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Section: A
Pak Study’s Assignment ..
Assignment No.1 and 2 ..

Assignment No.1

A critical analysis of Pakistan’s Foreign policy post 9/11 ..

****Since its emergence in 1947, Pakistan has had to face daunting crises and challenges. The aftershocks of 9/11 have impacted on Pakistan severely necessitating radical revisions in some of its key foreign policy goals.. On 9/11, that fateful day, Pakistan faced the worst dilemma of its life. It did not know which way to go, and which way not to. Its options were limited and bleak.

-- At the diplomatic front, the US was quick to mobilize international support for building an “international coalition” to combat terrorism.
No nation had any choice in its relationship with the United States. The option was a stark “black or white.”  In the words of a senior Administration official: “You’re either with us or against us.”

-- The signals to Islamabad were both tough and ominous. Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was also quoted as having warned Pakistan that it must decide whether “it is a friend or an enemy.”

The Reckoning:

Pakistan was thus under tremendous pressure to comply with the US demand to sever its relations with the Taliban and to assist in apprehending Osama bin Laden.

-- In practical terms, however, Pakistan was required to do much more. It was asked to seal its border with Afghanistan, cut off fuel supplies to the Taliban, and block any activities or movements of Al-Qaida members.

-- Although Islamabad did not seem to have any other option, It was all done in the “best national interest,” the government claimed.

-- President Musharraf in his own authority and “wisdom” not only rolled back the “controversial” policy of support for the “oppressive and reactionary regime” in Afghanistan but also decided to become part of the evolving US “strategic end-game” in the region. He gave the American forces complete access into Pakistani territory, and started a full-fledged war against terrorism in his country.

The Trade-Off:

In October 2001, substantial US aid began flowing into Pakistan. Direct assistance program included aid for health, education, food, “democracy promotion,” child labour elimination, counter-narcotics, border security and law enforcement, as well as trade preference benefits.

-- In 2003, a five-year US $3 billion aid package was announced for Pakistan to be disbursed in annual instalments of $600 million each commencing from FY 2005, which is split evenly between military and economic aid. Besides extending grants to Pakistan totalling $1 billion during the first three years after 9/11, the US also wrote off $1 billion in debt. In June 2004, President Bush designated Pakistan as a major non-NATO ally of the United States, a move that in all respects was more symbolic than practical.

-- According to the Economist, “the biggest political threats to Mr. Musharraf come from militant religious groups hiding in rebellious areas such as the western province of Baluchistan.” Indeed, President Musharraf walks a fine line; he wins respect abroad for helping the war on terror and sustaining talks with India over the disputed province of Kashmir, “but such moves have earned him few allies, not to mention the assassination attempts from al-Qaida.”

The Geo-politics:

The challenge to Pakistan’s foreign policy resulting from its “***moment of reckoning***” is manifold and not without serious implications for its long-term geo-strategic security and economic interests. It cannot change its geography, nor escape from the fallout of this volatile region’s turbulent political history.****

****-- It must accept and deal with all realities, pleasant or unpleasant, in its neighbourhood. This requires consistent vigilance and careful conduct of its relations not only with its immediate neighbours but also with the major global powers which now have enormous stakes in the stability of this region.****

****Located as it is at the confluence of some of the most important but volatile regions of the world, Pakistan enjoys an unrivalled relevance as a factor of regional and global stability.  Its strategic location was pivotal to the global dynamics of the Cold War era making it a major player in dismantling what the free world once called the “evil empire” of the former Soviet Union.****

****Since its independence, Pakistan’s foreign policy has been marked by a complex balancing process in the context of this region’s turbulent political history, its religious heritage, its geo-strategic importance, its untapped economic potential, and the gravity and vast array of its problems with their impact on the global security environment.****

****The India-Pakistan adversarial equation with all its ramifications has had a fundamental impact on Pakistan’s foreign policy, on its security perception, on its domestic situation and on its international relations. The two countries have fought wars and have remained perennially locked in a confrontational mode with ever-escalating military budgets at the cost of their peoples’ socio-economic wellbeing.

