

## **Assignments of sectional Marks 20**

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1. A critical Analysis of Pakistan's Foreign policy post 9/11

**Answer: Introduction:**

The tragic events of September 11, 2001 were a watershed in international politics which not only changed the international system, but also fundamentally transformed the basic fabric of foreign policy in different countries of the world. The U.S. sidelined —moral superiority|| and started flexing its military muscle without diplomatic consensus or the backing of its allies and involved itself in an unending war on terror. For Pakistan, the events also marked a turning point as the U.S. accused that the extremists who had successfully conducted terrorist attack in the U.S. had allegedly received training in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan. Left with little choice, Pakistan was forced to change its policy and side with the U.S. to topple the Taliban regime in Afghanistan.

**Pakistan's foreign policy after 9/11:**

The foreign policy of Pakistan is shaped largely by geographical and historical considerations, by its political and social system, by virtue of economic dependence and military vulnerability, by its relative power position with reference to the adversary, by the policies of other countries and by the world contemporary environment. Historically, Pakistan's foreign policy was primarily focused on India, but the events of 9/11 made Pakistan a front-line State in defending U.S. interests in the region. The country had already suffered due to the Cold War; this new situation placed Pakistan in a position where it had to defend itself against the barrage of allegations and look for closer cooperation of friendly countries to avoid international isolation.

**Change in afghan policy for Pakistan:**

Pakistan carefully evaluated the pro-Taliban policy which was perceived to be costly, and changed its Afghan policy which was isolating the country within the entire region, both among its friends and foes. On the other hand, Pakistan had a fundamental national interest in Afghanistan's stability, unity and territorial integrity as decades of war had furthered terrorism and extremism which posed significant threats to Afghanistan's transition to a modern democratic State and to its fragile economy. During his official visit to Kabul on December 4, 2010, Syed Yousuf Raza Gilani, the then Prime Minister of Pakistan, said that Pakistan had always wanted a peaceful, stable and friendly Afghanistan. The destinies of the people of Pakistan and Afghanistan were deeply interlinked. Pakistan had been aspiring closer economic and commercial ties with the resource-rich Central Asian States and had plans for establishment of energy and trade corridors with them. But all of them invariably depended on a peaceful Afghanistan.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, General Ashfaq Parvez Kayani, Chief of Army Staff, during his visit to Brussels (Belgium), made it clear that Pakistan has a traditional stand on Afghanistan and that is the well-being of the people of Afghanistan. He said, —We cannot wish for Afghanistan anything that we don't wish for Pakistan. Pakistan is making a significant contribution to the socio-economic development of Afghanistan as peace and prosperity of the two countries could only be ensured through their economic progress.

### **Change in India's policy:**

The history of Pakistan-India relations is full of distrust since independence in 1947. Both the countries have fought three wars (1948, 1965, and 1971) and also have had hostilities in Kargil in 1998. The outstanding issues such as Pakistan's foreign policy objectives in the post-September 11, 2001 era 163 Siachen, Sir Creek, Kishanganga Dam and above all the core issue of Kashmir have remained unsettled to date. On top of it all, the situation is alarming because of the presence of nuclear weapons in both the countries. Their relations received a serious blow after the suicide attack on Indian parliament in December 2001; and got further worsened after the Mumbai carnage in November 2008. India referred to the Mumbai attack as —India's 9/11|| and described the city as a hub of commercial and entertainment activities and a symbol of modern India.<sup>10</sup> New Delhi blamed Pakistan for the terror incidents and was ready to attack Pakistan, but Islamabad denied the charges and matched India's military moves.

