

## INTRODUCTION

South Asia is known as the multifaceted and complicated region in the world. It comprises of eight states, Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Bhutan, Nepal, Maldives, Afghanistan and Sri Lanka. Pakistan is an important state in South Asian region because it connects, South Asia to Central Asia and other regions. Geopolitical position of Pakistan makes it important, equally for South Asian states and CARs. Here, importance of Afghanistan also becomes crucial.

United States is continuously involved in war on terror since 9/11 Afghanistan. From 9/11 to present, new alignments of states have been formed in the region for peace and stability. Pakistan has been fighting the war on terror through informal alliance since 2001. However, Indo-US strategic partnership emerged in 2005 and ties between Afghanistan and India also grew by signing up a contract as strategic partners. The first strategic pact between India and Afghanistan was signed in October 2011.<sup>1</sup> Both Pakistan and India need more cooperation to bring peace and prosperity in the South Asian region.

This study focuses on the economic growth and political stability of South Asian countries. This research defines different new alignments made for the security and the economic cooperation in this region. Both states (China and Pakistan) have long lasting relationship and from last few decades.<sup>2</sup> The finest examples of economic cooperation between People's Republic of China and Pakistan is China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). This project is magnificently launched between China and Pakistan to establish an economic corridor. Through this agreement, China is making billions of dollar investment in the areas of energy, transportation, infrastructure and mass media etc.<sup>3</sup> The critical challenges are the political, security and economic fields including political instability and insecurity for South Asian countries.

Moreover, Russia is now entering in South Asia in different ways. Russia and Pakistan's bilateral relations are entering in the new chapter of geopolitical realities. Russia will look forward to the potential markets for the sale of its gas and military equipment to have a great influence in South

---

<sup>1</sup> Umbreen Javeed and Rameesha Javeed, "Indian influence in Afghanistan and its Implications for Pakistan," *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, Vol. 53, No. 1, 2016. 3

<sup>2</sup> Umbreen Javed and Rameesha Javed, "Strengthening Geo-Strategic Bond of China and Pakistan through Geo-Economic Configuration," *Pakistan Economic and Social Review*, volume 54, No.1 2016. 123

<sup>3</sup> Murtaza Haider, "Bracing for a 46 Billion dollar future," *Dawn*, Islamabad. April 22, 2015.

Asia.<sup>4</sup> The Islamic Republic of Pakistan would love to cooperate with Russia in the field of energy, economy and military to extend its influence in the region of South Asia. Both Russia and Pakistan are cooperating and complementing each other militarily and economically as a potential proactive approach in the region.

Besides, Pakistan shares border with Afghanistan, India, China and Iran. The lack of border management policies and the mismanaged foreign policy brought instability in Pakistan. It has also become a permanent state badly affected by terrorism. Efforts to curb terrorism are growing at home, regional and international level. For the territorial and regional stability, Afghanistan has also applied to be the member of SCO. Pakistan applied for full membership of this Organization. Pakistan became the observer state of SCO in 2005.<sup>5</sup> Pakistan is not only trying to contribute to the peace process of the region but also is increasing energy and transportation corridor of the South Asian region. Under the SCO banner, Pakistan is continuously well engaged in formulating and expanding its potential ties with China, India, Russia, Afghanistan, Iran and CARs nations. The main focus of the SCO is to create multilateral relations. In order to defuse tensions by developing confidence building measures through mutual dialogues and interactions, SCO expands in South Asia. The sole intent of Shanghai Cooperation Organization is to contest the evil of extremism and terrorism in South Asia. Moreover, it aims to build a consensus to ensure potential confidence, trust, consultation, justice and opportunities for trade and economy amongst the member states of SCO.

### **Statement of the Problem**

South Asia is an important region and it has been a hotspot for major powers of the world. India and Pakistan are the two important states in South Asian region. Both have different ideologies and religious background. From the very beginning they have conflict of interests and experienced sour relations in the South Asian region. New alignments appear after 9/11 in which Russia and China tend to move closer to Pakistan. Interestingly, China's economic activities are growing and it is making new groupings to boost its trade. Hence, regional connectivity and building infrastructure inside China and in its neighboring states is its priority. China's One Belt One Road

---

<sup>4</sup> Sraha Akram, "Pakistan-Russia Relations: Future Trends," *Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad*, March 24, 2016.

