Two assignments of sectional Marks 20

 Pakistan studies

1. A critical Analysis of Pakistan’s Foreign policy post 9/11
2. CPEC: prospects and challenges

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**ANSWER QUESTION NO:1**

 **FOREIGN POLICY:**

Foreign policy and foreign relations refers to how government deals with another countries. We also call it foreign affairs policy. Foreign policy includes such matters as trade and defense. The government choose it’s foreign affairs policy to safeguard the interests of the nation and its citizens.

 **Foreign policy,**general objectives that guide the activities and relationships of one state in its interactions with other states. The development of foreign policy is influenced by domestic considerations,the policies or behaviour of other states, or plans to advance specific geopolitical designs.

**Pakistan’s Foreign Policy:**

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 are also to face challenges of the first century.

 The foreign policy of Pakistan seeks to protect, promote and advance Pakistan’s national interests in external domain. Our foreign policy is one of the friendliness and goodwill towards other nations, which do not appreciate intrusive plan against any nation. It believes in the policy of honesty and fair play in national and international dealings made to promote peace among other nations. According to this policy Pakistan will never be found lacking support to oppressed and suppressed people of the world and in supporting the principles of United Nation Charter.

**Main Goals of Foreign Policy:**

**Citizens:**

Foreign policy’s main goal is the protection of its citizens. This applies to the country’s citizens while they are at home and abroad.

**Allies:**

Another goal is to contribute to the protection of the country’s allies. In other words, nations to which the country is mutually supportive and friendly.

**Threats and dangers:**

Foreign policy also focuses on protecting the country and its people from international threats and dangers.

**Main objectives of Foreign Policy:**

The objectives of foreign policy can be summarised 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 neighbours.
* Safeguarding national security and geostrategic interest, 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.
* Best relationship with Muslim countries.
* To help and support poor countries.

**Principles and features of Pakistan’s Foreign Affair Policy:**

Some basic principles and features of policy’s are listed below;

• Protection of freedom and sovereignty

• Friendly relations with Muslim countries

• Non-interference in internal affairs of other countries

• U.N charter implementation

• Promotion of world peace

• Non-alignment

• Support of self-determination and condemnation of racial discrimination

• Protection of independence & territorial integrity of Pakistan

• Relations with all states

• Relations with major powers

• Relation with United States

• Relation with China

 Since the last several decades, Pakistan remained involved in Afghan war and aligned itself with the U.S, before supporting Taliban who became powerful to rule Afghanistan in the 90’s. Pak- Afghan relation also remained at the hot water as a result of this western notion of Pakistan’s foreign policy dimension. The decision of joining the US-led alliance in the aftermath of the 9/11 has long impacted on Pakistan’s political, strategic, economic and social landscape. Pakistan’s relationship with the US remained as a marriage of inconvenience for long and had fraught relations for the past three decades or so. Pakistan became the non NATO ally and faced brunt of the terrorism more than any other country in the coalition against the war on terror, unleashed after the incidents. But these sacrifices and support in the War on Terrorism made by Pakistan have been overlooked by the successive US governments.

 The US and west has always asked Pakistan to do more and the accusations of deception, lies and providing safe haven to terrorists are few of the allegations that the US has continued to level, putting Pakistan into difficult situations. With recent motion, backed by the European nations, to put Pakistan on global terrorism financing watch list, there is another blow to the long time tough relations. Now it is time for Pakistan to have a constructive and balanced engagement with the US and west on equal, reliable and strong footing. Pakistan also needs competent Ambassadors in all the capitals of these countries of the west and US to put the case in a better manner, without having any political favours whatsoever. Apart from that, the new government needs to work with the military to help develop a political settlement with

 lasting peace in Afghanistan.