The Afghan Nettle:

“It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in; and particularly that it be made safe  for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression. All the peoples of the world are in effect partners in this interest, and for our own part we see very clearly that unless justice be done to others it will not be done to us.”****President Woodrow Wilson:***Fourteen points Speech***to Congress, 8 January 1918.****

****No doubt, Pakistan found itself in this unenviable situation because of the protracted turmoil in Afghanistan and its alleged “association” with the Taliban. But one must also ask why and how Afghanistan came to be linked to the tragic events of 9/11. The answer lies in the way the international community had treated Afghanistan ever since the end of the Cold War through ostracism, indifference and neglect.****

 ****It would be historically inaccurate to circumscribe the Afghan crisis within the context of the 9/11 tragedy alone. The truth is that Afghanistan has been in a state of crisis for over two decades. It is a crisis, however, which changed the course of history, but at tremendous costs to the Afghans themselves.****

****For decades, the people of Afghanistan had been the victims of a foreign occupation and a long fratricidal civil war. Instead of promoting inter-factional peace and reconciliation through a non-discriminatory approach and a policy of engagement, the world community deepened the Afghan chasm by resorting to punitive and partisan measures.****

****The Dilemma:****

****In the aftermath of 9/11, Pakistan is once again a frontline state, and a pivotal partner of the United States in its war on terror. As a battleground of this war, Pakistan could not escape the fallout of the crisis in the form of a heavy toll on its already volatile socio-economic environment as a result of protracted violence, instability, displacement, trade and production slowdown, export stagnation, investor hesitation, and concomitant law and order situation.****

****This was the beginning of another painful chapter in Pakistan’s turbulent political history. In the blinking of an eye, Pakistan was abandoning its decades old policy and orientation. It had become the centre of world attention after the 9/11 as a major player in the war on terror and was seen both as a source of the problem as well as the key to its solution.****

****Pakistan’s dilemma did not end there. On the one hand, it is being continuously blamed by the Karzai government for allegedly harbouring Taliban “insurgents,” while on the other, it faces unending criticism from the US “for not doing enough” to secure its borders and arrest Taliban leaders, including the elusive Mullah Omar.

The Image:

The sum-total of Pakistan’s post-9/11 foreign policy is its new identity on the global radar screen as the “hotbed” of religious extremism and terrorism, and its frontline role as the “ground zero” of the war on terror, which has not only made it the focus of world attention and anxiety but also forced it to make difficult choices in its perennial struggle for security and survival as an independent state.****

****President Musharraf has himself acknowledged publicly on several occasions that Pakistan now has a serious image problem which needs to be addressed by “moderating” its national culture and behaviour.****

****There could not have been a gloomier depiction of a country today than what the Economist in a recent Pakistan-focused survey wrote: “Think about Pakistan, and you might get terrified. Few countries have so much potential to cause trouble regionally and worldwide. One-third of its 165 million people live in poverty, and only half of them are literate. The country’s politics yo-yo between weak civilian governments and unrepresentative military ones currently on offer under Pervez Musharraf, the president and army chief, albeit with some democratic wallpapering.”

Assessments such as these may be biased but they are not entirely inaccurate. It is ironic that Pakistan, which has played so formidable a role in the fight against global terror, should be pilloried for extremism. A lot has to do with its tarnished image. This can be altered through far-reaching reforms to ensure a return to genuine and inclusive democracy rooted in the will of the people, constitutional supremacy, rule of law, institutional integrity, a culture of political consistency and a civilianized body politic.

The Scourge:***“***Terrorism poses the most urgent threat to many countries, including the most powerful states. For many of us, the terrorist threat is close and personal. Terrorism threatens Pakistan’s vital national interests and objectives. We have thus participated actively in the unprecedented campaign against it. Pakistan has led the way in this campaign. Our counter-terrorist campaign is ongoing.” President General Pervez Musharraf; Address to UN General Assembly, September 22, 2004****

****Terrorism is the new scourge afflicting our world and a phenomenon that transcends all boundaries which, in recent years, has affected the political, economic and security environment of all regions, countries and societies. Unfortunately, the war on terror has not gone beyond retribution and retaliation.****

****According to  UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, terrorism is the product of what he once described as “a broader mix of problems caused by bad governments, opportunistic politicians and militant leaders who exploit grievances”. He may have changed his mind now but at one time, he also believed that “when there are no legitimate means of addressing the massive and systemic political, economic and social inequalities, an environment is created in which peaceful solutions often lose out against extreme and violent alternatives.”****

****Here again a dispassionate appraisal is required into the causes of violence and extremism so that prescriptive measures can be determined. Instead of using military force against its own people, the government must engage them politically through the country’s political and tribal influentials. It must seek to build bridges of peace and harmony within its society, and promote an environment of mutual tolerance and accommodation through better education, national confidence building and reconciliation.