3

<sup>5</sup> Zahid Ali Khan, "Pakistan and Shanghai Cooperation Organization," *Islamabad Policy Research Institute*, 2013. 61

(OBOR) initiative is remarkably affecting on its Western neighbors. For the effectuation of China and Russia's projects in South Asia, Pakistan has become an important actor. Therefore, cordial relations started to appear between China, Russia and Pakistan and its affects on other South Asian countries too. However, India is fearful over this new alignment and moving towards USA for strategic partnership. This paradox impacts on region in general and Pakistan in particular. Hence, this study will revolve around a fundamental question, how changing regional dynamics effect on Pakistan's economy and security.

### **Significance of the Study**

This study examines changing regional dynamics in South Asia since 9/11 and its impact on Pakistan. The study is covering interesting aspects of regional politics and emerging alignments in South Asia. South Asia is crucial region in world politics. It is therefore very important to unleash all new regional changes with it effects. It is very important to sustain peace and harmony in south Asian states to maintain its role in power politics. This region is volatile in terms of terrorist activities. Hideout of militants in this region has spurred fears of peripheral states as their activities can disturb local, regional and world peace. Hence, efforts to curb terrorist activities brought states close to each other. Common objectives and shared problems caused some positive and negative effects.

The present study is important in its scope and nature as it aims to provide an insight of new regional dynamics in South Asian countries. The study examines the challenges faced by Pakistan after 9/11. It will help to unveil the security and economic options for Pakistan.

### **Objectives of Study**

The objectives of the research are

- To analyze post 9/11 regional dynamics in South Asia.
- To assess the impact of changing regional dynamics on Pakistan's security and economy.
- To examine the impact of CPEC and SCO on Pakistan.

## Literature Review

The foreign and regional scholars discuss South Asian affairs according to their own understandings. They may have similarities in their opinion and may vary in it. This part of study will reveal the similar, dissimilar and conflicting views regarding south Asian region affairs.

Usama Butt and Julian Schofield wrote an article, *Pakistan: The US Geopolitics and Grand Strategies* (2012), highlighting the mutual relationship between US and Pakistan established with the passage of time. Pakistan's struggles not only to cope with the challenges of US-lead war on terror but also to establish and maintain its influence in geopolitical affairs. The writers broadly describe USA and Pakistan relationship and also focus on regional affairs and grand strategies providing a broader geopolitical perspective. This could help to assess and support the foreign policy of Pakistan keeping in view the dynamism of regional politics. This book is divided into two sections; firstly, it includes deliberate steps and framework to take up Pakistan and US relations in a more promising way as that of today and secondly to concentrate upon the wide cluster of Pakistan's collaboration with Iran, Saudi Arabia, Gulf States, China and European Union. The last part inspects Pakistan's atomic issues. In spite of the fact that considered as free pieces, the parts in the succession introduced by the editors give a reasonable and thorough examination of the multi-facets aspects of Pakistan's interaction with international powers.

Amitendu Palit and Gloria Spittle, *South Asia in the New Decade: Challenges and Prospects* (2013), aims to analyze the changing dynamics and challenges faced by South Asia in the global territory. The financial and political advancement in the area propelled influxes of chance to look for steadiness and power gain in the locale. At the same time it focuses on the difficulties like security issues, geo-strategic importance, inter-state relations to be routed to inspect deeply. These elements and difficulties specifically connected to the eventual fate of South Asia's position and its place in the worldwide politics. Toward the start of the second decade of the new millennia, South Asia has developed as a key provincial variable in the eyes of current worldwide establishment. The most recent decade saw the area encountering a strong period of financial development and improvement. After some time, South Asia's monetary advance is relied upon to quicken, given its great demography and key area. The possibilities of quicker monetary development and improvement, largely, will emerge contingent on the area's accomplishment in dealing with different difficulties including security, environmental change, political insecurity

and ethnic struggle. It is in this setting the Sixth International Conference on South Asia united scholastics and strategy authorities to give bits of knowledge and add to a comprehension of the difficulties and prospects confronting the region in this decade. This volume is a gathering of the papers presented at the Conference and collected a huge and various arrangement of perspectives and discernments on the region.

