintained a de facto balance of power. Outside Europe Generally, no major conflicts of global magnitude appeared other than Asia, where the greatest war of the continent erupted between the Chinese Republic and the Japanese Empire but remained confined to a direct clash between the two. Although the war continued till the end of the Second World War it did not have global implications until the Second World War. The event portrayed Japanese growing aggression.

Hitler rose to power with clear motives of hegemony (Laffin, 1995) and spreading German or 'Master Race' superiority over other nations and entities. Even the UK and France afforded concessions to avoid any conflicts. Both adopted appeasement policies towards German practices. Appeasement policies peaked at the controversial Munich Conference in 1938 when excessive concessions offered by the United Kingdom and France to Germany were much criticized. The Kingdom of Italy was also part of the pact. Chamberlain's appeasement philosophy favoured

Germany in such a way that it dismembered Czechoslovakia and provided Hitler with the confidence to pursue his aggressive tactics to expand his territories as well as influence with time.

Broadly, the decade could be referred to as a hegemon-free era for Europe but the late 30's distinctly recognized with conscious and aggressive German pursuance of influence within Europe with plans for extensive expansion perhaps to find a global position. Hitler took over rule in 1933 and by 1935, his ambitions were well reflected through wide-ranging changes in German policy (Kershaw, 2000). Authoritarian practices, military hiring and expansion, development and advancement of arms, focus and interest on naval forces to counter maritime rivals, denial to pay reparations dominance at diplomatic fronts and enforcement of imperialistic designs contemplated German intentions.

In 1941, Hitler declared his New Order (Neuordnung) amid the war. This was the first time in Europe that an authoritarian ruler declared its hegemonic designs so clear and loud. German New Order for Europe was a big development and an alarming one (Mazower, 2008, p. 607). It was rooted in the earlier German efforts to promote cultural superiority over Europe. Germany had maintained active cultural contacts with Italy to promote their collective cultural imperialism. Consistent efforts to advance "Cultural New Order" (Martin, 2016, p. 156) resulted in renewed German enthusiasm to lead in every sphere of European life. The new social order supported and fortified German political ambitions leading to a public announcement of the German imperial order. This New Order was aimed at German expansion in the central and eastern parts of Europe or was for spread over the entire continent or world is a subject of controversy even today.

However, it certainly was an announcement of hegemonic plans and was considered as an act of aggression.

Parallel to the growing German hegemony, Italian Empire pursued active influence and started a wave for colonization from the mid-1930s to the mid-1940s, a decade-long period when the Kingdom of Italy used to be recognized as the Italian Empire. Although Italy started colonization in the last decade of the nineteenth century these ten years observed the biggest expansion in its overseas territories. The expansion plans and occupation of territories injected new passion for pursuing power and influence in mainland Europe. "...Rome hoped to extend Italy's involvement in Danubian and Balkan Affairs and expand Italy's power and influence in Europe" (Hametz. 2005, p. 169). This could never be achieved.

However, it did expand its influence in the entire Mediterranean region. Smith (1977) offers a comprehensive account of Italian ambitions under Mussolini. Mussolini embarked upon a journey of Italian superiority and hoped to revive the Roman Empire. His agenda included a New Roman Empire feared by all. His motives were so strong that he could get to any extreme for this purpose. German massive military deployment across Italy despite growing tensions and uneasiness between the populace and soldiers of the two sides aimed at winning his objectives by any means. This is why when Mussolini was ousted, it took only a month for Italy to change sides in 1943 and German forces were badly affected by such rapid change of sides being trapped.

The third important force with growing influence and clear hegemonic or imperial designs during the 1940s' was Japan. Japanese imperialism in modern history could be categorized into two phases. It pursued active imperialism at the end of the nineteenth century (Beasley, 1987) to take advantage of the industrialization and technological advancement that required a smooth supply of raw material, resources and human workforce. One of the major causes was the European expansion plans in neighbouring East Asia and Russian intrusions in China. As Beasley states "The most distinctive feature of Japanese imperialism is that it originated within the structure of informal empire which the West established in East Asia during the nineteenth century" (p. 14). This concerned Japan in terms of growing western influence and power around its territory. In a way, it was similar to European imperialism. He further opines that "this circumstance was to be important to the development of Japanese imperialism in two ways. First, it conditioned Japanese responses and international ambitions to which they gave rise." Adding on to this, he describes the second way "For most of modern history, Japanese leaders had to choose between seeking satisfaction within an imperialistic framework of the West's making, or devising an alternative to it" (p. 14).

This period is marked by the Sino Japanese and Russian Japanese wars. Japan's growing nationalism encouraged it to maintain a status of its own and quench its share in the community of imperial great powers as well as dominate in the political sphere. This period spanned over a decade each before and after 1900. As a first imperial power outside continent Europe, Japan managed to establish its position on the list of global imperial powers.

The second expansion phase started in the 1930s' with the Japanese occupation of Chinese territories. Japan started confronting the Soviet Union over territorial claims which both sides deemed important for trade and maritime route advantages. The extensive militarism caused during the earlier decade left it with an advantage to launch military campaigns. These campaigns made war and conflicts in the region ineluctable hence second Sino-Japanese War triggered in 1937. The following year, some Soviet territories were marched by Japanese forces. It was infused in the Japanese population that Japan fulfilled all the requirements to dominate the Asian continent parallel to the European imperial powers. According to Kushner, "there was popular support of the war to dominate Asia" and he believes it had its roots in the past' "the victories over china in 1895 and Russia in 1905 reinforced a psychology of superiority" (Kushner, 2007, p. 21).

The Japanese focus on establishing its prestige in the region troubled the US that had interests in the area. By the end of the second phase and end of the Second World War, Japan had increased its list of occupied countries and territories to more than 20 which was barely a shortlist of colonial holding before the war. The zenith of Japanese expansionist designs, colonial ambitions, and aggressive military objectives was reached when the country signed Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy in 1940. This proved suicidal arrangements for Japan in the aftermath of the Second World War. It not only erased Japanese influence as an imperial state but also ended Japan's status of an Empire forever.

German, Italian and Japanese aggression became the main cause of the Second World War. Failure of the Leagues of Nations to control the growing aggression around the world alarmed the other

nations especially the Allies. The Second World War was fought by mainly Nazi Germany, Italy and Japan known as Axis against the USA, Soviet Union, UK and China known as Allies but it had divided the entire world into two blocks. Almost thirty countries were direct party to the war on the Axis side or the Allies. Each of these blocks was sided by the other states in one way or the other.

Second World War is important in many ways in terms of world political arrangements and rearrangements. Axis Powers lost the war and Germany lost its hegemonic ambitions forever. For that matter, not only Germany but any other European imperial power lost it forever. War subordinated imperial powers to a new political actor from the new world, the US. War involved every European state and every country in the world. Six years of war shattered the European continent in such a way that imperial Empires started crumbling. The post-war wave of independence movements picked up momentum in many parts of the world. Imperial powers were forced to decolonize the territories and settle colonial disputes on a defensive footing.

One of the paradigm shifts of the Second World War was the formation of two distinct alliances. Alliances were formed during the First World War as well and even before that but did not become the attention of scholarly discourse as political poles but the alliances formed in the Second World War have been the center of much debate in political science and international relations. Great powers of the time were so forceful and exerted such powerful influence that almost the entire world was embroiled in war. Almost entire Europe was directly involved and the other countries outside continental Europe couldn't stay neutral. It has been studied as a political power maneuver

of coalitions and associations. Allies won because they had a much better and far superior coordination within the alliance. Axis powers failure is attributed to the lack of good coordination (DiNardo, 2005).

The end of the war marked the end of imperialism. Japan, Germany, and Italy lost the war and lost their territories and colonies as an immediate aftermath of the war. It had also resulted in the decline of multiple European Colonial empires and the decay of traditional political powers. It was the end of their prestige and political influence. Importantly most European imperial nations were drained so much of their wealth and resources during the six years' war that their influence was perceived to be declining or they were not interested to pursue their power agendas due to domestic issues.

The British Empire collapsed as an ultimate result of the Second World War. Britain's involvement as a central and superior power in the two Great Wars had left Empire wretched economically and devastated militarily. Mass productions and industrial advancements that had benefitted the Empire in intermittent periods were gulped by the war expenditures. History is written to favour the victorious but many, today believe that both wars were caused due to the British policies and actions before and after the First World War. Buchanan (2009) argues that Britain's surety to Poland in 1939 became the immediate reason for the war while in the long run German humiliations through the Treaty of Versailles and British enmeshed relations with Japan resulted out of Empire policy to pursue US agendas. As a leading Allies power, the US was the last to enter the second world war by the end of 1941 that was incited by a Japanese attack on a naval base in

Hawaii known as Pearl Harbor. US entry mobilized the rest of the countries of the world especially the entire South America to join the war.

After the war, the holding of colonies became a daunting task for all the belligerent imperial powers. Decolonization movements picked momentum. First World War deprived Ottoman, German, Austro Hungarian and Russian Empires from their colonies and much of overseas territories. Second World War wreaked havoc on The Japanese Empire, Germany, Italy, France, Portugal, Dutch and Belgian Empires. British Empire had to face the biggest loss being the most widespread empire. Britain lost its Golden Sparrow in the following years due to independence movements in the subcontinent.

War changed the political map and economic realities. There was a radical change of resource base and flow of commodities hence trade patterns had to be changed all over the world. From more linear patterns to more diversified patterns due to the declining influence of the European imperial empires and the emergence of more national states. Dramatic changes took place within the years of the Second World War affecting the world flow of capital and people. Colonial inflows almost ended and imperial outflows had to be directed towards newer and different markets and areas. Brutalities and wartime oppression as well as truncated morale provided enough excuse to shun power politics.

If the First World War is recognized for a transition in balance of power, the Second World War is recognized for a transformed concept of balance of power. In this context. Halperin explains,

"the relative peace that Europe enjoyed after 1945 follows logically from this: it was due to a reestablishment of international stability with the emergence of a bipolar balance-of-power system after world war II" (Halperin, 2004, p. 236). The most significant aftermath of the war was the rise of two distinct powers which were later termed as superpowers. The dropping of the atomic bomb stopped the war and started a new era of power politics. The collapse of imperial empires brought the era of multiple power players and great powers to an end. Empires were no more able to exercise their will over the will of other people. A new era of political influence began to take shape. USA and USSR had fought as one block of Allies. However, the breakaway of the block gave rise to a new era of political rivalry and race for supremacy which was unique due to changing global dynamics of technological developments and the advancement of weaponry and space exploration.

1.6. Bipolarity and Unprecedented Empires

This culmination of the multipolar world gave birth to a bipolar world era. This era is marked by the ambition for world supremacy which the US started planning well before the end of the war. As Tony Smith relates, "Certainly there is a reason to see the Bush doctrine as a continuation of an American desire to achieve world supremacy, a goal that can be seen rather fully formed by the time planning for postwar order was begun in Washington in 1944" (Smith T. , 2012, p. 21). US dream and ambitions for world supremacy ignited global rivalry where states were fighting within their own realm to align themselves to one of the two global powers for survival and support.

Adverse effects of the war were felt globally but the relative edge US enjoyed being; 1) a late entrant to war, 2) being away from direct war theatre, 3) leading the victorious allies, benefitted her in the long run. US hegemony was already established with the dropping of the atomic bomb. Traditionally, a superiority in armament had been one of the main factors for determining the hegemonic superiority. According to Jonathan D. Caverley, "...worldwide origins of a modern tank, plane or missile hold potentially tremendous implications for international politics" (Caverley, 2007). The US had all the elements to be a superior hegemon now. Continuous economic support to Europe during and after the war had determined its economic superiority.

Europe was fully indebted to US support in material and loans. The only United Kingdom had accumulated an enormous debt of £21 billion that was paid over the next sixty years. Other than US superiority in armament and economic strength, it had uncontested superiority in multiple aspects. Its huge population with a strong and sustained transitory phase from agricultural to industrial gave way to continuous returns. Coupled with a great landmass and defended by enormous seas, the country enjoyed an ideal mix for hegemony. It did not require to colonize to have a continuous supply of raw material and industrial inputs. A home advantage of power resources like coal and iron ore and fast-paced technological provisions resulted in mass productions. The US had a reasonable military size but its edge in weaponry earned it a global dominance

Nevertheless, the Soviet Union did not enjoy such an advantageous scenario. Being one of the Allied forces, the country shared the victory but its war losses were incomparable to any other

state. It lost millions of lives and many of its cities were converted to total rubble by the German forces. It went under the harshest strike faced by any country ever in the history with millions of German troops invading it from multiple fronts and at one point during the war, almost half of Russian territory in the European region was under the Axis Powers control. War tarnished every field of life, agricultural productions were minimal, industrial productions plummeted to the lower than First World War levels.

However, the Soviet Union adopted a policy of aggressive occupation of the territories or planting soviet influenced governments in its immediate neighborhoods termed as satellite states. It is believed that Soviet policy towards Eastern Europe was the first cause of annoyance for the US and the first step towards the Cold War. "While opposed in principle to the establishment of the sphere of influence in Europe, the United States government by its actions and inaction, in effect granted the Soviet Union such a sphere of influence in Eastern Europe" (Davis, 2015, p. 170). It started exporting its communist philosophy. Prewar Russian policy of expansion of soviet influence for exploiting the resources and energies of other nations and territories continued rather intensified with the Second World War victory. Joseph Stalin had a strong grip over the communist party as secretary-general and his rise to power in 1941 accelerated the communist propagation and political designs for influence and power. He had been quite successful in his pursuits and new occupations provided with immediately required resources to the war-hit soviet state. He was fast in introducing post-war measures to rebuild Russia and expedited recovery in diversified areas of socio-economics and geopolitical fields.

As an important post-war development, the US heavily invested in Marshall Plan to help recover war-torn Europe with substantial support of \$ 13 billion. This economic support and security plan apparently to rebuild Europe was aimed at multiple US interests in the region. Later studies proved it a geopolitical maneuver to bring Europe under the US umbrella against growing Soviet influence. In his recent book, Steil (2018) sheds light on the way the plan was devised, "U.S. economic aims, security needs, geopolitical ambitions and humanitarian concerns were all heaped into the mix" (p. 86). While copying the Central Committees statement of the fourfold aims of the plan, he states these included. "to bypass UN" and "to re-order whole of Europe to [America`s] advantage" as well as "to exert economic dominance over the entire world" (p. 175-176).

Soviet Union declined the US offer to benefit from the Marshall Plan and secured material and economic support initially from its European allies namely the United Kingdom and France. These war-hit countries were not in a position to lend credible credit support for long. Receiving from the reparations paid by the defeated Axis powers also made some part of the revival plans. Soviet central control overall planning and centralized economic decision-making started paying back to the country. Stalin's collectivism in agriculture was replicated in other fields especially industrial productions and manufacturing processes. Communism emerged as an impressive model for many to be inspired and emulate it especially Eastern European countries already under the soviet influence and many developing countries. It was a direct threat to the capitalistic economic model where market mechanisms had to determine all aspects of economic life. It was the backbone of US and European economic models.

Only war could hold the US and USSR as allies against a common enemy and for mutual interests. Frictions surfaced towards the ending years of the war and became obvious during the successive Moscow Conferences. US intentions to influence Europe and to the world collided with Soviet expansion plans in Europe. Gerhard Wettig referring to the speech made by Byrnes in 1946 at Stuttgart states, "He assured the audience of U.S. continuing interests in the affairs of the Europe." Gerhard contemplates that "In Moscow, particular attention was internally paid to Byrnes's statement that the United States was committed to Europe. This was interpreted as a U. S. desire to exploit, under the pretense of a democratic mission, material superiority for international predominance." He suggests, "Europe had allegedly been assigned a crucial role in this endeavor, while Germany had been chosen as a basis of struggle against the USSR" (Wettig, 2008, p. 108).

Philosophies clashed and economic models conflicted. Communism confronted capitalism. This rivalry started taking everything in its fold. US was making conscious efforts to undermine the USSR role and contain its influence. As Wettig concludes, "In this view, the principal U.S. objective was to undercut Soviet Influence by both preventing stable rapprochement between the USSR and 'democratic Germany' and restoring the defeated country on a reactionary basis" (p. 108). A race for global domination started. The tussle between the USA and USSR proved to be the biggest divide ever in the world political system. This was never known in history in terms of such a global divide. Almost every nation in the following years directly or indirectly, willingly or forcefully fell under the influence or within the sphere of influence of any one of the two. Both had an influence of global magnitude.

It was a time when the new concept of global supremacy started taking its roots in the very structure and process of post-war developments. The world political scene had changed from multiple great powers to two superpowers. Both being greater than any other empire, imperial power, or nation-state that ever existed in the history of the world at least in terms of its influence. In material terms, both had enormous military strength but what distinguished them from any past power was the weapons of mass destruction. US had already exercised one during the war in 1945 while USSR actively pursued its classified research for designing the one which was finally tested in 1949 bringing it at par with its arch-rival. It also ended any chances of military multi-polarity that had remained intact from the early nineteenth-century till 1945.

The year 1949 marks the beginning of the Cold War though some historians believe that the dropping of the US atomic bomb in Japan was the beginning of the Cold War (Radchenko, 2008). It was a reaction to the Russian entry into the Pacific that would have changed the war scenario. The US took this haphazard decision to stop Russia and maintain its superior role in the war. This view is also supported by David Holloway who presents credible evidence by stating the accurate date of such a plan. "Soon after Hiroshima, military planners in Washington began to think about the way in which atomic bombs should be used in a war against the Soviet Union. The earliest list of targets for the atomic attack was prepared on November 3, 1945, as part of an extensive study of the Soviet Union..." (Holloway, 1996, p. 227).

Recent studies also show that from 1945 till the USSR's declaration of a nuclear state in 1949, the US pursued and enjoyed a superior status on diplomatic fronts especially during post-war

conferences and negotiations. Gregg Herken explains this situation remarkably, "Deemed the 'winning weapon' in 1946, the bomb seemed to promise victory for the United States in the Cold War. It could be either a unique card in negotiations or an ultimate weapon should diplomacy fail. In its dual role as a winning weapon, the bomb thus made difficult decisions seem easier, and some choices appear unnecessary altogether (Herken, 2014, p. 7).

The relative edge the US had upon the USSR in terms of its superiority for holding arms of mass destruction i.e. atomic bomb, was lost in 1949 and this loss became a blessing for the two rivals as well as the entire world for originating containment paradigm. Cold War rivalry was unique. If the Second World War freed the world from the clutches of imperialism and influence of the multiple great powers, the Cold World dragged it to a new form of rivalry, intense and covert. Both superpowers throughout the cold war remained entangled with each other over overseas territories, through propaganda, the spread of ideologies, direct and indirect support which was financial as well as military. No nation or country could stay neutral during the Cold War period. Political intervention, arms deployment, satellite states, intelligence operations were fecund.

United Nations, an institution formed as an outcome of the Second World War at the shambles of the League of Nations, became a platform to pursue the superpowers' agenda. Resolutions supported by the one were vetoed by the other. Perhaps, Soviets keenly proposed veto power foreseeing US hegemony in the organization. By the mid-1980s, it had used its veto power more than a hundred times and not to mention often against US-driven situations or resolutions. The very foundations of the United Nations reflected US designs to dominate world affairs. It had

abstained from joining the League of the Nations for more than 25 years and an instant wish to form a similar body to maintain world peace was aimed at pursuing its national interests. The US not only actively propagated the idea but also hosted the signing of its charter at San Francisco in October 1945.

United Nations is still headquartered in New York, and since inception had been criticized as a puppet of the great powers or more precisely the US. Though a charter member and permanent member of the exclusive Security Council, the USSR perceived it pro-Western and the US, and had truncated relations with the body. At one point, it boycotted the Security Council meetings. UN remained counterproductive due to the element of suspicion by the USSR. The general assembly remained divided into big groups or blocks of capitalists and communists.

Very often, these blocks were poles apart on issues of global concern. Ideological confrontation remained a significant feature of this period. This confrontation influenced every aspect of global life, economies, lifestyle, culture, politics, and socio paradigms. Each of the two actively propagated its own culture and ideology as superior to the other one. Winning more countries meant having more votes in the United Nations. Fighting on foreign lands was actively supported and ignited. With the first proxy war on the Korean peninsula to the confrontations throughout the cold war in Vietnam and elsewhere, it continued till the end of the USSR occupation of Afghanistan. Other than confrontations, the world remained under a constant threat of nuclear war and the era was patched with the crisis of global magnitude like the Cuban missile crises.

Both the superpowers formed military and political alliances to sustain and expand their sphere of influence. USSR signed Warsaw Pact with several Eastern European Countries. Apparently, a friendship and cooperation treaty but in effect a mutual assistance agreement to defend each other was aimed at countering the US-backed North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) which was formed in 1949. The East-West divide formed the Eastern and Western blocks.

There were many other geopolitical alliances and associations formed to enhance power and show muscles around the world like the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). Pakistan was a member of both of these organizations which primarily served Western or US interests at the regional level.

The world was so divided in this corollary of rivalries that political minds bent upon finding a solution ended up forming an association of countries that were not aligned to any major power block. These nations wary of this complicated rivalry took initiative to form the third block as Non – Aligned Movement (NAM). In the beginning, the non-aligned growing circle and the number of its proponent sparked some mixed responses from the US and USSR. Dinkel (2018) proposes, "...Moscow's and Washington's perception of the non-aligned states was thoroughly pervaded by their cold war logic. Here they saw an actor that might be beneficial or detrimental to their interests" (p. 10). Of course, none of the two wanted a third force to the extent of a global political influence exist. Later NAM remained mostly a customary forum and platform to release and regulate political temperature and pressure developed due to power politics of the superpowers. Many within the organization had strong alignment with one of the two power players but preferred

staying glued to the organization as well. The organization could not save itself superpower rivalry and influence that was predominantly reflected as a big divide within the NAM during the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.

In the early 1960s, the most critical time was experienced during the Cuban Missile Crisis. The crises sparked a situation where third world war became evident (Hughes, 2015). The situation demanded an extremely mature and careful diplomatic process to de-escalate it. A realization that a nuclear war would leave no power in apposition to pursue its influence as nothing will be left to survive. Post-crisis developments progressed to a relatively peaceful period within the cold war. It was enjoyed during the ten years of Détente from 1969 to 1979 referred to as the 'Decade of Détente'. This was the only episode in the long, tense and obliterated relations between the US and USSR when a standstill was achieved in the imbroglio. This standstill allowed for communication and cooperation to pursue peace agendas like arms control and nuclear test ban treaties or capping the missiles production and curtailments of weapons of mass destruction.

Race for world supremacy entwined everything in its fold but arms superiority and later space superiority signified the rival frontiers which had surpassed global limits. Cold War-era is marked by distinct features of rivalry and domains of influence never known before this age. As bipolar rivalry was new to the political world, many of its facets were new to the strategists and political scientists and policymakers. Humanity experienced a new and enlarged form of rivalry beyond physical frontiers of the globe into space. When USSR launched Sputnik 1, no one knew this will become another tool for a standoff between the two powers in the coming years. Eisenhower, the

then President of the US referred to it a 'scientific development' (Mieczkowski, 2013, p. 1). However, in the following years, the competition to have better and more advanced ballistic missiles led to a space race. An urge for universal superiority, the concept of space warfare, exploration of extraterritorial realms, landing on the moon, and winning over the populace through popular culture and propaganda became the hallmark of this race.

With this long list of Cold War tactics used by both the superpowers, the traditional act of political influence through military aggression always remained an option. USSR used this option to install a pro-communist government in Afghanistan but ultimately got trapped to a ten years war which ended with the dismemberment of the Soviet Union. Soviet direct military intervention was met by US indirect confrontation through various actors and channels. US propaganda converted a war of political interests into a war of religious and ideological clashes. The entire Muslim world was mobilized at the back of Pakistan to fight the communist army. Communism was projected as a non-Semitic religion against Muslim Semitic thoughts. China was threatened by aggressive expansionist designs of the USSR that gave the US a chance to bring it in its ambit.

The lengthy war gathered huge resistance to the communist expansionism over the years. A global resistance and massive supply of military resources as well as unproductive involvement of the USSR in diplomatic skirmishes exhausted the country leading to its dismemberment. A collective resistance supported by multiple countries could not be sustained by a single country no matter how powerful and resourceful. War strained the Soviet Union so much that its economy started crumbling by the end of the 1980s and restlessness and uprisings started erupting over the

motherland. USSR decided to evacuate Afghanistan and the last nail in the coffin was the economic reform policy of Gorbachev which created more chaos and invoked separatist movements. Finding things out of control, "in the late 1980s, Mikhail Gorbachev declared that the Soviet Union would no longer use military force to prop up the Communist governments in the satellite states. He thus sacrificed USSR's empire in the Eastern Europe in an attempt to save its Empire at home" (Applebaum, 2019, p. 195).

The year 1989 marks historical developments in world politics. "The fall of the Berlin Wall symbolized end of communism" (Eliaeson , Harutyunyan, & Titar, 2015, p. 199) in Eastern Europe. Soviet withdrawal of forces from Afghanistan in early 1989, ended the soviet hegemony and influence not only in the country and area but reduced it to minimal globally. The wave of anticommunist revolutions by late 1989, both peaceful and violent led to a change of communist governments in Eastern Europe and proved to be the final blow to soviet global status. The policies and reforms introduced in the wake of these upheavals proved to be more disastrous than healing and ignited the restlessness within Soviet Republics.

What started in 1989 within Europe and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics transited to a global wave of anticommunist uprisings engulfing entire Eastern Europe and countries in different parts of the world like China in Asia, Ethiopia in Africa and Cambodia in South East Asia. It reached the epitome of the gradual breakaway of countries from the USSR. The world had been divided into distinct blocks where capitalist countries were led by the United States (US) which had a philosophy of support for democracy and free trade. While the Union of Soviet Socialist

Republics (USSR) headed the communist countries which concentrated all the resources and power to the centralized and regimented governments. Every state had to align itself with one block or the other to sustain itself or to maintain its status in the community of nations. The biggest gulf ever created in world politics during the Cold War (1949-1989) that turned into a bipolar stage of hostility and unprecedented global rivalry did not bridge but instantly became extinct.

1989 also marks the end of the Cold War and bipolarity. "... 1989 did not mark the emergence and institutionalization of a novel set of political, economic and social relations. Rather, it materialized out of collapse and implosion – the disappearance, virtually without a shot, of the Soviet Union and, with it, the final strand of the Cold War order..." (Lawson, 2008). The powerful bipolarity of two super contenders US and USSR that had been witnessed on a global scale for four decades came to an abrupt end. Once mighty empire disintegrated into the numerous independent states. By end of 1991, 15 states had seceded from USSR and the rest of the country became Russia again, no more a superpower. In an article *New Challenges after the Cold War*, Janos Farkas states with "the dissolution of USSR in 1991, the world became unipolar" (Gummett, Boutoussov, Farkas, & Rip, 1996, p. 63). US hegemony was not only politically established but economically strengthened as well.

Cold War ended with yet another significant era in political power supremacy and hegemony. The world had a first-ever truly Superpower. A unipolar world would experience a unique form of power and influence. A global power with no matching to its strength, influence and hegemony. The US attained a unique status in world history. No other empire had ever been so great and

powerful. Though it did not have the largest area under occupation it had all the features of an unrivaled empire. Its closest rival dismembered into multiple states economically weakened and socially broken. The soviet fallout brought mixed news and feeling for the world. End of the Cold War and an end of a 'balance of power' which had been the subject of study since the Treaty of Westphalia. How will the balance be maintained in the emerging situation, in a unipolar world? Will the US act as a sole balancer or world policeman? Is it also an end to the pursuits of global supremacy Or Will it begin a new race for global supremacy?

A unipolar world was an innovative surprise for the world of global politics. No one had imagined such a sudden appearance of the sole superpower. Scholars of political science and international relations even contended the very existence of a unipolar world ever. Nuno P. Monteiro mentions that "in Theory of International Politics, Waltz sets the smallest possible number of great powers at two, thus excluding unipolarity from the scope of his analysis" (Monteiro, 2014, p. 29). He further mentions that even much later in the year 1993, he referred to it as "altered bipolarity" rather than recognizing unipolarity as the possible and prevailing state of global power politics. USSR's downfall and dissolution paved the way for the rival US to take leadership role unchallenged and unrivaled by another state.

No matter what political scientists proposed and perceived, US superpower status became a glaring reality in the early nineties. It started influencing every aspect of world politics and global political developments reflected US intervention and involvement in every part of the world. From the invasion of Panama in December 1989 where US forces helped opposition forces to depose the

sitting government to the Iraqi invasion in 1990 and US intervention in the Somali Civil War as well as involvement in the Bosnian War in 1992, the sole superpower had series of events to its new and unique power status.

By the middle of the 1990s, a growing realization among the community of the world countries about the impact and consequences of a unipolar world necessitated some counteractive measures. China took lead on this front as an emerging powerful economy and sustained political actor. As consensus for balancing the American influence was budding earlier yet one major development in this regard was the setting up of the Shanghai Five by China in 1996 with Russia and three other Central Asian Republics (CARs) as its members. Later with the inclusion of Uzbekistan - another CAR, the organization was renamed as Shanghai Cooperation Organization in 2001. Later membership of India and Pakistan was also ratified and both countries joined as full members in 2017.

To establish the premise of Chinese emergence and efforts to stand if not against or equal to US hegemony at least to sensitize the world about the presence of counterbalance forces, the Charter of SCO in the very beginning within its preamble states, "Desiring to jointly contribute to the strengthening of peace and ensuring of security and stability in the region in the environment of developing political multipolarity and economic and information globalization" (Shanghai Cooperation Organization, 2019). Article 1 of the charter further hints towards SCO or more precisely Chinese intentions to play an international role by stating, "cooperating in the prevention

of international conflicts and their peaceful settlement” (Shanghai Cooperation Organization, 2019, p. 2).

This was not the only counterbalance activity which is attributed to the Chinese government despite no formal or official mention of such a strategy but to the fortunes of global power balance, the Chinese economy is fast taking over as the leading world economy. In this conundrum of global politics, US-China bilateral relations are also taking a new turn – both on geopolitical and geoeconomic fronts. Setting up of SCO in 1996 did not change the US status as a unipolar power nor did it raise China to the status of global power to fill the seat for a bipolar power yet it signifies the entry of a potential global rival, a challenger to the US hegemony and unipolar world.

1.7. A Model of Empires Exerting Influence

This extensive study of the historical trends of how empires or states and countries influence each other has resulted in some distinct findings. These findings were put into a systematic process to unveil a specific pattern that is being discussed henceforward. The way and means used to exert political influence during a certain period are analyzed to find out a correlation between the two. Interestingly, the critical aspect is the two-way relationship of the 'modes of political influence' and each of the phases mentioned. By and large, how states or empires have been exerting their supremacy and using power as well as influencing throughout history may be categorized into five phases or stages based on characteristics most common and modes widely exercised.

Table 1.1.: Diagrammatic Representation of Phases and Modes of Political Influence

Nature of influence	Phase and time period	Modes of Political Influence	Distinct Features
Hard Power	Pre-colonial	Military Aggression (establishment of direct rule) Territorial subjugation (increase in area) Fear of attack, plunder, loot, ransom Warfare victory	Wars Security for the subjects Hard Power (individual ambitions) dominance power
	Colonial 1492-1919	Colonization Imperialist Policies Mercantilist policies Military Alliances	Maritime rivalries Enslavement Trade Industrialization
Transition Phase {hard to soft}	Post-colonial 1919 – 1949	Ideological hegemony: Communism & Capitalism Political Propaganda Imperial powers status Army Deployment & Arms deployments	League of Nations Wave of independence movements United Nations
	Cold War 1949 – 1989	United Nations Blocks Politics. NATO & Warsaw Proxy wars Arms Supplies & Technology Transfer Economic Support Decolonization. Commonwealth, CIS, Satellite states	Arms Race and Superiority Containment Policy Extensive use of Veto in Space race Non-aligned Movement Propaganda Campaigns
Soft power	Soft Power Post-1996 2 nd Transitory Phase (1989-1996)	Global Supremacy & Regional Hegemony (status as a factor for political influence) Dominance in United Nations, Security Council Sanctions (economic, military, diplomatic) Indirect influence via international Institutions World Bank, IMF, WTO, FATF	Fourth Generation Revolution Financial support, massive economic investments for geopolitical agenda Belt and Road Initiatives Cultural Invasions Media and Social Media Fourth Generation Revolution Technology

In the first phase, and it is to be noted that phases are loosely defined in the time dimension and might overlap, military aggression and occupation was the most common, widespread and regular mode of influencing other territories and populace. A victory meant a complete subjugation of enemy territory and usually wiping out the existing ruler, monarch, or king and demolishing the ruling structure to replace with one of the victorious. It held the advantage of direct rule and a set up fully powerful and in control of the invader. Hence, to bring areas and territories under political influence, army aggression was usually considered necessary. Weaker states or smaller kingdoms had to accept influence out of fear for the attack, mass killings of its subjects, destruction of cities

and properties, plunder and loot. Wars were common during the pre-colonial phase and military confrontations were repeated modes of bringing areas under political influence.

The second phase that roughly began in the late 1500s was distinct with aggressive colonization. Though colonization itself was a military pursuit often it did not involve the havoc to the level of precolonial wars. Within these colonies, imperialist and mercantilist policies were introduced to exploit and enslavement was common practice. The cheap labour and excess of raw material from the colonies provided inputs for the rapid industrialization throughout this phase. To ensure the smooth supply of these resources, colonial powers innovated extensive imperialistic practices and acts and rules to succeed in mercantilist approaches. Military alliances were formed very often to maintain influence on colonies and expand the sphere of influence. Within these alliances, issues of political supremacy and rivalries were a common feature. This phase took extensive political influence on the seas through active exploration and naval expansions. Due to magnanimous trade supplies and volumes, maritime rivalries erupted as well.

The first two phases could be bracketed with harder modes of influencing other political entities and bring foreign and overseas territories under the zone of influence through aggression, military intervention, arms advancement. Maritime clashes became a significant course of aggression during this period.

The third stage had a transition from extreme military intervention and territorial subjugations to more towards political propagations, cultural and economic lobbying. The phase falls immediately

after the First World War and spans throughout the Second World War, it helped form the transition from the use of harsher and brutal means of warfare to some of lesser intensity. Why not combine this short phase with phase 2 or phase 4? It remained a quandary but finally, some significant features differentiate it from the other phases that are listed in the table.

Further to those features two specific developments also help draw a dividing line. First, it is the post First World War period reflecting the end of a period of havoc and tyranny and chaos. Secondly, though the Second World War remained one of the biggest and harshest means to exerting political influence and superiority over other nations, the formation of two organizations of global magnitude i.e. the League of Nations and the United Nations distinguish it. Both reflect efforts of the global community to avert a future world war that has remained true to date. It is very well reflected in the charter, mandate. and practices of both organizations that softer and humane modes of influence remain at the core of strategies to solve bilateral or multilateral and even issue of global concern.

Phase 4 spans over the four decades of the Cold War. A time marked with the biggest divide in global politics. Almost every country was divided into the Capitalist or Communist blocks. Political supremacy and rivalry entered a very different realm of space after the land and maritime confrontations. A race for arms superiority to fight and support proxy wars and belittle each other on foreign fronts by the two global powers helped form military and defense alliances of paramount influence with their spheres of influence colliding and overlapping. Countries were won by extensive economic support, technological and strategic propaganda to ally with a specific

block. A war of vetoes was fought in the Security Council. The phase is also reminiscent of active decolonization and efforts of world nations to dispel the pressure through non-aligned movements though not very successfully. Electronic media campaigns and aggressive diplomatic lobbying were other important features to pursue and expand political influence.

A short transitory phase from 1989 to 1996 marks a period of global hegemony and world supremacy of a sole political power US unrivaled and unmatched by another country in theory as well as practice. The US had a direct influence over world politics. Events like the Gulf War when apparently coalition forces invaded Iraq were politically maneuvered by the US and furiously and aggressively pursued by her. The US hegemony continues to date and it peaked in the aftermath of 9/11 in 2001 in the wake of attacks over the World Trade Centre in the US. US invasion of Afghanistan and involvement in global military initiatives and anti-terrorism actions took root during the same period. However, parallel to these, some political developments in other parts of the world especially Chinese growing economic might and rise as well as Russian re-entry recognizes a change of pattern and intensity of its influence.

The post-1996 period is manifest with the US Global Supremacy but quite different than the period from 1989 to 1996. Though the US continued to involve its army through NATO and coalition forces in various parts of the world it seemed to take some sidetracks. A policy of restraint and pressure gave way to its powerful impact on political bandwagons across continents. US handling of Tehran and Pyongyang by a similar fashion where the use of sanctions from the United Nations

and combined pressure and influence by US and European countries bear productive results especially Iran signing a nuclear deal with P5+1.

The fifth phase also signifies the active role of international organizations other than the United Nations. The soft power play is the new mode of influencing politics and planning for geopolitical maneuvers. China remained devoid of WTO membership for quite some time due to a similar influence. US direct influence over the World Bank and International Monetary Fund and indirect influence on financial institutions around the world had greatly affected their decision making and sanctioning of loans to different states. Perhaps, this forced China to propose Asian Infrastructure and Investment Bank in 2016 that had been rapidly joined by 76 members. According to the Richard Javad Hyderian, "...in the light of AIIB fiasco, which clearly marked a major symbolic victory for the Chinese soft power, the United States responded with sound and fury." The bank is likely to grow to an organization of 100 members. It is being seen as a Chinese effort to create a competitor for World Bank and IMF. He furthers it, "...the AIIB ...represented a rival to existing institution under the post-Second World War Bretton Woods System (BWS), namely the IMF, the World Bank and its Asian counterpart the ADB." (Heydarian, 2015, pp. 117-)

The Fourth Generation Revolution in the world sparked by internet and software technologies and aided with artificial intelligence and big data gave a new dimension to the way nations are influencing each other. Powerful social media campaigns are not only affecting internal political scenarios but making a considerable impact on international politics and power play.

References

- Aksan, V. H., & Goffman, D. (Eds.). (2007). *The Early Modern Ottomans. Remapping the Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Anderson, F. (2007). *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754-1766*. New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group. 2007.
- Applebaum, R. (2019). *Empire of Friends: Soviet Power and Socialist Internationalism in Cold War Czechoslovakia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Beasley, W. G. (1987). *Japanese Imperialism, 1894-1945*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Birdal, M. S. (2011). *The Holy Roman Empire and the Ottomans. From Global Imperial Power to Absolutist States*. London: I B. Tauris
- Brzezinski, Z. (2012). *Strategic Vision: America and the Crisis of Global Power*. New York: Basic Books.
- Buchanan, P. J. (2009). *Churchill, Hitler, and "the Unnecessary War": How Britain Lost Its Empire and the West Lost the World*. Manhattan New York: Crown Publishing Group.
- Buck, D. D. (1987). *Recent studies of the Boxer Movement*. Michigan: M. E. Sharpe.
- Catherwood, C. (2015). *The Battles of WWI*. Cambridge : Allison & Busby Limited.
- Caverley, J. D. (2007). United States Hegemony and the New Economics of Defense. *Security Studies*, 16(4), 598-614. doi:10.1080/09636410701740825
- Charpin, D. (2012). *Hammurabi of Babylon*. New York: I B. Tauris.
- Clarence-Smith, W. G. (1985). *The Third Portuguese Empire, 1825-1975: A Study in Economic Imperialism*. Manchester: Manchester University Press
- D. L. L. Parry, P. G. (2002). *France Since 1800: Squaring the Hexagon*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Davis, L. E. (2015). *The Cold War Begins: Soviet-American Conflict Over East Europe*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Department, U. S. (1919, 10 16). *Milestones: 1921–1936*. Retrieved from Office of the Historian: <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1921-1936/dawes>
- DiNardo, R. L. (2005). *Germany and the Axis Powers from Coalition to Collapse*. Kansas: University Press of Kansas
- Dinkel, B. J. (2018). *The Non-Aligned Movement: Genesis, Organization and Politics (1927-1992)*. Berlin. BRILL.
- Duiker, W. J., & Spielvogel, J. J. (2006). *World History, Volume 1*. Belmont: Thomson Wadsworth.
- Elaeson, S., Harutyunyan, L., & Titar, L. (Eds.) (2015). *After the Soviet Empire. Legacies and Pathways*. Leiden: BRILL.
- Ferguson, N. (2012). *The Pity of War*. London. Penguin Books Limited.

- Finucane, A. (2016). *The Temptations of Trade: Britain, Spain, and the Struggle for Empire*. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Gummett, P., Boutoussov, M., Farkas, J., & Rip, A. (Eds.). (1996). *Military R&D after the Cold War: Conversion and Technology Transfer in Eastern and Western Europe*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Halperin, B. S. (2004). *War and Social Change in Modern Europe: The Great Transformation Revisited*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hametz, M. (2005). *Making Trieste Italian, 1918-1954*. Woodbridge, Suffolk. The Boydell Press.
- Henig, R. (2006). *The Origins of the First World War*. London: Routledge .
- Herken, G. (2014) *The Winning Weapon: The Atomic Bomb in the Cold War, 1945-1950*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Heydarian, R. J. (2015). *Asia's New Battlefield. The USA, China and the Struggle for the Western Pacific*. London: Zed Books.
- Hoffman, P. T. (2017). *Why Did Europe Conquer the World?* New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Holloway, D (1996). *Stalin and the Bomb: The Soviet Union and Atomic Energy, 1939-1956*. Yale University Press: New Haven.
- Horn, M. (2002). *Britain, France, and the Financing of the First World War*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press.
- Housden, M. (2014). *The League of Nations and the Organization of Peace*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Hughes, L. S. (2015). *The Cuban Missile Crisis: A Critical Reappraisal*. London: Routledge .
- Johnson, D., Mayne, R., & Tombs, R. (2004). *Cross Channel Currents: 100 Years of the Entente Cordiale*. London: Routledge.
- Johnson, M. (2013). *Militarism and the British Left, 1902-1914*. Hampshire: Springer.
- Jonas, M. (1966). *Isolationism in America, 1935-1941*. Ithaca, NY. Cornell University Press.
- Kelly, C. (2004). *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*. Cambridge : Harvard University Press.
- Kennan, G. F. (1984). *The Fateful Alliance: France, Russia, and the Coming of the First World War*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Kennedy, P. (2017). *The Rise And Fall of British Naval Mastery*. Westminster: Penguin Books Limited.
- Kershaw, I. (2000). *Hitler, 1889-1936: Hubris*. New York: W.W. Norton
- Killingray, D., Lincoln, M., & Rigby, N (2004). *Maritime Empires: British Imperial Maritime Trade in the Nineteenth Century*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press.
- Kushner, B. (2007). *The Thought War: Japanese Imperial Propaganda*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Laffin, J. (1995). *Hitler Warned Us*. Berlin: Brasseys.
- Lawson, G. (2008, June 2). *International Affairs at LSE*. Retrieved from London School of Economics and Political Science: <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/ideas/2008/06/the-global-1989/>

- Lee, S. J. (2003). *Europe, 1890-1945*. London: Routledge.
- Lieven, D. (2003). *Empire: The Russian Empire and Its Rivals*. Pimlico.
- Liverani, M. (1993). *Akkad: the first world empire : structure, ideology, traditions*. (M. Liverani, Ed.) Rome: Sargon .
- Magliveras, K. D. (1991, 19). The Withdrawal From the League of Nations Revisited. *Penn State International Law Review*, 10(1), 25-71.
- Maltby, W. S. (2009). *The Rise and Fall of the Spanish Empire*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Marks, R. B. (2007). *The Origins of the Modern World: A Global and Ecological Narrative from the Fifteenth to the Twenty-first Century* (2nd ed). Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Martin, B. G. (2016). *The Nazi-Fascist New Order for European Culture*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Mazower, M. (2008). *Hitler's Empire: Nazi Rule in Occupied Europe*. London: Allen Lane
- McCullough, E. E. (1999). *How the First World War Began: The Triple Entente and the Coming of the Great War of 1914-1918*. Michigan: Black Rose Press.
- Mieczkowski, Y. (2013). *Eisenhower's Sputnik Moment: The Race for Space and World Prestige*. Ithaca. Cornell University Press.
- Monteiro, N. P. (2014). *Theory of Unipolar Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Morley, N. (2010). *The Roman Empire: Roots of Imperialism*. London: Pluto Press.
- Neiberg, M. S. (2017). *The Treaty of Versailles: A Concise History*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- O'Brien, P. (2003). *The Anglo-Japanese Alliance, 1902-1922*. London: RoutledgeCurzon.
- Parsons, T. (1999). *The British Imperial Century, 1815-1914: A World History Perspective*. Lanham. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Philip J. Stern, C. W. (2014). *Mercantilism Reimagined. Political Economy in Early Modern Britain and Its Empire*. New York: OUP.
- Porter, B. (1987). *Britain, Europe, and the World, 1850-1986: Delusions of Grandeur*. Allen & Unwin Publishers.
- Porter, B. A. (2000). *When Nationalism Began to Hate: Imagining Modern Politics in Nineteenth Century Poland*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Quataert, D. (2005). *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Radchenko, C. C. (2008). *The Atomic Bomb and the Origins of the Cold War*. New Heaven: Yale University Press.
- Rosenthal, L. (2014). *The New Nationalism and the First World War*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ross, S. (2003). *Causes and Consequences of the Second World War*. 31: Evans Brothers .
- Runkel, M. C. (1925). *The reconstitution of the league of the three emperors in 1881*. University of Wisconsin - Madison.
- Scaife, M. (2004). *History : Modern British and European*. Letts and Lonsdale.

- Screpanti, E. (2014). *Global Imperialism and the Great Crisis: The Uncertain Future of Capitalism*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Shackley, M. (2006, October Monday). *Atlas of Travel and Tourism Development*. Amsterdam: Butterworth-Heinemann. Retrieved from AEF: <http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/mongols/>
- Shanghai Cooperation Organization*. (2019, November 14). Retrieved from SCO website: <http://eng.sectsc.org/secretariat/>
- Smith, D. M. (1977). *Mussolini's Roman Empire*. London: Penguin Books.
- Smith, P. J. (2015). *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire. Mercantilism, Diplomacy and the Colonies*. North Charleston: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform.
- Smith, T. (2012). *A Pact with the Devil. Washington's Bid for World Supremacy and the Betrayal ...* New York: Routledge.
- Smith, W. D. (1982). *European Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. Chicago: Nelson Hall.
- Steil, B. (2018). *The Marshall Plan: Dawn of the Cold War*. Oxford: OUP.
- Sterling, E. W. (1940). *Imperial Rivalries and the Strategy of the British Empire, 1878-1904*. Iowa.
- United States of America, C. (1919, October 16). *Congressional Record: Proceedings and Debates of the Congress*. Retrieved from Google Books: https://books.google.com/books?id=1nI_d09BDUMC&dq=%E2%80%9Cthe+world+knows+America+as+the+savior+of+the+world+%E2%80%9D&source=gbs_navlinks_s
- Wadley, C. (2018, November Friday). *Deseret News*. Retrieved from www.deseretnews.com. <https://www.deseretnews.com/article/931174/Ottomans-had-a-big-impact-on-Western-civilization.html>
- Weitsman, P. A. (2004). *Dangerous Alliances: Proponents of Peace, Weapons of War*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Wettig, G. (2008). *Stalin and the Cold War in Europe: The Emergence and Development of East-West Conflict, 1939-1953*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

CHAPTER 2

FRAMEWORK FOR GLOBAL SUPREMACY

2.1. Post 1996

Shanghai Cooperation Organization emerged as a sequel of the Shanghai Five which was formed in 1996. SCO brought a wave of concerns from the western political elite, media and political science scholars. Whether China proposed SCO as a challenge to the growing US hegemony or not remains an issue of debate amongst academia and international relations community of scholars. However, it has been perceived as a challenge if not a threat to the US unipolar status. Hence the present study, 'Emerging Poles of Global Supremacy and Its Implications for Pakistan: An Exploratory Study of Post 1996 Developments' draws the beginning benchmark 1996 as a reference year.

SCO since its inception had been seen as a Chinese attempt and effort to contain US growing influence and repeatedly referred to as 'NATO of the East' (AlJazeera, 2019) or Asian NATO (Kumar, 2014) and even China's NATO (Roney, 2019). Kumar has interchangeably used the term Asian NATO for either an extension of NATO or the proposition of a similar body by the US in Asia as well as for SCO. As China was the brain behind the idea of SCO, and as the country is considered an emerging global power, much discussion takes place in the same framework. Tyler Roney stated, "...one thing is certain: at the SCO, China reigns supreme."

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) which is a military alliance of 29 European and North American nations since 1949 has been instrumental in pursuing US global political agendas especially in terms of its frequent military interventions across the world. Initially, NATO was formed to counter Soviet driven military threats and safeguard Europe and capitalist allies. However, after the fall of the USSR, the organization is considered a US puppet to advance and safeguard US military objectives globally. In the context of SCO and NATO as competitors or opposite forces, SCO has been repeatedly labeled as another NATO. Perhaps the mention of the word multipolarity in the SCO charter sparked much concern and debate as it is one of the objectives of the organization to develop "political multipolarity and economic and information globalization" (Shanghai Cooperation Organization, 2019).

As a recent development in SCO & NATO convoluted interplay, the first one is finding more cohesion. A historic advancement took place in the 2019 SCO Summit at Bishkek when the premiers of two arch-rivals India and Pakistan sat under one roof to ponder upon an agenda focused on Security cooperation and counter-terrorism measures along with economic issues. International media is extensively referring to it as an 'economic and security block' (The Economic Times, 2019). On the contrary, the 2019 NATO Summit ended up as chaos amongst critical comments made by its core members' leadership against each other and NATO itself. More surprisingly it came on the important 70th year of its existence. NATO's existence is becoming doubtful with the French President Macron's extreme criticism (The Guardian, 2019) and funding issues encircling its fate and future.

However, by 1997 the Chinese intentions and Russian ambitions were more elaborated through a joint statement which referred to the eve of the 21st century necessitating the need for a new international order. Point 1 of the statement is read as “The two sides shall, in the spirit of partnership, strive to promote the multipolarization of the world and the establishment of a new international order.” The intentions and ambitions of the two states could be sensed from the very title of the joint statement. It was referred to as the Joint Statement of the People's Republic of China and the Russian Federation Regarding Global Multipolarity and the Establishment of a New International Order of 23 April 1997. It further elaborated that:

The positive trend towards a multipolar world is accelerating; relations between major powers, including those between adversaries in the Cold War era, have undergone changes; organizations of regional economic cooperation have exhibited great vitality; the political, economic, and cultural evolution in various countries has presented a scene of diversity, and the forces making for peace and broad-based international cooperation have grown in strength. (CHINA-RUSSIA: JOINT DECLARATION ON A MULTIPOLAR WORLD AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW INTERNATIONAL ORDER, 1997)

In the 1990s, China like many in the world was getting weary of the US intervention, involvement, and even invasions across the world owing to its powerful and unique status yet the worst came in 1999 during the US invasion of Kosovo. Under the so-called NATO command, the US bombed the Chinese embassy. Despite immediate American acceptance of its mistake and offering excuses as well as official apologies, it sensitized the Chinese government and many around the world of expected US use of force as an act of aggression against any country of the world. Tom Fox commenting on the event after 20 years of its happening remarks:

In China, the incident is both vividly remembered and woven tightly into the broader historical narrative of national humiliation. To this day, it is largely regarded as a deliberate strike on sovereign Chinese territory, despite competing lines of argument for why the United States took such action. The U.S. government's formal apologies and explanations satisfied neither Chinese leaders nor the Chinese people, a stalemate that holds from the time of the incident until today. (Fox, 2019)

Although the issue was settled peacefully and did not ignite Chinese anger to the extent of conflict yet it accelerated Chinese efforts to strengthen its image and political status in the world. To begin with the already forming and improved relations with Russia since 1994 and has established regular contacts and signed key joint statements, in 2001, again in Moscow, the two countries signed the Treaty of Good-Neighbourliness, Friendliness, and Cooperation. Though the treaty generally dealt with issues of mutual concerns and cooperation between the two nations, it was reiterated as an obligation and need for the collaborative action to maintain 'global strategic balance'. Article 12 describes the same as:

The contracting parties shall work together for the maintenance of global strategic balance and stability and make great efforts in promoting the observation of the basic agreements relevant to the safeguard and maintenance of strategic stability. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Peoples' Republic of China, 2019)

These statements had not changed the status quo in the political world where the US still stands as a global policeman enjoying a unipolar position. Neither has China and/or Russia in individual capacity nor collectively attained the position of a global power ready to stand US hegemony. Importantly, China had portrayed its reluctance to accept the US as the sole superpower and Russia with an effort and policy that 'outright hostility to the west is to be avoided' (Brzezinski, 2001, p. 60) ensued actively. China had emerged as a potential global power to minimize the life of the unipolar world and its characteristic to form a possible global rival (Levin, 2008) reflects the coming back of a bipolar world soon.

The turning of the century witnessed heightened US use of force in the wake of the 9/11 attacks. Afghanistan came under the fury of yet another superpower. The hype created by the US in the

wake of these attacks and offensive launched by her across the world stopped counter US initiatives by China and Russia for some time. Susan Turner believes that “the call for multipolarity was silenced a few months later [a reference to joint statement in July 2001] with the terrorist attacks against America on September 11, 2001, which brought international terrorism to the forefront of the international agenda and was followed by the multilateral backing of the U.S. war in Afghanistan in March 2001” (Turner, 2009, p. 164).

US had continued attacking and intervening in various parts of the world in the name of the War on Terror to trace elements of terrorism especially the Taliban, al-Qaeda and ISIS. Afghanistan has become one of the most challenging war ground and US military presence in the region is considered one of the most critical for South Asian and global politics. While the Yemen Civil War, Libyan intervention, and Syrian crises have left the countries in rubble and continuous instability, these are the most recent of the US ventures in world politics.

However, as the hype on 9/11 mellowed down and especially after US failure to get the UN backing for another attack on Iraq in 2003, the international political thought process reverted to the pre 9/11 scenario especially in the case of the Sino-Russia series of dialogues and joint statements. A paramount initiative and by joining hands with Russia that by this time had recovered quite a bit from its fallout and was trying to enter the global politics under renewed ambitions, leaders of both China and Russia issued a historic joint statement on the 60th Anniversary of the establishment of United Nations in 2005.

In the very opening lines of the joint statement, it was mentioned that "the phenomena of imbalance and conflict still exist in the course of development of global multipolarity and economic globalization, which are an important trend in the current stage of development of mankind." It cruised through various aspects of world stability and also expressed "the two sides support the preservation and consolidation of global strategic stability". What surprised many in the world was the mention of a 'new security framework' though the expression was moderated by the use of 'collective effort' and under the 'UN principals' yet it signified as the future agenda of the two nations. Finally, Hu Jintao and Vladimir Putin called "on the international community to make joint efforts to establish a new security framework" and the joint statement ended with an invitation to the countries across the globe "to engage in extensive dialogue on the issue of the international order of the 21st century" (China-Russia Joint Statement on 21st Century World Order, 2006).

By this time, China and Russia proved their worth as future superpowers confirming the emergence of another pole of global supremacy and ultimately global rivalry due to the multiplicity of factors. Paramount amongst them is the rise of China as an economic giant and Russia carrying a legacy of a superpower. No other power at the moment appears to be in a position to challenge US power play in world politics. Not even a combination of any powers with the strength and agenda to oppose US hegemony other than these two seems possible. These years signify a sharp increase and splendor in China's foreign relations and US enhanced involvement and use of force in global political scenes.

On the parallel lines, the end of the century proved to be more prolific as far as global economic developments were concerned. Organizations for economic cooperation at regional and international levels were formed such as G7, encompassing France, Germany, Italy, Japan, United Kingdom, United States and Canada, and were renamed as G8 after Russia joined in 1998. G20 was a replica on a greater scale including the G8, the European Union as one member as well as South Africa, Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, South Korea, China, Japan, Turkey, India, Indonesia and Saudi Arabia. G11 and G77 were founded on the same pattern but with different and diverse objectives. Globalization remained on the horizon as a significant subject but the disparity and later developments in world politics gave it a new dimension and one of them was the occurrence of 9/11. The event is attributed to be one in a millennium and its impact on global politics and the world economy had been monumental.

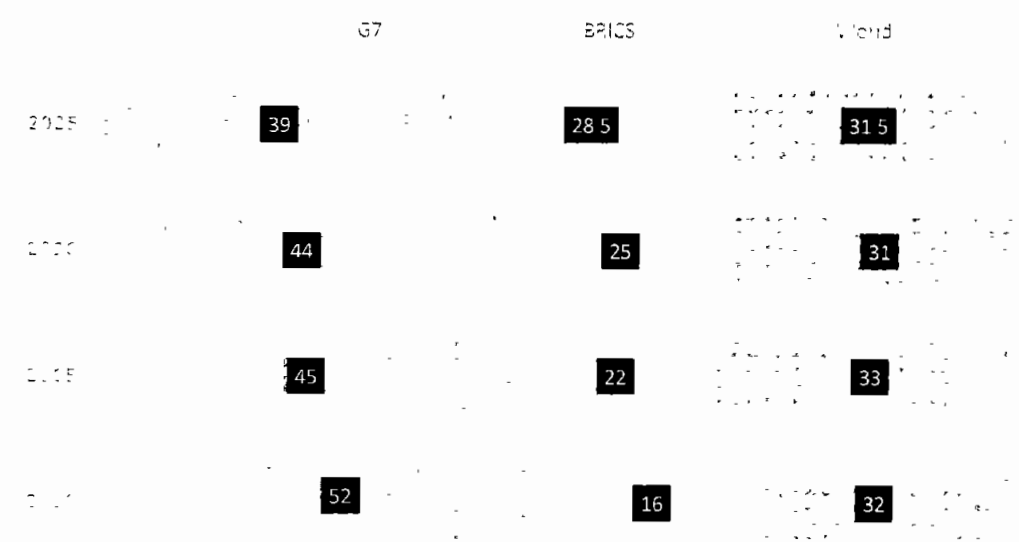
This is not customary practice for all the sovereign states in this world to follow some standard rules because every state has its own political system, economic interests, and geopolitical dimensions which decide the formula of its relations with other countries and mostly leads to a clash of interests. Geo-political and economic supremacy long associated with the United States of America is now drifting away towards the Asian continent. 9/11 revitalized this dying supremacy but the threat and aggression caused in the backdrop of this major global accident not only proved to be short-lived but also controversial. US exaggerated pressure to involve sovereign states into a hyped war against terrorism with a past full of fake presumptions on Iraqi chemical weapons and the Al-Qaida fiasco has started turning anti-US supremacy (Chomsky & Barsamian, 2010). It has rather increased the world nations' realization of the importance of a balanced global

power play. Niall Ferguson in his book *Colossus: The Rise and Fall of the American Empire* has highlighted a number of geopolitical problems faced by the USA (Ferguson, 2005).

There are two landmark developments with reference to the changing global economic scenario. One of them is the BRICS - a small but influential organization of five developing and newly industrialized states. Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa are not only significant in terms of their big and rapidly growing economies but also recognized for their influence on regional and global affairs. BRICS represents over 3 billion people and a combined nominal GDP of US\$16.039 trillion almost 1/5th of the gross world product. It is expected that by the end of 2020, a massive worth US \$50 trillion size of BRICS GDP (PPP) would create a considerable impact and influence global economic outlook.

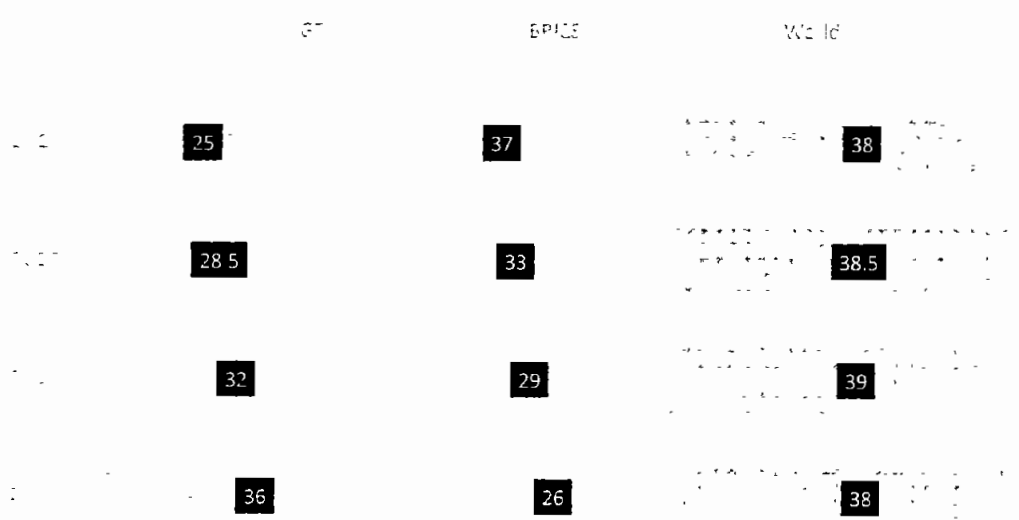
Perceived as a working group in 2006 to date, BRICS has been seen as an economic shift away from the Group of Seven (G7). The G7 economies are considered the most advanced economies combining Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, UK and the US as per IMF standards. Russia remained a member when it was called as G8 but permanently opted out upon its expulsion on Crimea occupation. Group accounted for 50% of the global GDP (PPP) with Russian membership in 2012. How this ratio has changed over the years and what is going to be the future of these colossal economic figures is presented in the comparative analysis below:

Figure 2.1: G7 & BRICS Comparison and World GDP ratio (Nominal)



Source: Various Forecasts, Primary figures IMF, World Bank & UN

Figure 2.2: G7 & BRICS Comparison and World GDP ratio (PPP)



Data Source: Various Forecasts, Primary figures IMF, World Bank & UN

A comparison of the rate of change for the size of GDP based on both nominal and purchasing power parity over the 15 years from 2010 to 2025 (forecasts) shows a 10% reduction in the size of G7 while a similar ratio has been gained by BRICS. Further projections are expected to show a complete turnaround. "The G7 remains at GDP ascendancy at present, but most indicators suggest it will be usurped by BRICS in the next two decades" (Goodrich, 2018).

BRICS 2015 Summit meeting was held in concurrence with the Shanghai Cooperation Organization in Ufa, Russia. Members discussed several issues of importance or more specifically central importance to China. There is a belief that China's role in the BRICS is to form its power outside of US dominated institutions. China initiated a landmark project of 'One Belt, One Road Initiative' that will join it to Europe, Asia and Africa. India is also part of this collaboration and huge investments are being made by China in India as well. Alongside, China's renewed commitment to Russia on economic issues is being weighed as a curtailment of US influence and negation of its policy over Russia regarding recent sanctions.

From 2015 till 2019, BRICS has gone miles ahead in terms of its achievements. In 2018 historic 10th BRICS Summit set up 'Partnership on New Industrial Revolution'. The purpose of this programme is to benefit from the technology advancements and have optimal use of the Fourth Industrial Revolution. Contrary to this, G7 Summit in 2019 remained more focused on de-escalating US Iran tensions and interestingly an invitation to Russia to rejoin after five years of its removal from the group. US President Trump during a press conference remarked that "he wanted his Russian counterpart at the next summit of the world's biggest economies" by further elaborating "it would be better to have Russia inside the tent than outside the tent" (Cole, 2019).

The other phenomenal development took place in 2016 and that too was initiated by China. Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) started its operations with the 57 founding members and a considerable capital share of \$100 billion. Within a short span of three years, the bank has inflated to 100 members (75 members and 25 prospective members) and had made \$10 billion investments (Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), 2019). With major countries on board, the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) appears to be a reliable substitute to present global financial institutions such as International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and others that have existed under US influence for a long time. There was a global excitement for joining a new Sino financial institute. Despite American anti-propaganda, many including the United Kingdom, one of the time tested and long-standing ally of the US in Europe, jumped to be its members. It is one of the latest steps in the larger developments of China's emergence as a major power and rival to the US as the world's leading economic force. A big warning call for the US hegemony. It appears a Chinese way of developing political capital through infrastructure investments and financial interventions.

