



STRATAGEM

PERCEPTION-COGNITION-VISION-SUSTAINABLE FUTURE

July 2017 | ISSUE - 12



KASHMIR FREEDOM STRUGGLE AND
PAKISTAN'S WEAK POLICY NARRATIVE



WAY FORWARD FOR THE US IN
QATAR-GULF IMPASSE



CPEC: USHERING NEW POSSIBILITIES FOR
SOUTH ASIA



EVOLVING PATTERN IN SINO-US
RELATIONS

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OF CHINA PAKISTAN ECONOMIC CORRIDOR (CPEC)

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Voice of Balochistan: Quetta Delegation Report



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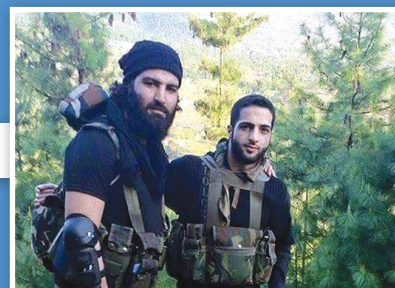
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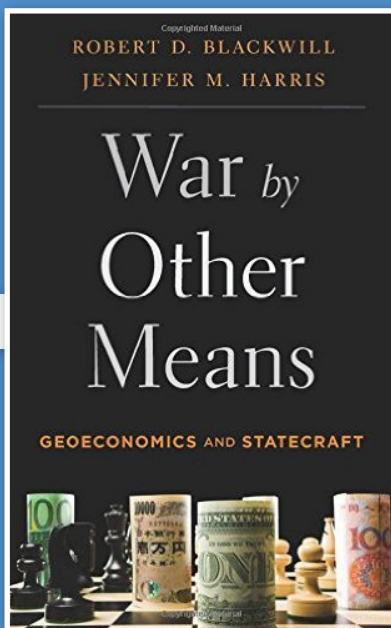
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EDITORIAL

**Greetings from the Editorial Board**

The bimonthly magazine for the months of June and July has been published. The team behind Stratagem vows to deliver incisive analysis, rounding up the significant developments in the realms of socio-politics, security and economics.

The China Pakistan Economic Corridor is a path to prosperity not only for China and Pakistan but also for the rest of the world. It is a glorious testament to the legacy of Sino-Pak friendship. Part of the Belt and Road initiative and known as the game changer, this project has been the topic that is creating vibes in the international political economy. Therefore, the theme chosen for this edition is CPEC.

With the positive aura that has surrounded the development of CPEC project since its start, it is but natural that the negativity rooted in conspiracies and apprehensions shall also suffuse in the narrative, which promises deliverance for the nation as a whole. Keeping this in view, the feature article of this magazine has been aptly selected. In 'Debunking the Myths of CPEC' Mr. Junaid Roshan Tanoli highlights the conspiracies associated with CPEC.

Know Thy Enemy brings to you Chairman of Jeay Sindh Muttahida Mahaz Shafi Muhammad Burfat and Lashkar-e-Jhangvi's (LeJ) Chief Operational Commander Matiur Rehman. Shafi Burfat has been aiming for an

independent Sindhi state. Matiur Rehman has been previously associated with LeJ and Al-Qaeda, and is currently the head of one of the factions of Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) in Afghanistan.

The beginning of June was marked by what came to be known as the Gulf – Qatar crisis; a diplomatic predicament between the countries which are part of the GCC and Qatar. Parts of the Middle Eastern region are already swallowed in turmoil. Militants using Islamic precepts have injected themselves within the society to convolute the situation that has resulted from the political vacuum due to the ongoing civil war in Syria. While on one hand Syria has become a hot bed from where terrorism is spawning and permeating in the Middle Eastern region, the severing of ties between Qatar and its neighboring countries has added to the instability. Our non-resident senior analyst Mr. Omar Afzaal deliberates over the political dynamics of the Gulf-Qatar crisis and the way forward for the United States in this impasse.

Another piece ‘CPEC: Ushering New Possibilities for South Asia’ alludes about the implications CPEC has on South Asian geopolitics. Mr. Ammar Alam extends his analysis with a way forward for Pakistan in the context of CPEC and its relations not only with its neighboring countries but also other important actors in global politics.

This edition’s Strategic Pulse confers upon the evolution of Sino-US relations in light of the strategic shift in global power politics, analyzing transformations in relations taking place between the two giants culminating in a new world order.

In addition to the feature article, Setting the Record Straight consists of an analysis by Mr. Fahad Nabeel deliberating over the weak policy narrative of Pakistan with regards to the Kashmir dispute. Recent developments that have taken

place after the death of Sabzar Bhat have been conversed. The author maintains that Pakistan has not been successful in highlighting the freedom movement at international forums.

The setting up of nine Special Economic Zones (SEZs) lined around CPEC for the facilitation of industries and their trade significance has been expounded by Mr. Ijlal Khan in his article. A graphical representation on the SEZs has also been appended for the better understanding of the readership.

Some of the highlights in the In Focus section include the Belt and Road Forum, held in May in Beijing. News in the sub-section National is composed of snippets from Panama leaks case and the victory of Pakistan in the Champions Trophy.

This copy of Stratagem also includes a report of the exposure visit of students’ delegation to Quetta from the 15th of May to the 19th of May, 2017. Apart from this a book review of ‘War by Other Means: Geo-economics and Statecraft’ by Robert D. Blackwill and Jennifer M. Harris has been added.

I would conclude by expressing my gratitude towards the contributors and the team that made the publishing of Stratagem possible. I also look forward from our readers to send in their valuable comments on our magazine.

Happy Reading!

IN FOCUS

by Mehwish Khan

MPA MAJEED ACHAKZAI RAMMED VEHICLE INTO POLICE CONSTABLE

A traffic police constable, Haji Attaullah was hit to death by the Pakhtoon Mili Awami Party (PKMAP) lawmaker and MPA from PB-13 Killa Abdullah, Majeed Achakzai's vehicle in Quetta, which he was driving himself. The constable was performing his duties at Shaheed Fayaz Sunbel Chowk on June 21st and the white Prado rammed into him, causing his death. Mr. Majeed Achakzai has been under arrest, but unluckily a preferential treatment is being observed by the concerned authorities. However, the Chief Justice of Pakistan, Mian Saqib Nisar took a sou motu notice of the killing of the traffic warden and ordered Balochistan Police Chief to submit the report and to ensure the slain constable's family is not pressurized or threatened during the investigation.



PAKISTAN CONSIGNED DEFEAT TO INDIA IN THE CHAMPIONS TROPHY

Pakistan India faced each other in the final of ICC event, where Pakistan beat India by 180 runs, and became the 4th country of the world that won all tournaments: World Cup (1992), Twenty Twenty International (2009), and Champions Trophy (2017).

Fakhar Zaman's remarkable century and Mohammad Amir's breathtaking new ball spell, drove Pakistan to a stunning victory over India. Pakistan batting lineup first made a daunting total of 339 runs and crushed Kohli's bowling line. The green shirts' total was bolstered by a solid 128 runs' opening start. The strong Indian batting line was still hopeful, but then Pakistan's left arm pacer, Muhammad Amir bowled an impressive spell and sent their top three batsmen back to the pavilion, and so India lost the game at 150 runs. The Pakistanis welcomed the victorious team on its arrival enthusiastically. This victory in such times sent a very strong message to the ICC and is now inflicting the revival of cricket in Pakistan.



BAHAWALPUR OIL TANKER INFERNO

One of the worst accidents Pakistan has faced in its history, happened just a day before the nation's great festival of Eid-ul-Fitr. More than 150 people died and over 100 men and women got injured in the ghastly incident. It was 6:30 am on June 25th of this year, when an oil tanker en route from Kemari (Sindh) to Vehari (Punjab) overturned resulting an oil spill of 50,000 litres on road at Safeerwala, a place 6 km away from Ahmedpur Sharqia. The vehicle was on contract from the Karachi based Marwat Enterprise Transport Company.

People from nearby areas rushed to collect the spilled fuel and a number of motorcycles and vehicles were present at the spot. Just after a few minutes, the overturned tanker exploded and a huge fire ball enveloped men and women collecting fuel and burned vehicles and motorcycles on the site. An investigation team has been set up to determine the culprits. The ghastly accident casted a pall of gloom across the country and the festival of Eid-ul-Fitr was celebrated in a very humble manner after the incident.



PANAMA LEAKS AND JIT

The joint Investigation Team (JIT) is probing the Panama case on orders of the Supreme Court of Pakistan and has summoned Hussain Nawaz, Hassan Nawaz, and other members of the government including the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Mian Nawaz Sharif. Nawaz Sharif is the first sitting Prime Minister who has been called upon by any investigating body in the history of Pakistan. Though the political atmosphere in the country is quite warm, but the JIT investigation can be viewed as a step towards strengthening the institutions in Pakistan.



NATIONAL

POLITICAL TURMOIL IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The Arab nations, including Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Bahrain, and the UAE broke off ties with Qatar in the worst diplomatic crisis to hit Gulf Arab states in decades, for allegedly supporting radical Islamic movements like ISIS and Al-Qaeda along with various sectarian and terrorist groups aimed at destabilizing the region. KSA, Bahrain and UAE gave 14 days to Qataris to leave their territory. Qatar was also expelled from the Saudi led coalition fighting in Yemen. Oman and Kuwait still hold relations with Doha.

Qatar expressed its regret over the decision taken by Arab nations and called it “unjustified” and “baseless”. Doha sees this decision as violation of its sovereignty as they say that severing ties with Qatar has a clear aim of imposing guardianship on the state.

The US has urged the Gulf nations to resolve the matter and to stay united to fight terrorism. Mevlut Casusoglu, Turkey’s Foreign Minister also called for a dialogue over the dispute telling reporters, “We see the stability of the Gulf region as our own unity and solidarity”. Iran, also stated that such measures by the Arab countries could not end crisis in the Middle East.



WORLD

BELT AND ROAD SUMMIT 2017

China put on an impressive diplomatic show in Beijing for its flagship project on May 14th and 15th, 2017. The Belt and Road Forum (BRF) was attended by heads of states and a number of government officials from various nations. The BRF discussed the visions and actions for jointly building the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st century Maritime Silk Route. During the forum, a number of countries and international organizations signed up to create interlocked trade, financial, and cultural networking which stretches from East Asia to Europe and even beyond. A majority of South Asian nations including Pakistan attended the forum while India declined to attend despite invitation and stood isolated from the whole world.

In a period of less than five years, China has deepened the policy of connectivity and global economic integration; Belt and Road Forum was its successful showcase. The Chinese President in his address to the forum emphasized innovation driven development and cooperation in frontier areas like digital economy, artificial intelligence, nanotechnology, quantum computing, cloud computing, and smart cities. China was pleased with the efficacious accomplishment of the B&R forum and announced the next BRF event to be held in 2019.



US SELLING DRONES TO INDIA

United States of America has decided to sell 22 Guardian maritime drones to India. The drones worth \$USD 2 billion confirm the US’ resolve to treat India as a central defense partner. Indian Prime Minister, Narendra Modi paid a visit to the United States on 25th and 26th June this year where the deal was approved. The MQ-9B Guardian drones that India is procuring from General Atomics is a variant of the Predator B drone and is equipped with several radar systems specifically useful for maritime search. New Delhi views this deal as a crucial test of ties with the United States under the Trump administration.

The occurrence of the deal during a time when India has adopted an absurdly negative attitude towards Pakistan’s peace efforts has mounted apprehensions as it will impact the regional security balance. Some US diplomats were also concerned about the gradual rise of violence in Indian Occupied Kashmir and its negative impact on Indo-Pak relations. India’s aggression at Line of Control and the escalating tensions in the region pose serious questions to the drone deal as it may amplify India’s war craze.



KASHMIR FREEDOM STRUGGLE AND PAKISTAN'S WEAK POLICY NARRATIVE



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The idea to use social media as a weapon by guerilla groups in IHK is believed to be the brain-child of Sabzar. After Sabzar became a guerrilla fighter, first time guerilla fighters were seen without covering their faces on social media.



On 27th May, Sabzar Bhat, Hizbul Mujahideen (HuM) commander and Burhan Wani's successor, was killed by Indian security forces in an encounter in Tral area of Pulwama district in Indian-held Jammu and Kashmir. Along with Bhat, another guerrilla fighter was also killed by the security forces. Sabzar Bhat's killing is considered as one of the biggest achievements of Indian security forces since the killing of Burhan Wani last year.

Six foot tall, Sabzar Bhat was a native of Rathsuna village in Tral in southern Indian-held Kashmir (IHK). He, within a short span, was able to gain the trust of his childhood friend Burhan and became his close associate. On 13th April, 2015, the day Burhan

Wani's brother Khalid was killed, Sabzar snatched a rifle from a policeman and joined the armed struggle. Sabzar became popular among the youth especially when his photos with Burhan Wani appeared on various social media platforms. He operated in and around Tral, his native town, of Pulwarma district. In December, 2015, Jammu and Kashmir Police announced a cash reward on a group of guerilla fighters including Sabzar.

Videos of Burhan group were posted on social media in order to connect with their sympathizers in IHK. The viral photo of Burhan's 11 member group was uploaded by Sabzar himself. After quitting of Zakir Musa from HuM following his statement against Hurriyat

in mid-May, Sabzar, categorized as an A++ guerrilla fighter, was named as the new commander of HuM for southern IHK in July.

In the past, he had given slip to the security forces on several occasions. In March, 2017, Sabzar was trapped in a gunfight with security forces in Tral. But he managed to escape from there in the cover of darkness with the support of stone-pelters. The HuM commander was responsible for local recruitment of youth in HuM. Unlike Wani, he mostly remained underground and avoided the use of social networking sites for issuing orders. Before going underground, he also worked as HuM's over ground worker for some time. He was among a group of young, tech-savvy

guerrilla fighters who used social media as a tool to propagate their ideology and attract the youth towards their cause.

Sabzar is the latest senior guerilla commander killed by Indian security forces since the death of Burhan Wani in July last year. In January this year, Indian security forces killed three HuM fighters, categorized as A and A+ fighters, in Anantnag district. Two senior local HuM commanders, Azaharuddin alias "Gazi Umar" and Sajad Ahmad alias "Babar", were killed in Baramulla district in February. In March, HuM commander Aaqib Maulvi was killed in Pulwama district. Shahbaz Safi Wani alias Rayees Kachru of HuM was also killed in the same month in Pulwama district.

The senior commanders and high profile members of Lashkar-e-Taiba killed since the death of Burhan Wani include Abu Bakr in Sopore town in December, 2016. In January this year, Muzaffar Naikoo alias Muzz Moulvi was killed on the outskirts of Srinagar, Muzaffar Ahmed was killed in Budgam district, Abu Musab was killed in Bandipore, Qari Hanzullah and Anas Bilal were killed in Ganderbal district. In Bandipora, Abu Haris was killed in February, 2017.

The Indian security forces believe that killing of senior commanders and high profile guerilla fighters of various anti India armed groups will help in weakening the armed struggle. But as evident from the past, the killing of top commanders and high profile members of the anti India armed outfits will only create a brief lull in the armed struggle, it will not end it.

Meanwhile, Pakistan's political

The mid 1990s also saw such a brief lull in the armed struggle but two decades later the armed struggle is more intense than ever before. Similarly, the people of IHK are most passionate about getting freedom from Indian rule than ever before, especially in the post-2008 uprising era.

and moral support to Kashmir has not been successful in highlighting and resolving the Kashmir dispute. Following Burhan Wani's killing, Pakistan took the advantage of the momentum shown by the Kashmiri people in highlighting the nearly seven decade old dispute. Last year, Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, while addressing United Nations General Assembly, described Burhan Wani as the symbol of latest Kashmir Intifada (uprising). International media outlets prominently highlighted the news stories about IHK in the aftermath of Burhan's killing. Pakistani Prime Minister also sent nearly two dozen special envoys to important world capitals to apprise the international community about the human rights abuses committed by Indian security forces and to ask the international community to play its role in resolving one of the oldest unresolved disputes in the world. But in later months Pakistan failed to consolidate the momentum and missed another opportunity to raise the Kashmir dispute aggressively.

