

<b>Subject</b>	<b>Pakistan Studies</b>
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## **Q1. Explain the ideological rationale with special reference to Sir Syed Ahmad khan.**

### **WHAT IS TWO NATION THEORY- AN INTRODUCTORY PHASE:**

Two Nation Theory's phenomenon basically sprigged up with the advent of Islam in the Sub-Continent. The sense was very unique about Pakistan's creation that it was generally based on ideological commitments in the light of Islam. The basic concept behind Two Nation Theory was Muslims and Hindus was two separate nations from every expects, So It was the right of Muslim to had their own homeland in the Muslims majority areas of Sub-Continent, where they can live their life according the majestic teachings of Islam. And this concept was merely adequate in giving rise to two different political thinking which were responsible in partition of Sub-Continent.

### **Quaid said:**

“We should have a State in which we could live and breathe as free men and which we could develop according to our own lights and culture and where principles of Islamic social justice could find free play.”

The concept of Two Nation Theory was given by Islam because Islam has different characters and temperament. According to Islam, there are only two nations in the world; Believers and Non-Believers.

### **HISTORY OF TWO NATION THEORY:**

The history of Two Nation was as old as the Muslims in India. Although the Muslims and Hindus had been living together for centuries in the sub-continent, but they never tried to progress a working relationship between each other and they always lived as a two separate nations, two discrete social systems, two separate cultures and two different civilizations. There was always a concept of two nations (Hindus and Muslim) after the advent of Islam in the Subcontinent. But, it was converted in to a theory after the war of Independence 1857. Sir Syed Ahmed khan is considered as a Father of Two Nation Theory. First time Syed Ahmed Khan realized that Muslim and Hindus cannot live together and considered Muslims as a separate nation and demanded a distinct homeland where the Muslims can practices their way of living according to Islam.

Ideology of Pakistan took form through an evolutionary process. Historical experience provided the base, with Sir Syed Ahmad Khan began the period of Muslim self-awakening and started to aware the Muslims for modern education after Muslim downfall in South Asia under the Hindu majority, Allama Iqbal provided the philosophical explanation to Sir Syed's idea and Quaid-e-Azam supported and converted the theory in to a practical work and transformed it into a political reality.

### **COMPARISON BETWEEN MUSLIMS AND HINDUS IN THE EYES OF TWO NATION THEORY:**

There was such a huge difference between Hindus and Muslim society. The major difference was of religion. Muslims were believed on the oneness of God and Hindus worshiped many gods. Their way of living, their religious festivals was totally changed. Muslims believed on the equality of men while on the other hand Hindus were divided in to different cast. In spite of living together for a long time, the Muslims and Hindus were incapable to coexist and cooperate with each other. This comparison played a great role for the Two Nation Theory to be existed in sub-continent.

### **TWO NATION THEORY BEFORE THE MUSLIM DOWNFALL:**

Muslims were governing the India for many of the years. It is true that there was no such theory when Muslims were ruling over the India. There were no such concept of majority and minority when Mughal Emperors had a power. When British influence was increased there, so that was the time of Muslim downfall in India. As the Muslim downfall occurred, then there was a time of Two Nation Theory. This possibly could be for the independence from the British rule but, it is very clear that Two Nation Theory came just after the Muslim downfall in India.

### **WAR OF INDEPENDENCE-1857:**

It is very clear that after the Muslims downfall in South Asia, British were ruled over it. So, the war of Independence was considering an attempt by the people of Sub-Continent to remove the British rule from their homeland. But that try was failed. And this affected all the communities living there in Sub-Continent. Both the Nations; Hindus and Muslims took a part in war of Independence. Some provinces like Punjab and Deccan were not in favor to support this war but they did partially try to join this war of Independence. Some sepoys at Nowshera and Mardan tried to revolt.

The failure in this war causes a lot like political causes, economical causes, and religious causes, social and military causes. The Political causes including doctrine of lapse, Annoyance of rules and states, Confiscation of states and many more. Political causes like New Agrarian policy, Destruction of local industry, Permanent settlement, Unemployment. There are Religious causes too like Propagation of Christianity, Jihad Movement and Anti-Islamic laws.