China's gradual rise to global political power owes a lot to its growing economic, military and technological strength. China is likely to grow to be another pole/actor for a bipolar world. It is already considered a strong Asian Power and the US tilt towards India is an effort to balance out China's growing influence in the continent. China is moving ahead from Asian Pole to a global power pole with Russia as an active ally. Being an established power in Asia, China's global rise will have great implications for the region. Asia is being massively influenced by Chinese Investments. Chinese Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) spans over five continents covering 152 countries and a development and completion time frame of almost four decades. This Chinese

effort to bridge the entire world with train, road, and maritime routes reflects its ambitious plans to connect the entire world.

BRI started in 2013 and in the initial years, it was called One Belt One Road. BRI is viewed as a global economic challenge to US influence as well as an alternative to the economic system of the sole global power. In a report prepared for the members and committee of US Congress by Congressional Research Services and available at Congress.Gov website, the author states:

...China's BRI is viewed by some as a major challenge to U.S. global economic interests. While China's financial support of infrastructure projects in numerous countries could produce positive economic results, U.S. policymakers have expressed concerns that China will use BRI to mainly benefit its firms, that the process of implementation of projects will not be transparent, that BRI participation could saddle countries with large debts, and that China will use the BRI to spread its economic system to other countries. (Morrison, 2019, p. 37)

Chinese colossal investments in Belt and Road Initiative and especially huge infrastructure and energy investment in Pakistan under China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) espouses the need for diversified studies on China. The total outlay of Chinese investments under CPEC has accumulated to a huge sum of \$62 billion.

Most of the nine known nuclear powers are in Asia and one of them is Pakistan. Pakistan geographically is a meeting point of so many critical political actors of world politics, for example, India, China, Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia. Its proximity to some of the emerging global powers including Russia would add to its significance as a transit economy. It's not only a gateway to Central Asia but a link to greater areas through Gawadar. Central Asia is crucial for its economic potential especially the role of the Caspian Sea as the upcoming Persian Gulf. Oil and gas have brought Central Asia to a stage where it has gained prominence in the foreign policy of world

powers. The Caspian Sea oil and gas reserves may contribute to the economic development of the concerned countries in one or another way. Pakistan being the sole nuclear power of the Muslim world has now a more influential role to play in the Muslim World and the global race of supremacy.

In the context of India's pursuance to become a key naval power in the Indian Ocean, the role of Pakistan is vital for China for its curtailment. Chinese are already actively involved at Gawadar to challenge India and undermine its ambitions to influence the Indian Ocean as well as the Arabian Sea. With China becoming stronger and India pursuing hegemonic designs, South and Central Asian regions would come under the direct influence of the global race for supremacy and resource exploitation. Pakistan would be at the center stage of such a power play between the US through India, and China with both increasing their influence in Pakistan.

Historically, the United States cooperated with both India and Pakistan in a fashion and effort to maintain its presence in the region as well as keep check and balance Chinese power in South Asia. It has been pursuing cooperation in defense and security policies with both. However, the US selection of India coupled with her own designs of regional as well as global roles to balance China's increasing hegemony in the region had become an unbalancing factor between the two. This fact, combined with the US policy of taking India as a key military regional partner given its rivalry with China could obscure, if not endanger, the future of the US-Pakistan relationship. Although at present Pakistan does not find it appropriate to drift away from the US, however, it had to deal with the increasing Indo-US cooperation with an improved and sustained pro-Chinese position.

In this background, the study will be instrumental to fill the dearth of pragmatic work on emerging global patterns for Pakistan. The study aims at analyzing the present state of affairs for global supremacy and changing trends for repositioning of global actors and finding out what implications would it have for Pakistan exploring the prospects for Pakistan of repositioning itself with respect to these changing poles. These implications might be reviewed under the multiples of growing geo-economic needs and geo-strategic requirements of the country.

2.2. Scope and Significance of Research

The topic under study encircles the two prime dimensions; one to review the changing pattern of global supremacy and second to assess its implications for Pakistan. This is an inquiry of the emerging patterns of global supremacy and what implications would it have for Pakistan. How would this contribute to the overall structural changes in the world as well as impact the role and status of Pakistan owing to its geopolitical significance?

Hence, the study proposed here would not only examine the emerging political poles and changing pattern of supremacy but also analyze its implication for Pakistan in global viz-a-viz regional designs for supremacy. Beginning with the establishment of Shanghai Five which was founded in 1996 – the mother organization of Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and referred to as China's NATO, the study encircles and explores post-1996 developments in the global political order. SCO is believed to be a counter-balance force for US influence in the region and is extensively mentioned in studies as a turning point in world politics.

SCO's first enlargement took place in 2001 with the membership of Uzbekistan while membership of Pakistan and India was also admitted and both joined as full members in 2016 marking another era of a major shift in the global geopolitical panorama. The same year, India equaled France in terms of size of its GDP of 2.5 trillion US dollars ready to surpass another major European economic power and standing at the 5th position in the list of ten biggest economies of the world. IMF forecasts place India as the third-largest economy by 2030. Although the study aims at identifying various emerging global actors yet more focused approach will be adopted for states in geographical proximity to Pakistan.

This study will lead to further studies as many facets of the prospects of such an arrangement are not yet explored. As an anticipatory step, nations must be ready to face the challenges of an emerging pattern of global supremacy. The study will guide to draw patterns of implications for Pakistan which can help in sound planning and taking actions by pinpointing the precise target areas. The study will not only deal with the economic aspects but also explore the prospects of geopolitical standing with respect to problems faced by Pakistan in doing so. This research will be of great value for Pakistan's future economic and policy forecasts.

The research findings can help to prepare internal and external policies towards Pakistan's traditional neighbors as well as emerging powers along with academic advancement in the respective field viz a viz of interest for the students of political geography, political science, economic geography, area studies, foreign policy and international affairs.

2.3. Objectives of the Research

The objectives of the research are:

1. To examine the emerging pattern of supremacy and identify the emerging world powers
2. To analyze geopolitical and geo-economic indicators that reflect the emergence of new global powers
3. To forecast the emergence of new power poles as new states emerge on the horizon of global supremacy
4. To assess the possibility of turning this race for global supremacy into global rivalry
5. To explore and assess the degree of such global changes on the geo-political status of Pakistan with a focus on states in geographical proximity to the country for detailed inquiry
6. To mark and quantify the implications for Pakistan in the emerging pattern of global supremacy, level of involvement, and quantum of entanglement owing to the geo-strategic importance of Pakistan
7. To scrutinize the nature of the change of various geopolitical and economic pressures and influences in the emerging power play and supremacy poles.

2.4. Research Questions

1. What is the present pattern of global supremacy and how has it changed in the last two decades to form a new pattern of supremacy?
2. Which states will appear as major actors at the crux of this changing pattern and to what extent the emergence of new global political poles/blocks can be justified?
3. How are the geopolitical and economic factors responsible for this race for supremacy? Will it change into a foreground for global rivalry?

4. Is this emerging global pattern of supremacy instrumental to impact the regional hegemonic patterns as well with especial reference to Pakistan? How?
5. What will be the implications for Pakistan in such a scenario?
6. How and to what extent geo-political and geo-economic compulsions of Pakistan will change with special reference to the emerging poles?
7. How will it impact Pakistan with respect to states in close geographical proximity to Pakistan?

2.5. Literature Review

The emergence of new powers and the formation of new poles (Thompson, 2005) of global supremacy is a subject long under study. Global supremacy (Peters, 2006) has been a topic of interest not only for the nations embroiled in it but for individuals and almost every nation of the world. In recent years, this has magnified in the wake of rapid globalization and re-emergence of global interdependence as well as collective global race for supremacy, global apprehensions, and action against terrorism, hegemonic designs of superpowers and regionally growing states.

What comes along the rapid global political and economic developments and how new power poles deal with the challenges of supremacy is becoming a subject of interest. In the present context, it would have influences and pressures for Pakistan. Pakistan being a stakeholder in the global transitions must work on its 'global repositioning' (Bernal, 1996). It must advance studies and researches to find a productive role and a place under the new shape of these historical advancements especially for its economy through active political involvement and foreign policy initiatives.

According to Collins English Dictionary, Supremacy is defined as the supreme power or authority as well as the quality or condition of being supreme. For global supremacy, the term is defined as the ability of a state to exert its influence and control on other states/ all other states. Debating this Carl Boggs in his book *Imperial Delusions: American Militarism and Endless War* also relates it to America's ability to benefit all others (Boggs, 2005). The writer has frequently used the term under the impression of American global domination and hegemony referring to the military and economic might as well as her ability to exert its power by whatever means it chooses to do so. Global supremacy appears to be the global domination or superiority or leading in control of all others.

Christopher John Bartlett traces the pattern of global rivalries (Bartlett, 1984) from the year 1880 to 1970 and presents a survey of the global rivalries beginning with the European tussles to be scaled in the international arena and ends his works to the US – Russia rivalry in the '70s. His later work includes a thorough analysis of the post-1970s till 1990 years shedding light on how the rivalry between two political actors USA and USSR turns on a global scale and what changes are to be expected in the following years.

Congress of Vienna is considered a benchmark for a great many political developments, political terms, and defining powers politics among the powerful nations of the world. The congress held in the years 1814 & 15 serves as a source of primary information for modern-day international politics (Jarrett, 2013). It was the first time in history that delegates from transcontinental lands gather together and as follow up such congresses or meetings had to be periodically held – another

new practice in world politics. The first formal mention of the term 'Great Powers' dates back to the same event. This could be the beginning of a formal multipolar world as the great powers formally acquired and informally assumed powers to regulate the international political system at least in Europe to begin (Osiander, 1994).

It is asserted that the great powers namely the UK, Austria, USSR, and Prussia in addition to France formed the block of powers which helped Europe and the world save from any major conflicts of global spread for almost a hundred years from 1815 to 1914 when the First World War broke out. Osiander proposes against the traditional assumption that the international consensus and urge for peace is reached under the fear of conflict and war. His work is significant in terms of defining how states to maintain their status, obtain a central role, and protect their national interests come to agreements for global peace. This establishes the fact that a multipolar system such as the one formed by the Great Powers could be more stable but in the contemporary discussion, scholars have differing views on it.

In his famous book, *The Super-Powers. The United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union-their Responsibility for Peace*, William Thornton Rickert Fox first used the term superpowers in 1944. Though his book states the US, UK and USSR as superpowers of the time but his work also cites the relationship of US and USSR as "poles of political discord" (McAllister, 2002, p. 2). He made interesting assertions stating that "A "tripolar" system is not, however beyond the realm of possibility. The assumption of bipolarity therefore needs to be explored" (p .3).

One of the most remarkable, detailed and focused works, *Becoming Asia: Change and Continuity in Asian International Relations since World War II* by Alice Lyman Miller and Richard Wich presents a detailed and powerful analysis of the political changes and developments in the Asian continent post Second World War. In this remarkable work, Dr. Alice has switched between superpower competitions (Miller & Wich, 2011, p. 183) to superpower rivalry. She has discussed every war fought on the Asian landmass during these years and provides an insightful analysis of the gain and losses of the two superpowers of the time. She proposes a number of themes emerging out of superpower rivalry during this timeframe and while making a mention of the Korean War as part of the Cold War describes that "...bipolarity became deeply implanted in Asia and spawned a new type of conflict known as "limited war" (p. 65). The book reflects the work of scholarly commentary on the Asian rise in the coming years.

Antony Beevor ends his world-famous book *The Second World War* stating that it was the culmination of another era of global rivalry (Beevor, 2012). Second World War only ended at the beginning of another race for supremacy and an array of rivalry under another war – not of weapons but philosophies and nerves, hegemony and propaganda. Gaddis (2006) stated in his work *The Cold War: A New History* that the Cold War created the largest divide of all times. During the Cold War (1949-1989), the world was divided between a capitalist block and a communist block with the US and former USSR as the leads.

The disintegration of the Soviet Union marked the end of the Cold War as mentioned in most recent works and writers like Smith J. (1997) and Graebner, Burns, & Siracusa (2010). The latter work details origins of the Cold War. How was it aggravated? How it turned into an arms race and

later to be a nuclear arms race? What caused its end and how? Commenting on the US as the ultimate winner, what makes it a unique work is the significance of its end. Passing through these events of political importance writer not only provides the answers to these questions but extends it to the late 20th century and its aftermath. At the end of it, the world experienced a more hegemonic unipolar world as apprehended by many political scientists and former Cuban President, Fidel Castro (2003). US supremacy was now politically and economically established.

The de facto status of the US as a global power was established as a de jure by the time Second World War ended. From the pictorial display of American supremacy (Hopkins, 1948) to the most literature on the global politics (Piehler & Pash, 2010) and on military might (Murray, 2004), this very supremacy was being challenged within years of its recognition (Hardt, 1961). Referring to this threat John Pearce Hardt in his book *The Cold War Economic Gap: The Increasing Threat to American Supremacy* mentions "Thus the implications of Cold War economic gap are clear: an ever-increasing threat to American supremacy..." (p. 39).

Within theoretical discourse, writers speculated a short term US status of a sole power. The studies on the unipolar world were not encouraging for the US. Though differing views are proposed "structural realism however has had little to say about unipolar world - other than that it will quickly come to an end" (Monteiro, 2014, p. 29).

Cold war not only proved to be a direct threat to American supremacy but a renewed emergence of the race for supremacy and rivalry. In a short work (McAleavy, 1998) covering events of the Cold war under the title of *Superpower Rivalry: The Cold War*, Tony McAleavy comments the natural flow of political events as an alternate discourse of race for supremacy.

It was hoped that the end of the Cold War will bring peace and harmony but the past rivalries, hostility, new hegemonic designs find their way alongside every end of the supremacy poles. American diplomat, Henry Kissinger, a Nobel Peace Prize winner and writer of the book *World Order* (Kissinger, 2014) traces the roots of international cooperation to suggest an emerging order for world nations. No one other than Noam Chomsky, from the American think tanks and political thinkers, have commented better on US irregularities and disrespect for the international system in an effort to pursue its unipolar status. However, he believes that American economic power has declined and the imbalance of economics is going to be catastrophic for American power (Chomsky, 2011).

Many others have also forecasted the emergence of new hegemonic patterns like Reinhard Hildebrandt elaborates the same as “Emergence of the Interregional Asian Triangle and the Relegation of the US as a Hegemonic Power, the Reorientation of Europe” in his work *US Hegemony: Global Ambitions and Decline* (Hildebrandt, 2009).

He believes that the end of the 'East-West' conflict in 1990, a completely new arrangement seemed to emerge for the first time in the history of world politics. He proposes that:

The USA had to accept that the dual hegemony it had built up together with the Soviet Union was fundamental to the continued existence of American hegemony. Its inability to sustain a global hegemony revealed itself in the severe setbacks it suffered in the three wars waged in Iraq, Afghanistan and against the so-called international terrorists" which culminated into the "emergence of the interregional Asian triangle (China, India, Russia), Europe's reorientation and, in consequence, the USA's relegation as a hegemonic power. (p.114)

In a similar work, *The Post American World* by Fareed Zakaria, the writer claims that "the 'rise of the rest' is not about the decline of America, but rather about the rise of everyone else" (Zakaria, 2008). Zakaria foresees a world in which the US does not dominate the global economy, arrange geopolitics, or devastate the social structures of the different countries and cultures. According to him the rise of countries like China, India, Brazil, Russia, and many others will chart out the new contours of the world. Most big things that used to be American forte are happening outside the US from the biggest dams to the greatest productions giving rise to the emerging powers and power players.

Commenting on the fundamental existence of global rivalry in the race for global supremacy, writers of *The Global Rivals* Bialer & Mandelbaum (1989) opines that:

The *global rivalry* will not disappear, but there is for the first time a chance that it will be considerably less acute, less dangerous, and less expensive than in the past. This is so because substantial progress in resolving the political issues that underlie the conflict is possible, for the first time since it began. (p.172).

The beginning of the third millennium attested to be more complex for global political order beginning with 9/11 which had its impact on almost every world state. Mathew J. Morgan recounts the events of 9/11 under the title *The Impact of 9/11 on Politics and War: The Day that Changed Everything?* He has compiled works of writers from around the world and on different disciplines to contribute to and reflect the impact of this single most significant event. The book extends the impact of 9/11 to the extent of the beginning of global financial crises as well as 'a transformation of the foundations of the world capitalist system' (Morgan, 2009).

Events in the aftermath had global implications with definite implications (Danish, 2009) for Pakistan. Referring to the same point Morgan states that "...and it may be in Pakistan where the world security issues will be decided" (p. 257). It has been a more prolific phase for world economic developmental initiatives outside US influence. Two important writings in this regard are *Issues in 21st Century Politics* by Mark Beeson and Nick Bisley (Bisley, 2013) and *The Next 100 Years: A Forecast for the 21st Century* by George Friedman (2010). Both books look at the state of politics and global economics.

Friedman elaborates on the emergence of a new world but speculates such an arrangement in later years of the 21st century as compared to the other forecasts of the global economy (Dunaway, 2003) and geopolitical reflections of the world (Smith J. M., 2013). Authors not only insist upon the emergence of more global powers but also foresee them challenging each other for their supremacy. In the later work, it is employed from extensive fieldwork that China and India would

get directly involved in clashes of global magnitude while the US will be dragged in as a member of the global elite club.

This is not a recent forecast rather many studies in the past years had referred to such an arrangement whereby a triangle of these three would correlate on one aspect or the other of emerging global politics. Mr. Misra (1980) in his work named *The Diplomatic Triangle: China, India, America* points to the diplomatic aspects of this triangular global players. One such study (Mueller & Ross, 1975) suggested China and Japan as emerging global actors. A similar claim was made by Donald C. Hellmann (1976) in his book titled *China & Japan: a new balance of power*. Another study refers to China and India as emerging global political actors (Humphrey & Messner, 2006).

There are some untraditional forecasts as well as analysis of the exceptional states emerging as global powers. One of the most unexpected prophecies is by the author of *The Next 100 Years* (Friedman, 2009) who proposes Japan, Turkey and Poland as the global actors of the coming century.

The emergence of a unipolar world established US primacy (Brown, Coté Jr., Lynn-Jones. & Miller, 2000). In one of the essays of the book, William Wohlforth explains that “the United States enjoys an unprecedented margin of superiority over its potential great power rivals and that the

resulting unipolar world is peaceful and stable.” He also recommends that “the United States has the capabilities to pursue the strategy of primacy.”

In a unipolar world, supremacy attributed to the United States of America is now fluctuating (Kozlowski, 2008) if not shifting fully towards the Asian continent both in economic and geopolitical dimensions (Dicken, 2003). The Chinese economy is fast taking over as the leading world economy. In 2015, China ranks as the second-largest economy with a multiplying rate of increase from fifth-largest in 2005 (World Bank, 2015). In 2010, the Chinese economy snatched the lead from the US in terms of Gross Domestic Product based on purchasing power parity. Although the US remains on top of world economic affairs in terms of nominal GDP the pattern is changing very fast. Based on the 2014 figures of the World Economic Outlook Database of the International Monetary Fund, China ranks second while India ranks 9th in the list of biggest economies of the world.

In his book, *The Dragon and the Elephant: China, India and the New World Order*, David Smith (2008) proposed that the world is fast moving toward the East and focus on the implications of such a scenario. Two latest advancements in this context are important: the formation of BRICS and AIIB. Commenting on the prospects and powerful role the BRICS might play in the coming years, the author of Mapping BRICS Media states: “It seems evident that the global economic order is first and foremost being challenged by *China* and *India*, which are not only nation-states but global regions and ancient civilizations” (Nordenstreng & Thussu, 2015, p. 37).

On a similar note, editors of the book titled *The BRICS and Coexistence: An Alternative Vision of World Order*, Coning, Mandrup, & Odgaard (2015) argue that the BRIC was nothing but a fancy term referring to the most attractive emerging economies i.e. Brazil, Russia, India and China. However, in 2011, South Africa was added to term it as the BRICS. BRICS had “fully transformed into a strong economic and political front that had the potential to challenge the unipolar hegemony of the United States and its Western allies.” Reflecting on the concept of coexistence in the context of foreign policies of the member countries, editors have tried to speculate that this might lead to the collective efforts of these states to manage the global order by setting a framework of negotiated rules and policies.

Chakravorti (2015) in his recent Harvard Business Review article *China's new development bank is a wakeup call for the US* summarized the formation of Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) highlighting its mission to “focus on the development of infrastructure and other productive sectors in Asia.” The writer explains that “group includes some of America’s closest allies – first the UK, followed by Germany, France, South Korea, and Israel.” There is a belief that China’s role in the BRICS and haste for AIIB is to form its own power outside of US dominated institutions. The same was voiced by Professor Kwang Ho Chun in his book *The BRICS Superpower Challenge: Foreign and Security Policy Analysis* (Chun, 2014).

Stating the extremely crucial role of The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) for china, the writer of *The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank. The Construction of Power and the Struggle for the East Asian International Order* Ming (2015) relates it as a direct challenge to The World Bank and the ADB. The AIIB is a landmark development and great diplomatic success for

China especially in the context of “growing Chinese foreign policy interest in commercial diplomacy” (Lanteigne, 2015) which has the necessary financial power and potential to accomplish its targets in this area. The writer has not only connected this to the regional supremacy but highlighted its establishment as a hegemonic order for Asia.

A lot has been said and written about Chinese intention to emerge as a global leader or another pole if not a hegemon especially after its setting up of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) in 1996. The organization was perceived as a Chinese replica of NATO if not a direct opponent. Hall Gardner in his book *Averting Global War* on page 127 proposes that “SCO could ultimately parallel NATO if it continues to expand defense coordination over the next decade” (Gardner, 2007). Another work by Niraj Kumar repeatedly mentions the term “Asian NATO” (Kumar, 2014) and denotes it to SCO, a proposed US-backed organization in Asia or Expanded NATO. Though some have refuted (Boon, Haq, & Lovelace, 2012) this proposition but most studies have intricately analyzed the two to prove an ultimate relationship (Sun & Elmahly, 2018).

With the multitude of developments and that too in an ever faster geopolitical dimension demands for a closer and an attentive look at the transitory trends of supremacy and rivalry. This not only demands review and revisiting of the foreign policies but also scrutiny of the domestic affairs for states around the globe at large and Pakistan in specific. When Wayne Ayres Wilcox wrote his account of India, China and Pakistan (Wilcox, 1964) under the title *India, Pakistan, and the rise of China*, who had known that the global political scene would change so fast and so much in contrast of the US expectations from the region.

A powerful writing in this context is the book *The China Pakistan Axis: Asia's New Geopolitics* by Andrew Small (2015) who refers to China and Pakistan as India's two most powerful neighbours and projects their 'all-weather' relationship in the same backdrop. Small narrates the whole affair of friendship troubled but essential to comprehend the economic and geopolitical structure of Asia including India. The writer believes that China's extraordinary backing to Pakistan's atomic programme and security planning, their tactical cooperation on India, the United States, and Afghanistan had to be reviewed in terms of their ambitions for developments with confronted on counter-terrorism efforts.

Another comprehensive account of Pakistan-China needs and expectations is by the editors of *Rise of China: Indian Perspective* (Gopal & Mancheri, 2013). The book accounts for the fundamental question by Indian policymakers that what does the rise of China imply for India especially due to uneven relations in the past? How Pakistan is to be framed given China's unprecedented support to Pakistan in weaponry and strategic cooperation as well as in the nuclear field? What if the Indian Ocean turns out to be the ground stiff hostility between India and China? Book also considers whether China's expression is an exaggerated one without much solid evidence and has to be reviewed with not much caution.

This requires from Pakistan calculated political and policy directions and especially as an active state of regional impact and a geopolitical actor with its ever-increasing role of global magnitude. Ayesha Siddiqi (Agha, 2004) believes that any effort to effectively comprehend India-Pakistan relations requires an understanding of their contradictory strategic insights and reactions to tactical moves. One of the major obstacles for India to pursue its global agenda is Pakistan's anti-India

propaganda which causes insecurity for India to get acknowledged as a greater power regionally and responsible actor globally.

Paul (2014) poses an interesting dimension to the geostrategic position of the country by referring it to the "geostrategic curse" which he believes is one of the many reasons for the state's inability to progress much. In *The Warrior State*, Paul asserts that despite heavy expenditures on security and developing military might, the country does not stand stable with a plethora of issues especially violence and terrorism. His analytical climax leads to the series of major geopolitical struggles which country has undergone since its founding – beginning as the center of a US-Soviet rivalry, the India-Pakistan tussle, and - most recently - the post 9/11 conflicts. According to him, this continuous crisis of geopolitical nature forces the country to sacrifice its political and economic development for the military expense. *The Warrior State* presents that the geostrategic urge of the country has turned the country the way it is, so much unstable and insecure.

Pakistan's role has been critical and Pakistan's conditions have turned critical due to the regional security effects and global strategic impact. The global, as well as close regional political arena, attest to multilateral implications for the turbulent state today. Regionally, an effort in the name of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) could never bring arch-rivals at a trust worthy relationship (Inayat, 2004). His thesis reports Pakistan's national security fears at the domestic, regional and global levels formed Pakistan's approach towards SAARC.

Hence the diminishing phase of the unipolar world combines to a proto-multipolar one with implications for Pakistan under changed settings. This geopolitical phase would not only be an

important but also the most sensitive one because if there will be more options there are likely to be more challenges that would place the country at the center stage (Akbar, 1998) of world politics owing to a re-orientation of itself.

In a Dawn News (2005) article titled as *Pakistan's geopolitical importance increases* Federico Bordonaro in his report titled *Pakistan: a Geopolitical Crux* mentions that "recent global developments are adding to the geopolitical importance of Pakistan. Pakistan's location at the confluence of South and Central Asian regions contribute to its geopolitical importance." His emphasis is that "Several foreign powers are interested in Pakistan as an outlet for energy resources in Tajikistan and Uzbekistan." Pant (2011) argued on page 34 and 35 of his book *China's Rising Global Profile: The Great Power Tradition* that 'China's need for Pakistan is likely to grow.

Pakistan's proximity to some of the emerging global powers including Russia would add to its significance as a transit economy, geostrategic importance and geopolitical status (Tuathail, Dalby, & Routledge, 1998). Geographically, it is a meeting point (Cohen, 2004) of so many critical political actors of world politics, and economically a land of opportunities (Talbot, 2012) according to Ian Talbot as stated in his book *Pakistan: A New History*. It's not only a gateway to Central Asia but a link to greater areas through Gawadar. Nadir Mir, in his worthwhile book on Gawadar, highlights its importance (Mir, 2010). Secondly, "Indian global ambitions" and its "rise as a military power in the Indian Ocean" may put Pakistan under a subordinated situation (Cohen S. P., 2013). On the contrary, Pakistan might play as a "major player in the Central Asia geopolitical" and economic link to the outside world.

Most of the studies present forecasts and speculations about the US-China jugglery and associate it to new rivalry. There are also assumptions that new blocks on the pattern of the Cold War would emerge. The only change expected is that China would take the place of the USSR as an anti-US block. At times it appears to be a biased assumption on the ground that since the 1970's US-China cooperation has been on an ever-increasing scale. Similarly, hardly a work may be quoted linking the emergence of such an arrangement with Pakistan pragmatically. This study aims at bridging this gulf and systematically gauging the implication for Pakistan under a changing global environment. There appears to be a dearth of knowledge on specific calculated research corresponding to this hypothesis on the parameters of geo-economic and geopolitical variables.

2.6. Theoretical Framework for the Study

Global supremacy (Peters, 2006) and the study of emerging poles (Thompson, 2005) of powers is a central part of the international affairs and political science. The increasing interest and studies around polarity are becoming more and more central to the international relations theory (Keersmaeker, 2016). However, a historical approach with an open and expository research tool is a novel and interesting subject. With recent technological advancements, faster communication, and greater global interdependence, global supremacy has become an even more important and central subject of interest. To add more value to the study is the changing international political system especially within the first two decades of the new century. A dying unipolar system and an apparent multipolar but factually bipolar system draws the attention of every nation of the world. These changes will have strong implications for the international political system as a whole and its actor or states in their specific context. The impact and intensity of such a change could be varied for different countries of the world but such huge changes entrap all.

For exploratory research and in a strictly historical context, it needs to clarify some repeatedly used and central terms for this study. In this context first and foremost important will be an understanding of the 'poles of global supremacy' which may be described as power or group of powers aligned to each other to dominate the international political system for several reasons including political and economic gains or superiority. A deliberate effort has been made to avoid the word hegemony considering its negative connotation (Howson & Smith, 2008) and association within the natural process of emergence of new political poles or evolutionary political processes in the formation and theory of poles. It will be inappropriate to associate the emerging poles formed as part of this natural process with a term casting negative expression.

Supremacy in the dictionary meanings is described as "the state or condition of being superior to all others in authority power or status." We would use it as a term suiting to our focus than hegemony. Although a repeated and intermittent use of hegemony to bring reader and this research in line with interchangeable use of the term will remain common. Hegemony as a negative connotation stems from its very evolution of military dominance encapsulated later as political eminence and more recently as economic superiority doesn't fit the requirements of this study. It would have been appropriate for political science and international affairs students to use a more neutral expression for the pursuance of power. Over time it has become more of a state's deliberate effort to control or exert dominance over the others. It is also associated with 'undue influence' which would be ruled out in case of the use of supremacy. Supremacy encapsulates concepts of soft power, legitimate or financial assistance in times of emergence and need, diplomatic power and pursuance for shared missions and mutual economic benefits.

The research methodology is an orderly procedure of rules and methods applicable to any research work in any field of study primarily these deal with the way, how, and what of studies will be consulted and what will be quality, quantity, and type of data to be collected to achieve research objectives or respond to research questions. Research on the doctoral thesis '*Emerging Poles of Global Supremacy and Its Implications for Pakistan: An Exploratory Study of Post 1996 Developments*' is being carried under the History and Pakistan Studies department and the researcher has a political geography background hence, the primary approach for the study prospects a historical analysis tracing various trends and patterns in the past which helped form some forecast for the future. However, such an analysis doesn't seem credible enough to form an argument around a topic that is supremely inclined towards political science or precisely international relations. Furthermore, the topic demands an extensive survey of the body of contemporary knowledge being created on the subject in the light of fast paced political developments in global politics.

At the same time, it would be inconvenient for the researcher to immerse too much into political science and use purely the subject terminology. This will not only change the entire character of the researcher and research but also make it extremely difficult to focus on historical discourse. One of the reasons that exploratory research is preferred over the typical game or system theories or even communications theory is the huge body of work already produced with the application of these theories. Secondly, most political science theories especially Game Theory "usually assume that most games have an end" (Palmer & Perkins, 1997) while the case is very different in reality and the topic under study requires a more open-ended approach.

Though the research methodology is a systematic way of arranging data or arguments to provide a factual, logical, and argumentative basis for the research being pursued but within this vast and more generalized term, specific research method, tools and techniques help both researchers as well as the readers mindful of research limits and pressures. For this purpose, the study will be based on exploratory (Stebbins, 2001) research conducted through all possible methods which are used for the collection of data. Quantitative and Qualitative both types of data will be collected.

While setting a stage for the importance of exploratory research in social sciences, in the introduction of the book, Robert A. Stebbins opines that “Using essential exploratory (and sometimes serendipitous) procedures, people discover through their own experience and power of reasoning the most efficient route...” He quotes the statement of Boulding from his 1958 work that the idea of exploratory research is to “travel over a field of study”. He further explains that “with the object of extending “the readers field of acquaintance with the complex cases of the real world” (Stebbins, 2001, p. 1).

According to the SAGE Dictionary of Social Research Methods, “Exploratory research is a methodological approach that is primarily concerned with discovery and with generating or building theory. In a pure sense, all research is exploratory. In the social sciences, exploratory research is wedded to the notion of exploration and the researcher as explorer” (Jupp, 2006, p. 109). However, it differs from the many other research types and notions on the ground that “The exploratory researcher does not approach their project according to any set formula. She/he will be flexible and pragmatic yet will engage in a broad and thorough form of research. Those engaged

in exploratory research are concerned with the development of theory from data in a process of continuous discovery” (p. 110).

Exploratory research is used when the issue or nature of the problem is not clear. It helps to form rather than define a problem in its entirety from the very beginning. For a sound understanding and deeper insight into the problem, research is pursued to include extended details. Research may not produce decisive results or come to a conclusive end. However, the vastness of literature review, an understanding of past trends and experiences as well as similar case scenarios help to refine the problem as well as lessen the fear of vague outputs or negative surprises.

McNabb (2010) lists two main purposes of exploratory research as “(1) a preparatory examination of an issue in order to gain insights and ideas, and (2) information gathering for immediate application to an administrative problem” (p. 96). He further explains that “exploratory studies are seldom used as stand-alone designs”. One of the convenience of the exploratory study is that researcher may begin by identifying some preliminary or essential factors and these possible variables may be expanded or changed with the help of descriptive research. Importantly, variables considered instrumental for a productive output may be incorporated at different stages of the research. Furthermore, it provides the flexibility to consider data types essential for validating a certain variable to be interchangeably used between qualitative and quantitative data sets.

For this reason, quantitative data were collected and analyzed for the economic indicators i.e. size of the economy, GDP, imports and exports, economic forecasts, military size and equipment.

While qualitative data has been collected for influence and power analyses, perception surveys and soft power and fragile state indexes are related through cross-analysis. Mostly for economic indicators and variables quantitative data while for the geopolitical aspect of the study, qualitative materials are gathered. Data is collected for basic economic indicators. However, efforts are made to largely depend upon the data collected through authentic sources that may be international agencies, various research and ranking institutions, governmental, autonomous bodies, the individual research reports, political think tanks, and articles, and other secondary sources.

Expert interviews of political, military, foreign affairs, and international relations and academia have been analyzed and referred to in the study to provide a contemporary outlook of the various issues and the issue at hand, global supremacy. Rather than conducting direct interviews due to the time factor and enormity of the work, it was decided to rely on various interviews recorded in different documentaries like *Coming War on China*, *The Diplomat* and media sources. A number of perception surveys have been consulted and the work has been extensively sighted. There was a strong realization that lots of studies and surveys already exist for the perception studies ranging from public to expert perceptions namely data and studies by world-famous American independent Pew Research Center, China Power, and Asia Global and Asian Barometer operated by Hu Fu Center for East Asia Democratic Studies, National Taiwan University. Desk study and different types of data are listed for facts and figures; this data has been tabulated, categorized, correlated, and then analyzed through network analysis (Wasserman & Faust, 1994) and also for forecasts and to anticipate implications. Network analysis also helps us to “discover, analyze and display set of relations” (Neuman, 2014, p. 501).

Being an exploratory study, norms and practices of the exploratory research were kept as the guiding principles. Starting with historical background and going as far as it suits the problem to be more pragmatic and well informed, the study progressed after an extensive literature review on the following themes, how empires and states have been pursuing and exerting pressure, what has been the trend to maintain political supremacy in the past, why does a race for supremacy is likely to become a race for rivalry. Extensive books and studies on nineteenth-century power politics, international system of power, great powers, the emergence of two superpowers, states within a bipolar world, and the evolution of political as well as global economic institutions were consulted. As the study deals with the contemporary issue of emerging poles of global supremacy, a list of countries or powers more likely to be an active part of this new setting was generated and after careful analysis and sifting through detailed factors, a shorter list more relevant to Pakistan has been selected. Each of these countries or powers is given due weightage for extended study which was framed around six variables, a general introduction, geo-economics strength, geopolitical status, military strength, soft power pursuance, global political influence and intentions. Under these heading, the USA, China, India, Russia, the European Union, and Pakistan have been studied and analyzed for their future role and carving out new global political poles.

Chapter five provides an insight into the impact and implications of these global developments for Pakistan. In this chapter more generalized implications under geoeconomics, geopolitical and geo-cultural consequences for the country are listed. However, a more focused and pragmatic study to lay down the future course of action and specify the nature of these implications, a 1+5 model was devised. Under this model one region and five countries are extensively studied for their conduct

and policies during the Cold War. During this country case studies, each case was chosen on the basis of its specific connection to prospects of policy planning and implications for Pakistan.

References

- (2005, August 2). Retrieved from Dawn News: <https://www.dawn.com/news/150545/pakistan-s-geopolitical-importance-increases>
- (2019, November 26). Retrieved from Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Peoples' Republic of China: https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjdt_665385/2649_665393/t15771.shtml
- (2019, November 28). Retrieved from Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB): <https://www.aiib.org/en/index.html>
- (2019, November 25). Retrieved from AlJazeera: <https://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/insidestory/2012/06/20126783558530464.html>
- (2019, June 10). Retrieved from The Economic Times: <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/dont-target-pakistan-at-sco-summit-china/articleshow/69720807.cms?from=mdrhttps://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/dont-target-pakistan-at-sco-summit-china/articleshow/69720807.cms?from=mdr>
- (2019, November 7). Retrieved from The Guardian: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/nov/07/macron-warns-of-nato-brain-death-as-us-turns-its-back-on-allies>
- Agha, A. S. (2004). *Confrontation to Conciliation: India-Pakistan Relations*. Islamabad: Centre for Democratic Governance.
- Akbar, M. K. (1998). *Pakistan Today*. New Delhi: Mittal Publications.
- Bartlett, C. J. (1984). *The global conflict: the international rivalry of the great powers, 1880-1990*. New York: Longman.
- Beevor, A. (2012). *The Second World War*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- Bernal, R. L. (1996). *Strategic global repositioning and future economic development in Jamaica*. Miami: North-South Center Press.
- Bialer, S., & Mandelbaum, M. (1989). *The Global Rivals: The Soviet American Contest for Supremacy*. London: I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd.
- Bisley, M. B. (2013). *Issues in 21st Century World Politics*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Boggs, C. (2005). *Imperial Delusions: American Militarism and Endless War*. Lanham. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Boon, K. E., Haq, A., & Lovelace, D. C. (Eds.). (2012). *Terrorism Commentary of Security Documents: U.S. Approaches to Global Security Challenges*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Brown, M. E., Coté Jr., O. R., Lynn-Jones, S. M., & Miller, S. E. (Eds.). (2000). *America's Strategic Choices*. Cambridge: The MIT Press
- Brzezinski, Z. (2001). *The Geostrategic Triad: Living with China, Europe, and Russia*. Washington DC: CSIS Press.
- Castro, F. (2003). *Cold War: Warnings for a Unipolar World* Texas: Ocean Press.
- Chakravorti, B. (2015, April 20). Retrieved from Harvard Business Review: <https://hbr.org/2015/04/chinas-new-development-bank-is-a-wake-up-call-for-washington>
- China-Russia Joint Statement on 21st Century World Order. (2006). *Islamabad Policy Research Institute Journal, Volume 6, Issues 1-4*, 179-181.
- CHINA-RUSSIA: JOINT DECLARATION ON A MULTIPOLAR WORLD AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW INTERNATIONAL ORDER. (1997). *International Legal Materials*, 36(4), 986-989. Retrieved October 24, 2019, from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20698707>
- Chomsky, N. (2011). *Deterring Democracy*. New York: Random House
- Chomsky, N., & Barsamian, D. (2010). *Imperial Ambitions: Conversations on the Post-9/11 World*. New York. Henry Holt and Co.
- Chun, P. K. (2014). *The BRICs Superpower Challenge: Foreign and Security Policy Analysis*. Seoul: Ashgate Publishing.

- Cohen, S. P. (2004). *The Idea of Pakistan*. Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Cohen, S. P. (2013). *Shooting for a Century: The India-Pakistan Conundrum*. Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Cole, B. (2019, September 29). *World*. Retrieved from Newsweek: <https://www.newsweek.com/russia-trump-putin-g7-kremlin-1456705>
- Coning, C. d., Mandrup, T., & Odgaard, L. (Eds.). (2015). *The BRICS and Coexistence: An Alternative Vision of World Order*. London: Routledge.
- Danish, S. (2009). *US Counter Proliferation Strategies Post 9/11: Implication for Pakistan*. London: South Asian Strategic Stability Institute.
- Dicken, P. (2003). *Global Shift: Reshaping the Global Economic Map in the 21st Century*. New Delhi: SAGE Publications.
- Dunaway, W. A. (2003). *Emerging Issues in the 21st Century: World-system: New theoretical directions for the 21st century world-system*. Virginia: Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Eliaeson, S., Harutyunyan, L., & Titar, L. (Eds.). (2015). *After the Soviet Empire: Legacies and Pathways*. Leiden: BRILL.
- Ferguson, N. (2005). *Colossus: The Rise and Fall of the American Empire*. London: Penguin Books Ltd.
- Fox, T. (2019, November 26). *Texas National Security Review*. Retrieved from War on the Rocks: <https://warontherocks.com/2019/05/bombs-over-belgrade-an-underrated-sino-american-anniversary/>
- Friedman, G. (2009). *The Next 100 Years: A forecast for the 21st century*. Sydney: Doubleday.
- Friedman, G. (2010). *The Next 100 Years. A Forecast for the 21st Century*. New York: Allison& Busby.
- Gaddis, J. L. (2006). *The Cold War: A New History*. Westminster: Penguin Books.
- Gardner, H. (2007). *Averting Global War: Regional Challenges, Overextension, and Options for American Strategy*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Goodrich, J. (2018, August 25). *Decoding BRICS. How do BRICS and the G7 match up?* Retrieved from CGTN.Com: https://news.cgtn.com/news/3d3d674d3367544f78457a6333566d54/share_p.html
- Gopal, P. S., & Mancheri, N. A. (2013). *Rise of China: Indian Perspective*. Atlanta: Lancer Publishers.
- Graebner, N. A., Burns, R. D., & Siracusa, J. M. (2010). *America and the Cold War, 1941-1991: A Realist Interpretation*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO.
- Gummett, P., Boutousov, M., Farkas, J., & Rip, A. (Eds.). (1996). *Military R&D after the Cold War: Conversion and Technology Transfer in Eastern and Western Europe*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Hardt, J. P. (1961). *The Cold War Economic Gap: The Increasing Threat to American Supremacy*. New York: F. A. Praeger.
- Hellmann, D. C. (1976). *China & Japan: a new balance of power*. Maryland: Lexington Books.
- Heydarian, R. J. (2015). *Asia's New Battlefield: The USA, China and the Struggle for the Western Pacific*. London: Zed Books.
- Hildebrandt, R. (2009). *US Hegemony: Global Ambitions and Decline*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
- Hobsbawm, E. J. (2008). *On Empire. America, War and Global Supremacy*. London: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group.
- Hopkins, J. A. (1948). *Diary of world events*. Indiana: National advertising company.
- Howson, R., & Smith, K. (Eds.). (2008). *Hegemony: Studies in Consensus and Coercion*. New York: Routledge.
- Humphrey, J., & Messner, D. (2006). China and India as Emerging Global Governance Actors: Challenges for Developing and Developed Countries. *IDS Bulletin*, 37(1), 107-114.
- Inayat, M. (2004). *Implications of Pakistan's National Security: Concerns for Pakistan's Attitude Towards South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC): 1985-2000*. Perth: Curtin University of Technology.
- Jarrett, M. (2013). *The Congress of Vienna and its Legacy: War and Great Power Diplomacy After Napoleon*. London: I. B. Tauris.

- Jupp, V. (Ed.). (2006). *The SAGE Dictionary of Social Research Methods*. Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press.
- Keersmaeker, G. D. (2016). *Polarity; Balance of Power and International Relations Theory*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kissinger, H. (2014). *World Order*. New York: Penguin.
- Kozlowski, A. T. (2008). *Global Powers in the 21st Century: Strategies and Relations*. Michigan: MIT Press.
- Kumar, N. (2014). *Asia in Post-Western Age*. New Delhi: KW Publishers.
- Lanteigne, M. (2015). *Chinese Foreign Policy: An Introduction* (3rd ed.). Routledge.
- Lawson, G. (2008, June 2). *International Affairs at LSE*. Retrieved from London School of Economics and Political Science: <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/ideas/2008/06/the-global-1989/>
- Levin, M. L. (2008). *The Next Great Clash: China and Russia Vs. the United States*. Westport: Praeger Security International.
- McAleavy, T. (1998). *Superpower Rivalry: The Cold War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McAllister, J. (2002). *No Exit: America and the German Problem, 1943-1954*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- McNabb, D. E. (2010). *Research Methods for Political Science*. Armonk: M.E.Sharpe.
- Miller, A. L., & Wich, R. (2011). *Becoming Asia. Change and Continuity in Asian International Relations Since World War II*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Ming, W. (2015). *The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank: The Construction of Power and the Struggle for the East Asian International Order*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mir, N. (2010). *Gwadar on the Global Chessboard: Pakistan's Identity, History and Culture*. Lahore: Ferozsons.
- Misra, A. N. (1980). *The Diplomatic Triangle: China, India, America*. India: Janaki Prakashan.
- Monteiro, N. P. (2014). *Theory of Unipolar Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Morgan, M. J. (2009). *The Impact of 9/11 on Politics and War: The Day that Changed Everything?* New York: Palgrave, Macmillan.
- Morrison, W. M. (2019, November 30). *Congressional Research Service*. Retrieved from Congress.Gov: <https://crsreports.congress.gov/search/#/?termsToSearch=33534&orderBy=Relevance>
- Mueller, P. G., & Ross, D. A. (1975). *China and Japan, emerging global powers*. Santa Barbara: Praeger Publishing.
- Murray, S. (2004). *Atlas of American Military History*. New York: Infobase Publishing.
- Neuman, W. L. (2014). *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (7th ed.). Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.
- Nordenstreng, K., & Thussu, D. K. (2015). *Mapping BRICS Media*. London: Routledge.
- Osiander, A. (1994). *The States System of Europe, 1640-1990: Peacemaking and the Conditions of International Stability*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Pant, H. V. (2011). *China's Rising Global Profile: The Great Power Tradition*. Sussex: Sussex Academic Press.
- Paul, T. V. (2014). *The Warrior State. Pakistan in the Contemporary World*. USA: OUP.
- Peters, R. (2006). *New Glory: Expanding America's Global Supremacy*. New York: Sentinel.
- Piehler, G. K., & Pash, S. (2010). *The United States and the Second World War: New Perspectives on Diplomacy, War, and the Home Front*. New York: Fordham Univ Press
- Roney, T. (2019, November 26). *The Shanghai Cooperation Organization China's NATO?* Retrieved from The Diplomat: <https://thediplomat.com/2013/09/the-shanghai-cooperation-organization-chinas-nato-2/>
- Shanghai Cooperation Organization*. (2019, November 14). Retrieved from SCO website: <http://eng.sectSCO.org/secretariat/>
- Small, A. (2015). *The China Pakistan Axis Asia's New Geopolitics*. India: Random House India.
- Smith, D. (2008). *The Dragon and the Elephant: China, India and the New World Order*. Beijing: Profile Books.

- Smith, J. (1997). *The Cold War: 1945 - 1991*. Washington DC: Wiley-Blackwell Publishing.
- Smith, J. M. (2013) *Cold Peace: China-India Rivalry in the Twenty-First Century*. Washington DC: Lexington Books.
- Stebbins, R. A. (2001). *Exploratory Research in the Social Sciences*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Sun, D., & Elmahly, H. (2018). NATO vs. SCO: A Comparative Study of Outside Powers' Military Presence in Central Asia and the Gulf. *Asian Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies*, 12(4), 438-456. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/25765949.2018.1562594>
- Talbot, I. (2012). *Pakistan: A New History*. Columbia: Columbia University Press.
- Thompson, L. G. (2005). *Ta r'ung Shu: The One-World Philosophy of K'ang Yu-wei*. New York: Routledge.
- Tuathail, G. O., Dalby, S., & Routledge, P. (Eds.). (1998). *The Geopolitics Reader*. London: Routledge Psychology Press.
- Turner, S. (2009). Russia, China and a Multipolar World Order: The Danger in the Undefined. *Asian Perspectives*, 33(1), 159-184.
- Wasserman, S., & Faust, K. (1994). *Social Network Analysis: Methods and Applications*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wilcox, W. A. (1964). *India, Pakistan, and the rise of China*. New York: Walker and Company.
- World Bank. (2015). *World Development Indicators*. World Bank.
- Yesilada, D. M. (1916) *The Emerging European Umon*. NY: Longman Publishers.
- Zakaria, F. (2008). *The Post-American World*. New York: W W. Norton.
- Ziring, L. (1997). *Pakistan in the twentieth century: a political history*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

CHAPTER 3

GEOPOLITICAL AND GEO-ECONOMIC INDICATORS

3.1. Rationale

The importance of geography to the rise of nations has been the single most important and integral element throughout history. Historians have linked it to the rise of nations and states and established a specialized field of geopolitics to study the relationship between geography and politics (Cohen, 2003, p. 11). For the last two millennia, geopolitics has been at the foreground of the international political system. However, with the introduction of geopolitics as a defined term since 1899 by Rudolph Kjellen, scholarly discourse in this area of studies has advanced phenomenally. The field of geopolitics has become synonymous with international relations now. Geopolitics is no more contained to the geographical location and natural resources of a state only but as 'global visualizing space' (Agnew, 2003, p. 15). a greater degree to how the interplay of these two with population, size, and its mix, as well as government policy and inclination, shapes the way forward for its dealing of relations with other nations.

On the other hand, relatively a recent development that has emerged due to current strides in economic development is the study of geo-economics. The importance of geo-economics in world politics and the way nations are interacting under the changing circumstances brings a lot of focus to this new paradigm within political science and international relations. "But it is geo-economics, rather than geopolitics, in which the contest for world leadership will play out" (Dobbins, Shatz,

& Wyne, 2018, p. 2). Countries and especially the regional or global power players' use of economic policies for winning the geopolitical gains is not new. However, its use is at the rise with the emergence of global political and economic institutions like the UN, EU, IMF and World Bank. Economics is becoming a tool to suppress political enemies and increase diplomatic support. These practices are expanded through enormous investments, trade policies, energy economics, and currency modulations entailing economic policies aiming at a specific objective.

The world is moving from an era of geopolitical entanglements to the geo-economic aggressions (Blackwill & Harris, 2016). Economic sanctions are an extreme of otherwise continuous meddling into the other country's affairs. Geo-economics is fast becoming a tool for statesmanship, especially hegemonic statecraft. This has been an instrument for the US for a long time. Beginning with the Marshall Plan for Europe to hefty economic interventions in various corners of the world especially its recent massive economic interests in India to counter the Chinese similar policies.

As countries are dealing with each other in terms of geo-economics leverages, the contest of economic policies is driving more and more attention to the importance of geo-economics warfare. During the cold war era, USSR tried to counter the US economic persuasions through its policies of material support to Eastern Europe and India has been a beneficiary against Pakistan and China. Presently, China is countering the US economic aggression through enormous overseas investments ranging from transcontinental infrastructural projects to the outreach economic policies for Asian and African countries.

As the USA and China take lead on this front, other rising powers though relatively less economically able states are also using economic policies to tweak with the local or regional balance of power. The most recent element as a geo-economic instrument is the use of cyber technology. Cyber-attacks for the sake of geo-economics maneuvering are not yet a frequent or obvious tool but are likely to become a strong weapon in the coming days. Additionally, the troubles over technological issues and clashes between tech giants like the one between American google and Chinese Huawei (Frater, 2019) may germinate *geo-technologies*.

In the recent past, another development has been political forecasts based on data trends. This data is being gathered for even geopolitical indicators as well. Hence, an effort has been made to collect and analyze geopolitical accounts as well as geo-economic data to understand the world of international politics better. First and Foremost, the data on important global rankings and positions is being listed here. States are ranked in many different ways these days from most common rankings like World's biggest GDPs to the most recent Soft Power rankings. For this study, various economic indicators such as GDP rankings of the past as well as future forecasts, global trade volumes, exports and import size, and foreign exchange reserves have been considered. The size and expenditures of the biggest militaries and rankings of the most powerful military states are also listed. Countries' capacity to produce and procure armaments reflect upon the power and ability to operate during warfare. A comparison of the biggest arms exporters and importers has been produced in tabular form.

For the ease of study and convenience of the analysis, almost all charts and tables have been limited to the specified data set. An easy approach to have a cutoff line is setting the number of countries in each data set. The list is extended beyond potential global power to include emerging and political strong states which might impact the global political landscape as our study aims at identifying the formation of new or expected political poles. These states are very likely to join one of the two or three emerging blocks of global supremacy and could provide a list of new allies or likely grounds for the 21st-century proxies.

For this purpose, the top or highest or first fifteen countries (expected to have a considerable political and economic impact) have been taken as sample study sets. Only in cases where a list of fifteen countries is not available or data is available for a lesser number, the same number has been accepted as the limit for countries. The data for these indicators have been tabulated in easy to comprehend formats as follow:

Table 3.1: Top 15 Economies of the World 2019 GDP (nominal) Size and World % Share

Rank	Countries	US\$ Trillion	% share
1	USA	20.49	23.89
2	China	13.61	15.86
3	Japan	4.97	5.79
4	Germany	4.0	4.66
5	UK	2.83	3.29
6	France	2.78	3.24
7	India	2.73	3.18
8	Italy	2.07	2.42
9	Brazil	1.87	2.18
10	Canada	1.71	1.99
11	Russia	1.66	1.93
12	South Korea	1.62	1.89
13	Australia	1.43	1.67
14	Spain	1.43	1.66
15	Mexico	1.22	1.43

Source: World Bank July 2019

Table 3.2: Top 15 Countries by Economic Strength, Past Trends (Nominal GDP 1989 – 2019)

Countries by rank	1989-90	1999-2000	2009-10	2019-20
1	USA	USA	USA	USA
2	Japan	Japan	Japan	China
3	Germany	Germany	China	Japan
4	France	UK	Germany	Germany
5	Italy	France	France	India
6	UK	Italy	UK	UK
7	Canada	China	Italy	France
8	Spain	Canada	Brazil	Italy
9	Russia	Mexico	Spain	Brazil
10	Brazil	Brazil	Canada	Canada
11	China	Spain	India	Russia
12	India	South Korea	Russia	South Korea
13	Australia	India	Australia	Spain
14	South Korea	Australia	South Korea	Australia
15	Mexico	Argentina	Mexico	Mexico

Source: IMF's World Economic Outlook Database for various years

Table 3.3: Top 15 Countries by Economic Strength (Nominal GDP Projections 2030 -2050)

Countries by rank	2029-30	2039-40	2049-50
1	China	China	China
2	USA	USA	India
3	India	India	USA
4	Japan	Japan	Indonesia
5	Germany	Germany	Japan
6	France	Brazil	Brazil
7	UK	UK	Germany
8	Brazil	France	Mexico
9	Mexico	Mexico	UK
10	Italy	Indonesia	Russia
11	South Korea	Russia	France
12	Canada	Turkey	Turkey
13	Russia	South Korea	South Korea
14	Spain	Italy	Saudi Arabia
15	Indonesia	Spain	Nigeria

Source: Various (IMF's WEO, PricewaterhouseCoppers, Center for Business and Economic Research)

Table 3.4: Top 15 Countries with Largest Trade Volume 2018

Rank	Country	Trade volume (US \$ billions)
1	USA	4,921
2	China	4,342
3	Germany	3,366
4	United Kingdom	1,637
5	Japan	1,600
6	France	1,544
7	Netherlands	1,412
8	Hong Kong (China)	1,236
9	South Korea	1,103
10	Italy	1,066
11	Canada	984
12	Belgium	975
13	India	917
14	Singapore	917
15	Mexico	824

Source: World Trade organization

Table 3.5: Largest 15 Exporter Countries of the World, 2018

Rank	Country	Exports (US \$ billions) figures rounded off	global share
1	China	2,487	12.8%
2	United States	1,664	8.6%
3	Germany	1,561	8.0%
4	Japan	738	3.8%
5	Netherlands	723	3.7%
6	South Korea	605	3.1%
7	France	582	3.0%
8	Hong Kong, China	569	2.9%
9	Italy	547	2.8%
10	United Kingdom	486	2.5%
11	Belgium	467	2.4%
12	Mexico	451	2.3%
13	Canada	450	2.3%
14	Russia	444	2.3%
15	Singapore	413	2.1%

Source: World Trade Organization.

Table 3.6: Largest 15 Importer Countries of the World, 2018

Rank	Country	Imports (US \$ billions) figures rounded off	global share
1	USA	2,409	13.4%
2	China	1,842	10.2%
3	Germany	1,167	6.5%
4	Japan	672	3.7%
5	United Kingdom	644	3.6%
6	France	625	3.5%
7	Hong Kong (China)	590	3.3%
8	Netherlands	574	3.2%
9	South Korea	478	2.7%
10	Italy	453	2.5%
11	India	447	2.5%
12	Canada	442	2.5%
13	Mexico	432	2.4%
14	Belgium	403	2.2%
15	Spain	351	1.9%

Source: World Trade Organization.

Table 3.7: Top 15 Countries with Largest Foreign Exchange Reserves 2020

Rank	Country	Foreign Exchange Reserves (US \$ million)
1	China	3,060,600
2	Japan	1,359,036
3	Switzerland	795,067
4	Russia	564,400
5	Saudi Arabia	496,536
6	Taiwan	479,680
7	India	474,660
8	Hong Kong,	446,100
9	South Korea	400,200
10	Brazil	362,460
11	Singapore	279,142
12	Germany	234,427
13	Thailand	229,456
14	France	197,266
15	Mexico	188,405

Source: IMF data 2020

Table 3.8: Top 15 Countries with Most Military Spending and Largest Militaries

Most Military Spending (US \$ billion) figures rounded off			Largest Militaries (Active Military Personnel)		
Rank	Country	Military spending	Rank	Country	Military (in million)
1	USA	685	1	China	2.18
2	China	181	2	India	1.44
3	Saudi Arabia	78	3	USA	1.40
4	Russia	62	4	North Korea	1.28
5	India	61	5	Russia	1.01
6	UK	55	6	Pakistan	0.65
7	France	52	7	South Korea	0.58
8	Japan	49	8	Iran	0.52
9	Germany	49	9	Vietnam	0.48
10	South Korea	40	10	Saudi Arabia	0.48
11	Brazil	28	11	Egypt	0.44
12	Italy	27	12	Myanmar	0.41
13	Australia	26	13	Indonesia	0.40
14	Israel	23	14	Thailand	0.36
15	Iraq	21	15	Turkey	0.35
Source: International Institute for Strategic Studies			Source: Statista		

Table 3.9: Top 15 Countries with Most Powerful Militaries (2005 - 2020)

Countries Ranks	2005	2010	2015	2020
1	USA	USA	USA	USA
2	China	China	Russia	Russia
3	Russia	Russia	China	China
4	Pakistan	India	India	India
5	India	UK	UK	Japan
6	UK	France	France	South K
7	Iran	Germany	South Korea	France
8	North Korea	Brazil	Germany	UK
9	Germany	Japan	Japan	Egypt
10	Israel	Turkey	Turkey	Brazil
11	France	Israel	Israel	Turkey
12	Italy	South Korea	Indonesia	Italy
13	Greece	Italy	Australia	Germany
14	South Korea	Indonesia	Canada	Iran
15	Saudi Arabia	Pakistan	Taiwan	Pakistan

Source: Global Fire Power various years

Table 3.10: World's Largest Exporter and Importer of Arms Countries 2019

Top 15 largest exporters			Top 15 largest importers		
Rank	Supplier	TIV* in million	Rank	Recipient	TIV* in million
1	United States	10752	1	Saudi Arabia	3673
2	Russia	4718	2	India	2964
3	France	3368	3	Qatar	2258
4	China	1423	4	South Korea	1510
5	Germany	1185	5	Australia	1399
6	Spain	1061	6	Egypt	1193
7	United Kingdom	972	7	United States	1048
8	South Korea	688	8	Japan	891
9	Italy	491	9	China	887
10	Israel	369	10	Turkey	833
11	Netherlands	285	11	Bangladesh	743
12	Switzerland	254	12	UAE	644
13	Turkey	245	13	Singapore	614
14	Sweden	206	14	Pakistan	561
15	Canada	188	15	Israel	507
	Others	991		Others	7468
	Total	27194		Total	27194

*Figures are SIPRI Trend Indicator Values (TIVs) expressed in millions

Source: SIPRI Arms Transfers Database Data Personally extracted: 04 May 2020

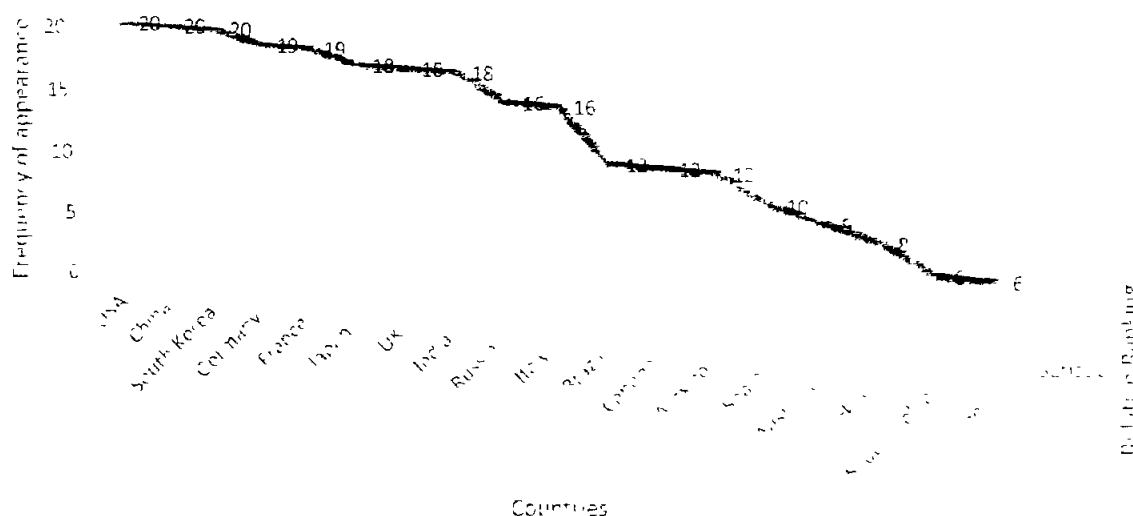
Table 3.11: Soft Power Rankings (World and Asia) 2019

World Rankings		Asian Rankings	
Rank	Country	Rank	Country
1	France	1	Japan
2	UK	2	South Korea
3	Germany	3	Singapore
4	Sweden	4	China
5	USA	5	Taiwan
6	Switzerland	6	Thailand
7	Canada	7	Malaysia
8	Japan	8	India
9	Australia	9	Indonesia
10	Netherlands	10	Philippines
11	Italy		
12	Norway		
13	Spain		
14	Denmark		
15	Finland		

Source: The Soft Power 30: A global ranking of the soft power 2019

A close look and watchful observation of the tables and data above shows that most of the time countries listed in top ranks are the same, only changing their positions slightly at various trends and indicators. A systematic machine analysis was performed. The frequency was calculated through online counters and ranking through an excel net map. The diagram shows the relationship between countries, the number of times each country appears in the above charts, and their position in rankings relative to other countries.

Figure 3.1: Countries Frequency and Relative Rankings



A simple network analysis of the countries' ranking was possible for relative positions which reveals that the US and China are almost in all charts, and are positioned at the top two to three ranks, except arms exports, imports and soft power. Another important finding is that most of the time and ranking at the top ten positions are the USA, China, Russia, Japan, France, Germany, United Kingdom and India. South Korea and Italy are exceptional cases with low ranks but higher

mentions/appearances. Few exceptions are so minimal and unimportant not to become part of our extensive discussion which follows in the chapter.

The most interesting revelation is that all the eight states mentioned here correspond to the eight states mentioned in the powerful proposition of Francis P. Sempa. Sempa is the mind and force behind the Foreign Policy Research Institute in Philadelphia, a Wilkes University political science professor and author of the *Geopolitics: From the Cold War to the 21st Century*. In his famous book on geopolitics, he mentions that geographical advantages provide countries with the benefits to acquire more power and mentioning these eight states as political powers he explains;

The global conflicts of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth century involved repeated, though not exclusive, clashes between land powers and maritime powers. This is a recurring theme in the literature of geopolitics. Geography conditions the land and sea orientation of countries. Island nations, such as Great Britain and Japan are natural maritime powers. The United States, free from land challenges on the North American continent throughout most of its history, is also a maritime power. On the other hand, countries that are essentially landlocked, such as Russia and Germany, tend to be land powers. Finally, there are countries like France, India and China that are primarily land powers but have ready access to the ocean. (Sempa, 2011, p. 111)

The selection of these countries to put his point across, Sempa intends to list the past as well as existing political powers that can change the international balance of power. It is contributory to this research as his careful analysis is supported by the work of great names in the world of scholarship like Mahan and Mackinder. As mentioned in Chapter one alternatively as European powers, great powers, superpowers and emerging powers, there is enough historical evidence suggesting these nations have the potential to lead, reemerge or play some leading role in establishing upcoming global political order.