The Composite Dialogue:

While the world was focusing on the post-9/11 campaign against terrorism, India, in a blatant show of brinkmanship, moved all of its armed forces to borders with Pakistan and the Line of Control in Kashmir. Intense diplomatic pressure by the US and other G-8 countries averted what could have been a catastrophic clash between the two nuclear-capable states.****

****President Musharraf showed utmost flexibility in resuming dialogue with India after declaring a cease-fire along the LoC in November 2003 with several mutual confidence building measures, including Pakistan’s assurances of not letting its territory to be used for any terrorist activity or cross-border infiltration. In January 2004, India and Pakistan resumed their composite dialogue which had been disrupted by the Kargil crisis in 1999.

The Crunch:

In the post-9/11 scenario, terrorism-related problems afflicting Pakistan have placed it on the global radar screen, giving it the unenviable distinction of being one of the epochal “frontlines of the war on terror.”  The world watches Islamabad with anxiety and concern as it seek to correct its image. Pakistan’s crucial role in this campaign complicates its tasks, both at home and at regional and global levels.****

****Islamabad’s problems are no doubt complicated by the current regional configuration with the Americans sitting in Afghanistan, the new ominous Indo-US nexus, India’s resultant strategic ascendancy in the region, its unprecedented influence in Afghanistan with serious nuisance potential against Pakistan, the Baluchistan unrest and the Waziristan turmoil. Pakistan’s borders on all sides are no longer peaceful. The country is going through one of the most serious crises of its independent statehood.****

****The world’s major powers also need to recognize that under a democratically elected civilian government and with stable institutions strictly adhering to their constitutional roles, more effective and more appropriate partner of the free world in pursuit of common goals and in defence of shared values.****

****In Pakistan’s external relations, it could best serve its interests by following Hafiz Shirazi’s advice for “kindness to friends”, “courtesy to enemies” with equal faith in Allama Iqbal’s message of “self-pride, self-confidence and dignity.” Pakistan needs a low profile foreign policy with greater focus on domestic consolidation.

Assignment No. 2 \_\_

CPEC: Prospects and Challenges ..

Prospects \_\_****The China Pakistan economic corridor is an ambitious project that aims at changing the geo-economic dynamics of Pak-China relations and augmenting the trading activity in the region. It anticipates economic growth, meeting the energy shortfall requirements, employment generation, foreign direct investment, infrastructure development, promotion of tourism and others. The multi-billion project offers a long term investment in Pakistan involving the regional countries as well. However, the project is being challenged by domestic controversies and external opposition. In this scenario if these challenges are effectively tackled, it may lead to economic interdependence that would be climacteric for peace and economic development for the region.

The vision behind CPEC is to improve the lives of people of Pakistan and China by building economic cooperation, logistics and people to people contact for regional connectivity. Moreover, it includes integrated transport and IT system, communication channels, agricultural developments and poverty alleviation. Furthermore, it incorporates tourism, financial cooperation, Human Resource Development and others.

After the completion of the corridor, it will become a primary gateway for trade among China, Africa and the Middle East. It is expected that this corridor will help cut the 12000 kilometers route. There are myriads of benefits of CPEC , that are stimulating the hope for bright future of the corridor, the journey would not be without hurdles as there are several intrinsic and extrinsic challenges that are an impediment to the churning out of CPEC.