British thought that Muslim was responsible for the War of Independence and therefore Muslims were accepted as insiders. On 11 May 1857, Bahadur Shah Zafar was declared publicly as the Emperor of India. Then the Delhi was ruled by the rebels and the Europeans, who took refuge

there, were massacred there. The killing of European soldiers continued and the number of people of east provinces joined the rebels. On July 1857, the tide turned and Nana Sahab was defeated at Fatahpur and later at Bithur. The British captured Bahadur Shah in September of 1857 and two sons of Bahaur Shah were killed by the British by the reason that the British residency at Lucknow was recaptured two days later.

The Sikhs and the Marhattas was sided the British and this act of Sikhs and Marhattas was possibly the main reason of failure. The East India Company was exterminated and the British Crown was continued to govern Sub-Continent. Then by the effect of this War of Independence, an Imperial Legislative Council was formed in British India. After this War of Independence, Both Muslims and Hindus were fought together and the time of Two Nation Theory started.

### **HINDI URDU CONTROVERSY:**

India was the birth place of India. But there were not only Muslims that used Urdu language but all the communities in India joined hands for the proliferation and progress of that new language. Then some of the prominent Hindu leaders started the movement against the Urdu and their demand was to replace the Urdu from Hindi. This situation made the Muslims to come out in order to protect the importance of Urdu language. This language controversy had a great impact on the life of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan because this, he was great supporter to Hindu-Muslim Unity. Hindi Urdu Controversy was the starting of the space of separation between Hindus and Muslims which will gradually increase and that was a day when both the Nations felt that they were separate from each other.

### **TWO NATION THEORY AND SIR SYED AHMED KHAN:**

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, a great Muslim leader and a great philosopher. Every time, Muslims was forced by Sir Syed to get modern education. Sir Syed was a first man in Sub-Continent history to introduce a word "TWO NATION" for Muslims and Hindus and introduced an idea to become a pioneer of Two Nation Theory. Syed Ahmed Khan tried his level best for the Muslims comprehend their differences with the Hindus with many expects including religion, social, language, and international

identity and for this reason he diverted attention of the Muslims towards Two Nation Theory.

The possibly main reason for which Sir Syed introduced this theory is the downfall of Muslims, Muslims Hindus controversy, language problem, and the hatred by Hindus and British upon Muslims of South Asia. Due to Hindu Muslims non acceptance behavior, Syed Ahmed Khan realize that the both Nations cannot live together any more. During the Hindu Urdu Controversy, he came forward with Two Nation Concept and declared that Muslims were a separate Nation. He said:

"I am convinced now that Hindus and Muslims could never become one nation as their religion and way of life was quite distinct from each other."

## **Q2. Write a short note on China Pakistan economic corridor (CEPEC).**

### **Introduction**

China-Pakistan Economic Corridor is a framework of regional connectivity. CPEC will not only benefit China and Pakistan but will have positive impact on Iran, Afghanistan, India, Central Asian Republic, and the region. The enhancement of geographical linkages having improved road, rail and air transportation system with frequent and free exchanges of growth and people to people contact, enhancing understanding through academic, cultural and regional knowledge and culture, activity of higher volume of flow of trade and businesses, producing and moving energy to have more optimal businesses and enhancement of co-operation by win-win model will result in well connected, integrated region of shared destiny, harmony and development.

China Pakistan Economic Corridor is journey towards economic regionalization in the globalized world. It founded peace, development, and win-win model for all of them.

China Pakistan Economic Corridor is hope of better region of the future with peace, development and growth of economy.

### **Explanation**

China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), massive bilateral project to improve infrastructure within Pakistan for better trade with China and to further integrate the countries of the region. The project was launched on April 20, 2015 when Chinese President Xi Jinping and Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif signed 51 agreements and Memorandums of Understanding valued at \$46 billion. The goal of CPEC is both to transform Pakistan's economy—by modernizing its road, rail, air, and energy transportation systems—and to connect the deep-sea Pakistani ports of Gwadar and Karachi to China's Xinjiang province and beyond by overland routes. (Xinjiang borders the countries of Mongolia, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India, and the ancient Silk Road ran through its territory.) This would reduce the time and cost of transporting goods and energy such as natural gas to China by circumventing the Straits of Malacca and the South China Sea. The announcement of joint space and satellite initiatives between Pakistan and China, spurred by CPEC, followed in 2016. CPEC is part of the larger Belt and Road Initiative—to improve connectivity, trade, communication, and cooperation between the countries of Eurasia—announced by China in 2013. CPEC has been compared to the Marshall Plan for the rebuilding of post-World War II Europe in its potential impact on the region, and numerous countries have shown interest in participating in the initiative.