Numerous UN resolutions have reiterated that those people who are under foreign occupation have the right to use armed struggle against the occupiers. These UN resolutions, which are also part of the customary international law,

allow the occupied people to seek help, including arms support, from external sources for their right of self determination.

Pakistan has a long history of supporting people living under foreign occupation and colonial rule.

The Algerian independence movement was supported by providing diplomatic passports to the prominent members of Farhat Abbas led Algerian government in exile. Pakistan was also one of the first countries to support Eritrea's independence from Italian colonialism. It also vociferously advocated Tunisian independence from colonial rule. Liberation struggles of Morocco, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa were also morally supported by Pakistan.

In view of UN resolutions regarding armed struggle and Pakistan's long tradition of supporting the right of people living under foreign occupation, Pakistan should provide arms support to anti India armed outfits fighting in IHK against Indian security forces. The provision of military support by Pakistan will completely change the ground situation of the Kashmir dispute. Anti India armed outfits will be able to conduct more attacks, which will also increase the attrition rate of Indian security forces. In addition, the costs of managing

On Quaid-e-Azam's encouragement, 600 Muslim soldiers of British Indian Army joined Indonesians in their fight against Dutch imperialism. 500 soldiers laid down their lives for the liberation of Indonesia from imperialism.

nearly a million security personnel will increase considerably for India. Therefore, India will be left with very few options to deal with such a situation and will be forced to negotiate with Pakistan about resolving the Kashmir dispute.

On the diplomatic front, Pakistani diplomats should pursue the Kashmir dispute aggressively. In the days after the killing of Burhan Wani, Pakistan Mission to the UN, led by Pakistan's representative to the UN Maleeha Lodhi, aggressively highlighted the Kashmir issue. Similarly, more such efforts should be done by other Pakistani missions in important world capitals. Pakistani diplomats should also encourage the international community to support Kashmiri people by providing military support and by exerting pressure on India to resolve the Kashmir dispute. The Pakistani diplomats should also remind the international community that Kashmiri people should be supported for their right of self-determination in the same manner as numerous Asian and African countries were supported for their liberation from colonial rule.

Failure of Pakistan in highlighting the Kashmir dispute prominently has resulted in the stalemate of seven decade old dispute.

Following 9/11 attacks, India has taken the advantage of global anti-terrorism atmosphere to juxtapose Kashmiri armed struggle with terrorism. As discussed earlier, various UN resolutions allow people living under occupation to wage armed struggle. Under the armed struggle, people can identify the hard targets like military installations, vehicles of security personnel, etc. to attack.



Takfeeri terror groups like Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and Al-Qaeda in Indian Subcontinent accuse Pakistan Army and Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), Pakistan's premier intelligence agency, of sabotaging the Kashmiri armed struggle. Moreover, a new ideological shift is also being witnessed through which the Kashmiri freedom struggle is being portrayed as an Islamic struggle for the imposition of Sharia (Islamic Law) and the Islamic caliphate.

Similarly, the inability to present Kashmiri armed struggle as a legitimate struggle has given rise to a vacuum, which is being filled by India and Takfeeri terror groups (the terror groups that declare other Muslims of committing apostasy).

Takfeeri inclined individuals were also suspected of the killing of Moulvi Showkat Shah in April 2011. In April this year, a group of masked gunmen appeared at the grave of Naseer Pandith, a cop turned guerrilla fighter, in south IHK's Karimabad village. The group instructed the villagers not to raise Pakistani flags at the funerals of guerilla fighters and asked the crowd to shout slogans in favor of TTP. For the first time in nearly the three decade long insurgency, a group of gunmen spoke against Pakistan and also instructed the people not to raise Pakistani flags.

With the argument of failure of 'secular' institutions like the UN in resolving Kashmir dispute, ISIS flags debuted in the valley in July 2014. In recent months, ISIS flags have been waved in various protests taking place in IHK and slogans were up on the walls in support of the terror outfit.



The aim of Takfeeri terror groups is to create divisions among Kashmiris so that the Kashmiri armed struggle should be weakened. The weakening of the armed struggle will ultimately benefit India to strengthen its grip over the valley.

At a time when anti India antagonism is at its peak in IHK, the rise of Takfeeri ideology will serve as a blow to the Kashmiri freedom struggle.

The rise of Takfeeri mindset in IHK is a troubling issue for Pakistan also. The ISIS-inclined individuals could be utilized to spread the Takfeeri ideology in Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK)

and could also create havoc in AJK like Takfeeri terror groups did in rest of Pakistan. Therefore, Pakistan should pursue the Kashmir issue aggressively on both political and diplomatic fronts so that the dispute could be resolved as per the aspirations of the Kashmiri people.

In order to pave way for resolving the Kashmir dispute, Pakistan can invite India to join the \$62 billion China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) megaproject. Indian analysts have already written extensively about the benefits that India can have by joining CPEC. In order to become part of CPEC, Pakistan should set the demand of demilitarization of IHK as the minimum pre-requisite for India. The demilitarization of IHK will bring an immediate relief

to the Kashmiri people living under oppression. In addition, it will be a huge confidence-building measure that will help with negotiations to resolve the Kashmir dispute.

Fahad Nabeel studies Journalism and Mass Communication from the Virtual University of Pakistan. He is a Senior Research Associate at the CSCR. Fahad has considerably researched on regional geo-political issues and militancy trends. He also contributes his articles occasionally. He can be reached at fahad.n@cscr.pk

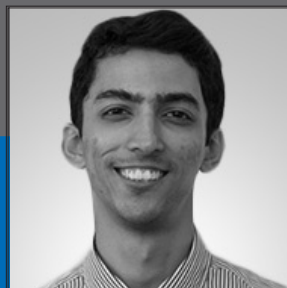
WAY FORWARD FOR THE US IN QATAR-GULF IMPASSE

Geostrategy

INTRODUCTION

No global or regional dispute is complete without examining its effect on Washington and vice versa. The ongoing Gulf rift with Qatar is no exception, particularly as it pits some of the closest US allies on opposite sides. Chiefly, this latest Gulf agitation stands to disrupt American efforts to fight ISIS and counter Iran regionally.

Currently, the US is both involved and not involved. What makes the Qatar situation singular is that the US is accustomed to working in shades of grey, not outright black and white scenarios, which is why lately, Washington has employed traditional, broad talking points. While the White House appeared to take credit for the Qatar crisis initially, subsequently, Pentagon and US military officials reiterated Qatar's role in regional security and maintaining US presence in the Middle East. Earlier, in April and May, the US President had praised Qatar while his top officials including US Secretary of Defense James Mattis, and Secretary of State Rex Tillerson had met with their Qatari counterparts.



by Omar Afzaal

Deciding on what path to take in the Gulf, the US needs to consider various dimensions relevant to the Qatar crisis. And in the process, review the 1990s Gulf War's most central legacy as a benchmark: emerge with regional alliances not battered nor Washington's politics polarized.

Deciding on what path to take in the Gulf, the US needs to consider various dimensions relevant to the Qatar crisis. And in the process, review the 1990s Gulf War's most central legacy as a benchmark: emerge with regional alliances not battered nor Washington's politics polarized.

Gulf-Qatar Divide - An Ideological Basis

What the US must consider in aligning its support and managing American policy in the Gulf now and in the near future is the extent of the Gulf rivalry that is rooted in more subtle and deep rooted religio political issues. Islam is a monotheistic, but not a monolithic religion. Same is true for within Sunni Islam, where diverse groups ranging from the ideological to the theological, accompanied with various political



strands characterize the Sunni community. The Saudi-led anti Qatar animus firmly reflects an ideological

In the Gulf, the Sunni community is characterized mainly in the form of the Saudi Arabia-led conservatives and Salafis on one hand and the militant Islamists (including Al-Qaeda and the Ikhwan/Muslim Brotherhood) on the other.

shade, grounded in Qatari support for jihadism and political Islam, but also, in Qatar's support for the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood and the Al Jazeera Network which frequently criticizes Saudi monarchy.

Qatar and the Saudi led Gulf/Egypt

In the Gulf, the Sunni community is characterized mainly in the form of the Saudi Arabia led conservatives and Salafis on one hand and the militant Islamists (including Al-Qaeda and the Ikhwan/Muslim Brotherhood) on the other.

For Washington to make a long lasting mediation impact in the Gulf, this characterization is what the US will have to come to terms with.

Qatar's support for the latter as a positive example of "political Islam" brings it into direct conflict with the Saudi led Gulf and Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) camp. The Muslim Brotherhood has social influence in Qatar, communicated to the political leadership through the informal sector of the majlis. Additionally, the Brotherhood's influence is informal not institutionalised, making it harder to trace in Qatar. Shaykh Yūsuf al-Qaradāwī, a follower of the Muslim Brotherhood founder, Hassan al-Bannā, and himself once favoured for leadership of the Brotherhood, was only able to raise himself to the level of an international leader under the patronage of the Qatari ruling family. Al-Qaradawi has lived in Qatar since the 1960s; his Shari'a and Life (al-Shari'awa'l-Hayāt) TV show on Qatar's Al-Jazeera has millions of followers. Al-Qaradawi's Qatari Islamists have operated so effectively with Doha's support that the Kuwaiti thinker Abd Allah al-Nafisī believed that they should have the lead instead of the Brotherhood's mother organization in Egypt. Other notable Brotherhood figures including Libyan Imam Ali Al Salabi and Egyptians Sheikh Ahmed Assal and Sheikh Abdel Moez Abdul Sattar have lived in exile in Doha for decades. Furthermore, former Qatari Brother Jassim Al-Sultan was the founder of the Al-Nahda (Awakening) Project to promote Islamist activism within democracies.

Perhaps alarmingly, Qataris generally view al-Qaradawi's teachings as being religious, not being Muslim Brotherhood. Doha, recognising the Brotherhood's appeal in a Wahhabi country, has sought to appease elements like al-Qaradawi, accepting the Brotherhood as a part of Qatar's ideological fabric. A symbiotic relationship has emerged between the Ikhwan and the Qatari state where neither uses the other but each serves the other's interests in amplifying its own role and interests. In return for Doha's soft cooperation, the Brotherhood has praised the al-Thani government for its Islamist-aligned policies, helping to cement al-Thani's political stability. Ultimately, Qatar does

not place restrictions on the Brotherhood because it does not need to do so. The Qatari Ikhwan remain amorphous, enjoying state backing while maintaining their ideology and independent activities, not affecting the state policies but the people who make the policies.

Although Saudi Arabia and Qatar are both Wahhabi states, for Riyadh, Wahhabism has been a means of extended Saudi influence over the other ruling tribes and neighboring states. This presents Doha with the dilemma that although Wahhabism serves the domestic purpose of shaping opinion and fostering legitimacy for al-Thani, it also stands to empower the Ulema, who might align themselves with the Saudis and pose a domestic challenge. For the Qataris, having the Ikhwan settles this delicate challenge of finding the right balance of meeting social, cultural and religious needs against political expediency. The Ikhwan and the Saudis being natural nemesis, the Qatari Ulema aligning with Riyadh is conveniently taken out as a possibility. In fact, the Qatari state has viewed Wahhabism both as an opportunity and a threat, giving it a dearth of indigenous Ulemas and thereby, a more secular character similar to Turkey and in sharp contrast to Saudi Arabia. This lack of Ulemas means Brotherhood figures such as al-Qaradawi gain profound prominence.



The Saudi conservatives and the Qatari-backed Ikhwan and Islamists are in stark contrast to one another, particularly in the parameters of their goals and the strategies encouraged to achieve these goals. The former view Iran and the traditional Shia rivalry as the sole threat, enjoying healthy (political, economic and military) relationships with non-Muslim Western actors, primarily the US. On the other hand, the militant Islamists, seeking to recreate the original Islamic caliphate model, see the non-Muslim West as a major intruder in the Middle East, thereby engaging the West militarily to reduce Western involvement in the region. This further highlights Qatar's self-righteous stance: while it relies heavily on US support, Qatar also assists anti-US groups.

Saudi Arabia and Qatar have both explicitly sought to affect regional uprisings since the Arab Spring, even occasionally employing their own militaries (e.g. in Libya and Yemen). In Syria, while Doha and Riyadh support the same anti-Assad camp, the Qataris are accused of funding rebels (particularly, Jabhat al Nusra, designated by the US as a Foreign Terrorist Organization) with ties to Al-Qaeda. Likewise, in Egypt in 2013, while the Gulf supported the military overthrow of the Muslim Brotherhood affiliated Morsi, Qatar reportedly provided around \$5 billion in aid to the Morsi government, prompting Saudi Arabia, UAE, and Bahrain to withdraw their ambassadors from Doha briefly. A decade ago in Yemen, Qatari mediation between the Houthis and Ali Abdullah Saleh was reportedly hindered by Riyadh, which has often viewed Qatar as an interloper; for the Saudis, Qatari mediation efforts strongly hint at Qatar's ambition to become a leading Middle East actor. Qatar continues to support anti-Saudi Muslim Brotherhood linked factions in Libya.

Qatar further has ties to the militant Islamist group Hamas; the Hamas political bureau leader Khalid Meshal resides in Qatar. Doha frames this support as essential for assisting Qatar to broker reconciliation between Hamas and the Fatah-led Palestinian Authority (PA). The latest Gulf-Qatar rift may involve serious Gulf demands to expel Hamas' Meshal and the Muslim Brotherhood's Qaradawi from Qatar.

Qatar and Bahrain

Along with the ideological divide mentioned above, the Qatar-Bahrain rivalry also stems from a territorial dispute over parts of the Arabian Peninsula, dating back to the 18th century. Although resolved in 2011 by the International Court of Justice (ICJ), it left scars that continue to haunt the two Gulf nations' relationship. The dispute had involved clashes, particularly in 1986 when Qatar had landed military personnel on the disputed manmade reef (Fasht al-Dibal). In March 2001, the ICJ had sided with Bahrain on the more central dispute over the Hawar Island while Qatar received the Fasht al-Dibal reef, Zubara town on the Qatari mainland and the smaller islands of Janan and Hadd Janan.

Qatar and the UAE

The Emiratis, being fiercely anti-Islamists, are staunch Sisi supporters against the Muslim Brotherhood and the Emirati Muslim Brotherhood (EMB) continues to be outlawed today.

Yet, in the early 1970s, with no Emirati institution of higher education, Emiratis went to Egypt for higher education, becoming affiliated with the Brotherhood ideology and returning as Brotherhood ambassadors to the UAE. The EMB founded the Islah Society in

1974, financially supported by Sheikh Rashid bin Said al Maktoum, the ruler of Dubai and the vice-president of the UAE. Two of the EMB, Saeed Abdullah Salman and Mohammed Abdul Rahman al Baker, even became UAE ministers. More importantly in the present UAE-Qatar rift context, both Salman and Al Baker were graduates of Qaradawi's Religious Institute in Qatar.

It was after 1983 when the UAE government began to undermine the Brotherhood in the Emirates and in 1995, the Emirati authorities disbanded the Islah



Society. In 2012, the Muslim Brotherhood in the UAE was closed down and Dhahi Khalfan (Dubai's former Police Chief) publically denounced the Brotherhood as a serious threat to Gulf security. Such an anti-Brotherhood stance came as Doha continued to support the Brotherhood, bringing Qatar and the UAE towards a head-on collision.

Military Presence & Iran

Qatar's actions are a study in contradictions. On one hand, it hosts the largest US military base, Al Udeid Air Base, in the Middle East, along with around 11,000 American armed force personnel. Yet, Doha has good relations with Iran, including active back channels to Tehran. It is fighting the Iranian-linked Houthis in Yemen and supporting anti-Assad insurgents in Syria. And yet, Qatar is a sponsor of the Four Towns agreement in Syria, negotiated with Iran and Hezbollah.

Through the massive al-Udeid Air Base, Qatar is central to crystallizing the US ability to project military force in the region. With over 100 aircraft, al-Udeid serves as the forward headquarters for US Air Force Central Command, contains the 379th Air Expeditionary Wing, and is equipped to handle American B-52 bombers. Most importantly, US airbase in the region (UAE, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Oman or Kuwait) is as well-equipped or has a CAOC as al-Udeid.

Al-Udeid is the Combined Air Operations Center (CAOC) for all US and coalition air power in almost two dozen countries, including Iraq, Syria, and Afghanistan. No US air base in the region (UAE, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Oman or Kuwait) is as well-equipped or has a CAOC as al-Udeid.

