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QUESTION: A critical analysis of Pakistan foreign policy post.

Pakistan's foreign policy post 9/11

World politics changed completely after the tragic incident of 9/11 on the World Trade Centre when the US decided to start the so-called war on terror. The whole international community supported American stance in the resolutions adopted by the United Nations Security Council and General Assembly. The staunchest supporters of Afghan Taliban like the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia also abandoned their support under international pressure. Under such situation, Pakistan had no choice but to support the stance of the international community. The situation for Pakistan became further alarming when America threatened to invade Pakistan if the former did not support them in their war against terrorism. Pakistan was given only two choices, "either you are with us or against us" and it is even said that Collin Powell threatened Musharraf that Pakistan will be taken to Stone Age in case of non-cooperation. Weighing the repercussions, Pakistan took a U-turn and sided with the international coalition against its former allies, Afghan Taliban.

Militant religious and sectarian organizations were banned and Law enforcement agencies began to clamp down upon them. Most of their leaders were put behind bars or were house arrested with an aim to dismantle the structure of these organizations. Their bank accounts were suspended and their funds were frozen. This was a major policy shift because of the close relations which our state and especially the military establishment had with them (Taliban) during the Afghan Jihad era.

This close partnership with Americans continued for many years in the post 9/11 era but soon both of them started blaming each other for Double-game.

This was due to the varying interests of both the countries in this war. America was more focused on uprooting the Al-Qaeda and Taliban whereas Pakistan wanted to have some relations with Taliban to counter Indian influence in Afghanistan. Pakistan also wished help from Americans to solve the Kashmir issue but never happened.

This so-called strategic partnership between US and Pakistan touched lowest when America Navy Seals carried out a unilateral action on the compound of Osama Bin Ladin in Abbot Abad and after that a strike of Nato Helicopters on Salala Check post. Some US officials blamed Pakistan for harboring Osama Bin Ladin, which Pakistan denied in strong words.

After spending trillion of dollars in Afghanistan and losing thousands of its soldiers, Americans now have started a formal dialogue process with Afghan Taliban in which Pakistan is acting as a facilitator. Quadilateral Cooperation Group consisting of Pakistan, Afghanistan, America and China is another effort of Pakistan to solve the dispute on table though not materialized yet.

Another sudden and unexpected change was in our foreign policy towards Indian occupied Kashmir. In the past, the same organizations which were banned after 9/11 have been instrumental in waging Military Jihad against the Indian oppression but that change of mood on international arena compelled Pakistani state to abandon military support to the rebel groups in Kashmir. Pakistan started focusing more on political and moral support to the Kashmir cause to

counter Indian propaganda of linking Kashmir issue with terrorism. Kashmiris also sensed the delicacy of time and a full-pledge peaceful struggle began to replace the armed movement.

Pakistan strategic friendship with China has not been affected in any way by the 9/11 attacks and in fact, the friendship has got stronger with time. This can be seen practically in the form of “China-Pakistan Economic Corridor”, which will cost 46 billion dollars with most of the investment going towards most-needed energy sector. Pakistan has also not only established contacts with Russia but has further strengthened it in due course as evident from the Pipeline funded by Russia and the recent “Druzhba or friendship” exercise of Russian troops in Pakistan.

Pakistan has also maintained friendly ties with Islamic world and role of Pakistan government in Yemen War is commendable, in which it tried to bring both Saudi and Iran on table. Pakistan is also playing an important role in Middle East and Central Asia.

Though we suffered a lot from the repercussions of 9/11 in the form bomb blasts and suicide attacks which have claimed more than 70 thousand lives of our innocent countrymen keeping aside the 130 billion dollars loss we have to sustain but still we hope that once all the fighting parties in Afghan Civil War come to the table to resolve their differences we will achieve complete peace in our neighborhood and that will positively affect our country.

Question 2 :CPEC , Prospects and Challenges.

Challenges to CPEC in Pakistan

Pakistan is an important country in the south Asia. Its geo-strategic location makes it important country in the region. Pakistan, officially the Islamic Republic of Pakistan is a sovereign country in South Asia with a population of 210 million people. It is the sixth most populous country in the world with this border strategically connected to South Asia, Central Asia and Western Asia.