## **Projects**

CPEC-Energy Priority Projects

CPEC Infrastructure Projects

CPEC Gwadar Projects

CPEC Rail Based Mass Transit Projects

CPEC New Provincial Projects

CPEC Special Economic Zones (SEZs)

CPEC Western Route Projects

PEC Social Sector Development Projects

CPEC & Related Projects Under Public Sector Development Program (PSDP)

Cross Border Optical Fiber Cable Project

Pilot Project of Digital Terrestrial Multimedia Broadcast (DTMB) Project

### **Q.3. What are the leading factors to Muslim separatism?**

#### **Factors leading to Muslim Separatism:**

There are a few factors which split the inhabitants of the sub-continent into two nations.

#### **RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCE**

The Muslims and Hindus have different religious. Islam preaches Tauheed and believes in equality of man before law. Muslims are believed of ALLAH, Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H). The Holy Book holds a cohesive approach towards life. Whole the Hindus follow the religion which is based on the concept of multiple Gods. They follow a caste system and the society is divided into four classes

#### **HINDU NATIONALISM**

A number of Hindus nationalism movement which spring up from Time to time addict fuel to the fire by playing up the tension which already existed between the two communities. The nationalist leaders totally ignored the great contribution made by Muslims by way of promoting education and other social activities. They failed up the criminal discord to further polite the political conditions.

#### **CULTURE DIFFERENCE**

Muslims follow an Islamic culture while Hindus follow self-built culture. Muslims bury their dead ones while Hindus burn them. Both Hindus and Muslims trade have totally opposite culture.

#### **SOCIAL DIFFERENCE**

There exist a number of social differences between the Hindus and Muslims. The food, their clothing, words and salutations, the gestures are totally different.

#### **ECONOMIC DIFFERENCE**

After 1857, Muslims economy was crushed and all the policies were formed in such a way so as to destroy the Muslims ambition. They were thrown out of Government services and their estate and properties were confiscated. However the Hindus were provided ample opportunities to make program.

#### **FREEDOM**

In the subcontinent the Muslim leaders were foreseeing the future of Muslims that when British government will leave subcontinent Hindus will try their best to get charge all over subcontinent and at that time they will openly remove Muslim community by killing them so they put the demand of a separate homeland where they can lead their life according the teachings of Islam and also with the great freedom. Self-respect and dignity Hindus always hated Muslims and they never want Muslims to get success in any field of life .British government played a vital role in keeping Muslims backward by eliminating all job vacancies in subcontinent. Hindus tried to rape

Muslim women and tried to kill them so the self-respect of Muslims was badly damaged in subcontinent .It was necessary for them to demand for a separate homeland where they have complete free atmosphere to live a perfect religious life with perfect self-respect and dignity.

### **EDUCATIONAL DIFFERENCE**

The Hindus had advanced in educational field because they readily acquired English education. The Muslims were not able to acquire modern knowledge so they lacked behind in education.

### **POLITICAL DIFFERENCE**

There were many political differences which gave both to the partition of India. Political Differences The political differences between the Hindus and Muslims have played an important role in the development and evolution of Two Nation Theory.

#### **(i) Hindi Urdu Controversy**

In 1867,Hindus demands that Urdu should be written in Hindi Script instead of Persian script. This created another gap between Hindus and Muslims.

#### **(ii) Congress Attitude**

The Indian national Congress was founded in 1885.It claimed to represent all communities of India but oppressed all Muslim ideas and supported the Hindus.

#### **(iii) Partition of Bengal**

In 1905,the partition of Bengal ensured a number of political benefits for the Muslims, but the Hindus launched an agitation against the partition and partition was annulled in 1911.