The stark relationship between the geopolitical understanding of the powerful states and their factual appearance on most of the global rankings for most of the indicators brings us to the conclusive list of eight countries for a more comprehensive study. The detailed study of these states also relates to the objectives of this research. USA, China, Russia and India are discussed as separate countries while Germany, France and UK are covered as a set under the European Union. Japan will be discussed separately.

Exploratory research reveals more purposeful and productive methods and means to pursue research as the study progresses. To provide comprehensive but relevant accounts covering all the aspects required for the advancement of this research, a further subset of five indicators has been devised with a general introduction in the beginning. USA, China, Russia, India and the European Union are discussed at length under the same five heads. Additional notes have been produced for Japan and some other states with an exceptional mention in contemporary geopolitical studies, rankings and appearance in data tables in the context of their capacity for being part of any future political arrangement. Followed by a general introductory note, each of these powers will be discussed under the following five areas: Geopolitics, Geo-economics, Military Might, Soft Power and Global Political Influence and Intentions.

In the coming pages, one by one description of the selected countries with political strength and influence and economic power and impact will be provided. Both these fields have been further fortified with information on military strength. Historically, states with strong economies and large as well as powerful militaries have been powerful generally and have influenced regionally and

globally. As geopolitics mostly deals with hard power and the coercive means of changing political realities. Soft power applies attraction and other means of persuasion to win (Nye Jr., 2009). There could be many ways of looking at the power of the states and the different criteria may be set up to rank them among the community of nations.

There has always been an ideological aspect to global politics as was the case of communism versus capitalism. In the wake of a unipolar world, the ideological divide is being created along the lines of how states are acting and reacting internally and within their sphere of influence. These practices are forming ideological images of the states and are being studied and projected as Soft Power or contrasting concept of 'failed/fragile states' or 'rogue states' (Henriksen, 2001).

Since the 1990s, when Joseph Nye put forward the idea of soft power, this has become a buzzword in global politics and a huge literature is being created in this area of study. It will be inappropriate to ignore this aspect despite the great volume and increasing speed of studies as well as the focus of political scientists on it. The use of Soft power as a tool to pursue and attract nations into a specific political philosophy or alliance is a fact. Hence, it will be impossible to do justice to any study on future political poles or blocks without a reference to this newer element of global power play.

Lastly, every selected country is assessed for its intentions to pursue a global political agenda. Ranging from its role in international organizations to its approach towards international disputes and issues, stemming from an inherent need for pursuing the national influence or consequential

formation of hegemonic intentions, this aspect of the study will also help understand the nature of future political entanglements among states.

3.2 United States of America

The USA is area wise fourth largest country of the world following Russia, Canada and China in the first three positions. With an area of almost 9.83 million square kilometers, the country is roughly the size of China and even by some estimates, it contests for the third position with china. In comparative terms with world areas, it is almost half the size of Africa and almost the size of Europe. Several US states are far bigger than many countries of the world in area. Alaska is area-wise the largest state of the US and it will be ranked at number 17 after Libya if compared with countries in the world. A large landmass, without any hostile neighbours, and a great coastline ideally set in terms of passing through almost half of its 50 states, provides US greater geographical benefit and strategic location.

Temperate climatic conditions, a huge arable area spanning over millions of hectares and harnessed with modern irrigation techniques and agricultural technology helped the US achieve the title of the breadbasket of the world. The USA tops on an endless list of being the largest producer of agricultural and industrial products. It is the largest producer of corn, sorghum, many fruits as well as almonds. It has a huge livestock base and milk production. It is the largest producer of beef and chicken. The US has abundant water resources that are being used for multiple purposes including electricity generation and industrial uses. The country has massive power resources. It has the world's largest coal reserves as well as enormous Oil and gas resources. The country is the largest oil producer as well as the largest natural gas producer in the world and most

of it is consumed by its powerful economy. The United States also has the largest shale oil deposits and the third-largest reserves of shale oil.

The USA also tops the world in electricity production with the second position after China. It has some of the world's largest hydropower production plants as well as reservoirs. With almost 10,000 dams, the country contributes a 7% share to its energy mix through hydropower. Most of the energy production remains dependent on fossil fuels while another major share is contributed by nuclear energy (EIA, 2020). There are so many other areas and indicators where the country is within the top ten in the world. The country has a massive transportation infrastructure that lays a strong framework for economic activity. It has the longest total length of railways and roads. The country is also recognized for most airports in the world and most air traffic.

The USA is the third most populated country in the world after China and India. According to the United Nations estimates, it had a population of 328 million in July 2019 and 30% of this population is working age. More than 70% of its employment is in the services sector and a substantial number of entrepreneurial ventures have international footprints. The USA has most billionaires in the world and their continuous investments within the country and globally drive the world economy. Many of its billionaires have a net worth greater than the wealth of many countries of the world. Being the biggest global economy, higher income levels and living standards, the USA has been a land of dreams for many. Massive immigration to the USA provides the country with a diverse ethnic and racial base. The country has the highest number of immigrant populations which makes almost 15% of its total population. These 47 million immigrants are contributing to the economic growth and prosperity of the country in many different ways. The

US has benefitted from the entrepreneurial strength and innovation drive by these immigrants. The country is also one of the most urbanized. With more than 80% urban population, the country has a strong urban economy and diversified services structure.

3.2.1. The Geopolitical Advantage

The USA is largely an island nation with great east and west coast advantage of maritime routes and access to the almost entire world. It is only bordered by Canada and Mexico in the north and south and both being good neighbours provides the USA an almost no immediate rival in the close geographical proximity. The USA had greatly benefitted from this advantage since its emergence as a world power. The first to write extensively and comment on this aspect was Alfred Thayer Mahan. He was the pioneer of the term The Sea Power and listed the six elements for a state to become politically great (Mahan, 2020). In his world-famous book *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660-1783*, he presents a whole case of this advantage and discusses how the United States can benefit from it. He states "The geographical position of the United States and her intrinsic power give her an undeniable advantage" (p. 326).

While he meant from undeniable intrinsic power the availability of enormous resources and geographical advantages it had, it was largely Mahan's geopolitical theories and models that paved the way for the US carving out its political strategy in the post First World War era.

George W. Bush, the American President from 1989 to 93 as part of the National Security Strategy of United States describes the uniqueness of American location as "our location on the globe has

also defined a consistent element of our security strategy. We have been blessed with large oceans on east and west and friendly neighbors north and south" (National Security Strategy of the United States, 2020, p. 1).

The US geopolitical advantage coupled with its well-spread military bases across the globe and arms and military superiority gives it a multiplied geopolitical advantage. US presence in one way or the other in the different parts of the world and the ability to intervene physically, militarily, or through economic or diplomatic means provides it an unparalleled edge on others. Peters (2005) in his book *New Glory: Expanding America's Global Supremacy*, finds it integral for the expansion of American supremacy that its geopolitical role expands and in the areas important as means to this superiority, with many other, Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan are also listed. He further emphasizes on US military presence in the Middle East.

The United States by far has the largest overseas military bases spread across the world to ensure These military bases provide it an option and an advantage to attack to respond to any militant activity within hours. Commenting on this exclusive strength of the US, the author of the *Unrivaled. Why America Will Remain the World's Sole Superpower*, Beckley (2018) states that "yet in terms of wealth and military capabilities – the pillars of global powers – the United States is in a league of its own" (p. 1). Michael Beckley has traced the strength of US resources and worldwide military presence and claims that country has the ability "to fight major war beyond its home region" and can do so "with an hour." He provides a list of almost 600 US military bases across the world spread in more than 40 countries.

The multiple advantages of these bases are mentioned by numerous political analysts as Lostumbo et. al. (2013) enumerates "The United States not only responds to world events but also seeks to shape them, and the U.S. military serves as an important instrument in this effort. A forward presence allows for more opportunities to engage allies and partners, to enhance capabilities for collective security, and to build coalitions. It also influences the behaviour of those who might disrupt international order" (p. 201).

3.2.2. Geo-economic Superiority

Mapping 500 years of the ups and downs of great empires in the world, Paul M. Kennedy put up an argument that economics and military might are connected to advance political superiority. In 1989, the writer of *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000* formed a conclusive argument that "European Societies entered into a constant upward spiral of economic growth and enhanced military effectiveness which, over time, was to carry them ahead of all other regions of the globe" (Kennedy P. M., 1989).

His basic argument was that great power can survive only by maintaining a strategic balance between their economic development and firepower and if America has to maintain its superiority it has to reduce its military spending and overload. Kennedy's assertion that ultimately America is bound to decline in power due to similar factors especially this essential imbalance as was the case with earlier empires and great powers. The whole focus of the critics, academicians, and political scientists shifted to America's Decline as a great power sparking much of the controversies than on the actual point – the strength of economic power and need to maintain financial superiority.

Due to the sensitivity of this notion, the book was heavily criticized, and the focus from an economic undertaking and financial strength and growth required for a global hegemon as an integral element was shifted to political debates.

In the last thirty years after the Cold War, the global political transition from military security to an economic safety framework was slow and negligible but the recent trade war (Weir & Pauken, 2019) between China and the US has not only brought it to limelight but also accelerated the speed of this geo-economics transition. There is a huge literature being produced and with speed and scholarship on this transition from military might to economic wars.

Edward N. Luttwak in his article *From Geopolitics to Geo-Economics: Logic of Conflict, Grammar of Commerce* in 1990 suggested that “the waning of the cold war is steadily reducing the importance of the military power in the world affairs” arguing that the “methods of commerce are displacing military methods” (Luttwak, 1990, p. 17). In those circumstances, it would look more of a strange proposition to many than a farsighted political idea. However, his argument was built on such strong grounds that none could find the courage to reject or oppose it and today this has come very close to reality.

A later book with the title of the *Endangered American Dream* presents a more mature argument of Edward N. Luttwak circled around the thesis that the US needs to work on its economy and win the geo-economics in terms of superiority in mass production, technological advancement and supremacy of trade and industrial output (Luttwak, 2010). According to Luttwak, America is at the brink of financial meltdown and this will impact its social structure as well as power stature

hence a more aggressive and economics-based strategy to relive its strength and global leadership is inevitable.

Roughly at the same time and in the wake of changing world politics at the culmination of the Cold War, US President George W. Bush presented his National Security Policy and put up an economic policy framework as a significant and enduring element of his policy emphasizing upon working with the world community for the protection and safeguard of a free-market economy and resolved "to reduce barriers that unfairly inhibit international commerce." He emphasized that "...it would be a tragedy of immense proportions if trade disputes weaken political ties that forty years of military threat could not undo." (National Security Strategy of the United States. 2020).

The USA is the biggest economy of the world and has remained so since the 1920's when the European colonial powers were badly hit by the First World War. In the wake of war as well as exhausting economic strength, the United Kingdom's political power and image of the global hegemon started to recede while that of the US was on the rise. "Without the war, the United States probably would not have surpassed Europe as the World's largest economy until later. By 1919, as the last traces of phosgene, mustard and chlorine gas had barely dissipated over the trenches of World War I, the new world superpower across the Atlantic was already recognizable" (Steingart. 2008, p. 56).

During this century of economic supremacy, the US gained a paramount edge on every other nation in every sphere of the economic interplay and transience. The US has championed the top position for being the biggest economy with a wide margin to any next state on the list for a long time.

Though the gap is contracting fast even at the present USA leads with a huge difference in GDP Nominal of US\$ 7 trillion to China, the next biggest economy and second in the world. This lead has harnessed the country with numerous other advantages in the fields of economics, technology, military might and political influence.

Some US states have economies bigger and stronger than the largest economies of the world. California tops among the USA states as the highest share in GDP and its more than US\$ 3 trillion GDP size is greater than all the countries of the world except China, Japan and Germany.

One of the major strength of the US economy is its mix structure and being a highly developed economy, it enjoys stability despite very low growth rates. It ranks in the list of highest per capita income nations which provides it a good consumer base hence contributing to a cycle of economic prosperity. The USA has the world's largest budget as well. An estimated budget of US \$ 6 trillion is double the same for next on the list of China. Such an enormous budget shows huge spending by the government in various sectors. The USA also has one of the most widespread and strong tax base.

The USA has an enormous export size making it the second-largest exporter in the world after China. Almost US\$ 1.7 trillion exports are a very good mix of products and services. The USA has a unique export base. The export of services is one of the major component and in the year 2019 it exported US\$ 778 billion of services to the world which was comprised of technology, entertainment and media, financial support services, insurance and brokerage, transportation, and

intellectual property rights as well as innovation and research sharing. Though products based exports are continually declining the rise in services exports gives surplus to the country.

Other than services the substantial export list includes machinery, automobiles, aircraft, pharmaceutical, fuel, crude oil, and related petroleum products as well as edible oil and food and beverages. At the same time, the USA remains the biggest importer in the world which shows the strength of the economy in terms of raw material consumption and processing. USA exports and imports each contribute almost 10% of the total global share. The country has trade relations with almost every country in the world through exports or imports.

The substantial percentage in world trade and trade relationship with the almost entire world gives the USA leverage in the global trade market and is also one of the reasons for a strong American geo-economics instrument. The USA and China trade war not only engaged the two countries into a unique economic clash but proved to be an entanglement for the whole world and fearing its economic fall out for both of them as well as the world, United Nations economic policymakers warned that "The trade tariff spat between China and the United States has been a "lose-lose" situation for both countries and the wider world and it is likely to deteriorate unless a deal is reached" (UN News, 2019).

3.2.3. US Military Might and Weapons Superiority

The USA is not only economically and technologically the most advanced country but it is the strongest country militarily. The USA has been ranked the most powerful country for almost a century parallel to its economic superiority. The USA was an important and integral actor in both

the World Wars and emerged as the single most powerful country in the post-Cold War era. It had the first nuclear weapon and was the first to use it against Japan during the Second World War and since then it maintains superiority over other nations in the number of nuclear weapons. US military spending is higher than the combined military expenditure of the next ten countries in the list of highest military spending. It tops the list with a military expenditure of US\$685 billion in 2019. This huge spending gives it an unparalleled global power status. The number two on the list is China with a military expenditure of US\$181 billion, only 1/4th of the US spending. It has the highest number of weapons and tops the list of most Arms exporting countries in the world. Its arms exports span over almost half of the world. In the last five years, the US exported arms to 96 countries.

The US has been engaged in military expeditions of one type or the other throughout its history of existence. The country came into being as a result of civil war and remained a leading actor in the two world wars. The US also fought the longest war without weapons referred to as the Cold War and finally ascended as victorious. Presently, the US is involved in active arms conflicts and various types of military interventions and operations across the globe (Torreon, 2019). It has fought more than 20 major wars after the end of the Cold War and many of these were converted to multinational interventions by taking other nations on board. During the Cold War, most of these military interventions were proxy wars. The extent of these interventions ranges from full-scale wars to the military presence for peacekeeping missions. The war in Afghanistan which started post 9/11 incidence in 2001, has become the longest overseas rather longest overall war in American history. US involvement in Afghanistan can be traced from the time of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979.

Various Congressional Research Service papers and documents show that the US has been involved in various parts of the world through the different level, type, and intensity of military interventions other than a war extreme and peace keeping missions. These include limited combatant attacks, intervention in civil wars as in Somalia or counter-terrorists activity as against Al Qaeda, bombing or surgical or tactical strikes, drone attacks as in northwestern parts of Pakistan bordering Afghanistan, direct invasions, military operations, and a member or as part of multinational interventions. The US has also intervened at different times and different locations for the restoration of democracy, peace and removal of autocratic regimes.

The country has 9 active military commands similar to United States Central Command (USCENTCOM) which when combined, factually cover every inch of the globe. These military commands are assigned responsibilities depending on the geographical location and geopolitical needs of an entity or operation. Every country of the world falls under the domain of one command or the other. USINDOPACOM covers India and China while CENTCOM commanded operations in Pakistan and Afghanistan. Depending on some specific area of conflict, exception and special sub-unified combatant commands are also formed. USFOR-A worked under CENTCOM to specifically handle Afghanistan.

The most critical military interventions today are in Syria and Afghanistan while most burning and likely to turn into foregrounds for military interventions or operations could be North Korea and Iran. US President Trump has multiple times warned for an attack on Iran making Iranian interventions in the Persian Gulf an excuse. He at one point mentioned, "to strike 52 Iranian sites

if Tehran attacks" (BBC News, 2020). Barnette (2005) believes that America is in a unique position based on its latest military strategy and wartime history to ascertain the nature of war and peace in the coming days.

3.2.4. American Dream (Soft Power)

The US has enjoyed the status of Diplomatic Super Power. No other state has a stronger, widespread and popular diplomacy network in the world than the US. US won the world support against USSR through its diplomacy, popular culture and propaganda wars, or collectively soft power. The United States has been using this soft power (Nye Jr., 2009) for a long time and is pronounced in the art of changing global as well as the local or contextual mindset of the audiences against a certain country or regime. The extent of the US use of soft power range from facing a global opponent as in the case of the former USSR during the cold war or pressing governments across the world to alienate a potential threat to the US or deviant as in the case of Cuba in the past and North Korea at the present.

For almost 50 years, United States has been the only country with the most embassies, diplomatic missions, and consulates in the world and it was in 2019 it ranked second after china with the difference of only one extra diplomatic mission of china (Global Diplomacy Index , 2020). This is still the first among the OECD nations in terms of its diplomatic spread across the world. However, the USA is far ahead of China in terms of its diplomatic history and the impact of its diplomacy on a global scale. The powerful diplomacy of the US has won friends, allies, and rivals both but comparatively US diplomacy is a powerful tool to settle its matters in its way (Hampson & Zartman, 2016).

This long-standing engagement with the world nations and global reach provides the US with a unique opportunity to deploy soft power. The USA had provided financial assistance or aid of one kind or the other to almost every country of the world in the past years. This trend peaked in the last decade to reach 227 countries or territories while in the year 2018, the US committed US\$47 billion in aid to 212 countries regions (USAID, 2019). Pakistan has enjoyed the status of one of the highest US aid recipients since its inception. In 2010, the US provided US\$ 2.7 billion to the Pakistan government, the highest ever in assistance to the country.

In 2018, Israel, Egypt, Jordan and Afghanistan were the top four recipients of the US foreign aid and assistance. Though all four are from the Asian continent, yet the countries in the African continent receives the attention. Almost all the countries in the continent received some in US foreign aid assistance except three (Foreign Assistance , 2019). US financial aid is weighed differently within the US as well as across the world. However, it is certainly a strong tool for successful diplomacy as well as Soft Power influence. Microsoft owner Bill Gates commented that this aid "boosted U.S. popularity" (McBride, 2018).

Recognizing the importance of this financial aid and assistance to the wider global community and its importance for maintaining US global influence and leadership, Mr. Stewart M. Patrick, a prolific writer at Council for Foreign Relations and Director of International Institutions and Global Governance Programme argues that any changes especially a drop in the amount of aid "would signal the definitive surrender of any pretense to U.S. global leadership" (Patrick, 2019).

Barnette (2005) believes that it will be political, security, cultural, and economic factors that will shape the new age of globalization requiring an active American role.

The US has made it part of its global role to support fundamental human rights, democracy and freedom movements and struggles. It has championed as a defender and promoter of democracy attracting populations wretched by the authoritarian rules. US political values and ideas like protection of human rights, support for democracy and rule of law, and promotion of universal values form the core of the US soft power image. These have been an integral part of its role in global politics and society. The US has been supporting social movements, individuals, organizations, institutions, and governments across the world, and in response, these individuals and governments have become US lobby and support groups to achieve its ultimate political motives.

The US image of a "Melting Pot" (Montalvo-Barbot, 2019) also wins it a lot of popularity across the world with young populations who aspire to migrate to a land of their ultimate dreams and wish to find a place for achieving their life ideals. The United States instills in all immigrants a passion and an urge to become American no matter what background they come from and this "becoming American" (Jacoby, 2009) has positively evolved. US media and entertainment industry has been a great source of dissemination of its culture and lifestyle which inspires people around the globe.

The diversity and respect for all ethnicities, multiculturalism, and interculturalism, opportunities to pursue personal, religious, and commercial objectives freely win it more attraction across the

world. From 'Hot Dogs' to 'Pop Music' and from 'Hollywood' to 'Technology Parks', from geographical landmarks to engineering marvels, US soft power image is integrated into every aspect of life. Michael Jackson remained an icon of American Pop Music and an ideal for millions of global musical audiences.

3.2.5. Global Political Influence and Intentions

How much does the United States influence global politics? By most standards, the United States leads every aspect of the global political theatre. A research report prepared by the RAND Corporation for the US office of the secretary of Defense states "From 1945 onward, the United States has integrated the idea of an increasingly structured international order into its national security strategies" (Mazarr, Priebe, Radin, & Stuth, 2016, p. 43).

Official National Security Strategy (NSS) documents (National Security Strategy , 2019) of various US presidents post-Cold War era defined US international policy based on four major pillars: 1. free trade system; 2. durable alliances and military strength; 3. multilateral cooperation for solving global issues and 4. the spread of democracy. Over time, there have been transitions based on who is in the President's office. At one time during George W. Bush Jr. the NSS was much elaborated with an aggressive expression of American compulsions across the globe. It ranged from "Champion aspirations for human dignity" to "confront the challenges of globalization" as well as dealing with weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and challenges and opportunities of the 21st century.

However, in more simplistic terms, a generalized view of the US strategy towards the world is composed of four key elements as listed in the Congressional Research Service document number R44891 (O'Rourke & Moodie, 2020). According to the report, U.S. Role in the World: Background and Issues for the Congress, the four key elements are: "global leadership: defense and promotion of the liberal international order; defense and promotion of freedom, democracy, and human rights; and prevention of the emergence of regional hegemony in Eurasia."

These reflect US intentions and agenda for not only maintaining a global leadership role but to strengthen it, using all the means and resources through soft and hard power. This also highlights that preventing the emergence of any other power or political rival from Europe and Asian continents. Elaborating this aspect of the US international role and foreign policy, the page 2 of the document further reads, "The U.S. role of global leadership has resulted in extensive U.S. involvement in international affairs" and also states that the US requires "an interventionist foreign policy; or foreign policy of seeking primacy or world hegemony" (O'Rourke & Moodie, 2020, p. 2).

The United States of America officially participates as a member of almost 78 international organizations and participates as an observer in many more. It has been a major donor in the international entities and organizations and contributes the most budget in the defense and military alliances. As of January 1, 2019, the United States of America has an extensive list of treaties and international agreements in force. (the Treaty Affairs Staff, 2019) These include all types of treaties and agreements whether bilateral or multilateral. The type and nature of these agreements are very different and varied ranging from agreements on postal services, customs, immigration status to

consular affairs cultural exchanges, property, and cooperation. educational exchange programmes, financial assistance, employment agreements, to foreign assistance. diplomatic relations, technical cooperation, defense and military assistance. The United States has bilateral agreements and treaties with almost every nation, territories, regions, and communities as well as with international organizations, agencies, institutions, banks and corporations and groups.

On similar lines, US has multilateral agreements and alliances and the stretch of its defense pacts spans over a substantial part of the world. "the United States is legally obligated to defend a patchwork of nations that spans over 5 continents, contains 25 percent of the world's population, and accounts for nearly 75 percent of global economic output (Beckley, 2015, p. 7). Taylor (2015) in an article of the Washington Post has reproduced a map showing that entire Europe and Canada are covered under the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) while the entire South American continent and parts of North America are covered under the Organization of American States (OAS). The US also has defense alliances in other parts of the world especially Asia through bilateral defense agreements and treaties as well with Australia through ANZUS which was the Australian, New Zealand, and United States Security Treaty.

Whether these alliances and security agreements reflect American intentions of global military ambitions or not. these put America on the center stage of global political forums. Adam Taylor further states that "69 countries have some form of defense pact with the United States" and according to his calculations "the combined population of these countries and the United States itself is in excess of 2 billion" which he believes is "remarkably large amount of the world for the United States to be obligated to protect". As this reflects on a large number of friends and allies

the US has, contrastingly, at the same time, many countries in the world consider the US as a foe or at least perceive it a threat to their sovereignty. A Pew Research Centre survey shows that with a good number of allies, the US maintains a reasonable number of states where people view it as a threat (Silver, 2019).

One of the four key elements of the United States National Security Strategy is the "prevention of the emergence of regional hegemony in Eurasia". This is essential to maintain the US superiority and sole global leadership of the republic. In a unipolar world, like all hegemony in history, the US appears justified to have an intention and a stated policy to contest the emergence of any other competitor. It had fought wars to prevent the emergence of any hegemon right from the time of Second World War when German ambitions threatened the US global role and later on proxy wars during the Cold War were aimed at containing USSR and communist philosophies to spread and threaten US position.

Afghanistan and Vietnam wars are the critical examples of US efforts to stop the spread of communist regimes and contain Eurasian hegemony. In this case, the USSR and China. The US also formed alliances to stop and contain Eurasian Hegemony. NATO was an obvious alliance and security agreement against the USSR rise and expansionist intentions. At least, this is how it has been projected and propagated by the US to win political and material support from the allies and lower the burden and responsibility of raising it all alone. American leaders and policymakers would like it to enjoy the 'Pax Americana' for at least another 70 years as it has championed it in the last 70 years. It may be projected as 'American Peace' with actual intention and policy to maintain American domination and global leadership.

3.3. People's Republic of China

China is one of the oldest civilizations in the world and the present-day People's Republic of China was set up in 1949 by Mao Zedong at the end of the decade's long civil war. Today, China is the most populated country in the world followed by India as the only two countries with more than a billion figures. China has turned this big number into a great advantage for the country. Its 1.4 billion population makes more than 18% of the total world population making every 5/6 person a Chinese. According to the Chinese National Bureau of Statistics (2019), China has a working-age population of 998.3 million in 2018, almost 5 times the total population of Pakistan. This big number of the working-age population has been a source of the cheap labour force for the rapidly growing industries of mass production in the country. Like most developing countries of the world, its employment ratio is declining in the agricultural sector which stands at 26.1% workforce. A huge number is employed in the industrial sector which accounts for 27.8% while the services sector is continuously growing and stands at 46.3% of the total workforce.

China has one of the most rapidly growing entrepreneurial segment. It has very fast followed the US in terms of the number of most billionaires in the world and stands second after the US with 476. The benefit of these rapidly growing young billionaires is the continuous expansion of investment and business ventures due to ambitious and dynamic business acumen. Though historically China has been a closed society and is considered less tolerant to foreign individuals but recent opening up of the economy and higher income levels as well as better living standards attract the corporate population from across the world. At roughly 55% of the urban population, it is much below the developed world but the country has the fastest-growing urban population. The country has more than 150 cities with one million or more population while the number is

expected to cross 250 by the year 2025. China is also home to almost 10 megacities with a population of more than 10 million or more. This growing urban population is giving rise to the urban economy and diversified commercial activity. China has planned to develop 400 new cities at an average of 20 cities a year.

In terms of area, China is the third-largest country of the world only succeeded by Russia and Canada in the first two positions. However, by land area, China is the second-largest country after Russia. It has very mixed climatic conditions and enjoys both typical landmass as well as coastal climates in the extreme east. Chinese population compulsions forced the country to adapt to agricultural practices of huge productions and massive outputs. China tops in the production of many agricultural products such as grains, rice and wheat, fruits, grapes and watermelon, vegetables spinach and tomatoes. However, most of its agricultural produce is consumed within the country as a staple food as well as raw material for its massive industrial productions. Chinese fast-growing economy in recent years has provided the country with ample resources and mass industrial production to surpass many countries of the world.

China may be considered the most active exploiter of its water resources by building numerous small and big dams to tap water to its agricultural, industrial and power production needs. It has constructed almost 100,000 dams and has become the largest electricity producer in the world. It not only has the largest dam in the world but The Gorges Dam also became the highest hydropower producing project with more than 20,000 megawatts capacity. Though coal accounts for the major share of electricity production in China but hydropower contributes a substantial 17% of its

electricity production. China is continuously reducing its coal-fired power generation and has become the largest investor in renewable energy resources for electricity production.

China has substantial coal, natural gas and oil resources. With more than 200,000 mineral depots, it is the largest producer of antimony and many other valuable minerals as well as one of the largest producers of gold. Chinese exploitation of natural resources is so fast and in such quantum that it is becoming a cause of concern for the natural environment and biodiversity of the region. Such a rapid transition from an agricultural economy to a growing industrial giant has never been witnessed in the world before. This transformation requires extensive consumption of natural resources produced within the country and exported from throughout the world.

Though the Chinese transport sector has developed parallel to its other sectors of the economy and has seen a marked transformation in roads, railroads, and air transportation but what makes her a distinguished nation within this sector is its fastest-growing high-speed rails. Though China was a late entry to the high-speed rail system in the early 2000s yet it had made historic strides in this area. With more than 30,000 kilometers of high-speed rail tracks, it is not only the longest but also has the honor to run the world's fastest trains. China is planning to run a train at 600km/hour shortly.

3.3.1. Geopolitical China

China is roughly the size of the US with an area of almost 9.5 million square kilometers but with a population size three times more than that of the USA. China has a great stretch from east to west and is bordered by fourteen countries including most ASEAN members. The country is not as

fortunate as the USA in terms of its geographical neighbours and coastal stretch. Two other close island neighbours are Taiwan and Japan while South Korea and the Philippines have claims in the same maritime expanse. Again, unlike the USA, China has very mixed relations with these countries ranging from extremely favourable and friendly with countries like Pakistan and Myanmar to extremely hostile and unfavourable with countries like India and Taiwan.

China has more than 22,000 kilometers of land border and most of it is shared with Mongolia, Russia and India. Mainland China is divided into 22 provinces, some autonomous regions and municipalities. Hong Kong and Macau are given special administrative regions' status after accession. China also claims Taiwan to be its part. With a 14,500 km of coastline and ample contact with the maritime routes, China enjoys both a landmass of great stretch and open sea access. However, its maritime access is only limited to its eastern side and some length of the southern coast in the East China Sea and the South China Sea. This is also a politically hot water area for china due to its territorial disputes with most of the countries sharing claims in the South China Sea. Historically, there have been different claimant nations in the South China Sea and presently, it has become a testing ground for global peace. ASEAN nations have approached international institutions and entities especially the Philippines, more important in the context of international trade and energy supply route not only for China but the other claimants as well

China is not as lucky on the northern, most southern, and western side of the country as is the case on the eastern and some part of southeastern coastal areas. The country is completely landlocked in its western half. This has marred overall development in the western half of the country and most of the industrial and technological development and socio-economic improvement is

concentrated in the eastern half of the china. The western border is fenced by central Asian states and all of them are also landlocked. However, the nearest access to a sea is only possible through south west china bordering Pakistan. China has made it central to its future economic policy to bring these areas under the fold of economic development and has accelerated extensive infrastructural projects in the region domestically as well as initiated transregional projects like Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) to improve its connectivity with other areas. This is also essential for the country to drive an equal growth and to find new areas for accelerating its otherwise slowing economic growth.

One project under BRI is China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). CPEC alongside substantial investments in the energy sector and setting of Special Economic Zones (SEZ's), focuses heavily on the development of transportation infrastructure to connect China to global maritime routes through the Arabian Sea. CPEC roads corridor is already operational and Gwadar Port in Pakistan is the culmination point for transporting Chinese trade goods through this land corridor that are then dispatched to the global sea routes. Pakistan's Official CPEC website page mentions that "China Pakistan Economic Corridor is journey towards economic regionalization in the globalized world" (CPEC, 2019). It goes on to elaborate that "CPEC will not only benefit China and Pakistan but will have positive impact on Iran, Afghanistan, India, Central Asian Republics. and the region." A railroad project of a similar length and scope is envisioned to help for mass transportation of merchandise trade.

On similar lines, there are many other transcontinental land and global maritime routes which will be completed under this initiative. China is aiming at rejuvenating the old silk trade route and

create newer maritime silk routes to boost its global trade access. Another landmark achievement is the completion of the Eurasian Land-Bridge which became an active new route between China and Europe through Turkey. This became a possibility with the completion of the Azerbaijan, Georgia and Turkey rail link named BTK abbreviated for Baku, Tbilisi and Kars and also known as the Iron Silk Road. The completion of the Iron Silk Road provides the shortest available route to Europe from China delivering freight in mere 12 days as compared to a month-long delivery time otherwise. On October 30, 2017, at the time of the inauguration of the route, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, Turkish President made a historic statement that "We announce today that China to London railway link is established" (Tavsan, 2017).

BRI is being considered as the single most important geopolitical milieu of China. This has already become the single largest project with the highest number of countries involved and unprecedented in terms of present and projected investment inflows as well as economic and social impact. In 2018, Nadège Rolland (USCC, 2020) Senior Fellow, the National Bureau of Asian Research testified before the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission that "Taken together. BRI's different components serve Beijing's vision for regional integration under its helm." He further reiterated that BRI is "an instrument at the service of the PRC's vision for itself as the uncontested leading power in the region in the coming decades. As such, it is a grand strategy."

The scale and spread of BRI are so huge and diverse that World Bank experts commented, "Quantifying the impacts of the BRI is a major challenge" (Freund & Ruta, 2018). According to an SWP working paper, BRI "has been regarded by many China observers as China's new

geopolitical strategy aimed at extending its sphere of influence, fostering new norms of international economic cooperation, and promoting a new world order" (Zhang, 2018, p. 1).

Contrary to the USA, the global footprints of military bases of China are not worthy of a mention. China does not maintain any except one or at least one officially in Djibouti. However, there are speculations that China maintains some of the military bases unofficially or through heavy military presence such as Wakhan Corridor, Afghanistan, Coco Island Base in Myanmar (oldest overseas military intelligence set up by China (GS Intelligence Menu , 2020), a naval base in Cambodia, and a base in Tajikistan. China cannot aloof or distance itself from the new domestic challenges and international competitions and encounters to its globally spread BRI projects. China is bound to add to its list of overseas military bases and this intention is also anticipated by a Pentagon report (2019). The report adds that "China's leaders are leveraging China's growing economic, diplomatic, and military clout to establish regional pre-eminence and expand the country's international influence."

3.3.2. Geo-economic Strides of China

"For more than a century, the United States has been the world's biggest economy, accounting for over 24% of the world's gross domestic product (GDP) in 2016, according to figures from the World Bank. But change is afoot" (Willige, 2016). Chinese rise and lead of economics are so obvious and fast that economists are counting the days when it takes over the US. "It is in the domain of geoeconomics that the balance of global influence between the United States and China has begun shifting in China's favor" (Dobbins, Shatz, & Wyne, 2018, p. 2). A country which was not even within the first ten in the list of top economies of the world in 1989-90 by the size of

GDP, today stands second in the world after the USA. It is expected to take over the US position as the largest GDP (Nominal) by size in 2029-30. It has already taken the first position in terms of size of GDP (PPP) and fast replacing the USA for the top position in many other economic indicators like the country with the largest foreign reserves. It is one of the fastest-growing economies of the world and has remained so for the last four decades.

The Chinese economy has been mostly centrally controlled but since 1979, there is a consistent policy of opening it up and linking it to the global free-market economy trends which have paid back well. China's economic growth has been so fast and historic that World Bank put it as "the fastest sustained expansion by a major economy in history" (Morrison, 2019). China's gross domestic product (GDP) growth averaging 10% throughout the major period of the economic rise has been the world's fastest and helped the country to have more than doubling effect for its GDP every decade. With a consistent double-figure GDP growth rate, it peaked at 14.2% in 2007 as per IMF data.

China is making unprecedented advances in every area of its economy and consistently improving its share in the world economy. Presently, China holds 16% of the global gross domestic production with US\$ 14 trillion strong GDP. During these years of economic rise, China has gained a supreme edge on every other nation in every sphere of economic interchange and financial superiority except the US. However, while the US share in the world GDP is consistently on the decline that of China is consistently on the rise.

China stands on the second position after the US with a considerable difference of more than US\$ 6 trillion. However, the Chinese GDP is bigger than the next three biggest GDPs of the world, namely Japan, Germany and the UK combined. This great size gives the country confidence and advantage to take lead in other areas of national and international forums. In house, China makes huge investments in technology and innovation, outside, it is making investments of unparalleled sums in countries across the globe. Three of the Chinese provinces, Guangdong, Jiangsu, and Shandong have GDPs bigger than US\$ 1 trillion and China's economic policy framework makes considerable exertions to bring all areas of the country under the economic development fold.

China has the world's most expanded export base and a colossal export size making it the largest exporter in the world. Chinese huge productions and exports have attained the status of Chinese "Factory to the World" (Shenkar, 2006). According to the World Trade Organization statistics, China is the single largest merchandise trade shareholder in the world. Its US\$ 4.5 trillion trade of good and services include almost US\$ 2.4 trillion exports with a 13% share of the global trade making it the largest shareholder of exports in the world. Chinese exports range from electrical equipment, machinery, computers, household items, plastic items, vehicles to medical and technical apparatus, textiles, iron steel items and children's toys and games.

The top two trading partners with China are the USA and the European Union and both have a negative trade balance with it. Most of the top 20 trade partners have a negative trade balance with China. China is also the second-largest importer of goods and services in the world. These top trade positions allow china to maintain economic relations with almost every country and region

of the world in a strong capacity and relative leverage in world trade affairs. China introduced a new strategy "Made in China 2025" (Kennedy S. , 2015) in 2015 to further revolutionize its industry outputs. With a more focus on quality, innovation, and green tech, the policy aimed at sustaining the Chinese key industrial output advantage by increasing the ration of local essential elements in the production. Chinese leverage in trade affairs and as well as in other financial matters has become a cause of concern for many countries especially the USA. According to one estimation, "China is the largest foreign holder of U.S. Treasury securities, with \$1.1 trillion of them, and that has fed speculation that in a pinch, Beijing would dump this hoard and disrupt American financial markets" (Schuman, 2019). China possesses the world's largest foreign exchange reserves which amount to a huge sum of US\$ 3.5 trillion.

Chinese infrastructural projects have gained popularity across the globe and one way or the other these projects have involved more than 80 countries and assessed to be facilitating 70 % of the world population. China launched One Belt One Road (OBOR) to connect China to the entire world through a massive transportation network of roads, railroads, electricity grids, energy supply lines, ports and shipment junctions. The project which is now known as Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) started in 2013 and developed at a phenomenal speed for not only rebirthing ancient trade routes but also carving out new ones for faster and massive goods and freight movements. China pledged for the US \$ 1 trillion for investments in the BRI but as of 2019, the investment overlay is expected to be exceeding the US \$ 8 trillion over the period various projects complete. The project has a clear economic focus encompassing investment, infrastructure, and exchange of goods and services through trade. Pakistan is one of the major beneficiaries of this initiative and is expected to receive more than US\$ 50 billion investment overlay through CPEC.

The Chinese economy is not only a gigantic leap for its economic development but also a paramount economic jump in global economic growth. Addressing as a keynote speaker on November 10, 2017, in Vietnam on the opening of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) CEO Summit, Chinese President Xi Jinping commented "We are seeing a profound change in economic globalization" and specifically mentioning BRI, he further read "This initiative is from China, but it belongs to the world. It is rooted in history, but it is oriented toward the future. It focuses on the Asian, European and African continents, but it is open to all partners" (Jinping, 2017).

Chinese BRI can be viewed as a true geo-economics stride in world politics. Over time, the project has won its proponents and opponents. This has created the biggest political divide after the Cold War despite being an economic initiative due to its global scope, size and spread. Presently, most Asian and African nations, Russia, and Pakistan are the biggest beneficiary and supporters of the project while the opponents' group is led by the USA and joined by India, Australia, Japan and European Union. Whether China states it officially or not and whether it is not even China's intention to make it part of its traditional means of power politics, as Goh (2016) draws our attention to the fundamental question, "how might China be exercising influence in indirect ways, which we may be missing, given the conventional focus on 'hard' and 'soft' power?", the BRI is a definite influence to the global political arenas.

Interestingly the country takes credit in the formation of a new economic model referred to as 'The China Model' and takes great passion to pursue it across the world economic forums and for state

economies. This is not only the latest addition in the economic world but has gained much attention against the US free-market economy model. A first of a kind in the last forty years in the aftermath of a failed communist or centralized economic model. Though the acceptance for the model is slow and the initial inhibition to adopt any such experiment is high among world nations, yet it finds its first ground in the Middle East where authoritarian regimes perceive it much suited to their political environment. This is very well articulated by Nicholas Lyall, the author of the article *China's Rise in the Middle East: Beyond Economics* as:

Increasing Chinese leadership in the Middle East is served by a growing interest among the region's states to pursue the "China Model" at the expense of the "Washington Consensus" that has traditionally defined foreign economic presence in the region. The Washington Consensus, defined by Western value-oriented free-market economic ideals and supported by U.S.-dominated institutions like the IMF and World Bank, is losing traction among Middle Eastern regimes due to the ideological and political baggage that accompanies it. Indeed, the political environment of the Middle East, defined largely by authoritarianism and state-centric governance modes, is naturally aligned with the China Model. The China Model – characterized by a strictly controlled political arena, as well as state control of the economy's commanding heights, accompanying market capitalism – resonates significantly with Middle Eastern governments. (Lyall, 2019)

3.3.3. Chinese Firepower and Military Prowess

China has the world's largest armed forces known as the People's Liberation Army (PLA). It emerged as one of the victorious nations at the end of the Second World War. Even if the USA is ranked first in terms of military expenditure and strength, China has the largest army in the number of military personnel. With a strong 1.6 million active troops, as well as a roughly 0.5 million reserve, China, is the second-largest spender on defense and rapidly increasing its military spending over the last 25 years (The Worlds Biggest Armies , 2019). China followed the USA by spending about US\$ 181 billion and is perceived as the second most powerful army in the world.

China has a central military commission and divided its territory into seven sub-regions for military commands. There are five theatre commands as well as a division of PLA Army, PLA Navy, PLA Air Force and PLA Rocket Force or also Missile forces. As China is taking top positions in every other field, it is also following suit in the military power and positions. Steven Lee Myers quoted that "the Chinese Navy became the world's largest, with more warships and submarines than the United States, and it continues to build new ships at a stunning rate" (Myers, 2018).

China is a member of the nuclear powers club and one of the largest exporter and importer of the arms in the world. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) research data in 2019, China was the fourth largest exporters of the Arms in the world while in the same year it was the tenth-largest importer of the arms. However, Chinese arms spending on imports has been on a continuous decline due to its indigenous industry improvements and productions. While a similar decline has been observed in its import earnings from arms due to the county's focus on modernization of its armed forces (Lu, 2019) and up-gradation of its weapons and defense technology.

According to Lu, China is exporting arms to 53 countries, though almost half the number of the countries USA deals for Arms exports but more than ever before. He further mentioned that SIPRI researchers "also found that China is the world leader in sales of armed drones, or unmanned combat aerial vehicles – supplying 153 of them to 13 countries in the past five years. By contrast, the US – the world's biggest arms exporter – only sold five armed drones, to Britain, over the 10

years from 2009." SIPRI data also shows Pakistan as the biggest importer of Chinese arms and it had been at this position for the last thirty years (SIPRI Arms Transfers Database , 2020).

Since 1950, when Chu En Lai, the Chinese premier made a resonate mention of its Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, China has pursued a policy of non-interference (Chan, Chan, & Kwan, 2011, p. 21) or nonintervention as its stated foreign policy stance. However, this did not stop the country to be part of several military interventions and full-fledged wars as well. China fought a full-scale war with India in 1962, a war in 1979 with Vietnam and has intervened in Vietnam for almost a decade.

China is also an active participant in peacekeeping missions across the world under the UN has made an enormous investment in its military power and most recently military modernization. Last year when china celebrated 70 years of its turning to be a republic in 1949, it showcased its great military strength in such a way that military analysts and policy strategists referred to it as: "This was a very Soviet, very Cold War-style parade packaged for the 21st century," Anna Fifield (2019) quoted the words of the Rory Medcalf, head of the National Security College at Australian National University.

In 2016, president Xi Jinping set up an office of the International Military Cooperation Office as part of the military reforms. Chinese intentions for the growing military might and rapid modernization are at best vague for the world except for the USA where every Chinese milestone is perceived as a threat to American global leadership in the long run and Asian hegemony instantly. Referring to a likely US-China entanglement in the South China Sea over Taiwan, Gary

Rough, co-chair of a bipartisan review of the Trump administration's Defence strategy said "We really are at a significant inflection point in history" and added that "The US could lose" (Reuters, 2019).

3.3.4. Chinese Charm Offensive (Soft Power)

Shambaugh (2013) highlighted that "Chinese grasp the idea that power is comprehensive and integrative, not atomistic China's contemporary effort to regain its status as a global power has consciously included multiple dimensions" (p. 6). China's extensive focus on the Soft Power pursuance is much reflected from the policies of President Xi Jinping. The same year in 2013, Xi vigorously promoted a set of Chinese national values, ethics, lifestyle and aspirations combined as 'China Dream' (Shuhfan & Chih-shian, 2015). It picked up pace as an inspirational slogan (BBC News China, 2013) though not equivalent to the power and charisma of the 'American Dream' which has lived for centuries.

Mingjiang Li (2011) the editor of the book *Soft Power: China's Emerging Strategy in International Politics* mentions that "In China, soft power has become one of the most frequently used phrases among political leaders, leading academics and journalists." He further enumerates that "...the most significant achievement for china on the soft power has been the ability to forestall the formation of a containment policy among other major powers" (p.9). China's soft power policy helped china in multiple ways. It has not only reversed the "China Threat" (Gertz, 2013) to a considerable extent for other states but also formed a positive image of China across the world. Extensive literature has been produced about China's Soft Power (Lai & Lu, 2012) within and outside China owing to its growing importance and influence worldwide.

The influence and extent of soft power elevate it to be a central element of public diplomacy. Chinese public diplomacy was not much of success due to its cultural disconnect with most of the world (d'Hooghe, 2014) particularly the western world. Importantly, China has addressed this area well by increasing the number of its diplomatic presence. Chinese entry to the diplomatic arena for winning over support in the world is not new but is being pursued with new enthusiasm and force. The USA enjoyed the status of Diplomatic Super Power for a long time and possessed a stronger, well spread, and popular diplomacy network in the world which helped the US win world support against USSR. However, China has invaded the US supremacy in this field and in 2019 possessed most embassies, diplomatic missions and consulates in the world (Global Diplomacy Index , 2020). Chinese diplomacy has been long overshadowed by the Communist Party core agenda and views it held of traditional Chinese Society. In the post-1979, reform periods it has greatly changed with changing party views on international and national issues becoming less rigid and more inclusive and open (Yang, 2014).

The widespread economic activities, investment portfolios, and infrastructural projects had provided China with newer opportunities to relate to the world populations and governments. Though investment and loans are much debated as a means of soft or hard power, financial assistance does contribute to the positive image of a country especially when it is huge and on softer conditions. Relating the two, Kurlantzick (2006) at Carnegie Endowment for International Peace describes that "...China and its neighbors enunciate a broader idea of soft power, the idea that soft power implies all elements outside of the security realm, including investment and aid." Chinese financial assistance overlay stands at highest ever in its history and one of the highest in

the world. China provides financial assistance to more than 150 countries while other types of assistance extended to the almost entire world.

In 2018, China International Development Cooperation Agency (CIDCA) was set up to reform its financial aid mechanism and provide standards for international financial support activities (CIDCA, 2020). Chinese assistance has been varied ranging from typical financial support programmes such as interest-free loans, concessional loans, grants, debt relief, budget support, to assist in other areas like medical and technical assistance, education scholarship and training support, and humanitarian aid. All this has contributed to the soft image of the country and influenced the regional as well as global public opinion in favour of the communist nation. It is very aptly stated by Arif (2017) that “Chinese influence has increased in Asia over the last few decades through developing economic trades, providing aids to Asian countries and creating regional organizations.” While Saeed Ullah (2015) points out that Chinese soft power has helped the country to “change the world perception” about it.

China has predominantly used media of all kinds to project its soft power image. Two typical examples are China Radio International (CRI) and China Global Television Network (CGTN) and both air programmes throughout the world. Both state-owned entities with many others are working to enhance Chinese soft image through the multilingual programmes broadcasted in all major and numerous regional and national languages. Only CRI covers more than 3000 hours of programming in almost 70 languages (CRI, 2020) and reaches every part of the world through local AM and FM repeated broadcasts. It also claims to "promote favourable relations between the People's Republic of China and the world" as well as 'soft power policy'. Both media

conglomerates are considered part of Chinese efforts to open up to the outer world and attract the public and governments alike. CGTN has six channels that are "available in more than 170 countries and regions worldwide" (CGTN, 2020). Part of its mission statement is to "focus on nations, regions, and stories that are often underreported by other international media." Chinese media and CGTN is also considered a propaganda tool and often criticized by western media and governments.

Other than media, China is also pursuing its soft power image through diversified means including the promotion of the Chinese language, setting up Confucius Centers around the world, promotion of Chinese culture and traditions through hosting and organizing event across the world, marketing Chinese popular culture and giving huge subsidies and support to the entertainment industry to compete with international media and promote unique Chinese values and norms, internationalized film industry, hosting Olympics as well as many other global sports events. Chinese cuisine is already popular across the world and the magnanimous food festival and Expo's to market Chinese handicraft and cottage industry are common. Lincoln Memorial University's McCann (2011) proposes "that China could become the dominant economic power within a few years if it exploits the competitive advantages it is creating politically, culturally, legally and economically." Chinese motives are very well explained by Kurlantzick (2006) in the following lines:

Over the past decade, China has downplayed its hard power in Southeast Asia, instead of creating a strategy to build its soft power. For the first time in post-WWII history, the United States may be facing a situation in which another country's appeal outstrips its own in an important region, a change sure to shock the United States. Before China's appeal spreads to other parts of the developing world, U.S. policy makers need to understand how China exerts soft power. if China's soft power could be dangerous to developing nations, and whether elements of China's charm could threaten U.S. interests. (p. 2)

3.3.5. Growing Chinese Global Political Influence

Does China intend to pursue a global political agenda? China is very often considered as an emerging superpower. Though the author of the book *China Goes Global*, David Shambaugh's whole thesis is against China taking an immediate global leadership role and he has very strong and with sound logic argued about Chinese global rise, casting serious doubts about its perceived global position to the extent that he states, 'it will never rule the world', yet, he could not avoid mentioning "Global publics already view china as a global power and expect China to overtake the United States as the world's leading power sometimes in the next quarter-century" (Shambaugh, 2013, p. 7). While referring to a Pew Research Survey, he states that the public in most countries opines that "China will – or already has – replaced the United States as the World's leading power." Such is the strength, spread and projection of Chinese influence in the world.

As the world is changing so does China. However, by most economic, military, and geopolitical as well as diplomatic standards, China's rate of change is exponential. The country is making unprecedented strides in every area of its domestic progress and international presence. Chinese international presence with huge volumes of trade, investment, and security conventions is becoming a compulsion for the country to play a more active role in global political matters. Changing China is bound to interact with the world differently. China's capacity and ability present the opportunity to be more engaged in international affairs beyond economics and trade or technology and innovation. It needs to act in many different dimensions; from politics to security, from cooperation to oppositions, from public diplomacy tactics to foreign policy pressures and from humanitarian interventions to military involvements. China's role in international affairs is evolving so fast that it cannot contain itself around its territorial disputes and maritime issues. It

has to go global and China seems all set to fulfill these responsibilities and poised to take up a new role.

This is quite obvious from the Chinese Grand Strategy which is transiting from geo-economics to geopolitical conundrums (Chen, 2017). Perhaps, joining both and enabling a will and a commitment to play its due role in the global community of nations if not as a leader, certainly as a credible and potential world power. China has enjoyed a significant global role as a United Nations member, veto power, and a noteworthy contributor to the organizations' cause and objectives. China despite having the veto power, used it least showing a very careful and calculative approach in international issues but it "has become increasingly active on this front" (UN Security Council Working Methods, 2020).

The trend of self-restraint for use of veto power has dramatically changed since 1997. From 1955 when China used its first veto, till 1996, in forty years, it used only three vetoes with an average of 0.75 in a decade while the recent global developments, economic interest, and political compulsions instigated China to "cast 13 of its 16 vetoes since 1997" at an average of 6.0 in a decade. In 2019 alone China used 3 vetoes, the most vetoes used by China in a single year and two of these were about Syrian Crises. Chinese has used 8 vetoes about Middle East political crises specifically the Syrian civil strife since 2011. This reflects on Chinese intentions and thinking to be part of global issues and its fast increasing involvement in global affairs and emergence as a party to global political issues.

On a different note, China is now repeatedly accused of expanding its influence in the UN. Many (Cheng-Chia & Yang, 2020) believe that China manipulates various organs and policies of the organization in its favour and interests and this has become possible due to the growing number of Chinese nationals at key positions of the United Nations.

Chinese presence overseas in terms of its massive investments and infrastructural projects also forces the state to provide a safeguard to its interests. *China's Global Engagement: Cooperation, Competition, and Influence in the Twenty-first Century*, a compilation by DeLisle & Goldstein (2017) explores the possibilities of growing Chinese influence and justifies that a rise in the growing Chinese influence emerges out of its enhanced strength and capacity to counter the global challenges and balance out the global imbalances. Though the work does not mark China as a global political power but identifies it as a potential key player and a sustained one.

Unlike the US, Chinese intentions are at best, are vague for a global leadership role but its agenda not to accept US global hegemony is clear and forward-looking. "China and Russia never embraced unipolarity and have signed multiple joint declarations emphasizing the necessity for cooperation in promoting the multipolarity principle" (Korolev, 2016). Chinese noninterventionist policy is transforming into an internationalist foreign policy. China has already arrived at the doorstep of economic primacy and US political primacy is also being challenged. Contrary to US hegemonic policy and containment strategy for a Eurasian hegemon, China's policy appears to be more of global understanding, involvement and engagement.

China has shown remarkable wisdom and policy maneuverability to challenge US hegemony in the global monetary institutes and economic policymaking organizations. China took the landmark initiatives to build financial institutions like BRICS Bank/New Development Bank in 2014 and set up an Asian Infrastructure and Investment Bank (AIIB) in 2016 to break the IMF and World Bank monopoly in the global financial management. With a US\$ 100 billion starting capital, AIIB became a strong financial institution and was very well welcomed by the world nations. According to the AIIB website, it has 80 members and 22 prospective members. Bank was envisioned to serve Asia and Oceania but was perceived as a global institute from day one. It has also planned under the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), a free trade agreement with ASEAN to create the world's "largest trading block" (Seth, 2020). Shobhit Seth believes that Chinese efforts aim at battling "the U.S. for influence and economic supremacy in the Asia-Pacific region." A Brookings Institution study highlights that China is not only increasing its 'participation and engagement with existing multilateral institutions' but at the same time creating 'new multilateral institutions' which reflect upon its 'emerging institutional statecraft' to counter US hegemony and 'deepen relations' with the world (Ikenberry & Lim, 2017).

China has a strong international footing as a member of more than seventy international organizations, institutes and bodies. China participates in several regional and local entities and groups as a member or as an observer. Chinese contributions to the international entities and organizations and agencies have many folded over time. Speaking at the General Debate of the 74th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, H.E. Wang Yi, State Councilor and Minister of Foreign Affairs of The People's Republic of China said, "In the past 70 years, China

has integrated itself into the global community and made its contribution to the world” (FMPRS Speeches, 2019). He also highlighted the Chinese financial contributions as well as personnel contributions for the United Nations and its peacekeeping missions and added “China is the second-largest funding contributor to both.” Speech can be considered an official stance of the PRC in appertaining to its active role in the global perspective as he stated that China is in a “better position than ever before to make a greater contribution to humankind.” During his speech, he mentioned every important political issue in the world including the Palestine problem, united Afghanistan, Korean Peninsula, Myanmar, and Bangladesh cooperation through Chinese mediation and the Kashmir issue. He shared the Chinese government resolve to remain connected to the global issues and also contribute through material and diplomatic means for its resolution.

3.4. India

India is the second most populated country in the world after China. India has a population of 1.35 billion and is expected to surpass china in 2027 according to the UN World Population Prospects 2019 (UN Population Dynamics, 2020). According to this report, India forms a favourable population pyramid of its growing number of the working-age population. This huge number will provide a continuous supply of cheap labour force to the rapidly growing Indian economy for many decades as compared to China where the saturation point has arrived. In recent years, India made notable advancements in the information technology industry boosting a great entrepreneurial section as well as earning massive foreign exchange. The economic growth is winning India world top positions in many sectors and the country stands eighth for the number of billionaires (Dhiraj, 2019) it has. According to the World Bank Urban Population Ratio, India has only 34% of its population living in cities, much below the developed world and even many developing

economies, almost 20% less than China. India has the largest population in the world living under the poverty line as per the World Bank data.

India has been an agrarian economy and surpasses many countries for agricultural production and massive outputs. India is the largest producer of many crops especially rice and wheat, not only fulfilling its own need but providing surplus rice to the world. International Commission on Large Dams (ICLD) ranks India third after the US and China with 4,408 large dams (ICLD, 2020) that is half the number of dams in the US and 1/6 of the total dams in china. A major share almost 36%, of India's total electricity production of 370 gigawatts, comes from renewable, especially hydroelectricity.

India is shifting its focus from traditional industries to new industries like Information Technology, Petrochemical, Banking & Insurance and Automobile that are becoming drivers of its economy. Huge population size has given a boom to the telecommunication industry and improved purchasing power has helped the Indian automobiles industry to become the world's second-fastest-growing. With more than 80 listed minerals being extracted in the country, it has the fourth-largest coal reserves, mostly underutilized while it has reasonable natural gas and oil resources. Indigenous oil resources fulfill a quarter of its total petroleum demands and the rest is imported. The fast extraction of minerals for raw exports is quickly depleting its resources.

India has a vast stretch from north to south and from east to west measuring almost 3000 kilometers on both ends and for such a stretch with diverse geography and extensive population pressures, lacks appropriate transport infrastructure. There is no high-speed rail in India yet and realizing the

need for overhauling of transport, India is planning fast track privatization of trains as well as seeking foreign investments in the rails and road networks. India planned a highway connecting Myanmar and Thailand with intentions to extend it to Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam.

Owing to its large population size and secular image, it boasts to be the biggest democracy in the world. India has been a pioneer and an active member of the Non-Aligned Movement during the Cold War era. Contrastingly, the country remained a close friend as well as a beneficiary of USSR financial aid and military assistance. However, having sided with USSR for almost fifty years, it is drifting towards the western block especially the USA and has signed a number of investment and arms supply contracts as well as a civil nuclear cooperation agreement. This shift is considered a new dimension in Indian foreign policy (Mohan & Agarwal, 2019).

3.4.1. The Geopolitical Challenge

India has been historically at the crossroad of civilizations and was invaded by armies from various directions (Mani, 2005). One of the main reasons other than being its wealth was the strategic location the country enjoyed. Even today India lies right in the middle of the Indian Ocean and holds great value in strategic as well as trade and maritime routes context.

With 3.287 million square kilometers, India is the seventh-largest country area wise. India has a landlocked north and wide coastal access in the south. It shares borders with Pakistan, China, Nepal, Bhutan, and Bangladesh, and Myanmar while its maritime neighbours include Sri Lanka and the Maldives. India shares a more than 3000 kilometers long border with Pakistan in the east and almost a similar length border with China in the north and does not have very good relations

with both nations. India and Pakistan have a long history of wars and military skirmishes over Siachen and Kargil while Kashmir remains a bone of contention between the two to date. There is almost a daily violation of ceasefire lines and bombings and retaliatory attacks are done over the civilian areas (Jacob, 2018).

India has been pursuing a broader geopolitical agenda for a long time and its immediate playground is South Asia. A region composed of seven political entities namely India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and the Maldives. South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation was originally formed with these seven south Asian members but later extended to make Afghanistan a member as well. Late Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi proposed that issues within the region must be resolved bilaterally and outside powers should not interfere in our political matters. This proposition later known as 'Indira Doctrine' (Ahmed, 2014) became an Indian tool and policy to pursue its hegemonic designs in the region. According to Destradi (2012), under this doctrine, "India acted as region-builder by stating its claim for hegemony in a region comprising Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka and the Maldives" (p. 36).

India has a history of shattered relations with China which peaked in a war in 1962. Both countries have disputes over border issues which escalated to military standoff sometimes. In 1967, both had clashed over Nathu La and Cho LA. In 1987, both armies conflicted over another controversial border near Sumdorong Chu Valley. Sumdorong Valley conflict was also a major shift in Indian geopolitical stand in the region from the historic stand and insistence of settled issues of the border to the possibilities of negotiations with China (Ray, 2011). According to Jayanta Kumar Ray,

during the normalization period and negotiations, “dogma of Nehru-Menon years...was buried quietly” (p. 308).

Both countries had regular skirmishes especially in Aksai Chin and Arunachal Pradesh regions several times and recent most show of muscles took place in 2017 (Jerome, 2020). Doklam Standoff reflects Indian emerging passion and struggles to maintain its hegemony in the region. Doklam or Donglang in Chinese is an area contested between China and Bhutan and not India. Hence, the Indian support initiative for Bhutan was multipurpose. Challenging growing Chinese power in the region, assurance to the allies for material help and military security, and maintaining its long-desired hegemonic status, which to a great extent was achieved.

With the withdrawal of forces from both sides especially Chinese construction equipment and military personnel as well as a halt on the Chinese proposed road construction project (Kellogg, 2017), not only Indian immediate objectives were met but its long-term ambitions and plans were also unearthed. Indian continuous support to Dalai Lama over the Tibet issue is an offshoot of the same ambitions. Indian support to the Tibet issue remains more of geopolitical security and strategic position than of cultural ties and political support. Sindhu & Yuan (2003) state, “The strategic significance of Tibet to India and China is obvious. India has always regarded Tibet as a security buffer against china” (p.173).

India is trying to develop a land route to connect to ASEAN members. The country has good trade relations with the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN). Its geopolitical centrality in the Indian Ocean compels it to play a greater role in the region not only as a regional hegemonic

state but as a greater power in the resolution of the region and Asian issues if not global at present. Indian islands in the middle of the maritime routes provide it an ideal location as well as a strategic advantage to not only safeguard its geopolitical interests but also provide opportunities for promoting itself a credible power in the zone. It is believed that the "Indian Ocean is now at the heart of global geopolitics" (Jeffrey, 2019) with the involvement of regional as well as global political actors namely China, India, Japan, the US, UK, Australia while India rests at the heart of Indian Ocean.

Almost 80% of the global energy supplies pass through the Indian Ocean and the regions are home to almost 3 billion population directly and in the periphery while huge investments are being made by the top global economies. These investments are multipurpose but mostly focus on the maritime routes and development of ports and infrastructure of the region's economies. Fortunately, the economies of the region are also developing at a very fast pace and likely to remain so for the coming years. Indian Ocean has remained an active ground for superpower rivalry between the USA and USSR owing to its strategic, political, trade, and investment and security dynamics and importance (Rais, 1987). And it is very likely to develop into a foreground of the new global political rivalry with India being a central figure to this conundrum.

3.4.2. Indian Geo-economics

The Indian economy has been growing very fast and has become the fifth-largest economy in terms of the size of its GDP nominal. India has jumped from the 12th largest economy in 1989-90 to the 5th largest economy within thirty years and has a 3% share of the world economy at present. According to the World Bank forecasts, India is expected to become the third-largest economy

within the next ten years while other economic forecasts show that India will take over the US position as the second-largest economy of the world in 2050 after China. India has become one of the fastest-growing economies of the world and for the last five years from 2013 to 2018, its average real GDP growth rate has been above 7% even higher than China (WEO, 2020). According to IMF World Economic Outlook statistics, Real GDP Growth annual percentage change in 2019 for India was 1.9% as compared to 1.2% for China, -5.9 of US and -5.5 for Russia. It has been continuous above world averages for the last thirty years.

India is gaining a steady rise in every area of its economy and consistently improving its share in the world economy. However, its export base is utterly narrow as compared to the other big economies. According to the World Trade Organization, India did not rank among the first fifteen countries for its exports while it ranked eleventh for its imports of almost 2.5% of the world share in 2018.