If CPEC is properly managed, it will be a game changer for Pakistan. It has brought the largest ever foreign direct investment in the country. During President Xi’s visit to Pakistan, both countries signed agreements of 46 billion dollars. This would provide a boost to Pakistan’s ailing economy as Pakistan is under heavy debt. According to Finance Minister Ishaq Dar, the current debt is 73 billion dollars. Each year, a huge chunk of the budget goes to debt servicing. In the fiscal year 2016-17, debt servicing was around 25% of the budget. Therefore, CPEC would help Pakistan in becoming economically self-sufficient. According to rough estimates, CPEC will create 700,000 jobs. The government is hopeful that through this investment they will be able to add the required electricity to the national grid which will end the shortfall of electricity in Pakistan. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in a public address assured that by the end of 2018, not only would load shedding be ended but surplus would also be available. Furthermore, CPEC includes restructuring of the decades old railways network keeping in view modern standards. It also includes motorways, highways, industrial zones, economic zones and airports, etc. throughout the country.

CPEC provides the shortest route to China. The distance from the traditional Chinese route which passes through the Indian Ocean, Strait of Malacca and South China Sea is around 13,000 km. On the other side, the distance between Gwadar to Kashgar, Xinjiang province is around 3,000 km. Therefore, CPEC provides easy access to China and cuts down travelling time from 45 days to 10 days. Freight charges would also be lower than those in the traditional route.

CPEC is also a safe option for China. Shanghai port is not only far away but that route can also hinder the smooth supply of fuel. Because of the ongoing dispute in South China Sea between China and South Korea, Japan, Malaysia, Vietnam and Brunei, clashes might occur in future and the route could be disturbed. Other than that, there is constant presence of US ships in South China Sea. The US in cooperation with the rivals of China may trouble China. Trans-Pacific Partnership (TTP) with these countries is a pact of the strategy to counter growing Chinese dominance, particularly economic. Therefore, CPEC is a cheaper and secure option for China for its long term goals.

It can also fulfill the needs of regional states and provide transit trade facility to the landlocked Afghanistan and Central Asian states. Sea trade is comparatively inexpensive than other modes of transportation. For these purposes, Gwadar port can facilitate transportation to these landlocked states. Pakistan has also offered CPEC access to Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, etc. They have showed willingness to participate and benefit from the project. These states can access CPEC through Afghanistan. It would not only be beneficial for these Central Asian Republics (CARs) but for Pakistan as well. CARs could get easy access while Pakistan would earn through transit fee. Landlocked Afghanistan would also benefit from the CPEC and be able to access the port as well as earn transit charges from the goods moving to Central Asian Republics. It can also change the fate of Afghanistan.

This project will integrate the region economically and create interdependence. It will make the region more connected and peaceful ultimately. In Europe, one country has been fighting another throughout history, even in World Wars I and II. That continent has been a theatre of war in the past. However, after the application of the theory of regional integration, European Coal and Steel Community was established which led to the creation of European Union. The idea behind this was that once the warring countries became economically interdependent, it would compel the states to maintain peace rather than to go to war. In the same way, CPEC would forge economic interdependence which would promote peace in the region.

Challenges\_\_

The major threat to the CPEC project is political instability in the country that has become a serious problem in Pakistan. Political firmness is Pre-requisite for the economic growth and development of the country. Uncertainty is ahead of Pakistan political crisis. No Prime Minister could hold the office for 5 years since, after the independence 1947. Nawaz Sharif's disqualification could set up a spell of political instability in Pakistan. Resultantly security issues and political instability arise in Pakistan leading to military interference in the state affairs getting ground for a military coup. Thus political uncertainty unless not done away with, would continue to remain a challenge for the CPEC projects' implementation progresses.
"CPEC all investment will be withdrawn if there is any Political turmoil in the country"

The third major obstacle to implementation progress of CPEC is an institutional imbalance. Pakistan is a country where the military has ruled for around 35 years out of 70 years of her life. Throughout all the three martial law regimes, the constitution of Pakistan was abrogated, suspended or held in abeyance. Presently, the CPEC is facing tremendous security challenges. In order to guarantee a secure environment for the CPEC development, the military is expanding its power. This phenomenon significantly affects the civil military relations and civilian control over the military that is challenging the process of democratic transition. The need has arisen that the military should be kept aside from the interfering in the political matters of the country. So that the government might make policies for the in the way people want.