### **Effect on Pakistan:**

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

### **Pakistan fight terrorism:**

Immediately after the attacks on the Twin Towers, Pakistan strongly condemned and unequivocally declared that terrorism is never sanctioned by Islam. A prominent Pakistani religious scholar, Mufti Nizamuddin Shamzai, condemned terrorists' activities, and while giving an interview to the New York Times, he said: —It is wrong to kill innocent people and it is also wrong to praise those who kill innocent people.||42 Another Muslim scholar, Shaykh Hamza Yusuf, also stated that —terrorism is a perversion of religion, and those who attacked the Twin Towers have also hijacked the faith.||43 In this context, Pakistan's decision to fight against terrorism marked the beginning of a new era in Pakistan-U.S. relationship. President Bush also made it clear that taking U.S.-Pakistan relationship on a higher plane was one of his administration's highest priorities. After Musharaf, the new civilian government under President Asif Ali Zardari also made it clear that —democratic government will not let terrorism to hijack the country's foreign policy,|| and voiced his government's commitment —to pursue a full international agenda against terrorists.||44 U.S. Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, also praised the —valuable|| Pakistani cooperation in fighting extremism and said that Pakistani leadership has —recognized that standing firm against the threat was important for the country's future.|| She further said: —The horrific events of September 11 have required a broad-based, long-term strategic support from Pakistan and the civilian government in Islamabad has contributed more meaningfully towards the unprecedented global effort to prevent terrorism.||45 In an interview with CNN, President Zardari said: —Pakistan and the United States will together root out and bring to justice those who use terrorism to damage both countries' relations. We need no

convincing that the killers and their accomplices are trying to pervert Islam to use it for justifying their appalling crimes.

### **Struggle for access to European markets:**

The country's elites must remember that the arena of economics is highly competitive and irreversible because once the country loses the opportunity; the time will never come back. Globalization has generated significant options for Pakistan because this phenomenon has provided opportunities for foreign investment by providing facilities to foreign companies for investing in different fields of economic activity. For this purpose, the removal of constraints and obstacles for MNCs in Pakistan, allowing local investors to enter into foreign collaborations and also encouraging them to set up joint ventures abroad; carrying out massive import liberalization programmes by switching over from quantitative restrictions to tariffs and import duties are all imperative. To engage with globalization is also necessary to avoid any major economic crisis because the country has earlier faced a foreign exchange crunch which dragged the economy close to default.

## 2. CPEC: prospects and challenges

### **Answer: Introduction:**

The Center of Gravity of world economy is leaning towards Asia with the rise of China as an economic giant at the international stage. The Chinese people are peace loving, peace searching and peace developing. With an exceptional history of more than 5000 years of uninterrupted civilization.

### **The Origin of CPEC:**

The Corridor strategy can be traced back to the 1960s as part of Pakistan's efforts to develop Gwadar port as an alternate port and shipping hub, which could ultimately uplift province of Balochistan, serve as an important conduit for China and assume the role of regional transit and transportation hub in maritime domain. The geo strategic environment following 1960s did not favour the initiation of project, therefore remained in the background. In November 2006, President Musharraf during his visit to Beijing initiated the vision of trade corridor between China and Pakistan linking Kashgar with Gwadar via Korakoram Highway (KKH). The cornerstones of the project remained the Gwadar port and the trans-Pakistan pipeline. Pakistan's political instability following

Musharraf's standoff with judiciary distracted the government and no worthwhile progress could be made.

### **Components of CPEC Vision:**

To benefit Pakistan from President Xi Jinping's strategic vision of —One Belt and One Road|| exclusive mega projects for Pakistan have been envisioned with name of —China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, which will serve as catalyst for Pakistan economic development|| 3. The proposed Economic Corridor stretches about 3000 KMs from Kashgar in Xinjiang Province to Gwadar in Balochistan Province of Pakistan. —US\$ 45.6 billion have been proposed for the project which is expected to be completed by 2030|| 4. Proposed China-Pakistan. In November 2014, the Government of China announced investment of S \$45.6 billion in several energy and infrastructure projects in Pakistan as part of CPEC with the breakdown as;” investment of around \$33.8 billion in various energy projects and \$11.8 billion in infrastructure projects. US\$622 million have been pledged for the development of Gwadar port. Under the CPEC agreement, \$15.5 billion worth of coal, wind, solar and hydro energy projects will add 10,400 megawatts of energy to the national grid of Pakistan to alleviate the growing energy crisis