Charles B. Kelly and Francis V Beasley in their book, *Pakistan and US Relations* (2009), featured the Pak-US relationships that has been set apart by times of both collaborations and frictions. Their relations can be partitioned into three unmistakable stages, The Cold War time frame; the long stretches of emergency in the relationship amid 1990's and the present stage after September 2011 of modifying and reclassifying their relationship. The US and Pakistan relationship set apart by times of both participation and dissension. The relationship is depicted by the US enthusiasm for Pakistan. The worried circumstances of this relation came after the US lead war on terror, Afghanistan war and stability issues, Pakistan India strains and financial woes of region. Osama's capture in Pakistani territory resulted in a major sit-back to Pak-US relations and put Pakistan in a dreadful position. Pakistan's relations with US were never simple but the chain of events such as drone strikes, presence of Osama Bin Laden in Abbotabad and subsequent capture operation, and Raymond Davis issue has additionally crumbled the circumstance and made it truly mind boggling for the two vital accomplices to proceed with their partnership in war against terror. On war on terror Pakistan is a potential partner with US however all runs up in smoke with fingers pointing at it. In this nerve racking circumstances, Pakistani masses appear to be panicked over the repercussions of greetings that Pakistan filled in as a safe house for Osama. Although it isn't something new for Pakistan as it has endured the worst part of its help to the US at number of events in the history. With a specific end goal to survey the Pak-US relations in the present situation it is important to turn the pages of history.

Vishal Chandra in his book, *India and south Asia Exploring Regional Perceptions* (2015), put their opinions about the US army withdrawal from Afghanistan would outcome is an incredible security risk in the region which includes India and Pakistan. The center prospect of US is to build up firm connection amongst India and Afghanistan. It will naturally mount weight on Pakistan. While western countries will pull back out of Afghanistan, Pakistan and India must grab this open door that would lead to mutual cooperation. The three nations go into a true discourse and address even

most nonstop of issue such is the part of Taliban in Afghanistan and the fringe debate, and move the concentration to working towards financial success of the area. However, these changing relations in South Asia may also bring security connotations for Pakistan.

Maryam Nazir in her article, "Indo US Alliance and Changing Regional Dynamics" (2016) describes the ever-evolving geostrategic dynamics; the most highlighted and contemporary one discussed is US-India partnership. With the inter-regional political dynamics changing critically, the US-India relationship has seen new highs ranging from economic, cultural and military ties. This cooperation demonstrates negative ramifications on Pakistan security and Afghan Government welcome to let India build his influence in Afghanistan. India and US meant to increment and shared the strength and peace in the region. US comprehend that India is the main nation in the area which could work to contain China in the region. The China-US contention is no place to get less. In any case, the Washington is in deep economic association with Beijing other than the fear that they are in hostile kind of situation in the region. Beside this annoyance US is in continuous struggle to cooperate with local powers of the region. Pakistan right now should keep nerves quiet and endeavor openings by revamping relations on normal grounds within and out of the region.

Shereen M. Mazari wrote an article, "South Asia Security: International Context"(2006) focusing on dynamics of regional security issues in South Asia, which for the most part in history has remained tense. India Pakistan relations and resulting immense atomic and customary outfitted form ups, and has been radically changed inferable from the post 9/11 occasions and advancements. The less obvious yet inescapable exercises of the additional local players are ending up more noticeable under the appearance of the US drove "war on terror". The US activities in Afghanistan have made diverse difficulties and various dangers for Pakistan averse to the solidness of the whole area. Pakistan's post 9/11 arrangement, combined with India's picking up and expanded a dependable balance in Afghanistan, has increased outside dangers for Pakistan regarding the low force struggle on the western fringes. Residential political complexities and divisions have likewise expanded in Pakistan. India's significant advantages in the Gulf monetary focuses and the US severity against Iran are intensely contributing towards breaking down security circumstance in Baluchistan, the region that is being developed with Chinese help and sizeable monetary ventures.

The article written by Rajshree Jelty, “Sino-Pakistan Strategic Entente: Implications for Regional Security” (2012) talks about the barriers and dimensions of peace and security that China and Pakistan wishes to cope up because of their geo-political interests and objectives in the South Asian region. It reveals several vital geo-political issues influencing their mutual cooperative relationship. The article likewise takes a gander at the provincial and worldwide measurements, specifically the pertinence of India and the US to Pak-China relations. It analyzes the association of India and US ties while highlighting that Pakistan and US relations gets weaker with time and furthermore analyzing the basis of China and Pakistan closer ties in the region. This article contends that as long as Pakistan-India peace process remains grounded on the issues of terrorism and Kashmir conflict, and Pakistan's relations with US are a descending phenomenon, Pakistan would keep on viewing China as its most key partner in neutralizing India, and to some degree the US. Pakistan needs to critically observe US actions in this scenario.