### **LANGUAGE**

Hindus and Muslims have different languages. The Muslims and Hindus wrote and spoke two different languages .The language of the former was Urdu and it was written in Arabic Script. On the other hand ,the Hindi language was spoken by Hindus and it was written in Sanskrit. Urdu and Hindi language had the difference in writing, thoughts of poetry, arts, painting and words of music .Even this small difference lead to stirring conflict between the two nations.

### **CONCLUSION**

The Muslims apprehended that they would lose their identity if they remained a part of Hindu society. They also came to realize the above mentioned differences between them and the Hindus and hence demanded separate electorate on the ground that they were different nation from Hindus. Hence it is right to say that this theory i.e. two nation theory is the basis of the creation of Pakistan because without this as a base, Pakistan would not come into being on 14th August ,1947,and we would not be breathing freely in this open air of Pakistan

## **Q4. What do you know about the culture of Indus valley civilization?**

### **Introduction**

The Indus Valley Civilization began in 3250 BC and reached its extinction in 1500 BC, making it down in history as one of the world's longest surviving civilizations.

### **RELIGION**

The Indus Valley religion is polytheistic and is made up of Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism.

There are many seals to support the evidence of the Indus Valley Gods. Some seals show animals which resemble the two gods, Shiva and Rudra. Other seals depict a tree which the Indus Valley believed to be the tree of life. The tree was guarded by a spirit to keep the evil forces away from the tree. The guardian was portrayed by many animals such as bull, snake, goat, or any other mythical creature or animal. The evil force is represented by a tiger. One seal shows a figure sitting in a position that may be similar to a yoga pose and is thought to be an early representation of a Hindu God.

The Indus people worshipped a Father God who may have been the forefather of the race. Figurines found led the scholars to believe that the Indus people worshipped a Mother Goddess symbolizing fertility.

They worshipped fertility symbols which were round or pierced stones, a practice that was performed before the worship of Shiva and Parvati in the form of Sivalinga. They may have believed in magical rituals, charms and amulets and also demons and spirits.

A figure of a male god in a seated posture carved on a small stone seal was found. The figure has a white steatite head and bust, clothed in a robe that is placed over the left shoulder, short beard with no moustache, hair cropped and parted in the middle, wearing a necklace, eyes half shut. This was considered as a sacred symbol. The Sun was regarded as one of the greatest gods. Another seal shows a horned figure surrounded by animals such as the deer, antelope, rhinoceros, elephant, tiger and buffalo. The horned figure is called Pashupati which means the lord of the cattle. Pashupati is similar to the gods, Rudra and Shiva.

Swastikas are a sacred symbol for good luck. The Indus Valley people practiced a form of yoga and meditation. The Indus Valley people built bathhouses and practiced ritual bathing. The great bath of Mohenjo-Daro was probably a proto type of a kovil or sacred tank found mostly in ancient temples in southern India where people may have performed important rituals for special occasions.

During the early days of their culture, the Indus people buried their dead. Afterwards, they conducted cremations and kept the ashes in urns. They may have believed in life after death after the discovery of pottery items and ornaments in the burial grounds.

## **INDIGENOUS DEVELOPMENT AND CULTURAL INFLUENCE**

Although the religion of the Indus valley and their social practices were very unique to the countries around them, the people of the Indus valley did have some influences from their neighbors India and in particular Persia. Although many cultures developed due to contact with other civilizations such as Sumer and Egypt that were wealthy and progressive for the time the Indus valley flourished by themselves. Although religious practices were of Hindu basis, the Indus valley added and developed new traditions and elements of their religion making something particularly traditional their own.

The Indus valley was also one of the first civilizations to develop irrigation and farming systems, as well as developing farming to produce mass materials. The Indus valley also developed a form of tax, which involved the giving of grain as a base of economy which was seen as superior and very original of the time.

The Indus valley developed very well indigenously. The people of the valley strategically avoided the rest of India's destruction, fighting and confusion that came with their shared religious practices, devising and developing their own ideas and methods to progress in a sustainable and peaceful way.

They avoided these destructive outside influences, by the use of palaces and gathering places as a well-rounded and open place of religious practices rather than monumental statues and tombs that tended to cause controversy. The Indus valley also made sure to not link religion and warfare together to keep peace and avoid uprising, another prominent key to their success.