Pakistan also needs to look critically towards its engagement with India. Both states remained at loggerheads especially on the Kashmir dispute which requires both states to dialogue involving the wishes and aspirations of the Kashmiri people. Over the decades, various twists and turns and position change by Pakistani leadership on Kashmir dispute, has created mistrust and disappointment amongst the populace in the disputed region especially denting their just resistance movement. Now with the new emerging trends and changing regional dimensions, Pakistan, after standing firm on its Kashmir policy without compromising the sovereignty, should began positive engagement with India through trade and business cooperation.

**Pakistan’s foreign policy post 9/11**

**Introduction:** The catastrophe of September 11, 2001 has attracted the keenest interest of experts in the field of foreign policy to study the centrality of decisions taken by the states and other independent actors. The events not only transformed the global politico-security dimensions but also altered the South Asian geo-political and geo-security environment. The United States announced to attack Afghanistan and compelled Pakistan to play frontline state role in the war on terror. The present paper is intended to trace that how the September 11, 2001 terror attacks triggered the foreign policy crisis for Pakistan and what was the crisis foreign policy decision-making process in Pakistan? To answer the query, author has applied "Model of State Behavior in Crisis" proposed by Canadian born Political Scientist and crisis management expert Michael Brecher. The four-stage model effectively traced the crisis foreign policy decision making process in Pakistan, as it argues that the 9/11 terror attacks on t1 stage transformed the political and security environment at global and regional level. Immediately, after the attacks the U.S. designated bin Laden and al-Qaeda operating from Afghanistan culprits and President Bush introduced the "Bush Doctrine" to fight against global terrorism. In a televised speech to American nation he declared that from today the U.S. would not make any distinction between terrorists and those who harbor the worst evil of the day. To attack on Afghanistan the U.S. was desperately in need of Pakistan’s support and Washington threaten Islamabad to bomb back into Stone Age if it chooses to go along with the Taliban and al-Qaeda. Therefore, the top hierarchy in Pakistan perceived grave threats to core values/objectives of the country and simultaneous time pressure for response and high probability of military hostilities intensified the psychological stress in the leadership at t2 stage, which provoked the foreign policy crisis for the country. The crisis management process was initiated at the t3 stage which comprised the sources of information, decisional forum, consultation and consideration of alternatives. And, the foreign policy choice was made at the t4 stage, which diffused the foreign policy crisis.

9/11 altered he global order considerably. Many world’s states modifies their foreign policies. Pakistan being on the cross roads of territories where war and terror was ignited, Pakistan needed to reform its foreign policy particularly in context of the US and Afghanistan but unfortunately Pakistan became a part of this war against terrorism which badly affected Pakistan in all directions.

According to U.S, 9/11 was the ruinous event caused by Afghanistan based Al-Qaeda. This

 militant wing was led by Osama bin Laden, the host of Afghan Taliban government in 2001. At the refusal of Taliban to hand over Osama bin laden to U.S, the then President Bush launched a US-led international alliance against terrorism and invaded Afghanistan.

Pakistan being neighbor and an important strategic location in terms of war on terror brought up following major changes in its foreign policy;

 ▪ Pakistanpost9/11foreignpolicynomoreremainedIndia-centric.TheeventsinUSand Afghanistan carried much influence on its foreign policy making.

▪ Post 9/11 policy made the country a front line ally of the US in war on terror. In this wake though Pakistan didn’t send its troops to fight in Afghanistan but it had to provide its land routes, some air military bases in order to assist NATO forces.

 ▪ Pakistan’s foreign policy had to bring a change in dealing with Afghan government of Taliban. Previously, Pakistan was a favorable country to the Afghan Taliban government that came into power in 1996 but at the turn of the events the Taliban government lacked support from Pakistan.

▪ Post 9/11 policy brought Pakistan into the bloc of the US, keeping it disengaged with Russia and other Eastern powers. The relation with China however remained the same.

 During the scenario when war on terror is in its last phases in Afghanistan, Pakistan is once again reforming its foreign policy to exploit the regional and global politics into its national

 interest. Pakistan has following prospects in politics.

 ▪ Pakistan being the host of China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is going to gain economic and trade importance in the region.