Pakistan has a long coast line of about 1,046-kilometer with Arabian Sea and Gulf of Oman. Since the independence of Pakistan India have not yet recognized Pakistan as an sovereign State. since beginning, India occupied Jammu and Kashmir with the deployment of Army in Jammu and Kashmir against the will of people of Jammu and Kashmir, after 71 years the people of Jammu and Kashmir are struggling for their right of self-determination, UNO resolution passed in 1948 for Plebiscite in Indian held Kashmir moreover. India is not ready to do the same meanwhile.

Nuclear energy of Pakistan

In 1983 India suddenly captured Siachen Glacier heights and taken positions at the heights battlefield of the world, in response Pakistan also deployed troops at Siachen Glacier to stop the Indian advancement, however both countries are maintaining the same positions at Siachen Glacier, furthermore in 1998 India conducted Nuclear test and put pressure on Pakistan to get advantage of it, in response Pakistan also conducted nuclear test to stop the Indian aggression in South Asian region and maintained deterrence, again in 2002 India deployed Army on Pakistani borders for one year, furthermore India is using Afghanistan as Launch Pad against Pakistan and providing financial support and Military training to Baloch Liberation Army (BLA), through the camps situated in Afghanistan connected with Pakistani Border in Balochistan and targeting civilian and Military targets in Pakistan to disrupt the China Pakistan Economic Corridor activities.

CPEC is the Flag ship Program of Road and Belt Initiative Program of China, China have invested more than 46, Billion USD in Pakistan. CPEC is intended to rapidly modernize Pakistani Infrastructure and strengthen its economy by the construction of modern transportation networks, numerous energy projects and special economic zones on eastern and western routes of CPEC, however India is trying to disrupt this project through Indian Intelligence agency Research and Analysis Wing (RAW), recently a Serving Indian Naval Commander Kulbhushan Sudhir Jadhav has been arrested by Pakistani Law enforcement Agencies in Balochistan Province adjacent to Iran who was involved in subversive activities inside Pakistan to fail the CPEC Project in Pakistan.

Pakistan urges UNSC to hold India accountable for war crimes in IOJ&K

India has taken the case of Kulbhushan Jadhav at International Court of Justice The Hague against sentenced announced by military court of Pakistan, India launched surgical strikes in Pakistan, on 27, Feb Indian Air Force violated Airspace of Pakistan in response Pakistan Air Force shot down two Indian Air Force Fighter Jets with JF 17 thunder Fighter jet near Line of Control (LOC) and

captured one Indian Fighter Pilot Wing Commander Abhi Nandan, however according to Vienna convention and goodwill gesture Pakistani Government handed over Indian Pilot at Wagah border to the Indian High Commission, currently India have revoked article 370 which provides special status to People of Jammu and Kashmir and curfew have been imposed in Jammu & Kashmir and situation is very critical.

Currently India is trying to put pressure on Pakistan through terrorist attacks in Balochistan and KP Province of Pakistan and India is trying to disrupt the western route of CPEC which is going through Balochistan and KP Province of Pakistan, Moreover last year Chinese Consulate was attacked by Baloch Liberation Army (BLA) in Karachi with the help of Indian Intelligence agency Raw, currently Pearl Continental HOTEL was targeted in Gwadar to disrupt the progress of the China Pakistan Economic Corridor and to put pressure on Pakistan through Financial Action Task Force (FATF), International Monetary Fund (IMF) and through other international institutions. After the USA aircraft carrier Abraham Lincoln's entry into Persian Gulf tension between USA & Iran is increasing day by day.

Women, patriarchal society and COVID-19

Moreover Strait of Hormuz route for oil tankers connecting Persian Gulf & Gulf of Oman is under the fire since last month, six Oil tankers have been hit by unknown party. Furthermore, On 12th June Two oil tankers have been targeted near Gulf of Oman, USA is blaming Iran on this incident however Iran is denying from this subversion activity in the Gulf of Oman, USA Secretary of Defense Patrick Shanahan have said that "USA central command General McKenzie is monitoring all activity in the Persian Gulf". Furthermore Russia & China have advised USA that restraint policy may be adopted in the Persian Gulf. The current scenario of Middle East is alarming for whole region it can affect Middle East, Central Asia, South Asia & East Asia according to news reports Iran have shot-down drone of USA near Strait of Hurmoz. Recently Prime Minister of Japan have visited Iran to calm down the current deteriorate situation of Middle East.