### **Politics and Class**

There was a leader but there wasn't much governing. In most cases the people of the Indus Valley went by according to their religion. No evidence of monuments were built for the memorial of their governors, therefore it is not certain whether or not Indus had governments, but through research and archaeology there was one person in the Indus Valley who carried seals (which signified power) and wore ornaments of rare material, and that person is currently considered as the leader (not a government).

### **How did it help?**

- \* There was no big war over who would govern the peoples.
- \* Indus Valley citizens had more freedom
- \* Streets, houses as well as facilities were built
- \* There weren't a lot of military goods of offence, so the Valley was considered peaceful
- \* The city's leaders wasn't chosen through blood, but through their capability or ruling a monarchy

### **How it didn't help?**

- \* Other nations came invading and there was no one to lead the citizens.
- \* People was sometimes at lost with no one to look up to or follow
- \* There wasn't much control over trading with other nations
- \* No evidence of an alliance was formed so when Aryans maybe invaded, the Indus Valley lost

Social class:

If there was governing in the Indus Valley, then the leaders of the Indus Valley were probably kings, scholars and priests of Brahmin Indo-Iranian descent.

People were born into social classes that could not be changed:

- Brahmins (priests and the king)
- Kshatriyas (warriors and rulers)
- Vaishyas (cultivators, artisans, and merchants)
- Shudras (peasants and serfs)

All men of the cities and the nearby areas did not enjoy social and economic equality. Those who lived in the upper portion of the cities near the forts formed a ruling class. This ruling class dominated over the workers and peasants from these forts. The respect to the social life of the Indus people, it is suggested by scholars that there were strong family organizations among them. The craftsmen taught their crafting skills to their children then The toys were used by children of the family. The large number of seals engraved with letters conveys the idea that there was good percentage of literacy among the Indus people. The sanitary system and also the drainage system speaks of their cleanliness and public hygiene

The caste system was a major impact on the class structure within Indus River Valley civilization. It was a variety of different levels displaying social class and status. If you were to build towards the highest level in the caste system, you were required to complete your Dharma (guidelines and goals based within your caste system) while at the same time obtaining good karma (karma meaning spiritual energy based on the law and cause of effect determined by your actions).

## **What Led to Their Downfall?**

No one really knows what happened to the Indus Valley civilization but listed below are some popular theories and conclusions of how their ways and attitudes towards life may have affected their downfall.

- Invading Aryans - Skeletons in the city of Mohenjo-Daro may be evidence of an Aryan massacre. However, there is piling evidence against this theory.
- Famine - The Indus Valley people heavily relied on produce of their agriculture and usually had many surpluses of food. If there were to be a few bad seasonal harvests, this could have forced them to move away for better land.
- Shifting river courses - This may have led to people deserting some cities.
- Climate change - Around 2000 BC some major climatic changes started occurring in the Indus Valley. This may have led to serious flooding in plains and cities
- Ecological degradation - Loss of nutrient in the soil would have greatly affected their crops and caused famine.
- Decrease in trade with Mesopotamia - Trade was an essential part of their economy, but probably not so crucial that they would die out as a civilization.
- Tectonic uplift - The movement of tectonic plates may have caused many coastal cities to become landlocked, and this in turn could also have affected their trade.
- Faded away rather than extinguished completely - Perhaps there was no major event or disaster than completely ended the civilization, and they just decided to move on and move out. But for what reason, for they had seemingly been surviving so well and peacefully for so long?

## **Q5. Write a descriptive note on Pakistan current foreign policy.**

Pakistan's Foreign Policy seeks to protect, promote and advance Pakistan's national interests in the external domain.

The Foreign Ministry contributes towards safeguarding Pakistan's security and advancing Pakistan's development agenda for progress and prosperity following the guiding principles laid out by our founding fathers.

### **Guiding Principles**

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the Founder of Pakistan and its first Governor General, in a broadcast talk to the people of the USA in February 1948, outlined the following goals of Pakistan's foreign policy:

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

The Constitution of Pakistan also lays down guidelines for the conduct of foreign policy of the country. Article 40 of the constitution provides that:

“The State shall endeavor to preserve and strengthen fraternal relations among Muslim countries based on Islamic unity, support the common interests of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, promote international peace and security, foster goodwill and friendly relations among all nations and encourage the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means.”