Counter-Terrorism

In this aspect too, Qatar is a mixed bag. A prime complaint of the Gulf against Qatar has been Doha's continued support for Islamist extremist groups in the region, particularly funds for al-Qaeda. Washington itself singled out Qatar as a "permissive jurisdiction for terrorist financing" in 2014.

Furthermore, Qatar's counter-terrorism endeavors (typically one-off actions in response to US pressure) are not well-known and have often been half-measures (e.g. prosecuting US and UN designated terrorist financiers but not imprisoning them): the little that is public comes from US government reports.

The Gulf finds issue with Qatar considering itself as a neutral player that can act as an intermediary. The ability and willingness to play both sides is a precarious one. Yet, Doha's contacts with extremist groups such as the Taliban or Hamas could allow back channel contact when needed for US allies.



Energy

Geopolitical instability in the Middle East is synonymous with a surge in energy prices. Till now, oil and gas markets have absorbed the latest Gulf tensions well. Yet, the longer this crisis goes, the more affected the energy sector will be.

Being the world's biggest LNG exporter and with the third-largest natural gas reserves (the top two, Iran

Being the world's biggest LNG exporter and with the third-largest natural gas reserves (the top two, Iran and Russia being hostile to the US), Qatar holds significant leverage.

and Russia being hostile to the US), Qatar holds significant leverage. It has pipelines in the Gulf, with customers including staunch US allies such as Britain, Japan, Egypt and the UAE. Oil will not be a top concern for the US since Qatar produces relatively little oil.

Additionally, most of Qatar's gas lies in the North Field in the Persian Gulf, close to Iran's South Pars gas field. With Doha lacking a substantial military, Qatar relies on Iranian good will and American military support to keep its biggest source of wealth secure.

For now, Washington's stance concerning Qatar's energy rights will echo the US global commitment to ensure the free passage of energy supplies internationally.

The meaning of Qatar Crisis for the US

The most immediate impact for Washington stands to be a weakened coalition against Iran and interrupted air missions against ISIS.

The latest Gulf rift does not change the strategic situation for the US immediately. In the long term though, this crisis creates an opening for Iran in the region, particularly in acquiring favorable public opinion within the Arab world. The Gulf-Qatar divide reveals the lack of unity and consensus among US allies when confronting Iran. How is the US supposed to coordinate an anti-Iran coalition when some of the coalition members do not even have diplomatic relations with each other?

To maintain the threefold American aims of providing security for the Gulf nations, fighting terrorism in the region and countering Iran, Washington cannot afford to pick black and white sides in a destabilizing

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fraternal dispute. The US realized this early on in the Gulf squabble: while President Trump initially embraced the Saudi camp against Doha, American diplomacy led by Secretary of State Rex Tillerson and Defense Secretary James Mattis is working to nullify this swiftly. Worrying for the US is the fact that Riyadh only took Washington into confidence a day before the actual move against Qatar. Additionally, the US has been unable to identify precisely what triggered the Gulf coordinated decision to cut ties with Qatar, with the reaction generally being labelled as an anti Iran move.

Washington will use American leverage over Qatar discreetly and behind the scenes. In order to be an effective mediator amongst its allies, the US will need to take steps to appease both parties:

- Call upon Riyadh and Abu Dhabi for a comprehensive briefing on the matter, followed by regular updates from the Saudis and Emiratis. This will test the US-Saudi bilateral relations and reveal how confident Saudi Arabia is in its relationship with the new US administration.
- Accept that Qatar's working relationship with Iran may be non-negotiable for Doha, especially as the two nations share the world's largest natural gas field.
- Press Qatar to review and rescind its ties to Hamas, the Ikhwan and the Jabhat al Nusra as a "neutral negotiator/mediator"; this does more harm than good and irks the Gulf nations repeatedly.
- Offer Riyadh a quid pro-quo deal, where Washington will advocate Saudis as the region's leaders and work more actively against Iranian influence if Riyadh gets the Gulf in order by toning down intra Arab disputes and the fierce (Islamism) polarization between the Salafis and the Ikhwan.
- Prevent Iran and Russia from acquiring the limelight and asserting their diplomacy using the growing humanitarian situation in Qatar. Appeal to the Saudi bloc of easing the Qatari blockade.
- Focus American diplomacy on restricting Doha's support for threatening regional actors. This includes forcing Qatar to publicly specify measures restricting political and financial backing to risky actors. The Saudi complaint is likely to encompass Al-Jazeera and Riyadh will possibly demand the closure of the Qatari media giant. Therefore, this will be another challenging avenue for the US to mediate.

• Urge both camps to curtail government sponsored hate speech. With America's Muslim allies (including Egypt and Turkey) taking sides, this Gulf rift is softening American regional influence by dividing up US partners. Relevant American efforts should end up preserving Washington's image as a global leader to all its allies, including both Riyadh and Doha.

- Recognize the potential of this dispute to metastasize into affecting more US allies, particularly Turkey. Ankara is already upset over the American backing of Kurds in Syria and has sided with Qatar. Clear US support for the Saudi bloc will further undermine the Turkey-US relationship.
- Recognize that the optimal outcome favoring US interests is a moderate Qatar, not an unstable Qatar. Actions destabilizing Qatar or compelling it to join the Iranian camp will need to be dealt with by Washington immediately.

US objectives in the Middle East may be uncomplicated but they are far from modest and Washington needs pragmatic allies in the region. Historically, the US has had to corral Arab regimes that disliked each other to get what the US needed from them so experience is on Washington's side. Within the Middle East, the Gulf is a special region, representing the apex of US power: the consistent theme from Truman to Reagan to Bush was their shared perception that US had to succeed in the Middle East. Whenever the US has faltered in the region, it has largely been when Washington has made incorrect assumptions, something it needs to be wary of in this latest situation. Ultimately, the unique confluence of energy, counter-terrorism and security factors, including Qatari ties with contentious groups such as the Ikhwan and Hamas, will subordinate any outright US action against Qatar.

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CPEC

USHERING NEW POSSIBILITIES FOR SOUTH ASIA

GEOSTRATEGY



by Muhammad Ammar Alam

The famous China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is called the game changer, and is a ray of hope for the Pakistani nation that is starving for something positive amidst a time of political and economic instability. Yet many see it with contempt due to the associated economic and strategic rewards.

The CPEC is a part of the “One Belt, One Road” (OBOR) initiative of China and is a series of infrastructure, energy and other development projects. It aims to link Gwadar to the Xinjiang province of China. The corridor, 3,200 km in length, will provide China with an easier and direct route to the Middle and Central Asian states. It is a burst of fresh air for the country’s economy, which has traditionally underperformed. According to an IMF growth forecast, the GDP of Pakistan is expected to grow to about five percent by the time 2020 comes around.

It was just a mere two months after this program had been announced that the Indian



Prime Minister of the time, Narendra Modi termed the project an “unacceptable” venture. These concerns are not unfounded since the conventional wisdom dictates that Delhi is wary of the prospective threats at two ends. On one hand, there is Gwadar where the presence of Chinese maritime would weaken the Indian strive for regional hegemony. Then there is the issue of Kashmir where the military frontier forces of Pakistan and China are merging. Indian hostility to the CPEC also stems from the reason that the route of the project passes from the area of Gilgit-Baltistan which India claims as its area, in addition to the territory of Kashmir, whose status is legally disputed as per the UN resolution.

In its bid to re-balance the strategic balance, Modi’s India looked to Iran and signed the Chabahar deal worth \$500 million. The deal that also includes Afghanistan is considered by many as a counterweight to the CPEC as it bypasses Pakistan to connect the Central Asian Republics (CARs) with Europe. For India, an additional benefit is the land access to Afghanistan which has been denied to it by Pakistan for a long time.

It is important to note that this is not the first time that a deal of the sort was proposed. Back in the 1950s when the Pak-Afghan relations were at a low due to the Pashtunistan issue,



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During the 2016 China visit of the Chief Executive of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan Dr. Abdullah Abdullah an MoU was signed in this regard with Beijing, which enabled Afghanistan to be a part of the OBOR project.

Kabul had asked the United States to help it in carving out a route through Chabahar port in Iran, thus taking care of its dependence on Pakistan for trade. However, the idea at that time was rejected by both the US and Iran for being economically inviable.

Today, the Chabahar deal has doubled the worry lines in Islamabad. The reaction in the country has been suspicious and uneasy. Some analysts view this project as an Indian attempt to encircle Pakistan and possibly isolate it in the region. Meanwhile, both Tehran and Islamabad officials continue to dismiss such notions and consider Chabahar and Gwadar as sister ports.

The security pessimists might see Chabahar as a potential counterpart to CPEC, but theoretically it can turn out to be a complement to CPEC too. CPEC is a part of a larger project: the OBOR. The rewards that Beijing will accrue from it will be strategic, in terms of economics and of energy security as well. The basic purpose behind CPEC was for the western provinces of China to undergo some development. In that context, using Pakistan as a transit route was the logical thing to do economically. In doing so, Beijing is likely to save billions of dollars and invaluable time that it would otherwise have wasted if the normal route via the Strait of Malacca was used. It is also an attempt by China to subdue the separatist and deprivation feelings among its western provinces and bring about an era of peace.

China’s ability to achieve its goals will not be hindered by Chabahar and the CPEC will not be derailed. Moreover, Kabul made a wise choice to welcome the Chinese projects. During the 2016 China visit of the Chief Executive of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan Dr. Abdullah Abdullah an MoU was signed in this regard with Beijing, which enabled Afghanistan to be a part

of the OBOR project.

Two factors determine the Chabahar and Gwadar rivalry. Firstly, it is observed that the ports would host the Indian and Chinese military respectively. Their presence in the ports would just fuel the rivalry between the two nations as they vie for regional supremacy. Secondly, observers believe that the Chabahar port may lessen the importance of the Gwadar port to an extent due to its role as a transit hub and a route for the CARs and Afghanistan.

The first part is true to an extent because China may be granted permission to deploy its military in Gwadar. However, it is likely that Pakistan will have the upper hand in such a setting. Meanwhile, the use of Chabahar for military purposes by India is highly unlikely since Iran may not be willing to allow it. This is so because Tehran would not want to involve itself in the Sino-Indian tussle because the relations between China and Iran in economic, political and strategic terms are of much more importance to it than Indo-Iran relations. Recent negotiations to increase bilateral trade between China and Iran will probably tip Iran not to end up on the wrong side of China, especially since Tehran needs all the economic benefits it can get. Moreover, the fact that China vetoed the UN resolution against Assad's regime in Syria, an Iranian ally, also have developed pro-Chinese sentiments in Tehran.

The Pak-Afghan transit is another matter to be considered. The problems between the two existed long before the Chabahar deal was agreed. The problems in trade with Pakistan forced the Afghan traders to divert their efforts to the Bandar Abbas port in Iran. It is worth mentioning that these problems were not caused due to the Chabahar deal rather it was a result of the strained relations between Kabul and Islamabad. Pakistan has been unwilling to give free passage to Afghan goods into

CPEC will enable Pakistan to bypass Afghanistan and reach the CARs through a quadrilateral transit agreement with CARs and China.

Islamabad should counter the Indo-Iran and the Indo-US nexus by consolidating its ties with China, Saudi Arabia and Turkey.

India. However, this lack of trust works both ways. CPEC will enable Pakistan to bypass Afghanistan and reach the CARs through a quadrilateral transit agreement with CARs and China. It is pertinent that Pakistan does not allow the distractions of internal politics and external pressure to hamper the CPEC project. To achieve this end, the threats that it faces from the adversaries need to be met forcefully.

It is not a far-fetched possibility that all of this is just another chess-move in the new great game between China and the US. With countries like Iran, Pakistan, and India as chess-pieces, the motivation behind this strategic game is the race for regional and global hegemony. In this context, Munir Akram, the author of "The New Great Game", recommends that Islamabad should counter the Indo-Iran and the Indo-US nexus by consolidating its ties with China, Saudi Arabia and Turkey.

The Trump visit to the Middle East has altered the regional dynamics too. The launch of Islamic Military Alliance by the Saudis and the subsequent invitation to General Raheel Sharif to head it was just an exercise to gain legitimacy to its effort to combat militancy. The decision of General Raheel to accept the invitation may have possibly irked Tehran which led to a series of events that shook the Pak-Iran relations. Meanwhile, after Pakistan had served its purpose, the Saudis turned a cold shoulder. The extent of hospitality, rather the lack of it, shown by the Saudis during Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's recent visit to Saudi Arabia for the Islamic Conference is a testimony to this fact. In this strategic milieu, reports of General Raheel's potential abandonment of post and return to Pakistan is a welcome news.

On the other hand, India is a close ally of the US and an economic partner of Iran as well. The growing hostility between the US and Iran is likely to cause jitters in the Indo-Iran relations.

Thus, the time is ripe for Pakistan to cash in on the narrow window of opportunity that has opened and sort things out with Tehran. For that Islamabad needs to play its cards with real intelligence.

In recent times, Pakistan has been under threat from three fronts: India, Iran and Afghanistan. A realistic assessment of the situation dictates that Islamabad needs Iran on its side rather than against it. Pakistan needs to acknowledge that its interests align with Tehran rather than Riyadh at the moment. Hence, good relations with Iran are of far more importance right now than with the Saudis because geographically neighbouring countries cannot be changed hence they have a precedence. Islamabad needs to deal with Tehran in a diplomatic manner and look towards the converging points between the two as a building block towards better relations.

Delhi has openly announced its opposition, too. It will leave no stone unturned to destabilize the project. For this purpose, it may continue to use Afghanistan to undermine CPEC and destabilize Pakistan. The torrent of attacks on the Chinese workers was by no means an accident or a one-off thing. Islamabad needs to ramp up the security for them, and mull over the possibility of an armed response to any terrorist network that may hamper progress. Furthermore, India has its eye on Balochistan as a potential source of destabilizing Pakistan. India has tried every trick in the book to make Balochistan, Pakistan's jugular vein. One does not need to look any further than the Kulbhushan Jadhav episode to reach this conclusion. With this backdrop, it is imperative for Pakistan to re-shift the focus back on Kashmir. Islamabad needs to make the world realize that Kashmir is the jugular for Pakistan rather than Balochistan, and all the efforts of India in Balochistan are just to divert attention from the age-old issue of Kashmir. It is imperative that Pakistan continues to fight for the right of self-determination of Kashmiris on the international forum and keep the spotlight focused on it until a meaningful solution is reached upon.

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The relations of Pakistan with Saudi Arabia and Turkey may now turn out to be of far more importance. They may turn out to be a buffer for the Indo-Iran relationship. Pakistan's role in the Islamic coalition is critical in this regard and in this context, the fact that General Raheel is heading the alliance works in Islamabad's benefit too. The Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) states may be convinced of closer ties to China courtesy of CPEC.

As always, the US is a big-time player in the new great game in Asia. Washington is looking towards a military alliance with India to boost its strategic tussle with China. The US wants Iran's help in stabilising Afghanistan. However, the US-Iran relations have turned cold again due to the recent comments of President Donald Trump in his tour of the Middle East.

As far as Islamabad is concerned, the key is to be protective of CPEC as it faces a subtle threat from the US to disrupt the project. To its credit, China made a wise move to invite Washington to participate in the CPEC. And even though US diplomatically stated that it is not opposed to the CPEC, the vibes from Washington are ominous as it continues to host Delhi. The new great game is on the verge of getting rougher and a whole lot tougher. However, there is light at the end of the tunnel for Pakistan. All it needs to do is to follow it.

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ETHNO-NATIONAL TERROR ACTIVITIES IN PAKISTAN

IN THE SECOND QUARTER OF 2017

Prepared by
Research Desk





34

Twenty four people killed and ten wounded in terror attacks.

571

Separatists belonging to Baloch Liberation Army (BLA), Balochistan Liberation Front (BLF), Baloch Republican Army (BRA), Jeay Sindh Qaumi Mahaz (JSQM), Lashkar-e-Balochistan (LEB), and United Baloch Army (UBA) surrendered before the authorities.

8

Seven BLA separatists and one Jeay Sindh Muttahida Mahaz(JSMM) gang leader arrested.

7

BLA separatists killed in the second quarter.