Indian imports range from Oil and other mineral fuels, which makes almost 35% of the total imports, to machinery, electrical equipment, computers, organic chemical, plastics and organic materials. Another notable item in the Indian import list is precious metals and gems. India export list consists of nuclear reactors, machinery, oils, mineral fuels, waxes, and other chemical substances, pharmaceutical products, pearls, stones and jewelry, automobiles, mechanical appliances, parts and accessories. The top two trading partners with India are the USA and UAE. IMF data shows that India has the seventh-largest foreign reserves in the world while is the 8th largest nation under foreign debt regarding GDP to debt ratio. According to the United Nations

Conference on Trade and Development data (UNCTAD, 2020), India was the eighth largest recipient of the Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in 2019.

India has a great focus on developing its economy and policies of the present government especially 'Make in India' are not only a following of Chinese 'Made in China 2025' but also a fervent effort to improve its export base as well as local manufacturing and production. Indian initiative of 'Digital India' another policy of the government is aimed at improving the already strong and potential segment of the economy - the information technology industry. It is expected to have landmark 100,000 startups by the next five years and is already enjoying the status of the third largest startup base in the world. (IBEF, 2020). Indian is continuously improving its 'Ease of Doing Business' ranking according to the world bank report. The country is also expected to grow its unicorn base-over US\$ 1 billion worth startup private companies which stood at 24 in 2019 with an addition of a valuable number of 7 in recent times.

3.4.3. Indian Military Strength

India was the world's second-largest importer of Arms and military equipment in 2019 after Saudi Arabia according to a SIPRI report. The country has the second-largest military in the world and has a position of fifth largest defense expenditure incurring state after the US, China, and Saudi Arabia and almost matching Russian defense expenditure. India's 1.4 million military strength ranks it higher than the United States but overall India military's condition is dilapidated. Though India has maintained a strong military position according to the various international military analysis organizations, it is trying to overhaul its military structure. As compared to China, India spends on 1/3 of Chinese Defenses expenditure and only 1% of US defense spending.

India is a nuclear state and according to various estimates, it has up to 140 nuclear warheads and a capacity to enhance it to 200 nuclear warheads (Peck, 2019). According to Michael Peck, "India continues to modernize its nuclear arsenal, with at least five new weapon systems now under development to complement or replace existing nuclear-capable aircraft, land-based delivery systems, and sea-based systems." India has fought four full-fledged wars with its neighbouring states. Three of these wars were fought against Pakistan while the one against China in 1962. While none of these wars had any decisive ending, India's war phobia has been on the rise since then. India has been making aggressive efforts to modernize its military capabilities and weapon supremacy which historically remained Pakistan centric but the recent initiative and developments are more china centric. According to Kristensen & Norris (2017) "While India has traditionally been focused on deterring Pakistan, its nuclear modernization indicates that it is putting increased emphasis on its future strategic relationship with China."

India has developed short and long-range missiles and even suspected to have reached advanced stages of the development of intercontinental missiles. India has also tried to send its 2 missions to the moon. Chandrayaan 2, the latest being sent in September 2019 and if it had succeeded, India would have become the fourth country to have landed on the surface of the moon. However, Indian desire to pursue its space missions is reflected from the announcement of its prime minister (BBC News India, 2019) for the next mission as well as a repeated reference of calling India, a space superpower.

India has a long history of its overseas military presence and since the mid-1980's it has maintained its strong strategic relations in the African country Mozambique. India set up its first Central Asian military base in Tajikistan and to date has seven overseas military bases. While considering increasing the number, India already surpasses China in terms of the number of its overseas military presence. India deploys a strong naval power presence in the Indian Ocean and is one of six countries in the world with nuclear power submarines. India has tried to maintain its presence in the maritime world through its islands Andaman and Nicobar as well as through military bases in Vietnam and Africa. Vietnam base helps it to keep its presence in the South China Sea area. India inaugurated a huge naval base near Karnataka in 2015, usually referred to as "world's largest naval base east of Suez Canal" (Sen, 2015).

As China is developing its naval power and presence, India is continuously trying to keep track of Chinese growing influence. India fortified its Andaman and Nicobar Islands bases with the inauguration of a new airbase and it was aimed "to beef up surveillance of Chinese ships and submarines entering the Indian Ocean through the nearby Malacca Straits" (Miglani, 2019). It was also reported as a growing concern that India was developing fears of the Chinese increasing presence in the region by developing series of navy facilities surrounding India from Pakistan, Bangladesh to Myanmar and Sri Lank as far as Kenya. India considers the Chinese geopolitical move of 'String of Pearls' in the Indian Ocean as a means to contain Indian power and influence. Political scientists believe that this Chinese "strategy in Indian Ocean region is antithetical to the Indian security interests" (Sharma, Gorla, & Mishra, 2011, p. 132). It is widely believed that "China and India are competing for regional supremacy in the Indian Ocean as they look to establish a stronger military and economic presence in bordering countries" (Chandran, 2018).

3.4.4. Indian Soft Power Pursuance

India has been long portraying itself as the biggest democracy and finds it a wow point. As the biggest democracy, it has a wow to provide support for other democracies. It has assumed the responsibility to lift other nations (Raina, 2006). Similarly, Indian secular character has been winning the country lots of respect internationally. However, Indian support to the freedom movements around the world looks like a fallacy when the country has not recognized the Kashmiris right of self-determination and there are numerous other movements and struggles of greater autonomy and indigenous separatist movements in India itself (Sehgal & Robotka , 2019).

Being a birthplace for many religions especially one of the oldest Hinduism to one of the newest Sikhism, India also germinated Buddhism and Jainism. The rich Indian culture and religious assimilation provided India with a unique ability to promote its own culture and accept that of others openly. Hence, India became home to many other religions that were not indigenous but found solid grounds for survival in the region namely Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Over the millennia, with a rich civilization impact, India has impacted far and wide realms and was heavily influenced (Sagar, 1992) by other cultures and civilizations through continuous invasions and foreign intruders.

With the assimilation of so many religions, old and new, and amalgamation of various cultures, thriving and receding India has formed a world level recognition of an ideological, mystical and imaginative culture of its own. In recent years, especially in the last couple of decades, India has been making a conscious and aggressive effort to promote this set of cultural values and ideas of co-existence to the world. Though the idea of operating in a diverse and at times clashing

ideological and opposite cultural and spiritual environment peacefully, dates back to the Buddha's times but Gandhi revolutionized the principle of 'Ahimsa' meaning nonviolence rather globalized it. "...its biggest ideological export, India's spiritual, artistic, and cultural impact makes its soft power global" (Thussu, 2013).

It is convenient for India to pursue the soft power image globally with an image already established and with a philosophy refined over the centuries (Heng, 2016) and backed through the strong political will of the founding father of the Indian nation. Another landmark achievement on India's record has been its role during the cold war years. During the Cold War period, when the entire world was divided into the capitalist and communist blocks and state survival was dependent on siding with one or the other, India was one of the key contributors to the idea of non-alignment. Nehru, the then Indian prime minister, championed as one of the three pioneers of the Non-Aligned Movement to win rapid global support. Though the cold war ended in 1989 the NAM sustained and has become the second-largest group of nations after the UN. India played an active leadership role to achieve NAM objectives (Jayapalan, 2001, p. 102), and its contributions secured the country a credible status and expansion of diplomatic relations with the wider world.

Diverse Indian culture, historical buildings and monuments, Indian Movies vis-à-vis Bollywood cinema industry, and its rich cuisine has lots of attraction for people around the world. Taj Mahal is the most visited tourist destination in India and one of the most visited tourist destinations in Asia and the world. Indian Cinema and entertainment industry has popularized Indian artists and actors across continents. However, Indian news media needs to mature and has to do a lot of effort to come at par with international media practices. Unlike China, India media has not achieved that

scale and scope of projecting its soft image. While portraying a soft image requires more transparent and independent reporting but Indian news media seems to be following the policy of propaganda. South Indian cuisine with diverse sauces and spices is making way to every cosmopolitan city of the world. Indian yoga now stands equal to most standard physical exercises with emotional and spiritual benefits and is becoming popular in the western world.

The influence and extent of soft power have not elevated India rather projected its inherent weakness and flaws to improve. Though the soft power helps to change a country's perception, India is failing in this regard due to multiple issues. First, it is believed, India is not in a position to benefit from its soft power image as is the case with the USA or China. "*India uses her soft power capacities mainly for image building rather than as an instrument to exert influence*" (Wagner, 2010). Second, today India represents a perfect description of two extremes 'Feminine India' to 'Savage India' as enumerated by John Hymans (Kugiel, 2017). For an easy interpretation, Patryk Kugiel explains the two extremes as 'soft and tempting' to 'violent and irrational' India (p.167). Despite all the efforts, India is making to build a soft image, its human rights record, communal violence and atrocities against minorities, the recent passing of extremely controversial and discriminatory laws, and continuous subjugation of Jammu and Kashmir are glaring examples of its crude political philosophy at least under the present government of Bharatiya Janata Party.

Shashi Tharoor, an acclaimed Indian writer, diplomat and politician wrote in his 2011 book, "India's civilizational ethos has been an immeasurable asset for our country" (Tharoor, 2011, p. 59). However, forced by the recent developments in India, he has to confess that "This is not about propaganda; indeed, it will not work if it is directed from above, least of all by the government.

But conversely, government actions can undermine the story. Indeed, troubling internal disruptions have begun to tarnish this global perception of India" (Tharoor.: 2018). He went to the extent to mention that India's slogan of 'Make in India' is turning to sound like 'Hate in India' to the western world and societies. It is because of repeated news in international media about growing Hindutva under the present government and violence and discrimination in India.

3.4.5. Global Political Intentions

How much justified is Indian ambition to be a global power? Whether Indian aspirations to become a global power or assume a global leadership role is justified in terms of its economic, military, and diplomatic as well as political prowess and resources or not, its intentions are very clear and the country has long aspired to play an active global role. Part of it may be because of the long history of great Indian empires and warriors and an informal mini superpower status the country has enjoyed during the medieval era. And partly because recent rapid economic growth, as well as a fast-changing global political perspective, provides it an opportunity to pursue its interests by realigning itself and redefining its diplomatic and foreign policy objectives. Another engine for this drive is China's rise as a global power in the close vicinity. India's perception of Chinese threats and implications of growing Chinese power compel the nation to find a new and more elevated position in global politics.

India's quest for United Nations Security Council (UNSC) permanent membership is also part of its agenda to acquire a global power status. India is a member of G4 - a group of four nations, aspirants for UNSC permanent membership, and support each other for the cause. India has actively pursued the primary objective of G4 to reform UNSC and include itself and the other three

namely Japan, Germany and Brazil as veto powers (Khanna, 2018, p. 366). India also enjoys the least opposed nation status as an aspirant for the UNSC membership. Even the Indian government hosted a G4 summit in 2015 to accelerate the process while in 2017, India proposed in agreement with other members to accept UNSC permanent membership without veto power. Indian insistence on UNSC reforms stems from its desire to acquire veto power status to have an advantage for regional issues as well as a say in global political affairs.

Badrul Khan, a University of Western Sydney teacher, in the opening lines of his article *India and Making of a Hegemon* published in the Australian Quarterly states that "Over the past two decades or so, India has been able to significantly enhance its international image drawing worldwide interests. Amazing economic growth and the status of a nuclear power has contributed to it" (Khan, 2008, p. 29). However, he continues to explain, "It seems that arguments favouring India as a future hegemonic power are over whelming." By most standards, India does not qualify for an immediate global leadership role. Though its economic, military, and geopolitical, as well as diplomatic achievements, are noteworthy yet it's not at a rate to succeed in any such position in the near future. India does possess the resources and scope of regional power and becoming increasingly involved in regional issues.

According to Khan, "India is a natural leader in South Asia." The biggest challenge to its ambitions and objectives to become an international actor comes from home. Indian domestic issues and troubles mar the fancies of its economic success and diplomatic and political agendas. The dented strides the country is making are more hyped in the context of US growing interest in the region

especially India. Indian market size, investment overlay, the supply of cheap labour force, and potential economic benefits attract many developed and developing economies. Brewster (2014) has very aptly explained the Indian dilemma in the following lines:

Over the last decade, India has experienced an unprecedented period of economic growth that is giving it many of the material and military capabilities to become a major regional power – perhaps one day even a world power. But India also has many weaknesses that could prevent it from achieving its regional leadership ambitions. In addition to the many internal constraints it faces, India will need to deal with other major powers, The United States and China, as well as important middle powers in the region. These constraints and competition, combined with a lack of clear strategic direction in New Delhi, create many uncertainties about its future role. (p.1)

At the same time, it does possess a great potential to form or disturb the power balance in the world. Indian decisions to join a certain political block in the future will determine the global power play and will be central to the global transition from a unipolar world to the bipolar one. India can potentially act to accelerate or slow down the process of emerging power/s capable of challenging US hegemony. It could join the US to pool its support to help the US maintain its status as appears to be the Indian policy at present. India sees possibilities of benefitting from aligning the US and the same has been assured by the US side as well. In the Georgetown Journal of International Affairs. Ashok Sharma mentions that "...the Bush administration's commitments towards helping India become a great power by acknowledging India's emerging global economic and military significance. It marked a rediscovery of mutual strategic relevance between the United States and India, resulting in a gradual paradigm shift in the balance of power in Asia that could impact the geostrategic politics at the global level in the future" (Sharma A. . 2013). The other extreme could be Indian opposition to longstanding US unipolar status which looks a rare possibility.

3.5. Russia

Russia is the largest country in the world and spans over 17.1 million square kilometers. The country is more than half of the size of Africa and roughly the size of the US and China put together. With such a massive size forming 11 % of the total land area of the world, Russia has comparatively a much smaller population size. According to the World Population Review (WPR, 2020), Russia's 146 million population estimates for 2020 make it the ninth most populous nation in the world. It is one of the lowest population density nations and one of the lowest population growth rate country as well. In the coming decades, Russia will be one of the two only nations destined to see a decline in the overall population due to a negative growth rate. Opposed to historical trends, Russia is becoming a top destination for immigrants in Europe and one of the significant destinations in the world for immigrants. According to the UN World Migration Report 2020, in 2019, Russia hosted 11.6 million international migrants (IOM, 2020, p. 93).

Though present-day Russia came into being in 1991 in the wake of the disintegration of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), yet the country has a long history of existence. It was the largest republic within the world's first officially declared socialist republic. Russia carries the legacy of superpower and has a massive natural resource base. It is the second-largest natural gas producing and the third-largest oil-producing country of the world. The country is spanned over various time zones, has great climatic and geographical diversity and one of the only two countries with a transcontinental spread. Russia ranks in the top ten position nations in numerous categories and ranks for agricultural as well as industrial productions. Russia was the second country in the world to have acquired nuclear state status after the US. The country emerged as a victorious nation

in the Second World War with allies and entered into a historic phase of global rivalry with the USA called as Cold War.

3.5.1. Reliving the Mastery of Geopolitics

Russia is not only the largest country in the world but also spread far and wide. Despite a huge spread ranging from one end in the middle of Europe to the other right in the heart of the Pacific Ocean, the country is not as fortunate and connected to the world like the USA, China, or India through maritime routes. As most of the Russian coastal areas remain closed due to frozen waters for almost ten months of the year, almost any movement or trade from and to Russia is blocked through these maritime routes. It has the longest border and shares it with most countries in the world parallel to China only. The country shares its land border with fourteen nations in both European and Asian continents. The economic meltdown and prolonged military interventions overseas lead to the disintegration of the USSR and the formation of Russia. The disintegration was not only an international political setback to the country's image and power but a huge loss to its physical territory as well. The 15 states carved out of USSR formed independent countries and formed their governments separating from Russia.

After the disintegration, most of these newly formed nations joined Russia under various economic, political and security arrangements. The centrality of Russia as a huge landmass, physical spread and resources, economic and military superiority helped Russia maintain its regional power and compulsion for these states to naturally align with it. Many of these states are not only landlocked but also have energy pipelines passing through Russian territories that were

laid during the former Russia or USSR rule. Energy supply pipelines of Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan passing through Russian territory underpin the relationship of the two with the former. At least five European countries due to the geopolitical constraints have been fully dependent on Russian natural gas supplies and almost 6 countries receive 60% to 90% of their gas supplies from Russia. Overall Russian natural gas and oil supplies reach more than 20 countries in Europe a lot of it is supplied through energy pipelines due to geopolitical settings.

As against a widespread overseas military base network of the USSR during the Cold War, Russian most overseas bases at present, are in the countries which were former USSR republics except the one in Syria. In the post disintegration period, Russia has passed through a period of geopolitical transformation of transformation by aligning the neighbouring countries into a system of Russian lead pacts and treaties as compared to the subjugation strategy of the imperial republic. Immediately after the disintegration, Russia combined its former republics under the banner of Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and after almost a year Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) was formed and joined by six of the CIS members. Russian political and security initiatives were aimed at maintaining its hegemony and influence in the region (Descalzi, 2011) as well as secure its economic interests.

There is turn around in the geopolitical strategies of the post-soviet Russia from changing its political strategies to realigning its allies and cooperation in defense and military fields. In 2017, when Russia and China signed a roadmap for future military cooperation, the Chinese Defense Ministry commented, "The roadmap makes top-level design and general plan for the military cooperation between China and Russia in 2017-2020. It shows the high-level mutual trust and

strategic cooperation; it is conducive for both sides to face new threats and challenges in the security field and to jointly safeguard regional peace and stability" (Wu, 2017). while earlier the same year, Vladimir Putin referred to this changing and growing relationship with China as, "unprecedentedly high level of Russian-Chinese relations" (Russian News Agency, 2017). In the same manner, an unexpected move by Russia and highly surprising for many was the signing of a military pact with Pakistan which was even denoted as a "rare military cooperation pact" (Gul, 2018).

3.5.2. Geo-economic History and way forward

For almost fifty years in the middle of the twentieth century, Russia as former USSR enjoyed the status of the second-largest economy of the world after the USA. USSR was the first as well as the largest communist economy and a direct competitor for the capitalist or free-market economy models lead by the US. The highly centralized control of the economy gave the country virtually full control over the production of every single item and resulted in mass productions leading to huge exports and foreign exchange earnings. These enormous resources and wealth helped the country to make extensive investments in the military as well as to pursue its political ambitions. But unfortunately, Soviet Russia failed to maintain the link and the desirable balance between economic strides and military might as Paul M. Kennedy asserts that great power can survive only by maintaining a strategic balance between their economic development and firepower (Kennedy P. M., 1989).

Kenneth N. Waltz states that "... the Soviet Union could no longer support a first-rate military establishment on the basis of a third-rate economy" (Waltz, 1997). Throughout the cold war years, USSR was beaten by a good margin on the economic end. USSR's GDP size was hardly 1/3 of the size of the USA GDP which remained a big setback especially when the USSR was taking equally big initiatives on areas like deployment of nuclear weapons and military bases globally as well as space race and moon missions.

Today, According to the World Bank statistics, Russia stands at the eleventh position in the world as per its GDP nominal. It has a GDP size of US \$ 1.66 trillion and is expected to remain dwindling at the last end positions in the ten biggest economies list for the coming 2-3 decades. Nonetheless, the country remains one of the biggest world economies and the fifth largest economy in Europe. The country is the fourteenth largest exporter in the world and often has trade surpluses. It holds the fourth largest foreign exchange reserves. At the same time country is the least indebted nation in the world with the lowest debt to GDP ratio falling below 15%.

In recent years, the country has been trying to open up its economy and foreign direct investment was on the rise before the Ukraine crises. In 2019, it is not even noteworthy as compared to the small territories and countries like Hong Kong at the US \$ 55 billion and Singapore at US\$ 110 billion. According to the UNCTAD World Investment Report, it has been continuously declining despite the country's great economic and business potential. an improvement in the ease of doing

business ranking, and skilled labour force alongside vast unexplored and least exploited natural resources in the world. The country does fall in the good ranks for the emerging economies list.

3.5.3. Russian Military Background

USSR was a central and one of the important actors in both the World Wars and emerged as a superpower in the aftermath of the Second World War. It maintained a military status and superiority over the world and a muscle power to challenge US hegemony for good fifty years. Russia is one of the five nuclear states and as the most of Soviet Union assets are inherited by Russia, the country possesses a great stockpile of nuclear weapons almost equal to the American storage of atomic weapons. Russia has a military of more than a million men making it the fifth largest military and despite its weaker economic condition in comparison to the USA and China, spends a good deal of money to maintain its forces and weapons. According to The Military Balance 2020, International Institute for Strategic Studies, Russia ranks fourth largest for military spending.

According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) research data in 2019, Russia is the second-largest exporter of arms and ammunition in the world. The country keeps shifting its position with china between second and third for the most powerful country in the world as per Global Firepower projections from 2005 to 2020. Russia has a strong weapon and military industry which fulfills almost all of its armed forces need. More than half a century of global military superiority only matched by the USA in military technology and equipment qualifies it to remain one of the best weapons producing state Russian weapons sales are continuously on the rise and the country sends supplies to almost 80 countries having the biggest military industry market after the USA.

Russia had the world's most diverse and lethal weapon productions. From nuclear arsenal to the intercontinental missiles, Russia still monopolizes certain categories of warfare technology. R-36M remains the world's longest-range Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM) with a record 16,000 kilometers range and multifunction (Army Technology, 2019). It was named 'Satan' by the US during the cold war years. Russia remained and is far superior to the US in Land Forces and had more than 20,000 tanks while the US only possessed around 6,000 but it was surpassed by the US in aircraft numbers where it was exactly in opposite ratios (Armed Forces.EU, 2020). Both have managed powerful navies to maintain their hegemony with a marginal US edge. Russia equals the US in the count of deployed warheads.

“The Soviet Union has, and Russia continues to have, impressive military capabilities, but great power do not gain and retain their rank by excelling in one way or the other. Their rank depends on how they score on a combination of the following items: size of population and territory, resource endowment, economic capability, military strength, political stability and strength” (Waltz, 1997, p. 51).

3.5.4. Russian ‘Soft Power’ Weaknesses

One of the major differences between the US and the USSR during the cold war years was the strength of US propaganda and the weakness of Soviet soft power play and strategies. This could also be considered one important contributor in the fall of the Soviet empire. Though both remained superpowers in terms of military might and political confrontation US was far superior to the USSR as a Diplomatic Super Power. Unlike its predecessor, Russia has made concrete

efforts to erect institutions, design policies, and create avenues of improving and exerting its soft power image as part of its foreign policy (Sergunin & Karabeshkin, 2015).

As per the Lowy Institute Global Diplomacy Index, Russian Federation ranks fifth largest after China, US, Japan, and France with a widespread network of embassies, diplomatic missions and consulates in the world (Global Diplomacy Index , 2020). With this huge network of global diplomatic outreach, Russia doesn't find very favourable sentiments even in its close neighbourhood. With a long history of hard power use and recent harsher action in Ukraine, Russian initiatives and plans to pursue soft power look dubious to many.

Russia has also diversified its efforts and tried to be a player in the race to win the world through soft power. Bauer (2016) has enumerated the Russian efforts in the following lines:

To a certain extent, Russia has also sought to further expand its ideology and influence outside of its borders through the use of soft power. Examples of these efforts include organizations like the Russian World Foundation and Rossotrudnichestvo, which promote Russian language and culture abroad, and media efforts like Russia Today (RT), which according to the website, broadcasts in over 100 countries. But over the past few years, the discussion of soft power has notably increased.

The factors to the low level and not so productive results of these steps remain mostly similar to the earlier ones. As some of these are natural which could be further categorized as Russian internal structures and perceptions of the world about it while others are attributed to the multiplicity of factors again most of it is contributed by the massive American and western propaganda about the Soviet Union which still haunts the Russian efforts.

Russia still fails to propagate and universalize its culture and the greatest limitation to this aspect is a common language for foreign populations. Soviets literature or the present-day Russian writers and thinkers have produced some of the world-class literary works and many of them were able to find a place in the shelves overseas but the pace has remained very slow. On a similar note, the Russian language could be considered a great resource to develop 'transnational connections' bring harmony to a vast and scattered society and unify the 'Russian World' (Mustajoki, Protasova, & Yelene, 2019) during and after the fall of USSR but contrary to its powerful role and effect in the host country and soviet territories, it has made a negligible impact overseas. Russian society even today remains mostly closed entity for the most outside world especially when compared with the US or the West. According to The Soft Power 30, a global ranking of the soft power in 2019, Russia ranked last in a list of thirty global nations. Russia could not even rank in the Asia soft power list of ten Asian nations where china secured the fourth position while India was ranked at the eighth spot.

3.5.5. Global Political Agenda: Past, Present and Future

Will Russia ever be able to regain its lost superpower status? "Clearly, oil and gas are key to Russia's return to prominence on the international stage. it is widely assumed, both in the Kremlin and abroad, that this energy wealth will enable Russia to regain some of the 'superpower' status that it enjoyed in its Soviet incarnation prior to 1991" (Rutland, 2008). Russia was an energy superpower, it is an energy superpower and it is very likely to remain an energy superpower with the enormous natural gas, oil, and coal reserves it has coupled with the energy infrastructure it has developed and the iron-clad resolve its leader Putin has been pursuing before even becoming a prominent political figure or assuming government positions (Goldman, 2010).

In the wake of Soviet disintegration and recurring economic fallout, Russia lost its superpower status but did not shrug off its regional standing and roles. Though the initiatives on CIS and CSTO were efforts for an honourable consensus to establish its presence and importance in the region yet it was bound to return to an active regional and ultimately a broader role. While Russia largely hibernated as a regional power for some time to regain its power and energy, its ambitions to return to the political theatre never fully subsided. Bound to exert strong political influence in the region and get itself acknowledged as a sole hegemon at least in the earlier Soviet-controlled territories, Russian low-level intervention started with the settlement of the Tajikistan Civil War under 'Moscow Protocol'. A complete end of hibernation was observed with a full-scale return in 1999 when military intervention in Chechnya helped Russia restore its federal control nullifying de facto Chechen independence.

It is believed that the Russian war with Georgia in 2008 was a turning point in the Russian military and political interventions in the region. It was not only a message to political dissidents nearby but a challenge to the outside world as well. Mankoff (2009) concluded his thesis of the book on *Return of Great Power Politics of Russia* by stating, "The war was therefore as much about sending a message to the outside powers like the United States and the European Union about the reality of Russia's resurgence as it was about punishing the wayward Georgians" (p. 293). No one could undermine Russian intentions to the return to a regional and a global role but political scientists and policymakers were more surprised at such a quick return of Russia and that too with a direct challenge to the US. A book published in 2010 reads, "She fights against US supremacy and works for the establishment of a multi-polar global system. In this attempt, Russia aims to establish a

Russian-led regional zone in her near abroad, thus fortifying regional tendencies and countering globalising trends" (Proedrou & Frangnoikolopoulos, 2010).

The severity of these actions and intensity of these messages peaked with the Russian military intervention in Ukraine in 2014. Reacting to this surprise from Russia, John Kerry, the then, U.S. Secretary of State commented, "You just don't in the 21st century behave in 19th-century fashion by invading another country on completely trumped-up pre-text" (Dunham, 2014). United States response to this was extreme with the cancellation of the US President forthcoming visit as well as a global movement for diplomatic backlash.

Having established its regional power status, Russia is destined to play an extremely important role in global power politics. Russia is a potential global power with all the elements available except a strong and stable economy matching the global power requirements and undertakings. And country being aware of this fact has tried to develop multilateral and diverse merchandise trade arrangements to improve its trade volume and scope. Part of it is the special arrangements with ASEAN and the formation of regional economic integration efforts like the establishment of a Eurasian Economic Union (EEU) while on the other end, Russia is trying to increase its investment in innovation and technology to come at par with developed nations' rate of creative emergence. Russia is the largest contributor and assets holder in the International Investment Bank, a predated Russian-dominated financial institution set up in the 1970s very often referred to as the Communist or Soviet Bank. Such initiative reflects on Russian efforts and intentions to return to international politics.

Russian may not be able to replicate the strength, might and extent of the power the USSR exercised and the challenge it posed to the only other contemporary superpower US, but remains a central and crucial actor in the power politics because of the number of reasons. Russia holds the veto power as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council and this gives the country a great edge in world affairs. USSR used veto power the most times (UN Security Council Working Methods, 2020) and the trend continues with the post-cold war Russia that has also used this power 24 times, more than any other nation since 1991. Russia has shown its mettle by using the veto power a record five times in 2017 and most recently three times in 2019 on the Syrian crises in the Middle East.

Russian global intentions are very well reflected the way the country ambitiously pursues an agenda of engagement and participation in various world bodies alongside the UN and UNSC. Many a time, it appears to be a two-way strategy, growing in relationship and interaction with world nations and improving its image and influence and secondly, finding avenues and creating venues for opposing US hegemony and unipolarity. A special mention of BRICS and SCO could be made here. BRICS is a group of five strong world economies namely Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa. Apparently, the group has an economic agenda and aims to create opportunities for these nations to cooperate in finance and merchandise but Russian participation shows its presence on a huge and massive platform of global reach and impact. At the same time, Russia is an active and one of the pioneer members of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization which was been frequently quoted and referred to as NATO of the East by most political scientists as well as western strategists.

One way to gauge a state response and its intentions for a global role could be assessing and observing how it reacts and deals with other power/s and especially with power/s at a different level of political hegemony and range of political influence. As for the United States, "prevention of the emergence of regional hegemony in Eurasia" is one of the four key elements of its National Security Strategy. For Russia, the mission remains to counter US superiority and sole global leadership in any way possible. Since the mid-1990s, Russia has several times joined china to give statements declaring and supporting a multipolar world as a counter-strategy to the US pursuance of a unipolar world.

In an interesting RAND Corporation research report (Dobbins, Shatz, & Wyne, 2018), the objectives of Russia and China are summarized as' "Both countries seek to alter the status quo, but only Russia has attacked neighboring states, annexed conquered territory, and supported insurgent forces seeking to detach yet more. Russia assassinates its opponents at home and abroad. Russia interferes in foreign elections, subverts foreign democracies, and works to undermine European and Atlantic institutions" (p. 2).

3.6. European Union

European Union is a huge political community of mostly geographically contiguous nations. With the recent exit of the United Kingdom, it has 27 members and spans over 4.2 million square kilometers. Since the completion of the process of the UK exit will take until December 2020, this study will consider the UK part of the EU for most discussions. Secondly, with close geographical proximity, economic interests, and shared values as well as collective security and strategic concerns, the UK has and will remain close to the European Union. European Union includes some

of the prominent and economically and politically powerful world nations as members of the EU i.e. UK, France Germany, Italy, Spain, Portugal, etc.

3.6.1. The Geopolitical Blessings

The EU is spread over almost entire Europe as 28 out of 44 countries in the physical boundaries of the European landmass. It would constitute a substantial part of Europe when compared to excluding the Russian area. European geography is diverse and its long and ideally set coastline has been a great advantage to European nations. European Union nations' geography is arranged in such an ideal way naturally that most nations have access to waters and maritime routes with a coastal boundary of almost 66,000 square kilometers. This access has greatly contributed paramount geopolitical edge to continent Europe for trade, communication and imperial advancements. This could be attributed to the geopolitical spread of the European nations in the past and provide it with a unique position presently being central to the world's geographical settings. Europe is connected to Asia in the east through land and in the south to Africa through Mediterranean waters while it has open maritime access to both North and South Americas through the Atlantic in the west.

European geography and that of the EU states is diverse and rich with natural resources especially in the context of increased interconnectivity and a well-spread network of trade and transport. Within Europe 14 landlocked nations are enjoying the blessing of increased connectivity finding access to the maritime routes. The EU has helped Europe maximize its natural advantages and blessings and minimize geographical disadvantages by enhanced access to land, sea and air routes.

EU nations harness the benefits of togetherness in terms of easy labour flow, well connected and convenient means of communication, joint economic development social and political initiatives

Free movement of people on a continental scale, seamless interconnectivity, open border flow of trade and acceptability as well as day to day use of a common currency are all benefits of this exclusive geopolitical advantage, the benefits of which have been greatly enhanced by the European acumen. The geopolitical importance of Europe in the context of rising Russia and Russian interventions in its proximity has touched new highs. The failure of the EU's policy of 'Wider Europe' (Crombois, 2015) to bring Russia in the fold of the European value system does not undermine its role in the region and globally.

The EU has emerged as a living organism of continuous reflection and building and remaking of policies and ideas for shared goals and regional productivity. EU through its 'Wider Europe' programme aims "To remain relevant in the region", hence "the **European Union** needs a coherent and consistent strategy to promote its interests and values together with the political will to follow this through" (European Council on Foreign Relations, 2020).

The changing balance of power in regions close to the EU especially Eastern Europe in the wake of the Ukraine crises as well as the Middle East in the context of Syrian crises has left the EU with no option but to emphasize and more ambitiously pursue its 'Eastern Partnership' (European Council on Foreign Relations, 2020) initiative. These developments have and likely to have far-reaching implications for the EU in both economic and political contexts.

3.6.2. The Geo-economic Miracle of the European Union

In the list of largest ten global economies, four are from the European Union namely Germany, UK, France, and Italy, and if the list is extended to fifteen largest economies, another EU member Spain finds its spot on the list. Together these five economies make more than 65% of the EU Gross Domestic Product (GDP) Nominal while EU members collectively harbours more than US\$ 20 trillion GDP forming a quarter of the global economy. This makes the EU greater than China and almost equal to the US. "The European Union matters as a player in the global economy, in a three-polar world, it is the second-largest pole by market size, the depth of its financial markets and its weight in international trade" (Collignan, 2006, p. 37).

Based on the free-market economy model and with highly industrialized and technology-oriented industries and economies, the majority of European Union member nations enjoy a high level of socio-economic development and are regarded as developed countries. Out of the fifteen largest exporter nations in the world, six are EU members while seven countries are listed out of the fifteen largest importers in the world. This gives the EU a huge chunk of merchandise trade in the world making it the largest shareholder in the world trade amounting to US\$ 5.4 trillion.

Four out of the seven members of the G7 are members of the EU which are the most advanced economies of the world as per IMF standards. Though the group is an intergovernmental economic group it very often addresses issues of political nature and global peace and security with official statements and initiatives for resolution. In the recent G7 summit held in France, the basic discussion and agenda remained economic and trade issues but the statement issued as an official

declaration (G7 Leaders Declaration, 2019) made four references out of five to global political and security issues on Iran, Ukraine, Libya and Hong Kong.

G20 which is another prominent economic body of the world's leading 20 economies has EU as a full member with 19 member countries while four other EU member countries are also members of the body. With five full members EU not only dominates overall (G20, 2020) but makes a huge contribution to the 'macro financial' proceedings and expanded working on 'socio-economic and development' related agendas of the group.

3.6.3. Military Stretch to Shared Defence

European Union did not any official military of its own for a long time and was neither part of any specific security and weapons infrastructure and systems entailing the only EU states. However, it came up with the Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP) in 1999 to manage situations of military intervention and security crises. CSDP had a history of controversial origins (Howorth, 2014, p. 14) and was not a very active organ. It focused on civil security (Faleg, 2016) but gradually developed into a more formal and recently into a more important and strategic factor with the joint command under NATO and a permanent military headquarter in 2020.

The 21 EU member nations are already part of a transcontinental special security arrangement and the historic alliance of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). In their capacity, many European nations and especially EU member states possess great military strength and muscles. UK, France, Germany, and Italy are listed in the largest 15 nations with reference to the highest military spending. According to The Military Balance 2020, International Institute for Strategic

Studies, the combined military spending of these four nations was equivalent to the military spending of China in 2019-20.

Though none of the EU nations rank in the first fifteen nations in the world in terms of the sizes of their armies as per Statista 2019 figures yet the above mentioned four nations are ranked quite high as the most powerful armies in the world consistently. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) research data in 2019, eight out of fifteen largest exporters of the arms and ammunition in the world are EU members namely France, Germany, Spain, United Kingdom, Italy, Netherlands, Switzerland and Sweden. The combined export of EU nations for arms and ammunitions is far greater than that of Russia and China put together. It is almost equal to the American volume of exports in this category.

3.6.4. Soft Power Superpower

European nations and Union both can be credited for pursuing and supporting an ambitious policy of engaging the public in the process of making policies. The process focus largely remains national and local level policy-making through civil society engagement but the public input is an integral element of the regional policy-making under the EU. It is seen even to a global extent especially the debate and discussion process under the European Parliament on issues of global political and security concerns. Whether or not enveloped in the European human rights, democracy, and peaceful living and mutual coexistence framework, the increased participation is attributed to the EU enhanced interaction with international organizations, institutions, and non-state entities and groups (Marchetti, 2016) on other areas trade and development and security and environment.

In his article, *The European Union's Social Power in International Politics*, Peter Van Ham has developed an insightful discussion on the EU's practices of innovative public diplomacy and its capacity to experiment newer model of not only of its 'Social Power' (Ham, 2013) but on a larger scale "the EU puts itself forward as a model of regional governance that may be an inspiration for the global governance" (p.158). He believes that the EU has a lot of achievements in its credit within this domain which have helped to further elevate its aspirations for trying novel ideas. From 'Green Superpower' to Great 'Social Power' (as per author's note, it is different than Soft Power clearly for creating standards, norms, and values as compared to apply components of attraction and persuasion), EU is experimenting and offering much more to the world to look up to this body for future political, economic and social arrangements and rearrangements.

The EU itself is reminiscent of a soft image with a giant mix of opposing and at times divergent political views and socio-cultural practices in a harmonious, free and independent environment. EU nations' friendliness and values are not only centered on its members. It has been propagating and even to a reasonable coercing in the name of mandatory requirements or criteria for interaction and dealings with other nations, institutions, organizations and business entities. EU by its past political influence, imperial outreach and present economic, environmental and human rights agendas interact with the almost entire world. Global Diplomacy Index, prepared by Lowy Institute shows that members of the European Union have a widespread network of embassies, diplomatic missions, and consulates in the world and it connects the EU in one way or the other to all these nations (Global Diplomacy Index , 2020).

According to a global ranking of soft power in 2019. The Soft Power 30, the first four positions are held by EU members while overall ten out of the top fifteen nations scoring highest in the global soft power index come from the EU. France tops the list and country is rich with its culture, art and tourist spots, cuisine, and much more to offer to the outer world as part of its soft power image. French is a popular language for learning ranked fourth in a global context. Next on the list, the UK offers a great variety of attractions to the people around the globe. From the centuries of English domination, UK is followed in so many different domains from clothing to cuisine, from educational policy to practices and for rich heritage and literature. With a strong number of 28 nations, the EU looks a union of diversity attracting people for its democratic values, higher ethical standards in governance, higher living standards, unmatched educational excellence and facilities, respect for human rights, acceptance and resilience with all the diversity of culture and societies.

3.6.5. Global Political Ambitions and Intentions

Is the European Union ready to play a global role? European Union has a rich history of global power politics and many of its member nations have remained imperial/colonial powers and later as great powers for the last hundred years while the UK remained a global power before the emergence of the new bipolar world. Similarly, these nations remained central actors during the two world wars. These powers have a legacy of political role and influence in many parts of the world. Discussing between the two choices for the European Union whether to be a regional power or one with global influence and applying the case to its interaction with other regions and world entities, Hill (2007) mentions a multiplicity of factors concluding that "the EU arguably has no choice but to be involved given its existing commitments, and the weight of the past" (p.13)

EU has been long suspected as an effort of these powers to make their global presence visible and remain an active participant in world affairs. Something which could not be achieved in their individual capacities. Aggestam (2010) has made a case of these intentions especially by Britain, France and Germany. In her book *European Foreign Policy and the Quest for a Global Role*, she argues that foreign policies of the troika have long aimed at improving their global role under the guise of the European Union. All three being relatively medium powers have Europeanized their foreign policy to pursue global influence. She traces elements of commonality among the three foreign policies on the issue of an international role as well as the differences within their frameworks.

EU has two Veto power nations in the UNSC which give it a considerable say in the world political and security matters unmatched by any other region or political entity. Another EU member Germany also aspires to become a UNSC veto power being part of the G4, the group of nations aspiring to become permanent members of the UNSC and acquire veto power. EU enjoys a good level of global presence today mainly because of its economic achievements and political influence chiefly because of being a close ally in the present-day US-dominated world order. "...the European Union is truly global. One way or another, the EU has become ubiquitous, exercising influence, exerting pressure, providing assistance, selling and buying goods and services, making investments all over the world" (Piening, 1997, p. 193).

Numerous studies may be traced which identify that "Diplomats in Brussels and other European capitals seem to have embraced the idea that the EU must have a more strategic and geopolitical

approach in its foreign policy” (Nitoiu & Sus, 2019). The most recent and powerful one is a report by a researcher at Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, which quotes intentions of Ursula von der Leyen, the president of European Commission (EC) about setting up a 'geopolitical commission' and stressing that the EC needs to "learn to use the language of power". The report also refers to the warning by Macron, the President of France that if Europe did not 'began to act as a strategic power', it may disappear geopolitically” (Lehne, 2020).

3.7. The Case of Japan, Turkey and Brazil

Barry Buzan, the author of the *United States and the Great Powers: World Politics in the Twenty-First Century* has recognized Japan as one of the four great powers in the post-cold war international system. He states that "...Japan could bounce back, and its standing as a great power looks firm" (Buzan, 2004, p. 71). Japan is the third-largest economy of the world and has remained the second-largest economy for decades. It is also expected to remain within the first five largest economies of the world for the coming decades. Owing to the size of the economy and an extremely active past of Japan in world politics, its role in future global politics cannot be underestimated. Japan has truly enjoyed the blessing of an island state like the US and remains the second-largest economy and substantial power in Asia after China. Japan's strong and clear alignment with the US at present and an anti-China policy is an indication for its global political capacity.

Japan is passing through the biggest challenge of its recent economic superiority and its decreasing population and continuously declining working-age population which will disturb it in many ways. However, the country seems conscious of the changing realities and has been preparing for it by

opening up itself for the overseas workforce as well as specializing in high-tech robotics engineering. George Friedman, the author of the famous and world-recognized book *The Next 100 Years*, believes that Japan has a great ability to overcome its economic and population-related challenges. He forecasted Japan as an important power in the coming years. “In the middle of the century, other powers will emerge, countries that aren’t thought of as great powers today, but that I expect will become more powerful and assertive over the next few decades. Three stand out in particular. The first is Japan” (Friedman, 2009).

While making this assertion, George Friedman has given numerous examples of how Japan qualifies to be a prospective future political power of eminence and broader political role. Japan is an active member of G7 as well as G20 and plays a silent but pragmatic role (Huntington, 2001) in world politics. The country is expected to play a more active and proactive role in global politics (Berger, Mochizuki, & Tsuchiyama, 2007) and has great potential to act from a strategic standpoint at least in emerging Asian politics. Japan with an imperial past and global outreach as well as an active participant during both the world wars coupled with high military spending and good arms import size, qualifies to remain a global actor.

If the country is ranked high in the list of most powerful states index and has progressed from the tenth position to the 5th within the last ten years, it is doing fairly well in terms of its soft power image in the world. In Asia, Japan tops the list and in the world ranking enjoys 8th spot in the list of Soft Power rankings. Japan provides generous foreign aid assistance to many countries and international organizations as well contributing greatly to its influence and impact in world politics and affairs. The country aspires to become a permanent member of the UNSC.

George Friedman from the times of his first book in 2009 till 2019 has been passionately as well as quite logically arguing that Turkey is destined to play a significant role in the coming years. Commenting on its increasing role, he states, "Turkey's importance is clear. It is courted by both Russia and Iran. Turkey is not the country it was a decade ago. Its economy surged and then went into crisis. It has passed through an attempted coup, and internal stress has been massive. But such crises are common in emerging powers." As a factor for the country's growing influence and strategic position in the region, he further describes, "The United States is now compelled to seek accommodation with Turkey, a regional power in its own right, based on terms that are geopolitically necessary for both" (Friedman, 2019).

Turkey is an emerging economy and has already become a trillion-dollar economy. The country has revolutionized its economics in recent years and holds great value for future geo-economics of the region being a link between Asia and Europe. It provides the most critical link to China's global infrastructure and transportation project of BRI. Turkey is aspiring for EU membership and is a member of G20. As a member nation of NATO, Turkey has the second-largest military after the USA in NATO member nations. Turkish leadership especially present president Reccip Tayyab Erdogan has reflected a strategic shift in Turkey's political alliances and commitments. This changing policy of alliance from the west or USA to the Muslim world and Russia marks increasing interest and intentions to play a serious role in regional politics. Turkish stand and statements on Palestine, Kashmir, and Rohingya Muslims as well as an active role during the Syrian crises and actions against Da'ish or ISIS reflect its history and grandeur of the Ottoman past.

By 2050, Turkey will be the 11th or 12th largest economy in the world and would have greatly developed its other capabilities. At present, Turkey ranks among the top ten arms exporters and importers countries of the world. It also ranks high in most powerful countries list and its defense spending is mentionable. Turkey seems ambitious about different Muslim leaders' efforts to join and form a block of Muslim nations especially Malaysia, Pakistan and Qatar outside of Saudi influenced OIC. Perhaps to counter American influenced Saudi Arabian interventions in OIC. Turkish direct or indirect involvement in almost every issue of the Muslim world, be it statements on Egyptian autocratic government and late Egyptian president Morsi's unfortunate death in jail or Indian subjugation and lockdown of Kashmiris, reminisces its role as an emerging leader of the Muslim world. Turkey maintains a military base in Qatar and played an active role during the Saudi and Qatar crises. All these leaders to the conclusion that the country will play an active role in the future world political arrangements.

A BRICS member nation and the largest country in South America in the area as well as the population, Brazil is also the largest economy and third largest manufacturing nation in both North and South Americas (Think Brazil, 2019). Brazil emerged as a strong economy which is likely to stand at the 5th or 6th position in global GDP rankings by 2050. However, the South American continent's relatively passive role in the global politics and its physical distance from the theatre of the international political system more concentrated in Asia and Europe. does not provide a very ideal option or opportunity for Brazil's active role in global politics. Brazilian economy may align the other economies of South America to form a considerable economic block to attract or allure future global economic powers and support adding weight to emerging political poles. The three

countries mentioned here definitely have the weight to set or upset the future political poles and in the formation of a bipolar and/or the multipolar world.

3.8. The Silent Marchers: Saudi Arabia, South Korea and South Africa

During research on the emerging poles of global supremacy especially while collecting data and doing network analysis, it is found as an interesting pattern that South Korea, South Africa, and Saudi Arabia repeatedly appear in most geo-economics and geopolitical data sets and lists of largest countries. It seems that these are making huge strides in both geo-economics and geopolitical domains but mostly remain unnoticed. I would like to refer them as 'silent marchers' in the global political scene and foresee an active role of these three in the future global political arrangements. However, as the three do not fall within the immediate scope of this study and due to research limitations and time constraints, we would not delve more than this mention of the three for future studies and the interest of students and researches of the political science and international relations. Hence, the details on why this consideration has been given to these *silent marchers* may be shared through some extended research, research paper, or article. However, the extent and strength of their importance in the future global political scene may be measured through some very simple means.

The first of the three, Saudi Arabia is widely and perhaps most wildly respected in the Muslim world. It exerts its influence (Hiro, 2019) and uses its wealth to participate in the affairs of more than 55 Muslim countries in one way or the other. Saudi Arabia is a key player in the Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC) – a political organization of almost all Islamic countries. The extent of Saudi government influence and control in OIC may be gauged from the fact that when Malaysian

leader Mahathir Muhammed called for a conference of the prominent Muslim leaders of Turkey, Pakistan and Qatar in 2019, it was considered and projected widely by the international media, analysts, and researchers (Cafiero & Al-Jaber, 2019) as an act to counter and undermine the Saudi influence in OIC.

The power of Saudi influence could also be assessed from the last-minute refusal of the Pakistani prime minister to attend the Kuala Lumpur Summit (Jamal, 2019). Saudi Arabian oil wealth has been long used to spread the Wahhabism-Saudi version of Islam (Thaler, 2004, p. 81). However, over time, it has turned more into economic and political than religious. Muslim countries make $\frac{1}{4}$ of total world countries and Saudi Arabia holds a lot of influence and weight among this community of nations. In December 2015, when Saudi Arabia announced a military alliance, more than 30 countries joined the initiative instantly which later expanded to 41 states (The Islamic Military Counter Terrorism Coalition, 2020) making almost 70% of the total Muslim world.

Saudi Arab enjoys a unique position in the Muslim world as the birthplace of Islam and for hosting two of the holiest places of Islam on earth. This spiritual blessing and material strength help the country to find an ideal spot for the western world especially the USA. Saudi involvement in Yemen Crises and its long ideological turning political rivalry with Iran also makes it a favourite ally. The Saudi economy is also growing and is listed among G20. The country will host the G20 summit in 2020. Its long tilt and alliance with the western world and recent inclination and normalization of relations with Israel reflect its intentions to climb up the power poles. It has all the ingredients of an important political actor in the international political system.

South Korea holds an equally important place due to multiple reasons but two are worth mentioning here: a) its geostrategic location, nearness to China (Brzezinski, 2001, p. 21) and b) its fast-paced economic development especially the edge it has in future technologies such as robotics and artificial intelligence. From one of the poorest nations to becoming a member of G20, the country's steady and speedy rise is considered an economic miracle. South Africa is also a member of OECD. South Korea is the only country after Japan in Asia to be ranked besides other most developed nations of the world. The country is likely to play an important role as a link within (what I refer to as) the 'Ring of Containment and Immediate Rivals (RCIR)' around China, carved and fortified by the USA.

South Africa's case in the African continent is similar to Saudi Arabia's position in the Muslim World only that the first one has that superiority in material things like economic development, technological advancement and political leadership. South Africa has been the biggest economy of Africa for a long and makes up more than 20% of the economy of sub-Saharan Africa. As an emerging economy and huge economic potential, South Africa is also one of the five members of the BRICS. It is the most industrialized nation on the Dark Continent with a highly diversified base and is considered a manufacturing hub of the African landmass. South Africa's location at the tip of the Africa continent in the middle of wide waters joining the Indian and Atlantic Oceans and "as a gateway to the rest of Africa" (Laryea, 2014, p. 123) wins it great strategic importance (Schmitz, 2006, p. 86). With a booming economy and key position on world trade of goods and energy supply and politically prominent and leading African nation, South Africa is destined to play a role in African politics vis-à-vis the international political system (Abenova, 2016, p. 291).

References

- (2019, June). Retrieved from Army Technology: <https://www.army-technology.com/features/feature-the-10-longest-range-intercontinental-ballistic-missiles-icbm/>
- (2019, September 15). Retrieved from Foreign Assistance : <https://www.foreignassistance.gov/explore>
- (2019, September 14). Retrieved from USAID: <https://explorer.usaid.gov/#2018>
- (2020, March 23). Retrieved from CIDCA: <http://en.cidca.gov.cn/index.html>
- (2020, February 22). Retrieved from ICLD. https://www.icold-cigb.org/article/GB/world_register/general_synthesis/number-of-dams-by-country-members
- (2020, January 31). Retrieved from UNCTAD: <https://unctad.org/en/pages/newsdetails.aspx?OriginalVersionID=2274>
- (2020, March 14). Retrieved from WPR: <https://worldpopulationreview.com/>
- (2020, March 5). Retrieved from Armed Forces.EU: https://armedforces.eu/compare/country_USA_vs_Russia
- (2020, April 20). Retrieved from G20: <https://g20.org/en/about/Pages/default.aspx>
- (2020, May 20). Retrieved from European Council on Foreign Relations: <https://www.ecfr.eu/wider/about>
- (2020, May 12). Retrieved from The Islamic Military Counter Terrorism Coalition: <https://www.imctc.org/English/Members>
- (2020, April 21). Retrieved from EIA: <https://www.eia.gov/tools/faqs/faq.php?id=427&t=3>
- Abenova, A (2016) The International Cooperation for African Development: BRICS and South Africa's Role. In T. Deych, A. Zhukov, O. Kulkova, & E. K. Asov (Eds.), *Africa's Growing Role in World Politics* (pp. 289-293). Lac-Beauport: Meabooks Inc.
- Aggestam, L. (2010). *European Foreign Policy and the Quest for a Global Role: Britain, France and Germany*. London: Routledge .
- Agnew, J. (2003). *Geopolitics: Re-Visioning World Politics* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.
- Ahmed, A. (2014). *India's Doctrine Puzzle: Limiting War in South Asia*. New Delhi : Routledge .
- Arif, B. H. (2017). The Role of Soft Power in China's Foreign Policy in the 21st Century. *International Journal of Social Sciences & Educational Studies*, 3(3), 94-101.
- Barnett, T. P. (2005). *The Pentagon's New Map: War and Peace in the Twenty-First Century*. Penguin Publishing Group.
- Bauer, R. (2016, August 13). Retrieved from Small Wars Journal: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/russia%E2%80%99s-soft-power-development-in-the-21st-century>
- BBC News*. (2020, January 5). Retrieved from BBC: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-50996602>
- BBC News China*. (2013, June 6). Retrieved from BBC: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-22726375>

- BBC News India*. (2019, September 20). Retrieved from BBC: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-49875897>
- Beckley, M. (2015). The Myth of Entangling Alliances: Reassessing the Security Risks of U.S. Defense Pacts. *International Security*, 39(4), 7-48.
- Beckley, M. (2018). *Unrivaled: Why America Will Remain the World's Sole Superpower*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.
- Berger, T. U., Mochizuki, M., & Tsuchiyama, J. (2007). *Japan in international politics: the foreign policies of an adaptive state*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Blackwill, R. D., & Harris, J. M. (2016). *War by Other Means*. USA . Harvard University Press.
- Brewster, D. (2014). *India's Ocean: The Story of India's Bid for Regional Leadership*. London : Routledge .
- Brzezinski, Z. (2001). *The Geostrategic Triad: Living with China, Europe, and Russia*. Washington DC: The CSIS PRes.
- Buzan, B. (2004). *The United States and the Great Powers: World Politics in the Twenty-First Century*. Cambridge: Polity Press Ltd.
- Cafiero, G., & Al-Jaber, K. (2019, December 10). *Kuala Lumpur summit: A challenge to Saudi leadership?* Retrieved from Middle East Institute: <https://www.mei.edu/publications/kuala-lumpur-summit-challenge-saudi-leadership>
- CGTN*. (2020, May 6). Retrieved from China Global TV Network: <https://www.cgtn.com/>
- Chan, L.-H., Chan, G., & Kwan, F. (2011). *China at 60: Global-local Interactions*. Singapore: World Scientific.
- Chandran, N. (2018, February 28). *CNBC Politics*. Retrieved from CNBC. <https://www.cnbc.com/2018/02/28/military-china-and-india-compete-over-bases-around-indian-ocean.html>
- Chen, D. (2017, October 31). *China Has a New Grand Strategy and the West Should Be Ready* . Retrieved from The Diplomat . <https://thediplomat.com/2017/10/china-has-a-new-grand-strategy-and-the-west-should-be-ready/>
- Cheng-Chia , T., & Yang, A. H. (2020, April 9). *China Power*. Retrieved from The Diplomat: <https://thediplomat.com/2020/04/how-china-is-remaking-the-un-in-its-own-image/>
- Cohen, S. B. (2003). *Geopolitics of the World System*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.
- Collignan, S. (2006) *The EU - A Global Economic Player?* (R. Cuperus, K. A. Duffek, E. Froschl, & T. Morschel, Eds.) Berlin: LIT - Renner Institute.
- CPEC*. (2019, January 20). Retrieved from China Pakistan Economic Corridor: <http://cpec.gov.pk/introduction/1>
- CRI*. (2020, May 7). Retrieved from China Radio International [http //chinaplus cri cn/](http://chinaplus.cri.cn/)
- Crombois, J. F. (2015). Which Geopolitics for the European Union? The EU's Eastern Partnership. *International Relations and Diplomacy*, 3(7), 480-486. doi:10.17265/2328-2134/2015 07 005
- Data*. (2019, June 19). Retrieved from National Bureau of Statistics of China : <http://www.stats.gov.cn/english/>

- deLisle, J., & Goldstein, A. (2017). *China's Global Engagement: Cooperation, Competition, and Influence in the Twenty-first Century*. Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Descalzi, C. A. (2011). *LSE Thesis Online*. Retrieved from London School of Economics: <http://etheses.lse.ac.uk/322/>
- Destradi, S. (2012). *Indian Foreign and Security Policy in South Asia: Regional Power Strategies* Abingdon: Routledge.
- Dhiraj, D. A. (2019, May 16). Retrieved from Business Insider: <https://www.businessinsider.com/countries-with-the-most-billionaires-2019-5#8-india-8>
- d'Hooghe, I. (2014). *China's Public Diplomacy*. Leiden : Brill Nijhoff Publishers.
- Dobbins, J., Shatz, H. J., & Wyne, A. (2018). *Russia Is a Rogue, Not a Peer; China Is a Peer, Not a Rogue*. Rand Corporation. Retrieved from <https://www.rand.org/pubs/perspectives/PE310.html>
- Dunham, W. (2014, March 2). Retrieved from Reuters: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-ukraine-crisis-usa-kerry/kerry-condemns-russias-incredible-act-of-aggression-in-ukraine-idUSBREA210DG20140302>
- Faleg, G. (2016). *The EU's Common Security and Defence Policy: Learning Communities in International Organizations*. Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan Springer.
- Fifield, A. (2019, October 1). *Asia & Pacific*. Retrieved from The Washington Post: https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/china-rolls-out-its-military-firepower-with-emphasis-on-cold-war-style-nuclear-might/2019/10/01/243d5302-e168-11e9-be7f-4cc85017c36f_story.html
- FMPRS Speeches*. (2019, September 28). Retrieved from Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China: https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjdt_665385/zyjh_665391/t1703219.shtml
- Frater, P (2019, May 20). Retrieved from Variety News: <https://variety.com/2019/biz/asia/huawei-restricted-google-android-1203220714/>
- Freund, C., & Ruta, M. (2018, March 29). *Belt and Road Initiative*. Retrieved from The World Bank: <https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/regional-integration/brief/belt-and-road-initiative>
- Friedman, G. (2009). *The Next 100 Years*. New York : Doubleday
- Friedman, G (2019, October 14). *The Origins of New US-Turkish Relations*. Retrieved from Geopolitical Futures : <https://geopoliticalfutures.com/the-origins-of-new-us-turkish-relations/>
- G7 Leaders Declaration*. (2019, August 26). Retrieved from G7 France : <https://www.elysee.fr/en/g7/2019/08/26/g7-leaders-declaration>
- Gertz, B. (2013). *The China Threat: How the People's Republic Targets America* Washington DC: Regency Publishing.
- Global Diplomacy Index* . (2020, March 13). Retrieved from Lowy Institute https://globaldiplomacyindex.lowyinstitute.org/country_rank.html
- Goh, E. (2016). *Rising China's Influence in Developing Asia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Goldman, M. I. (2010). *Petrostate: Putin, Power, and the New Russia*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- GS Intelligence Menu . (2020, May 6). Retrieved from Global Security.Org:
<https://www.globalsecurity.org/intell/world/china/coco.htm>
- Gul, A. (2018, August 8). *South and Central Asia*. Retrieved from VOA News:
<https://www.voanews.com/south-central-asia/pakistan-russia-sign-rare-military-cooperation-pact>
- Ham, P. V. (2013). The European Union's Social Power in International Politics. In M. D. Cross, & J. Melissen, *European Public Diplomacy: Soft Power at Work* (pp. 157-182). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hampson, F. O., & Zartman, I. W. (2016). *Global Power of Talk: Negotiating America's Interests*. Routledge.
- Heng, S. M -L. (2016, November 8). *ORF Issue Brief*. Retrieved from ORF:
<https://www.orfonline.org/research/diplomacy-and-image-building/>
- Henriksen, T. H. (2001). The Rise and Decline of Rogue States *Journal of International Affairs*, 54(2), 349-373. Retrieved from
https://www.jstor.org/stable/24357735?seq=2#metadata_info_tab_contents
- Hill, C. (2007). *Managing a Multilevel Foreign Policy: The EU in International Affairs*. (P. Foradori, P. Rosa, & R. Scartezzini, Eds.) Lanham: Lexington Books.
- Hiro, D. (2019). *Cold War in the Islamic World: Saudi Arabia, Iran and the Struggle for Supremacy*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Howorth, J. (2014). *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union* (2nd ed.). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Huntington, S. P. (2001). Japan's role in global politics. *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, 1(1), 131-142. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1093/irap/1.1.131>
- IBEF. (2020, March). Retrieved from IBEF: <https://www.ibef.org/economy/indian-economy-overview>
- Ikenberry, G. J., & Lim, D. J. (2017). *China's emerging institutional statecraft* Washington DC: Brookings Institution.
- IOM (2020). *World Migration Report 2020*. Geneva: International Organization for Migration.
- Jacob, H. (2018). *Line on Fire: Ceasefire Violations and India–Pakistan Escalation Dynamics*. New Delhi: OUP India.
- Jacoby, T. (2009). *Reinventing the Melting Pot: The New Immigrants and What It Means To Be American*. Manhattan. Basic Books.
- Jamal, U. (2019, December 20) *The Kuala Lumpur Summit 2019 Shows Pakistan's Diplomatic Subservience to Saudi Arabia* Retrieved from The Diplomat:
<https://thediplomat.com/2019/12/the-kuala-lumpur-summit-2019-shows-pakistans-diplomatic-subservience-to-saudi-arabia/>
- Jayapalan, N. (2001). *Foreign Policy of India*. New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and Distributors.
- Jeffrey, C. (2019, January 15). Retrieved from Quartz India: <https://qz.com/india/1523784/the-indian-ocean-is-now-at-the-heart-of-global-geopolitics/>
- Jerome, D. (Ed.). (2020). *Examining War and Conflict around the World*. Santa Barbara: ABC CLIO.

