



NAME: ADNAN AKAKHIL

ID: 15924

SUBJECT: PAK STUDY

ASSIGNMENT: 01

LECTURER: MS. BEENISH SHUJA

DEPARTMENT: ARTS & DESIGN

Q1. A critical Analysis of Pakistan's foreign policy post 9/11?

ANS1. Pakistan's foreign policy after 9/11:

The foreign policy of Pakistan is shaped largely by geographical and historical considerations, by its political and social system, by virtue of economic dependence and military vulnerability, by its relative power position with reference to the adversary, by the policies of other countries and by the world contemporary environment. Historically, Pakistan's foreign policy was primarily focused on India, but the events of 9/11 made Pakistan a front-line State in defending U.S. interests in the region. The country had already suffered due to the Cold War; this new situation placed Pakistan in a position where it had to defend itself against the barrage of allegations and look for closer cooperation of friendly countries to avoid international isolation. Besides, it is also believed that the country's elites decided to support the U.S. because of their desire to receive economic and military assistance and also to gain political support to legitimize the then undemocratic regime of General Pervez Musharaf.¹ Given all that, Gen. Musharaf laid the foundation of a strategic partnership between the U.S. and Pakistan, and promised to cooperate on the issues of terrorism and to prevent nuclear proliferation.

Change in Afghan policy:

The events of 9/11 also made it impossible for Islamabad to continue its * The writer is Professor of International Relations, Department of Political Science, University of Peshawar, Peshawar. diplomatic support to Taliban in Afghanistan. Thus, Pakistan carefully evaluated the pro-Taliban policy, which was perceived to be costly, and changed its Afghan policy which was isolating the country within the entire region, both among its friends and foes. On the other hand, Pakistan had a fundamental national interest in Afghanistan's stability, unity and territorial integrity as decades of war had furthered terrorism and extremism which posed significant threats to Afghanistan's transition to a modern democratic State and to its fragile economy. Similarly, General Ashfaq Parvez Kayani, Chief of Army Staff, during his visit to Brussels (Belgium), made it clear that Pakistan has a traditional stand on Afghanistan and that is the well-being of the people of Afghanistan. He said, —We cannot wish for Afghanistan anything that we don't wish for Pakistan. Pakistan is making a significant contribution to the socio-economic development of Afghanistan as peace and prosperity of the two countries could only be ensured through their economic progress.

Change in Kashmir policy: The events of 9/11 and the global war on terror not only changed the fundamental fabric of Pakistan's foreign policy, but also complicated Pakistan's diplomatic stance on the Kashmir dispute. The new situation made it difficult for Pakistan to provide diplomatic and moral support to Kashmiri indigenous freedom movement as the circumstances provided India an opportunity to project it as —Islamic militancy and to gain sympathies of the international community. Subsequently, in an effort to handle the matter diplomatically, President Musharaf addressed the nation on September 20, 2001. He said that: Our main concerns are they [USA] can be hurt and harmed. And they can also devastate our main power, our main cause, Kashmir ... They are to see what the intentions

of our neighboring countries are. They [India] have offered all their military facilities to the United States. Very conveniently, they [India] have offered their logistic support and all their facilities to America. They want that America should come and side them and they want Pakistan to be declared a terrorist State, and thus damage our Kashmir cause. The government under President Musharraf defined the parameters for Kashmir struggle and pledged that —no organization will be allowed to indulge in terrorism in the name of Kashmir and strict action will be taken against any Pakistani individual, group or organization found involved in terrorism within or outside the country. At the same time, Musharraf also asserted Islamabad's commitment to Kashmir struggle and said: —Kashmir runs in our blood. ... We will continue to extend our moral, political and diplomatic support to Kashmiris. We will never budge an inch from our principled stand on Kashmir.

Change in India's policy: The history of Pakistan-India relations is full of distrust since independence in 1947. Both the countries have fought three wars (1948, 1965, and 1971) and also have had hostilities in Kargil in 1998. The outstanding issues such as Siachen, Sir Creek, Kishanganga Dam and above all the core issue of Kashmir have remained unsettled to date. On top of it all, the situation is alarming because of the presence of nuclear weapons in both the countries. Their relations received a serious blow after the suicide attack on Indian parliament in December 2001; and got further worsened after the Mumbai carnage in November 2008. India referred to the Mumbai attack as —India's 9/11 and described the city as a hub of commercial and entertainment activities and a symbol of modern India. New Delhi blamed Pakistan for the terror incidents and was ready to attack Pakistan, but Islamabad denied the charges and matched India's military moves. Tensions between the two countries were defused with the help of the international community, particularly the U.S, as hostilities between the two countries could have had a negative impact on Pakistan's efforts in the war on terror. Demands were also made that Pakistan should stop supporting groups operating in Kashmir like the Lashkar-e- Taiba (LET). Pakistan assured India that it would extend full cooperation to unearth the Mumbai conspiracy, but that also did not stop India from severing the ongoing dialogue process with Pakistan. The U.S. expressed disappointment on this Indian decision. Voicing the Pakistani desire to restart the dialogue process with India, former Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani appeared on India's CNN-IBN and said that —Pakistan and India must not be held hostage to the Mumbai attack because the beneficiaries will be terrorists and dialogue is the only best solution.