THREE MOST TARGETED TYPES

18

Seventeen **LABORERS** killed and one wounded in three terror attacks.

7

Four **FC BALOCHISTAN** killed and three wounded in one terror attack.

15

Two **PAKISTAN NAVY** killed and three wounded in one terror attack.

THREE MOST COMMON ATTACK TYPES

Shooting

7

Terror attacks

Bombing

2

Terror attacks

Motorcycle Bombing

1

Terror attack

INTRODUCTION

Ties between America and China are centuries old. The United States (US) has had interest in China for quite some time. It was back in 1784 when the Americans had recently gained independence, that the first merchant ship hoisting an American flag sailed for China. Interestingly, the ship was named the "Empress of China". Earlier the US interests in China were driven by economic motives. There was a need for new markets for American goods because the relations with Britain were cold.

The mid-19th century brought with it deepening of ties. Religion was the initial binding factor as the churches in America searched for Christian converts in China's population. The missionaries who began their preaching as early as the 19th century, were among the first in America to learn about the Chinese language and culture.

Meanwhile, the Chinese had an eye on the US as they saw it as an opportunity. It was during the gold rush that the Chinese immigrated to the States and aided them in construction of the Transcontinental Railroad. In return, the US agreed

to allow immigration from China and guaranteed tolerance and a discrimination free welcome.

THE AGE OF IMPERIALISM AND THE US-CHINA RELATIONS

The religious, economic and political ties ensured that the US and China remained on good terms for much of their history. As the 19th century began, there was a clear shift in policies of the powerful states towards imperialism. They were ambitions to break China into multiple colonies. However,

It was back in 1784 when the Americans had recently gained independence, that the first merchant ship hoisting an American flag sailed for China. Interestingly, the ship was named the "Empress of China".

EVOLVING PATTERN IN SINO-US RELATIONS

STRATEGIC PULSE



by Ousama Khursheed

the Americans believed that an independent and whole China would turn out to be beneficial for them. So, this turned out to be a vital change, noted in the country's history because this saved China from potential colonization and conquests.

The intentions of Japan to expand itself in the early part of the 20th century was seen as a clear violation of the open door policy by the US. This opposition to the Japanese expansion induced the deployment of a Pacific fleet in Pearl Harbor whose ultimate destruction at the hands of Japan became a part of the World War 2 folklore. The Chinese territory was also used extensively by the Americans during the World War and it was at the insistence of the US after the war, that China was nominated for one of the five permanent seats in the United Nations' Security Council.

COMMUNIST CHINA AND THE US

The Sino-US relations were not always sweet. The US restricted immigration by passing the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882 and later banned the immigrants from China from getting citizenship due to their race. However, these tensions were at the peak after the People's Republic of China was founded in 1949. After that, the communist forces of China and the Americans were at war during the Korean War in 1949. The relations further deteriorated during the 1950s when Taiwan received communist threats. And to deal with the threat of Chinese communism, the US decided to wage a war in Vietnam too.

A positive shift in the relationship of both countries began when President Nixon decided to repair the relations with China. It was hoped that the power of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) would be balanced out by forming better ties with the Chinese. This step was welcomed

by China because of their own reservations against the USSR. Deng Xiaoping, the successor of Mao, aimed to modernize China by forming close ties with the West while keeping the Communist Party in charge. So, as China opened its economy to the world; liberalization at home was strictly prohibited. This resulted in the rise of the economic muscle of China.

The end of the Cold War saw an emerging divergence in the foreign policies of both the US and China. The bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade during the 1999 Balkan War was seen as an American measure to contain China. Similarly, human rights violations and aversion from the US technology raised doubts in America as to whether China and the US could work together at all.

SINO-US RELATIONS TODAY

The relationship between China and the US brings back memories of the great powers of olden times. Although they have trade and economic relations, but the element of trust is missing. Both may be ranked amongst the biggest economies of the world however, the views and stance on different issues are often different and contradictory. For example, Beijing and Washington differ on how to deal with a rogue state such as North Korea. Similarly, their stance on human rights are contradictory as well. China is ruled by dictators in the form of the Communist Party. While all this can be tolerable domestically, the Chinese support for dictatorship regimes in Zimbabwe and Sudan raises many eyebrows in the West, especially considering that

With the introduction of the "open door" policy, China became a contender for an open economy in terms of foreign trade and investment.

this support is based on the supply of raw materials to China from these countries.

One might argue that the US holds superiority when it comes to military might. But a couple of decades characterized by double digit growth rates has seen China spend increasingly on its defense, thus narrowing the gap between the two. Today, Beijing boasts of having a well-trained military, equipped with latest technology and arsenal. The actions of the US military are analyzed continuously by the Chinese. Technological advancements in China have led to developments in anti-satellite and anti-ballistic missiles in response to the American expertise in these areas.

The competition has spilled itself into Asia as well. The US agreed to provide Taiwan with weaponry to defend itself against a possible Chinese invasion. Furthermore, the US has also formed alliances with the neighbors of China such as Japan, South Korea, Thailand and the Philippines. Such alliances have turned out to be a cause of concern for China as they continue to wrestle for global hegemony with the US.

POWER TRANSITION BETWEEN CHINA AND THE US

The assertion of China in the global scenario has been a cause of concern for Washington since a while. The most assertive and conspicuous acts by China are the ones that put it up against the US. The potent and advanced moves in the South China Sea have caught attention of many in the world.

Why has Beijing become so assertive? Analysts observe that China's change of attitude can be attributed to the extension of its increasing national power rather than any planned act to dethrone the US. This assertiveness is an embodiment of the transition of power at its second stage between the US and China.

For now, China is still baffled by its

own ability to assert itself, while the US is unsure of how to deal with the threat of a powerful foe like China. Meanwhile, the rest of the nations in the Asia-Pacific and the rest of the world in general, have their eyes glued to the ongoing power tussle between the two giants of modern world so that they are able to adapt their policies accordingly.

POWER TRANSITION

The theory of power transition is characterized by a rise of a big nation that was previously underdeveloped, which had not been previously satisfied by the international system and the stakeholders. As time passes and the power of this nation expands and grows, the “big fellow” feels an impulse to alter those rules in the system which work against its interests.

Such alterations challenge the international order and the status quo. Therefore, if the existing powers in the international order cannot come to terms with the changes in a peaceful manner, war becomes the ultimate end.

A renowned historian Thucydides was the first to observe that the transition of power carries with it the seeds of war. While deliberating over the war between Athens and Sparta during the fifth century BC, he observed that the war continued for 27 years between the two nations primarily because the Athenians became fearful of the Spartans.

While this theory on the transition of power may still be subject to scrutiny, the nations of the world are assessing the quick and unprecedented rise of China. China's relations with the West may be in a precarious position but not more than its relations with the US. This begs one to ask whether a transition of power is soon to happen and if the relations between China and US will follow the steps of the troubled ties between Athens and Sparta centuries ago.



STAGE I OF THE US-CHINA POWER TRANSITION (1978-2008)

It is easy to conclude that China's rise to power in the international system led by the US has kick started a power transition between the US and China. This transition of power began at the end of 1970s when China decided to embark upon the road to modernization. The resulting unprecedented growth caught the attention of the global powers.

In the middle of all this, Beijing's relations with other nations of the world started deteriorating as the international community began to view global politics from the “China threat” perspective. Firstly, it is worth noting that China had indeed played no part in the construction of the existing international order. In fact, it had also decided to sabotage it before its decision to modernize in 1978. However, at that time, China was not in the best of positions to challenge the US led system. Therefore, it decided to become a part of the system, especially on the economic front. But even then, the world powers remained suspicious of China and believed that it was a matter of time

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before they decided to alter the system and disturb the status quo.

Secondly, Chinese are resilient in nature and enjoy very balanced and structured social, political and strategic traditions that are qualified enough to match those of the West. Samuel Huntington exemplarily expressed this situation by saying that China of the time was still a potential threat to the West because as the power of China grows, the people of China would feel entitled to alter the status quo and remake the world order in a way that is acceptable to them.

Thirdly, China is run by an authoritarian party which is communist in nature. They refuse to practice and accept anything remotely related with democracy and its standards or values.

However, for the Chinese such allegations of a potential threat have always been an insult. It is their point of view that the Thucydides trap and the past experiences of the world have nothing to do with the relations of China with the US. Yet, their leaders do covertly accept that the rise in power of China has generated forces and situations that are not in their control.

STAGE II OF THE US-CHINA POWER TRANSITION (2009-2050)

By the time 2009 came around, the power transition between the US and China had entered its second stage. Observers believe that this stage will continue until the year 2050 comes around. The question that arises now is: what characterizes the second stage of this transition of power? The most obvious change is the narrowing of the gap between the leader of the system and the power that is rising. Two patterns of behavior can be analyzed in this respect. Firstly, the leader in the system creates a strategic anxiety because it fears the power that is rising along with the impact it will have on the international order. The leader wants to still manage and mold the rising power. While its supremacy may have been weakened, it is still

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enough for it to take a stand and launch a pre-emptive strike in order to keep the rising power in check.

Meanwhile, the power that is rising starts gaining confidence and



believing in itself as its actions become more uncompromising, ruthless and assertive. The rising power has to bear the actions and decisions of the system leader on various issues during the first stage because it needs support and leniency from the leader. However, once it has a stronger foothold and enough strength, it starts to resist and becomes more unwilling to put up with the leader without much resistance.

It is worth noting that the rising power would like to avoid any sort of physical tussle between the leader and itself. This is so because over time the parvenu would soon surpass the leader of the system. Hence, it would be foolish to ruin the eventual conclusion with a fight. However, this may not always be the case as reality may come to contradict theory. It is due to these reasons that the second stage is a time for the Thucydides trap to come into play.

US STRATEGIC

REBALANCE TO THE ASIA PACIFIC

Fears of an emerging China have been instilled in Washington since the early 1990s. But the US had been kept busy in more pressing matters with the other nations of the world. Thus, it was not able to respond in a coherent manner to the enormous challenge that China presented. This was the case until Barack Obama took oath in the year 2009.

Barack Obama took upon himself to lead a response to China. He did so by the strategic rebalancing and pivot of the US towards the Asia Pacific region. In retrospect, this move was fairly predictable by the system leader in the second stage of the transition of power. This rebalancing sought to strengthen and save the political, economic and security order that the US had led in the region of Asia Pacific. The shift can be seen as a response to a potential shift in the power in strategic and

geo political terms on the world stage. This was a significant act considering that the US decided to focus on a relatively alien region of Asia Pacific, considering its earlier exploits in Europe and the Middle East.

The shift can be justified since the trouble created by the Islamic militants around the world is not capable of dethroning the US from its seat as the front-runner in the international order. Similarly, nations like Iran and North Korea also do not pose any such threat to topple the US. In contrast, the challenge presented by China is more systemic and its increasing strength has the capability to affect the world's destiny.

Eight years to date and the policies of Obama have made considerable progress. But, it is fair to say that this headway has come at a big price; the US has had to confront China which may lead to an eventual showdown between the two in near future.



The policymakers in Beijing were not idle during the US strategic rebalance towards the Asia Pacific. While the Obama administration was busy in the shift, China was making policy adjustments of its own to counter the US. President Xi Jinping's orchestration of China's assertive diplomacy is a very significant initiative in this regard.

CHINA AS A GAME CHANGER

The policy makers in Beijing were not idle during the US strategic rebalance towards the Asia Pacific. While the Obama administration was busy in the shift, China was making policy adjustments of its own to counter the US. President Xi Jinping's orchestration of China's assertive diplomacy is a very significant initiative in this regard.

Similar to the US drive to rebalance towards Asia, China was rallied by Xi Jinping with his drumbeat of the "China dream". While Obama took charge of an office reeling from costly wars and financial trouble, Xi came into office of a country which had witnessed extraordinary rates of growth during the past two decades. China had achieved the status of the second largest economy in the world, and was the largest trading nation in the world. Xi's motivation towards the Chinese population rests on his belief that Chinese can do more and work harder in order to facilitate their country in the race towards a hegemonic status.

This initiative is a step away from the Chinese long standing practice of minding its own business on the international forum and keeping a low profile. Instead, this

policy looks to follow an active approach to diplomacy. Now, China has begun taking the first step on the international forum and construct its own path towards continued economic development domestically. An example of this assertive attitude of China is the Belt & Road initiative which aims to increase Chinese involvement in world politics and governance.

A FUTURE UNKNOWN

The power transition between the US and China is unlike any seen in the past. One cannot expect a manual to guide us on what to expect in the second stage. However, knowing what we know, one can draw some conclusions and present some tentative predictions for the future.

Firstly, China's modernization and rapid pace of development can be taken as a certain proof of the fact that it would be able to complete most of its development endeavors by the time the year 2050 approaches. This rising trend of China cannot be slowed down by external forces, rather it is in the hand of the Chinese on how far they can go. The Communist Party of China has to play a key role in this respect. For now, and for many more years to come, one can safely say that the Communist Party in China will continue to assert itself domestically and continue its authoritarian rule. Secondly, due to the certainty of China's continuing development, it is a possible conclusion that China would eventually be on equal footing with the US for some time during the second stage of the power transition.

The leaders of China are ready and excited for this eventuality to occur. It is their belief that their proposed model for the conduct of international relations is a possible solution to this change. The US has also received countless assurances from President Xi claiming that China is not like other great powers of the past, and that Beijing has no

intentions whatsoever to dethrone US as a global power. In this case, cooperation is the only option for both these global giants. Both will have to compromise on matters and there will be a lot of gives and takes involved. If both China and the US are to avoid falling into the trap of Thucydides they will have to work together and compromise where necessary in order to move forward.

The US however, is not willing to take China's promises. After all, international relations are characterized by self interest and nations have to be aware of each other's intentions, especially the big powers. On one hand, China is concerned that the US does not approve of its communist government and may try to plan its demise. Meanwhile, the US fears that China is aiming to topple the existing international order led by it. The cooperation between Beijing and Washington can be attributed to convenience rather than choice because it is based on perceived notions of common interests rather than trust or common values. Such mistrust in the relationship between the two countries will continue to haunt them no matter how hard the Chinese government tries to ignore the differences in ideology between the US and itself.

CAN CHINA BE GIVEN THE BENEFIT OF DOUBT?

Even though the challenge of China to the US is increasing in magnitude, there exist many areas where negotiations can be done in due time. But on the matter of the maritime tussle between the two in the western Pacific, the dynamics are completely different. The rivalry in that part of the globe is getting intense and rapid. It is completely possible that before Beijing and Washington come up with an appropriate and a cool headed way to solve the issue, things might accelerate out of hand fast, leading to an ultimate showdown between the two. But if we look towards the Middle East, the happenings



Twelve of the last fourteen land disputes have been settled by China in the past few decades. Among all these, Vietnam case deserves a special mention; a rival of China in the South China Sea.

in the South China Sea seem dim in comparison. There is a need to take a few steps back and think everything through without taking any rash decisions which could worsen the situation.

The Chinese believe that their ability combined with their wisdom can help in resolving the problems of China and its maritime neighbors, in a peaceful and fair manner. Fingers are pointed in

Beijing towards an impressive record of peaceful dispute settlements of territories with the neighbors of China. Twelve of the last fourteen land disputes have been settled by China in the past few decades. Among all these, Vietnam case deserves a special mention; a rival of China in the South China Sea. The land disputes with Vietnam were resolved successfully with Vietnam receiving about 52 percent of the disputed territory including the segment of land where both states faced off in the 1979 war. The Gulf of Tonkin has also been divided equally between the two nations. This shows the consideration that China has shown to its smaller and weaker neighbors. Beijing asserts that if the land disputes could be settled in a peaceful manner, the same can be done in the case of sea disputes.

Another matter of considerable importance is the imaginary nine dash line around the South China Sea, constructed by China. The drawing of this imaginary nine dash line can be seen in the same light as those European powers who used to divide and share the regions of influences in the world among themselves during the colonial period. In a way, the Chinese have only themselves to blame for not taking advantage of the situation in the past by securing the disputed areas of the sea in a time when the powerful used to do whatever they wanted, while the weaker nations suffered.