- Jinping, X. (2017, Nov 11). *Full text of Chinese President Xi's address at APEC CEO Summit*. Retrieved from XINHUANET: http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2017-11/11/c_136743492.htm
- Kellogg, T. (2017, September 1). Retrieved from Foreign Policy: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/09/01/the-china-india-border-standoff-what-does-beijing-want/>
- Kennedy, P. M. (1989). *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Kennedy, S. (2015, June 1). CSIS. Retrieved from Center for Strategic and International Studies: <https://www.csis.org/analysis/made-china-2025>
- Khan, B. (2008). India and the Making of a Hegemon. *Australian Quarterly*, 80(1), 29-36. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20638532>
- Khanna, V. (2018). *Foreign Policy of India* (Seventh ed.). New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.
- Korolev, A. (2016). Systemic Balancing and Regional Hedging: China–Russia Relations. *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, 9(4), 375-397. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1093/cjip/pow013>
- Kristensen, H. M., & Norris, R. S. (2017, July 5). Indian nuclear forces, 2017. *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 73(4), 205-209. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/00963402.2017.1337998>
- Kugiel, P. (2017). *India's Soft Power: A New Foreign Policy Strategy*. London: Routledge.
- Kurlantzick, J. (2006, June 6). Retrieved from Carnegie Endowment for International Peace: <https://carnegieendowment.org/2006/06/05/china-s-charm-implications-of-chinese-soft-power-pub-18401>
- Lai, H., & Lu, Y. (Eds.). (2012). *China's Soft Power and International Relations*. London: Routledge.
- Laryea, E. T. (2014). Implications of the Rise of the BRIC Countries for Africa. In V. I. Lo, & M. Hiscock (Eds.), *The Rise of the BRICS in the Global Political Economy: Changing Paradigms?* (pp. 123-141). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing .
- Lehne, S. (2020). *How the EU Can Survive in a Geopolitical Age*. Brussels: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Li, M. (Ed.) (2011). *Soft Power: China's Emerging Strategy in International Politics*. Lanham: Lexington Books.
- Lostumbo, M. J. (2013). *Overseas Basing of U.S. Military Forces: An Assessment of Relative Costs and Strategic Benefits*. Rand Corporation.
- Lu, Z. (2019, March 12). *China Military*. Retrieved from South China Morning Post: <https://www.scmp.com/news/china/military/article/2189604/china-sells-weapons-more-countries-and-biggest-exporter-armed>
- Luttwak, E. N. (1990). From Geopolitics to Geo-Economics: Logic of Conflict, Grammar of Commerce commented. *The National Interest*, 17-23.
- Luttwak, E. N. (2010). *Endangered American Dream*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Lyll, N. (2019, February 25). *China Power*. Retrieved from The Diplomat . <https://thediplomat.com/2019/02/chinas-rise-in-the-middle-east-beyond-economics/>
- Mahan, A. T. (2020, April 17). *Google* . Retrieved from Google Books: <https://books.google.com.pk/books?id=zBYLAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=The+influe>

nce+of+sea+power+upon+history+by+alfred+thayer+mahan&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjA2L6Nse_oAhWQQRUIHW4SCzIQ6AEINDAC#v=snippet&q=United%20states%20as%20power&f=false

- Mani, C. M. (2005). *A Journey Through India's Past*. New Delhi: Northern Book Centre.
- Mankoff, J. (2009). *Russian Foreign Policy: The Return of Great Power Politics*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Marchetti, R. (2016). *Partnerships in International Policy-Making: Civil Society and Public Institutions in European and Global Affairs*. London, UK : Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mazarr, M. J., Priebe, M., Radin, A., & Stuth, C. A. (2016). *Understanding the Current International Order*. Santa Monica: Rand Corporation.
- McBride, J. (2018, October 1). Retrieved from CFR: <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/how-does-us-spend-its-foreign-aid>
- McCann, J. (2011, July 5). The Chinese competitive advantage. *International Journal of Sustainable Strategic Management*, 3(1). doi:10.1504/IJSSM.2011.040776
- Migliani, S. (2019, January 26). Retrieved from Business Insider: <https://www.businessinsider.com/r-india-navy-set-to-open-third-base-in-strategic-islands-to-counter-china-2019-1>
- Mohan . P., & Agarwal. P. (2019, October 4). India's Civil Nuclear Agreements: A new dimension in India's global diplomacy. *Observer Research Foundation*(320), pp. 1-15. Retrieved from <https://www.orfonline.org/research/india-civil-nuclear-agreements-new-dimension-india-global-diplomacy/>
- Montalvo-Barbot, A. (2019). *Melting Pot, Multiculturalism, and Interculturalism: The Making of Majority-Minority Relations in United States*. Lanham: Lexington Books.
- Morrison, W. M. (2019). *China's Economic Rise. History, Trends, Challenges, and Implications for the United States*. Washington DC: Congressional Research Service. Retrieved from <https://crsreports.congress.gov/search/#!/?termsToSearch=RL33534&orderBy=Relevance>
- Mustajoki, A., Protasova, E., & Yelene, M. N. (2019). *The Soft Power of the Russian Language: Pluricentricity, Politics and Policies*. NY: Routledge.
- Myers, S. L. (2018, August 29). *Asia Pacific*. Retrieved from The New York Times : <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/29/world/asia/china-navy-aircraft-carrier-pacific.html>
- National Security Strategy* . (2019, June 11). Retrieved from Historical Office: <https://history.defense.gov/Historical-Sources/National-Security-Strategy/>
- National Security Strategy of the United States. (2020, April 22). *Google Books*. Retrieved from Google : https://books.google.com.pk/books?id=34PjtzdBV7gC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false
- Nitoiu, C., & Sus. M. (2019). Introduction: The Rise of Geopolitics in the EU's Approach in its Eastern Neighbourhood. *Geopolitics*, 24(1), 1-19. doi:10.1080/14650045.2019.1544396
- Nye Jr., J. S. (2009). *Soft Power. The Means To Success In World Politics*. New York: PublicAffairs
- O'Rourke, R., & Moodie, M. (2020, April 14). *U.S. Role in the World: Background and Issues for Congress*. Retrieved from Congressional Research Service: <https://crsreports.congress.gov/search/#!/?termsToSearch=R44891&orderBy=Relevance>

- Patrick, S. M. (2019). *The Sovereignty Wars: Reconciling America with the World*. Washington DC: The Brookings Institution Press.
- Peck, M. (2019, August 18). *World India*. Retrieved from The National Interest : <https://nationalinterest.org/blog/buzz/india-becoming-nuclear-weapons-superpower-74521>
- Pentagon Report*. (2019, May 3). Retrieved from AlJazeera: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/05/china-increase-overseas-military-bases-pentagon-report-190503065146243.html>
- Peters, R. (2005). *New Glory: Expanding America's Global Supremacy*. Toronto: Sentinel HC.
- Piening, C. (1997). *Global Europe: The European Union in World Affairs*. Boulder : Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Proedrou, F., & Frangnoikolopoulos, C. A. (2010). Russia's Re-emergence in the Global System: Globalising or Anti-Globalising Force? *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 18(1), 79-90. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/14782801003638752>
- Raina, P. (2006). *The Evolving Human and the Future World*. New Delhi: M.D. Publications .
- Rais, R. B. (1987). *The Indian Ocean and the Superpowers: Economic, Political, and Strategic Perspectives*. New Jersey: Barnes & Nobel Books.
- Ray, J. K. (2011). *India's Foreign Relations, 1947-2007*. New Delhi: Routledge.
- Reuters. (2019, April 23). *World*. Retrieved from The Express Tribune : <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1957480/3-china-replacing-america-asias-military-titan/>
- Russian News Agency*. (2017, April 27). Retrieved from TASS: <https://tass.com/politics/943442>
- Rutland, P. (2008). Russia as an Energy Superpower *New Political Economy*, 13(2), 203-210. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/13563460802018547>
- Sagar, K. C. (1992). *Foreign Influence on Ancient India*. New Delhi: Northern Book Centre
- Schmitz, D. F. (2006). *The United States and Right-Wing Dictatorships, 1965-1989*. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.
- Schuman, M. (2019, May 18). *Global*. Retrieved from The Atlantic: <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2019/05/china-has-more-leverage-thank-you-think-trade-war/589726/>
- Sehgal, I., & Robotka, D. (2019, September 16). Retrieved from Daily Times : <https://dailytimes.com.pk/466881/separatist-movements-threatening-indias-existence/>
- Sempa, F. P. (2011). *Geopolitics: From the Cold War to the 21st Century*. New Brunswick . Transaction Publishers.
- Sen, S. R. (2015, September 10). Retrieved from NDTV: <https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/now-on-indias-west-coast-the-largest-naval-base-east-of-the-suez-canal-1215952>
- Sergunin, A., & Karabeshkin, L. (2015). Understanding Russia's Soft Power Strategy. *Politics*, 35(3-4), 347-363.
- Seth, S. (2020, March 16). Retrieved from Investopedia: <https://www.investopedia.com/terms/r/regional-comprehensive-economic-partnership-rcep.asp>

- Shambaugh, D. (2013). *China Goes Global: The Partial Power*. New York: OUP USA.
- Sharma, A. (2013, July 4). The U.S.-India Strategic Partnership: An Overview of Defense and Nuclear Courtship. *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*. Retrieved from <https://www.georgetownjournalofinternationalaffairs.org/online-edition/the-u-s-india-strategic-partnership-an-overview-of-defense-and-nuclear-courtship-by-ashok-sharma>
- Sharma, R., Gorla, R., & Mishra, V. (2011). *India and the Dynamics of World Politics: A book on Indian Foreign Policy, Related events and International Organizations*. Chandigarh: Pearson Education India.
- Shenkar, O. (2006). China's Economic Rise and the New Geopolitics. *International Journal*, 61(2), 313-319.
- Shuhfan, D. A., & Chih-shian, L. (2015). *China Dreams: China's New Leadership And Future Impacts*. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing Co.
- Sidhu, W. P., & Yuan, J. D. (2003). *China and India: Cooperation Or Conflict?* Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Silver, L. (2019, December 5). *News in the Numbers* Retrieved from Pew Research Center: <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/12/05/u-s-is-seen-as-a-top-ally-in-many-countries-but-others-view-it-as-a-threat/>
- SIPRI Arms Transfers Database* . (2020, March 16). Retrieved from STOCKHOLM INTERNATIONAL PEACE RESEARCH INSTITUTE: <https://www.sipri.org/databases/armstransfers>
- Steingart, G. (2008). *The War For Wealth*. New Delhi: Tata McGraw Hill.
- Tavsan, S. (2017, October 31). *Economy*. Retrieved from Asian Review: <https://asia.nikkei.com/Economy/Iron-silk-road-threatens-to-sidetrack-Russia>
- Taylor, A. (2015, May 30). *World Views*. Retrieved from The Washington Post <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/05/30/map-the-u-s-is-bound-by-treaties-to-defend-a-quarter-of-humanity/>
- Thaler, D. (2004). The Middle East: The Cradle of the Muslim World. In A. M. Rabasa, C Benard, P. Chalk, C. C. Fair, T. Karasik, R. Lal, . . . D. Thaler (Eds.), *The Muslim World After 9/11*. Washington DC: RAND Corporation.
- Tharoor, S (2011). *The Elephant, the Tiger, and the Cell Phone: Reflections on India, the Emerging 21st-Century Power*. New York: Skyhorse Publishing.
- Tharoor., S. (2018, May 6). Retrieved from Financial Express: <https://www.financialexpress.com/india-news/shashi-tharoor-global-perception-of-india-has-taken-a-beating/1157133/>
- the Treaty Affairs Staff, O. o. (2019). *Treaties in Force*. Washington DC: United States Department of State.
- The Worlds Biggest Armies* (2019, June 13) Retrieved from Army Technology : <https://www.army-technology.com/features/feature-the-worlds-biggest-armies/>
- Think Brazil*. (2019, October 11). Retrieved from Wilson Centre : <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/how-brazil-measures-to-latin-americas-biggest-economies>
- Thussu, D. K. (2013). The Historical Context of India's Soft Power. In *Communicating India's Soft Power* (pp. 45-71). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Torreón, B. S. (2019, August 27). *US Periods of War and Dates of Recent Conflicts*. Retrieved from Congressional Research Service:
<https://crsreports.congress.gov/search/#/?termsToSearch=RS21405&orderBy=Relevance>
- Ullah, C. S. (2015). *CHINA'S SOFT POWER. CHANGING THE WORLD PERCEPTION*. Monterey California: Naval Postgraduate School.
- UN News*. (2019, December 15). Retrieved from United Nations:
<https://news.un.org/en/story/2019/11/1050661>
- UN Population Dynamics*. (2020, January 5) Retrieved from UNWPP. <https://population.un.org/wpp/>
- UN Security Council Working Methods*. (2020, March 7). Retrieved from UN Security Council Report:
<https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/un-security-council-working-methods/the-veto.php>
- USCC. (2020, May 6). *China's Belt and Road Initiative*. Retrieved from US China Economic and Security Review Commission:
https://www.uscc.gov/sites/default/files/Rolland_USCC%20Testimony_16Jan2018.pdf
- Wagner, C. (2010). India's Soft Power: Prospects and Limitations. *India Quarterly*, 333-342. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/45073139?read-now=1&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents
- Waltz, K. N. (1997). The Emerging Structure of International Politics *International Security*, 18(2), 44-79. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/2539097?seq=7#metadata_info_tab_contents
- Weir, T., & P. I. (2019). *US Vs China: From Trade War to Reciprocal Deal*. Singapore. World Scientific Publishing Company.
- WEO*. (2020, January 5). Retrieved from IMF:
https://www.imf.org/external/datamapper/NGDP_RPCH@WEO/OEMDC/ADVEC/WEO_WORLD/IND
- Willige, A. (2016, Dec 5). *The world's top economy: the US vs China in five charts*. Retrieved from World Economic Forum: <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2016/12/the-world-s-top-economy-the-us-vs-china-in-five-charts/>
- Wu, D. (2017, June 30). Retrieved from The Diplomat: <https://thediplomat.com/2017/06/china-and-russia-sign-military-cooperation-roadmap/>
- Yang, J. (2014). *China's Diplomacy: Theory and Practice*. Singapore: World Century Publishing Corporation .
- Zhang, Z. (2018). *The Belt and Road Initiative China's New Geopolitical Strategy?* Berlin. The German Institute for International Security Affairs. Retrieved from https://www.swp-berlin.org/en/search-results/?q=Zhexin+Zhang&tx_solr%5Bsort%5D=created+desc

CHAPTER 4

EMERGING POLES OF GLOBAL SUPREMACY

4.1. Global Supremacy

International politics recognizes power distribution as a significantly diverse and mercurial phenomenon. There is no centralized authority or a 'world government' and the power system remains mostly 'decentralized' (Matthews, 2003, p. 127). We have discussed in chapter one that various patterns of power accumulation have been formed throughout history. There were empires with periods of extremely concentrated power like the Great Roman Empire and the Ottoman Empire and there have been periods of widely dispersed and distributed power like Greek city-states or European colonial states. In recent history, a specific example of a dispersed power period was the time 'before first world war when a truly multipolar system' (Ray, 1983, p. 404) was in place with so many powers not only within Europe but in Asia as well as in the new world referred to as great powers. However, this transformed into a highly concentrated unipolar power system with the emergence of the US as a strong and uncontested global hegemon.

Over the years, the process of maintaining a balance of power has become more central and integral to the world political system as compared to the power struggle and national interests of the states. It does not mean that states are not pursuing their interests or are not contestants in the race for power and political supremacy. After the Second World War, it implies that states are more

conscious to pursue such agendas and act more responsibly when other states do the same. The instabilities caused during the pre-war periods of both the world wars due to this state of conflict and power struggles based on factors such as the notion of superior race or nationalism and increased share in world political processes and wider influence are much less prevalent today. Many attribute this relative peace and lesser intensity and struggle for the power distribution and accumulation to the changing system of polarity. A multipolar world created a much more insecure international system of power. The power balance was dependent on alliances and coalitions and it was very fragile and 'fluid' (Mearsheimer, 1990).

World wars broke down the power and strength of many and substantially reduced their capacity to intervene and pursue their power motives, giving way to a bipolar system of power. The bipolar system was supposed to be more stable and peace-oriented in views of many or with lesser conflicts and wars (Danilovic, 2002, p. 76). A bipolar system with two distinct global actors or powers did not ensure a conflict-free world or an absolute absence of wars. It accelerated rather a more lethal and disastrous struggle for power. Though at the same time it is said to have saved the world from a third world war. There is much debate around the concept whether the bipolar system of power prevented war or ignited serious frictions and deeper rifts. Bipolarity introduced a complex pattern of rivalry and proxy wars and embroiled the entire world into the ideological clashes of two superpowers. The arguments on both sides are strong and logical. The global political stability claimed under the bipolar system could avoid a direct clash but could not save the world from the continuous concerns and pressures of an unstable power system. Throughout the forty-five years of the cold war, the world remained under the threat of a global nuclear conflict. The lethal nuclear

capability of both the powers turned the world balance of power into a global 'balance of terror' (Bowker, 2012, p. 217).

With the fall of the USSR and the end of bipolarity, the global shift to unipolarity was expected to be a more stable system (Terhalle, 2011) and anticipated to bring the world under much-desired harmony and peace (Brooks & Wohlfort, 2008). Contrarily, the World under one powerful state disrupted the critical power balance. It brought the international political system back to its basic theoretical discussion and assumptions. The realists' ideas of an anarchic world imbued with the realist version of the extreme and fundamental pressures on other states to fill the void and be strong enough not to be exploited by the sole hegemon, proved worthwhile. The idealists' stance that a unipolar world will free the international institution and regulatory bodies from the pressures of opposing poles and power games in the absence of a global enmity stood completely false. The increased pressure of the single hegemon raised many more concerns and chaos ultimately inspiring and igniting another race for a power struggle. More so, such a struggle had to be far more intense and lethal due to its larger scope and area of influence, the entire globe. Hence, the perception of stability in a unipolar system becomes as vague (Monteiro, 2012) as was the case with multipolar and bipolar systems. States start taking initiatives to check and halt the hegemon and pursue agendas for their sustainability. The process gets to a vicious cycle, the race for superiority, power play, aligning and realigning with other political actors in the power system and indirect rivalries.

Unipolarity is already on its way to decline (Layne, 2012), (Sears, 2016) & (Harris, 2019) and a new balance of power seems to be taking place. The world had learned that all three unipolar, bipolar, or multipolar systems are unstable but their relative effects on stability are to be assessed and reassessed with more depth and scholarship. At the same time, the underlying principles of both realists and idealists are at play in one way or the other. Realist stance that the core of the unipolar system as well as the other two is friction and conflict which naturally pave the way for instability justifies. States always remain in a natural process competing for their survival and interests, pursuing power, struggling against other power-seekers and hegemons. It operates parallel to the idealists' stance that cooperation and connectivity are keys to the stable world and avenues of improving such processes lie within conflict and friction. Regionally, the European Union is a classic example of this assumption. On the following pages, the aim is to trace the evolution of the world from a multipolar to the unipolar world without getting much into the details of its causes, factors and consequences.

4.2. From a Multipolar to Unipolar World

The concept of global hegemon or power in terms of global influence and not just physical presence in parts of the world is relatively new. It is new in theoretical terms and the historical discourse. It was only after the discovery of the Americas that 'global' in its entirety be applied. No matter how great in their extent and scope, all great empires or powers of medieval as well as Middle Ages were contained within the old world. Be it the Great Roman Empire or the mighty Ottoman Empire with their footprints on multiple continents, had anything to do in the new world. Both had no physical presence nor political influence there.

It was at the end of the fifteenth century that the old world came to know the Americas and Spain was the first one to make a claim of its own and extend its political influence in the new world. The access and presence of Spain and Portugal in different parts of the world made them global empires but did not make any of the global hegemons or powers. Certainly, both powers missed many other elements of global power. Both the countries on the motherland and in their regional setting were much less influential politically as well as economically. The sixteenth-century witnessed a rise of colonial powers and many reached out to the various parts of the world. Colonial powers occupied new lands and set their feet on the multiple continents. These victories helped to fortify the power at home and develop the mighty empires of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. By this time, the race for taking lead in the colonizing process and benefitting from the exploits of the subjugated lands was at its peak. Among the many European colonial powers, Great Britain and France were taking leads while Japan was doing its bid in Asia.

Other powers entered the club in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It shifted the focus from colonizing and controlling the subjugated territories to exerting political influence to shape the politics of the various regions and parts of the world. Spanish empire's efforts to dominate over the European as well as regional powers in the occupied territories were not aimed at winning global supremacy of the type we experience today. Neither the race for supremacy between the Spanish Empire and Britain in the colonial areas match the extent of present day struggle for a global role. It could be referred to as a race for colonial supremacy and its participants were many. The politics of colonial influence had embroiled entire Europe. The parallel emergence of the numerous political actors with more resources and military might along with colonial exploits

paved the way to an intense power struggle among European states. However, it was more regional than a global race for supremacy.

By 1800, France was the most powerful country in Europe yet it could not equate with the UK on global footprints. In mainland Europe, Germany was another strong contestant. On one side, the Ottoman Empire was still a significant power, while on the other, Denmark, as well as USSR, Dutch, Belgium and Italy, were emerging as a strong colonial powers group. The list was long enough to let anyone power to claim for global influence and power. Many of these powerful states had spread globally and build armies and ammunitions. With similar rapid industrialization and overlapping trade networks, no single state could afford to challenge the other. Hence, the politics of restraint was exercised. The balance of power was maintained and destabilized through alliances and coalitions.

In terms of polarity, the world started transiting from a nonpolar world to a multipolar one. One could argue that the existence of the mighty empires of the world reflects the existence of power poles much before the definition or the concept of power, its balance and power blocks or poles were formed. Therefore, it was not a transition from nonpolar to a multipolar world and a multipolar world has existed for a much longer period. An affirmative response could help avoid a lot of theoretical discussion in the historical context. The study traces the roots of present-day politics of power blocks or poles from the nineteenth century when the greater part of the evolution of today's most powerful states took place. And almost all of them are not only relevant but central to our discussion today. The world politics revolves around the same powerful political actors and

these powers would have a central role in the emergence of new poles. Secondly as stated earlier, the term global became more conclusive and comprehensive with the European colonization of the new world. Furthermore, local and regional political movements of the new world started becoming a part and parcel of world politics.

During the nineteenth century, within the group of great powers or colonial powers, the British Kingdom did maintain a special status of power and hegemony. In the simplest form, it may be called the uneven exercise of power. British kingdom reached a superpower status largely as a result of exploits of the colonial lands and rule over overseas areas. The wealth of the global trade network became the Kingdom's major strength. This rise could partially be attributed to the time of earliest transitions from geopolitical to the geo-economics. Rapid industrialization changed this transition in favour of the empire. As the regional European balance of power was leaning in favour of the British Empire, Britain further strengthened itself at home. Peace at home, mammoth productions, and exports of profitable inventiveness equipped the empire with the courage and confidence to shadow its influence worldwide. Enormous human resources from colonies exhilarated militaries and reinforced the Empire's control over the colonies. Its stability and strength allowed to advance its wider influence and develop as a global hegemon.

The British Empire appeared as a state defining and shaping intricate imperial (Screpanti, 2014) competitions. It was appealing global imperial contentions with European and non-European both ends. USA and Japan were becoming non-European challengers in a global context parallel to European contenders. Power politics increased with impetus from the ever-expanding zones of

influence. It started spreading and impacting bigger and far off colonial lands. At these far zones, monetary and economic concerns of the states overlapped. The worldwide political situation was engraved by the ups and downs of the developing enmities. The race for imperial supremacy ignited rivalries of a massive scale. Though there are theoretical as well as factual issues to call the period of the British superiority and stronghold in world political affairs as unipolar, yet historians refer this time as the British Imperial Century (Parsons, 1999). The British ascendancy challenged the influence and control of other imperial powers and endangered their interests. On the contrary, the dominance secured trade benefits of extraordinary scales for the British. Incubating more anxieties for rising and traditional powers and for the balance of power.

Britain adopted a policy to avoid engaging itself in the politics of mainland Europe. It concentrated more on global colonial and trade expansions and advancements. The policy paid well and helped in worldwide commercial and military pursuance. Without being engaged in regional political issues and conflicts, the empire succeeded in developing a more powerful and widespread image of a global actor and to a great extent of a hegemon. This was also a paradigm shift in global political affairs. The politics of territorial conquests and suppressions were tilting towards politics of global show of power, influence and economics. The UK did remain a global imperial power or perhaps a global power in a dwindling manner till the Second World War. The period from first to the Second World War could be seen as a transition from a multipolar world to a bipolar world overcast by short-lived and limited unipolarity of the Kingdom.

There are many reasons for the Kingdom, not qualifying to be an uncontested global power and in theoretical terms its unipolar primacy. First, before even the empire reached the level of unipolar complacency, the German rise and shift of foreign policy to advance a global power agenda came as the first of the challenges. The 'weltpolitik' (Lee, 2003) not only reflected German global intentions and ambitions, it also reflected upon weaknesses in the Empires political influence and power in the immediate neighbourhood.

The change of the century markedly changed the politics of power coalitions and alliances. Kingdom remained an active player in these years but was unable to influence the international political system efficiently in its favour. The coalitions and alliances formed in this era also reflect upon multiple power players if not blocks, exerting considerable power to ensure their due share in the power play. Worldwide alliances of supreme level and widest ever extent were developed and formed in the early years of the twentieth century which marked with the advent of the climax of the multipolar world. However, the lust for power and ambitions to be more active in the international political system coerced political powers to find more innovative solutions to their power struggles. Growing apprehensions of contemporary political actors ended in nothing but the greatest disaster ever in human history. The natural outcome of this struggle was a convergence of two distinct alliances causing one of the most damaging wars of the world.

Another reason that the UK could not gain absolute supremacy and the world could not become truly unipolar, was the quick and powerful entry of the US to the imperial powers list. At the time the USA had a GDP greater than the UK. At a distance from the land of political conflicts and

European power struggles, the USA enjoyed a challenge free environment of economics and infrastructural development. The UK was at the peak of colonial spread and its zenith for economic superiority ready to assume a global political position in the 1920s. At the same time, the USA and Japan were ready to challenge its rise. UK had strengthened its relationship with both the USA and Japan. Both supported the UK, Japan as an ally, and the USA as an associated power during the First World War. The UK benefitted from the alliance it had signed with Japan in the early 1900s. It was an acknowledgment of its growing power and impact on world politics. While the USA provided much needed financial support during and after the war.

The First World War drained the Kingdom of its economic resources which had provided much-needed military buildup and weapons production during the war. War not only disrupted the balance of power and empire's ability to dominate world affairs but also accelerated the weakening of its political influence before arriving at the unopposed global hegemony. The post-war developments further deteriorated the power and influence of the Kingdom as European powers became much wary of hegemonic schemes than felicitating the victory. Burdened under surmounting debt, the United Kingdom the chief actor in Allied Powers lost its drives for a superpower or hegemon of a global magnitude.

A new form of global political power struggle came into play with the march of the new century. Massive industrial productions, global trade interests, advancement in technology, enormous military capabilities with state of the art military warfare and abundant weaponry as well as human resources, making and reorientation of coalitions and alliances, and transition in mercantilist

policies prepared the ground for newer political discourse and provided transformed environment for the political engagements in the international political system. An intricate system of political convergence and divergence emerged. With a vacuum of a strong hegemon, political actors exerted the influence and pressure to the last extent of receiving fruits of their powerfulness in one way or the other. Adding more to the colonial territories, sharing trade benefits, collective exploitation of maritime routes, common security practices, and treaties were one side of the shared exploitations and coalition power play outcomes. On the other hand, all of it was under layered by a complex pattern of rivalries emerging out of greater shares in common interest areas and global politics.

USSR, Japan, UK, Germany, Italy, France and the USA had diversified interests. These interests and political influence were spreading far and wide, parallel to the UK as well as overlapping and converging with each other. All this was giving way to a deep-rooted supremacy race. This race sprouted to conflicts of ever greater latitude and force in the coming years. A multipolar world was becoming more strongly and extensively multipolar. However, an abrupt and immediate war in the middle of this political evolution ended the transformation to an immediate concern of sustaining the power and influence of many of the great powers in the post-war period.

These states were so much war hit and dilapidated, torn internally, and susceptible to their hegemonic strands in the post-war times that hardly anyone aspired the prewar inspiration or entitlements of hegemony. In the immediate aftermath, no great power of Europe was able to pursue the agenda for power and pursuance of hegemony. One finds it extremely difficult to place this phase in world political history in the compartments of polarity. Most of these powers were

persuaded and focused to avoid such fateful events. The immediate objective was to recover from the war effects and disaster. However, signs of change were obvious when the USA took the leadership role as opposed to the UK, to propose for an organization or body to safeguard 'political independence' of the world nations and guarantee the 'territorial integrity' of the states. Though Leagues of Nations became a collective agenda of all the participants of the war yet the relatively more powerful had participated in the process of formation a bit reluctantly.

For an empire of the size of the United Kingdom, it was but expected to take its natural time of fall out. A century or more of powerful existence, subjugations, resource accumulations, ruled over a quarter of the world area, and a strong GDP required time to wither out. If ever and by any standards world revered UK as a unipolar power, though not in absolute terms, it was this time. Some recent studies show UK held considerable power post Second World War and remained a potential threat (Leebaert, 2018) to US rise during the post-war years as well. A very short-lived nonpolar world was ready to welcome new entries as the US was wholly equipped to yield a central role. It possessed all the essentials to be a power of magnitude. Supreme in many ways, the US also shunned off the last of the impediments, the self-imposed policy of neutrality and restraint.

US foreign policy shift or rather active involvement stemmed from its participation in the First World War as an associated power. Though it did not sign military alliances yet it had to be ready for the implications of the involvement in the long run. USA economic support to the war-torn countries especially the UK in the form of loans required a guarantee. The stability of these nations and the world was in the US interest to safeguard its capital. Thirdly, new entrants were as

instrumental to the balance of power as the war to the prewar rivalries for supremacy. The US jumped out of its isolationist policy and actively participated in the Paris Peace Conference. Other than war consequences and compulsions, the growing commercial empire, the business enterprise, and expanding economic activities compelled the US to take over this role. Its emerging power required it to enhance its circle of influence and assume the role of the new hegemon.

Some ground was also provided with the developments on mainland Europe and these were serious and critical to the world political system, balance of power and politics of influence. German ambitions to prove and impose a superiority of 'Master Race' became clear. The process of declaring German hegemony within Europe and relative calm at the end of the UK and France was another alarming issue for the American policymakers. The calmness and vacuum of power in the post-war years scattered the power and ignited the Second World War. American apprehensions proved true with the German declaration of Neuordnung. The New Order was a sudden and big development in terms of the clear purpose of commencement and pursuance of hegemonic designs. (Mazower, 2008, p. 607). This ignited a wave of similar ambitions by another authoritarian regime in Italy. Japan had already taken the trail of hegemonic designs and wriggled to benefit from the imperial ambitions.

German, Italian and Japanese intentions and ambitions for a greater and wider role started becoming a cause of concern for the other political powers of the time especially the UK, France and the USSR. The same feeling of resentment towards growing aggression (Carley, 1999) of the three became the main cause of the Second World War. Second World War brought another shift

in the way states had been dealing and acting in the international political system. New and more distinct alliances were shaped in the form of Axis and Allies powers. Alliances formed during the Second World War remained the point of attention for the political scientists and became central to the scholarly discourse on future political poles.

These alliances were instrumental for the formation of a bipolar world in the post war era. The way these alliances encircled the whole world in the war left experts on political science and international relations with new challenges and apprehensions. The world had become more globalized and thus more prone to global wars. Though the war should never be an option yet the war as a regional or limited geographical event was much less chaotic and disastrous than the one on the global scale. Such a war could spread across continents and embroil every nation and territory. The frontline combatant powers applied such powerful influence and used so forceful means that no nation could avoid the dangers and damages of an event of this magnitude and intensity. Europe was not the only battleground though the main theatre of war.

Even the physical war became transcontinental and interestingly it was thousands of kilometers away from mainland Europe, the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor that involved the USA in war. US entry would mean almost every part of the world is in confrontation. Later it was US dropping of Atomic Bomb on Japan which brought the war to end. A war that was mostly ignited and confronted on mainland Europe was fought more fiercely somewhere else and came to a conclusive ending with the havoc caused thousands of kilometers away from Europe. Another of the outcome of the war was the development of an understanding of the very concept of the effectiveness of

alliances. The victory was much attributed to the successful interaction and linkages of the Allies (DiNardo, 2005) who won due to the strategic coalitions, quicker and efficient communication and better coordination within the alliance. The failure of the Axis was caused due to weaker coordination and an inability to remain glued to the shared objectives of the alliance.

Whether or not war brought a transformation to the political alliances in world politics has remained a topic of debate and discussion. How war shaped the alliance politics to the blocks politics in the international political system and what differentiates between the two. The strategic alliances formed for usually immediate or key security and military issues and the pursuance of relatively fleeting objectives of the great powers transited to more permanent and long-term as well as wholesome objectives under the blocks politics. War had ended the time of imperialism and accelerated anti-colonial movements. As an immediate outcome of the war, the Axis under the main powers of Japan, Germany, and Italy faced humiliating losses and lost their territories and colonies with heavy fines imposed from the victorious. The major disruption was the British Empire's collapse. War has changed and impacted almost every sphere of global political life by carving out new territories as independent states, changing the political map, and transformation of trade routes, commercial interests and overall economic actualities.

After the collapse of the prewar balance of power (Aneek, 2010, p. 67), a transformed concept of balance of power emerged in the post Second World War. This was important in two larger realities. Most great powers had lost their ambitions and hegemonic intentions as losers or victorious states due to the heavy toll paid on human, economic and military fronts. Morale was

low, economies were shambled, trade was disrupted and social fabric was weak. War compulsions, heavy debts, and sanctions by the victors had wretched both sides. No one was ready to fight another war. Europe had to learn to live peacefully which required a fresh approach to the balance of power. It was fortunately supported by the emergence of a bipolar balance-of-power system. Hence the bipolar world and more so blocks politics was nothing but a natural choice for all. The power transition which had moved from multiple powers to a few as great powers had been narrowed down to only two. The upsurge of two discrete powers which were later called superpowers signifies as the greatest development of this time.

This end of the multipolar world gave birth to a bipolar world. A new age of political stimulus began to take shape. USA and USSR had participated in the Second World War as allies and struggled together against the Axis powers. While most great powers had lost their inspiration and potential for global role and alliances politics was coming to end due to the changed politico-economic compulsions, a reestablishment of balance of power was essential. The vacuum of hegemony to pursue their power politics at the global level invited the new entrants. USSR had benefited from the recent colonial wealth and German exploits of the war as well. The US had started planning for a bigger and greater role well before the end of the war. These merging powers were keen to find their due place in the political order due to their economic might. Geo-economics stimulus gave rise to a new era of political rivalry and race for supremacy which was exclusive due to transformed worldwide currents of technological advancements and development of weapons of mass destruction coupled with much-hyped space exploration.

Many attribute (Smith, 2012) this rivalry to the US vision and motivations for world hegemony. However, that was not the only factor. The Soviet Union espoused a strategy of hostile subjugation of the lands before and during the war which started transforming to pursuing Marxist thoughts and implanting soviet influenced communist governments in its instant zones. These were termed as satellite sates. War had held both bound together for shared benefits, diverse interest and above all a common enemy. The end of the war could no longer imply these conditions and both committed to a global role and position were bound to collide. Abrasions which appeared by the time war came to an end spilled over at the Moscow Conferences.

Though collision did not take place ever yet the frictions led to an intensity of the greatest ever magnitude. Both had their instant interests in Europe and wanted to take control of post-war Europe. This, not military occupation but political control would allow many allowances to the future economic supremacy for each of the two. Soviet physical expansion and communist influence were in confrontation with US capitalist interests and political maneuvering. The US enjoyed a relative economic edge despite the extremely adverse effects of the war felt over the globe. It had also developed a massive military and sizeable sea and air forces but its superiority in weapons especially the use of Atomic Bomb earned it a global dominance. The Soviet Union was quite a different case in many ways but the perception in the wake of the Soviet announcement of a nuclear state in 1949 built it an image of a global hegemon and that too in confrontation with the USA.

The world became bipolar in an absolute sense when the Soviet Union started creating the 'Satellite Empire' (Magstadt, 2015, p. 479) in Eastern Europe in response to American influence in the western half. Both the emerging actors had nothing to share in common in any way. Perhaps the only collective interest was playing a central role in, after the war settlements and this is where earlier oppositions started. Both clashed for economic interests, monetary and financial policies and models in practice and theory. The political philosophies were divergent. Capitalism required a free market economy to flourish and be supported. Communism was pole apart in terms of economic output and centralized control over industrial and agricultural productions. The political system and governance models were the exact opposite of each other. While one was a torchbearer and champion of democracy and involvement of masses in the political process was the hallmark of the other, the central control of the government and superiority of politburo was the key element for soviets. This conflict and clash attracted everything in its fold.

Why were both on the verge of the collision? What was central to this clash? What inspired or triggered this conflict? It seems a very easy and simple response to say the ambitions to influence the world. In an environment and political setting which had global implications, this would allow an exercise of global political influence. The actual agenda of this power politics was much more complex and intricately multifaceted. The new notion of global supremacy started taking its roots in the very structure and process of post-war developments and changed global realities. The world political scene had changed from multiple great powers to two superpowers. Both being superior to any other kingdom, colonial power, empire, or nation-state that ever existed in the history of the world at least in terms of its expanse of political influence.

The ideological confrontation of the two mighty powers became a war of ideas in the world circled with capitalism and communism, democracy and centralized governance, and was reflected in cultural as well as media worlds. The whole world was embroiled in a clash of ideas and political frictions more intensely and deeply than during the world wars. It was common to find the two on opposite fronts on almost every issue of the international political system. The issues of global concern remained issues of one block or the other causing much harm to the peace and harmony wished in the post-war years and to the global political consensus which had resulted in forming a body much better and more effective than the League of Nations. United Nations could not save itself from this clash and was very often divided into big groups or blocks of capitalists and communists. Both even pursued their global agenda for supremacy from the UN's forum. US had a natural advantage in influencing the working and processes of the body having it over its land while the USSR often referred to it pro-western and paralyzed its working by boycotting its sessions.

This bipolar world was so sharply bipolar and so distinctly centered around the two blocks that every aspect of life worldwide, economic activities, educational policies, lifestyle, art, music and literature, culture, politics, and social fabric was polarized and influenced by this confrontation. The two paradigms were clutching the world into forceful adoption to anyone of them. From propaganda to political confrontations, each was bent upon establishing its superiority upon the other. It was instrumental for the supremacy of these powers to keep more and more world nations in their list of friends or allies. It was not enough to cast a vote in favour of one of the two superpowers or announce allegiance to one of the two superpowers, the true loyalty required

adopting every political, economic, military, and cultural as well as governance model of the respective superpower in case of joining it.

Both fought wars in smaller geographical regions with limited political consequences to test and retest each other's muscles. Aggressive policies and military aggression on distant lands were vigorously reinforced and kindled. Away from their homeland, proxy wars were being ignited and supported. What started on the Korean peninsula as one of the early proxy wars to Vietnam attained the peak with the USSR occupation of Afghanistan and the US decision to confront it. Each of these confrontations was widening the gap and heightening the polarization. To the fortune of the world community and the only common possession of both superpowers, the nuclear weapons defied a direct clash. Though the world apprehended a continued threat for a nuclear confrontation both were conscious of its destruction and damages (Zellen, 2012). The havoc caused during the recent world war remained a good reminder.

Despite this restraint on the nuclear front, each formed a military alliance of the worldwide magnitude. North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) which was formed in 1949 exists till today as a sign of the American global security pact. Warsaw Pact which was signed with several Eastern European Countries lost its life with the soviet fall. These military alliances were not considered enough to counter the impact and influence of each other. Hence, multiple other alliances were also formed in a different part of the world. Every continent and region was divided into the bipolar territory. Pakistan also became part of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) which were among the geopolitical alliances

and links formed to augment power and express hegemony. Though a third block was formed and gained considerable weight as Non – Aligned Movement (NAM). The political divide and strength of the political influence of the two superpowers were so deeply penetrated and enormously supported by economic and diplomatic means that it was near impossible for any world nation to remain nonaligned.

The bipolarity entangled almost everything and the race for supremacy marched towards a new era and a new battleground. Crossing the world frontiers, space was also divided between the two superpowers. Space exploration rightly secured them the title of superpowers, greater than any other power which has existed before these two. None had been able to explore possibilities of space exploration and rivalries. Strategists and political scientists had to work out new models and theories to wriggle around the powerful concept of bipolarity. Policymakers were tasked to coin new policies with every new development in the arms race superiority to explore newer ways to handle political clashes to turn into another war. These developments somehow discouraged the possibility of a third world war by imposing self-restraint on the new powers. As the pace of the race grew and the size of the rivalry enlarged, the understanding of the horrors of a war of an unprecedented scale grew much bigger and wider.

Each one of the two superpowers was trying to find out ways and means to find an edge and a superiority over the other. Any such advantage would have proved instrumental in setting up the scene for absolute hegemony of the one over the other. But the actual outcome and final decisive point would still be within the realms of the international political system. On that front US

supremacy was established much earlier than the cold war and remained sustained during and post-cold war period partially due to its economic superiority, closer and stronger ties with Europe, and largely due to the strength and extent of propaganda. While both were advancing well for the space race, preparing for space warfare, conquering the moon, exploring and excelling in advanced ballistic missiles and transcontinental missiles and armaments, the US was engaging the populace through popular culture and propaganda. It was transforming the popular global voice against communism as well as soviet expansionist plans. The hallmark of this propaganda was creating an anti-Soviet mindset for both religious and liberal factions of world societies. Staunch Christian and Islamic countries were greatly influenced by this perception that the Soviet political model and economic processes are anti-religion and exploitative. Fears of an expansionist's regime were enough for the relatively liberal and democratic Europe and countries elsewhere.

Cold War kept the world at a distance from the much apprehended military clash and another war of flesh and blood but sharpened and figured bipolarity as a clear political concept of opposing powers rivalry. Hence it did not take long for the world to refer to the world as unipolar in the wake of the 1989 events. It was an abrupt end of the bipolarity before even USSR disintegrated physically when political developments within Europe cautioned its weakening position and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics decided to quit its forces from Afghanistan. Neither space race superiority nor atomic weapons but economic fallout and social decay caused the end of the USSR power and influence.

The disintegration of the USSR in 1991 into multiple states was the final blow to the remains of bipolarity. The world became unipolar. (Gummett, Boutousov, Farkas, & Rip, 1996) The commanding bipolarity of two super contestants witnessed on a global scale for almost half of a century vanished within a couple of years. Such an early end to the bipolarity was neither expected nor anticipated by the scholars of political science and international relations. Mighty USSR fragmented into many independent states giving way to the mightiest American empire to lead the world and claim unrivaled supremacy. The transition of the USSR to Russia was paralleled by a transition of America from a superpower to the only power in the world. Russia was no more a superpower.

Cold War did end an era of political rivalry and competition for global supremacy but it did not end the practices and forces of supremacy and hegemony. The USA became a first-ever truly superpower and a global hegemon uncontested and unchallenged. How would a unipolar world work? There was no history or evidence of such a political shift. A world with a unique form of power and influence without any matching influence and hegemony. Both the world as a unipolar sphere of influence and the US as a sole power gained a unique status in world history. The US had not made any more colonies, nor subjugated lands, it had not even confiscated economic gains of others or used a single weapon but secured a status due to the dismemberment of the USSR. This is not a topic of debate or study for us here whether it was US success which won it this status or the failure of the USSR which qualified the US for a global position.

With the fallout of the USSR, economically weakened and socially broken, there were no quick entries to the international political system to fill the void. There was no state or country great and powerful enough to replace USSR in confrontation with the USA. Soviet fallout had also disturbed the balance of power. This was the most complicated process of balancing the power and created the greatest of frictions. However, it could be credited with saving the world from another war. New questions emerged for the world community and the interest of the political scientists. How will the balance be maintained in a unipolar world? Will some new power emerge? Could the US maintain a good balance on its own? Will this give the US a prerogative to act as a sole hegemon and pursue its hegemonic ambitions more freely and aggressively?

Unipolarity was not even perceived as a system of political governance or an outcome of power politics. Political science and international relations scholars even repelled the very actuality of a unipolar world ever. Learning from the Waltz, Nuno P. Monteiro excluded any such possibility from the global political system. Studies of polarity had set two powers as the bare minimum to maintain the balance of power and at the most, some form of bipolarity as 'altered bipolarity' was anticipated. (Monteiro, 2014, p. 29). The later developments not only proved the Theory of Unipolar Politics wrong and flawed but also left options for a great amount of discussion and discourse around the Theory of International Politics. Keeping all anticipations and forecasts of the international relations experts, US global superiority as a sole power and establishment of a unipolar world has been one of the greatest developments towards the end of the twentieth century.

By the ending years of the twentieth century and the first two decades of the new century have experienced clear and open marks of US power show which emerges out of its unique and global hegemonic image. The last thirty years have seen immense intervention and involvement of the US in global political issues. From diplomatic pressuring and imposition of economic sanctions to the direct use of force, the US intervenes and influences every sphere of international political life. There are numerous and glaring examples of imposing this uncontested and unrivaled hegemony on various forums and levels. Whether maneuvering the international organizations or confounding security alliances and strategic allies in the case of Iraqi chemical weapons, it possesses the power and muscles to turn the global politics in its favour and array. The story began with the Panama invasion and continues with the Syrian crises with a long list of atrocities as a gift of a unipolar world. The world is still unipolar but it is not going to be unipolar forever.

4.3. From a Unipolar to Multipolar World

A unipolar world raised many questions and apprehended the world community of disrupted balance of power. It necessitated a natural process of countermeasures and act of counter forces. As seen in the whole discussion of multipolar to the unipolar world, it was not long when a process to maintain and guarantee a balance of power started naturally or was initiated by the political actors arising out of growing realization. It was also learned that when such a system fails to develop, it ignites aggressive and wilder ambitions to take over. In such conditions, the whole world faces the brunt of undesired events and happenings. And when it delays by whatever reasons, it turns the transition process to a retaliatory mechanism. The same is being repeated in the wake of an ever-growing US power and unchecked intervention in world affairs.

However, when compared with the early years of the unipolar world, presently the USA is much more cautioned and remains calculated on the issues of global political concern. This shows a transformation in the exercise of power by the sole superpower and at the same time how the world has evolved in terms of countering an unchecked show of muscles by the US. As compared to hasty and convulsed policy such as direct military intervention and attacks on Iraq, declaration of war on Afghanistan and excessive military drone attacks in Yemen, Somalia and extensive drone operations and occurrences in the western part of Pakistan, it is taking a different course of action for Iran and North Korea. Even in the case of Syria and the US fighting against ISIS, it has averted a confrontational situation with pro-Syrian powers, Russia and China both as the first supported openly while the later covertly. In the early years when the US was much less challenged and a unipolar world was much more devoid of counter powers with a near absence of rebalancing states, the US experienced and enjoyed an absolute unipolar power status and was able to coerce its allies as well as other world nations to safeguard and pursue its interests and policies aggressively and openly.

These policies sensitized the world about the demerits of a world without a balance and the outcome of the growing realization among the community of the world countries was a political renaissance. This was necessitated by two obvious forces; Russian desires to stand to its historic competitor and somehow find some relief for its humiliating downfall by downgrading its power and minimizing its influence if not countering or challenging it, the second was China. China appropriated itself on the mission to ensure that the world does not fall in the fixation of the unipolarity. A unipolar world was certainly harmful to the Chinese growing power politically as

well as economically. It was more harmful due to the similar ideological clashes which impacted and triggered the disintegration of the USSR.

As an outcome of the growing consensus for balancing the system of power in the world, generally for the peace of the world but largely and specifically for the interests of these two forces, both China and Russia started initiating counterbalancing steps. The first powerful initiative to counter the burgeoning American power was introduced and led by China in 1996 by setting up of the Shanghai Five. Later named as Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) in 2001. its earliest members were Russia and other soviet influenced Central Asian Republics (CARs). Since then the organization has been on the expansion and membership has been granted to India and Pakistan as well.

Can Shanghai Five or SCO be justified as a counterbalancing move or Chinese and Russian united effort to halt growing American influence and gear the world towards bipolarity? It is very easy to answer and assess the value and impact of the SCO in terms of an initiative towards bipolarity. First, it has brought China and Russia closer, and as time passes it is going to be a much more strategic and productive relationship in the present conundrum of global politics. The only practical alliance reasoned and able to counter the unipolar hegemony. Two make an ideal combination in many ways. "Yet together they dominate Eurasia and their strengths complement each other. One is a huge landmass with nuclear weapons and hydrocarbons, but it has a modest and shrinking population. The other is an economic superpower and second in conventional military power by most metrics. Some look at this and conclude that China and Russia will become

natural allies as time goes on" (O'Hanlon & Twardowski, 2019). This alliance implicates much more threat and antagonism for the prevailing unipolarity and its sole beneficiary, the US. Second and much to the consideration of the western policymakers, political scientists and media, yes, it is.

The western political analysts were the first ones to compare SCO to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and even refer to it as 'NATO of the East'. It was being openly debated and established as evidence of Chinese emergence and determination to contest US hegemony. US policymakers made its central part of their deliberations to consider and regard SCO as an organization of concern and kept under strict watch. Finding a more calculated and watchful path of action, SCO Charter referred to 'developing of political multipolarity' (Shanghai Cooperation Organization, 2019) essential and instrumental for the peace and security of the region and wider world. However, at the same time, the real direct concern for the US political minds was the intention and ambitions of China to play a more active and productive role for "prevention of international conflicts and their peaceful settlement" (Shanghai Cooperation Organization, 2019, p. 2).

The establishment of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization or issuance of a crafty charter did not make any immediate or considerate change in the international political system except that the US was cautioned and a heated debate had begun. The world was still unipolar and US hegemony was still intact. No official or formal statements were ever issued by Chinese or Russian governments in terms of the SCO status of a counterbalance body. However, this had created a

ripple and no one could ignore the multiplier effects of a timely ripple. It was destined to become a strong current in the coming years. If global politics has to be reshaped or the international political system has to be rebalanced, it was the beginning. Three decades down the timeline, SCO is growing and maturing itself and still regarded as the symbol of change for the political system and a challenge to the unipolarity. On the contrary, NATO members are finding flaws and showing apprehensions on its huge funding and future role. (The Economic Times, n.d.),

By the end of the last century, it was becoming clear that the US will not be able to enjoy the sole superpower status for long as Chinese initiatives and Russian intentions came in action. Both decided to promote 'multipolarization' and 'the establishment of a new international order.' Multiple joint statements were issued by both on this issue and more and more treaties of cooperation were being signed such as China-Russia: Joint Declaration on a Multipolar World and the Establishment of a New International Order and Treaty of Good-Neighbourliness, Friendliness, and Cooperation. Neither China nor Russia claimed to be another pole or pursued a bipolar world. It has been a shrewd foreign policy move and diplomatic standpoint to ensure the world that both find a multipolar world more logical and appropriate. It was also required to get widespread acceptance for their pursuance of a multipolar world than a bipolar world which would be much apprehended by the world nations due to their earlier experience. Whether deliberate or not, it was much like the American stance at the end of the Second World War as "...the Roosevelt administration did not foresee the United States taking on the commitments of global hegemonic power. Instead, they had a vision of a multipolar order in which the United States and the other major states would cooperate to uphold a system of stable peace and open trade" (Ikenberry, 2011, p. 229).

The process slowed down a bit with the turning of the century in the wake of counterterrorism measures by the US owing to the 9/11 incident. The US created such a big hype and propagated these attacks a threat to global peace and started advancing an aggressive agenda to curb international terrorism bringing the almost entire world in its fold. China and Russia silenced for some time but the atrocities and free intervention of the US in every corner of the world sparked a new concern. The US was creating its military bases and strategic alliances across the world in the name of the War on Terror which could be detrimental to the interests of the two. It did not take long for the two to realize the situation and political thought within these two as well as internationally reverted to the normal.

As the process resumed both started a fresh wave of dialogues and joint statements to slow down the messes of unipolarity. In 2005, on the historic 60th Anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations, a powerful joint statement was issued by China and Russia pointing to the existence of 'imbalance and conflict' as the paramount forces for obstructing and stalling the evolution of the 'multipolarity and economic globalization'. The joint statement also proposed a 'new security framework' by using 'collective effort'. It was later referred to as the 'international order of the 21st century' (China-Russia Joint Statement on 21st Century World Order, 2006). For Russia, multipolarity has to have multiple implications and the initiation of such a policy was supported and encouraged by an extensive intellectual debate at home (Chebankova, 2017).

It was quite clear that both China and Russia are the immediate challenger for the American hegemony. Both had the potential and intentions to be the future superpowers. With time, both

have proved their substance as worthwhile players in the international political system. Within the first two decades of the twenty-first century, the world perceives them as direct contenders of unipolarity sanctioning the development of another pole of global supremacy. For the foreseeable future, none other than these two seems to have the potential and intentions to challenge the US. There are other powers in the global political system as chapter three suggests like India, European Union, and Japan which are striving to play a stronger and expanded role in global politics and have their due share in the power play. For some political scientists and studies, the European Union has already attained the status of a superstate leading to a superpower role free from American dominance. In this regard, McCormick (2006) has made a worthwhile contribution in his book *The European Superpower*. These powers are becoming increasingly important as decisive factors in the emerging balance of power.

The transitioning of power from a unipolar system to a bipolar system will not be a smooth and peaceful process. "Many scholars, policy analysts, the government officials in the West seem almost obsessed with China's continuing rise towards the status of great power. Debates rage over whether there is a "China threat," how to measure China's military and economic power, and what is the best strategy to approach China" (Zhu, 2006, pp. 88-89). It will have its costs and benefits. The race for global supremacy or struggle for converting the world into a so-called multipolar (bipolar in effect) arena has already germinated the seed for conflict and proxy clashes which will ultimately turn into the global rivalry. Both sides are already on an agenda to win their votes and allies through different means whether economic or political. Whether it is G7 covering France, Germany, Italy, Japan, United Kingdom, United States, and Canada or G20 encompassing South Africa, Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, South Korea, China, Japan, Turkey, India, Indonesia and Saudi

Arabia and the European Union as one member, all these organizations for economic cooperation at regional and international are formed to pursue power agenda as well.

The alliances of the future are going to be tough and complex and it will be through these alliances that the actual power holder to influence the economic as well as political affairs of the world. Commenting on the growing importance of the coalitions, Buzan (2004) states that "Superpowers will still need the first-rank military capability. But their standing will come to rest more on the capability to form and hold coalitions..." (p.72). In this direction, a landmark development was forming of BRICS, another initiative by China to bring big and emerging economies of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa into one fold. For some time BRICS remained a success story and was considered an opponent to the G7 but with growing Indian tilt and shift towards the US, it is not likely to be as powerful an economic challenge to the US economic superiority as expected in its nascent years. On similar lines, America has made consistent efforts to bring Russia in G7 (Cole, 2019) to further weaken the BRICS.

Numbers remain an important and central figure to the superiority of any political power and growing economic globalization makes it a much more influential factor in the world of politics. Another central element to these numbers is who holds the authority to interpret these economic indicators and how these are fed and processed to form an economic model. In this direction, the US had a clear edge having a strong influence on the global monetary institutions. China made a phenomenal stride by setting up the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) in 2016 and since then the bank is on a steady rise with multiplied membership increase and billions of dollars of investment. Interesting once gain it was western media and American think tank which

attributed the formation of AIIB as an effort to subside the role and influence of US dominated global financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. A big blow to the US policymakers was the entry of its longtime ally UK in it. It was quite fair as the US was able to allure India out of BRICS, China had its share by appealing UK. The massive propaganda and hostility to the bank and UK's entry to the AIIB, it reflects on the seriousness and intensity of American opposition.

China has started playing its cards on all the fronts from economic to political and from cultural to diplomatic. It is not just a major power and political rival to the US but as the world's leading economic force, it imposes serious economic implications as well. US is challenged on every front be it geopolitics or geo-economics supremacy long associated with the US. The Chinese way to develop its political wealth through infrastructure investments, financial interventions and soft power capital brings a big cautionary call for the US hegemony. Over time, these issues and cautions are only mounting to stronger and diverse geopolitical problems (Ferguson, 2005) for the USA.

One of the greatest two-pronged development by China has been Belt and Road Initiative, China's new geopolitical strategy (Zhang, 2018). This is the greatest geopolitical benefit to the country and one of the biggest challenges posed to the USA. According to Zhexin Zhang, the way the United States and the EU are responding to the BRI, it indicates an "impression of ever more intense geopolitical rivalry in the Indo-Pacific region". And it is worth the opposition and criticism of the present day hegemon and its allies due to its scope and outcomes. BRI will connect China to Europe, Asia, and Africa and huge investments are being made in the project across the three

continents. Not only China is the biggest investor, it will be the biggest beneficiary of the landmark project as well. All the nations who are receiving the Chinese investments and soft loans are expecting the shared benefits as an outcome of this enormous project spanning over continents. It is estimated that by 2020, almost seventy countries will be connected physically, and around a hundred countries in one way or the other are going to reap the benefits of this initiative. With a mix of projects and a range of development plans, it will be spread over the next four decades and bring more than 150 countries in its fold with presence over five continents.

American opposition and hostility to the BRI are justified and logical in the context it will transform the entire geopolitical balance. Some apprehensions caused much by the American propaganda and the opponents of the project are also diminishing with time as the early ripe projects have started to bring outputs of trade and commercial benefits. The sheer criticism and repeated allegations of exploitation of partnering countries through excessive and high-interest rate investments by China could not gain much attention. A number of times American spokespersons have criticized (US Department of State, 2019) the Chinese investment overlay in Pakistan. It was strongly rebutted by the Chinese government (Statement of the Spokesperson from the Chinese Embassy in Pakistan, 2020) and not much attended by the Pakistan government (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, GOP, 2020) and people. Pakistan has been at the center stage of the US-China squabbling over the BRI/CPEC and is repeatedly dragged into their rivalry (Aamir, 2020).

China's growing economic, military, and technological advancements are bringing China much closer to its anticipated global political role. China has become another pole in the emerging

bipolar world. China is already a recognized power in Asia and BRI is taking its influence on other parts of the world much faster especially the Indo Pacific region which is the center of much attention for the US as well. China's fast track rise from Asian Pole to a global power pole coincides with its struggle to link the whole world through extensive infrastructural projects. The development of strategic and economically monumental especially train, road, and maritime routes mirror its resolute plans to create unparalleled global connectivity. US concerns are growing as faster as the completion dates of these projects. The following line provides an insight:

China is expanding its influence all over the world, creating new alliances and institutions and making massive investments. Its rapid upgrading of industrial and technological skills has allowed it to emerge as a major competitor to the older industrial powers. Chinese producers and investors' dramatic expansion into Asian, African and Latin American markets is settling into an enduring trend that offers destinations countries new alternatives to their traditional partners. (Rolland & Trubek, 2019, p. 47).

Chinese rise in world politics has been long anticipated and studied. It is no surprise that today, China is the only nation in direct challenge and competition with the USA if not a confrontation. Though it will be a concealing the reality that both are not in confrontations. Both are apparently not in confrontation but a deeper look at global political issues, policies, and responses of both US and China, and recent clashes over trade which were often and repeatedly referred to as trade war, reflect the true state of affairs. Chinese rise was anticipated but the relative speedy rise and involvement since the middle of the 1990s, has become a cause of grave concern for the US. Studies on China have warned the world and the US, in particular, to remain cautious and maintain a check on Chinese emergence since the dawn of the previous century but more pragmatic works were produced in the middle years of the cold war.

China has shown steady growth in economics and working on various fronts to improve its record in all areas. From human rights issues to environmental problems, from global security concerns to the free trade policies, and from technological advancements to indigenous industry excellence, the country is marching towards a perception of emerging global leaders or emerging power. Much of the hype about china as a candidate in the balance of power and contender of the US hegemony in the contemporary international political system may be attributed to American propaganda. However, somehow the propaganda has worked quite opposite and not worked negatively as was the case with USSR during the cold war. Rather it seems to be helping China arrive its global position much earlier than anticipated at least as a perception (Devlin, 2018), (Chen & Hao, 2019) & (China Power, 2019) in the eyes of the global publics.

With every passing day and with every economic stride china is making, it is advancing its political involvement viz-a-viz trade and commercial linkages if not through direct political interaction and foreign policy. Although China has been pursuing a much more aggressive foreign policy in recent years. While the Chinese gradual rise guarantees its elevated position and broader and stronger role in global politics, it reflects the narrowing down of US influence and the shrinking and weakening US power and unipolarity. There is a global wave with numerous studies and researches aiming at an understanding that these two processes are taking place in tandem. "The United States has been losing its status as the world's sole superpower since the end of the Cold War. while China has gradually increased its relative power. This re-balancing is beginning to have a profound impact on the international system and the way it is governed" (Xuetong, 2011).

Even American policymakers, think tanks, political thinkers, and above all US public perception according to the world-famous Pew Research Center (Wike. et al., 2018) is that the American role is diminishing in the world. Public perceptions are becoming an important area of research and studies in recent years. These perception reports have a powerful impact and are considered worthwhile for the policymakers. An interesting article (Chu & Chang, 2017) published in the special issue of Global Asia Journal, *Battle for Influence Perceptions in Asia of China and the US* presents a very comprehensive data analysis of perceptions of the public about American and Chinese influence in Asia. Though the figures are mixed and greatly varied from country to country, a considerable majority has responded, China being more influential in Asia as compared to the USA. More than 55% perceive China as more influential than any other country while only 28% see the US as an influential force (p.106).

4.4. Towards a bipolar world

From the factual study of geo-economic data and geopolitical factors with research analysis in the previous chapter as well as in the last section, it is quite clear that immediate true contenders in the global race for supremacy are two namely the US and China. Perception about China as a superpower has fast transited to reality and a very recent report reflects this fact. Australian government-funded project Asia Power Index 2019 researched and released by Sydney-based Lowy Institute has clubbed both the US and China in the category of superpowers (Lemahieu, 2020) while ranking countries according to their power ranks. For one reason or the other, India, Russia and European Union are not in a position to contest for a global leadership position however, these nations can and will play a critical role in the supremacy scenario. Similarly, nations such as Japan, South Korea, Turkey, South Africa, and Saudi Arabia can considerably

contribute to any future political arrangements especially from an Asian perspective and in the long run, help form a multipolar world. Emerging economies like Brazil, Mexico, Indonesia, Australia and Canada's importance cannot be underestimated.

The US has fortunately exercised an all alone global dominance and global supremacy unprecedented and unrivaled in history in the last forty years. In the introductory part of his book, Brands mentions that "the United States had attained the level of international superiority and reach that empires past could have only dreamed of" (Brands, 2016, p. 12). It was in the 1990s and it has been declining since then. This decline and American internal weaknesses have been criticized by thinkers within the US (Chomsky, 2007). World-famous political thinker and philosopher Noam Chomsky went to the extent to call it a failed state.

Nonetheless, the US ability for geopolitical maneuvering fortified with geo-economics superiority has been a major contributor to its success. Another critical factor has been the US diplomatic success and ability to have its position much strengthened and supported by its European allies and Asian giants. What course of action is carved for and by the new entrants in this supremacy race remains a topic of much debate and discussion and whether global supremacy is achieved by a single state or a group of nations also remains unanswered, the unipolar world system operated under US hegemony and experienced in the last forty years was unique in many ways and noteworthy for the following factors:

1. A global hegemon of such power and influence has never existed in history with almost an absence of strong and potential rivals. (Russia after the disintegration of the USSR has been mostly engaged in regional politics and did not pose any serious immediate global concerns for the US.)

2. The hegemon and its allies enjoy an enormous advantage in military capacity, strategic alliances, and political spheres for their superior diplomacy and soft power influence.
3. The existence of political and financial institutions of global magnitude and scope such as the UN, EC, WB, IMF is also distinct for this era. These are predominantly regulated or influenced by the global hegemon.
4. The hegemon has a clear advantage in global economic decision making and monetary policies. US Dollar, Euro and Pound Sterling are the leading currencies.
5. The level of global interconnectedness at present is extraordinary and never existed before.

A close look and a careful analysis of these factors bring us to the conclusion that it will be impossible for a single country to stand these challenges easily at least not in the immediate quarter of the century. It could be a group of countries or a block of nations with matching interests to emerge as balancing power and hold the ropes of the world political system. Amazingly, China seems not only aware of these hurdles and appears to be committed and conscious of working in the same domains. China has always avoided the confrontational role of global politics and still pursues its foreign policy at least officially of nonintervention though with much less intensity.

China seems to be taking an idealists' course of action to arrive at realists' outcome. Rather than operating in a competitive political framework, it is carving a parallel way forward which Oliver Stuenkel refers to as 'Parallel order' (Stuenkel, 2017). China realizes the fact very well that challenging the present hegemon requires planning it in a similar fashion. Hence on the parallel lines;

- China has secured unprecedented support and involvement of global nations through BRI and its financial assistance programs. A project of unparalleled geopolitical advancement and extraordinary economic magnitude and scope.
- Chinese military buildup is on a continuous rise and it has secured closer Russian ties to make up for this deficiency. It has gradually enhanced nonmilitary but strategic presence in the world.
- Chinese influence has markedly increased in the global political and financial institutions including UNO and its wings. China is creating parallel global institutions financial as well as political to stand this challenge. SCO, BRICS, and AIIB are all examples of Chinese

efforts to create the powerful block of nations that could exceed or at least be a match to the USA and its allies' growing influence.

- China is creating a new club of powerful economies to steer them away from the Dollar hegemony. It has already introduced trade in local currencies and renminbi, the Chinese currency. (Huang, 2019)
- China has well-capitalized on the technological advancements and pursues global interconnectivity plans for satellite connectivity, submarine cables and global trade and transport projects like BRI. Aware of its historical detachment from the world, the country is opening up its doors for companies, the corporate world and people, popularizing its own as well as assimilating global culture and creating soft power to operate effectively in the interconnected world.

The comparison above brings us to the following propositions:

- ✓ The USA is still a global hegemon. It holds the supreme position in the supremacy conundrum.
- ✓ The US does not enjoy an absolute power status or as strong and influential as in the 90s and beginning years of the new century.
- ✓ While US power and influence is on the decline that of China is on the rise.
- ✓ China has already entered the race for global supremacy.
- ✓ Presently, China enjoys the perception to be a competitor of the US and it is marching fast for attaining the status of an equally powerful state in the world.
- ✓ The balance of power is shifting and the world is on a transition from unipolar to a bipolar system of power.
- ✓ No single state will be able to enjoy a supreme position without a powerful block of allies.