Dr. Souza, Shanthie Mariet Jetty and Rajshree, *Perspectives on South Asia Security* (2013), deals with security challenges emerging in South Asia. The book covers highly topical issues and including in-depth analysis of the current conflicts in Afghanistan, counter terrorism in measures in Pakistan and conflict management in Indian Kashmir. It further highlights the politics of regional powers under foreign policies priorities of South Asian countries and post-conflict restructuring in Nepal and militarization in Asia. A large part of this book provides insight into the regional political issues and competing foreign policy priorities, particularly focusing on India which has emerged as the major regional player. The defense relations and foreign policy of India with Russia, Southeast Asia particularly China are covered and focused on the geopolitical dynamics of South Asian states. The book includes opinions of the scholar which have argued about the government level writers and expert opinion with personal indulgence in political matters. It focuses on the security challenges which is facing by South Asia in future and policy maker's interest.

Ieva Karpaviciute, “Security Dynamics and Power Division within the South Asian Region”(2007) presented for ECPR Joint Session of Workshops No.9 “The Rise of (New) Regional Powers in Asia, Africa, and Latin America - contribution to regional and world peace or protracted conflicts?” The point of this paper is, joining hypothetical presumptions of couple of provincial security approaches in light of English Scholl custom and constructivism to examine security flow

in South Asia, to locate the fundamental parts of the transaction between three examination levels (national, territorial and foundational) and to consider which level could be urgent for control change inside the district. Additionally, the paper investigates the regionalization forms in South Asia, break down the effect of inward power division and extremity of worldwide framework to regional security elements. South Asian security investigation consolidate two points of view: territorial security relations inside the area and effect of polar world and other extraordinary forces.

An article written by Asifa Jahangir, “Changing Dynamics of South Asia Balance-of-Power” (2013) published in *Journal of South Asian Studies Islamabad* concentrated on the rise of nuclear issue in the perspective of local and international politics. This aspect has extended stability and use of balance of power dimension and lessening of military power. Anyway a few pragmatists contend that in world governmental issues military and political the two qualities of adjust of power to be sure shape country states' adjusting approach against prevailing players in a framework. Thus, feeble players get drew in with solid one halting its adversary's military danger and having discouragement ability. Subsequently, strategic balance becomes visible. As the focal point of the investigation is concerned, this whole situation can be seen in the midst of two noteworthy actors in South Asian region i.e. Pakistan and India. It is examined that balance of power hold quite some time been upsetting because of military power balance amongst Pakistan and India since autonomy. Other than the compelling part of superpowers in the performance center of South Asian governmental issues has additionally been an incredible aggravating component for provincial balance and broadening military power unevenness where the US or then again Russia is/were attempting to keep up worldwide balance in Asian issues by making dyadic vital organizations with provincial players. As the vital strategic triangle China, Pakistan and India appears to be very noteworthy wherein Sino-Pak key relationship has developed attributable to basic element of India and China as being an adjacent and important actor making an adjusting inclination in its relations with the two India and Pakistan while the US couldn't do this in South Asia. While changing progression in India and US collaboration with respect to strategic plans after common nuclear arrangement, China and Pakistan both have likewise fortified their 60 years of time tested key relationship. Thus, the key quadrangle the US-India and Sino-Pak is getting famous as another dynamic of the South Asian aspect of power balance.



Umbreen Javed and Rameesha Javed, "Indian influence in Afghanistan and its implications for Pakistan"(2016) features Afghanistan and Pakistan's geopolitical and geo deliberate interlock with each other and India expanding impact in Afghanistan is the grave security matter for Pakistan. This article talks about India and Pakistan generally an adversary states in South Asia. India is utilizing a delicate power shift in Afghanistan. India's nearness in Afghanistan is giving a financial framework and common military and political support of advance peace and security in Afghanistan which is wellspring of contention for Pakistan. Along these lines India is endeavoring to accomplish a noteworthy delicate part and make her essence legitimized there is urge to accomplish her more extensive goals of Afghanistan. Despite the fact that there will be US sit-in in Afghanistan, yet India's influence in Afghanistan politics and common administrative and military cooperation for peace process that has divesting and destructive outcomes for Pakistan and its prosperity.