One can argue that the nine dash line is unlawful in the light of the Law of the Sea. However, history cannot be set aside. Beijing knows that the nine dash line cannot be converted into a national lake by brute force of an imaginary line. In



all practicality, this line can be seen as China's move to gain leverage in the negotiations and it is highly likely that it will be willing to do a compromise with its neighboring states. Recently, China came up with the idea to solve the issues in the South China Sea. It proposed that the disputes of territory should be left to the contestants only to solve. While China and the ASEAN can work together to maintain

The drawing of this imaginary nine dash line can be seen in the same light as those European powers who used to divide and share the regions of influences in the world among themselves during the colonial period.

a condition of relative peace in the region. This solution can be implemented to great effect.

Keeping everything in mind, the US should consider giving China the benefit of doubt. This is a practical and a prudent approach. The world has already been witness to two World Wars and it is highly likely that if another war is fought at such a high level between the two superpowers of the time with state of the art weaponry, the consequences could be disastrous for the world at large. Cooperation and compromise is the only way forward for these two modern day giants if they are to co-exist and escape the trap of Thucydides.

Ousama Khursheed is currently working as Senior Research Associate in CSCR. He is Alumnus of National Defence University. He is also member of ACCA. He has previously served in NDU's research think tank ISSRA in 2015. His area of interest is Defence studies and foreign policy of United States, and he writes on regional contemporary issues. He can be reached at ok@cscr.pk

Shafi Muhammad Burfat was born on 25th November, 1965 in Tehini, Dadu. He hails from Jangara Bajara, a hilly area near Sehwan Sharif. In 1980, he became Founder Chairman of Jeay Sindh Inqlabi Mahaz (JSIM). He had remained a close associate of Dr. Qadir Magsi, Chief of Sindh Taraqi Pasand Party, in the late 1980s and the early 1990s. He, along with Dr. Magsi was accused of the 1988 Hyderabad massacre in which 162 people were killed. In 1995, Jeay Sindh Inqlabi Mahaz merged into Jeay Sindh Qaumi Mahaz (JSQM), a single platform established with the purpose of gaining independence of Sindh from Pakistan. Shafi was elected as JSQM's first Central Joint Secretary from 1995 to 2000.

In November 2000, he, along with Samiullah Kalhoro, Muzafar Bhutto and Shabir Mallah left JSQM and founded Jeay Sindh Muttahida Mahaz (JSMM). His party aims to create a Sindhi state, known as Sindhudesh, which would be independent of Pakistan. He is a fugitive since the establishment of JSIM in the 1980s. He fled to Afghanistan, where he had established a control centre in Kabul. Shafi carries head money of Rs. 5 million. According to media reports, JSMM launched Sindhudesh Liberation Army (SLA), its militant wing, in 2009. SLA has been involved in numerous terror attacks in different areas of Sindh. In March 2013, Pakistani interior ministry proscribed JSMM as banned organization.

Since 2014, he is living in exile in Germany. He openly uses social media sites like Facebook and Twitter to spread his propaganda. Both JSMM and SLA are funded by India's Research and Analysis Wing (R&AW). According to media reports, Shafi regularly visits New Delhi to meet with his R&AW handlers.

Name	Shafi Muhammad Burfat
Alias/Nom de guerre	N/A
Age	52
Tribe	Burfat
Position	Chairman of Jeay Sindh Muttahida Mahaz
Current Location:	Germany
Educational Background/Alma Mater	N/A
Political Affiliation	Secularism



Prepared by Research Desk

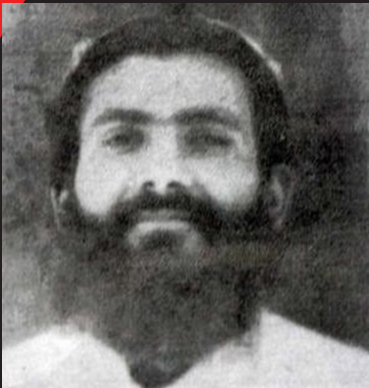
KNOW THY ENEMY

Matiur Rehman, born in 1977, had been a member of both Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LeJ) and Al Qaeda (AQ). Hailing from Bahawalpur district, he became LeJ's Chief Operational Commander following the June 2002 arrest of then LeJ's Salar-e-Aala (Operational Chief) Akram Lahori. Rehman, also known as "Commander Qari Matiur Rehman", had been AQ's Planning Director and a member of its External Operations Council, which is tasked to strike Western interests. He is believed to have played the role of coordinating with Al Qaeda the top leadership on behalf of Pakistani militants.

Rehman, an expert in bomb making, is closely linked to the January 2002 murder of Wall Street Journal reporter Daniel Pearl. He is wanted by both Sindh and Punjab Police. He is on the top of Punjab Police list of 100 most wanted terrorists with head money of Rs. 10 million. Rehman master minded two failed assassination attempts on Pervez Musharraf, then Pakistani President, in December, 2003, and July ,2004 suicide attack on then Prime Minister designated Shaukat Aziz. He had been involved in financing and planning August, 2006, foiled London airline plot to destroy mid-air as many as 10 US bound British aircraft.

Rehman also assisted Adnan el Shukrijumah, a top AQ leader who was killed in December, 2014, in training AQ operatives who planned to attack trains in the New York city area in 2009.

Name	MatiurRehman
Alias/Nom de guerre	Abdul Samad Sial / Commander Abdul Samad / Samad / Ustaad Talha
Age	39 / 40
Tribe	Arain
Position	Senior member of TTP
Current Location:	Afghanistan
Educational Background/Alma Mater	N/A
Political Affiliation	Kharji - Takfeeri



In December, 2010, the US designated him as a global terrorist. The UN Security Council, in August, 2011, tagged Rehman as a most wanted AQ linked terrorist for his involvement in August, 2006, foiled London airline plot. He fled North Waziristan after narrowly escaping American drone attack in 2011. Following the launch of Operation Zarb-e-Azb in North Waziristan in June, 2014, he kept a low profile for about a year. At the behest of AQ, he spearheaded the merger of his outfit, along with outfits led by Qari Ehsanul Haq and Muhammad Shamil, with Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) in May, 2015. In September, 2016, authorities froze all his bank accounts. Presently, he is heading a TTP faction in one of the eastern provinces of Afghanistan.

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT



BY JUNAID ROSHAN TANOLI

DEBUNKING THE MYTHS OF CHINA PAKISTAN ECONOMIC CORRIDOR (CPEC)

Trade has always been the primary pillar of remuneration, since the prehistoric times, even when there was no monetary or fiscal system, exchange of goods and services through sea, camels, etc. were prevalent, 15,000 years back. (Watson 2006)

The 20th century epoch of political ideology was marked with a tug of war between Capitalism and Communism and the Cold War rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union. It experienced transformational changes in the world's political landscape. In comparison, the 21st century is labelled as one of economic ideologies where the survival of nations depends upon economic competitiveness. National security and state interest are the two vital parameters for a partnership between any two countries. Pakistan has remained a trooper in geo strategic theatres and has combatted security threats for many years. It is for the first time now, through the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), that Pakistan is firming its position by offering geoeconomic advantages and connecting about half of the world through Gwadar.

CPEC, a recent project of the historic friends Pakistan and China, is another remarkable



illustration of brotherhood and trust between the two. The corridor endorses a set of projects under construction at a cost of \$62 billion and aims to facilitate trade and regional connectivity through the construction of Gwadar port, a network of highways, railway tracks, energy sector, and pipelines.

Pakistan has always followed a friendly foreign policy to establish decent relations with all its neighbouring states. Regional connectivity is one of the most significant aspects of Pakistan's foreign policy and through CPEC, Islamabad is cultivating affable relations with all these states, enhancing the economic strength of the entire region.

While CPEC is in its full swing, disparagers are wafting myths about the Belt and Road initiative albeit the pilot project of CPEC has rendered them failures. Several absurd myths are being circulated inside Pakistan as well as from across the border to emasculate the pilot project. The strategy of igniting provincial conflicts regarding CPEC projects along with the allocation of resources and transmitting scepticism in local and foreign businessmen is not all. Negative narratives from a particular section aim to impede the mega project for the sake of self interest, however, they have repeatedly been denied by Pakistan and China both as the countries offer a way forward to global integration and sustainable economic growth. This article aims to debunk the conspiracy theories by declaring the facts.

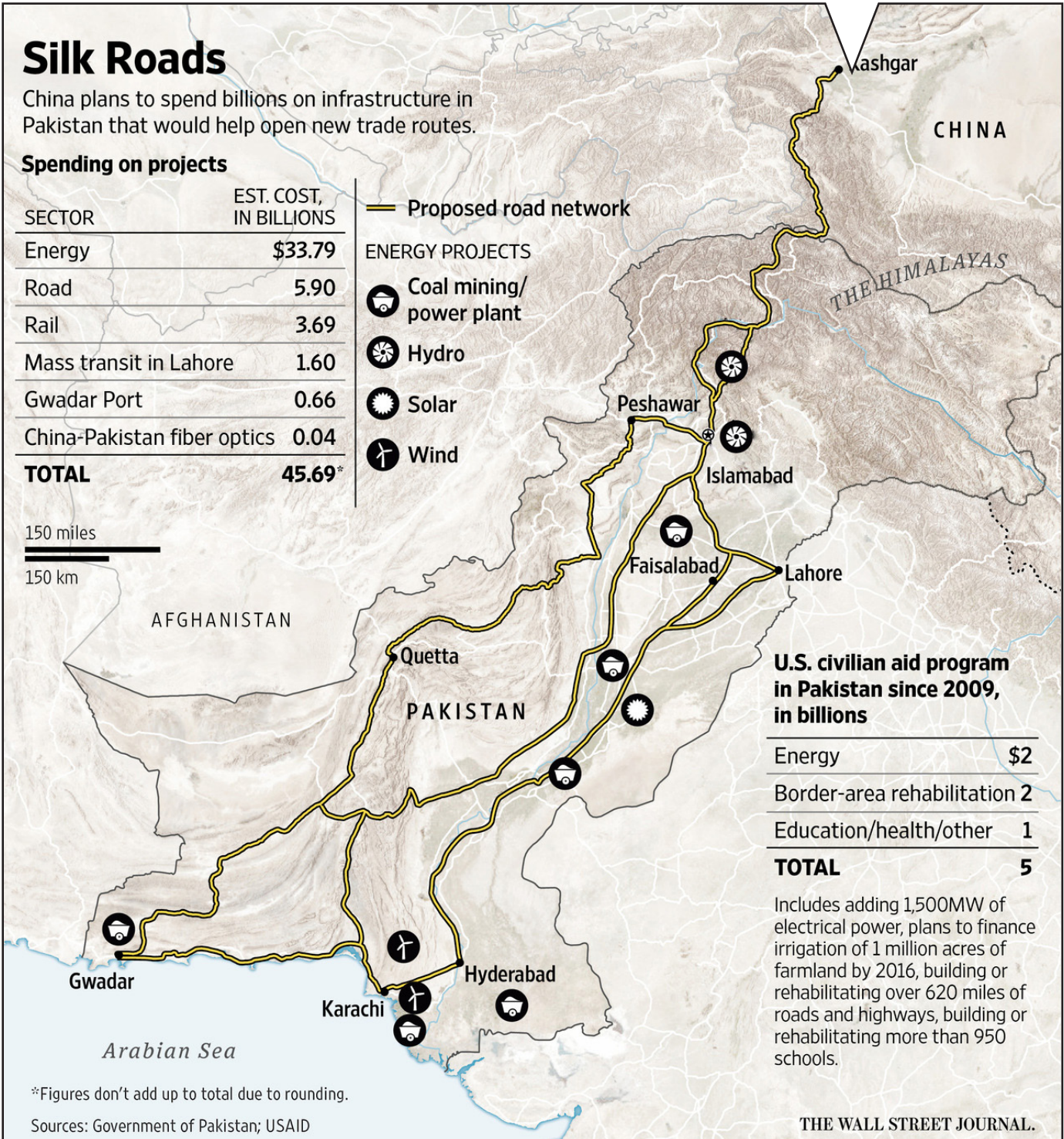
GWADAR: CHINESE NAVAL BASE INSTEAD OF A SEA PORT

Being ever mistrustful of China, New Delhi argues that through the Belt and Road initiative and especially CPEC, China will encroach India's sphere of influence in areas like Bhutan, Nepal, Sri Lanka and many East African coastal countries. India also maintains a narrative about the Gwadar port of Pakistan being used as Chinese naval base in the future to set a watchful eye on India and claims that it will strengthen China's String of Pearls which is perceived as a strategic noose. This will reduce

“ Gwadar Port Authority is expecting Gwadar's population to grow from 85,000 to 500,000 by 2020. The port provides ingress to the Indian Ocean which hosts 70% of the world's oil trade and about 65% of raw material annually. The project is becoming the trade pivot and capturing mammoth foreign direct investment (FDI), expectedly US\$150bn.

Indian influence in the region which makes India uncomfortable.

CPEC is a pilot project and an integral part of Sino-Pak priorities as well as an essential scheme of economic activities. China and Pakistan intend to utilize Gwadar as an economic fulcrum. The port is considered to connect the three engines of growth - South Asia, China, and Central Asian Republics (CARs). Gwadar Port Authority is expecting Gwadar's population to grow from 85,000 to 500,000 by 2020. The port provides ingress to the Indian Ocean which hosts 70% of the world's oil trade and about 65% of raw material annually. The project is becoming the trade pivot and capturing mammoth Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), expectedly US \$150 billion. China needs unhindered and cost effective access to raw material which it has found through Gwadar. Beijing commutes its oil requirements by ship from the Strait of Malacca after covering nearly 14,500 km while the port of Gwadar has reduced the distance to 4000 km, effectively cutting almost 70% of their travel cost. The notion of Gwadar port being used as a naval base by Beijing to unsettle New Delhi is groundless; the port is designed utterly for trade based activities. It will enhance regional connectivity improving trade relations among the nations. So, Gwadar is exclusively an imperative economic choke point with diverse commercial prospects instead of a strategic naval base for China and Pakistan astride the Straits of Hormuz. However, the security of the port and smooth operations of commercial activities cannot be compromised and eyes will be kept on nations who are uncomfortable with CPEC.



“An inference is construed that political differences are now transformed into provincial rivalries. Lamentably, this controversy has stemmed from a certain section of the political class of our country. The allocation of funds and projects to different provinces dispel the myth of CPEC being a Punjab centric project.

“P” IN THE CPEC IS FOR PUNJAB, NOT PAKISTAN

There are a few nations which deliberately want the multi-billion project to fail. Subsequently, controversies are framed and conspiracies hatched to disrupt the ambitious Sino-Pak Economic Corridor. The most discussed myth of the CPEC is that the project is Punjab-centric and that Punjab is the prime beneficiary

of the corridor while other provinces are being neglected under the project. An inference is construed that political differences are now transformed into provincial rivalries. Lamentably, this controversy has stemmed from a certain section of the political class of our country. The allocation of funds and projects to different provinces dispels the myth of CPEC being a Punjab-centric project. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is hosting eight projects including roads and railway tracks, construction of Diamer Bhasha Dam and a network of fibre optics. The construction of an industrial estate in Hattar is also among the eight projects and the Joint Cooperation Committee (JCC) also approved 30 additional projects for the province which shall be commenced soon. Balochistan is receiving huge benefits from the corridor as the port of Gwadar is located in its territory. At least 16 projects under CPEC are related to Balochistan and for Sindh, 13 projects are in progress. The figure of ongoing projects in Punjab, the alleged province is 12. Hence, rumours about Punjab centric CPEC are groundless.

CPEC IS A REPETITION OF EAST INDIA COMPANY

The multi-billion dollar corridor is often linked to

the East India Company (EIC) in a controversial manner and national interest is illustrated to be at stake. One of the neighbouring countries of Pakistan situated on the eastern border proliferates the misconception that China will sack Pakistan as one of its provinces.

It is only natural for people with a history of subjugation and colonization to become wary of any kind of colossal foreign ventures regardless of their outcomes. EIC was a small manifestation of the philosophy of mercantilism (Adam Smith) which pursued the policy of exploitation and accumulation of wealth without any regard for the well-being of the local population whereas China follows a different economic policy; it caters to the economic prosperity and wellbeing of the indigenous population.