▪ Pakistan has experience of combating terrorism which makes the country an experienced and dependable state in the region. It can share its experience with other countries to help them make peace

.

▪ Pakistan is still important in global politics as it will help the US troops to seek safe exit from Afghanistan.

▪ Globally Pakistan has sought appreciation for its fight against militancy. This will keep it engaged with global powers which can help to develop the country by sharing modern technology and education.

The study has applied the four stage "Model of State Behavior in Crisis" to trace the post 9/11 crisis foreign policy decision making process in Pakistan. It argues that ominous attacks on the United States by al-Qaeda and subsequent declaration of President Bush to fight against terrorism transformed the global and regional politico-security dimensions at t1 stage. Being a neighboring country, Pakistan’s support was inevitable in the war on terror and Washington applied coercive diplomacy to win the cooperation from Islamabad. Consequently, in case of decline to accept American demands, Pakistan perceived threat to basic values/objectives of the country and simultaneous time pressure amplified the psychological stress in decision makers at t2 stage. Therefore, the decisional forum was setup at t3 stage and Pakistan decided to join the United States at t4 stage, which defused the foreign policy crisis.

**ANSWER QUESTION:2**

 **CPEC:**

 **Introduction:**

The China Pakistan Economic Corridor (hereafter CPEC) is the flagship of China’s One Belt One Road (OBOR) initiative envisioned by president Xi Jinping in 2013 for the economic integration of Eurasia through belts and roads and other infrastructure initiatives. The OBOR is part of China’s grand strategy of its peaceful rise as a great power on the global stage through financial initiatives of $ 40 billion Silk Road Fund and the 57 members Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) to generate new growth engines along the New Silk Road with a win-win and cooperative approach.

The OBOR has two international trade connections namely the land based ‘Silk Road Economic Belt’ and oceangoing ‘21st -Century Maritime Silk Road; the CPEC is the part of the former one. With the former launch of CPEC between China and Pakistan in April 2015 by President Xi Jinping, the CPEC has got a status of “game changer” or “fate changer” and nationalistic fervor in the political, media and public discourses in Pakistan . The multibillion dollar (US$ 46 bn) CPEC is a network of roads, railway tracks, oil and gas pipelines, fiber optics for communication, dams, ports, airports and economic zones linking the Western part of China to the Gawadar Port in Balochistan, Pakistan running some 3000 km from Xinjiang to Balochistan via Khunjerab Pass in the Northern Parts of Pakistan.

Historically the Sino-Pakistan relations have remained more military- oriented, but it seems that a new beginning has begun to make the relationship more economic oriented focusing on trade, investment and energy cooperation. The CPEC has the potential to further deepen the relationship between China and Pakistan both economically and at public level and can change the geopolitics of South Asia connecting China to the Indian Ocean triggering concerns for India as the latter considers the CPEC, Gwadar Port under the control of China can be turned into a permanent Chinese naval facility in the Indian Ocean though it may not be a reality at least at this stage.

The CPEC is strategically and economically important both for China and Pakistan. It will pave the way for China to access the Middle East and Africa from Gawadar Port, enabling China to access the Indian Ocean and in return China will support development projects in Pakistan to overcome the latter’s energy crises and stabilizing its faltering economy. Additionally, the CPEC could serve as the driver for trade and economic integration between China, Pakistan, Iran, India, Afghanistan and the Central Asian States provided the frosty political atmosphere between Pakistan, India and Afghanistan and to some extent Iran gets improved in the near future. Under the CPEC US$ 10 billion will be spent on infrastructure development alone that could rejuvenate Pakistan’s dilapidated communication and infrastructure, overcome energy crisis and could transport trade goods from Pakistan to China, Middle East and cross the regional states and global level. At this stage CPEC seems to be a bilateral initiative between China and Pakistan, however in the long run it has the prospects to be a multilateral project.

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.