The fourth serious challenge which CPEC is facing is inter-provincial grievances. It is alleged that Punjab gets lion's share in CPEC projects at the cost of other provinces. It fashioned rifts between the federal government and the provinces. The major conflict was "The route change" KPK government demurred that the Federal Government wants to build eastern route first which passes through the central Punjab, despite the fact that eastern route is longer than western route which would be more costlier. In this connection, Punjab province would get the most benefit, depriving other provinces their due share. China urged Pakistani leaders to resolve issues over CPEC project. Minister for inter-provincial co-ordination Riaz Pirzada said that CPEC is crucial for the country, it should not be made controversial by saying that the entire country and all the provinces would benefit from it, particularly backward areas of KPK and Baloachistan.

Fifth major challenge towards implementation of CPEC is the unrest in balochistan province. Due to the fact that Gwadar port is located in province of balochistan the ongoing insurgency in the provinces poses crucial challenges to the success of CPEC project. Consequently, the benefits of CPEC investment can be accurately measured if its impact on terrorism can be calculated.

International Challenges:

Apart from domestic challenges, CPEC project implementation is facing several international challenges as well.

The first and foremost external challenge to the corridor is India’s belligerent attitude towards CPEC. Indian felonious demand is that Gilgit Baltistan is a disputed territory, therefore; route of CPEC passing through that territory is unjustified (illegal). Another considerable concern within India is that she sees Gwadar a deep-sea port as a part of China's “string of pearls” basis that extends from its eastern coast to the Arabian Sea. China is also developing ports in Sri-Lanka and Bangladesh.( that are considered a potential military challenge to India). India perceives that in future China can block sea access to India by burgeoning such ports. Consequently, India is unhappy with the development of CPEC and trying to sabotage CPEC by playing its card in Balochistan. The Recent arrest of Indian agent Kulbhushan Jadev testifies the involvement of India in Balochistan in particular and in Pakistan in general.
The second challenge to the success of CPEC is Indo-Afghan nexus. Internal instability in Afghanistan remained unruly for Pakistan. The roots of almost all terrorist related activities are traced back to Afghanistan. Besides, India is making military bases in Afghanistan from where it carries out terrorist activities.
“RAW is operating from Afghanistan to sabotage CPEC”
General Zubair Hayat
This Indo-Afghan nexus is causing problems because of “Durand Line” that is a porous border.

The third major challenge in CPEC implementation is Chabahar port. Iran in cooperation with India is developing chabahar port. India is investing billions of dollars in this project so as to neutralize the potential of Gwadar port and curtail CPEC. It is in completion to Gwadar. But President Ruhani said, “Chabahar is not in competition to Gwadar rather both will complement each other.”
Fourth major obstacle is involvement of big powers. Two major powers United States and Japan appear to be excessively uneasy with the fruition of multi-billion dollar project. The US is making different policies to contain China. America considers rising China threat to its global dominance. Thus America is creating hurdles for Gwadar port, besides America perceives that Gwadar port could be used for the military purpose in future. As a part of the containment policy, America signed “strategic and economic partnership” with India. American support to India for the nuclear supplier Group (NSG) is also part of that partnership. Their cooperation is not the only challenge for China but for also for Pakistan. On the other hand, Japan is stressed because with the consumption of CPEC the distance amongst China and its trading countries would reduce by as much as 9000 kilometers that will have deep impact on Japan’s exports.

Despite formidable municipal and international challenges the benefits and prospects of CPEC are extensive that are likely to come to fruition. If CPEC is appropriately coped, it from all counts will prove a game changer; this project has potential to transform economic growth. Besides, it gives hope of having regional cooperation, transit, trade, energy transformation and others.

Firstly, the Pak-China economic corridor will boost the economy of Pakistan. Pakistan is under heavy debt. According to Finance Minister Ishaq Dar, “current debt on Pakistan is 73 billion dollars.” A report released by a think-tank of South Asian Investors says, that the multi-billion dollar project is expected to boost the country’s GDP growth rate to 7.5% during the period 2015–2030. According to International ratings institution Moody’s report China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), will increase industrial production and surge development work. CPEC is a 3,218-kilometer long route; the completion of the route will take several years, consisting of highways, railways and pipeline. Once China Pakistan Economic corridor is completed; it will open doors to immense economic opportunities not only to Pakistan but will physically connect China to its markets in Asia, Europe and beyond.

The End