The neighbour fanning this myth has been hosting a colossal Chinese investment in recent years. Chinese investment in India has increased six-times in 2015 as compared to 2014. China is one of the fastest growing sources of FDI into India which turns the myth of colonization reversely into the China-India context. China-India was the 35th largest source of FDI to India in 2011 and in a very short span of five years it has become 17th largest last year.

CHINA PAKISTAN ECONOMIC CORRIDOR: PROVINCE WISE PROJECTS

Punjab

S.No	Project
1	Haier and Ruba Economic Zone-II
2	Karachi-Lahore Motorway
3	Up gradation of ML-1
4	Sahiwal coal-Fired Power Plant
5	Rahim Yar Khan Power Plant
6	Karot Hydro Power Plant
7	Lahore Orange Line Metro Train
8	Optical Fibre Cable (Rawalpindi-Khunjerab)
9	Matiari-Lahore Transmission Line
10	Matiari-Faisalabad Transmission Line
11	Quaid-e-Azam Solar Park (Bahawalpur)
12	Joint feasibility Study for Up gradation of ML-I

Projects in Sindh

S.No	Project
1	Port Qasim Power Plant
2	Engro Thar Power Plant and Surface Mine in Block-II of Thar Coal Field
3	Jhimpir Wind Farm
4	Sachal Wind Farm
5	Matari-Lahore Transmission Line
6	China-Sunec Wind Farm
7	Up gradation of ML-I
8	Gwadar-Nawabshah LNG Terminal and Pipeline
9	Karachi-Lahore Motorway (Sukkur-Multan)
10	Matari-Faisalabad Transmission Line
11	Joint feasibility Study for Up gradation of ML-I
12	Thar Coal Block-I and Mine Mouth power Plant
13	Dawood Wind Farm

Projects in Balochistan

S.No	Project
1	Khuzdar-Bisma Highway (N-30)
2	D.I. Khan-Quetta Highway (N-50)
3	Hubco Coal Power Plant
4	Gwadar-Nawabshah LNG Terminal and Pipeline
5	Gwadar Eastbay Expressway
6	Gwadar New International Airport
7	Gwadar Smart Port City Master Plan
8	Expansion of Multipurpose Terminal
9	Treatment Plant for Gwadar City
10	Gwadar Hospital up gradation
11	Gwadar primary School
12	Gwadar technical and Vocational College
13	Gwadar Eastbay Expressway-II
14	Fresh Water Supply
15	Gwadar Free Zone
16	Gwadar Power Plant

Projects in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

S.No	Project
1	Havelian Dry Port
2	Karakorum Highway-II, (Havelian-Thakot)
3	Karakorum Highway-III, Raikot-Thakot
4	Joint feasibility Study for Up gradation of ML-I
5	D.I. Khan-Quetta Highway (N-50)
6	Suki Kinari Hydro Power Project
7	Optical Fibre Cable (Rawalpindi-Kunjerab)
8	Up gradation of ML-I

Yet, Pakistan does not see Beijing's growing investments in India as an attempt to colonize New Delhi but as regional economic prosperity.

Pakistan maintains a sovereign political and institutional structure which did not exist at the time of EIC. Pakistan's Army equipped with latest military technology and its vigilance also denies the probability of CPEC becoming EIC. However, the contemporary world has changed dynamics and conquests are more economy based, hence, economic integration is crucial.

CHINA USING ITS OWN LABOUR FORCE INSTEAD OF EMPLOYING PAKISTANI PEOPLE

Another myth making rounds is that China is employing labour force from its own country and CPEC is not curbing unemployment in Pakistan. It is argued that the presence of only a few thousand Chinese in Pakistan would overtake the Pakistani society.

In truth, a major share of labour force participants are Pakistani citizens whereas only a few thousand Chinese nationals are residing in Pakistan. The Chinese labour force designated on different projects in Pakistan is making constructive contributions towards the local economy and Pakistan is benefitting from their skills. However, most Chinese employees are categorized as temporary labour migrants and they will return to their country on completion of the mega project. In contrast, CPEC has been praised on the grounds of providing Pakistani labour with vast employment opportunities.

CPEC has in reality employed over 60,000 Pakistani nationals in a number of projects only till the end of 2016 and rising wages in certain sectors of the Chinese economy compel Chinese industrials to export jobs to Pakistan where they can find cheaper labour force. The corridor has generated additional 13,000 jobs in a scheme of projects during the first quarter of the 2017. According to an estimate, the Sino-Pak joint venture could create 2.32 million work opportunities by 2018 and lessen the rate of unemployment from 5.9% to 3.3%. Hence, this

“ China is one of the fastest growing sources of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) into India which turns the myth of colonization reversely into the China-India context. China was the 35th largest source of FDI to India in 2011 and in a very short span of five years it has become 17th largest last year. And yet, Pakistan does not see Beijing's growing investments in India as an attempt to colonize New Delhi but as regional economic prosperity.

conspiracy is merely hostile propaganda.

NO LEGISLATION REGARDING ENVIRONMENT IN CPEC

A criticism which often arises is that the energy sector being a chief instrument of the projects is not taking climatic hazards into account. The myth is incited on grounds of coal which is the prime variable in energy production in CPEC. It is repeatedly argued that the factor of environmental perils being caused by CPEC is not considered and authorities are ruthlessly neglecting the ecological effects of the mega project. Nevertheless, protecting the environment is a pivotal concern for both nations and serious cooperation has been observed on both sides. Pakistan is using super critical modern technology in coal related projects to reduce hazardous emissions and hence ensure ecological safety. The government has also been exploring the use of Carbon Capture technology which will minimize environmental concerns.

China and Pakistan together established a close cooperation mechanism to warrant international standards to shield the environment. The first five year plan (2013-2017) for the prevention of air pollution had been adopted and another fifteen year plan (2015-2030) to ensure water safety has been formulated by Beijing and Islamabad on the recommendations of the World Health Organization (WHO) and other respectable organizations. The commitment from both nations to protect the environment

“ It is the most important and highly prioritized project under CPEC with a capacity to handle 400 million tons of annual cargo whereas India’s 212 ports combined handle 500 million tons of cargo per year. Gwadar port will not provide ingress to China in the Indian Ocean, rather it will shorten their route for GCC oil from 14,500 (including both sea route and land route) to 4500 km, slashing the cost by billions of dollars.

performed extraordinarily well in last few years. The launch of Operation Zarb-e-Azb helped Pakistan defeat nefarious designs of the anti-state elements. Following the former Operation, Radd-ul-Fasaad is accomplishing the rest of the task and peace and stability in Pakistan has been improved notably providing a business friendly atmosphere in Pakistan. Many other countries such as the United Kingdom, Malaysia, Saudi Arabia, and Iran hope to join the multi billion dollar project. So it is absolutely not blind optimism for China or even Pakistan.

CHINA DICTATING TERMS TO PAKISTAN

There is a fear lurking in the shadows of CPEC that the time is not far when China will stop negotiating and start dictating terms and priorities to Pakistan. Sceptics assume that the rising numbers of Chinese entrepreneurs in Pakistan and borrowings from Chinese state owned banks would diminish Pakistan’s negotiating power and may bring its on knees. In contrast to the above stated myth, the strong collaboration between China and Pakistan over the corridor is not concealed. Both countries are working on the basis of joint efforts and burning the midnight oil for the development of CPEC schemes. All four Chief Ministers of Pakistan under the leadership of PM Nawaz Sharif graced up the Belt and Road forum held in Beijing on 14th-15th May of this year. The provincial heads also attended the 6th Joint Cooperation Committee (JCC) meeting in China last year. National Development, and the Reform Commission of Chinese and Planning, with Development and Reform Ministry of Pakistan have constituted subsidiary working



SHORT TERM ENERGY PROJECTS UNDER CPEC
Projects in Balochistan

Project	Commercial Operation Date
2×660MW Coal-Fired Power Plants at Port Qasim	June 2018
Sahiwal 2x660MW Coal-Fired Power Plant, Punjab	December 2017
TThe Engro Thar Block II 2×330MW Coal Fired Power Plant, TEL 1×330MW Mine Mouth Lignite Fired Power Project At Thar Block-II, Sindh, Pakistan	June 2019
ThalNova 1×330MW Mine Mouth Lignite Fired Power Project At Thar Block-II, Sindh, Pakistan.	
Hydro China Dawood 50MW Wind Farm(Gharo, Thatta)	January 2017
300MW Imported Coal Based Power Project At Gwadar, Pakistan	-
UEP 100MW Wind Farm (Jhimpir, Thatta)	June 2017
Sachal 50MW Wind Farm (Jhimpir, Thatta)	June 2017
SSRL Thar Coal Block-I 7.8mtpa &SEC Mine Mouth Power Plant(2×660MW)	2018/2019 (Expected)
CPHGC 1,320MW Coal-Fired Power Plant, Hub, Balochistan	2018/2019 (Expected)
Matiari To Lahore ±660kV HVDC Transmission Line Project	2018/2019 (Expected)
Matiari (Port Qasim) — Faisalabad Transmission Line Project	2018/2019 (Expected)

groups on all the dimensions of CPEC. The Federal Government of Pakistan has remained fair and square since the inception of the mega project keeping all the provinces including Gilgit Baltistan in loop and consulting on the projects comprehensively.

CONCLUSION

The multi-faceted CPEC is a game changing project ornamented with regional connectivity and economic prosperity. Both Pakistan and China pursue a friendly foreign and open trade policy, and welcome every nation to become a part of this project. The corridor is in the spotlight of myths conspired with stratagems to emasculate the capacity of the

project, however, the government of Pakistan is in complete coordination with Beijing to de-escalate the gravity of these myths and address every concern. The myths are lapped up by Pakistan’s antagonistic neighbour threatening to perturb Pakistan’s economic spring. Powers behind developing and pushing forward these myths feel CPEC as a thorn in their paw for which there is a saying in Chinese which fits in with those elements:

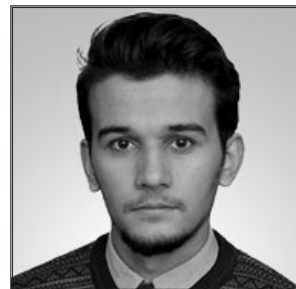
“Gauge the heart of Gentlemen with one’s own mean measure”

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SPECIAL ECONOMIC ZONES

PERPETUAL GROWTH

by Muhammad Ijlal Khan



"It is our faith that when the wheel will start moving on CPEC, growth and prosperity will follow"

Pak-China relations refer to the strong bilateral strategic, political, economic, and defence ties between the two states. The China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) was revealed by the Chinese President Xi Jinping, initially composed of a \$46 billion dollars' infrastructure spending plan in Pakistan to start new transport and trade routes linking China with Central and South Asia. It is expected to boost up the economy and trade, enhance regional connectivity, overcome energy crisis, and develop infrastructure which includes roads, rail links and pipelines network. CPEC is one of the several components of the then 'One Belt - One Road' initiative, presently the 'Belt and Road' project, with the objective to create regional economic harmony among Africa, Asia, and Europe. Pakistan's geo-strategic location will contribute to this project as it plays a role of a junction in connecting China with the markets of Central and South Asia. The corridor will help in speeding up developmental projects that will skyrocket the national growth of Pakistan. The plan is predicted to bring peace, prosperity, and a vast employment opportunity as it passes through the underdeveloped regions of Pakistan. Sustainable efforts are needed in the development process to overcome the discriminatory barriers based on region, ethnicity, gender and language. To achieve



this sustainability, we require policies focusing on developments in the agriculture sector that can play a pivotal role in increasing food security, employment security, advancement of technology, and accommodating the least vigorous communities to become part of the mainstream economic activity. This sustainability, we require policies focusing on developments in the agriculture sector that can play a pivotal role in increasing food security, employment security, advancement of technology, and accommodating the least vigorous communities to become part of the mainstream economic activity.

The creation of Special Economic Zones (SEZs) has attracted Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). Local industries require an indigenous value in order to compete with business realities. The declaration of SEZs Ordinance contributes in creating a friendly atmosphere to increase local and foreign investment to attain efficiency. This will bring together the local potential and give birth to an environment conducive to innovative actions which can

bridge the gap between local, national, and regional economic growth. 40% of Pakistan's population lives under the poverty line; the country needs to have an advanced approach towards economic development so the rewards of CPEC can be enjoyed by the society in an all inclusive manner. Most of the population depends upon the agricultural sector for their livelihood which had a 23% share in Pakistan's GDP. This sector faces backwardness in terms of value addition, entrepreneurial activity, and a low level of processing capacity. This corridor puts the agricultural sector on a priority list which includes establishment of cotton and marine research institutes. Agriculture has a significant potential for medium and small scale industries which can lead to indigenous value addition and employment opportunities. Regional connectivity and integration of regions provide innovative opportunities by making use of available resources, cuts on entry costs and an increase of net returns. In short, it will set in motion the escalation of economies of scale. This regional connectivity

boosts an educated and skilled society by providing immense economic growth opportunities.

The government will be able to concentrate on long term projects in order to have active economic activities. The SEZs planned in three phases along main arteries of communication will ensure

“SEZs are crucial for sustainability of the corridor and each zone will target specific products and services, based on the availability of local raw material and workforce. Development of SEZs will be synchronised with the phases of CPEC.”

availability of necessary utilities. There are nine SEZs currently under construction:





1. RASHAKAI ECONOMIC ZONE, M-1, NOWSHERA

The Rashakai Economic Zone, M-1, Nowshera is under construction in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province over an area of 1000 acres and will deal with industries of fruit, food packaging, textile stitching, and knitting.

2. CHINA SPECIAL ECONOMIC ZONE DHABEJI

China Special Economic Zone Dhabaji is going to be constructed in the Sindh province over an area of 1000 acres and the type of industry will be determined during feasibility stage.

3. BOSTAN INDUSTRIAL ZONE, BALOCHISTAN

Bostan Industrial Zone is situated in Balochistan and 200 acres have been developed out of 1000 acres. The type of industry includes

- Fruit Processing
- Agriculture machinery
- Pharmaceutical
- Motor Bikes Assembly
- Chromites
- Cooking Oil

4. PUNJAB - CHINA ECONOMIC ZONE, M-2 DISTRICT SHEIKHUPURA

Punjab - China Economic Zone, M-2 District Sheikhupura has an area of 5000 acres and is supposed to have mixed type of industry.

5. ICT MODEL INDUSTRIAL ZONE, ISLAMABAD

ICT Model Industrial Zone, Islamabad will be developed in the capital city of Pakistan and the type of industry will be determined during feasibility stage.

6. DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRIAL PARK ON PAKISTAN STEEL MILLS LAND AT PORT QASIM KARACHI

Development of Industrial Park on Pakistan Steel Mills Land at Port Qasim near Karachi, occupying 1500 acres of land. Type of industry will be determined during the feasibility stage.

7. BHIMBER INDUSTRIAL ZONE, AJK

Bhimber Industrial Zone is situated in Bhimber and type of industry will be determined during the feasibility stage.

8. MOHMAND MARBLE CITY, FATA

Mohmand Marble City project is going to start in FATA and the type of industry will be determined during the feasibility stage. The proposed products to be initiated in the area are

- Ceramic industries
- Ice and cold storage

9. MOQPONDASS ECONOMIC ZONE, GILGIT-BALTISTAN

Moqpondass SEZ Gilgit-Baltistan comprises 250 acres of land and the type of industry includes:

- Marble / Granite
- Iron Ore Processing
- Fruit Processing
- Steel Industry
- Mineral Processing Unit
- Leather Industry



Railroad infrastructure will connect the existing 100 SEZs with urban areas and Chinese market. Twenty six planned SEZs along CPEC routes will make accessible the previously unconnected regions of Pakistan. Development of mining, food processing, energy, livestock and agriculture based industries will enhance economic activity that will attract investors, which will lead to the socio economic uplifting of underdeveloped areas. Following steps are needed to ensure the smooth running of SEZs alongside CPEC.

One of the pertinent prospects of these SEZs is the insulation of the economy from the external economic shocks, which we previously experienced in the 1970s, 2002, and most recently in the financial crisis of 2007. A strong industrial base and self-sufficient economy in this age of globalisation is the way to cope

with such economic shocks. globalisation is the way to cope with such economic shocks.