Pakistan's place in the regional and international system: Pakistan has been actively involved in international affairs both within and beyond the South Asian region. The country has continued its partnership with the United States and the industrialized Western world based on strategic affinities and common interests in economic and trade affairs. In this regard, Dr.Abdul Hafeez Shaikh, Finance Minister of Pakistan, elaborates Pakistan's economic foreign policy objectives and mentions that —as a set of commitments, those objectives constitute the broad aspirational tenets of the country's approach to its economic development and, if consistently adhered to, it will render the policy predictable and in line with our perception of the kind of nation we seek to be, and the kind of world we wish to live in. Thus, there must be one yardstick which is the quality of economic development and that is the only useful policy tool.

To fight terrorism: Immediately after the attacks on the Twin Towers, Pakistan strongly condemned and unequivocally declared that terrorism is never sanctioned by Islam. A prominent Pakistani religious scholar, Mufti Nizamuddin Shamzai, condemned terrorists' activities, and while giving an interview to the New York Times, he said: —It is wrong to kill innocent people and it is also wrong to praise those who kill innocent people. Another Muslim scholar, Shaykh Hamza Yusuf, also stated that —terrorism is a perversion of religion, and those who attacked the Twin Towers have also hijacked the faith. In this context, Pakistan's decision to fight against terrorism marked the beginning of a new era in Pakistan-U.S. relationship. President Bush also made it clear that taking U.S.-Pakistan relationship on a higher plane was one of his administration's highest priorities. After Musharaf, the new civilian government under President Asif Ali Zardari also made it clear that —democratic government will not let terrorism to hijack the country's foreign policy and voiced his government's commitment —to pursue a full international agenda against terrorists. U.S. Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, also praised the —valuable Pakistani cooperation in fighting extremism and said that Pakistani leadership has —recognized that standing firm against the threat was important for the country's future. She further said: —The horrific events of September 11 have required a broad-based, long-term strategic support from Pakistan and the civilian government in Islamabad has contributed more meaningfully towards the unprecedented global effort to prevent terrorism.

Q2. CPEC: prospects and challenges?

ANS2. 1. Introduction: In the seventy years history of Pakistan, the initiation and launching of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (C-PEC) is a significant economic activity that has been truly termed as s "game changer". Since the fall of Dhaka that led to the creation of Bangladesh in 1971, Pakistan has been continuously struggling to regain its position on the economic front. One after the other several internal and external conflicts and issues that surrounded Pakistan unwillingly, including, Soviet invasion in Afghanistan, Iran Iraq war, Kuwait war, Iraq war, continuous turbulence in Afghanistan for the last four decades, intermittent escalation of tension with India on Kashmir issue, nuclear tests by India and Pakistan, political instability in Pakistan due to military rule , and continuous, mostly uncontrolled, population growth, have been the major causes that did not allow the planners to frame and implement any long-term sustainable economic policy that would have helped Pakistan regain its economic status [2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7]. The One Belt One Road (OBOR) Initiative and the launching of C-PEC in 2013, when the official MoU was signed between China and Pakistan, has emerged as a strong ray of hope for Pakistan to regain its lost economic strength. The C-PEC aimed to connect western regions of China and Pakistan through integrated investments in energy, trade, and communication. The C-PEC is going to enhance trade activities through Pakistan between China and the Middle East, Africa and Central Asia. The corridor will be a strategic game-changer in the region and would certainly bring long-term opportunities for Pakistan to become a richer and stronger economy. This paper provides an overview of the present and future opportunities for economic growth of Pakistan, especially Balochistan for which comprehensive long-term planning in urgently and essentially required. The paper also identifies the focus areas for effective economic development and the available natural resources in Balochistan for a profitable business. Such businesses are recommended to be initiated as joint ventures of local people of Balochistan and Chinese companies so that the real benefit of development percolated down to the deprived communities.