### **CPEC Enhance China's Security:**

China's economic, political and security interests are interlinked. Without short and safe overland connection to the ports, China will find its security interests compromised since it lacks blue-water naval capacity and aircraft carriers in the Gulf. With almost half of its oil imports passing through the Strait of Hormuz, China is conscious of the need to enhance its political and security influence in the region. Linking Gwadar ports overland to Chinese western

provinces attains significance. Maintaining control over Khunjrab Pass will also help China maintain its control over Shaksgam and the neighbouring valleys, which otherwise may create choke points along the historical silk route and threaten Chinese control of Xinjiang. At the same time, overland access to Iran and Afghanistan from Pakistan will help reduce threat perceptions arising from the Indian and American presence in the Gulf. By approaching Afghanistan through Gilgit-Baltistan rather than Central Asia, China will benefit by avoiding competition with Russia for strategic depth in what Russia considers its near abroad.

### **Challenges posed by Regional Power Politics:**

China believes in five principles of peaceful coexistence. The fundamental ingredient of China's foreign policy philosophy is that it does not believe in power politics. —China will not play power politics and will not interfere in other countries internal affairs. China will not impose its own ideology on other countries|| 27. In the backdrop of regional power politics, like USA's presence in Afghanistan, Gulf, Middle East, USA's relationship with India and Pakistan and China's own relations with both countries indeed pose challenges with respect to managing regional Power Politics. Although not very much debated now a days, USA's own initiative of New Silk Route connecting Central Asia, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India is also one of the issues which has to be deliberately addressed. Managing regional Power politics which will prove to be major impediments for the No alternate other than skilful diplomacy and removing misperception through enhanced multi channel communication and win-win cooperation can help in managing the power politics and converting competing interests into common and mutually beneficial interests for benefit of Pakistan, China and indeed the entire region.

### **Security and Safety of Chinese Nationals working in Pakistan and Issue of Terrorism/Extremism:**

Despite fool proof security arrangements, yet there have been sporadic incidents in the past directed against Chinese citizens working on several projects in Pakistan, thus constraining the bilateral relations. With promised investment of US\$ 45.6 billion under CPEC unfolding in near future, many Chinese experts will be coming to Pakistan. being universal trend, this has affected China and Pakistan the most. TTP and Alqaida in Afghanistan and ETIM in China have been involved in heinous crimes of terrorism in both the countries. Despite enormous sacrifices and valiant operations conducted by Pakistani security forces, the criticism still continues in the western media. Pakistan and China has good understanding on counter terrorism efforts on ETIM. During his visit to Beijing in November 2014, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif stated —Pakistan would resolutely fight the East Turkestan Islamic Movement terrorist force|| 28. Managing the issue of terrorism and extremism will be highly significant in future bilateral

relations of both countries. Similarly, the proposed alignment of CPEC will have to pass through Chinese Province of Xingjian where ETIM has been active, Province of KPK where Pakistani Taliban have been operating and Province of Balochistan where occasional law and order incidents have been taking place in the past.

**Broad-based policies for continuity of CPEC:**

As CPEC is a long term project therefore, the consistency of policies by each following government as esteemed national priority has to be ensured as it is in our vital national interest. Similarly, constitutional guarantees in the form of appropriate legislation be carried out by the parliament for security of Chinese investments and continuity of CPEC

**Conclusion:**

China has proven to be a time tested friend and with a clear policy towards Pakistan. It has helped Pakistan in number of ways like economically, diplomatically and technologically. In the emerging world order, this relationship is likely to grow further as it is based on mutual respect and mutual trust. For Pakistan, there are immense opportunities, which can be capitalized through wisdom and pragmatic leadership. Pakistan needs to exercise strategic patience in the short term and improve upon domestic stability and economic situation to make strides in achieving positive relevance and rightful place in the comity of nation.