Some initiatives that can be further taken are:

CONSTITUTION OF JWG

- A Joint Working Group (JWG) for SEZs needs to be formulated by the Planning Commission of Pakistan at the earliest to initiate planning and progress on the establishment of SEZs

HORIZONTAL COORDINATION

- A Board of Investment (BOI) should carry out horizontal coordination with JWGs of other CPEC components for effective execution and sustainability of these projects

PRE-INVESTMENT STUDIES

- BOI should update area studies through consultation with provincial governments. It should. Formulate an elaborate mechanism for provision of information to investors

SKILL DEVELOPMENT

- SEZs should have integral training centres for availability of skilled local labour.

If there is one bulkhead that can be built against manoeuvres detrimental to both Pakistan and China, it is the timely development of SEZs. It is to be noted that apart from facing the necessary environmental costs, Pakistan will not face harm to the degree that China will simply because of the head start we get, export of extensive industrial capacities. So, when we envision a steel mill being made here, we imagine a fully modern mill with state of the art equipment. Looking

at the environmental impact of every unit of GDP growth, we are at a much higher starting point than China was when it began its own rapid industrialisation. CPEC zones and China-Pakistan Capacity Cooperation Employment Opportunity is one of the most

“ If there is one bulkhead that can be built against manoeuvres detrimental to both Pakistan and China, it is the timely development of SEZs.



anticipated aspects of the economic dividend that these Special Economic Zones are expected to provide. This would lead people into expecting these zones to enrol exclusively from the local labour pool, rather than introducing labour forces either from China or from other provinces. This expectation is understandable as it allows local people to benefit most from these SEZs. But practically speaking in order to guarantee the quality of labour force, and thus the operation capacity of the SEZs, employment prospects are to be provided on the basis of merit rather than geography, without ruling out the possibility of recruiting across provinces and creating a migrating labour force specifically in cases where local labour pools are inferior in quality. Training efforts will be given priority to help local people gain in quality and inclination to work



in these zones. A rigid insistence on outright equality would do no good, making these SEZs unable to contribute to Pakistan's economy as planned. However, a more flexible approach to advocate the principle of fairness by guaranteeing opportunity equality is more beneficial to Pakistan's development both economically and socially. Presently, the lack of skilled labour force in our country is a pressing issue which has largely hampered the progress of industries in the country. The creation of SEZs will significantly change this picture by introducing a whole new standard of labour conditions, enabling Pakistani labour to be more efficient along with the added benefit of working in a safe and peaceful environment. These zones will also provide a better growth field for the labour to hone their skills. However, it is not realistic to expect the SEZs to become a genie in a bottle that improves labour conditions to the standard of developed countries. Nor is it reasonable to use their standards as a benchmark against



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which to judge the soundness of our SEZs. Pakistan will gradually, as all countries have, swim through all the waves of change that come in the way of economic development. This is a hard working warrior state where each person is fully engaged and devoted to making it a better homeland.

Pakistan is blessed in a number of ways and can easily power its way through into becoming

a trading hub for the world if it recognises its potential in due time. With this initiative in mind, the establishment of SEZs has taken its first steps. With rational expectations as mentioned above fully developed as a national consensus, Pakistan will be better equipped to resist external powers seeking to sabotage our economic cooperation, to gain more from this Pakistan-China strategic partnership and channel its way through to become the nation that it was destined to be.

Muhammad Ijlal Khan

is a graduate of School of Economics, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad (QAU). His field of expertise is Pure Economics. Currently, he is working at the CSCR. He has also volunteered at World Peace Organization in the Research Section.

SPECIAL ECONOMIC ZONES

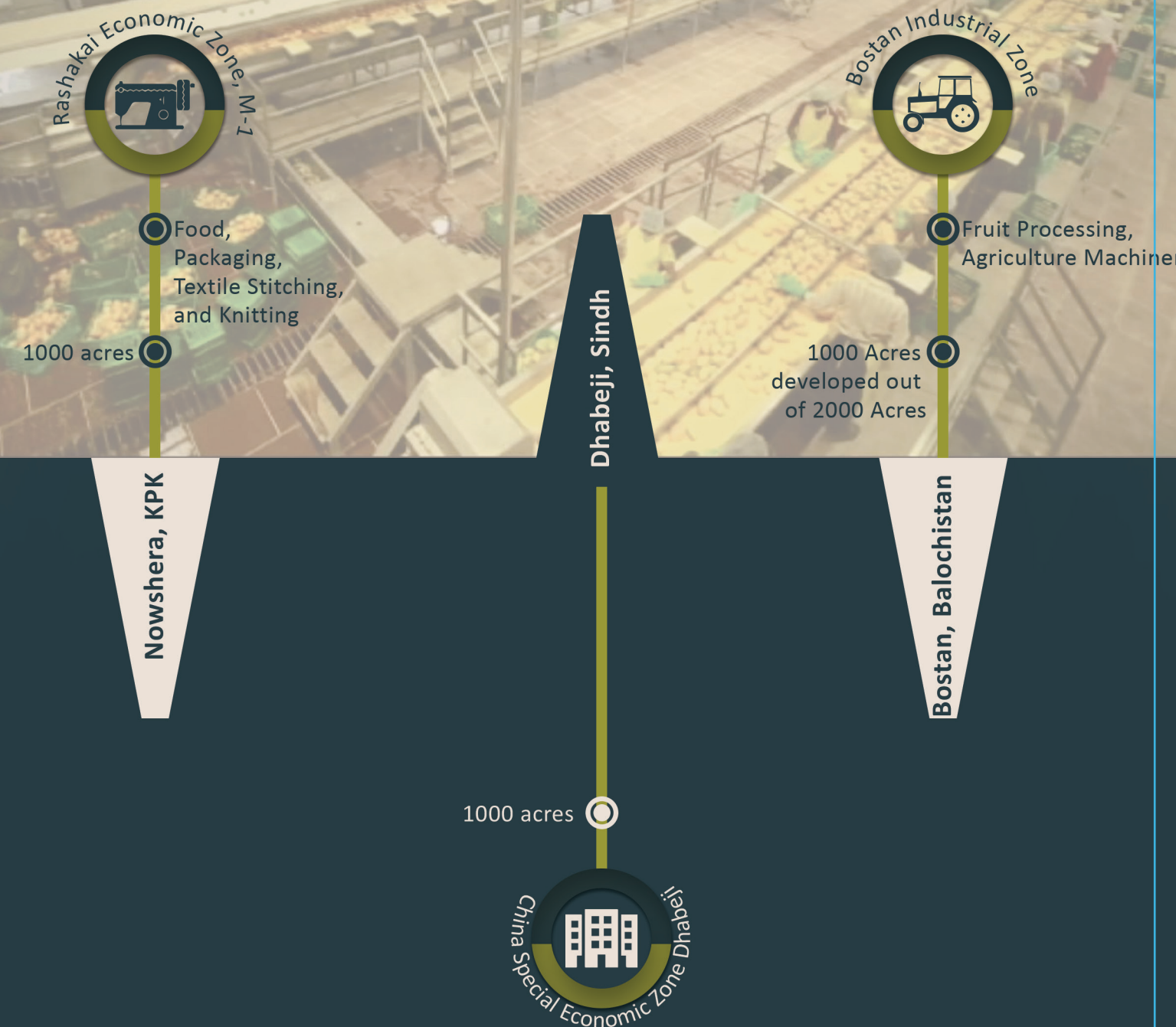
Sr. No	Name	Location	Specialized for	Area
1	Rashakai Economic Zone, M-1, Nowshera	Nowshera, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	food, packaging, textile stitching, and knitting	1000 Acres
2	China Special Economic Zone Dhabeji	Dhabeji, Sindh	Feasibility stage	1000 Acres
3	Bostan Industrial Zone	Bostan, Balochistan	Fruit Processing, Agriculture machinery, Pharmaceutical, Motor Bikes Assembly, Cooking Oil	1000 Acres developed out of 2000 Acres
4	Punjab - China Economic Zone, M-2 District Sheikhpura	Shekhpura, Punjab	Mix Industry	5000 Acres
5	ICT Model Industrial Zone, Islamabad	Islamabad	Feasibility stage	
6	Development of Industrial Park on Pakistan Steel Mills Land at Port Qasim near Karachi	Karachi, Sindh	Feasibility stage	1500 Acres
7	Bhimber Industrial Zone	Bhimber, Azad Kashmir	Feasibility stage	
8	Mohmand Marble City	Mohmand Agency, FATA	Ceramic industries, Ice and cold storage	
9	Moqpondass SEZ Gilgit-Baltistan	Gilgit Baltistan	Marble / Granite, Iron Ore Processing, Fruit Processing, Steel Industry, Mineral Processing Unit, Leather Industry	250 Acres

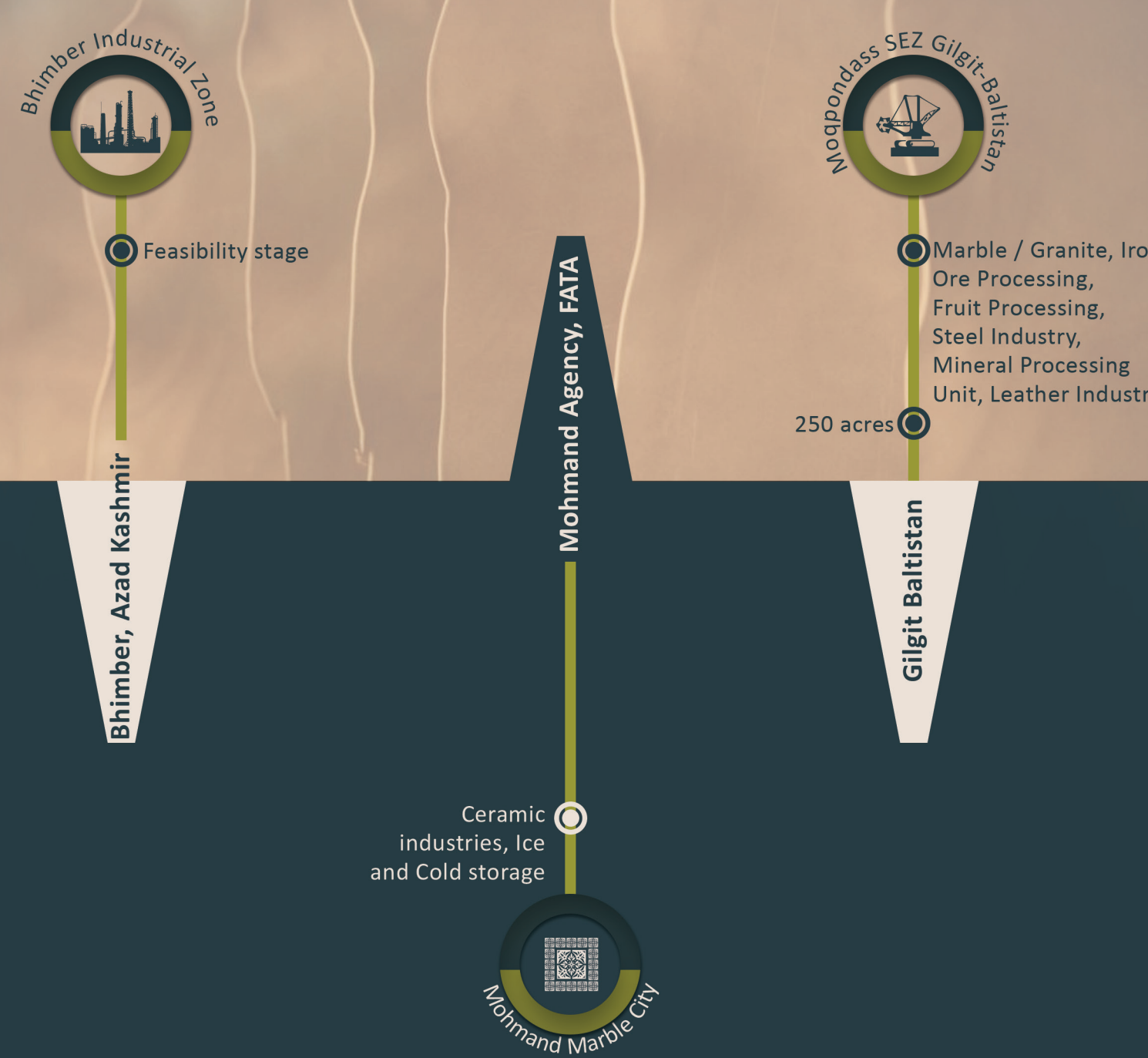
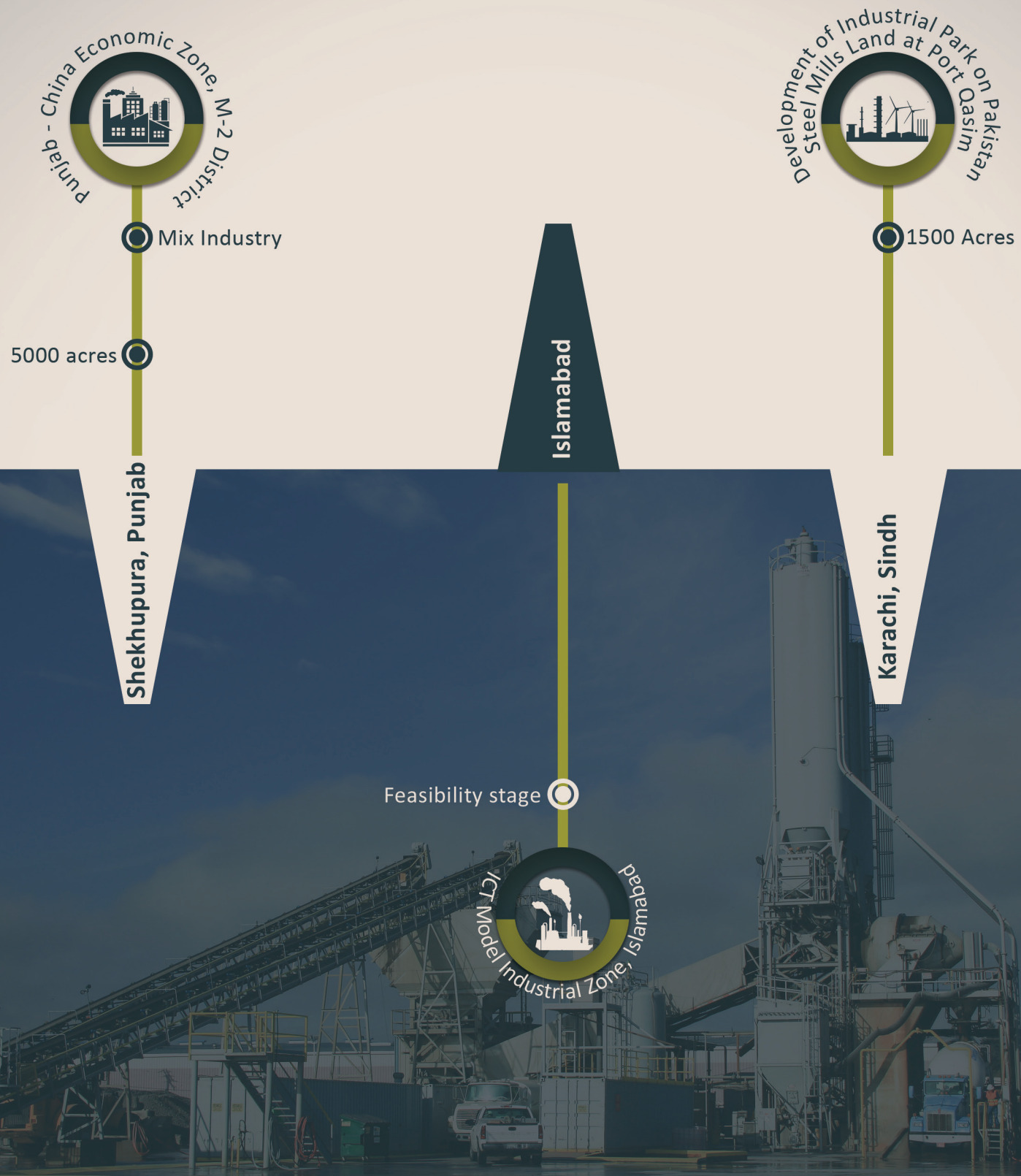
SPECIAL ECONOMIC ZONES

Prepared by
Research Desk

1. There are nine SEZs spread among all the provinces along with Gilgit Baltistan.
2. Each zone will target specific products and services, based on the availability of local raw material and workforce.
3. It is probable that SEZs will trigger the FDI up to a great extent.
4. Development of mining, food processing, energy, livestock and agriculture-based industries.