Referring to the last proposition, the simplest equation to outpace the other requires 'the power of two'. 'The Power of the Two' is defined as the sum of the power of any two states listed in our research. The USA, China, India, Russia, and the European Union can outpace one of the two main contestants of the race for global supremacy.

The collective power of Russia and China poses serious threats for the US which can be countered by the same proposition by combining India and Russia or ideally India and the European Union against China. In the case of Russia, this could be a relatively easy task. First, Russia is a single entity, easy to deal and secondly its growing economic needs are forcing it to look for non-

conventional arrangements for political support and economic bonds. This might bring Russia to the table much earlier than the European Union. The US has been making efforts to bring Russia in its fold and as mentioned earlier, Russia was invited to join G7 and the same invitation has been repeated by President Trump in the recent G7 summit in France.

It looks much convenient to align the EU with the American agenda of supremacy especially when most of it is already a part of NATO. Factually, it is a very complicated scenario, EU has matured a lot over half a century of collective advancement. It has evolved to be perhaps the most enterprising and politically shrewd organization. Its growing relationship with China, active interaction and recent calculative deals reflect the deeper metamorphosis concerning its historic alliance with the US. The transportation links, trade and commerce flows, infrastructure projects, investment overlays, and technology transfer agreements between the two speak volumes about the transformation in EU's conduct.

EU condemns and criticizes China routinely about human rights violations, One China Policy or Taiwan crises, and recent Hong Kong disputes but all of these are much less critical and complicated than the differences between EU and the former Soviet Union or for that matter present Russia. The Ukrainian invasion and continued Russian interference in former Soviet republics especially the recent Belarus political crises all add to the EU's suspicions about Russia. Chinese purported noninterventionist approach is still better than Russian mellowed expansionism. While China succeeds to neutralize the European Union or at least diffuses its strong American alignment, India offers another option for US maneuvering in the region close to China. However,

Indian political and economic position at the moment does not allow it to challenge the Chinese rise despite American support. Combined India and Pakistan in the US basket can very well serve the American agenda in the region but that looks a farfetched option due to the historic Indo Pak rivalry and massive Chinese investments in Pakistan. Growing Chinese economic strength provides a natural opportunity for Pakistan against decreasing American options and economic support.

How long will it take for the world to become bipolar is our next point of discussion? Perception of a Chinese rise as the other pole has set in and it is not only a strong perception but much supported by the facts and rapidly changing data. China has already surpassed the US in many indicators and stands next to it for numerous others. It is ready to take over US position in a number of political, economic and military indicators as listed in the last chapter. The status quo in world politics will be maintained until 2030. Our understanding is that the world has already become Near Bipolar. However, the US would enjoy a weaker and continuously diminishing power and influence for another decade and by the end of the coming decade, the world would have become bipolar. The US would continue to enjoy substantial influence and power and will be one of the major players in shaping the future world politics and global political order (Acharya, 2018) as one of the two poles in the world but it will not be a free ride anymore. Chinese rise to form a bipolar world will bring uncontested and unchecked US intervention and involvement in global issues to an end.

The proposition that the world would have become bipolar within the next few years involves a host of factors. First, the world is already bipolar in purely economic terms. It is only for the sake of wider political interaction, diplomatic fronts, and actionable political influence where the scores have to be settled. In terms of GDP based on PPP, China is already the largest economy of the world, and a steady Chinese GDP growth rate in terms of nominal will continue to remain so till it takes over the US for the first position and for many more years after that. China has maintained one of the fastest rates of growth of its GDP and was marked as "the fastest sustained expansion by a major economy in history" by the World Bank. Chinese remarkable economic rise has impacted every area of its national business, social and infrastructural life as well as gained it a significant status in the world community.

The GDP gap with the USA which stands at US\$ 7 trillion is expected to narrow down much faster. The data presented in the previous chapter reflects that China has jumped from 11th position in 1989-90 to the 2nd largest within rough more than twenty years and it is going to surpass the US within the next ten years. Within these ten years, China will not only have developed its image much more as a soft power but sustained enormous economic capacity to impose itself in the world political spheres. China has made monumental investments in its landmark BRI project since 2013 and midway its age in 2030, the project would bring its benefits and compulsions for the Chinese government and economy.

Increased trade, global connectivity and geopolitical advantages will allow china to operate with stronger political influence and BRI spread over five continents will allowance it to use that influence much more widely. Chinese strategic presence would parallel that of the USA rather surpass it. Direct land and rail access to numerous countries of Europe, almost all Asian countries, and many African parts fortified with much greater access through maritime routes and more efficient and technologically advance and speedy air transport would harness diversified benefits. US outreach and influence will become incompatible with Chinese infrastructural superiority.

Additionally, a secure and open global trade system will become a compulsion for China. China has to maintain a strategic presence around the BRI to ensure that it remains operational and useful to its interests and outcomes. China is already coming in alliance and signing strategic contracts and agreements with countries to safeguard not only its infrastructural investments but also ensure its safe and valuable returns on overseas investments. Chinese technology transfers and technical as well as tactical support mechanism requires from the partner nations to abide by the mutually agreed terms and conditions. In terms of military cooperation and weapons export, China has transformed the world weapons market and rapidly increasing its footprints across the world. Chinese weapons exports have spread over the more than 50 countries and its advantage of low-cost weapons provides it a strong edge over the US and other countries like Germany and France as well as Russia.

China has already started beating US diplomatic hegemony and despite all efforts and opposition of the US, countries are hailing Chinese investments, technology, and support in civil as well as military affairs. International political and economic alliances, blocks, and institutions formed by China are bound to reach that level of maturity and operations to rival the existing political and financial institutions operating under the US and its allies' influence. Chinese special interest and investments in Africa are going to not only provide long term markets for the cheaper raw material and grounds for the consumption of its finished products, but these are also going to be support and strength for china in the international political system and world political forums.

Another huge stride is the Chinese advancements in the energy sector. The US has maintained a lot of control and pressure on the international energy supply lines and politics around oil and gas. Again this is changing fast, China with the fastest ever-growing economy is importing huge amounts of energy supplies and its share is growing faster and stronger. China has not only developed its indigenous energy resources and has become one of the biggest producers of the electricity but diversified its energy cooperation with the outside world ensuring smooth and undisrupted supplies in times of crises and upsets. Chinese firms are struggling to break the control and hegemony of Russian, European and American energy giants.

A transformation from an isolationist and nonintervention Chinese foreign policy to one of 'active' engagement (Chau & Kane, 2014, p. 97) or 'renovated noninterference' (Kassim, 2014) is already on its way. Out of the 16 vetoes cast by china in the Security Council, 13 have been cast after

1997, and eight out of nine casts after 2011 have been cast over the Syrian crises. China has become vocal on all issues of global concern be it the political crises and economic globalization or environmental issues and undue interventions. In this puzzle of global politics, US-China mutual relations are also transforming fast and critically on geopolitical and geoeconomic fronts. US interference and propagation of violations of human rights in china and irregularities of Chinese political control over Hong Kong and Macau as well as open and aggressive support for Taiwan has remained part of US foreign policy for decades and China has been responding to all these allegations and statements defensively but it is not the case now and Hence, we reach to the conclusion that world is fast approaching a point of bipolarity and the obvious other pole is 'China' (Tunsjo, 2018). Accordingly, this is also obvious with a shrinking ratio and difference between US strength and Chinese power while an increasing ratio and gap between China and any other world country.

What will be the world like after 2030? When China emerges as a pole it is likely to be joined by many and initiate a new divide in the world. It is very simple to refer the world as bipolar but it will be very difficult to forecast its structure. Nor the US neither China alone will be in a position to form the new poles. This new bipolar world would have blocks spread over the globe and intense overlapping and interplay of interests. As an expository study, we are under the compulsion to anticipate some structure of the world beyond bipolarity. One option could be to avoid it by making an excuse of the research limitations but a researcher's instinct imposes to draw the outline of the future international political system and leave it open for the interest and work of the political scientists, international affairs experts, and historians to further substantiate it or negate it.

Who will join China? And an immediate response could be, many, but a more pragmatic response would require an understanding of the present system of power politics revolving around emerging alliances and changing loyalties. There could be two clear strands to the list of nations or states joining China. First, the obvious allies sharing ideological, political, and economic interests with China at present and Russia is the lead on this end. While the second strand encompasses all the states under one compulsion or obligation or other to join hand with China. Geographical compulsions and limitations engulf Mongolia and geopolitical reasons steer Pakistan to the Chinese fold.

There would be states wary of global hegemony like North Korea, Iran, Syria, Iraq, Libya, and Lebanon or annoyed of regional hegemony like Nepal and Sri Lanka joining outside the core group of nations. Under the same thread, many states reaping benefits of BRI or attached to it are compelled to stitch to China. All other beneficiaries from the Chinese economic rise and benevolent investments and foreign aid assistance could be clubbed here and these will include many nations from Africa. There could be another very small number of states which could join China due to factors beyond normal political developments like some of the Central Asian Republics under Russian influence and pressure or reasons not encapsulated under normal politics of alliance but due to national policy and politics and UK may take lead on it.

Who will be left with the USA? The USA will be able to retain many of its former allies and these nations have been for ideological, political and economic reasons aligned well with it. Other than most of the European Union members, Canada, Japan, and Australia will form this first and core

group of nations. However, democratic norms and freedom of expression and lobbying of human rights together will become much less important in contrast with political influence and economic sustainability. India will be joining hands to pursue its agenda for regional hegemony and to reap the benefits of economic benevolence. While some states will be compelled to join the US like Israel and Saudi Arabia yet a whole group of states will find it difficult to keep a consistent tilt towards the US including South Africa and South Korea.

Emerging economies Turkey, Brazil, Indonesia, and ASEAN will have lots of weight in the emerging scenario of the bipolar world. While Turkey has the potential and ambitions to pursue its influence for a global role or at least regional viz-a-viz Muslim world leadership agenda, ASEAN will be a truly testing ground for both. Indo Pacific region is already transforming to become the foreground for the coming rivalry of a bipolar system of power. Chinese growing investments and American growing influence and attention in the region alarms it to become another war ground of ideologies in the first phase of bipolarity like Eastern Europe in the cold war.

Another block of nations to be considered which did not play as important a role and participated with as much gravity and impact as today will be most African countries, Central and South American Nations and island states. Most of Africa was uninvolved or indirectly involved as colonial land and countries. Some states remained neutral trying to draw benefits from both sides and saving pressures from any one of the two due to multiple reasons including their location and strategic links. Overall, China appears to be doing much better in terms of its multilateral

diplomacy and foreign policy in the wider world. It has been very successful in “beating US unipolar supremacy through its multipolar diplomacy” (Clegg, 2009).

The global politics is not just a product of American political thinkers and western philosophers, it is and has been a product of global thinking, an aggregate of ideas and discussions emerging out of east and west alike. Global order will shift back to the old world. However, the new world will remain an integral part of global politics. Even if America will be too much involved to handle its domestic issues and economic and social chaos, the African political conscience and South American emerging economies will have to put their weight behind one or the other. This could culminate in the formation of mini blocks of political power concentration. These mini blocks are likely to remain sub-blocks within the major global blocks politics with a capacity to switch sides and act as a balancing force for the volatile balance of power under the bipolar world. Another possibility could be that these turn into mini poles. These mini poles will be the starting points for the transition of the world into a multipolar world followed by a short bipolar period.

Hence, the bipolar world, with China and the USA as leads, will be operated by another period of block politics. The blocks will be much like the ones formed during the USA and USSR rivalry in the formation and nature but in their scope and impact will be much greater and wider. It was less much less intense during the cold war yet had almost the entire world embroiled in it. Nations ambitiously pursuing nonalignment philosophies had their back doors open for alignment especially in the case of Cuba and India. Of the almost hundred countries in the world in 1960, 20 which made up 1/5 of the total countries remained neutral and it was comprehensible but the present-day realities, interconnected world, and economic interdependence coerce a globalized

thought process for international political systems. Many world nations having learned from the experiences of the twentieth century and the implications of being part of one of the two poles, resist or avoid to be part of a new bipolar world. This might culminate into a third block and it would be a third pole not a nonaligned group of nations.

An immediate and obvious question that comes to mind is, how China will act under the new balance of power. This provides an insightful point to begin our explanation of a post bipolar world. It can be established based on our understanding of the first version of the bipolar world that Chinese emergence will turn it into the fold of the same race for global supremacy contested between the USA and the USSR. However, it will be much different in its nature and consequences. China would not like to turn this race for global supremacy into a race for global rivalry for probably another 15 to 20 years post-2030. Technological superiority and fourth-generation revolution advantages will help the USA for another 15 years to remain on a leading position in a bipolar world scenario while by 2050 a clear bipolar world with strong poles of global intensity and outreach will appear. Around these years another *COLD War* (2nd Cold War) is inevitable.

The world is already at the brink of another Cold War which is expected to peak by the middle of the century. The mention of a New Cold War is already in political circles. Wertheim (2019) alarmed the world about a coming of a New Cold War and wrote "A new cold war could plunge the United States back into gruesome proxy wars around the world and risk a still deadlier war among the great powers". In an insightful New York Times article, the Quincy Institute for

Responsible Statecraft scholars' Rachel Esplin Odell and Stephen Wertheim claimed that the policies of US President Donald Trump "does risk entangling the United States in a cold war with the world's No. 2 power. We stand on the brink of an even more destructive and less justifiable mistake than the post-Sept. 11 crusade" (Odell & Wertheim, 2020).

During these transition years from 2030 -2045/50, China will remain a competitor and a challenger but not a contestant. However, American intentions and actions to stop china in any way possible are becoming aggressive over time and are likely to grow intense with every passing day. According to a classic documentary at ALJAZEERA by Journalist John Pilger 'The Coming War on China', numerous military experts and political analysts have been shown quoting that America is already in war with China. Pilger (Special Series, 2017) work is impressive in the way it proposes 'five possible front lines' the rival preparations are being made and active military build-ups on both ends. The most critical proposition it makes is that 'Nuclear war is no longer unthinkable.'

With active war spots emerging in Asia and the Pacific, the South China Sea, in the disputed Spratly Islands archipelago, the documentary shows The China Mirage author, James Bradley, making an interesting statement that "If you stood on the tallest building in Beijing and looked out on the Pacific Ocean, you'd see American warships, you'd see Guam is about to sink because there are so many missiles pointed at China. You'd look up at Korea and see American armaments pointing at China, you'd see Japan which is basically a glove over the American fist." Another powerful claim is made by Professor Bruce Cumings, a historian and expert on East Asia, who

believes that the US has "built a military empire around China" and that it has 'China surrounded' with a continuous effort to "keep it surrounded and deepen that containment of China." It goes on to explain how "China has been building airstrips in the South China Sea, creating a flashpoint for war with the US."

Though the American resentments have grown over a long time it had many-fold since the turn of the century. And this aggression is being reflected in the various domains. Chinese political rise owes a great deal of value to its economic excellence and achievements. And US hostilities are most focused on Chinese trade and economics. One of the most critical and alarming developments in recent years to reflect the growing intensity of relations between America and China and its alarming consequences and impact on the world was the US-China trade and economic issues. The US and China history of 'economic rivalry' is old (Bown, 2019) and dates back to the times when both had differences over Chinese entry to the World Trade Organization even older. However, the American president Donald Trump has been most critical of the Chinese exploitation of the US economy and disrupting trade balance. These issues were escalated to the extent that the whole process is regularly and almost always referred to as Trade War between the two. This is just one but a glaring example of how deep-rooted this rivalry is and a reflection of how far stretched this rivalry could be.

Since 2018, the US president has repeatedly referred to its growing trade deficit with China and called these an outcome of Chinese 'unfair trade practices' (Trump, 2018). The US believes that

China is actively involved in the breach of intellectual property rights and theft of technology as well as cyber-attacks for the sake of economic and commercial purposes. US stance over the transfer of technology to China is also becoming stiffer and rigid. Both are the world's largest traders as well as the largest trading partners. The unpleasant trade conflict between these two powers has impacted the whole world as both are not only the two largest economies but are the largest trading partners with many countries and share a substantial amount of world trade share. The dispute started with US initiatives to impose some tariffs on a few Chinese goods and increasing to enormous tariffs on a range of Chinese exports to the US worth billions of us dollars. In response, China also started imposing tariffs on US exports to China, and by the time the crises peaked both had imposed tariffs on goods worth US\$ 500 billion.

This whole issue caused such a huge uncertainty in the world and around global trade trends that global economies were shaken and apprehended a major setback. Even the losses and negative impact of this rivalry were so immense and immediate that both the USA and China were compelled to settle it down. It not only disturbed other economies but also incurred huge damages for global businesses. With every round of tariffs imposed by the US, it hurt the business world with a massive blow to the Chinese exports and productions while Chinese response with incremental tariffs on US goods ranged from 5% to 25% (BBC, 2020). By the time both reached an agreement in January 2020 to sign a deal, it was more enforced by the compulsions of economic losses than by the understanding of tackling actual grievances. Both showed flexibility owing to their weak positions and global criticism and to create a win-win situation at the time of signing

the first deal, coined a phase-wise making of deals to iron out all pending complaints towards each other.

The settlements over the trade war are not a testimony to the political settlements. These are not even a guarantee that both will stop bullying each other over economics and trade issues. These show definite growing resentment and a sudden eruption of this resentment at any time and any front. This is a caution for the future. Though an early resolution of the issue points to the maturity of both the powers yet this does not coincide with their national and global interests. America is pursuing 'America First' and the 'Chinese Dream' relies almost fully on economics. The two collide with each other as basis of economic acceleration for the two global economies and there is no way out in the foreseeable future to pursue one without demeaning the other.

Chinese rise and global rivalry are identical for the western world and the American policymakers while it has a cause and effect relationship with US hegemony. China poses “the greatest geopolitical challenge to the United States in the twenty-first century” (Dolan, 2018, p. 3). Both are on the verge of conflict as a change in the one is going to change the status of the other. Chinese rise means a decline in the US hegemony and influence. The US perceives Chinese dominance as a direct challenge to its power and influence. Analysts are speculating another period of political conflicts and clashes and some even see it turning into a global war. “Though mostly rhetorical, the US appears to have military bases and missiles pointed at China should a full-blown war break out between the two global superpowers, sparking fears of World War 3” (Day, 2020).

While the US is preparing for a war on China, it is not ignored by the Chinese leadership and military strategists. In January 2019 on the backdrop of The Guard of Honor of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, President Xi who is the chairman of the Central Military Commission enforced his views as "The world is facing a period of major changes never seen in a century, and China is still in an important period of strategic opportunity for development," he further elaborated that "the entire armed forces should have a correct understanding of China's security and development trends, enhance their awareness of danger. crisis and war..." (Global Times, 2019).

Fundamental changes are being introduced and enormous investments being made in the structure and working of the Peoples Liberation Army. The recent aggressive display of Chinese capabilities on the 70th anniversary of the establishment of the Peoples' Republic of China has cautioned the whole world (Neill, 2019). It was a complete transformation and a giant leap towards modernization and Chinese technical advancements. It was marked by a massive display of weapons designed, manufactured, and delivered by China itself as compared to a huge reliance on Russian and Ukrainian equipment (Grevatt, 2019) some years back. On a massive display of strength with a huge parade and unnamed weapons and systems, BBC news commented "parade is also a show of strength to the US" (BBC, 2019). Addressing one of the biggest gatherings in Beijing, the Chinese President said, "There is no force that can shake the status of this great nation. No force can stop the Chinese people and the Chinese nation forging ahead" (The Guardian, 2019).

Experts around the world noticed and commented on the great military show in China which had 160 aircraft with almost 600 pieces of military equipment including intercontinental, antiballistic and nuclear-capable Dongfeng 41 missile at the display. Involvement of more than 15,000 military personnel in an extremely well planned and thought out show of power left an impression as desired and deliberated by the Chinese government. International media gave it widespread coverage with commentaries and analysts anticipating future courses of action and the nature of the relationship between the present great power and the emerging Chinese power. "It looks like this is almost entirely, if not entirely, a military show of strength," (CNBC, 2019).

China is not just working on a powerful projection of its military capabilities but is developing a powerful military. Boyd (2019) enumerated:

The PLA's modernization schedule is more than symbolically tied to the 'Two Centenaries' The anniversary of the CCP's founding is the first centenary, while the second, in 2049, will mark 100 years since the People's Republic of China itself was founded. A more capable PLA is a fundamental part of the 'China Dream' – a wide-ranging development and modernization ambition for the Chinese nation promoted by Xi. The PLA has therefore been assigned a threefold series of waypoints for its own progress – in 2020, 2035 and 2049.

Interestingly this coincides with our proposition that the world would have become bipolar by the middle of the century and this short-lived bipolarity will be reached after a period of a buildup of the power muscles. These power muscles will be more in terms of military capability, economic strength, and internal stability for China which are going to be major challenges but accelerated with more force in the coming years. However, American counterbalance acts would slow it down. In the absence of an American counterbalance, "an ascendant China would overcome military and geographic barriers" (Porter, 2015, p. 148) earlier and faster. On the contrary, the US had to have

more strategic alliances and workout sustaining the cost of a global presence and overseas bases as well as military operations. Both are expected to operate with a containment policy under restraint.

The cost of USA worldwide presence will mount and out pass its economic balance what Kennedy (1989) hinted long ago. He also anticipated American declining position and power owing to the mishandling of prevailing pressures and not envisaging liabilities of global role and activities. In a recent open letter to the American President Donald Trump, a group of foreign policy, military and economic experts warned that "the United States cannot significantly slow China's rise without damaging itself. If the United States presses its allies to treat China as an economic and political enemy, it will weaken its relations with those allies and could end up isolating itself rather than Beijing" (Fravel, Roy, Swaine, Thornton, & Vogel, 2019). Chinese ambitions will be mellowed down with the parallel emergence of the regional political as well as global economic powers. It will never match the strength and uniqueness of US power exercised during the post-cold war period. The presence of more powerful and more autonomous international organizations will be instrumental in setting up the future political system or balance of power in the emerging bipolar or the ultimate multipolar world.

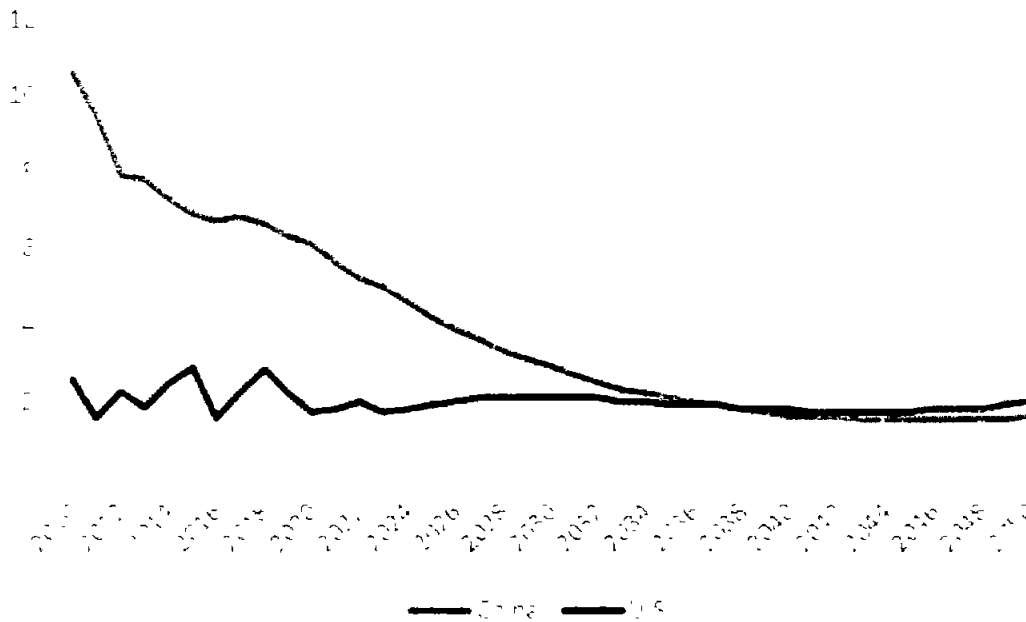
Under these circumstances, the transition from a bipolar system of power to a multipolar system of power will be fast and inevitable. It is believed that US policy considerations for a multipolar world started during the Obama presidency (Dolan, 2018). Chris j. Dolan states that "...domestic and international pressuresforced the new president to transition U.S. foreign policy towards a

multipolar international system” (p. 26). There is so much uncertainty around the theory of polarity. The world today appears to be at a triangular polarity. It reflects a unipolar US presence and bipolar system of power in place with strong and ambitious China. At the same time, the rise and role of the European Union, Russia, India, the resurgence of Japan and Germany, and the expected new powers place it into a 'new phase of multipolarity' (Mesquita, 2014, p. 188). These powers or 'emerging poles' have been long expected to play their role 'against the strongest pole' (Mouritzen, 1997) which had been partially true. Russia and China did emerge as a counterpole but the rest of them strengthened the strongest pole. However, by the middle of the century, with the heightened politics of coalitions and alliances, declining US role, and ballooning economies in various parts of the world, the world will undergo political metamorphosis again with these powers at the helm of the affairs.

The mini poles will be enlarged with growing economic power and regional political influence to emerge at the global power system. Geo-economics will be at the heart of this change as compared to a mesh of geopolitical and geo-economics both in the earlier transitions of polarity. The anticipated slowdown and dip of the Chinese economy will be instrumental to give rise to other political actors. Post-2030s, Chinese GDP growth rates will be almost similar to that of the USA giving a break to its boom. The projected growth rates in the chart below reflect that the Chinese economy has already touched the peak in 2010 and is on a gradual decline in terms of Annual Real GDP Growth Rates which will be much faster in the coming decade and likely to touch its lowest when the world will be preparing for a transition to the multipolar system of power. Though China would have a greater GDP size and more economic strength but a relatively short term economic

rise in comparison with more solid and sustainable American economic strength of a century or more will prove less worthy of influence and value.

Figure 4.1: U.S. and Chinese Annual Real GDP Growth Rates Projections through 2050 (Percentage)



Source: Reproduced from CRS, RL33534 where the stated source is EIU Database

The three notable developments will be the Indian rise as a close geographical neighbour as an immediate opponent and challenger. Indian ambitions were very well framed in a conference held for Indian Public Services officers as “India could not remain insulated from developments in South Asia, the Gulf region, Central Asia, South East Asia and the Indian Ocean. India as an emerging power has no options but to play a significant role in the new emerging world order” (Hildebrandt, 2009). A number of studies and perception surveys show that Chinese neighbours are already ‘wary of its influence’ (Silver, Devlin, & Huang, 2019).

Russia is and will remain a powerful player in global power politics. 'Russian reemergence' (Deshpande, 2015) is natural and inevitable. The history might repeat itself. The Soviet Union and China had a border clash escalating to a full-scale war in 1969. The intensity of the war was so great that some believe 'it could have started World War III' (Farley, 2018). The history of mistrust might lead to a future filled with mistrust. During that period, both also contested to gain superiority in the third world (Friedman, 2018) igniting a 'Cold War in the Communist World' (Lüthi, 2008). This is more likely to reemerge with the declining American influence and growing vacuum and absence of a challenger to the Chinese expansion of interests in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Russian intervention in Ukraine (Mahapatra, 2014) and American inability to interfere is another visible sign of the end of a unipolar world, the way its withdrawal from Afghanistan became a tipping point for the unipolar world. Russian elasticity towards rising China would have already taken over by its historic passion and pleasure of acting as a dominant power. Russian aggression towards Ukraine might as well be repeated elsewhere with more force especially its historical subordinate CARs region. It will be a strong disappointment to the Chinese growing influence and interests in the close neighbourhood and for its enormous BRI project.

European Union and the block of emerging economies will start emceeding their interests and involvement with global optics in an emerging multipolar world (Dee, 2015, p. 91). EU has the political will and economic potential and resources to be a global actor. At present, it operates under US influence (Hiro, 2010) and provides substantial support for its global position. It is a

continuously maturing integration process in line with its wider global interests of ranging from the environment and human rights to collective security and shared defense very well coinciding with its 'Europeanisation' (Langenhove, 2010, p. 5) philosophy. It needs to go long way to emerge as a big political pole outside of the US umbrella but such a possibility cannot be overlooked. A weakening America would find every opportunity to downplay avenues of rising arch-rival. Hence, China would not be able to handle these developments single-handedly leading to the multipolar system of power.

Not only, the world will become multipolar but the poles will be multidimensional and more complex than the system of multipolarity experienced earlier. One can foresee that transition from a unipolar world to a bipolar system of power and then to a multipolar world would be quite the same process in reverse, as the world moved from a multipolar system of power to a bipolar world and ended up being unipolar in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. While this reverse process would involve many of the same states, political actors, and great powers, this will have more complex processes, would take much less time but require much more political wisdom and foresight. This necessitates many more studies and discussions around theories of polarity and implications they would have for the changing world and individual states.

References

- (2019, November 28). Retrieved from Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB): <https://www.aiib.org/en/index.html>
- (2019, January 4). Retrieved from Global Times: <http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/1134637.shtml>
- (2019, October 1). Retrieved from BBC: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-49891769>
- (2019, October 1). Retrieved from The Guardian: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/oct/01/china-celebrates-70-years-military-parade-xi-jinping-hong-kong>
- (2019, October 1). Retrieved from CNBC: <https://www.cnbc.com/2019/10/01/china-displays-a-military-show-of-strength-at-70th-anniversary-parade.html>
- (2019, November 21). Retrieved from US Department of State: <https://www.state.gov/a-conversation-with-ambassador-alice-wells-on-the-china-pakistan-economic-corridor/>
- (2019, November 10). Retrieved from China Power: <https://chinapower.csis.org/global-views/>
- (2020, May 22). Retrieved from Ministry of Foreign Affairs, GOP: <http://mofa.gov.pk/cpecs-beneficial-contribution-to-pakistans-economy/>
- (2020, January 16). Retrieved from BBC: <https://www.bbc.com/news/business-45899310>
- Aamir, A. (2020, January 17). *China Brief*. Retrieved from The Jamestown Foundation: <https://jamestown.org/program/pakistan-and-cpec-are-drawn-into-the-u-s-china-rivalry/>
- Acharya, A. (2018). *The End of American World Order* (2nd ed.). New Jersey: Wiley.
- Aneek, C. (2010). *International Relations Today: Concepts and Applications*. Delhi: Pearson.
- Beeson, M. (2017, September 27) *Hegemony*. Retrieved from Oxford Bibliographies. <https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199756223/obo-9780199756223-0101.xml>
- Bowker, M. (2012). European Security. In R. Sakwa, & A. Stevens (Eds.), *Contemporary Europe* (3rd ed., pp. 217-233). Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bown, C. P. (2019, December 19). Retrieved from Peterson Institute of International Economics: <https://www.piie.com/research/trade-investment/us-china-trade-war>
- Boyd, H. (2019, August 21). *IJSS*. Retrieved from IJSS: <https://www.ijss.org/blogs/military-balance/2019/08/china-army-modernisation>
- Brands, H. (2016). *Making the Unipolar Moment: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Rise of the Post ...* Ithaca: Cornell University Press
- Brooks, S. G., & Wohlfort, W. C. (2008). *World Out of Balance: International Relations and the Challenge of American Primacy*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press
- Buzan, B. (2004). *United States and the Great Powers: World Politics in the Twenty First Century*. Malden: Polity Press.
- Carley, M. J. (1999). *1939: The Alliance That Never Was and the Coming of World War II*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee.

- Chau, D. C., & Kane, T. M. (Eds.). (2014). *China and International Security: History, Strategy, and 21st-Century Policy [3 volumes]: History, Strategy, and 21st-Century Policy*. Santa Barbara: Praeger.
- Chebankova, E. (2017). Russia's idea of the multipolar world order: origins and main dimensions. *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 217-234.
- Chen, Y.-W., & Hao, Y. (2019). Czech perceptions of the rise of China: a survey among university students. *Asia Europe Journal*, 157-175. Retrieved from <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10308-019-00542-6>
- China-Russia Joint Statement on 21st Century World Order. (2006). *Islamabad Policy Research Institute Journal, Volume 6, Issues 1-4*, 179-181.
- Chu, Y.-h., & Chang, Y.-t. (2017). Xi's Foreign-Policy Turn and Asian Perceptions of a Rising China. *Global Asia*, 12(1). Retrieved from <http://www.asianbarometer.org/publications/2017-journal-articles>
- Clegg, J. (2009). *China's Global Strategy: Toward a Multipolar World*. London: Pluto Press.
- Cole, B. (2019, September 29). *World*. Retrieved from Newsweek: <https://www.newsweek.com/russia-trump-putin-g7-kremlin-1456705>
- Danilovic, V. (2002). *When the Stakes Are High: Deterrence and Conflict Among Major Powers*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Day, J. (2020, May 14). Retrieved from Express.Co.Uk: <https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/1282173/world-war-3-china-latest-news-us-military-donald-trump-us-china-conflict-spt>
- Dee, M. (2015). *The European Union in a Multipolar World: World Trade, Global Governance and the Case of the WTO*. Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Deshpande, S. (2015). *Two Decades of Re-Emerging Russia: Issues and Challenges*. Delhi: KW Publishers.
- Devlin, K. (2018, October 19). Retrieved from Pew Research Center: <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/10/19/5-charts-on-global-views-of-china/>
- DiNardo, R. L. (2005). *Germany and the Axis Powers from Coalition to Collapse*. Kansas: University Press of Kansas.
- Ferguson, N. (2005). *Colossus: The Rise and Fall of the American Empire*. London: Penguin Books Ltd.
- Fravel, M. T., Roy, J. S., Swaine, M. D., Thornton, S. A., & Vogel, E. (2019, July 3). *China is not an enemy*. Retrieved from The Washington Post: https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/making-china-a-us-enemy-is-counterproductive/2019/07/02/647d49d0-9bfa-11e9-b27f-ed2942f73d70_story.html
- Goodrich, J. (2018, August 25). *Decoding BRICS: How do BRICS and the G7 match up?* Retrieved from CGTN.Com: https://news.cgtn.com/news/3d3d674d3367544f78457a6333566d54/share_p.html
- Grevatt, J. (2019, October 1). Retrieved from BBC: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-49891769>
- Gummett, P., Boutousov, M., Farkas, J., & Rip, A. (Eds.) (1996) *Military R&D after the Cold War: Conversion and Technology Transfer in Eastern and Western Europe*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

- Harris, P. (2019, May 27). Retrieved from The National Interest: <https://nationalinterest.org/feature/when-will-unipolar-world-end-59202>
- Hildebrandt, R. (2009). *US Hegemony: Global Ambitions and Decline*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
- Hiro, D. (2010). *After Empire: The Birth of a Multipolar World*. New York: Perseus.
- Huang, E. (2019, October 30) *Currencies*. Retrieved from CNBC: <https://www.cnbc.com/2019/10/31/de-dollarization-russia-china-eu-are-motivated-to-shift-from-using-usd.html>
- Ikenberry, G. J. (2011). The Liberal Sources of American Unipolarity. In G. J. Ikenberry, M. Mastanduno, & W. C. Wohlforth (Eds.), *International Relations Theory and the Consequences of Unipolarity* (pp. 216-251). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kassim, Y. R. (2014). *The Geopolitics of Intervention: Asia and the Responsibility to Protect*. Singapore: Springer.
- Kennedy, P. (1989). *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Langenhove, L. V. (2010). *The EU as a Global Actor in a Multipolar World and Multilateral Environment*. Gent: Academia Press for Egmont
- Layne, C. (2012) This Time It's Real The End of Unipolarity and the "Pax Americana". *International Studies Quarterly*, 56(1), 203-213. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41409832>
- Lee, S. J. (2003). *Europe, 1890-1945*. London: Routledge.
- Leebaert, D. (2018). *Grand Improvisation: America Confronts the British Superpower, 1945-1957*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Magstadt, T. M. (2015). *Understanding Politics: Ideas, Institutions, and Issues*. Stamford: Cengage Learning.
- Mahapatra, C. (2014, April 14). *US, Ukraine and the End of Unipolarity*. Retrieved from IPCS: http://www.ipcs.org/comm_select.php?articleNo=4387
- Matthews, K. (2003). *The Gulf Conflict and International Relations*. London: Routledge.
- Mazower, M. (2008). *Hitler's Empire: Nazi Rule in Occupied Europe*. London. Allen Lane.
- McCormick, J. (2006). *The European Superpower*. London: Macmillan Education.
- Mearsheimer, J. J. (1990). Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War. *International Security*, 15(1), 5-56 Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.com/stable/2538981>
- Mesquita, B. B. (2014). *Principles of International Politics*. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Monteiro, N. P. (2012). Unrest Assured: Why Unipolarity Is Not Peaceful. *International Security*, 36(3), 9-40. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/41428108?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents
- Monteiro, N. P. (2014). *Theory of Unipolar Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Morrison, W. M. (2019, November 30). *Congressional Research Service*. Retrieved from Congress.Gov: <https://crsreports.congress.gov/search/#!/?termsToSearch=33534&orderBy=Relevance>

- Mouritzen, H. (1997). Kenneth Waltz: a critical rationalist between international politics and foreign policy. In I. B. Neumann, & O. Waever (Eds.), *The Future of International Relations: Masters in the Making?* (pp. 71-95). London: Routledge.
- Neill, A. (2019, September 30). Retrieved from BBC: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-49849858>
- Odell, R. E., & Wertheim, S. (2020, May 10). Retrieved from The New York Times: <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/10/opinion/china-coronavirus-trump.html>
- O'Hanlon, M., & Twardowski, A. (2019, December 13). Retrieved from Brookings: <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2019/12/13/unpacking-the-china-russia-alliance/>
- Parsons, T. (1999). *The British Imperial Century, 1815-1914: A World History Perspective*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Porter, P. (2015). *The Global Village Myth: Distance, War, and the Limits of Power*. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Ray, J. L. (1983). *Global Politics* (2nd ed.). Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Rolland, S. E., & Trubek, D. M. (2019). *Emerging Powers in the International Economic Order: Cooperation, Competition and Transformation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Screpanti, E. (2014). *Global Imperialism and the Great Crisis: The Uncertain Future of Capitalism*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Sears, N. A. (2016, April 27). *China, Russia, and the Long 'Unipolar Moment*. Retrieved from The Diplomat: <https://thediplomat.com/2016/04/china-russia-and-the-unipolar-moment/>
- Shanghai Cooperation Organization*. (2019, November 14). Retrieved from SCO website: <http://eng.sectsc.org/secretariat/>
- Silver, L., Devlin, K., & Huang, C. (2019, December 5). Retrieved from Pew Research Center: <https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2019/12/05/attitudes-toward-china-2019/>
- Smith, T. (2012). *A Pact with the Devil: Washington's Bid for World Supremacy and the Betrayal ...* New York: Routledge.
- Special Series*. (2017, December 6). Retrieved from ALJAZEERA: <https://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/specialseries/2017/11/coming-war-china-171128124059730.html>
- Statement of the Spokesperson from the Chinese Embassy in Pakistan*. (2020, May 21). Retrieved from Chinese Embassy: <http://pk.chineseembassy.org/eng/zbqx/t1781421.htm>
- Stuenkel, O. (2017). *Post-Western World: How Emerging Powers Are Remaking Global Order*. NJ: Wiley.
- Terhalle, M. (2011). Is Unipolarity Peaceful. *International Studies*, 48(3-4), 317-324. DOI:10.1177/0020881713485025
- The Economic Times*. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/dont-target-pakistan-at-sco-summit-china/articleshow/69720807.cms?from=mdrhttps://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/dont-target-pakistan-at-sco-summit-china/articleshow/69720807.cms?from=mdr>

- Thompson, L. G. (2005). *Ta t'ung Shu: The One-World Philosophy of K'ang Yu-wei*. New York: Routledge.
- Trump, P. D. (2018, May 29). Retrieved from Whitehouse.gov: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/president-donald-j-trump-confronting-chinas-unfair-trade-policies/>
- Tunsjo, O. (2018). *The Return of Bipolarity in World Politics: China, the United States, and Geostructural Realism*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Wertheim, S. (2019, June 8). Retrieved from The New York Times: <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/08/opinion/sunday/trump-china-cold-war.html>
- Wike, R., Stokes, B., Poushter, J., Silver, L., Fetterolf, J., & Devlin, K. (2018, October 1). Retrieved from Pew Research Center: <https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2018/10/01/americas-international-image-continues-to-suffer/>
- Xuetong, Y. (2011, December 30). *Global Times*. Retrieved from Carnegie-Tsinghua Centre for Global Policy: <https://carnegietsinghua.org/2011/12/30/from-unipolar-to-bipolar-superpower-system-future-of-global-power-dynamic-pub-47688>
- Zellen, B. S. (2012). *State of Doom: Bernard Brodie, The Bomb, And The Birth Of The Bipolar World*. New York. Continuum.
- Zhang, Z. (2018, October). The Belt and Road Initiative: China's New Geopolitical Strategy? SWP Berlin. Retrieved from https://www.swp-berlin.org/en/search-results/?q=Zhexin+Zhang&tx_solr%5Bsort%5D=created+desc
- Zhu, Z. (2006). *US-China Relations in the 21st Century: Power Transition and Peace*. London: Routledge.

CHAPTER 5

RACE FOR GLOBAL SUPREMACY AND IMPLICATIONS FOR PAKISTAN

5.1. Pakistan – Country Profile

Pakistan enjoys a very central and critical position both in geographical terms as well as geopolitical context. The country is located at the heart of South Asia, Central Asia and the Middle East. Historically, it has never been confined to what the present-day political boundaries encircle but remained at the center stage of the political developments in the region for centuries. The country got independence in 1947 as a modern-day political entity. It got separated from the rest of the geographically and politically knitted subcontinent. As part of the subcontinent, it had been home to some of the oldest civilizations and at the crossroads for the greatest warriors in history. Indus Valley Civilization for most of its geographical spread has been concentrated in present-day Pakistan. Moen Jo Daro and Harappa are the signs of this great civilization. Pakistan is also home to one of the oldest archeological sites, Mehrgarh, near Balochistan. Gandhara, another great civilization, excavated in North Western Pakistan, thrived as a junction in the wider geographical expanse connecting the whole of Asia (Mani, 2005). This is a land of geographical wonders and historic legends as “nexus of multiple civilizations dating back 9000 years or more” (Heiden, 2012, p. 15).

Pakistan ranks 5th in the list of most populated countries in the world. It has a population of almost 220 million in 2020 according to the United Nations Data (World Population Review, 2020). According to a United Nations report (The Nation , 2019), this population is projected to grow to almost 400 million by the year 2050. It is also expected to form an ideal pyramid for Pakistan's working-age population from 2025 onwards giving great labour supplies, young entrepreneurs, and booming markets with emerging and broad-based middle class according to the UN World Population Prospects 2019 (UN Population Dynamics, 2020). Within these years, a continuous change in the rural-urban ratio and a steady rise of the urban population is likely to expand the indigenous markets and demand

As an agrarian economy, Pakistan exceeds many countries for farm produce and agro-based yields. It ranks among the largest ten countries in terms of agricultural productions. It has positions within the top ten countries for the farm output of chickpea, cotton, milk, goat meat, mango, date palm, sugarcane, chili pepper, apricot, oranges, wheat and onion. It is the fifth-largest rice exporter and exports many other agricultural products especially oranges and mangoes. The country has one of the largest irrigation systems in the world. Pakistan has struggled to harness its water resources. Though Pakistan has one of the largest earth-filled dam at Tarbela and the largest dam in term of floodwater protection named Mirani, its list of large dams is much shorter than its immediate neighbours China and India both of which rank at first and third positions in terms of most number of dams in the world and especially large dams.

The total water storage capacity and hydroelectricity generation are much below the projections and capacity of the country. According to the International Hydropower Association (2020),

Pakistan produces less than 15% of its total hydroelectricity production potential of more than 60,000 MW. Its hydroelectricity ratio in the overall electricity mix has been on a decline from 45% to 28% of the total production. However, this is expected to increase to 40% of the total production by 2030 as part of an increased focus on hydroelectricity production. Pakistan has made considerable development in the area of electricity generation from renewable resources and nuclear energy. Pakistan faced the worst energy crises in the last decade and is focused to overcome the electricity shortages with the help of China under the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) initiatives.

China has made massive investments in Pakistan under its China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) project which is a flagship component of its global infrastructure development Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). Pakistan is the biggest beneficiary of the initiative (Pakistan Today, 2019) and most of the investment is concentrated on infrastructure development including roads and railways network as well as power generation. These projects are instrumental for the economic revival and prosperity of Pakistan and have key importance for China to link with the Middle East and Africa through a much shorter and efficient trade route. Pakistan and China have a friendly relationship spanning over seven decades of interaction and connectivity. Both constructed a modern wonder of the world, the Karakoram Highway in the 1970s, and created a route for people to people and trade contacts through one of the most difficult and highest terrain.

5.1.1. The Geopolitical Crux

Pakistan has been interchangeably referred to as 'geopolitical crux' (Bordonaro, 2005) and 'geostrategic curse' (Paul, 2014). The geostrategic position of the country is very important and

central to the regional and international political systems. Pakistan's geographical stretch from the highest of the mountain ranges in the north to the sea level in the south surrounds it with almost 7,000 kilometers lengthy border with four neighbouring countries and another 1000 kilometers of coastline. Pakistan shares almost half of the total border that is 3,323 kilometers with India. It has a very strategic location which provides unique challenges and opportunities to it. It is a meeting point (Cohen, 2004) of important political actors of the world power. It sets three levels of interaction and relations with the outside world and accordingly has implications for the country.

The first and foremost important level for determining Pakistan's relations due to geographical compulsions is its relations at the bilateral level. Pakistan has a limited number of neighbours but extremely diverse and segregated relations with each one of them i.e. from very cordial and friendly relations with its northern neighbour China to extremely adverse and hostile relations with its eastern neighbour India. India and Pakistan share a history of rivalry with three wide-scale wars to military skirmishes over Siachen and Kargil. Both remain in a state of war over the Kashmir issue which is a bone of contention between the two to date. It is very common and a daily routine that violation of the ceasefire line is done and bombings and retaliatory attacks are made over the civilian areas (Jacob, 2018).

Ayesha Siddiqi, an acclaimed writer claims that an understanding of India Pakistan contradictory strategic insights and reactions to tactical moves is a must for a better understanding of their interaction with each other (Agha, 2004). Both use propaganda and stand against each other at most world forums. It is regular to counter and oppose the other neighbour in the international

forums and this trend is setting more with much intensity in areas beyond politics i.e. diplomacy, socio-cultural platforms, trade and economics.

A glaring example of it is the recent FATF proceedings which are much intensified due to Indian initiation and lobbying. India finds Pakistan as a major challenger to its regional hegemony and global persuasions. It is a fact that Pakistan plays a major obstacle for India to pursue its ambition for permanent member status in the United Nations Security Council. Contrarily, Indian propaganda to get Pakistan declared as a rogue state, failed nation or a terrorist country finds its way almost at every forum. Indian efforts to cause disturbances and support and ignite terrorist elements to cause commotion in the country are on record.

On the contrary, Pakistan has exemplary relations with China and the recent CPEC projects and investments have taken these historic relations to new heights. Chinese investments in Pakistan for global outreach and connection have not only cemented their bilateral relations, it has also deepened their strategic interdependence. Even the relations with both Muslim states in the West and southwest may be categorized in different compartments i.e. very historic cultural and Islamic ties with Iran to a more strategic and rippled relationship with Afghanistan.

Regionally, Pakistan is part of two regional associations South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) and the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO). Pakistan has a very different approach to deal with the two. More relevant and central to the regional geopolitical structure and importance SAARC has not been a story of success in terms of regional cooperation. However, it does require the main regional actors India and Pakistan to sustain it and let it be a

point of connectivity and link between governments and people of the two countries and the region. The little progress made in the areas of South Asia Economic Union and South Asia Free Trade Area has not been fruitful due to the rivalry between the major actors.

Pakistan could not play an active and useful role in the SAARC due to Indian hegemony. There is a relationship of mistrust among its members. Pakistan has critical Issues with India including Kashmir. Nepal has border issues with India. Though Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, and Bhutan have made border settlements with India almost every country has some point of disagreement with the biggest member of the association in terms of area, population and resources. Pakistan has pursued a policy of proto-multilateral relations in the forum keeping its stand on bilateral relations within South Asia intact. Pakistan's policy towards SAARC is largely operated under its security concerns (Inayat, 2004) and Indian actions and intentions towards SAARC.

Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) which was set up in 1985, is the extended form of Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD). Being members of RCD which remained in existence from 1964 to 1979, Pakistan is one of the pioneer members of the ECO. Initially, under RCD, Pakistan, Iran and Turkey were focused to enhance trade through better transport and RCD road was proposed. However, presently the ECO has been enlarged to 10 member states including Afghanistan as well as six Central Asian states. ECO has a much bigger agenda and cooperation in many areas of mutual interest and benefit and Pakistan has rich multilateral relations and stake in the organization. One reason for the smooth functioning, though slow, is the Muslim character of all the member states. The slow pace is largely due to Afghanistan's political disorders which could be the main link to the Central Asian states.

Pakistan could have played a more effective role and heaped benefits of this regional association in a much better way from energy supply lines to people to people contact provided a peaceful environment in Afghanistan. Afghan civil turbulences and security issues hamper the enhanced cooperation under the organization. Central Asia being an energy hub has a global outlook and ECO envisages a global agenda stating that "The ECO Member States, individually and collectively as a region, are involved in policymaking as well as operational frameworks to react to the challenges/opportunities exposed by the global issues of regional and national impacts" (ECO , 2020).

A more recent and powerful regional organization is the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). Established by China and with continuing membership rise, Pakistan has become the most recent full member of SCO along with India. They both have a very different and diplomatically refined attitude in SCO as it is being operated under another powerful state and Central Asian Republics and Russia are its members. SCO provides a very interesting example of a global political relationship enforced by economic compulsions and strategic orientations. It brings regional rivalries of the past and the present at one stage and is expected to provide the platform for ironing out critical issues and rivalries of the future.

A third and global level, Pakistan lies in a geographical stretch which has been at the crossroad of civilizations, armies and invaders for centuries. Since its inception, Pakistan has been entangled in the global conundrum of the international system of power. It is this location that forces the economically weak state with fewer resources than its immediate enemy to incur huge sums of

money on defense. It had to develop minimum deterrence against India but the cold war rivalry of the superpowers and Soviet invasion in Afghanistan forced it to develop a military might taller than its size and muscles stronger than its capacity.

Pakistan's foreign policy and political directions are to be set up within this framework and requires a great deal of political and international relations understanding and wisdom. As an active state with central regional impact and a geopolitical actor of global magnitude that is ever-increasing especially concerning the emerging poles of global supremacy as well as changing international balance of power.

In the first two decades of the new century, Pakistan's policy has been more paradoxical and it was more so in the early phase of 9/11. Under US pressure and with a firm commitment to fight for the American war against terrorism, it appeared to be the most pro-American while it continued to support the Taliban covertly and remains a decisive element in negotiations with the Taliban today when the US is looking for a safe exit from the country. On parallel lines, Pakistan pursued its relations with China that have become much stronger and turned into a more strategic partnership in the ending years of these two decades. This dual partnership has benefitted Pakistan but made it more susceptible as well. Geography and location compel it to connect to the growing infrastructural network developed by the close neighbour than rely on the distant and distrusted ally.

5.1.2. Geo-economics

Economic growth and financial stability and strength are considered one of the most important factors if not the only one to consider the states and countries global political status. Historically, states with better resources and economic development have been able to come to the forefront and take lead on military missions and political purposes. It was the economic pressures of the newly born state of Pakistan which dragged it to the superpower rivalry (Sattar, 2013, p. 345). However, over the last 70 years, Pakistan has made great strides in every sphere of economy. Although, the country remains a developing economy yet the developments made in various sectors of the economy are remarkable. From almost zero industry base in 1947, today the industrial sector is expanding and growing faster than ever. Several Special Economic Zones are being set at various locations along the economic corridor under CPEC. These improvements are truly making Pakistan economically a land of opportunities (Talbot, 2012).

Pakistan is transforming from an agro-based economy to a more diversified economic mix. A substantial percentage of almost 18% of GDP comes from the industrial sector while the services sector is consistently expanding with a contribution of more than 50% to the GDP. Pakistan's GDP ranks among the first 25 as per purchasing power parity and the first 50 in the world as per GDP nominal. However, its growth has been slow and stained by political upheavals, social disruption, weak law and order situation and terrorism. Pakistan's economy is trapped in a vicious circle of import-export imbalances and heavy reliance on imported fuel for power generation.

Pakistan has been consistently making efforts to improve its export earnings and invest in its youth development programmes. To revolutionize the technology use and encouragement of information

technology-based exports, governments have been providing free laptops to university graduates and setting up business incubation centers across the country. Though Pakistan has made a very late entry in the technology-based exports and according to the OECD data, it ranks at 63rd position in the high technology exports in 2018.

One of the major issues with Pakistan's economy is its reliance on foreign aid assistance which as a vicious circle of foreign aid for foreign payments (Islam, 1972) has reached an alarming stage. It is a debt trap which is worsening over time. Pakistan is under a foreign debt of US\$ 111 billion at present. The country needs to repay hefty amounts in the form of debt servicing and repayment. The most critical setback to the economy has been political turmoil and military takeovers which had very bad and reverse effects for the economy. However, the most recent and most upsetting problem for the economy was militarism in the western part of the country which has been successfully crushed with historic civil-military coordination. Bomb blasts and terrorist activities spoiled the business environment and foreign direct investment remained at the lowest during these years. Pakistan is facing a serious issue in terms of blacklisting threat from the Financial Action Task Force (FATF). FATF is a body of 37 members and most of them are financially active nations. It has 200 countries onboard for implementing various regulations on money laundering and terrorist financing as a worldwide watchdog. At present Pakistan falls under the category of Jurisdictions under Increased Monitoring (FATF, 2020) and the country is striving hard to streamline its procedures of banking, finance as well as the regulatory framework for money laundering and terror financing.

A landmark development was made and much appreciated by the Country Director Pakistan of World Bank, Mr. Illango Patchamuthu in the field of Ease of Doing Business. A study by the World Bank shows Pakistan ranking at 108th position after a phenomenal 28 places jump in 2019. It was made possible after the introduction of some regulatory framework. Pakistan was also praised and ranked as the “world’s top 10 business climate improvers” (The World Bank, 2019). Referring to these developments Mr. Illango commented, “The accelerated reform agenda has many noteworthy features to improve quality of regulations, reduce time and streamline processes. This momentum needs to be sustained in the coming years for Pakistan to continue to make progress.”

Pakistan’s GDP growth rate has been dwindling over the years. According to IMF World Economic Outlook statistics, Real GDP Growth annual percentage change in 2019 for Pakistan touched the unfortunate negative growth in 2020 (WEO, 2020). Pakistan ranks 23rd largest economy in terms of GDP (PPP) and 42nd in terms of nominal GDP. The country is a member of WTO, IMF, World Bank, Developing 8, SAFTA as well as AIIB. It has economic interests as a member of ECO and SCO.

Pakistan's top two trading partners are the USA and China both in terms of imports and exports. Pakistan faces a dilemma to deal with the two as both are contesting for global supremacy and the country cannot afford to make any one of the two angry or introduce any monumental shift. It has a huge trade deficit. In 2019, it had roughly US\$ 52 billion imports against only US\$ 24 billion exports. With other major partners like UAE, UK, Singapore, Saudi Arabia, Germany and

Afghanistan, it has a huge volume of its trade as well. Pakistan had to face a serious crisis in recent years when more than US\$ 10 billion were borrowed from friendly states and IMF to meet its economic needs and save an economic bankruptcy.

Pakistan has great economic potential and humongous natural resources. If properly explored and tapped, the country is likely to recover fast from the economic crises. Recent energy crises badly affected industry and almost every sphere of the economy suffered. However, with sufficient energy production in place and rapidly developing infrastructure under CPEC as well as the setting of Special Economic Zones and increased focus on the development of natural resources and hydroelectricity, Pakistan will be able to benefit its huge population and involve massive cheap labour in the development projects. According to Jim O'Neill's future economic growth prospects of countries other than BRICS, Pakistan is one of the eleven countries identified with "high potential of becoming . . . world's largest economies in the 21st century" (Oladele, 2018, p. 227).

5.1.3. Pakistan Military Strength

According to the Global Fire Power Review (2020), Pakistan is ranked 15th most powerful military with a power index score of 0.23. For comparison, India scored 0.09 and ranked 4th while Afghanistan scored 1.34 and ranked as 78th in the world out of 138 countries. Pakistan has the sixth-largest active military personnel and has been the 10th largest arms importer from 2010 to 2018 according to the SIPRI while it was on 14th position in 2019. Pakistan has been trying to build its capacity for the arms as well as has a special focus on arms production for exports. It has not been a major arms exporter but in recent years Pakistan has made significant improvement in

terms of its arms exports. Only in the year 2019, it has doubled the amount earned from arms exports to \$ 210 million (Bokhari, 2019). According to the Nikkei Asian Review, Pakistan plans to take its defense exports to \$1 billion per year. Its major defense export includes JF-17 thunder developed with the help of China. Pakistan is also making efforts to shift from small arms to defense productions for export and the successful export of Jf-17 thunder jets is an example of this resolve.

Pakistan's eastern neighbour India is the fifth-largest defense expenditure incurring state in the world. Being neighbour to the world's second-largest importer of Arms and military equipment (SIPRI 2019) and the second-largest military in the world, Pakistan finds itself in a very tight position with not many options to avert its expenditure of military spending and arms development. India is continuously developing and modernizing its military seemingly to face Chinese military might but historically it had fought three wars with Pakistan and only one with China. According to some sources (Armed Forces.EU, 2020), Pakistan spends US\$ 10.8 billion on its military expenditure which makes almost 2.9% of its GDP and roughly 1/4th of its annual budget overlay. Pakistan is forced to make such huge expenditures on the budget despite its weak economic conditions and having compromised on its social and development projects due to the humongous spending of its eastern neighbour and all-time enemy, India. India spends five times more on its defense. It incurs US\$ 55.9 billion annually on military and arms development.

Pakistan is a nuclear state and its ambition to acquire nuclear capability was in response to the Indian nuclear capabilities. "...India has traditionally been focused on deterring Pakistan" (Kristensen & Norris, 2017). India possesses up to 140 nuclear warheads and can enhance its

capacity to 200 nuclear warheads (Peck, 2019). Pakistan has to maintain minimum possible deterrence. As India is developing its military power and increasing its presence in the Indian Ocean (Chandran, 2018), Pakistan is forced to keep track of growing Indian influence and capabilities. According to a report titled Asia Power Index 2019 (Lemahieu, 2020) by Sydney-based Lowy Institute, Pakistan ranks at number 15th in the category of middle powers where Russia is also ranked. Pakistan's score is relatively better in the category of military capability and ranked at 9th within this variable among the multiple variables to reach the overall ranking.

5.1.4. Soft Power Pursuance

Pakistan won a great image for the western world while fighting against the Communist Soviet Union in Afghanistan (Blood, 1995, p. 250). It also enjoyed a great diplomatic win among the Muslim states (Joseph, 2019) for being the frontline state against an intruder in a Muslim brotherly country. During the Soviet-Afghan war years, Pakistan hosted millions of Afghan refugees and became a host for the world's largest refugee population. Later Pakistan has been part of the settlement and withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan and continuously mediated and supported the peace process in the country.

9/11 changed the world forever and it changed Pakistan's position in the world as well. Pakistan's image has been greatly tarnished over the 20 years of the global war against terrorism. However, it has been on a recovery trail for the last five years. It touched its last lowest on Fragile State Index in 2014 when the country ranked 10th highest (Haken, et al., 2014) within the 'High Alert' domain and only one category below the extreme 'Very High Alert'. Since then the position has been

improved and in the 2019 Fragile States index, it ranked 23rd dropping from 'High Alert' to 'Alert' domain while improved further two levels and ranked 25th in 2020 (Fragile States Index, 2020).

Soft power is not controlled by an individual, an entity, or a government therefore, it is not easy to determine what level a country enjoys. However, various surveys and rankings help to determine a country's position. It is a mix of different indicators and steps which are combined to foster a positive and soft image of a nation. The nation is resilient to return to the soft image it enjoyed before this chaos. It has developed consensus to fight back terrorism through joint efforts and programmes like National Action Plan (NAP) and campaigns like Paigham-e-Pakistan are helping the country to return to normalcy and building an image of association and interconnectivity.

NAP was adopted in January 2015, to curb the militancy and crackdown on terrorism in the country, especially in the northwestern tribal belt. This 20 point action plan has resulted in great success and most of the targets set in the plan are achieved (Kamran, 2019) primarily the peace and establishment of the writ of the government in troubled areas. Under this plan, Pakistan has fought against multiple sources of trouble and disharmony including internal or local extremists, neighbouring countries foreign intelligence interlopers as well as against global actors and terrorist organizations like Al Qaeda and ISIS intruders.

NAP has been a great success in terms of bringing bomb blasts, attacks on public and private establishments, and resultant fatalities down (Khan A. U., 2019). Pakistan Security Report 2019 published by Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS) gives further encouraging data on the situation stating "In 2019, Pakistan witnessed a further decline in the number of terrorist incidents

and consequent casualties Continuous anti-militant operational and surveillance campaigns by security forces and police counterterrorism departments, as well as some counter-extremism actions taken under the National Action Plan, have helped sustain that declining trend 2013 onwards" (PIPS, 2020).

While the army played an important and central role to cleanse Pakistan's territory from these miscreants, academia and civil society played the most important role to mend the gulfs created in the society. Paigham-e-Pakistan is an outcome of intellectual discourse (IIUI, Islamic Research Institute , 2020) among the religious, social, and academic segments, supported, projected and adopted by the whole society. An ideological body IRI and educational institution IIUI have taken the initiative of Paigham-e-Pakistan. For the enduring peace and calm in the society, the misunderstandings caused in the name of religion, injected by the foreign anti-Pakistan forces and personal false philosophies have to be cleared and regulated. Commenting on the socio-political achievements of Pakistan in an article published in Modern Diplomacy, a leading European opinion-maker media platform with a far-reaching influence across the Middle East, Africa, and Asia, it was stated "With an unprecedented progress in politico-socio-economic domains, Pakistan has a new face in the world. It has not only successfully corrected misplaced perceptions about it, but the internal and external circumstances around it have also changed, which has helped shaping Pakistan its renewed look according to changed regional and international environment" (Mukhtar, 2020).

The change is being recognized internationally and within Pakistan as well. There was much hype in media and editorial were dedicated and top journalists acknowledged (Nizami, 2020) when UN

secretary-general Antonio Guterres came on a four-day visit. Pakistan hosted the largest population of refugees for the longest period in the recent history termed as “outstanding generosity and solidarity”. To mark the four decades of hosting Afghan refugees, UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres visited Pakistan in 2020. Addressing an international conference on this subject he said, “One of the main purposes of my visit is to spotlight the real Pakistan — with all its possibility and potential” (UN News, 2020).

Pakistan has been a leading participant and contributor to the UN forces and peace missions and its peacekeepers have contributed to almost all regions of the world under UN missions. According to a news report, Pakistan started its peace missions in 1960 from Congo and since then contributed “more than 200,000 troops for 46 missions in 28 different countries, consistently making it one of the top five contributors” (Ahmed Z. , 2020). It further states that “157 Pakistani peacekeepers have been martyred” during these missions while Pakistan's contribution to peace processes continues “with more than 7,000 personnel deployed in nine of the 14 ongoing UN missions, Pakistan remains the third-largest source of peacekeepers in the world.” United Nations Peacekeeping has repeatedly acknowledged Pakistan's contributions (United Nations Peacekeeping , 2020). A special news brief was issued on the receipt of UN medals by the first-ever female Pakistani peacekeeping team (Tshibangu, 2020). These activities have earned great respect and a positive image for the country.