2. Focus Areas of Technology for Pakistan: According to the latest biennial report of the US National Science Foundation and the National Science Board, China has gained the status of second-largest R&D spender in the world, accounting for 21% of the of approximately \$2 trillion, which is next to the United States (26%). The rate of increase in R&D spending is the point of particular interest. R&D budget in China grew at the rate of 18 percent a year between 2000 and 2015, that is more than four times faster than the United States' rate of four percent. It is almost definite that by the end of 2018, China will be the largest spender on R&D in the world. This should be of interest to not only Pakistani policymakers, but also to the policymakers of the neighboring countries of China. Pakistan is required to train as many people, especially youth, from its rapidly growing population as it can, using both indigenous and foreign institutions. In the context of the latest growing anti-immigration and anti-Muslims sentiments in the United States, China may be an attractive alternative for Pakistani youth. It is a general perception in Pakistan that most of the C-PEC projects are in two sectors: energy and highways. But in reality, C-PEC projects are mostly about technology. New technologies are bound to be embedded in the C-PEC projects. With fast-paced technology developments, it is evident that in near future only technologically sound nations will be able to survive honourably. The future economic growth of a nation will depend on the confluent use and applications of big data, artificial intelligence, and connectivity; hence Pakistan is required to take initiatives in these focus areas. Therefore, it is imperative for Pakistan to initiate academic and research programs with the help of Chinese institutions to train as many Pakistani youths as possible in the five focus areas of; 1) artificial intelligence, 2) robotics, 3) renewable energy, 4) agriculture and 5) biotechnology.

3. Major Areas of Current Activities in Pakistan: At present a major portion of the funds under C-PEC are allocated to the projects in the following seven areas; 1. Construction of highways and railway tracks 2. Development of Gwadar port 3. Energy generation projects 4. Establishment of industrial zones along the C-PEC route (Fig.1) 5. Laying down of pipelines for oil and gas transmission 6. Cyber networking and telecommunication 7. Water supply projects for industrial and municipal use (mostly in Balochistan) All projects require technology development and human resource development. Therefore, it is imperative for Pakistan to create and strengthen proper infrastructure and facilities at R&D organizations and universities in Pakistan so that the future demand of technologies technologists, scientists and engineers are met. The list of C-PEC projects and their current statuses are tabulated in tables 2 to 6. The energy and power generation sector comprised of 18 projects, the overall progress varies from 15 to 75% while a few are completed, table 2. The transportation and communication infrastructure including eight projects, the overall progress varies between 15-70%, table 3. Six projects are related to industrial cooperation and ten projects to Gwadar Port with nominal progress on all of them, table 4 and 5. There are ten Special Economic Zones have been planned to establish in different parts of the country, the feasibility studies and technical evaluation is under progress on all the projects, table 6. Considering the present rate of development work under C-PEC, it has been estimated that the GDP of Pakistan is expected to experience an annual increase of about 2.5 percent by the year 2030 whereas ca.700,000 jobs are expected to be created in next 10 years. Most of the jobs shall be in the Energy, Communication (Highways and Railways) and Port Development sectors.

4. C-PEC and the Local Communities in Balochistan: The rural communities in Balochistan take pride in their traditions, culture and the natural environment. They are well aware of the natural resources, agriculture, forests, rangelands, watersheds, biodiversity and mineral deposits of the province, however, the harsh living conditions like aridity, depleting groundwater resources, periodic droughts, overgrazed and degraded rangelands, low productive livestock, and rugged terrain are the

major hurdles in their advancement. The government departments, both provincial and federal, have been largely unable to mitigate desertification, deforestation, de-vegetation of rangelands and recharging of the groundwater resources. The province needs an integrated developmental approach in which all stakeholders including government departments, politicians, civil society leaders, community elders and local NGOs are to be brought on one page to take maximum advantage of C-PEC for community development. The western route of the C-PEC has excellent potential for the developmental projects. For a sustainable development harmonized with local communities, the developmental activities should involve local communities through a consultative process. It's imperative to bring the rural communities into the mainstream by transforming and empowering them in decision making. The empowerment of communities in developmental activities may initiate from project identification to implementation and from operation and maintenance to project's ownership. The rural communities are dependent on their surrounding environment and natural resources. The small-scale farming, orchards, livestock grazing, limited mining and fishing in coastal areas may improve the community's economic conditions. In some cases, these said economic activities and occupations have already been melded by the natural climate and availability of surface and groundwater resources. The sustainable management, conservation, and protection of water resources is an important factor for the physical, social and economic endurance of rural communities. The impact of climate-induced changes in Balochistan are obvious but are not scientifically understood. The relevant government departments, R&D organizations, and universities may get benefit from the Chinese experience through C-PEC to address and resolve these issues. One of the major challenges is the protection and conservation of groundwater resources.