DETAILS OF ALL THE SEZS





War by Other Means: GEO ECONOMICS AND STATECRAFT

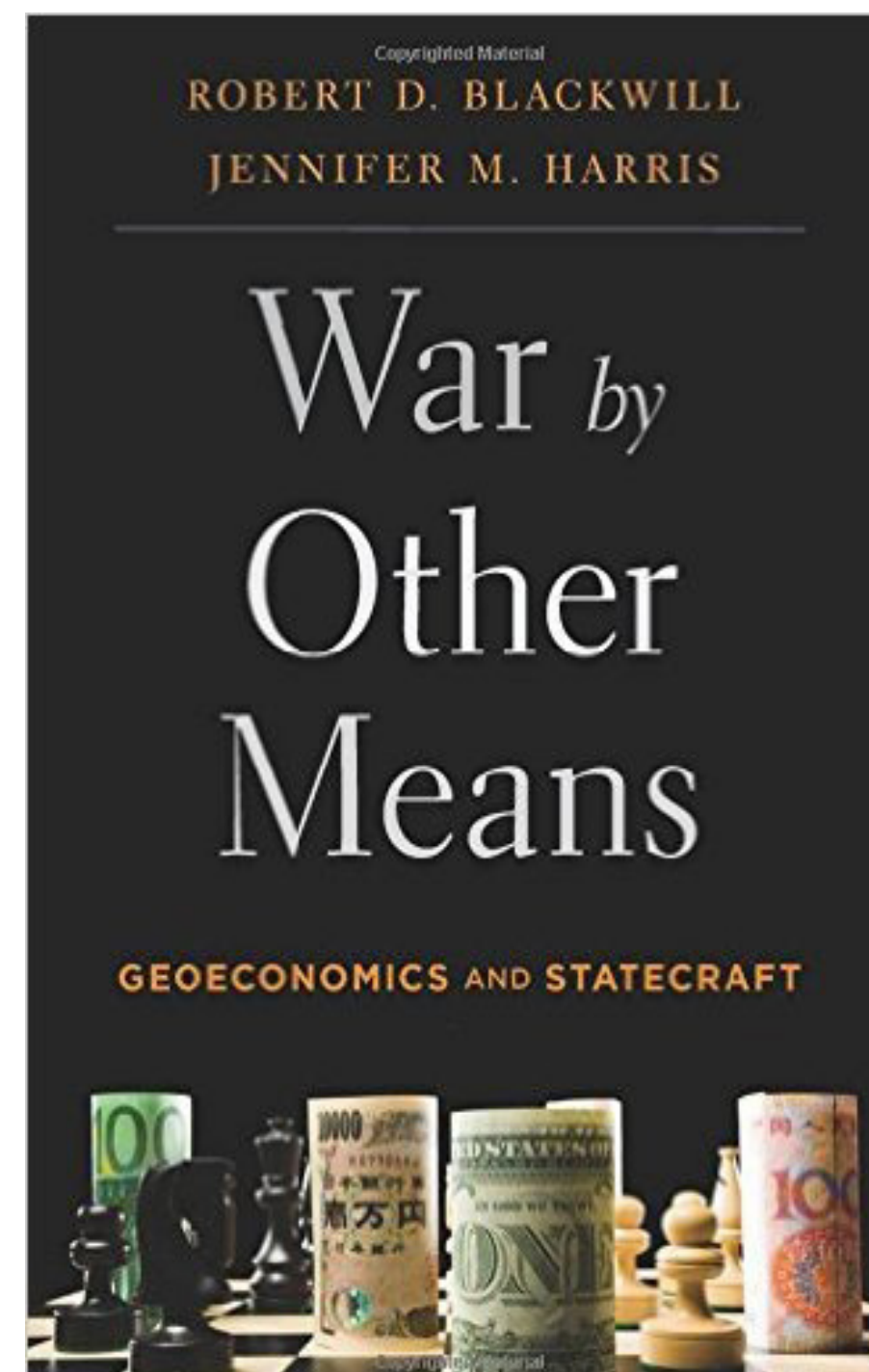
By: Robert D. Blackwill and Jennifer M. Harris.
Publisher: Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016

Just like the Church and the State are considered to be separate since 1960s, Washington has treated economics and politics as separate entities. It does not fathom the fact that economic development is the new currency.

There is a consensus among political pundits, think-tankers, academic scholars and American national security officials that Washington does not have a prudent foreign policy making and its ad hoc

misadventures have lured it into a trap they often find hard to break through. Rather than understanding the multiple dynamics of the current world order, US foreign policy has directed its resources towards wide of the mark

goals. Though the critical assessment does give its due share to the military-security dimension of their grand strategy, this is often criticized given the era where soft power is pulling the strings in the international arena. US policy



makers have to understand the fact that kinetic measures cannot always achieve the geopolitical objectives.

In their well hewed book 'War by Other Means: Geo economics and Statecraft',

Robert Blackwill and Jennifer Harris re-emphasize the fact that the US foreign policy making falls short in achieving its geopolitical objectives because 'economics' is not given its due credit. Just like the Church and the State are

considered to be separate since 1960s, Washington has treated economics and politics as separate entities. It does not fathom the fact that economic development is the new currency. In a stark contrast, the US challengers

China, Russia and Iran, which form the Eurasian Triangle, have a strong grip on economic statecraft. If Washington does not incorporate economic statecraft into its policy making then the power would eventually be ceded to the power contestants.

This book is well thought out in a three stage process. The first three chapters give a deep insight and different angles of the concept of how economic statecraft is at play in the international arena. It deliberates over how economic gadgets are the aegis that defend a state's national interest. In essence, the chapter gives the term 'geo-economics' its full-fledged meaning. It is argued that the rising powers of the new world order now first turn to the path of economic statecraft which is effectively a violence free path. Using soft power as its ultimate weapon, this path alleviates the risk of an all out physical conflict. Due to globalization, the markets no longer have borders and structural readjustments have taken place over time. This has restricted the state's geopolitical choices as the interests of states are independent yet interrelated. So, it can be candidly stated that the current international arena is a stage for multiple players with novel financial experiments and opportunities that can be effectively used against both the central and peripheral players. In these initial chapters, Blackwill and Harris not only explain how

The track record of Washington's foreign policy depicts that they have been active practitioners of geo economics statecraft as can be reflected from the example of Marshall Plan 1947.

geo-economic instruments are at play but also give a deep insight about the diverse portfolio of the 'geo-economic instruments' such as trade and investment policies, economic sanctions, cyber investments, foreign aid and monetary policy. The authors believe that such instruments have given way to the concept of structural imperialism, energy security, commodity and service policies.

Blackwill and Harris have presented a deep analysis of the interrelations among the geo-economic instruments by explaining how and where to use them as complements and substitutes. They make it unequivocally clear that the sustainability of the effectiveness of economic statecraft lays in part of the function of four "geo-economic endowments." These endowments include the capacity to regulate outbound investments, the specific structures of domestic markets, the sway over commodity and energy security, and the significance of the state in the global financial system. Along with structural attributes, circumstantial factors should also be incorporated into a state's decision making

process if effectiveness and efficiency is to be achieved.

The second stage of the book presents the case study of China. Beijing's notable foreign policy has effectively employed overt and covert economic compulsion to mold the foreign policies of the peripheral states in their favor to serve their interest. For example, China's 'String of Pearls' policy can be seen as an attempt to prevaricate its regional competitors in shape of India and Russia while strengthening itself with respect to the US. Beijing has innovated a new soft strategy of structural imperialism under the shroud of colossal investments, natural resource extraction, energy security, its development and monetary policies. This has hit US where it lacks and has posed ancillary economic and security threats which have raised many eyebrows in the Pentagon. China despite having no indigenous production of hydrocarbons at home has ensured a positive energy security supply and has grown close to the dictators that are unfriendly to Washington because after all, the enemy of the enemy is a friend. Not only China's economic muscle has been strengthened but also its military muscle has been braced, but at a low level that makes deterrence possible. What makes China a unique case is that despite bidding for the position of a global power, it has not involved itself in a direct confrontation unlike the US

As the book enters the third and final stage, Harris and Blackwill elucidate the self imposed constraints on American practice of geo-economic statecraft. Despite being highly critical of American policy making, the authors present an optimistic account of US track record. They highlight the fact that US is still the largest of the world's economy and the global powers have huge stakes in the survival of the American economy. The US is poised with the best technological and geological endowments granting it a comparative advantage due to the revolutionized energy portfolio it boasts. The track record of Washington's foreign policy depicts that they have been active practitioners of geo-economic statecraft as can be reflected from the example of Marshall Plan 1947. Their history is jam-packed with such examples but unfortunately, they have deviated from their track of geo-economic statecraft.

Overall, 'War by Other Means' is a well structured and distinguished book that offers out of the box nostrums for the stale policies that have long subjugated American statecraft. But the authors become sticklers on this notion stating that military-security considerations have dominated statecraft which is not entirely true. The American notion of 'Economic Open Doors', the policy to use military and economic resources complementarily to enhance their influence, can be seen

at play even in America's Cold War grand strategies and in the Balkan Crises of 1990s. Even US interest in the Middle East region is a reflection of its strategic interest of supply security rather than gaining any financial advantage. The 1991 Gulf War also depicts US statecraft of working hand in glove with military power along with economic instruments.

In addition to this, Blackwill and Harris highlight the limited options available to the US due to its removal of American economic instruments from its grand strategic toolbox. The prevalent belief that the economic logic is fundamentally apolitical has permeated the US foreign policy narrative and done real strategic damage. A glance of the historical liberal economic policies of US during Cold War fostered globalized inter and intra firm alliances, geo-economic covertly at play, which waned Kremlin's power and forced it into retrenchment and strategic reorientation toward the West. But gone are the days where this covert brand of geo-economic statecraft was successful and US should rather thoroughly analyze the changing global dynamics of the global architecture which demands an explicit and assertive brand of geo-economic statecraft if the status quo is to be maintained.

The world order set after the World War II is rule based, democratic and liberal. It is solidly institutionalized which has made it convenient for

The American notion of 'Economic Open Doors', the policy to use military and economic resources complementarily to enhance their influence, can be seen at play even in America's Cold War grand strategies and in the Balkan Crises of 1990s.

the rising powers to gain substantively. But this has to come with a substantial penalty in the form of limited scope of ideological tendencies. This has further added impetus to China's strategic dilemmas. Whether China's so called discriminatory brand would see a backlash in favor of the existing liberal order is also a possibility. A critical analysis of the prevailing order if provided by the authors could have added to the book's virtuoso. Overall, a deep insight of the past, present and future of US foreign policy making is qualitatively provided which makes this book a must read. Blackwill and Harris have done their readers a great service by using the lens of geo-economic statecraft to paint the picture of America's past, present and future.

Muhammad Saad is a graduate of School of Economics of Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad. He has specialized in the field of development and political economics with additional non-credit courses of Environmental Economics and Monetary Policy. Currently, he works at the CSCR.

VOICE OF BALOCHISTAN

DELEGATION REPORT

Quetta (15th May, 2017 – 19th May, 2017)



As part of the youth mobilization campaign of the Voice of Balochistan carried out by the Center for Strategic & Contemporary Research, a delegation of 202 students and faculty members from nine distinguished universities of Pakistan; Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU), COMSATS (Islamabad and Wah Campuses), NUST Islamabad, University of Turbat, University of Loralai, University of the Punjab, University of Lahore, University of Education Lahore, and FCC University went to Quetta. Apart from students and faculties, 14 officials of Higher Education Commission (HEC) and Punjab Minister of Higher Education, Syed Raza Ali Gillani were also part of the delegation.

The purpose of the tour was to give exposure to the students from the Federal Capital and Punjab, in turn making them more aware of the lifestyle and culture of the province of Balochistan. Majority of the students were going to Balochistan for the first time, and it was quite a learning experience for everyone.

With the on-going xenophobia of media, the anti-state hoopla, the extremism that has been ingrained in the youth of Pakistan for ad hoc interests against the State; this tour was sincerely dedicated to the efforts of giving the message of peace vis-à-vis promoting cultural diversity as culture is the prime thing that can be exchanged among ourselves as human beings to knock aside our differences and build upon our similarities.

Voice of Balochistan is the name of the effort of restraining the unsubstantial propaganda being maliciously unbridled that can only trigger mayhem. Voice of Balochistan realises that in the contemporary world, soft power is the antidote to the complicated issues such as that in Balochistan. Relying on kinetic measures will trade off the options of peace to quash the tensions. In such a case, peace will be the ultimate loser. Forbearance and congruence is the need of the hour.

Day 1 - 15th, May 2017

The delegation was divided into three groups. The first group, belonging to various universities of Islamabad, departed from PAF Base Nur Khan at 7.30 AM and reached PAF Base Samungli at 9.30 AM. Voice of Balochistan (Quetta Team) welcomed the delegates from Islamabad at the base. The second group, belonging to various universities of Lahore, departed from PAF Base Lahore at 7.30 PM and reached PAF Base Samungli at 9:30 PM. The last group, belonging to various universities of Balochistan, reached Quetta by 9:00 PM. In the evening, the delegates from Islamabad visited Gold City Mall.



Day 2 - 16th, April 2017

On the second day, the delegation visited Quaid-e-Azam Residency. Prior to visiting the Residency, the delegates stopped at Frontier Corps Mess, Ziarat, for a short period of time. While visiting Quaid-e-Azam Residency, the delegates showed keen interest in the gallery where the archival photos of Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, were displayed. A glimpse into the life of our founding father was very discerning.

A function was also arranged at the residency which was appreciated by all. The chief guests of the function were Syed Raza Ali Gillani - Punjab Minister for Higher Education, Prince Ahmed Ali, Member Provincial Assembly from Lasbela. Some of the students also sang national songs.

In his address to the delegates, Brigadier Nadeem, Sector Commander FC North, said that joint efforts of government and military helped in reconnecting Balochistan with Pakistan.



Anwaar-ul-Haq Kakar, Spokesperson for the Balochistan Government, emphasized on the idea of Pakistan while addressing the delegates. The spokesperson concluded his address by saying that peace is prevailing in the province due to the sacrifices rendered by security forces and law-enforcement agencies.

A cultural night was organized by BUITEMS for the delegation. The cultural night included various singing, dancing, and skit performances by students from all across the province.

Day 3 - 17th, May 2017

On the third day, the delegation was taken on a trip of different universities where the students were given an overview about the campus and the educational opportunities they can avail. The first university the delegation visited was the University of Balochistan and afterwards BUITEMS was visited. Later, the delegation was taken to the Millennium Mall. Afterwards, the delegation was taken to Quetta Club where an interactive session with Commander Southern Command Lt. General Amir Riaz was arranged. He gave an astute description about the situation in Balochistan and at the end, the delegates were given an opportunity to ask questions from him. Overall, it was a productive session which was followed by a dinner arranged by them. The dinner came to an enthusiastic conclusion, when the students there voluntarily performed on different songs and this is how the day came to an end.

Day 4 - 18th, May 2017

On the fourth day, the delegation was taken to Bolan market from where the delegates bought souvenirs and traditional gifts for their relatives and friends. Afterwards, the delegation was taken to Hanna Lake where refreshments were arranged. Everyone enjoyed the serene view and after a lot of jovial activities, the delegation was taken back to the hotel where laptops, courtesy of the Chief Minister Balochistan Nawab Sanaullah Zehri, were distributed. The delegation was then taken to the University of Balochistan where a cultural night was arranged. After the beguiling and soul-feeding cultural dance performances by students of University of Balochistan, some of the delegates also performed with full zeal. After dinner, they entourage returned to the hotel.

Day 5 - 19th, May 2017

On the final day, the Islamabad delegation headed to PAF Base at noon. The Lahore delegation was taken to the Quetta Cinema Hall as their take off was scheduled around 10 pm due to restive weather conditions. This was how a jubilant trip to Quetta concluded with tons of memories to cherish.



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