Billion Tree Plantation is recognized around the world by international agencies like UNESCO (Ebrahim, 2020) and World Economic Forum (Hutt, 2018) as well as media (Gul, 2017). Country representative International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) mentioned that “this is the

first target of the Bonn challenge that has been achieved in the Bonn challenge at the global level and in half the time committed” (Sadiq, 2017). Far ahead of the commitment and requirements of the Bonn Challenge (bonnchallenge.org, 2020) Pakistan government made another commitment to plant 10 billion tree tsunami over the five years in 2018 which would not only bring a green revolution in the country and help for climate change but is also being much appreciated worldwide.

Pakistan is an active member of OIC and a distinguished state within the Islamic block and has been raising voice for the issues and concerns of the Muslim Ummah. These initiatives have earned Pakistan much weight diplomatically. Pakistan has remained an active participant on the United Nations various platforms and contributed enthusiastically to the policymaking and regulation of issues of international concern and global interests. Australian funded Lowy Institute ranks Pakistan as the 15th number in terms of Diplomatic Influence according to its recent Asia Power Index Report among the various countries of Asia (Lemahieu, 2020). The same report ranks Pakistan at number 17th for the Cultural Influence.

Pakistan's diverse geography ranging from second highest mountain K-2 to the great flood plains, deserts, port areas, and most recently explored geographical wonders of Baluchistan offer great opportunities to attract tourists. Home to the oldest civilizations as well as Taxila, that is the most visited tourist destination in Pakistan for archeologists and one of the most important archeological destination in Asia, Pakistan has much more to offer. Moen Jo Daro and Harappa with places sacred to Buddhists like Takht-i-Bahai temples in Mardan and various Sikh sacred places across

Pakistan especially the recently constructed Kartarpur site offer options for religious tourism. Mansehra Rock Edicts to historical sites like Shalimar Bagh, Lahore Fort, Jehangir's Tomb Makli graveyard, Kot Diji Fort, Rani Kot Fort, and its wall referred to as the Great Wall of Sindh in comparison to the Great Wall of China. Sehr-I Bahlol, Rohtas Fort, Tomb of Hazrat Rukn e Alam, Masjid Wazir Khan, Shah Jehan Mosque, Thatta, all are but a few in the long list of visitors attractions. The portrayal of soft power helps to transform a country's perception and Pakistan needs to pay more attention to it. Pakistan has not been very successful in this regard.

5.1.5. Global Political Status and Compulsions

Pakistan as part of the bipolar world, the Muslim world, and as part of the emerging bipolar world has been at the center stage (Akbar, 1998) of the international politics and system of power during the Cold War and post-cold war unipolar world and it is likely to remain so for the coming decades. Pakistan needs to continuously evolve its policy around regional and global developments. "Several foreign powers are interested in Pakistan..." (Pant, 2011, p. 35). Pakistan's geopolitical importance is likely to grow with the culmination of the peace process and exit of American forces.

Though Pakistan's existence at the South and Central Asian regions convergence point provides it with a natural edge and importance geopolitically, conditions in Afghanistan can contribute to its scale. In the changing global balance of power where power is expected to shift towards Asia, Pakistan's proximity to the emerging global powers China, Russia and India adds greater strategic value to its location and position. This would add to its significance as a transit economy, geostrategic importance and geopolitical status (Tuathail, Dalby, & Routledge, 1998). Its seaport at Gawadar has historic importance (Mir, 2010) and it is anticipated to secure it an even important

status in the upcoming global shift of poles. Change in Afghanistan's political environment and settlement of turbulence could provide Pakistan with an opportunity to play a greater role in the Central Asian geopolitical landscape and help connect it to the outer world as a better economic link (Qayum, Shah, & Andlib, 2016).

What capacity does Pakistan have for a global political role? Pakistan does not claim to be a global power or a regional hegemon. However, the country had been a very strong influencer and a key player in the cold war global politics. Perhaps Pakistan was to the US as Cuba was to the USSR, a frontline state for a superpower or a launching pad. Pakistan has been instrumental in bringing most of the Muslim world in western ambit. It was one of the earliest Muslim nations to take up and follow a capitalist economic model under President Ayub Khan.

Before and during the cold war, in terms of its economic and military resources, Pakistan had always been dependent on its western masters especially the US. However, in terms of diplomatic and political prowess and ideological and religious fundamentals, it had sufficient stock of its own. At the end of the cold war, the outcome had been worst on both fronts with weak economic infrastructure, heavy investments in military might, weaker diplomatic position, religious extremism and complicated relations with the Muslim world especially next-door neighbour and Muslim nation, Iran.

All these have heaved to form a weaker image of the nation worldwide in the post-cold war unipolar world. Most of its time and resources in the last 20 years have been spent on fighting the evil impacts of the cold war period alliances and associations. The worst gift of involving in the

Afghan war as an American proxy has been heroin, terrorism, religious divide and extremism and shattered cultural fabric.

Pakistan has to look for a historic opportunity to compensate for its past mistakes and as part of a new global balance of power, must secure better economic and political prospects. Another engine for this drive is China's rise as a global power in the close vicinity. India's threats and implications of growing Chinese power compel the nation to find a new and better position in global politics. It has to realign and redefine its diplomatic and foreign policy interests and objectives in the wake of changing economic growth models and transportation and communication infrastructure as well as a fast-changing global political perspective. It is more prone to play a regional cum global role in the new set up.

Pakistan cannot escape itself from becoming part of the emerging political rivalries between India and China. Indian claims on regions lying within China as well as Pakistan and regions at the confluence of the Pak China territories have led to recent skirmishes especially in Aksai Chin (Jerome, 2020). Even their standoff elsewhere would have implications for Pakistan due to its proximity to both the nations and because the theatre of tensions would be right next door. Indian growing passion and struggle to maintain its hegemony not only threatens Pakistan's integrity and security, but it also poses serious threats for Chinese power in the region as well as hampers its global ambitions. "India has always regarded Tibet as a security buffer against china" (Sidhu & Yuan, 2003, p. 173). Both have claimed over Tibet and the region is geopolitically significant for the region and strategically important for Pakistan who holds control over it.

India's pursuance of a larger geopolitical schema in the immediate region (Destradi, 2012), South Asia as well as the extension of these ambitions for a global role through an enhanced presence in the Indian Ocean (Jeffrey, 2019) with the help of other western powers including America raises caution for Pakistan. The Indian Ocean has important strategic, political, trade, and investment and security dynamics for the region and the world. Its position on major energy supply route made it an active ground for superpower rivalry between the USA and USSR in the past (Rais, 1987). With the growing importance and centrality of the energy, trade, and investment in the region and entry of new powers like China, the prospects of turning it into a forefront of the new global political rivalry are high. David Brewster in his book *India's Ocean: The Story of India's Bid for Regional Leadership*, referring to Pakistan, asserted that "India will need to deal with ... important middle powers in the region" (Brewster, 2014, p. 1). In such a case India would have high stakes in maritime territories which would make Pakistan even more vulnerable to its southern border, a coastal belt and a trade route of international importance. Additionally, this may put Pakistan under a subordinated situation (Cohen, 2013).

Another reason Pakistan will get actively engaged in the new global race for supremacy emerges out of the tilt of the US towards India. Indian potential to significantly contribute or disturb the regional and global power balance and its ability to contain China. India's joining of the US pool will disturb the regional power balance in support of India and Pakistan has to counteract. US and India find it more benefitting to join hands and both governments are pursuing policies for alignment. Both see possibilities of "mutual strategic relevance" (Sharma A. . 2013). Ashok Sharma believes that "a gradual paradigm shift in the balance of power in Asia ... could impact the geostrategic politics at the global level in the future."

Pakistan enjoys a higher degree of respect and recognition in the Islamic world. Principally due to its very inception in the name of Islam and additionally due to its historic stand and association with the cause of Muslim countries and communities across the globe. Relations with the Muslim world are the central pillar of its foreign policy. Pakistan won another laurel by becoming the first and only Muslim state with nuclear capability and for a long time, its nuclear bomb has been denoted as Islamic Bomb (Khan F. H., 2012, p. 10) alike within Pakistan, Muslim countries and the World (Weissman & Krosney, 1981).

From the setting of the Organization of Islamic Conference to the concept of Islamic Development Bank and from voicing for the Palestinian people to the safeguard of Rohingya and Indian Muslims, its support for Bosnia and stand over Kashmir, Pakistan leads over many fronts within the Muslim world. Pakistan has been sharing its expertise in multiple fields with Islamic countries and acted as a negotiator for their mutual disputes. Pakistan's army is considered one of the most powerful and professional forces in any Muslim country.

The waning of the unipolar world requires a reorientation of its foreign policy and long-term understanding of changing global scenarios which is likely to enter a multipolar phase at the end of the emerging bipolar world. It is going to have far reached and wide-scale implications for Pakistan owing to its location and strategic alliance. The changing environment on the global political front especially regarding the US and China and developments in the regional power play between China and India would have definite consequences for Pakistan. In the first case scenario, Pakistan has had a long-standing association and relations with both, and how it balances these

associations with the possible US-China rivalry syndrome, would be a great test of Pakistani acumen. Islamabad has an opposite case scenario in the regional Indo-China power play where it has to secure its territorial safety on one side and its economic interests on the other. In the history of Pakistan, this would probably be the most sensitive phase on the geopolitical end. Under the changed settings, Pakistan will have more options and more challenges as well. These options and challenges would place the country in a unique position to balance out its national interest.

5.2. Implications for Pakistan

Pakistan's location has been a mixed blessing for the country in modern world politics. Pakistan was forced to become a party to the changing international balance of power in the wake of emerging superpowers. Independence from the United Kingdom earned it the status of a sovereign state but the separation from India won it a natural enemy as well. One of the first serious post-independence difficulties were posed by the unjustified and unfair division of state by the parent state. Pakistan could not get its due share wealth (Sattar, 2013, p. 17) and the newborn state had numerous other issues to handle ranging from setting up of government offices to the settlement of migrants from India. All this required money and the newly established state lacked the financial strength and economic resources to overcome these issues.

On a quest for economic assistance, Pakistan had to look for a financially strong nation. Unfortunately, most European nations were already drained off their financial strength due to the Second World War. In Asia, Japan had lost the war and China was in no position to help. The natural choice left for the new state was to approach one of the two emerging superpowers. At the same time, both the superpowers, USSR and the USA were on a hunt for affiliates. As part of their

diplomatic stance and political strategy, both were attracting more and more states to create blocks and alliances. USA had been interested in the region even before independence and US President Franklin D. Roosevelt had "pressed Churchill to win the cooperation of the nationalists in India" and "sent a special envoy to London in February 1942". It was under this pressure Sir Stafford Cripps was sent who "offered dominion status for India" (Hiro, 2015, pp. 69-70) for the first time.

The US was introduced to the region during the Second World War. It had its forces positioned at Karachi along with other important port cities of the sub-continent. As an ally of Great Britain, it was operating 'as part of the Allied Southeast Asian Command in Kandy, Ceylon' (Ashutosh, 2017). According to Ishan Ashutosh, "In the Second World War, South Asia functioned as a key strategic site in the China-Burma-India theater." He believes that it was during this time that the US developed its interest in the region leading to its critical presence in this part of the world in the coming years. He further states that "As a result of World War Two, South Asia was no longer solely the domain of British control and influence, but also became a space upon which the United States was concerned, and later could project its desires of post-war international relations upon".

US interest in the region grew in the post-war years when it was transforming into a global power ready to play a wider role in world affairs. Additionally, the presence of the only and the American arch-rival USSR amplified its interest and involvement in the region, especially during the cold war years. While both the superpowers were busy creating new blocks and winning allies in different parts of the world, it was not only politically important but strategically paramount to have a presence in a region close to the Soviet Union. This is best described in the following lines:

The American Cold War imperatives and search for allies after the Chinese Revolution and the Korean War brought countries like Pakistan, Iraq, Iran, and Turkey in alliance with Washington. Growing economic and military exchanges were soon followed by Pakistan joining two important U.S.-led alliances, assuming that such a relationship would shore up its regional security objectives. In 1954, Pakistan joined the SEATO (South-East Asian Treaty Organization), where it developed relationships with many Australasian nations. In 1955, Pakistan became an active member of the Baghdad Pact or CENTO (Central Treaty Organization). (Malik I. H., 2008, p. 138) Hence, the US was provided the political proximity with strategic partners in the region in geographical proximity with its critical rival USSR.

Pakistan entered as a strategically important and politically central state to the interests of the world's emerging superpowers. It was but natural to become an enemy for the one on befriending the other. However, this is one of the most debated issues in the history of Pakistan that accepting American invitation in comparison to the Soviets was politically wise or not. The first prime minister's decision to visit the US laid the foundation stone of a friendship that has lived for more than seven decades now. Whatever choice Pakistan could make, it had to have both. Pakistan had both, a distant friend and a close enemy. The economic pressures of the newly born state had not left any third option for it. Though the decision remains controversial to date and is much of interest and debate for policy experts and political scientists, Pakistan had faced great setbacks for joining a distant power than a neighbouring one.

During the Cold War, Pakistan aligned itself with the geographically distant USA in comparison to USSR nearby. It had to pay the price of this wrong decision in most catastrophic events

disintegration of Pakistan and the formation of Bangladesh. The case is somewhat similar to the Cuban alignment with the geographically distant USSR and the country paid the price of this unnatural alignment by being economically wretched and globally boycotted. It lost its bid for a UN Security Council seat (CIA declassified document). There could be numerous factors contributing to this unfortunate happening but the wrong alignment has been one strong factor.

Pakistan could receive the required economic assistance and much more in the coming years in terms of economic aid and support from the US but it had to face much greater challenges and deeper enormities in the closer geographical spectrum. From losing its eastern wing in 1971 to becoming a frontline state during the US proxy war against communism (Nayar & Paul , 2003, p. 18) in Afghanistan, Pakistan's cost of a relationship with the US had been too high. The most harmful and perilous outcome of being part of the superpower rivalry has been the evils of narcotics, extremism and terrorism. The bipolar world in the global political system of power came to end with the fall of the Soviet Union in 1989 but the divide and distrust in the Pakistani society and culture mar every aspect of life in the country.

Pakistan has been central to the world's war against terrorism which has affected the country economically and disrupted its infrastructure. Its geographical location provided it with the strategic edge to be a geopolitically active state in the bipolar world as an American ally, during the unipolar years as US friend and it is expected to remain on the frontline for the emerging bipolar world. With a longstanding relationship and political, strategic, and military affiliation with the US on one side and a close geographical neighbour and emerging global power, China on the

other, Pakistan has to make a wise political move. It cannot afford to repeat its past mistakes and ruin its future by involving in the new global race for supremacy and suffer another rivalry.

If Pakistan becomes a party in the future cold war between emerging China and the US, it will have far-reaching impact and consequences for the country. In the cold war between USSR and the US, Pakistan clearly and vociferously sided with one of the two superpowers and even became a frontline state in the fight against the Soviets in Afghanistan. This is another point of discussion whether or not it was appropriate but on the pretext that Pakistan's location and strategic interest lead to the circumstances which forced the country to align with the US. However, in the future course of an emergent Cold War between the US and China, it will be extremely difficult to side any one of the two. The emerging implications (Danish, 2009) for Pakistan in the wake of global developments will be so important and critical that "...it may be in Pakistan where the world security issues will be decided" (Morgan, 2009).

There is no doubt that Pakistan is likely to remain a frontline state in the global politics (Sitaraman, 2012, p. 177) and the emerging US-China rivalry but which side does it hold poses serious implications. Neutrality perhaps again is not an option neither a solution. Benefitting from both the sides and taking a low-level diplomatic stance strategic relationship doesn't seem very feasible. How will Pakistan be able to serve two masters? Pakistan will have to chart out more innovative options and less traditional means to discuss and work out its strategic interests with both of them.

In the past, Pakistan's costs have been greater than its achievements. It had setbacks for its economy, stability, international relations and image. Most of our historical discourse on Pakistan's alliance with the US has been counting on what Pakistan gained but not on what Pakistan lost. From the disintegration of East Pakistan, the Kashmir issue, Afghan War, the cost of Afghan War, post-Afghan war distrust, civil internal disruption, terrorism, war on terrorism, a weakening international image, there is a long list of its losses. The US killed Al Qaeda leader Usama bin Laden in Pakistan without taking Pakistan in confidence and making it a public issue for the global humiliation of the country.

Now is the time for Pakistan to regain its due share but in a way that is diplomatically wise and strategically well thought out. The bells for an upcoming global rivalry are already ringing. Globally, the US and China have been at loggerheads on trade and commerce issues. However, the race for supremacy will be contested largely within Asia and the Indian Ocean. India is making efforts to become a strong naval power in the Indian Ocean. Pakistan's presence and growth in the Arabian Sea have become vital for China. Chinese are pursuing Gawadar Port for curtailment as well as economic reasons. Indian drives to influence the Indian Ocean as well as the Arabian Sea and Chinese growing interests in both fetch South and Central Asian regions under the direct influence of the global race for supremacy. Pakistan will become the central actor for a supremacy entanglement between the US and China as the US acts through India, and China would require Pakistan to counter. Pakistan's location has a prime value for China (Durrani, Bilal, & Kalim, 2017, p. 155).

It is not the economic concerns and trade interests that have brought the two in a state of rivalry. It is much more than that. The insecurities of an existing power in the wake of an emerging power pave the way for deeper rivalry. The greater cause of concern is a battle between ideologies again. China despite all the regulations and opening up to the world economically and culturally signifies the centralized economic system and authoritative political regimes holding strong signs and traces of communist left-outs. This comes in stark contrast with the western free-market economy, democratic governance and capitalistic ideologies.

For countries like Pakistan, there are many other considerations as well i.e. sovereignty, national interests and internal stability, historical, religious, and cultural alignment as well as geopolitical and geoeconomic compulsions. Pakistan is stuck with a strange dilemma. Marred with intermittent military interventions and struggling for democratic values and norms, its civil political elite correlates with the western governance system but at the same time hails its association and relations with China. Civilian military rift and divergent interests pose challenges for foreign policy alignment. Pakistan army inherited the British military structure and was largely transformed by American strategic support and military assistance over the decades that has a huge dependence on Chinese arms and equipment support at present.

Nonetheless, both have a high degree of intricacies on connecting with the US and China both in multiple domains. If Alliance with the US strengthens the civilian elite though most military interventions were supported and exploited by the US in Pakistan, it does raise suspicions of the future military takeover for specific interests of the superpower. Contrarily, the Chinese model

stands close to the militaries' authoritative politicking and its internal success provides it with solid arguments of a takeover.

Pakistan and the US had a long history of friendship, cooperation and alliance. The US was one of the first few countries to have established diplomatic contact and relations with Pakistan. Over more than 70 years, these relations have seen many ups and downs. From extremely close, cordial and strategically significant ties during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan to intensely ruptured and gravely distorted rather at nadir during the Usama bin Laden hunt and killing in Pakistan. These relationships have been sweetened with pleasurable moments of harmony between the two and togetherness starting with the signing of CENTO and SEATO and soured by the displeasure of 'DO More and labeling of safe havens and drone attacks on West Pakistan.

All these years, the two have tried to work together despite the bottlenecks and challenges and elements of mistrust. This work brought benefits to the people of Pakistan as well as the USA. The US was the first to offer financial assistance in the face of economic crises emerging out of post-partition problems. In response, Pakistan not only preferred to tie a strong knot of relationship with the USA but its first premier preferred visiting the USA over the USSR invitation which had arrived before the American invitation. since then, both have functioned together to advance a relationship of coordination and cooperation at the regional as well as international level.

While the relationship worked on a wider scale it helped the newly born state of Pakistan a lot in terms of capacity building and institutional strengthening. The cooperation between the two countries has ranged from education to healthcare and public administration to regional cooperation. Several projects in agriculture and industrial development helped Pakistan improve upon its economic sector reforms. From civil aid and assistance to military cooperation and strategic alliance, the US has been a major donor for a diverse range of projects and plans.

Pakistan was also able to secure much needed US technology support throughout its history. Pakistan's green revolution was largely due to US support in the early decades of Pakistan with huge investments in the construction of water reservoirs and dams. One of the largest earth-filled Dam, Tarbela as well as Mangla Dam were constructed with the US help. Both the dams helped meet the water and electricity demands of the country for many years.

USAID has sponsored and funded a range of projects through U.S. civilian assistance to Pakistan in fields of economic development, social stability, education, institutional capacity building, energy as well as health. In recent decades and as one of the largest recipients of American foreign assistance, Pakistan has received enormous amounts through coalition support funds aimed to support America in its fight against terrorism and the Taliban in Afghanistan.

The world witnessed a more aggressive and active US in the wake of a unipolar system of power and it was well suited. Many political scientists believe that the US has the right to do so as the sole superpower of the world. For writers like Peters (2006), America has the right, power, and muscles to spread its influence and expand its supremacy no matter what circumstances emerge. He believes the failures of others should not become a reason for America not to exert its pressure and supremacy which it has developed and has become entitled to. The failure here means probably the inability of the state or states or perhaps the international political system to counter or challenge US power and hegemony. Such an argument loses ground when Chinese emergence in the coming years will demand consequences of success and not a failure. It could rather be associated as a failure for the US to let a competitor or a challenger emerge in the international power system and undermine its authority and power.

Contrarily, writers like McCormick (2014) taking lessons from classical realism exert that American power and influence must be used with caution and care. It should not act as a wild tool around the world antagonizing the international political system. He states that "American power could and should be used to restrain states that could clearly harm the United States and its interests but it should be exercised carefully" (p. 178). Apparently, in comparison to the early phase of US unipolarity, the USA has started showing more care and calculation on the matters of international concern and US interests overseas.

This transformation probably is nestled in the same argument that the US is on the weakening trajectory if not failing to counter emerging powers' influence and growth. It is under continuous

economic competition from China and the economic slowdown is weakening the military prowess it enjoyed for many decades. Together these two are hampering its political and diplomatic superiority. Its ability to intervene and interfere anywhere and at any time with or without the support of its western allies and UNSC has considerably contained and weakened under emerging scenarios. The settling of 9/11 dust has surfaced US aggression.

From military operations and intervention in Iraq to declaration of war on Afghanistan and excessive military drone attacks in Yemen and Somalia, the US has used its power and influence unchallenged. Pakistan has also been a victim of an unchecked show of muscles by the US. Extensive drone operations, US airstrikes and the Salala Incident or 2011 NATO attacks, American covert operation for hunting Usama bin Laden, activities of Black Water and rescue of Raymond Davis, a CIA agent and ex-army soldier all were the blatant acts of aggression against the sovereignty of the country and these interventions were aggressive to the extent that policymakers estimate lowest US Pakistan relations after 26/11 impinged upon serious implication for their future relations. These "caused unprecedented damage to the Pakistan-United States bilateral ties" (Malik A. R., 2012, p. 45).

While US Pakistan navigated carefully and cautiously from the time of most fragile relations and impact of occurrences in the western part of Pakistan, it had alarmed both for the future course of action. The US has changed its mode of operations and policy of direct intervention in the case of Iran and North Korea. Recent most case is the Syria where the active involvement of China and Russia has greatly restricted the free and unchecked aggression of the US. All these developments

show that there is a transition from a hasty and convulsed policy to a more restrictive and gradual exercise of power by the now shattering sole superpower.

Pakistan has more options and offers more resistance to the undue demands to the US policymakers for 'DO More' and 'Act Early' which was impossible to resist in the years when the US had no active challenger. The world was more unipolar and devoid of counter powers with the near absence of rebalancing states. This change provides Pakistan a better position to negotiate its interests. Recent US reliance and support for Pakistan as a party to the Afghan peace process testify the wave for change. US President Trump sought help from Pakistan's premier for the successful bid over the withdrawal of American forces from Afghanistan. The means and tools to secure such support were very different than the time when the US relished a total unipolar power status. It was not only able to pressurize world bodies and institutions and coerce its allies, it had the diplomatic prowess and influence to drive other world nations to safeguard their interests and pursue its policies violently.

Pakistan remains in a state of uncertainty if America leaves Afghanistan without a concrete roadmap and pragmatic plans in place. Pakistan had to suffer a lot due to a similar US policy in the post-Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Afghan settlement has to arrive at the expense of US forces withdrawal from the country. "U.S. President Donald Trump is eager to leave Afghanistan after nearly two decades and plans to review several options for drawing down troop levels" (Clarke & Tabatabai, 2020). However, US withdrawal which is inevitable should not be at the cost of Pakistan's security issues. If the US leaves without reaching a reconciliation and bridging the

differences between the Taliban and the Afghan government, the country is very likely to return to the civil war which earlier led to the rise of Islamic forces.

How the US deals with the Afghan issue will also contribute to the way Pakistan and Afghanistan interact with each other. The US has been making Pakistan a scapegoat (Asad, 2020) in the past to attribute its failure to control the situation in the country. It will be affected as a stakeholder in the peace process. Pakistan views Afghanistan as a complex whole for its multiple problems and issues. Active Indian presence, strong influence, and intrusion of its intelligence agencies in Pakistan from the western border, the spread and rise of extremist organizations, growing Iranian influence, US reconnaissance of China Pakistan linkages, and inaccessibility to Central Asia are some of the main objects of its interest in the Afghan issue. Pakistan has to ensure that US withdrawal comes with a guarantee for its national security and strategic interests. Pakistan has no option to choose between peace and the pro-Pakistan government. Peace aligned with the pro-Pakistan regime serves it better. Failure to do so will increase Indian and Iranian influence.

Clarke & Tabatabai (2020) assume that “A reduced American presence could provide Iran with an opening to expand its influence in Afghanistan But Iran will now have more room for maneuver and might be tempted to intervene in Afghan.” International media announcements of a proposed Chinese US \$ 400 billion (Global Business Outlook, 2020) worth deal with Iran will have diverse implications for the region and each of the actors. Such a scenario will also bring Afghanistan under increased Iranian influence. This giant investment will change the entire geopolitics of the

region and have Pakistan, India, China, Iran and US interests affected in different ways.

Najmuddin A. Sheikh, a former foreign secretary and former ambassador to the US commented on the situation:

The Iranians have set aside the agreement reached with India for Indian participation in the construction of the railroad from Chabahar to Zahedan for connectivity to Afghanistan and Turkmenistan and thence to Europe where India was expected to invest \$1.6 billion and have also abrogated the agreement for Indian development of the Farzad-B gas field where an Indian investment of \$6bn was expected. The Indians have said that difficulties arose because of US sanctions, while the Iranians said no progress was made in negotiations but that they would welcome India's return. This, of course, is verbiage. The current Iranian expectation is that with their rail expertise and thirst for fossil fuel, China will step in for both but this is not the Chinese focus. (Sheikh, 2020)

Geopolitically, the race for supremacy between the US and China requires immediate proxies in Asia, and unfortunately, the South Asian geopolitical setup and geostrategic location provides and perfect theatre for rivalry. South Asia seems to become future war ground between the two as India and the US preparing to contain China in the region. China would prepare no other than Pakistan to be an immediate proxy for it. China has very strategically and as diplomatic win created rifts within the US ring of containment around China. It has made huge investments in Vietnam and has been quite successful in keeping ASEAN away from US influence.

Ignoring China similar to preferring the USA over the Soviets is not as easy and convenient as it was in the past. A next-door neighbour with huge sums of money invested in its energy and infrastructure projects cannot be missed out. Beyond economic and trade interests, Chinese strategic and geopolitical securities rest with Pakistan's decision to join any one of the two. If Pakistan chooses to ally with the USA, it will not only weaken the Chinese position in the region,

it will pose serious geostrategic implications for an emerging superpower. Furthermore, if it cannot halt, it can slow down its rise in the region leading to setbacks to its global repositioning. If it chooses to ally with the other side, it had to miss upon years of relationships and infuriate the present superpower. Whatever way it chooses, it will transform its future development goals and geopolitical and geoeconomic gains.

Having smoothed the way and provided the much needed and sought after support to Iran in the form of proposed billions of dollars deals, it is likely to contain Indian influence in Iran while Iran is already a NO GO for the USA. Interestingly, such a deal and scenario offer multipronged benefits for Pakistan. Pakistan has been quite stressed about growing Indian influence and investments in Iran and it felt ringed by its eastern adversary on the Western and southwestern borders as well. It is an open secret now that Indian intelligence agencies have been operating from Iran to cause distrust and unrest in Balochistan and Pakistan.

Kulboshan Yadev, an on service Indian officer was arrested and became a glaring example and evidence of Indian intentions. On the western border, the steady and speedy growth of Indian consulates along the border reflects its ambitions. While the Chinese growing presence will help Pakistan secure its southwestern border it will have positive implications for Pakistan on the western border as well. Afghanistan has been long associated with India and India has made it a ground for intrusions in Pakistan and disrupt the country by supporting anti-Pakistan elements.

US growing interest in India will undermine Pakistan's stand over Kashmir and weaken its position on strategic fronts due to long hauled American technology and equipment used in the army like the much-celebrated F16 planes. If US support for Indian hegemony in the region is tied to the Pakistan drifting towards China, it calls for conflict at a much speedier and earlier stage. The volatile situation between the two countries could embroil the two superpowers into a deeper rivalry or the greater and stronger global rivalry could ruin the already peace trodden region with more uncertainties and clashes.

China has historically supported Pakistan over the Kashmir Issue while the US mostly pursued a policy of neutrality or to the best has been offering for negotiations or mediator even in the times it had very cordial relations with Pakistan. The US did use India to pressure Pakistan on numerous occasions. In case it decides to side India it will be critical for the resolution of this long pending issue and further deteriorate the situation. The geo-economic implications of Pakistan becoming a party to any one of the two superpowers or US-China cold war would be much more in size and scope.

Pakistan's Civil war in the western parts and terrorist and extremist elements across Pakistan, narcotics and heroin, human trafficking, religious schisms, bombs and explosives are completely attributed to its participation in the Afghan war and becoming a party to a global superpower rivalry. From Afghan immigrants to multiplied defense expenditures, dilapidated infrastructure, destroyed due to militant activities and resultant operations all cast heavily on its pocket and budgets. Earning from NATO supplies and coalition support funds have been insufficient as

compared to the expenditures incurred on Swat Operation, National Action Plan, Paigham-e-Pakistan, Rad ul Fasad Operation, Zarb-e-Azb and settlement of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs).

Presently, when china is perceived as an emerging power only because of its economic growth and productivity, economic projections have formed the basis for the political forecasts and together these two create perceptions and arguments to determine the status of a country. European Union and BRICS nations have been on the global political forefront because of their economic achievements and impact.

From the CPEC investments to US loans and foreign aid assistance, it will be a dual challenge. Pakistan's long dependence on the US for its economic needs has to be balanced with huge Chinese investments in the country. The total financial aid assistance of the US to Pakistan from 1948 to date stands at roughly US\$60 billion which was provided spanning over the last seven decades. Interestingly, China has committed investments through CPEC worth US\$ 60 billion within the last seven years. But this does not free Pakistan from the economic needs and compulsions. Dependence on the US has to go long way in terms of direct support, exports to the US, and US assistance for securing emergency loans and economic aids at the time of crises. An Expert from Middle East Institute, Arif Rafiq states “America is Pakistan’s largest export market, but China is Pakistan’s largest foreign investor,” and this will make it extremely difficult for Pakistan “to pick sides and [it] will have difficulty navigating this landscape because there are no easy trade-offs” (Lakhan1, 2020).

CPEC has already become one of the major trade-offs. US open and aggressive opposition to the CPEC has put Pakistan in an embarrassing position often which required the government to issue an official statement clarifying its stance over CPEC and satisfying Chinese policymakers and government upon Pakistan's unwavering and continuous support and involvement in the projects under CPEC. At the same time, it has been embarrassing for the Chinese government to brush off the negative sentiments caused by American policy maker's statements over the negative aspects of CPEC and the type of burdens and compulsion these projects will incur for Pakistan in the future.

The US criticism of BRI and trading off with China on its trade deficits shows that the foreground of this emerging rivalry is going to be economics. South Asia offers a hotplate to the geopolitical and geo-economic battle. On November 13, 2016, when the first Chinese large shipment arrived the Gawadar Port, Pakistan's prime minister and army chief together welcomed it. Terming its arrival a historic moment, the then prime minister of Pakistan Nawaz Sharif mentioned: "Pakistan is located at the intersection of three engines of growth in Asia – South Asia, China and Central Asia," and "CPEC will help in integrating these regions into an economic zone offering great opportunities for people of the region as well as investors from all over the world" (Johnson, 2016).

As one of the projects and part of CPEC which on a larger scale is part of Chinese BRI, Gawadar port offered both countries a unique opportunity to align their strategic and economic interests regionally and present it to the world as an early harvest project of CPEC. China and Pakistan both attach great value to the CPEC projects. Additionally, China refers to it as "a flagship and an

exemplary project” (Shulin, 2015). According to Lu Shulin, who was a Chinese ambassador to Pakistan, it was not the Chinese idea only rather it was initiated by Pakistani politicians and statesmen for years and President Musharraf’s proposal to build a ‘China-Pakistan railway’ and “oil and gas pipeline....was the beginning of a framework for CPEC” (p.165). By the year 2020, a number of projects of infrastructure and energy have been financed by China under CPEC.

Of all the other projects under CPEC, Gawadar has the most strategic value for China as an alternate route as well as economic productivity as a maritime trade shortcut. It brings China through the shortest possible land route to the middle of the world's geostrategic maritime zone and bustling ports of the Middle East. From Iran's busy Bandar Abbas Port and upcoming Chabahar Port to nearby one of the largest in the world and busy Jebel Ali Port at Dubai, From Oman’s Duqm Port and Sohar Port to Khalifa Port of Abu Dhabi and a little far but in the competing zone for Gawadar Port, Sea Ports of Yemen, India and Sri Lanka, all lie in the same vicinity. Hence, China is expected to get an edge and a presence within a no go zone for it. Just at the entry point of the Strait of Hormuz, another internationally geostrategic location due to tensions between Iran and the US will be in a near approach to the Chinese Naval surveillance.

Economically, to the benefit of China, Gawadar is expected to become a transshipment hub for the Middle East and beyond. For Pakistan, it has to offer multiple benefits as a port and hub for economic activity as well as "a smart city, with information and communications technologies buttressing its basic services" (Rafiq, Foreign Affairs, 2017). This will place Pakistan in the center

of all the ports mentioned earlier and then connect to historically deprived and underdeveloped western Pakistan and its area-wise largest province, Balochistan. The allied benefits also include its connectivity to most of the western belt as roads have been planned to connect to it from different routes. According to Arif Rafiq, Pakistan is planning to set up “the largest economic zone in the region” at Gawadar. He believes that Gawadar will “become a niche transshipment, petrochemicals, and manufacturing hub’ with ‘prospects for hospitality and real estate’ industry”.

CPEC is a wholesome package of security, economic activity and connectivity (Qumbar, Ishaque, & Shah, 2018). There are a number of roads planned under it which will help the flow of goods and services from China to Pakistan and the wider world. According to some estimates, “one thousand Chinese containers would pass through the Karakoram highway... every week” (Nagri, 2017). At the same time, energy projects are the major focus of the CPEC. Major investments under CPEC are being made in electricity generation and distribution projects across Pakistan. These projects include electricity generation from cheap coal-powered plants to wind and solar energy and hydropower projects spread all over Pakistan. This calls for Pakistan to further cement its relations with the close neighbour and a fast-growing economy to reap the benefits of economic stability and strategic advantage. This does not mean that Pakistan needs to cut-off ties with the US. However, it does need to weigh where do strings need to be tightened and how much elasticity in relations can be afforded.

Lastly, a micro but important element is the popularity of China (Rafiq, 2019) in Pakistan. China holds the most favourable views in Pakistan amongst all world nations. In 2014, 78% of Pakistanis held favourable views for China (PEW Research Center , 2014). On the contrary, according to another perception survey, 74% Pakistanis perceived the US as an enemy in 2012 while on unfavourable, it rises to 80% (PEW, 2012). Exceptionally for the few early years after independence, the Pakistani public usually never favoured nor liked US policies and involvement in Pakistan.

The US is trying to develop a ring of containment similar to the one it knitted for Soviet Russia. This ring starts in the east with South Korea and looping Japan and the Philippines in the east, envelopes ASEAN and Taiwan as the epicenter, it extends to India in the South. Pakistan offered a powerful link in this ring of fire around the USSR to contain communism (Hyder, 2001, p. 7) but it appears to be the weakest link for an American future proxy. US has tried its best to bring Central Asian States in the connecting link of this containment ring to eastern Europe which after the disintegration of the USSR sought much required economic and political support from the US and western Europe. In the West and through Central Asian Republics, American efforts to align them and provide support and set up military bases there are aimed at a two-pronged policy of keeping an eye on Russia and containing Chinese influence. American efforts to bring Russia in its fold through offering and luring it to join G7/G8 so that it could be prepared to counter china badly failed.

At present, Pakistan is the most important and valuable state for China to break in the American ring of containment around it. At the same time, it has become the most critical political actor for the US to handle. Though the US finds India a close match for Pakistan to meet the requirement of a proxy state against China in the emerging rivalry, India is not likely to act as meek and naïve to the US interests and pressures as Pakistan did. However, India's interests in the region and global support for persuasion of its hegemonic plans might act as a counterbalancing factor for negotiations for the Indo US alliance.

Socially, a far divergent Chinese culture is more acceptable and welcomed in Pakistan in contrast with the most prevalent American or western culture. Public opinion for the period of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and US support to Pakistan has been much varied. But in the events followed by 9/11 and Pakistan's war against terrorism, the US has lost the last traces of its favourability in the country. Pakistanis see and routinely talk about suspicious US role during the two wars Pakistan fought with India. Many consider the separation of East Pakistan as part of a global plan (Mustafa, 2001, p. 23) in which the US was neither a party nor appropriately supported Pakistan rather stopped its military and economic assistance (Hyder, 2001, p. 15). Drone attacks, 'apposition to Do More', Salala Incident, Raymond Davis accident are the fresh episodes of anti-US sentiments.

Pakistan's position becomes critical and its policymakers have to act wisely and foresee the long term implication of wriggling with the situation. The foreign office has to have a proactive strategy for weighing the costs and benefits of surfing through a China Pakistan. US Pakistan. or third

option. Pakistan cannot afford to waste another opportunity of aligning right. A mindful approach will not only minimize Pakistan's trajectory of Political, economic, and social costs during the upcoming and seemingly short-lived bipolar world, it will also strengthen its navigation in the fast followed multipolar world.

References

- (2012, June 27). Retrieved from PEW: <https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2012/06/27/pakistani-public-opinion-ever-more-critical-of-u-s/>
- (2014, July 14). Retrieved from PEW Research Center :
<https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2014/07/14/chapter-2-chinas-image/>
- (2019, November 21). Retrieved from US Department of State: <https://www.state.gov/a-conversation-with-ambassador-alice-wells-on-the-china-pakistan-economic-corridor/>
- (2019, June 18) Retrieved from The Nation : <https://nation.com.pk/18-Jun-2019/pakistan-s-population-to-reach-403-million-by-2050-un>
- (2019, October 24). Retrieved from The World Bank: <https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2019/10/24/doing-business-2020-accelerated-business-climate-reform-agenda-puts-pakistan-among-top-10-improvers>
- (2019, April 26). Retrieved from Pakistan Today:
<https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2019/04/26/pakistan-emerges-as-major-beneficiary-of-bri-report/>
- (2020, May 22). Retrieved from Ministry of Foreign Affairs, GOP: <http://mofa.gov.pk/cpecs-beneficial-contribution-to-pakistans-economy/>
- (2020, February 22). Retrieved from ICLD: https://www.icold-cigb.org/article/GB/world_register/general_synthesis/number-of-dams-by-country-members
- (2020, January 31). Retrieved from UNCTAD:
<https://unctad.org/en/pages/newsdetails.aspx?OriginalVersionID=2274>
- (2020, March 1). Retrieved from World Population Review:
<https://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/pakistan-population>
- (2020, June 11). Retrieved from International Hydropower Association:
<https://www.hydropower.org/country-profiles/pakistan>
- (2020, February 16). Retrieved from UN News: <https://news.un.org/en/story/2020/02/1057491>
- (2020, June 20). Retrieved from bonnchallenge.org: <https://www.bonnchallenge.org/about-the-goal#P>
- (2020, June 23). Retrieved from ECO : <http://www.eco.int/>
- (2020, May 8). Retrieved from Fragile States Index: <https://fragilestatesindex.org/2020/05/08/fragile-states-index-2020-annual-report/>
- (2020, July 19). Retrieved from Global Business Outlook: <https://www.globalbusinessoutlook.com/china-to-sign-400-billion-deal-with-iran-25-year-period/>
- (2020, June 30). Retrieved from FATF: <http://www.fatf-gafi.org/publications/high-risk-and-other-monitored-jurisdictions/documents/increased-monitoring-june-2020.html>
- (2020, May 20). Retrieved from Global Fire Power: https://www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.asp?country_id=pakistan
- (2020, May 21). Retrieved from Armed Forces.EU:
https://armedforces.eu/compare/country_India_vs_Pakistan
- (2020, August 9). Retrieved from United Nations Peacekeeping : <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/pakistan>

- (2020, July 23). Retrieved from IIUI, Islamic Research Institute :
<https://iri.iiu.edu.pk/index.php/2018/06/29/iris-paigham-e-pakistan-consultative-meeting/>
- Aamir, A. (2020, January 17). *China Brief*. Retrieved from The Jamestown Foundation:
<https://jamestown.org/program/pakistan-and-cpec-are-drawn-into-the-u-s-china-rivalry/>
- Agha, A. S. (2004). *Confrontation to Conciliation: India-Pakistan Relations*. Islamabad : Centre for Democratic Governance .
- Ahmed, A. (2014). *India's Doctrine Puzzle. Limiting War in South Asia*. New Delhi : Routledge .
- Ahmed, Z (2020, February 16). Retrieved from Express Tribune:
<https://tribune.com.pk/story/2157873/green-white-blue-pakistan-front-lines-un-peacekeeping>
- Akbar, M. K. (1998). *Pakistan Today* . New Delhi: Mittal Publications
- Asad, T. (2020, May 14). Retrieved from Modern Diplomacy: <https://modern diplomacy.eu/2020/05/14/u-s-withdrawal-from-afghanistan-implications-for-pakistan/>
- Ashutosh, I. (2017, February 23). Retrieved from South Asian American Digital Archive :
<https://www.saada.org/tides/article/americas-battle-over-south-asia>
- BBC News India*. (2019, September 20). Retrieved from BBC: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-49875897>
- Blood, P. R. (1995). *Pakistan: A Country Study* (6th ed.). Philadelphia: DIANE Publishing
- Bokhari, F. (2019, November 9). Retrieved from Nikki Asian Review:
<https://asia.nikkei.com/Politics/With-China-as-its-mentor-Pakistan-triples-arms-exports>
- Bordonaro, F. (2005, August 2). Retrieved from world security network:
<http://www.worldsecuritynetwork.com/Broader-Middle-East/Bordonaro-Federico/Pakistan-a-Geopolitical-Crux>
- Brewster, D. (2014). *India's Ocean: The Story of India's Bid for Regional Leadership*. London : Routledge .
- Chandran, N. (2018, February 28). *CNBC Politics*. Retrieved from CNBC:
<https://www.cnbc.com/2018/02/28/military-china-and-india-compete-over-bases-around-indian-ocean.html>
- Clarke , C. P., & Tabatabai, A. M. (2020, July 8). Retrieved from Foreign Affairs:
https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/afghanistan/2020-07-08/what-iran-wants-afghanistan?utm_medium=promo_email&utm_source=promo_2&utm_campaign=jul20-camp2-iprosppects-panel-b&utm_content=20200715
- Cohen, S. P. (2013). *Shooting for a Century: The India-Pakistan Conundrum* Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Danish, S. (2009). *US Counter Proliferation Strategies Post 9/11: Implication for Pakistan*. London: South Asian Strategic Stability Institute.
- Destradi, S. (2012). *Indian Foreign and Security Policy in South Asia: Regional Power Strategies*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Dhiraj, D. A. (2019, May 16). Retrieved from Business Insider:
<https://www.businessinsider.com/countries-with-the-most-billionaires-2019-5#8-india-8>

- Durrani, S. Q., Bilal, M., & Kalim, I. (2017). Pakistan-China Strategic Partnership: Capitalizing the Geo-Political Location of Pakistan. *Global Regional Review*, 2(1), 152-165.
- Ebrahim, Z. T. (2020, June 15). Retrieved from UNCESCO : <https://en.unesco.org/courier/2019-3/pakistan-green-again>
- Gopal, P. S., & Mancheri, N. A. (2013). *Rise of China: Indian Perspective* Atlanta: Lancer Publishers.
- Gul, A. (2017, August 13). Retrieved from VOA: <https://www.voanews.com/east-asia-pacific/one-billion-trees-planted-pakistans-nw-province>
- Haken, N., Messner, J. J., Hendry, K., Taft, P., Lawrence, K., Brisard, L., & Umana, F. (2014). *Fragile States Index*. Washington DC: Fund for Peace.
- Heiden, P. (2012). *Pakistan*. Minnesota. ABDO Publishing Company.
- Heng, S. M.-L. (2016, November 8). *ORF Issue Brief*. Retrieved from ORF: <https://www.orfonline.org/research/diplomacy-and-image-building/>
- Hiro, D. (2015). *The Longest August: The Unflinching Rivalry between India and Pakistan*. New York: Nation Books.
- Hutt, R. (2018, July 2). Retrieved from World Economic Forum: <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2018/07/pakistan-s-billion-tree-tsunami-is-astonishing/>
- Hyder, K. (2001). United States and the Indo Pakistan War of 1971. In M. Ali (Ed.), *Readings in Pakistan Foreign Policy* (pp. 7-22). Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- IBEF. (2020, March). Retrieved from IBEF: <https://www.ibef.org/economy/indian-economy-overview>
- Inayat, M. (2004). *Implications of Pakistan's National Security Concerns for Pakistan's Attitude Towards South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC): 1985-2000*. Perth: Curtin University of Technology .
- Islam, N. (1972). Foreign Assistance and Economic Development: The Case of Pakistan. *The Economic Journal*, 82(325), 502-530.
- Jacob, H. (2018). *Line on Fire: Ceasefire Violations and India-Pakistan Escalation Dynamics*. New Delhi: OUP India.
- Jayapalan, N. (2001). *Foreign Policy of India*. New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and Distributors
- Jeffrey, C. (2019, January 15). Retrieved from Quartz India: <https://qz.com/india/1523784/the-indian-ocean-is-now-at-the-heart-of-global-geopolitics/>
- Jerome, D. (Ed.). (2020). *Examining War and Conflict around the World*. Santa Barbara: ABC CLIO.
- Johnson, K. (2016, November 13). Retrieved from gCaptain: <https://gcaptain.com/pakistans-gwadar-port-open-for-business-with-arrival-of-first-chinese-ship/>
- Joseph, M. (2019). *Pakistan and the Muslim World*. New Delhi: KW Publishers.
- Kamran, S. (2019, December 17). Retrieved from Arab News: <https://www.arabnews.pk/node/1600136>
- Kellogg, T. (2017, September 1). Retrieved from Foreign Policy: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/09/01/the-china-india-border-standoff-what-does-beijing-want/>

Khan, A. U. (2019). *NATIONAL ACTION PLAN: ACHIEVEMENTS AND LIMITATIONS* Islamabad: Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad.

Khan, B. (2008). India and the Making of a Hegemon. *Australian Quarterly*, 80(1), 29-36. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20638532>

Khan, F. H. (2012). *Eating Grass: The Making of the Pakistan Bomb*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Khanna, V. (2018). *Foreign Policy of India* (Seventh ed.). New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.

Kristensen, H. M., & Norris, R. S. (2017, July 5). Indian nuclear forces, 2017. *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 73(4), 205-209. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/00963402.2017.1337998>

Kugiel, P. (2017). *India's Soft Power. A New Foreign Policy Strategy* London: Routledge.

Lakhani, M. B. (2020, May 17). Retrieved from Express Tribune: <https://tribune.com.pk/story/2222949/us-china-cold-war-will-transform-pakistan>

Lemahieu, H. (2020). *Asia Power Index 2019*. Sydney: Lowy Institute .

Malik, A. R. (2012). The Salala incident: implications for the Pakistan-United States ties. *Strategic Studies*, 32(4), 45-60. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48527624>

Malik, I. H. (2008). *The History of Pakistan*. Westport: Greenwood Press.

Mani, C. M. (2005). *A Journey Through India's Past*. New Delhi: Northern Book Centre.

McCormick, J. M. (2014). *American Foreign Policy and Process* (6th ed.). Boston: Cengage.

Miglani, S. (2019, January 26). Retrieved from Business Insider: <https://www.businessinsider.com/india-navy-set-to-open-third-base-in-strategic-islands-to-counter-china-2019-1>

Mir, N. (2010). *Gwadar on the Global Chessboard: Pakistan's Identity, History and Culture*. Lahore: Ferozsons.

Mohan, P., & Agarwal, P. (2019, October 4). India's Civil Nuclear Agreements: A new dimension in India's global diplomacy. *Observer Research Foundation*(320), pp. 1-15. Retrieved from <https://www.orfonline.org/research/india-civil-nuclear-agreements-new-dimension-india-global-diplomacy/>

Mukhtar, A. (2020, August 6). Retrieved from Modern Diplomacy: <https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2020/08/06/this-is-pakistan/>

Mustafa, Z. (2001). The USSR and the Indo Pakistan War 1971. In M. Ali (Ed.), *Readings in Pakistan Foreign Policy 1971-1998* (pp. 23-33). Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Nagri, J. (2017, June 21) Retrieved from Dawn: <https://www.dawn.com/news/1293574>

Nayar, B. R., & Paul, V. (2003). *India in the World Order: Searching for Major-Power Status*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nizami, A. (2020, February 23). Retrieved from Pakistan Today: <https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2020/02/23/portraying-a-soft-image/>

Oladele, A. (2018). Africa's Genuine Independence and Economic Growth (Nigerian Case). In M. Masaeli, S. Yaya, & R. Sneller (Eds.), *African Perspectives on Global Development* (pp. 218-241). Newcastle upon Tyne. Cambridge Scholars Publishing .

- Pant, H. V. (2011). *China's Rising Global Profile: The Great Power Tradition*. Sussex: Sussex Academic Press.
- Paul, T. V. (2014). *The Warrior State: Pakistan in the Contemporary World*. USA: OUP.
- Peck, M. (2019, August 18). *World India*. Retrieved from The National Interest : <https://nationalinterest.org/blog/buzz/india-becoming-nuclear-weapons-superpower-74521>
- Peters, R. (2006). *New Glory: Expanding America's Global Supremacy*. New York: Sentinel.
- PIPS. (2020). *Pakistan Security Report 2019*. Islamabad: Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies. Retrieved from <https://www.pakpips.com/article/book/pakistan-security-report-2019>
- Qayum, H., Shah, S. A , & Andlib, Z. (2016). Implications of Pak Afghan Transit Trade for Regional Security. *Global Regional Review*, 166-176.
- Qumbar, G., Ishaque, W., & Shah, S. J. (2018). Regional Security Implications of China Pakistan Economic Corridor. *Global Regional Review*, III(1), 46-63.
- Rafiq, A. (2017, October 24). Retrieved from Foreign Affairs: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2017-10-24/chinas-62-billion-bet-pakistan>
- Rafiq, A. (2019). The China Pakistan Economic Corridor: The Lure of Easy Financing and the Perils of Poor Planning. *Asian Affairs*, L(II), 236-248.
- Raina, P. (2006). *The Evolving Human and the Future World*. New Delhi: M.D. Publications .
- Rais, R. B. (1987). *The Indian Ocean and the Superpowers: Economic, Political, and Strategic Perspectives*. New Jersey: Barnes & Nobel Books.
- Ray, J. K. (2011). *India's Foreign Relations, 1947-2007* New Delhi. Routledge.
- Sadiq, G. (2017, August 23). Retrieved from IUCN: <https://www.iucn.org/news/pakistan/201708/pakistan-exceeds-bonn-challenge-commitment-billion-tree-tsunami>
- Sagar, K. C. (1992). *Foreign Influence on Ancient India* New Delhi. Northern Book Centre
- Sattar, A. (2013). *Pakistan's Foreign Policy, 1947-2012: A Concise History* (3rd ed.). Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Sehgal, I., & Robotka , D. (2019, September 16). Retrieved from Daily Times : <https://dailytimes.com.pk/466881/separatist-movements-threatening-indias-existence/>
- Sen, S. R. (2015, September 10). Retrieved from NDTV: <https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/now-on-indias-west-coast-the-largest-naval-base-east-of-the-suez-canal-1215952>
- Sharma, A. (2013, July 4). The U.S.-India Strategic Partnership: An Overview of Defense and Nuclear Courtship. *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*. Retrieved from <https://www.georgetownjournalofinternationalaffairs.org/online-edition/the-u-s-india-strategic-partnership-an-overview-of-defense-and-nuclear-courtship-by-ashok-sharma>
- Sharma, R., Goria, R., & Mishra, V. (2011). *India and the Dynamics of World Politics: A book on Indian Foreign Policy, Related events and International Organizations* Chandigarh. Pearson Education India.
- Sheikh, N. A. (2020, July 19). Retrieved from Dawn News. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1569884>

- Shulin, L. (2015). China-Pakistan Economic Corridor: A Flagship and Exemplary Project of “One Belt and One Road”. *Strategic Studies*, 35(1), 165-173. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48527480>
- Sidhu, W. P., & Yuan, J. D. (2003). *China and India: Cooperation Or Conflict?* Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Sitaraman, S. (2012). South Aisa: Conflict, Hegemony and Power Balancing. In K. P. Williams, S. E. Lobell, & N. G. Jes (Eds.), *Beyond Great Powers and Hegemons: Why Secondary States Support, Follow, or Challenge* (pp. 177-192). Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Small, A. (2015). *The China Pakistan Axis. Asia's New Geopolitics*. India: Random House India.
- Statement of the Spokesperson from the Chinese Embassy in Pakistan*. (2020, May 21). Retrieved from Chinese Embassy: <http://pk.chineseembassy.org/eng/zbqx/t1781421.htm>
- Talbot, I. (2012). *Pakistan: A New History*. Columbia : Columbia University Press.
- Tharoor, S. (2011). *he Elephant, the Tiger, and the Cell Phone. Reflections on India, the Emerging 21st-Century Power*. New York: Skyhorse Publishing .
- Tharoor., S. (2018, May 6). Retrieved from Financial Express: <https://www.financialexpress.com/india-news/shashi-tharoor-global-perception-of-india-has-taken-a-beating/1157133/>
- Thussu, D. K. (2013). The Historical Context of India's Soft Power. In *Communicating India's Soft Power* (pp. 45-71). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Tshibangu, T. (2020, February 4). Retrieved from United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the DR Congo: <https://monusco.unmissions.org/en/first-ever-female-pakistani-un-peacekeeping-team-receives-un-medals>
- Tuathail, G. O., Dalby, S., & Routledge, P. (Eds.). (1998). *The Geopolitics Reader*. London: Routledge Psychology Press.
- UN Population Dynamics*. (2020, January 5). Retrieved from UNWPP: <https://population.un.org/wpp/>
- Wagner, C. (2010). India's Soft Power: Prospects and Limitations. *India Quarterly*. 333-342 Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/45073139?read-now=1&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents
- Weissman, S., & Krosney, H. (1981). *The Islamic Bomb: The Nuclear Threat to Israel and the Middle East*. New York: Times Books.
- WEO*. (2020, January 5). Retrieved from IMF: https://www.imf.org/external/datamapper/NGDP_RPCH@WEO/OEMDC/ADVEC/WEO_WORLD/IND
- Wilcox, W. A. (1964). *India, Pakistan, and the rise of China*. New York: Walker and Company.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.1. The After Thoughts

An exploratory study based on historical trends and approach requires an extensive dependence on historical analysis and study of facts and processes to forecast what might happen in the future. The international power system is mercurial but at the same time, political scientists, foreign affairs experts, and policymakers in the growing global world extensively chart out the contours of the future political process and resultant outcomes. They not only make predictions but rely on the forecasts to workout theories and frameworks in the intellectual discourse over the international power system. Interestingly the domain of discussion in this area of study sets the way forward for the practical steps for the states and especially Pakistan.

From Alfred Thayer Mahan's sea power to George Friedman's *The Next Hundred Years*, these predictions have come true and turn false, but the process of forecasting for the geopolitical issues and problems of the world is being established on more sustainable and stronger grounds. One of the reasons that these predictions are becoming more pragmatic and accurate as well as useful for policymakers and global policy-making institutes is the availability of huge and more accurate data on economics. It can be concluded that geo-economic indicators are strengthening the geopolitical forecasts. However, these are not the only factor. Studies, perception surveys, and trend data on country case studies show that soft power analysis, fragile state indexes, powerful

states rankings, and diplomatic influences rankings are also strong contributory elements for more successful and realistic predictions. Despite these factors, exploring the realms of global political paradigms and establishing the line of action for a state is not an easy task.

No matter how hard an effort is made and how solid, big, and accurate data is available, it will still be left at the mercy of corresponding political actors. The way the future and fate of a nation is determined geopolitically depends on a multiplicity of factors ranging from global to regional political developments. Hence this is not conclusive. Political predictions remain an exploratory and continuous process that has to transform and change along the lines a political framework develops globally or regionally. An effort will be made in this section to select some countries for the case study from the Cold War era and how these states behaved and what has been their costs and benefits of being aligned to one superpower or the other or of staying neutral. This comparative study will help us explore the implications of a bipolar world or a Cold War like scenario for Pakistan in the coming years. This is also expected to provide some guidelines on policymaking for the Pakistan and state officials.

The end of the Second World War was the beginning of the war of ideas and philosophies. Capitalism came in direct clash with the communism. The allies of the Second World War became enemies of the Cold War. Though the two never had a direct military clash, the USSR with its satellite states and the US with its allies, started a race for supremacy. The means and tools of this race were aggressive propaganda, espionage activities, defense treaties and alliances, political engineering, arms race and space race, economic assistance and overseas proxies. The entire world was embroiled in it. There are states which greatly benefitted from this unfought battle and there are countries that are badly affected. It is not easy to calculate the costs and benefits of the cold

war associations for all the countries. However, there are some typical examples and glaring consequences that pave the way for academic discourse in political science and international relations theory.

Pakistan has been one of the central figures and political actors in the bipolar world and rivalry between the USA and the USSR. Pakistan was born in a critical state of economic crises and a shortage of resources. The division of India into two independent states left Pakistan at the mercy of the Indian government for the provision of its due share from the wealth and resources of the unified India which was never given. The country was forced under these economic crises to knock at the doors of developed nations and did get relief. While Pakistan enjoyed some respite from the economic mayhem, it was dragged into superpower rivalry. It had been directly affected by the perils of the cold war. It is suspected and much commonly believed in Pakistan that the country lost its eastern wing owing to its status as a party in the global war of supremacy.

The present study demands us to expand the framework from one country to a more sizeable number and look at various aspects of these interactions and interfaces of these countries during the USA and USSR rivalry. The upcoming bipolar world might have different political actors and might have different grounds for the warfare and proxies, one thing is for sure that political processes and theories of the international power system and elements to balance of power are still at work and will remain active for eternity. An increased focus will be to draw or at least propose an initial or draft model of action and activity for countries like Pakistan to decide their course of action. This could be a set of foreign as well as domestic policy lines in the wake of a thorough analysis from the past.

The Six, one (region) plus five (countries) have been selected based on their affinity to the cold war, bipolar world and two superpowers. Their relevance to the global race for supremacy or bipolar rivalry is grounded in the fact that these were at least a party to any one of the two superpowers of that time. This relevance ranges from ideological, geopolitical and economic to diplomatic, defense, and geostrategic relations. Many countries could qualify these criteria but studying them all is neither possible nor required for this particular research. Hence, further scrutiny to align the country studies with the objectives of this research is done. The check that the country must have had a military alliance or defense treaty with any of the two superpowers for the period of the cold war helped greatly.

During the cold war years, both US and USSR had established a military alliance of global magnitude. NATO and WARSAW Pact not only reflected their political agendas and strength of allies but mirrored their aggression towards each other as well as caution and insecurity. Considering these alliances insufficient, both formed multiple other regional and specific alliances and commitments to secure more support and advance their interests in a certain region or specific matter. Pakistan signed SEATO and CENTO while many other countries especially the six (1+5) selected here for cross country costs and benefits analysis in terms of their alliance with one superpower or the other in a bipolar system remained central to such arrangements. Secondly, these countries had an economic profile and capacity matching that of Pakistan.

6.2. The Six (1+5) Country Case Studies

Korean Peninsula is selected as North and South Korea appear most time on the n-grams of most books on the Cold War. Considered as one of the earliest proxy ground during Cold War, Korea not only remained a testing ground and legacy of past Cold War, it has the potential to be a hotspot for the future Cold War as well. This is where the mini Cold War between the US and North Korea resonates with the global political system today. Recent attention and developments have made it more than an important study focus. While the Korean peninsula as a region and both North & South Korea were picked up from East Asia, Turkey qualifies from the far end. Turkey as the only Muslim state within the chosen countries will help provide the pressures and inclinations of a Muslim state operating during the Cold War years. Ideological similarity and public perceptions of the two would enrich the understanding and provide insight into how well both the Muslim states capitalized their association with the superpower and to what extent their national interests were achieved or compromised.

The study will be one-sided if only US allies are evaluated. Soviet satellite states have a lot to offer in terms of a political alliance with one superpower against the other. Cuba is a classic example of such an association and it remained the center of attention for the whole world during the Cuban Missile Crises. While East Germany is typical of a geopolitical setup, marks a physical boundary between the contesting superpowers, and the Berlin wall remained a demarcation line and physical border separating the opposing economic systems and political philosophies. Both East and West Germany trend high on n-grams.

Thirdly, the case of India and Yugoslavia fulfills the requirement of a third option narrative or how well the option of neutrality worked for countries during the cold war. India is listed for reasons of its geographical proximity and geopolitical affinity with Pakistan and the emerging global race for supremacy. It is anticipated to play an important role in the coming bipolar world or the 2nd Cold War between China and the US. Yugoslavia is chosen as a unique and specific example as a pioneer member along with India of the Non-Aligned Movement but a nonexistent state today.

A comparative analysis of the Indian and Yugoslavian foreign policy during the Cold War years in terms of countering perils of bipolarity, pursuing neutrality, and securing national interest has voluminous reflections for Pakistani policymakers. While a strong socialist Yugoslavia with a fragile foreign policy only secured a continuous threat on both ends. On one end, for the spread of communist ideology and on the second end, for a suspected alliance with the West. A weak, disintegrated and shattered Yugoslavia suited both Russia and the Western powers and hence the country lost its very existence. On the contrary, Indian policymakers maintained a policy that kept both USSR and the West engaged. The country aligned strongly with the Soviets to reap the benefits of a superpower association, maintaining and pursuing nonalignment and assuring the West that it's not detrimental to their interests.

6.2.1 Korean Peninsula

The Korean peninsula was one of the battlegrounds for one of the earliest overseas proxy wars between the USA and the USSR. "On June 25, 1950, at 9:26 A.M., the US state department received a startling telegram from John Muccio, the U.S. ambassador in South Korea" (Lindop.

2010, p. 12) about the North Korean invasion of South Korea. North Korea invaded South Korea on the behest and with the support of the Soviet Union. Since that day both North and South Korea are labeled as allies to the Soviet Union and the USA. The Korean conflict was the first and the bloodiest clash of the Cold War with roughly 3 million fatalities. It was one of the deadliest clashes for both sides and the outcome was an ideological divide forever. Both USSR and the US installed their puppet governments and throughout the Cold War feared an immediate threat to their interests on the Korean Peninsula. To date, the Korean peninsula is a mark of this divide the only difference is that for North Korea the Soviet masters are replaced with the Chinese.

The immediate global implication of the Korean conflict was the world divided into two blocks. During the United Nations proceedings and Security Council resolutions, USSR was often absent and was joined by China. The US gathered the support of 21 nations. War had very traumatic implications for both the Koreas. However, the post-war period was relatively calm and no major clash has ever occurred. There have been numerous minor infiltrations, espionage issues and skirmishes in the DMZ. The post-war period has remained highly favourable to South Korea. From an underdeveloped, wretched, and one of the poorest nations to a country considered developed nation today.