In another article written by same authors Umbreen Javeed and Rameesha Javeed, "Strengthening Geo-strategic Bond of China and Pakistan through geo-economic Configuration" (2016) examine that China and Pakistan close coordinated effort behind the key partnership in the district to counter the India expanding impact and to support the US intrigue and keep up power balance in the region. Pak-China relations showed up as far back as the Bandung Conference at which the two states come nearer to each other. Changing territorial situation because of globalization exchange and monetary relations began amongst Pakistan and China. The CPEC is a distinct advantage venture under the developing Chinese geo financial plan and Pakistan confronting variety of challenging situations in the execution of the CPEC venture. China rose as a financial power and particularly recently been effective in expanding her reach by building up a tremendous trade routes alongside growing markets. India's expanding enthusiasm for collaboration with US is a caution for China and Pakistan. Pakistan and China consented to manufacture "One Belt One Road" venture to further strengthen financial ties for Pakistan and China in the region.

Mavara Inayat, "Conflict and Cooperation in South Asia Security Post 9/11: Implications for Pakistan Security" (2013) centers around the contention and collaboration in South Asian region. It is acknowledged that the US withdrawal from the Afghanistan in 2014 and it security related ramifications on Pakistan. The distinctive deals of big powers like India and USA strategic cooperation in the region is seen as a challenge for Pakistan. On the opposite side China, Russia

and Pakistan geopolitical cooperation would assume a noteworthy part in South Asia. Pakistan is the portal to Central Asia and Central Asian states are the rich in natural reserves. India-Afghanistan active alliance in the regional theater would bring negative ramifications for Pakistan's security. Additionally, the new changing relations of the major power with the South Asian states will made an obstacle for the Pakistan security.

Moiz Hali Shafei, Dr Tan Shukui and Sumera Iqbal in their work, "One Belt One Road: Impact on China Pakistan Economic Corridor" (2014) have highlighted the importance of China's policy and its impact on the region. The major goal of this policy is intended to bring economic importance for Pakistan. Entire area is deemed to impact by Chinese future strategy. Belt and Road is a development initiative anticipated by Chinese innovators that concentrated on availability and collaboration among South Asian and Central Asian countries and rest of Eurasia. It comprises of two primary parts the land base Silk Road and Ocean route. China has pushed to play a greater part in the worldwide issues and its indulgence in China Pakistan monetary passage is a testimony of this task. CPEC will grow and redesign Pakistan's infrastructure and will widen financial connections amongst China and Pakistan.

Rashid Ahmed Malik in his article, "The Salala incident: Implication for the Pakistan US ties" (2014) argues that the Salala incident of November 26, 2011 has made immense harm to Pak-US reciprocal ties and encroached upon their participation in the war on terror. In response, the seizing of NATO supplies have further slumped this relation. Pakistan practiced its own particular authentic security concerns. The Army did not have any desire to re-open supplies until the U.S. offered an expression of remorse to Pakistan for killing of its soldiers in Salala incident. Activists undermined with lamentable results if supplies were reestablished. The Parliament of Pakistan made its own approvals to state's relations with the US, offering to stop attack on the inborn places, which focus on the U.S ended or not.

Maryam Nazir, "Indo US Alliance and Changing Regional Dynamics in South Asia"(2013) has concentrated on the new millennial. South Asian politics and the approach of regional states for balance of power. South Asia is fundamentally one of the driven vital locale of the Asia continent in which current geopolitical and geo-financial substances have additionally improved its geostrategic hugeness in global framework after US-India strong cooperation. This union of world

single superpower with India has changed security and geopolitical dynamics of South Asia. In response to it, Sino-Pak initiated stronger bilateral ties intrigued by growing US-India influence in the region. In the most noteworthy association geostrategic enthusiasm of Pakistan and China which is come up the counter-balance the relationship of US and India. US has not just a balancer in south Asia it additionally has a hegemonic part in global framework. On the other hand, India is expanding their monetary abilities at one side and furthermore expanding their nuclear innovation with the U.S help. Both states Pakistan and India are trying to counter their influence of one another in the region. Furthermore, the current circumstances are fragile in the region in which US should assume a role of buffer between India and Pakistan.

Saraha Akram, “Pakistan Russia relations: Future Trends” (2016) exposes upsetting relations between Russia and Pakistan in their past. In past, when Russia was USSR or Soviet Union, had anxious or annoying relations with Pakistan in the time of Cold War period. This terrible period amongst Pakistan and Russia become more extreme and worsen when USSR and US turned against each other into battleground in Afghanistan and South Asia. Meanwhile, Pakistan and Russia is continuously engaged with each other to have mutual cooperative relations since its disintegration from Afghanistan as Soviet Union and changing dynamics and power politics in the region. Both of the states are continuously revising their policies towards each other keeping in mind the dynamics in geo-politics in the region. Both Russia and Pakistan gave up the unfriendly and upsetting relations they had in Cold War period. Presently, both of the states are putting their efforts to have potential military and financial collaboration in a more professional way.