The foreign policy of Pakistan is primarily directed to the pursuit of national goals of seeking peace and stability through international cooperation. Special emphasis is laid on economic diplomacy to take advantages offered by the process of globalization as also to face challenges of the 21st century. Our foreign policy is also geared to project the image of the country as a dynamic and moderate society.

The foreign policy of Pakistan seeks to promote the internationally recognized norms of interstate relations, i.e. respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States, non-interference in the internal affairs of other State; non-aggression and peaceful settlement of disputes. Pakistan has therefore always sought to develop friendly and cordial relations with all countries of the world.

## **Foreign Policy Objectives**

In light of the guiding principles laid down by the founding fathers and the constitution as also aspirations of the people of Pakistan, the objectives of foreign policy can be summarized as under:

- Promotion of Pakistan as a dynamic, progressive, moderate, and democratic Islamic country.
- Developing friendly relations with all countries of the world, especially major powers and immediate neighbors.
- Safeguarding national security and geo-strategic interests, including Kashmir.
- Consolidating our commercial and economic cooperation with international community.
- Safeguarding the interests of Pakistani Diaspora abroad.
- Ensuring optimal utilization of national resources for regional and international cooperation.

## **Pakistan Foreign Policy Under Imran Khan**

Since coming to office last year, Pakistan Prime Minister Imran Khan has had a full plate of issues to contend with in foreign policy, be it managing the international aspects of his country's manifold domestic challenges, coping with changes in key individual relationships, and managing Pakistan's international reputation which has come under greater scrutiny in recent years. This is occurring amid a series of other wider developments, including continued India-Pakistan tensions and growing U.S.-China competition.

Before Imran Khan could even begin, Pakistan had come to face one of its worst economic crises. He realized that as long as Pakistan was absorbed with the Afghanistan crisis, the United States kept putting pressure on Pakistan, and the India-Pakistan relations remained antagonistic, the economic situation would remain weak sabotaging his vision of a Naya (New) Pakistan. So, he began mending fences with Afghanistan and the United States. He also extended a hand of friendship to India.

India ignored Imran Khan's overtures, but there has been a visible progress on other fronts. He had a successful visit to Washington. The relations have not been reset as he had hoped but at least the decks have been cleared for a possible reset. The Arab countries in the Gulf responded positively for his request for economic help. The relations with China continue to progress. He showed an extraordinary leadership in handling two of the worst foreign policy challenges – Pulwama and the Kashmir situation. He has proven himself to be 'made for crisis' leading from the front as he did in cricket. He has shunned rhetoric and focused largely on diplomacy thus avoiding the risk of war. He has overall rehabilitated Pakistan's international standing.

Pakistan is enjoying political stability, and the internal security has vastly improved. There is no threat to the government from the military as each has found shared interests in other's objectives. Imran Khan campaigned on the anti-corruption platform accusing for years the leadership of PML (N) and PPP of "robbing the wealth of the nation." The military had its own

reasons for opposing this leadership, corruption and mismanagement being one of them. You cannot maintain a strong defense establishment on a weak economy.

The military has found Imran Khan appealing. His anti-corruption campaign would clean up the traditional political leadership and warn the future leadership, his sincerity and commitment to change might help improve Pakistan's governance and economy, and his nationalism would align him with the military's foreign policy priorities. And with a popular political face especially among the youth, the military may gain a cover for some of its priorities needing public support.

In the time ahead, the government will have to meet tough IMF conditionality's creating economic difficulties for the people and political challenges for the government. Also challenging will be the continuing presence of jihadists and issues of governance. This will test collaboration between Imran Khan and Pakistan's military.

Getting to individual key relationships, one item that has been dominating the headlines of late is India's move on Kashmir. In your view, how has the Imran Khan government handled this issue thus far, and how does this affect the broader trajectory of ties between India and Pakistan more generally given the exchanges we have seen thus far, including on no-first use?

By revoking article 370 and 35A of the Indian Constitution, Modi has taken away Pakistan's special status. Kashmir's special status and the UN resolutions had offered international community a locus standi to play a role in the resolution of the dispute.