**WHAT IS CPEC:**

* CPEC and OBOR
* OBOR **The One Belt One Road** is a development strategy proposed by Chinese government that focuses on connectivity and cooperation between Eurasian countries, primarily the People’s Republic of China(PRC), the land-based Silk Road Economic Belt(SREB) and the ocean-going Maritime Silk Road(MSR).
* Initially China was expected to invest USD 46.5 billion which later enhanced to USD 62 billion.
* The major chunk (approx.34billion$) has been earmarked for energy projects. It aims to add 16,500 MW energy to the national grid in the next decade.
* The remaining amount is reserved for infrastructure projects.
* CPEC will connect China’s Xinjiang region through 2700 Km long highway from Kashgar to Gawadar .

**CPEC Vision and Mission:**

 To improve the lives of people of Pakistan and China by building an economic corridor promoting bilateral connectivity, construction, explore potential bilateral investment, economic and trade, logistics and people to people contact for regional connectivity. It includes:

1:Integrated Transport & IT systems including Road, Rail, Port, Air and Data Communication Channels

2:Energy Cooperation

3:Spatial Layout, Functional Zones, Industries and Industrial Parks

4:Agricultural Development

5:Socio-Economic Development (Poverty Alleviation, Medical Treatment, Education, Water Supply, Vocational Training)

6:Tourism Cooperation & People to People Communication

7:Cooperation in Livelihood Areas

8:Financial Cooperation

9:Human Resource Development.

**Strategic Significance of CPEC**

**CPEC as pivot to China’s economic and energy security**

 The CPEC connects China directly to the Indian Ocean and the region of the Middle East from the deep Gawadar Port reducing its existing dependence on the South China See as the latter is becoming a contested territory between various regional and global actors and can be choked any time by the competing powers in the Asia-Pacific region. The Gawadar port in Balochistan under the Chinese control is only 400 km away from the Strait of Hormuz and is strategically pivot for China in transporting its energy and oil needs from the West Asia reducing its current maritime transportation distance from 12000 km to 3000 km. Accessing the Indian Ocean from the Gwadar Port is inevitable for China as it makes China less vulnerable to its existing Malacca Dilemma and provides the economic security to China to access the West Asia at a time when the Strait of Malacca is increasingly becoming a contested territory among various players including China.

 China currently transports 80% of its oil and energy needs through the Malacca Strait and increasingly feels that its economic and energy security interest in the region are under serious threats due to the escalation of tensions between China and the region and global players in South and East China Sea. This is why China is looking for alternative viable transit routes both economically and security wise; the CPEC is the best choice for China linking it directly to the Indian Ocean via Gwadar Port. Under the US policy of rebalance to Asia the region of Asia-Pacific has got an unprecedented strategic importance for the Obama administration and the recently signed Trans Pacific Treaty between US and its allies testifies it. This rebalance policy of the US in the region of Asia-Pacific involves military, economic and strategic focus to the countries of South East Asia including India in shaping its rebalance of the region including South China Sea and the Indian Ocean [8] causing discomfort for China vis-à-vis its economic interests in the region.

**Regional trade and economic integration**

 Geopolitically Pakistan is the most suitable economic corridor for trade and transit activities providing a gateway to Central Asia, South Asia, East Asia and West Asia. Its role has remained important both during the cold-war and post-cold war era due to its geostrategic location and is neighbor to the rising economies of the region namely China and India. It can act as an important economic geography for regional trade. However, Pakistan failed miserably to take economic advantage of its strategic location and geography in the region. The existing bilateral trade volume between China and Pakistan is miserably low. The CPEC if extended to India will further enhance trade between China, India and Pakistan. Inclusion of India to the CPEC will further enhance the bilateral trade between China and India to new heights

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The CPEC passing through the regions of China and Pakistan bordering many states could be extended to the countries Central Asia, Afghanistan and West Asia and India. The landlocked and resource rich countries of Central Asia have always set their eyes to access regional markets including Pakistan, China, India and the countries of West Asia. Both Afghanistan and Tajikistan have transit agreements; CPEC will provide them the opportunity to transport their goods and market them more competitively to the regional and global market fostering regional economic and trade connectivity.