The current situation of Middle East is becoming dangerous for the whole region if oil supply is cut down by any party it would affect the whole region. Furthermore, USA is also involved in Hong Kong Protest, according to reports all protesters are teenagers they don't know what they are doing at all. USA is putting pressure on China through Hong Kong and on Pakistan through Persian Gulf and through India in Jammu & Kashmir on Line of the Control (LOC) ,to disrupt the CPEC Project , however its the responsibility of Pakistan to protect CPEC Project through vigilance intelligence monitoring in the Pakistan.

CPEC: Progress and Prospects

Practices in the past five years have proved that the CPEC construction is not targeting specific regions or groups, but is aiming at the whole country of Pakistan and benefits all the people of Pakistan.

Fruitful achievements in CPEC construction

CPEC has played a flagship leading and demonstration role in the “Belt and Road” construction. It has become a platform for all-round pragmatic cooperation between China and Pakistan.

Improving macroeconomic conditions in Pakistan

CPEC has driven the development of Pakistan. The two-gap model proposed by economist Hollis B. Chenery posits that developing countries must introduce foreign investments and stimulate exports to boost growth for their national economy. CPEC has solved the problem of limited investment capacity caused by insufficient savings and shortage of foreign exchange in Pakistan and provided a high-quality source of impetus for Pakistan's economic development. As of January 2019, CPEC included 9 completed early harvest projects and 13 projects under construction, with a total investment of US\$19 billion. It drove Pakistan's economic growth by one to two percentage points every year and created 70,000 jobs in Pakistan. The Chinese government provided US\$5.874 billion in concessional loans to Pakistan, with a consolidated interest rate of only 2%, far lower than the average interest rate. The Chinese government also provided US\$143 million in interest-free loans for the Gwadar East-Bay Expressway project and free assistance for some livelihood projects in Pakistan.

Thanks to favorable factors such as the CPEC construction, Pakistan's macroeconomic conditions have been improved and its economy has maintained a momentum of rapid growth. Over the past five years, Pakistan's GDP grew by an average of 4.77%, especially in the 2017-2018 fiscal year when Pakistan's GDP grew by 5.8%, being the highest growth rate in the recent 13 years. Pakistan's annual foreign direct investment grew from US\$650 million to US\$2.2 billion, and the per capita annual income rose from US\$1,334 to US\$1,641.

Alleviating Pakistan's energy shortage

Energy shortage is a hard nut to crack which restricts the economic development of Pakistan. It is a problem that previous Pakistani governments attached great importance to and desperate to solve. The electricity gap cost Pakistan an annual average loss of US\$13.5 billion in GDP, according to a study by PwC in 2012. Power shortage left Pakistan in the dark for a long time, with rolling blackouts across the country lasting about 10 hours a day in major cities and up to 22 hours in rural areas.

CPEC has regarded the alleviation of energy shortage in Pakistan as one of the important areas of construction since its launch. Currently, 12 projects with a total installed capacity of 7,240 MW have been commenced or put into operation. Through five years of construction, energy projects under the CPEC framework added 3,340 MW of electricity to Pakistan by early April 2019, accounting for 11% of the country's total installed electricity capacity, thus greatly alleviating the power shortage in Pakistan.

In addition to power generation projects, China built the Matiari–Lahore ± 660 kV HVDC Transmission Line Project in Pakistan- the second HVDC transmission line in the world- to address the aging of Pakistan's power grid.

Improving infrastructure connectivity in Pakistan

The China–Pakistan cross-border economic belt, linked by the China–Pakistan Karakoram Highway, has taken shape under CPEC. Through international logistics nodes such as Gwadar Port, Karachi and Peshawar, Pakistan serves to transport products from western China to countries in the Middle East and the Indian Ocean via transit transport. Therefore, infrastructure connectivity is also one of the important areas in the early harvest projects of CPEC.

The Karakoram Highway Phase 2 (Havelian–Thakot section) is 118.124 km long, including 39.305 km of expressway and 78.819 km of secondary highway. The project officially started on September 1, 2016. Currently, more than half of the project has been completed.