The country signed a defense understanding with the USA in 1953 called the Mutual Defense Treaty which has been perceived as a Pacific NATO (KIM, 1982). It is believed that the South Korean decision to join the US and sign the MDT has earned it multiple benefits. It not only secured the country its security but help evolve an environment of political confidence and

economic activity. Writing on the 60th Anniversary of this treaty David S. Maxwell of the Korea Economic Institute of America states:

The treaty's most important contribution is that it has allowed the ROK and U.S. to institute an evolving security arrangement that has deterred war for the past sixty years. The treaty bought time and provided space for the Republic of Korea to create and the world to experience the "Miracle on the Han" with Korea becoming one of the leading economies in the world. (Maxwell D. S., 2020)

South Korea is a high-income country and ranks as the 12th largest economy in terms of GDP nominal. South Korea offered US\$ 2.4 billion in economic aid and assistance to other countries in 2018. South Korea is a member nation of the G20, OECD, and numerous other international institutions and organizations. The country is one of the largest exporters in the world as well as ranks among the ten largest exporters of the arms. South Korea has made landmark advancements in the field of technology and innovation. It has become one of the thriving democracy and culturally strong nation. Over time, it reduced its dependence on US aid and assistance and started developing a sustainable economy.

On the contrary, North Korean does not rank even in the first 100 economies while its GDP per capita rank is one of the lowest in the world. The country remains a nation in isolation. It could not reap the benefits of its association with the USSR and is struggling to sustain itself with growing Chinese support at present. Throughout the Cold War era, North Korea remained focused on building up a huge military set up and capacity building for nuclear weapons. During the Cold War years, the country sustained with the help of Soviet economic and military support and kept itself engaged on the border without furthering major clashes with South Korea. Cold War alliances and association has left the country with an image of a rouge state.

Since 1994, when in an article titled *Confronting Backlash States*, Anthony Lake, U.S. National Security Advisor referred to North Korea and Cuba as well as some other states Backlash States, international media and authors of books on political science and international affairs regularly label North Korea as a rogue state (Ong, 2007, p. 77) while the US often criticize and propagate the gross violations of human rights in the country (Son, 2011, p. 63).

Thirty years since the fall of the Soviet Union, North Korea has not been able to shun off the image of an adversary for the USA and the world at large. Stating that a Nuclear North Korea is a permanent threat to America, Triplett II (2004) mentions that “Beijing has been secretly engaged in a military buildup in Manchuria, designed to support North Korea in the event of a war”(p. 57). Unfortunate North Korea continues to receive US opposition and international condemnation under US pressure and influence. It has been part of the past Cold War and is strongly likely to become part of the future Cold War between the US and China. It is already being referred to as 'tributary vassal' (Becker, 2005, p. 46) of China.

In recent years the US had a policy shift and pursued more serious and focused negotiations with North Korea. In this regard, a historic meeting took place in Singapore in June 2018 between President Donald Trump of USA and North Korean Chairman Kim-Jong Un. Singapore summit was followed by another meeting between the two serving leaders at Hanoi in 2019. The first summit ended on a positive outcome and a joint statement was issued "set[ing] out the long-term goals of complete, denuclearization, establishing new bilateral relations, and creating a peace

regime on the Korean Peninsula” (Lee, 2020). The second one was a disappointment and a failure. However, the process continued and a third meeting between the two was facilitated by the South Korean President, Moon Jae-in on June 30, 2019, at DMZ. Not only the two sides but South Korean political circles also welcomed the outcome of the meeting with the resumption of Working Level talks and negotiations. American media (Fox News, 2019) quoted Deputy National Security Advisor, K. T. McFarland’s comments “Trump meeting Kim is like Nixon-Mao statecraft”.

These American efforts are aimed at strengthening its ring of containment around China similar to its 'ring of containment around the Soviet Union' (Saikal, 2010). While the US ring of containment is rejuvenated, Korea is the first knot to tie from the north pacific vent. Trying to better relations with North Korea is an effort to cut off China and deprive it of another ally while reducing the number of US adversaries in Asia. Creating a Chinese adversary so close and at such a pivotal point in the North Pacific greatly serves American interests. Such a possibility though much far from reality is not out of option for both sides. North Korea has been showing flexibility (DiFilippo, 2012) to allure American policymakers and kept them engaged in negotiations. It may have been a pressure tactic policy of the regime to secure better and serious Chinses support for its dying economy and expensive armament programs.

It can be concluded that Koreas offer a remarkable case study for the Cold War legacy and its implications. Both North and South Korea had their share in their partnering with one or the other superpower. The extreme and ever-continuing rivalry between the two states, the restlessness on the borders, and the differences and distances of its publics are some of the grave outcomes of the

past that continue to exist. While South Korea had received a lot on the economic side, it has a looming threat of aggression next door. North Korea on the other hand had lost a lot politically and diplomatically while it is speculated to have lost a lot economically. The pursuits and perils of the Cold War might drag the two nations into the dangers of another cold war – much more in intensity and much complex in nature.

On a different note, Pakistan has been connected with North Korea in terms of nuclear proliferation activities. However, our focus is more on learning from the Koreans' example. North Korean military buildup could not restore its international image nor change the fate of its people. Contrastingly, a farsighted political orientation and focus on economic development have won South Korea a unique position in the world. Perhaps, Pakistan needs to emulate this example, shifting its focus from military buildup to economic uplift of the country. It needs to secure a guarantee for its national security and assurance for its territorial integrity through the solid political and military alliance with its geographically close ally and emerging global power. And develop a national policy to strengthen its strong economic base for overcoming its in-house issues.

6.2.2. Turkey

Turkey is the only Muslim state selected under this country study framework of the six (1+5) cases. An insight into Cold War implications for Turkey will provide us an understanding of the responses and policy framework of a Muslim state under a bipolar world. The case of Turkey is also important for the reason that it pursued a policy of neutrality in the early years of the Cold War or more precisely during the years of the Second World War. However, during the Cold War,

the country was forced to align itself with the US due to geopolitical pressures and soviet threats. Turkey seems to be reverting to the same policy of neutrality despite being a close US ally and ambitious seeker of European Union membership. Turkish parliament made a historic move by refusing the US deployment of troops (CNN, 2003) in 2003 on the Iraq issue. Despite being a NATO member and rejecting an offer of \$US 15 billion in economic aid and immediate grant, such an action could have serious implications for Turkey which were not only apprehended by US officials but voiced by experts on foreign affairs within Turkey (Boudreaux & Zaman, 2003).

Turkey was forced to join the western camp and become a US ally in the middle of the Turkish Strait crises in 1946. Geographically, Turkey lies between Asia and Europe and the dividing line between the two continents is a narrow water body known as Turkish Straits. These straits join the Black Sea to the Sea of Marmara, a relatively bigger and wider water body in the center of the straits which is then connected to the Aegean Sea and finally through it to the Mediterranean Sea. This small but complex water channel under Turkish sovereignty has great importance as an international waterway between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean Sea. The channel is not only important for the nations along the Black sea for their maritime trade to the outside world but strategically brings any entry from the outside to the heart of the otherwise landlocked South-Eastern Europe.

Realizing that any Turkish blockade or access permissions to anti-Soviet forces through Turkish straits would seriously jeopardize Soviet interests in the region and hamper Soviet trade and connectivity in the area, USSR shared its apprehension with the Turkish government. Stalin had

been proposing a joint control of the Turkish Straits by Turkey and the Soviet Union against the Treaty of Montreux 1936 which allowed only Turkey to have military control over the Straits and prohibited any ships other than the Black Sea states to traverse through this route. Soviet intentions not only apprehended Turkey but provoked US interests in the region. Soviet control over Turkey could have grave implications for the US interests (Goldberg & Libbey, 1993, p. 113) in the region. Under these circumstances, Turkey and the US both joined hands. This was further strengthened by the 1952 joining of NATO by Turkey.

Since then, Turkey has been a key Muslim state ally of the US and helped the US to advance its influence in the part of regions in proximity extending more towards the East and the Middle East. It had been aligning itself with America against USSR in the consequent regional and global issues. However, there has been a stark positive change in relations between Russia and Turkey in the aftermath of the Cold War. With the disintegration of the USSR and the absence of communist threat, Turkey greatly advanced its relations with successor Russia to the extent that both became the biggest trade partners in different categories especially for energy supplies and tourism.

Turkish policy of a gradual shift and transformation from a key American ally to a signing a 2017 weapons purchase agreement not only reflects the country's policy and approach in the changing global environment but presents a special case scenario for countries like Pakistan. Pakistan remained a key American ally and finds it extremely difficult to drift away from the past association. As compared to Turkey, the country is much slower to mend the drifted relations with Russia and even finds itself in embarrassing situations balancing between US alignment and

Chinese associations. Turkish deal with Russia was much criticized. While apprehensions from various quarters about its implications for Turkey NATO relations (Macias, 2019) are being discussed, the country remains firm to mend its relations with the former adversary nation. This reflects the emergence of geopolitical and geostrategic realignment in the world.

According to the US Department of State (2020), US relations with Turkey as per the statement of the Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs, are of a key ally. "...the United States is committed to improving the relationship between our two countries. It is in our interest to keep Turkey anchored to the Euro-Atlantic community." While Turkey's alignment to the US was more of a Turkish need in the early cold war era, today it is more of a US desire. However, writers like Steven A. Cook (2018), propose that this cold war partnership is in serious crises rather Cook suggests that Turkey is no more "a partner of the United States" In his recent short book contribution on the future of US-Turkey relations, titled *Neither Friend Nor Foe*, he has advised US policymakers to look for alternate options rather than futile efforts to win over Turkey again. Turkey has played well in its policymaking in the changing international system of power. The book title very well describes the underlying principle guiding Turkish policy change towards the US.

Turkey has developed as a strong economy and it is projected to rank among the 15 largest economies of the world within the coming decade. The country has the 15th largest military and has been consistently ranked as the tenth most strong military power in the world. Growing GDP and expanding trade have allowed Turkey to become one of the largest importer and exporter of

arms according to SIPRI. Its growing relations with Russia (Kurban, 2017) and reliance on Russian arms imports have troubled its European allies (Kirisici, 2018). Regional and global developments are the key factor in determining these relations (Kelkitli, 2017).

At the same time, Turkey has advanced its relations with China despite a historic difference in the Uyghurs issue in Xinjiang Autonomous Region. Both held joint military exercises in 2010 and are increasing cooperation in commercial joint ventures (IBP, 2014). The trade between China and Europe through Turkey is already underway and is considered a landmark development in their bilateral relations and for the future world politics. The increased infrastructural connections and flow of trade and goods have not only brought the two countries together but the increasing dependence on each other, as well as Turkey joining SCO as a dialogue partner, are developments for a likely global political partnership. After all, Turkey lies at the center of 'Geostrategic Triad' (Brzezinski, 2001) of China, Europe and Russia. Turkey has an ideological and historic affinity with Pakistan and the way it has matured and transited its policy has valuable lessons for us.

6.2.3. Cuba

Every one of our generations knows Cuba for the Cuban Missile Crises and one of the longest-serving Communist ideologue Fidel Castro. Cuba was perhaps the closest in geographical proximity to the US with farthest political and economic ideologies other than USSR during the cold war. Cuban Missile Crises presented the gravest threat to world peace and a possibility of a transcontinental, transatlantic war that had the possibility of turning into a global nuclear clash (Senker, 2014, p. 4). Cuba is one of the rugged examples of the Cold War legacy. The country

became a fireball for the worst ever two weeks in the global politics and cold war rivalries and the worst point of global proxy between the two superpowers of the time.

Fidel Castro took over Cuba in 1959 and started imposing and pursuing his Marxist ideology. His inclination for the communist ideology and increased interest towards USSR was a cause of concern for the US. The southernmost part of the US state of Florida is roughly 150 kilometers from the northern tip of Cuba. It was unacceptable for the US government and military strategists to have a communist regime so close and pose a continuing threat for the Cold War superpower. It also had the possibility of more Latin American nations joining the 'enemy camp' (Bernell, 2011, p. 91). With these apprehensions, the US started planning to topple the government or cease power in Cuba to the Cuban infiltrators trained and planted by the CIA (Bryan, 2018). However, the Bay of Pigs invasion turned out to be a complete flopped plan.

Though the invasion failed, it alarmed the Cuban government and Castro became more cautious about its plans. He started organizing his internal defense and sought outside help from USSR. US strategy backfired and pressed Cuba with more strength and speed to align with USSR and secure more military assistance. With passing days, the Soviet military aid grew to the large amounts of weapons and arsenal for Cuba involving missiles and long-range attack equipment. While USSR was mounting these missiles in Cuba, a US spy plane was able to spot a Soviet-designed ballistic missile. What followed in the next 13 days has been one of the major confrontation between the two superpowers during the Cold War. Both sides were faced with one of the biggest diplomatic

trouble (Kennedy, 1971) in cold war history and perhaps the most stressful days in the lives of the diplomatic fraternity of both US and the USSR.

Such a close installation of the USSR missile gave a strategic advantage to the Soviets over Americans. This would bring the eastern US under threat of a direct attack allowing a better nuclear strike capability to the USSR. It was a befitting response to American nuclear missile installations around the Soviet Union in Turkey and Western Europe. Though the missiles could never be made operational and a US blockade of Cuba brought aggrieved parties to the table. For the Soviets to remove the Cuban Missiles, the USA had "agreed to remove the US missiles from Turkey" (Pierce, 2005, p. 9). Both the superpowers carved the way out of the impasse without direct military clashes.

Cuban Missile Crises deescalated and settled between the two superpowers to serve and protect their interests. USSR had traded off well by forcing Americans to dismantle the missile from Turkey and the US had secured its safety. What was gained by Cuba remains a debatable question even today? US guaranteed no further invasion of Cuba to USSR but the de-escalation lessened Cuba's value for both. In the events that followed, Cuba is suspected to be an American enemy even today. The country still faces American embargo and sanctions. Relations only improved during Obama's tenure (Crahan & Castro, 2016) but concessions given to Cuba by the Obama administration were referred to as one-sided by the present President and slashed (Sabatini, 2019). USSR lost its interest in Cuba and in later years the relations between the two continued more for the economic front but were badly severed in 1989.

In 1991, the disintegration of the USSR hit a severe blow to Cuba which had received huge sums of Soviet money all these years and had been fully dependent on Soviet assistance and trade. The overreliance on the Soviet Union ended Cuba in a fix. It was poles apart from the other neighbouring nations and countries in Latin America ideologically. Immediate implications of the Soviet dissolution was the isolation and devastated economy. Once the focal point and pivot of the global politics and superpower rivalry, Cuba had been striving hard to sustain its economy and political image in the post-cold war period. The absolute and unwavering support to the Soviets had brought an absolute disaster and irreparable losses for the country on both political and economic fronts. Cuba offers a classic similarity with Pakistan in terms of its alignment with a Cold War power geographically far away and preferring an adversary, the next door. Only the sides were reversed in the case of Pakistan.

6.2.4. Germany (East Germany)

When Iron Curtain descended in Winston Churchill's words to cutoff the Soviet Puppets states in Eastern Europe from the rest of Europe or Western Europe, East Germany formed the line of divide. Though the ideological line and later physical barriers ran throughout from north to the south dividing Europe into two parts, Communist Europe and Democratic Europe or geographically Eastern Europe and Western Europe. Berlin Wall is the most important symbolic (Manghani, 2008, p. 44) representation and physical structure of the divide. Germany had been divided into four parts post Second World War and East Germany was to be controlled by the Soviets.

Germany did not have much choice to choose for an alliance with the one or oppose the other. Divided control of the four divided regions of Germany, as well as a shared control of the four micro divisions within the German capital Berlin, would not have been so painful and terrible for the German public, had it not been under the sharp and wide gulf imposed by the Cold War. Both sides of Germany paid wartime reparations and experienced the influx of economic activity and technological advancement for geopolitical and strategic reasons as the only country controlled directly by the two adversaries. Unlike the Korean example where the country split into two independent political entities, Germany had been lucky to unite again. Though western Germany experienced better economic growth (Behrend, 1995), better lifestyle, and democratic practices, East Germany enjoys shared benefits after the reunion.

The German example is quite different than the other mentioned in this 1+5 model. One, it has immediate geographical proximity to one of the two superpowers and immediate contestants of the Cold War. Two, the alliance of two Germanys with two opposing powers was more of forced wedlock. Three, after almost forty-five years of political differentiation, opposite economic models, cultural suppression and modifications, and strong ideological influences, Germany had reunited as one country. Germans lost the war and as part of after-war compulsions, Germany was divided into shares for the victorious powers. But the division along physical lines could not divide the historical similarity and shared values of its people. The 'pain of the German division' (Merkl, 1993, p. 43) was never forgotten. The growing rift between the US and USSR for the global supremacy engulfed Germanys and kept them poles apart throughout the Cold War but its reunification is a much more important aspect for this study than anything else.

German reunification in 1990 was followed by the fall of the Wall of Berlin. This 'most unexpected' reunification marks the power of its people and signifies the values of any nation (Bozo, Rodder, & Sarott, 2017). Unlike Korea, Germans were quick to join back and shun off the past alliances. Both Germans did not let their alliances with the opposing superpowers be a hurdle for their unification (James & Stone, 2013). Interestingly, Germans were united before the disintegration of the Soviet Union a year later. This calls for a special study of public behaviour and their role in the conduct of nations in the international community of nations and the international political system. Modern-day politics demand and 21st-century publics know how to exercise their rights and voice their collective concerns and desires.

Countries like Pakistan where decisions on global level associations and alliance making and political affiliations are considered a prerogative of the rulers whether individual autocrats or elected governments, learn to involve the public in the policymaking and decisions making processes for military alliances and political associations. Active Indian role, politics of the Cold War made compelling contributions (Raghavan, 2013) for the separation of East Pakistan. Soviet role as an Indian supporter as well as in separation is being studied and commented upon (Moses, 2010). Though several natural factors including geographical incongruity, language differences, and internal factors like constitutional issues and military takeover (Meher, 2015) were instrumental for the separation of East Pakistan, the dissent among people became the ultimate reason. Had it been only external factors, a reunification would have been a possibility like Germany. There are lessons for us to learn and practice while setting the course of action for troubled areas of Pakistan in the North West and parts of Balochistan. The growing rift in the international power system is again on our door and our approach and policy will determine how

people of Pakistan are kept informed, their voices respected and their identities protected. It should be the people of Pakistan who develop a consensus and understanding for joining or abstaining from becoming a party to the new Cold War.

6.2.5. India

In the beginning years of the Cold War, India pursued a policy of not aligning itself with any of the two superpowers. Nehru had set the tone for a nonaligned India much before the active Cold War era started. He proposed “as far as possible [India] keep away from the power politics of groups, aligned against one another, which have led in the past two world wars and which may lead again to disasters even on a vaster scale” (Mehrotra, Agarwal, & Ganguly, 1990, p. 52). Nehru had made this statement before the independence of India setting up a policy statement for the newly formed government of independent India (Jain, 2000). In the post-Independent years, not only Nehru, as the first prime minister of India continued the policy of non-alignment but he promoted the same in the international forums and within the international community of nations.

It was not only Nehru who felt the need for an arrangement of a nonaligned status for his country. Leaders of Yugoslavia, Egypt, Indonesia, and Ghana joined hands together with Nehru to put the foundations of the Non-Aligned Movement as an international organization or body for the rescue and support of the nations which did not wish to be a party to the confrontationists’ politics and power play between the USSR and USA. From the time of the inception of NAM in 1961 at Belgrade, the then capital city of Yugoslavia, India has always prided itself as its pioneer and considers it as an essential tool to promote its soft power image in the world. Indian policy paid

back and the country was able to win considerable international support and image for its nonaligned initiatives.

In 1962, India had a full-scale war with China, though the war was short-lived Chinese supremacy and provocation (Maxwell N., 2015) of the war compelled India to look towards a strong international ally for its security and a better position in any future battles. Hence, a change and a transition in the Non Alignment policy. The only option left for India was to look towards USSR (Frankel, 2020). The Soviet Union had been 'impressed by the course pursued by India' regarding nonalignment or what Soviets referred to as 'neutralists' or 'positive neutrals' (Allison, 1988, p. 21). It was also due to an earlier affiliation with the Soviets during the 1950s for economic and political reasons and by this time India was also being considered 'a de facto Soviet Ally' (Carpenter, 1992, p. 114) by Washington. Second, due to an affinity of the USA towards Pakistan, a country perceived as an enemy by the Indian government. For India. An enemy's ally has to be an enemy. The US had conceived Pakistan as most important due to its geopolitical position in South Asia recognizing it as 'fulcrum of Asia' (Grover & Arora, 1999, p. 32). USA and UK both had signed collective defense treaties with Pakistan known as CENTO and SEATO in the 1950s.

However, India used a cautionary approach towards aligning itself with the Soviets. It did not let its image change to a close ally of the Soviets as Pakistan had developed of the Americans. Indian foreign policy of a 'balanced alignment' in the post-1962 continued till the end of the Cold War. What India pursued in the name of neutrality, peaceful coexistence, non-intervention, and rejection of aggression as part of its policy in the early years was subsided and a strong economic, political

and military cooperation was developed with the Soviet Union. Indian foreign policymakers did not or perhaps could not remove these principles in foreign policy due to its strong routes and pressures developed by its supporters within India as well as internationally.

On the contrary, the shrewd policymakers have been successful to enjoy them both, the benefits of a superpower alliance in a bipolar world through inclination towards the Soviets and pursuance of a neutral image. It has been this policy conundrum or flexibility which allowed to transit back to a nonaligned India in the post-Cold War years. Perhaps the same flexibility has now allowed India to shift its alignment towards the USA. While Nonalignment once again in the backdrop, it is very customary for India to drift away from the principal of the nonalignment (Rauch, 2008) and it suits India for the fulfillment of its national interest.

Once again China at the helm of new wedlock between India and the US, Indian policymakers are pursuing a nonpartisan agenda. However, its growing cooperation and attachment with the US, recent Indo China border tensions, and Indian ambitions to not only influence the regional politics but be a contributor for setting up the new world order would make it extremely difficult for it to pursue the past image of neutrality. For this study, Indian policy throughout the Cold War years presents a telling example of successful diplomacy and political acumen. It was through this policy that the country not only saved itself from the perils and inverse effects of the Cold War but made it very convenient for it to transit from one camp to the other one without making the first one hostile. At the moment India enjoys fairly reasonable and positive relations with both Cold War

adversaries. How India conducts itself in the coming Cold War will determine the future path of politics in South Asia as well as globally and Pakistan has to remain onboard.

A past close ally of the USSR and swerving from its interests, today, India provides for one of the major actors in the American ring of containment around China. India is capitalizing on the changing global scenario and matches best to the US agenda especially in Asia. Kelly (2010) asserts that the containment policy would help the US and India both to handle their common challengers “– radical Islam and Chinese nationalism”. Not only the two share common contemporary challengers but also the “liberal democratic values”. Therefore, qualifying India to be a central actor in the US-sponsored “neo-containment architecture in Asia” (p. 713).

The flexibility and maneuver of the Indian foreign policy had helped the country secure great political, economic and military benefits. The parallel running of an 'unaligned state image' and pursuing 'balanced alignment' implicates the Indian agenda to play a wider and broader role in the international politics and global system of power both. India has done remarkably well in Cold War politics. Its policy not only helped secure territorial integrity amid crises and multiple wars with Pakistan and China but also provided an ally to protect its political and nationalistic goals in the Security Council. Specifically one of the two most favourable and advantageous vetoes of the USSR for India was on the Kashmir issue in 1962. The Soviet support was so much vehement and strong that “Russia was portrayed in the western media as a roadblock to the UN’s functioning” (Simha, 2016). On the contrary, India has very conveniently divorced Russia to pursue its relations

with the US. Such a move for Pakistan seems a farfetched reality. Pakistan cannot extend a hand of cooperation towards Russia with the same ease and convenience as did India towards the US.

6.2.6. Yugoslavia

Sandwiched between Communist Soviet Union and Capitalist NATO states, Yugoslavia took a very challenging route of disassociating the next-door Soviets and stay neutral but a socialist state. Strong Socialist Yugoslavia was not ideal for the US and Western Europe. While internal factors and political developments as well as ethnic issues are at the heart of the breakup of Yugoslavia. Balkanization of Yugoslavia was more in the interests of the western powers. It is probably the only country that has become nonexistent in recent history. If the break up is not wholly attributed to the Cold War consequences, it could not be fully attributed to the factors outside of the bipolar world politics.

The Yugoslavian decision to untie the relationship with the geographically close superpower and not being able to win strong grounds as a neutral and nonaligned state caused much damage to it. Though the country became a pioneer member of NAM and introduced reforms in its economy and politics, it could never attract the western powers to its rescue during the 1980s economic crises following the death of Josip Brozo Tito. Hence, neutrality did not help itself escape the horrible impact and havoc of the Cold War. Nonalignment proved to be a wrong alignment for the country. Unlike India, it could not reap the benefits of neutrality. The economically weaker state was more vulnerable to the ethnic differences and divergent nationalism and the ignition was provided by the fall of the Soviet empire.

Soviet disintegration accelerated the secessionist waves in the country. Yugoslavia was the only odd country in Western Europe not to have aligned with capitalist economies despite being dependent and linked to them. Sandwiched between two opposing European entities and keeping a nonaligned status proved an unsuccessful foreign policy stand for the country. Western European nations were very quick to recognize the separation as well as the acceptance of new states. Such a move was the result of the past suspicions towards Yugoslavia. Soviets were neither in a condition nor had an attraction to come to its rescue. A strong nonaligned next-door nation was not ideal for them. NAM remains a nonmilitary and noneconomic platform that had no option to extend any help. Belgrade had been the diffusion center of NAM but its failure to sustain cast serious doubts on the effectiveness and role of the NAM. Having distanced itself from the Cold War adversaries but most powerful economic and military nations, it could not win even ethical support from any one of the two superpowers.

The Yugoslavian case offers lessons to reflect and replicate for nations stuck with the question of alignment with geographically close ideologue states and the option of neutrality. It was concluded in the last two chapters that the World is already experiencing the emergence of new poles and the race for global supremacy has begun. China is a new entrant and rival against the US in the fast coming global rivalry. Pakistan is located next door to China, sharing a long border as well as a years-old association. At the same time, Pakistan has been dependent on US aid and assistance and a strong sentiment for the western ideologies and economic model as well as practices. The US power declining and the axis of power shifting to the East (Brzezinski. 2012), the Cold War of the future is anticipated to be fought in Asia and the pivot is likely to be South Asia than anywhere else. Pakistan has been trying to balance between the two options and link with both China and the

US to sustain. However, this has not been an easy process and does not likely to remain an option. The country has to set its clear priorities and the above-mentioned case of Yugoslavia gives us strong clues.

6.3. The Way Forward

The second part of the work implications for Pakistan has been tackled with two different approaches to ensure greater validity of the research. In chapter five general implication for Pakistan has been laid in the light of global developments and pressures and opportunities offered in the emerging geopolitical and geo-economics systems. The findings of chapter five are itself very productive and useful as well as provide a framework for the policymakers and students of international relations but the (1+5) model proposed and discussed at length in chapter six provides a more specific and insightful analysis of the situation. The country case study model helps to solidify the arguments while providing focused suggestions and recommendations for Pakistan.

In the model, one region and five countries have been selected based upon the distinct consequences each one of them had undergone. The selection of these six country case studies strengthens our arguments that diversified implications of an emergent cold war are not just an imaginative proposal but a realistic set of practices and processes based on experiences of the earlier cold war between the US and USSR. Each of these has been selected based on a unique and relevant set of learning for us. As criteria for selecting these countries has been already discussed at length which ranged from relevance to the Cold War, affiliation with any one of the two

superpowers or nonaligned or change of Status ranging from geographical, economic, political, or ideological perspective due to the impact and as a consequence of the Cold War.

Korean example of division of a nation along strong ideological lines was listed first. At the same time, it symbolizes that how despite shared geography, physical features and resources, religious and political values, and socio-cultural values a nation divided into two political entities stand pole apart politically and economically due to political and ideological victimization of superpowers. This provides a base for the understanding that how a right political orientation might help a country to secure its sovereignty as well as better economic growth or be stagnant. Countries enjoyed a very different status subject to their allegiance with one of the two superpowers.

East and West Germany on the contrary, offer an opposite example where a country divided as an aftermath of the war and long wretched under two divergent ideologies unites again. German reunification is a classic example of the people's perspective opposed to the governmental decision making as is the case in Korea.

Turkey offers a similarity to Pakistan as a Muslim country replicating quite a lot of its pressure and prospects of joining a superpower and that too America as was the case for Pakistan. However, the implications of such an alliance and relative difference in securing its political and economic interests bring Turkey for emulation by Pakistan. Turkey not only worked to strengthen its institutes and respect them to the extent that it could escape the clutches of a strong ally conveniently. How the country escaped undue power pressure through public involvement and the

parliamentary process is exemplary. Decision-making has to be a public domain rather than the prerogative of the ruling elite in Pakistan as well, be it domestic policies or international politics. The ruling elite and military establishment is easy to be allured and pressurized and past practices show that they acted as 'American Stooges' as quoted by M. Waseem. (Markey, 2013, p. 76)

India's flexible and maneuverable foreign policy helped secure better benefits for the nation. The Indian position today is much better than many of the allies of both US and the USSR during the Cold War. The country has not only been able to secure a relatively neutral and global image and standing, it has conveniently joined hands with the past adversary.

Yugoslavia a classic example of a wrong or a confused alignment of the country against its geographical compulsions and economic realities much like Cuba. Cuba is another example of a wrong alignment of a state against its geographical constraints and economic orientation and linkages. Such an unnatural affinity does more harm than benefit. The same has been the case in Pakistan. Since the day, Liaqat Ali Khan, the first prime minister of Pakistan's acceptance of invitation and preference of visiting the USA over the USSR, the critics and policymakers had highlighted the drawbacks of the pro-west policy especially in the light of Soviet geographical proximity to Pakistan.

Each one of these country cases has some association with the way Pakistan operated in the Cold War era and the pressures and prospects of its policy and practices. The implications of the emergent cold war are not going to be very different from the implications of the past Cold War.

Although the role of technology, artificial intelligence-based warfare, big data analysis, economic and strategic cyber-attacks, media and social media propaganda wars will be instrumental in setting up the stage as well as decisive factors for winning or losing the war, the prospects and challenges for allies will greatly depend on their right orientation and capacity to evolve and align their foreign policy accordingly.

The underlying principles of international power politics and rebalancing of the global political play are going to be the same. How states act and react to the pressures of emerging global powers will be similar to what had been studied and instrumented for the last one and a half centuries. However, the transition from geopolitical to geo-economic will be more meaningful and obvious. The Cold War was fought along with the ideology of communism and capitalism in the past. But the future Cold War does not seem to be triggered with any such ideology and there is not a possibility of a conflicting ideology of this magnitude to emerge. It is highly likely that a set of geo-cultural elements will be instrumental along with the geo-economic factors.

References

- (2003, March 2). Retrieved from CNN: <https://edition.cnn.com/2003/WORLD/meast/03/01/sprj.i.rq.main/>
- (2019, November 21). Retrieved from US Department of State: <https://www.state.gov/a-conversation-with-ambassador-alice-wells-on-the-china-pakistan-economic-corridor/>
- (2019, July 2). Retrieved from Fox News: <https://www.foxnews.com/politics/trump-kim-dmz-meeting-nixon-china-mao-zedong>
- (2020, May 22). Retrieved from Ministry of Foreign Affairs, GOP: <http://mofa.gov.pk/cpecs-beneficial-contribution-to-pakistans-economy/>
- (2020, July 28). Retrieved from US Department of State: <https://www.state.gov/u-s-relations-with-turkey/>
- Aamir, A. (2020, January 17). *China Brief*. Retrieved from The Jamestown Foundation: <https://jamestown.org/program/pakistan-and-cpec-are-drawn-into-the-u-s-china-rivalry/>
- Allison, R. (1988). *The Soviet Union and the Strategy of Non-Alignment in the Third World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Becker, J. (2005). *Rogue Regime: Kim Jong Il and the Looming Threat of North Korea*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Behrend, H. (1995). *German Unification: The Destruction of an Economy*. London: Pluto Press.
- Bernell, D. (2011). *Constructing US Foreign Policy: The Curious Case of Cuba*. Oxon: Routledge.
- Boudreaux, R., & Zaman, A. (2003, March 2). Retrieved from Los Angeles Times: <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2003-mar-02-fg-iraq2-story.html>
- Bozo, F., Rodder, A., & Sarott, M. E. (Eds.). (2017). *German Reunification: A Multinational History*. Oxon: Routledge.
- Bryan, B. (2018). *The Bay of Pigs and the Cuban Missile Crisis*. New York: Cavendish Square.
- Carpenter, T. G. (1992). *A Search for Enemies: America's Alliances After the Cold War*. Washington DC: CATO Institute.
- Cook, S. A. (2018). *Neither Friend Nor Foe: The Future of U.S.-Turkey Relations*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations.
- Crahan, M. E., & Castro, S. (2016). *Cuba-US Relations: Normalization and Its Challenges*. Bloomsbury: Institute of Latin American Studies.
- DiFilippo, A. (2012). *US-Japan-North Korea Security Relations: Irrepressible Interests*. Oxon: Routledge.
- Frankel, F. R. (2020). *When Nehru Looked East: Origins of India-US Suspicion and India-China Rivalry*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Goldberg, H. J., & Libbey, J. K. (1993). *Documents of Soviet-American Relations* (Vol. 5). Washington DC: Academic International Press.
- Gopal, P. S., & Mancheri, N. A. (2013). *Rise of China: Indian Perspective*. Atlanta: Lancer Publishers.
- Grover, V., & Arora, R. (1999). *World Community and Indo-Pak Relations*. New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publications.

- IBP. (2014). *US-Turkey Economic and Political Relations Handbook*. Washington DC: International Business Publications.
- II, W. C. (2004). *Rogue State: How a Nuclear North Korea Threatens America*. Washington DC: Regnery Publishing.
- Jain, S. B. (2000). *India's Foreign Policy and Non-alignment*. New Delhi: Anamika Publishers & Distributors.
- James, H., & Stone, M. (Eds.). (2013). *When the Wall Came Down: Reactions to German Unification*. London: Routledge.
- Kelkitli, F. A. (2017). *Turkish-Russian Relations. Competition and Cooperation in Eurasia*. Oxon: Routledge.
- Kelly, R. E. (2010). American Dual Containment in Asia. *Geopolitics*, 15(4), 705-725.
- Kennedy, R. F. (1971). *Thirteen Days: A Memoir of the Cuban Missile Crisis*. New York: Norton.
- KIM, Y. K. (1982). THE MUTUAL DEFENSE TREATY OF 1953 WITH THE UNITED STATES: With an Appraisal on the Possibility of a Pacific NATO. *The Journal of East Asian Affairs*, 2(2), 310-331. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23253962>
- Kirisci, K. (2018). *Turkey and the West: Fault Lines in a Troubled Alliance*. Washington DC. Brookings Institution Press.
- Kurban, V. (2017) *Russian-Turkish Relations from the First World War to the Present*. New Castle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Lee, S (2020, June). Retrieved from ISDP: <https://isdpr.eu/publication/u-s-north-korea-denuclearization-negotiations-an-irresolvable-issue/>
- Lindop, E. (2010). *America in the 1950s*. Minneapolis: Twenty First Century Books.
- Macias, A. (2019, December 2). Retrieved from CNBC: <https://www.cnbc.com/2019/12/02/turkeys-arms-deal-with-russia-casts-shadow-over-nato-summit.html>
- Manghani, S. (2008). *Image Critique and the Fall of the Berlin Wall*. Bristol. Intellect Books.
- Maxwell, D. S (2020, August 4). Retrieved from Korea Economic Institute of America: <http://keia.org/rok-us-mutual-defense-treaty-60-years-relevant-now-and-future>
- Maxwell, N. (2015). *India's China War*. New Delhi: Natraj Publishers.
- Meher, J. (2015). Dynamics of Pakistan's Disintegration: The Case of East Pakistan 1947-1971. *India Quarterly*, 71(4), 300-317. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/45072741?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents
- Mehrotra, R. R., Agarwal, A. K., & Ganguly, S. (Eds.). (1990). *Nehru: Man Among Men*. New Delhi. Mittal Publications.
- Merkel, P. H. (1993). *German Unification in the European Context*. Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Moses, D. (2010, December 15). *The Secession of East Pakistan in 1971 and the Question of Genocide* Retrieved from Woodrow Wilson Center: <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/event/the-secession-east-pakistan-1971-and-the-question-genocide>

- Ong, R. (2007). *China's Security Interests in the 21st Century*. Oxon: Routledge.
- Pierce, A. (2005). *Apollo 13*. Minneapolis: ABDO Publishing Company.
- Raghavan, S. (2013). *1971: A Global History of the Creation of Bangladesh*. Ranikhet: Permanent Black.
- Rauch, C. (2008). *Farewell Non-Alignment? Constancy and change of foreign policy in post-colonial India*. Frankfurt: Peace Research Institute Frankfurt. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep14485.1>
- Sabatini, C. (2019, July 24). Retrieved from The New York Times: <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/24/opinion/trump-cuba-embargo-venezuela.html>
- Saikal, A. (2010). Afghanistan during the Cold War. In C. Chari (Ed.), *Superpower Rivalry and Conflict: The Long Shadow of the Cold War on the 21st Century* (pp. 57-71). Oxon: Routledge.
- Senker, C. (2014). *Kennedy and the Cuban Missile Crisis*. London: Raintree.
- Simha, R. K. (2016, November 1). Retrieved from Russia Beyond: https://www.rbth.com/blogs/stranger_than_fiction/2016/11/01/veto-no100-how-russia-blocked-the-west-on-kashmir_644137
- Small, A. (2015). *The China Pakistan Axis: Asia's New Geopolitics*. India: Random House India.
- Son, K.-Y. (2011). Japan's responses to actors outside the boundaries of international society: Rogue States' and North Korea's Threats. In G. D. Hook (Ed.), *Decoding Boundaries in Contemporary Japan: The Koizumi Administration and Beyond*. Routledge.
- Statement of the Spokesperson from the Chinese Embassy in Pakistan*. (2020, May 21). Retrieved from Chinese Embassy: <http://pk.chineseembassy.org/eng/zbqx/t1781421.htm>
- Wilcox, W. A. (1964). *India, Pakistan, and the rise of China*. New York: Walker and Company.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Acharya, A. (2018). *The End of American World Order* (2nd ed.). New Jersey: Wiley.
- Agha, A. S. (2004). *Confrontation to Conciliation: India-Pakistan Relations*. Islamabad: Centre for Democratic Governance.
- Aggestam, L. (2010). *European Foreign Policy and the Quest for a Global Role: Britain, France and Germany*. London: Routledge .
- Agnew, J. (2003). *Geopolitics: Re-Visioning World Politics* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.
- Ahmed, A. (2014). *India's Doctrine Puzzle: Limiting War in South Asia*. New Delhi . Routledge .
- Akbar, M. K. (1998). *Pakistan Today*. New Delhi: Mittal Publications.
- Aksan, V. H., & Goffman, D. (Eds.). (2007). *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Allison, R. (1988). *The Soviet Union and the Strategy of Non-Alignment in the Third World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Anderson, F. (2007). *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754-1766*. New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2007.
- Aneek, C. (2010). *International Relations Today: Concepts and Applications*. Delhi: Pearson.
- Applebaum, R. (2019). *Empire of Friends: Soviet Power and Socialist Internationalism in Cold War Czechoslovakia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Barnett, T. P. (2005). *The Pentagon's New Map: War and Peace in the Twenty-First Century*. Penguin Publishing Group.
- Bartlett, C. J. (1984). *The global conflict: the international rivalry of the great powers, 1880-1990*. New York: Longman.
- Beasley, W. G. (1987). *Japanese Imperialism, 1894-1945*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Beckley, M. (2018). *Unrivaled: Why America Will Remain the World's Sole Superpower*. Itacha and London: Cornell University Press.
- Becker, J. (2005). *Rogue Regime: Kim Jong Il and the Looming Threat of North Korea*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Beevor, A. (2012). *The Second World War* . London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- Behrend, H. (1995). *German Unification: The Destruction of an Economy*. London: Pluto Press.
- Berger, T. U., Mochizuki, M., & Tsuchiyama, J. (2007). *Japan in international politics: the foreign policies of an adaptive state*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Bernal, R. L. (1996). *Strategic global repositioning and future economic development in Jamaica*. Miami: North-South Center Press.
- Bernell, D. (2011). *Constructing US Foreign Policy: The Curious Case of Cuba*. Oxon: Routledge.
- Bialer, S., & Mandelbaum, M. (1989). *The Global Rivals: The Soviet American Contest for Supremacy*. London: I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd.
- Birdal, M. S. (2011). *The Holy Roman Empire and the Ottomans: From Global Imperial Power to Absolutist States*. London: I.B. Tauris.
- Bisley, M. B. (2013). *Issues in 21st Century World Politics*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Blackwill, R. D., & Harris, J. M. (2016). *War by Other Means*. USA : Harvard University Press.
- Blood, P. R. (1995). *Pakistan: A Country Study* (6th ed.). Philadelphia: DIANE Publishing.
- Boggs, C. (2005). *Imperial Delusions: American Militarism and Endless War*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield

- Boon, K. E., Haq, A., & Lovelace, D. C. (Eds.). (2012). *Terrorism Commentary of Security Documents: U.S. Approaches to Global Security Challenges*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bozo, F., Rodder, A., & Sarott, M. E. (Eds.) (2017). *German Reunification: A Multinational History*. Oxon: Routledge.
- Brands, H. (2016). *Making the Unipolar Moment: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Rise of the Post ...* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Brewster, D. (2014). *India's Ocean: The Story of India's Bid for Regional Leadership*. London : Routledge .
- Brooks, S. G., & Wohlfort, W. C. (2008). *World Out of Balance: International Relations and the Challenge of American Primacy*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.=
- Brown, M. E., Coté Jr., O. R., Lynn-Jones, S. M., & Miller, S. E. (Eds.). (2000). *America's Strategic Choices*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.
- Bryan, B. (2018). *The Bay of Pigs and the Cuban Missile Crisis*. New York: Cavendish Square.
- Brzezinski, Z. (2001). *The Geostrategic Triad: Living with China, Europe, and Russia*. Washington DC: CSIS Press.
- Brzezinski, Z. (2012). *Strategic Vision: America and the Crisis of Global Power* New York: Basic Books.
- Buchanan, P. J. (2009). *Churchill, Hitler, and "the Unnecessary War": How Britain Lost Its Empire and the West Lost the World* Manhattan New York: Crown Publishing Group.
- Buck, D. D. (1987). *Recent studies of the Boxer Movement*. Michigan: M. E. Sharpe.
- Buzan, B. (2004). *The United States and the Great Powers: World Politics in the Twenty-First Century*. Cambridge: Polity Press Ltd.
- Carley, M. J. (1999). *1939: The Alliance That Never Was and the Coming of World War II*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee.
- Carpenter, T. G. (1992). *A Search for Enemies: America's Alliances After the Cold War*. Washington DC: CATO Institute.
- Castro, F. (2003). *Cold War: Warnings for a Unipolar World*. Texas: Ocean Press.
- Catherwood, C. (2015). *The Battles of WWI*. Cambridge : Allison & Busby Limited.
- Chan, L.-H., Chan, G., & Kwan, F. (2011). *China at 60: Global-local Interactions*. Singapore: World Scientific
- Charpin, D. (2012). *Hammurabi of Babylon*. New York: I. B. Tauris.
- Chau, D. C., & Kane, T. M. (Eds.). (2014). *China and International Security: History, Strategy, and 21st-Century Policy [3 volumes]: History, Strategy, and 21st-Century Policy*. Santa Barbara: Praeger.
- Chun, P. K. (2014). *The BRICs Superpower Challenge: Foreign and Security Policy Analysis*. Seoul: Ashgate Publishing.
- Clarence-Smith, W. G. (1985). *The Third Portuguese Empire, 1825-1975: A Study in Economic Imperialism*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Cohen, S. P. (2004). *The Idea of Pakistan*. Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Cohen, S. P. (2013). *Shooting for a Century: The India-Pakistan Conundrum*. Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Cook, S. A. (2018). *Neither Friend Nor Foe: The Future of U.S.-Turkey Relations*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations.
- Crahan, M. E., & Castro, S. (2016). *Cuba-US Relations: Normalization and Its Challenges*. Bloomsbury: Institute of Latin American Studies.
- Danish, S. (2009). *US Counter Proliferation Strategies Post 9/11: Implication for Pakistan*. London: South Asian Strategic Stability Institute.
- Davis, L. E. (2015). *The Cold War Begins. Soviet-American Conflict Over East Europe*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Dee, M. (2015). *The European Union in a Multipolar World: World Trade, Global Governance and the Case of the WTO*. Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan.

- Deshpande, S. (2015). *Two Decades of Re-Emerging Russia: Issues and Challenges*. Delhi. KW Publishers.
- Destradi, S. (2012). *Indian Foreign and Security Policy in South Asia: Regional Power Strategies*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Dicken, P. (2003). *Global Shift: Reshaping the Global Economic Map in the 21st Century*. New Delhi: SAGE Publications.
- DiFilippo, A. (2012). *US-Japan-North Korea Security Relations. Irrepressible Interests* Oxon: Routledge.
- DiNardo, R. L. (2005). *Germany and the Axis Powers from Coalition to Collapse*. Kansas: University Press of Kansas.
- Dinkel, B. J. (2018). *The Non-Aligned Movement: Genesis, Organization and Politics (1927-1992)* Berlin: BRILL.
- Duiker, W. J., & Spielvogel, J. J. (2006). *World History, Volume 1*. Belmont: Thomson Wadsworth.
- Dunaway, W. A. (2003). *Emerging Issues in the 21st Century World-system: New theoretical directions for the 21st century world-system*. Virginia: Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Eliaeson, S., Harutyunyan, L., & Titar, L. (Eds.). (2015). *After the Soviet Empire: Legacies and Pathways*. Leiden BRILL.
- Ferguson, N. (2005). *Colossus: The Rise and Fall of the American Empire*. London: Penguin Books Ltd.
- Ferguson, N. (2012). *The Pity of War*. London: Penguin Books Limited.
- Finucane, A. (2016). *The Temptations of Trade: Britain, Spain, and the Struggle for Empire*. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Frankel, F. R. (2020). *When Nehru Looked East: Origins of India-US Suspicion and India-China Rivalry*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Friedman, G. (2010). *The Next 100 Years: A Forecast for the 21st Century*. New York: Allison& Busby.
- Gaddis, J. L. (2006). *The Cold War: A New History*. Westminster: Penguin Books.
- Gardner, H. (2007). *Averting Global War: Regional Challenges, Overextension, and Options for American Strategy* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Goldberg, H. J., & Libbey, J. K. (1993). *Documents of Soviet-American Relations* (Vol. 5). Washington DC: Academic International Press.
- Gopal, P. S., & Mancheri, N. A. (2013). *Rise of China: Indian Perspective*. Atlanta: Lancer Publishers.
- Graebner, N. A., Burns, R. D., & Siracusa, J. M. (2010). *America and the Cold War, 1941-1991: A Realist Interpretation*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO.
- Grover, V., & Arora, R. (1999). *World Community and Indo-Pak Relations*. New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publications.
- Gummett, P., Boutoussov, M., Farkas, J., & Rip, A. (Eds.). (1996). *Military R&D after the Cold War: Conversion and Technology Transfer in Eastern and Western Europe* Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Halperin, B. S. (2004) *War and Social Change in Modern Europe: The Great Transformation Revisited*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hametz, M. (2005). *Making Trieste Italian, 1918-1954*. Woodbridge. Suffolk: The Boydell PRes
- Hardt, J. P. (1961). *The Cold War Economic Gap: The Increasing Threat to American Supremacy*. New York: F. A. Praeger.
- Hellmann, D. C. (1976). *China & Japan: a new balance of power*. Maryland: Lexington Books.
- Henig, R. (2006). *The Origins of the First World War*. London: Routledge .
- Herken, G. (2014). *The Winning Weapon: The Atomic Bomb in the Cold War, 1945-1950*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Heydarian, R. J. (2015). *Asia's New Battlefield: The USA, China and the Struggle for the Western Pacific*. London. Zed Books.
- Hildebrandt, R. (2009) *US Hegemony: Global Ambitions and Decline*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

- Hill, C. (2007). *Managing a Multilevel Foreign Policy: The EU in International Affairs*. (P. Foradori, P. Rosa, & R. Scartezzini, Eds.) Lanham: Lexington Books.
- Hiro, D. (2010). *After Empire: The Birth of a Multipolar World*. New York: Perseus
- Hiro, D. (2015). *The Longest August. The Unflinching Rivalry between India and Pakistan*. New York: Nation Books.
- Hiro, D. (2019). *Cold War in the Islamic World: Saudi Arabia, Iran and the Struggle for Supremacy*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Hobsbawm, E. J. (2008). *On Empire: America, War and Global Supremacy*. London: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group.
- Hoffman, P. T. (2017). *Why Did Europe Conquer the World?* New Jersey. Princeton University Press.
- Holloway, D. (1996). *Stalin and the Bomb: The Soviet Union and Atomic Energy, 1939-1956*. Yale University Press: New Haven
- Hopkins, J. A. (1948). *Diary of world events*. Indiana: National advertising company.
- Horn, M. (2002). *Britain, France, and the Financing of the First World War*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press.
- Housden, M. (2014). *The League of Nations and the Organization of Peace*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Howorth, J. (2014). *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union* (2nd ed.). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Howson, R., & Smith, K. (Eds.). (2008). *Hegemony: Studies in Consensus and Coercion*. New York. Routledge.
- Hughes, L. S. (2015). *The Cuban Missile Crisis: A Critical Reappraisal*. London: Routledge .
- Inayat, M. (2004). *Implications of Pakistan's National Security Concerns for Pakistan's Attitude Towards South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC): 1985-2000*. Perth: Curtin University of Technology.
- Jacob, H. (2018) *Line on Fire: Ceasefire Violations and India–Pakistan Escalation Dynamics*. New Delhi: OUP India.
- Jain, S. B. (2000). *India's Foreign Policy and Non-alignment*. New Delhi: Anamika Publishers & Distributors.
- James, H., & Stone, M. (Eds.). (2013). *When the Wall Came Down: Reactions to German Unification*. London: Routledge.
- Jarrett, M. (2013). *The Congress of Vienna and its Legacy: War and Great Power Diplomacy After Napoleon*. London: I. B. Tauris.
- Jayapalan, N. (2001). *Foreign Policy of India*. New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and Distributors.
- Jerome, D. (Ed.). (2020). *Examining War and Conflict around the World*. Santa Barbara: ABC CLIO.
- Johnson, D., Mayne, R., & Tombs, R. (2004). *Cross Channel Currents: 100 Years of the Entente Cordiale*. London: Routledge.
- Johnson, M. (2013). *Militarism and the British Left, 1902-1914*. Hampshire: Springer.
- Jonas, M. (1966). *Isolationism in America, 1935-1941*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Jupp, V. (Ed.). (2006). *The SAGE Dictionary of Social Research Methods*. Thousand Oaks. Pine Forge Press.
- Kassim, Y. R. (2014). *The Geopolitics of Intervention: Asia and the Responsibility to Protect*. Singapore: Springer.
- Keersmaeker, G. D. (2016). *Polarity, Balance of Power and International Relations Theory*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kelkitli, F. A. (2017). *Turkish-Russian Relations. Competition and Cooperation in Eurasia*. Oxon: Routledge.
- Kelly, C. (2004). *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*. Cambridge : Harvard University Press
- Kennan, G. F. (1984). *The Fateful Alliance: France, Russia, and the Coming of the First World War*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

- Kennedy, P. (2017). *The Rise And Fall of British Naval Mastery*. Westminster: Penguin Books Limited.
- Kennedy, P. M. (1989). *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Kennedy, R. F. (1971). *Thirteen Days: A Memoir of the Cuban Missile Crisis*. New York: Norton.
- Kershaw, I. (2000). *Hitler, 1889-1936: Hubris*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Khan, F. H. (2012). *Eating Grass: The Making of the Pakistani Bomb*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Khanna, V. (2018). *Foreign Policy of India* (Seventh ed.). New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.
- Killingray, D., Lincoln, M., & Rigby, N (2004). *Maritime Empires: British Imperial Maritime Trade in the Nineteenth Century*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press.
- Kirisci, K. (2018). *Turkey and the West: Fault Lines in a Troubled Alliance*. Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Kissinger, H. (2014). *World Order*. New York: Penguin.
- Kozlowski, A. T. (2008). *Global Powers in the 21st Century: Strategies and Relations*. Michigan: MIT Press.
- Kugiel, P. (2017). *India's Soft Power. A New Foreign Policy Strategy*. London: Routledge.
- Kugiel, P. (2017). *India's Soft Power. A New Foreign Policy Strategy*. London: Routledge.
- Kumar, N. (2014). *Asia in Post-Western Age*. New Delhi: KW Publishers.
- Kurban, V. (2017). *Russian-Turkish Relations from the First World War to the Present*. New Castle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Kushner, B. (2007). *The Thought War: Japanese Imperial Propaganda*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Laffin, J. (1995) *Hitler Warned Us*. Berlin: Brassey's.
- Lai, H., & Lu, Y. (Eds.). (2012). *China's Soft Power and International Relations*. London: Routledge.
- Langenhove, L V (2010). *The EU as a Global Actor in a Multipolar World and Multilateral Environment*. Gent: Academia Press for Egmont.
- Lanteigne, M. (2015). *Chinese Foreign Policy. An Introduction* (3rd ed.). Routledge.
- Lee, S. J. (2003). *Europe, 1890-1945*. London: Routledge.
- Leebaert, D. (2018). *Grand Improvisation: America Confronts the British Superpower, 1945-1957*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Lehne, S. (2020). *How the EU Can Survive in a Geopolitical Age*. Brussels: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Levin, M. L. (2008). *The Next Great Clash: China and Russia Vs. the United States*. Westport: Praeger Security International.
- Li, M. (Ed.). (2011). *Soft Power: China's Emerging Strategy in International Politics*. Lanham: Lexington Books.
- Lieven, D. (2003). *Empire: The Russian Empire and Its Rivals*. Pimlico.
- Lindop, E. (2010). *America in the 1950s*. Minneapolis: Twenty First Century Books.
- Liverani, M. (1993). *Akkad: the first world empire : structure, ideology, traditions* (M. Liverani, Ed.) Rome: Sargon .
- Lostumbo, M. J. (2013). *Overseas Basing of U.S. Military Forces: An Assessment of Relative Costs and Strategic Benefits*. Rand Corporation.
- Magstadt, T. M. (2015) *Understanding Politics: Ideas, Institutions, and Issues*. Stamford: Cengage Learning.
- Malik, I. H. (2008). *The History of Pakistan*. Westport: Greenwood Press
- Maltby, W. S (2009). *The Rise and Fall of the Spanish Empire*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan
- Manghani, S. (2008). *Image Critique and the Fall of the Berlin Wall*. Bristol: Intellect Books.
- Mani, C. M. (2005). *A Journey Through India's Past*. New Delhi: Northern Book Centre.
- Mankoff, J. (2009). *Russian Foreign Policy. The Return of Great Power Politics*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Marchetti, R. (2016). *Partnerships in International Policy-Making: Civil Society and Public Institutions in European and Global Affairs*. London, UK : Palgrave Macmillan.

- Marks, R. B. (2007). *The Origins of the Modern World: A Global and Ecological Narrative from the Fifteenth to the Twenty-first Century* (2nd ed.). Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Martin, B. G. (2016). *The Nazi-Fascist New Order for European Culture*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Matthews, K. (2003). *The Gulf Conflict and International Relations*. London: Routledge.
- Mazarr, M. J., Priebe, M., Radin, A., & Stuth, C. A. (2016). *Understanding the Current International Order*. Santa Monica: Rand Corporation.
- Mazower, M. (2008). *Hitler's Empire: Nazi Rule in Occupied Europe*. London: Allen Lane.
- McAleavy, T. (1998). *Superpower Rivalry: The Cold War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McAllister, J. (2002). *No Exit: America and the German Problem, 1943-1954*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- McCormick, J. (2006). *The European Superpower*. London: Macmillan Education.
- McCormick, J. M. (2014). *American Foreign Policy and Process* (6th ed.). Boston: Cengage.
- McCullough, E. E. (1999). *How the First World War Began: The Triple Entente and the Coming of the Great War of 1914-1918*. Michigan: Black Rose Press.
- McNabb, D. E. (2010). *Research Methods for Political Science*. Armonk: M.E.Sharpe.
- Mieczkowski, Y. (2013). *Eisenhower's Sputnik Moment: The Race for Space and World Prestige*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Miller, A. L., & Wich, R. (2011). *Becoming Asia: Change and Continuity in Asian International Relations Since World War II*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Ming, W. (2015). *The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank: The Construction of Power and the Struggle for the East Asian International Order*. London. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mir, N. (2010). *Gwadar on the Global Chessboard: Pakistan's Identity, History and Culture*. Lahore: Ferozsons.
- Misra, A. N. (1980). *The Diplomatic Triangle: China, India, America*. India. Janaki Prakashan.
- Monteiro, N. P. (2014). *Theory of Unipolar Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press
- Morgan, M. J. (2009). *The Impact of 9/11 on Politics and War: The Day that Changed Everything?* New York. Palgrave, Macmillan.
- Morley, N. (2010). *The Roman Empire: Roots of Imperialism*. London: Pluto Press.
- Mueller, P. G., & Ross, D. A. (1975). *China and Japan, emerging global powers*. Santa Barbara: Praeger Publishing.
- Murray, S. (2004). *Atlas of American Military History*. New York: Infobase Publishing.
- Neiberg, M. S. (2017). *The Treaty of Versailles: A Concise History*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Neuman, W. L. (2014). *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (7th ed.). Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.
- Nordenstreng, K., & Thussu, D. K. (2015). *Mapping BRICS Media*. London: Routledge.
- Nye Jr., J. S. (2009). *Soft Power. The Means To Success In World Politics*. New York. PublicAffairs.
- O'Brien, P. (2003). *The Anglo-Japanese Alliance, 1902-1922*. London: RoutledgeCurzon.
- Ong, R. (2007). *China's Security Interests in the 21st Century*. Oxon: Routledge.
- Osiander, A. (1994). *The States System of Europe, 1640-1990: Peacemaking and the Conditions of International Stability*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Pant, H. V. (2011). *China's Rising Global Profile: The Great Power Tradition*. Sussex: Sussex Academic Press
- Parsons, T. (1999). *The British Imperial Century, 1815-1914: A World History Perspective*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Paul, T. V. (2014). *The Warrior State: Pakistan in the Contemporary World*. USA: OUP.
- Peters, R. (2006). *New Glory: Expanding America's Global Supremacy*. New York: Sentinel.
- Philip J Stern, C W (2014). *Mercantilism Reimagined: Political Economy in Early Modern Britain and Its Empire*. New York: OUP.
- Piehler, G. K., & Pash, S. (2010). *The United States and the Second World War: New Perspectives on Diplomacy, War, and the Home Front*. New York: Fordham Univ Press

- Piening, C. (1997). *Global Europe: The European Union in World Affairs*. Boulder : Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Pierce, A. (2005). *Apollo 13* Minneapolis: ABDO Publishing Company.
- Porter, B. (1987). *Britain, Europe, and the World, 1850-1986: Delusions of Grandeur*. Allen & Unwin Publishers.
- Porter, B. A. (2000). *When Nationalism Began to Hate: Imagining Modern Politics in Nineteenth Century Poland*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Porter, P. (2015). *The Global Village Myth: Distance, War, and the Limits of Power*. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Quataert, D. (2005). *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Radchenko, C. C. (2008). *The Atomic Bomb and the Origins of the Cold War*. New Heaven: Yale University Press.
- Raghavan, S. (2013). *1971: A Global History of the Creation of Bangladesh* Ranikhet: Permanent Black.
- Ray, J. L. (1983). *Global Politics* (2nd ed.). Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Rolland, S. E., & Trubek, D. M. (2019). *Emerging Powers in the International Economic Order: Cooperation, Competition and Transformation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rosenthal, L. (2014). *The New Nationalism and the First World War* London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ross, S. (2003). *Causes and Consequences of the Second World War*. 31. Evans Brothers .
- Runkel, M. C. (1925). *The reconstitution of the league of the three emperors in 1881* University of Wisconsin - Madison.
- Sagar, K. C. (1992). *Foreign Influence on Ancient India*. New Delhi: Northern Book Centre .
- Sattar, A. (2013). *Pakistan's Foreign Policy, 1947-2012: A Concise History* (3rd ed.). Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Scaife, M. (2004). *History: Modern British and European*. Letts and Lonsdale.
- Schmitz, D. F. (2006). *The United States and Right-Wing Dictatorships, 1965-1989*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Screpanti, E. (2014). *Global Imperialism and the Great Crisis: The Uncertain Future of Capitalism*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Sempa, F. P. (2011). *Geopolitics: From the Cold War to the 21st Century*. New Brunswick : Transaction Publishers.
- Shambaugh, D. (2013). *China Goes Global: The Partial Power*. New York. OUP USA.
- Sharma, R., Gorla, R., & Mishra, V. (2011) *India and the Dynamics of World Politics: A book on Indian Foreign Policy, Related events and International Organizations*. Chandigarh: Pearson Education India.
- Shuhfan, D. A., & Chih-shian, L. (2015). *China Dreams: China's New Leadership And Future Impacts*. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing Co.
- Sidhu, W. P., & Yuan, J. D. (2003). *China and India: Cooperation Or Conflict?* Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Small, A. (2015). *The China Pakistan Axis Asia's New Geopolitics* India: Random House India.
- Smith, D. (2008). *The Dragon and the Elephant: China, India and the New World Order*. Beijing: Profile Books.
- Smith, J. (1997). *The Cold War: 1945 - 1991*. Washington DC. Wiley-Blackwell Publishing.
- Smith, J. M. (2013). *Cold Peace: China-India Rivalry in the Twenty-First Century*. Washington DC: Lexington Books.
- Smith, P. J. (2015). *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire: Mercantilism, Diplomacy and the Colonies*. North Charleston. CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform.
- Smith, T. (2012). *A Pact with the Devil: Washington's Bid for World Supremacy and the Betrayal ...* New York: Routledge.
- Smith, W. D. (1982). *European Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. Chicago: Nelson Hall .
- Stebbins, R. A. (2001). *Exploratory Research in the Social Sciences* Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

- Steil, B. (2018). *The Marshall Plan: Dawn of the Cold War*. Oxford: OUP
- Sterling, E. W. (1940). *Imperial Rivalries and the Strategy of the British Empire, 1878-1904*. Iowa.
- Talbot, I. (2012). *Pakistan: A New History*. Columbia: Columbia University Press.
- Tharoor, S. (2011). *The Elephant, the Tiger, and the Cell Phone. Reflections on India, the Emerging 21st-Century Power*. New York: Skyhorse Publishing.
- Thompson, L. G. (2005). *Ta t'ung Shu. The One-World Philosophy of K'ang Yu-wei*. New York: Routledge.
- Tuathail, G. O., Dalby, S., & Routledge, P. (Eds.). (1998). *The Geopolitics Reader* London: Routledge Psychology Press.
- Tunsjo, O. (2018). *The Return of Bipolarity in World Politics: China, the United States, and Geostructural Realism*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Wasserman, S., & Faust, K. (1994). *Social Network Analysis: Methods and Applications*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Weissman, S., & Krosney, H. (1981). *The Islamic Bomb: The Nuclear Threat to Israel and the Middle East*. New York: Times Books.
- Weitsman, P. A. (2004). *Dangerous Alliances: Proponents of Peace, Weapons of War*. Stanford. Stanford University Press.
- Wettig, G. (2008). *Stalin and the Cold War in Europe: The Emergence and Development of East-West Conflict, 1939-1953*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Wilcox, W. A. (1964). *India, Pakistan, and the rise of China*. New York: Walker and Company.
- Yang, J. (2014). *China's Diplomacy: Theory and Practice* Singapore: World Century Publishing Corporation .
- Yesilada, D. M. (1916). *The Emerging European Union*. NY: Longman Publishers.
- Zakaria, F. (2008). *The Post-American World*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Ziring, L. (1997). *Pakistan in the twentieth century: a political history*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Zhu, Z. (2006). *US-China Relations in the 21st Century. Power Transition and Peace* London: Routledge.