Similarly, Pakistan has the desire to access the resource rich region of Central Asia via Afghanistan to meet its energy needs and transports goods to Central Asia. The area through which the PCEC passes is at the crossroad of Asia, South Asian and Central Asia. For the greater benefit of the region and regional integration, the CPEC could be extended to Central Asia including Afghanistan and India opening them to the regional and global market. President Xi Jinping has already made a reference to such an arrangement in future during his address to the Pakistani parliament on his first visit to Pakistan in April, 2015. The changing geopolitical environment demands Pakistan to reorient its trade policy to more export oriented and must search for new markets in its neighborhood including India to boost its economy and the CPEC seems to be the best opportunity for Pakistan to expand its trade with the region of South and Central Asia including China and India

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India has had always desired to have transit route to Afghanistan and Central Asia via Pakistan. However, given the political rivalry between India and Pakistan, the later has denied transit route to India through Pakistan. India as an alternative has focused on chahbahr Port in Iran to access Afghanistan and Central Asia via Iran reducing its long lasting dependence on Pakistan to access Central Asia. India, Iran and Afghanistan have recently inaugurated the Chabahar Port under the trilateral frame work signaling bypassing Pakistan for a regional trade connection between the three countries. However, the Chahbahar Port is not likely to be a zero-sum game for Pakistan, Pakistan can also be part of Chabahar trilateral arrangement and both Gwadar and Chabahar ports could be linked as regional ports fostering regional trades. The Iranian side has already offered Pakistan to be part of the Chabahar Port trilateral arrangement and not to consider the port as rival to Gwadar Port.

**CHALLENGES TO CPEC:**

Despite its strategic significance both for China and Pakistan, the CPEC is not without challenges. It is surrounded by regional security and political challenges for its smooth execution.

**Regional and internal security challenges:**

 Regional security could be the biggest issue to the CPEC as it passes through some of the areas facing the biggest security challenges. The biggest challenged to the CPEC is the regional security environment; specifically the Afghanistan conundrum. China’s huge investment in the region is hinged on the peace and stability both in Pakistan, Afghanistan and Western parts of China. This is why China is actively pursuing to bring the Taliban to negotiating table within the quadrilateral framework between China, Pakistan, US and Afghanistan. The security situation in Afghanistan is getting worse day by day and even could be devastating after the withdrawal of NATO forces from Afghanistan as the Taliban have refused to come to the negotiating table initiated by the quadrilateral forum comprising. After the killing of the Mullah Mansoor, the Taliban leader there seems to be few chances that the Taliban could come to the negotiations. Moreover, Pakistan has recently stated that after the killing of the Taliban leader in Pakistan, it cannot guarantee to bring the Taliban to engage in peace talks.

With the refusal of talk by the Taliban in their recent statements it seems that it will take time to prevail peace in Afghanistan. Stability in Afghanistan is of utmost importance as the spillover effect can further destabilize the regional security environment, particularly Pakistan and Western parts of China. This could create security issues for the mega projects namely TAPI and CPEC in the region. Within Pakistan the situation is not good equally. The long lasting insurgency in Balochistan and FATA (Federally Administered Tribal Areas) could hinder further to materialize the CPEC.

As Lieven has noted that after the Withdrawal of Western forces from Afghanistan, Pakistan's survival will remain a vital concern for the Western and Chinese interests in the region. On the other hand China is equally worry about the security situation of Afghanistan that could affect the Xingjian province which is an important region for the functioning of the CPEC. Moreover, the antagonistic attitude of the public of Pakistan and India could be a stumbling block in getting the public support for the Indian inclusion to the CPEC to make it a cross regional move. Pakistan’s internal security has improved qualitatively after the military operation against the militants, yet the security phenomenon in Pakistan will remain a challenge to execute mega projects like CPEC smoothly. Although a special security force has been formed to protect the CPEC and related projects, given the porous border between Pakistan and Afghanistan and some difficult terrains through which the CPEC will pass in Pakistan, security will remain a hinge for the success of the CPEC.