By denying Pakistan this redress, India has left Pakistan no choice but to resort to bilateral means of pressuring India such as restricting the relationship. India too will respond specially along the Line of Control injecting tensions in the relations. Kashmiris may find armed resistance as the only way out now. And jihadists could get a new lease of life increasing the chances of terrorist incidents. All this will enhance the risk of war. India is already walking back India's nuclear no first use policy. And Pakistan military has upped the ante by expressing support for Kashmir's independence.

Imran Khan has unleashed a global diplomatic offensive beyond the international media which has also censured India's move, especially condemning the continued lockdown and communications black out that has created a colossal humanitarian crisis. Through Pakistan's own diplomacy and China's help, the UN Security Council (UNSC) met for first time in 50 years. Yet again Imran has avoided bluster, threats, and war rhetoric and shown mature leadership.

Before Imran Khan's visit to Washington last July, the U.S. had followed a simple policy. The U.S. had a policy on India, on China, on Afghanistan, and on combating jihadists. The policy on Pakistan was essentially derivative of these four policies. And its impact was negative as the U.S. brought all the leverage these policies gave into service against Pakistan – including suspension of security assistance, obstacles to the International Monetary Fund deal, threats against the China Pakistan Economic Corridor, and use of the Financial Action Task Force – to seek Pakistan's help in extricating itself from Afghanistan. Pakistan shifted its position by forcing the

Taliban to be flexible and Washington also changed its tack. The White House visit was a reward. And then followed the shaping of the U.S.-Taliban deal we have been hearing about.

The U.S. policy of compellence must now give way to a proper policy as it needs continued cooperation with Pakistan not only to resolve the Afghanistan situation but also to get Pakistan's help in fighting the transnational terrorists like al-Qaeda and ISIS and its own jihadists. Pakistan's nuclear assets and their safety also remain a national interest for Washington as stability in South Asia is one of its goals. From Washington's perspective, Pakistan should not be left entirely dependent on China.

Pakistan has longstanding and close ties with China. Imran Khan's government is further deepening them. Prior to his coming to power, Pakistan's relations with China had come to be seen with skepticism in certain quarters. Pakistan's growing debt crisis and falling foreign exchange reserves had triggered a concern that China was using financial leverage to put itself in favorable economic position. Imran Khan also had some concerns about the priorities of CPEC. China has managed to assuage both these concerns.

Relations with China will be the key strategic relationship for Pakistan around which other big power relations will be structured. And CPEC remains a bedrock of Pakistan's hope for economic recovery. But Pakistan does not want to put all its eggs in the Chinese basket. U.S. will likely support China-Pakistan relations to some degree as it has important security interests in Afghanistan and Pakistan shared by China. China needs stabilization of Afghanistan for the sake of BRI's success. And both have shared interest in Pakistan's fight against the jihadists. So there will be U.S.-China limited convergence in a sense. All this might be an incentive for Washington not to rock the China-Pakistan relations lest it result in broader configurations such as a China-Pakistan-Iran axis.

The 21st century's unstable power balances, the emerging bipolar US-China rivalry, and the post-9/11 security challenges have impacted South Asia. Pakistan is strategically vital because of its location at the crossroads of Afghanistan, Russia, China, India and Iran. It could benefit from its location or be caught in the crossfire as South Asia becomes an arena for shifting and overlapping coalitions among regional and global players.

Pakistan will be in the eye of a developing storm as it faces on one side prospects of failure of Afghanistan, and on the other continued pressures from an assertive and dominant India while it continues to cope with its internal challenges. Of particular note are Pakistan's own struggle against terrorism and extremism, and efforts at stabilization of economy and strengthening of democracy.

Successful navigation of all these challenges by Pakistan would require good relations with all big powers. Pakistan also needs to maintain the current balance between the relations with Iran and Arab countries. Improvement in relations with neighbors becomes an economic and political necessity for Pakistan if it is serious in benefiting from its geographic location by serving as a corridor for trade, and energy. Whether for survival or progress Pakistan's foreign policy will have to find a balance between addressing its external security challenges and meeting its development needs at home.