5. Focus Areas for Balochistan: Despite being resource-rich, contributing more than 40 percent to the country's energy requirement in the form of electricity, natural gas, and coal, Balochistan is still the most underdeveloped province of Pakistan. There are multiple reasons and justifications for the slow development of Balochistan and each one has counterarguments [2, 5, But the bottom-line fact remains unchanged that people of Balochistan are lagging behind in the race towards better socioeconomic conditions and lifestyle. After a long wait of more than seventy years, the C-PEC is the first ray of hope for the people of Balochistan to prosper. In order to take advantage of this unique opportunity, it is necessary to move forward without indulging into the unending discussions on the background and history of the political, geographical, tribal and social conflicts that kept Balochistan away from the mainstream of development path in the past. With this context, five major focus areas of natural resources are proposed here for initiating new projects table 7. The focus areas projects are comprised of minerals, coal deposits, and construction materials, which are widely exposed along the new trade corridor. The proved oil and gas reserves are present in many parts of the province, even oil and gas seeps at the surface are known from a long time. The renewable energy resources including solar, wind and geothermal potential are extensively present. New projects are required to initiate the development of these natural resources. The management of the water resources is the sweltering issue of the province. The climate change has deteriorated the surface and groundwater balance. The different categories of droughts have become a permanent feature in one or the other part of the province. The groundwater table is depleting at an alarming rate in most of the river basins. The development of new water resources and management techniques are needed to apply for a sustainable supply of water.

6. Human Resource Development: Education and training of indigenous human resource are integral parts of all developmental activities. Human resource in all academic disciplines including engineering, medical, computer, social, business, and natural sciences will be required for C-PEC

projects in Balochistan. Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) in Balochistan are to be provided special funds to develop state of the art laboratories either independently or in collaboration with Chinese Universities. In Pakistan, the skilled labours constitute about 6% of the entire labour-force. The technical and vocational trade institutions are far less to meet the present and future demands in a broader context of CPEC. In Balochistan, the situation of primary, secondary and the technical and vocational training colleges and the institution is very grim. The number of technical institutions, student's enrolment capacity and the number of pass-outs figures are very low as compared to other provinces of Pakistan. Establishment of technical and vocational institutions are required on an emergency basis to fulfil the present and future demands in diverse technical and professional trades. Chinese language institutions are also required to be established for the skilled workforce to learn the Chinese language for a better workplace understanding with their Chinese counterparts.

7. Opportunities for Joint Ventures in Balochistan: A large number of high-cost projects like Industrial Zones, Power Generation Plants, Road & Highways Construction, Special Economic Zones etc. have been part of the C-PEC and are already in progress. However, small production units and business enterprises require more attention owing to its potential to contribute effectively. It can be anticipated that with the opening of commercial transport on C-PEC, a large number of heavy-duty trucks and trawlers will be carrying goods from China to Gwadar port. After getting unloaded these trucks and trawlers will have no or little goods available to take back to China. The traveling of unloaded large vehicles shall be a huge waste of time, fuel, and transport machinery. In order to save these losses, local industrial and production units may be developed by providing facilitation to local people and their relevant Chinese counterparts. It is proposed here that the local people may be identified and matched with relevant Chinese counterparts to develop joint ventures. Most of the areas of production and development identified in this paper are those whose products are already being exported to China through Karachi Port. Hence the demand for these products in China is already established and need not any further survey in China. Very little facilitation has been provided to match the local business community with their prospective Chinese counterparts to initiate joint ventures in Balochistan. One such meeting was organized (22nd August 2016) by Ministry of Industries and Production (Islamabad) in which business community belonging to Quetta Chamber of Commerce and Industry (QCCI) were invited. The ultimate result of this meeting is yet to come out, however, it is opinionated here that the business community of QCCI has very little to contribute at least at the current stage. This is because Quetta is part of the Western Route of the C-PEC, whereas, according to latest news appearing in press and media, most of the development work on C-PEC is currently concentrated on the Eastern Route of C-PEC. Geographically, the Balochistan part of the Eastern Route starts from Shahdad Kot in Sindh, crosses Kirther Mountains towards the west and passes through towns of Karkh, Khuzdar, Basima, Nag, Panjgor, Turbat and ends at Gwadar. An alternate route is from Khuzdar to Wadh, Bela, Winder, and then connects to Coastal Highway leading to Ormara, Pasni and ultimately Gwadar, figure 1. In either case, the town of Khuzdar is common on both routes. Therefore, the products proposed in this paper are considered viable as all kinds of transport for C-PEC shall be passing through Khuzdar. Additionally, the identified products are being produced either along the C-PEC route in Balochistan or in its immediate vicinity.

1. Saruna, District Khuzdar 2. Karkh, District Khuzdar 3. Nal, District Khuzdar 4. Basima, District Qalat. 5. Duraji, District Lasbela 6. Loi, District Lasbela 7. Gajri, District Lasbela 8. Shah-e-Noorani, District Lasbela 9. Yak Mach, District Chaghi 10. Dalbandin, District Chaghi 11. Nokundi, District Chaghi 12. Different localities in District Loralai, Ziarat, Quetta and Zhob.