**Balochistan Conundrum:**

The long existing insurgency in Balochistan can pose constrains to the execution of CPEC and its related projects including the Gawadar Port. The rising insurgency in Balochistan is a challenge to the CPEC as well as to the federation of Pakistan and resolving it is imperative for the secure trade corridor between China and Pakistan. Lately, many non-locals, businesses and multinational companies’ personnel have come under attack in the restive Balochistan region. A debate is already going on in the indigenous populace of Balochistan that the CPEC will benefit only the Chinese interest and could convert the local population into a minority . Such feelings of deprivation coupled with foreign involvement in the province as has been claimed by Pakistan recently, can be a serious challenge to CPEC. Addressing the concerns of Baloch people is imperative for the success of the CPEC and that could be done through a sane policy of integrating the least integrated Balochistan and its people in the political process of Pakistan. The political and economic deprivation is one of the major causes of uprising in Balochistan and meeting these deprivations is pertinent for the peace in Balochistan.

The CPEC will also pass through some parts of FATA and in future the extension of CPEC to Afghanistan is linked with the stability in the FATA region of Pakistan. Therefore security of Gawadar and the whole region is a serious concern for China and its interests in Balochistan. In addition to Balochistan issue, the people of Gilgit Balistan are also demanding their part in the CPEC. The region has recently witnessed protests and strikes demanding political and economic rights including a fair share in the CPEC as it is the entry point of CPEC.

**Political Discontent in Pakistan:**

 The political controversy among various political parties is yet another challenge to overcome for the smooth functioning of the CPEC in Pakistan. The discontentment is mainly for route selection, dividends and allocations of funds for projects under the CPEC. Although the ruling regime through the APCs (All Party Conferences) has tried to ally the grievances of the provinces mainly of KPK and Balochistan, yet it seems the issue has not been resolved. The political differences over the CPEC among various political parties are deep rooted in the history of political economy of Pakistan where the allocation of resources has always been politicized for political gains. The smaller provinces have concerns over the policies of the federal government where the resources including the federal budget are allocated on the bases of population rather than the backwardness and poverty conditions in the respective federating units. Given the magnitude and scope of the CPEC, Pakistan needs more highly skilled labor to execute various projects of the CPEC. The existing labor skills are not enough to pursue the CPEC and its related projects in Pakistan. The issues pertaining to transparency about CPEC related projects are also on rise. The political parties and other stakeholders have shown their concerns over the lack of transparency and have demanded that all agreements related to CPEC be made public. However, the concerned ministries are reluctant to make it public which further increases the doubts about the transparency of the project .

**CONCLUSION** :

 **CPEC** is a life line for Pakistan.

The state of Pakistan must be on guard and vigilant to avail the opportunities and address the challenges of CPEC.

 CPEC could foster socio-economic development in Pakistan if materialized timely. It can pave the way for regional economic and trade connectivity and integration between the region of South, Central and East Asia but that needs a change in the existing attitude of India and Pakistan toward more economic and trade relations. The regional economic integration through CPEC could be a harbinger to resolve the political differences through economic cooperation. The states of South Asia, Central Asia and East Asia need more regional economic connection to make the 21st century the Asian century setting aside the perennial political issues to start a new beginning. The CPEC as a flagship of OBOR can be a catalyst to begin regional trade and economic integration. However, some potential threats could hamper the CPEC to be transformed into a reality, namely the worsening security situation in Afghanistan and its spill over to Pakistan, political controversy in Pakistan regarding the selection of routes in various provinces of Pakistan and the trust deficit among certain regional states. In a longer perspective the CPEC can foster an economic community in the entire region of Asia and beyond if its vision is materialized in its true sense**.**