The section from Sukkur, Sindh in the south to Multan, Punjab in the north, of the Karachi–Peshawar Expressway, is 392 km long, with a total investment of US\$2.89 billion. The construction was undertaken by China State Construction Engineering Corporation. The project officially started in August 2016. The 33-km section from Multan to Shujabad was opened to traffic 15 months ahead of schedule on May 26, 2018. The entire Sukkur–Multan section is expected to be open to traffic in August 2019. The Karachi–Peshawar Expressway is designed with 6 lanes in two directions and a speed of 120 km/h. It will greatly improve the traffic in the two cities upon completion.

The Lahore Orange Line rail transit project was put into trial operation on October 8, 2017. The line is 25.58 km long and is organized into five carriages, each carrying 200 passengers. The train starts from Ali Town and terminates at Dera Gujran. The total distance can be covered in 45 minutes with stops on 14 stations, compared with 2.5 hours of road travel between the two

places. According to the design plan, the Orange Line will have a capacity of 250,000 passengers per day at the beginning of operation, which will be further increased to 500,000 passengers per day by 2025.

Over the past five years, 51,000 direct jobs were created in the road infrastructure sector under CPEC projects, of which 48,000 were created specifically for local Pakistanis. Further, infrastructure projects are expected to spur the development of Pakistan's building-related industries and attract more foreign investment.

Steadfast determination to build CPEC

At the very beginning of the new Pakistani government, Foreign Minister Shah Mehmood Qureshi said, "The new Pakistani government is advancing an ambitious reform agenda, and is willing to learn from China's experience in economic development, poverty alleviation, disaster reduction, anti-corruption, and environmental protection. Advancing the China–Pakistan Economic Corridor is our top priority."

From November 2 to 5, 2018, Pakistan's Prime Minister Imran Khan made his first official visit to China and attended the first China International Import Expo in Shanghai. During his visit, the two countries reached important consensus and signed a joint statement on further strengthening the China–Pakistan all-weather strategic cooperative partnership and building a closer China–Pakistan community of shared future in the new era. Prime Minister Imran Khan made it clear that the completed projects of CPEC are in the interest of Pakistan and will bring enormous social and economic development opportunities to the Pakistani people. Since China has lifted more than 700 million people out of poverty in the past decades, Pakistan is willing to learn from the Chinese government's poverty alleviation measures. Pakistan also hopes to strengthen cooperation in industry and agriculture to help unleash its greater development potential.

On March 20, 2019, China and Pakistan held the first strategic dialogue between foreign ministers and reached broad consensus. Foreign Minister Shah Mehmood Qureshi noted that the Pakistani people are committed to promoting the CPEC construction and expanding bilateral cooperation in various fields. State Councilor Wang Yi said that the CPEC project is expected to be expanded to a larger scope, including the western region, in Pakistan, according to the vision plan of CPEC construction agreed by both sides.

New Challenges to CPEC construction

Currently, the CPEC construction has gradually shifted from energy and transportation infrastructure cooperation to industrial cooperation and industrial park construction. Imran Khan has given prominence to promoting industrialization and employment in Pakistan, and laid greater emphasis on the western route of CPEC. Meanwhile, the international situation has also changed. Given the overall situation, we should be clear that old challenges have not yet subsided and new ones are emerging in the CPEC construction.

First, the complex international political situation, especially the interference of external factors on CPEC, cannot be ignored.

Second, Pakistan has a serious fiscal deficit, a huge foreign debt and a heavy debt service burden. The capacity to provide supporting funds for the CPEC construction has declined sharply and it is no longer feasible to expand infrastructure construction. Pakistan's new government wants to rein in huge capital spending, especially on projects that require large amounts of foreign exchange.

Third, the overall security situation in Pakistan has improved year by year, but terrorist attacks still occur frequently. Over the past year, violent and terrorist attacks launched by Baluchistan separatists occurred frequently, with changes in form, geographical expansion and new features, and the threat to Gwadar Port and CPEC has increased.

Despite many challenges to the CPEC construction, it is the internal factors that are the root causes affecting the CPEC construction. When we realize and successfully eliminate the internal negative factors, external factors will not be able to really affect the process of CPEC construction.