Muhammad Hanif stated in “Pakistan-Russia Relations: Progress Prospects and Constraints”(2013) that Russia and Pakistan are two significant forces in South Asian region that has remarkable potential monetarily and also has got the veto control practice in UN. Although both of the states had annoying relations in Cold War period and also USSR faced Afghan Jihad movement in the past but presently Pakistan and Russia are complementing each other financially and militarily in order to withdraw US and its allies from Afghanistan. Both Russia and Pakistan are trying to accomplish peace across Central Asia and especially in Afghanistan. As US is falling back from Pakistan, Pakistan need Russia’s assistance to revive its economy. Pakistan has got a key aim to make ventures with Russia as Delhi is coming close tie with U.S and Europe. It is seen that Pakistan and Russia’s relations are continuously improving irrespective of the requirements

and the circumstances they have to handle. What so ever the prospects are, US and India closer ties compelling Pakistan and Russia to team up for their common interest in South Asian region.

Zahid Ali Khan, "Pakistan and Shanghai Cooperation Organization" (2013) expands the significance of Pakistan and its dynamic part in Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). Pakistan, which right now is an observing member, can't stay unapproachable from an association which has developed as a vital local gathering that is currently being seen by various Western, and particularly American researchers, as another "Warsaw Pact" testing American interests in the area. A definitive objective of the SCO is to make "multilateral organization" with a specific end goal to relax tense relation among members by initiating and complying with confidence building measures through common discourse and communication. Pakistan is among the primary nation to apply for "observer status" in the organization. The developing geo-political and geo financial circumstances at the local and worldwide levels demanded that Pakistan joins the SCO. It would likewise enhance Pakistan's relations with Russia. Then again, from SCO's perspective Pakistan's consideration will give a characteristic chance to the states member connected with the Arabian Sea Eurasian centers and South Asian region.

In the light of existing literature, it can be concluded that subject specialists discussed regional dynamics with their own perspectives. However, CPEC and SCO has not been taken as separate subject to show its economic and security effects on Pakistan specifically. The present study is emphasizing on the regional dynamics in detail and it is found that great game (of major powers is not only limited in Central Asia but it has influenced the policies of major states of South Asia, such as Pakistan and India.

### **Research Questions**

The study endeavors to answer following questions

- Q.1 What economic and security changes have been taking place in South Asia since 9/11?
- Q.2 How are changing regional dynamics impacting on Pakistan's security and economy?
- Q.3 How are CPEC and SCO carrying economic benefits for South Asian countries in general and for Pakistan in particular?

## Research Hypothesis

Partnership of South Asian states (such as CPEC and SCO) with great Powers (US, China, Russia) are steering regional changes. Pakistan is seemingly getting close to Russia and China whereas Indo-US relations are also increasing. These regional changes have security as well as economic implications for Pakistan.

## Theoretical Framework

Theories illustrate and provide basis to investigate the issue in an accurate way. Theoretical framework help researcher to analyze, understand and investigate the core issue or problem of the study presented by the researcher. Theorists, politicians, military persons and scholars are the prime actors who facilitated to develop these theories. Theorists and scholars have analyzed and investigated the past issues in their developmental phases and come up with a conclusion about them which form basis for investigating issues for current and future studies. Jack Donnelly in his book “Realism and International Relations” stated that theories serve as a guide to investigate the issue worldwide. Moreover, he stated that theory provides with most important abstracts to the case in hand to come up with a conclusion while leaving aside the puzzling details associated with the issue.<sup>6</sup> The theory of neo-functionalism has provided wisdom to understand the current issue. This lens has envisioned cooperation between states in one area to another area i.e. economy to politics.

Neo-functionalism emphasizes on regional integration, the same is evident in South Asia in form of SCO and CPEC. The theory of neo-functionalism is famous because of the successful model of European integration. It is a core part of the wider debate between supranational and intergovernmental perspectives on integration in Europe. The theory of neo-functionalism was developed by Earnst B. Haas in mid 1950s.<sup>7</sup> Haas theory emphasized the three core elements that he thought would drive the integration and will further enhance relations because there would be positive spillover effects of cooperation. He believed that the transfer of domestic allegiances and technocratic automaticity will occur.<sup>8</sup> Neo-functionalism is an integration theory proposing a

---

<sup>6</sup> Jack Donnelly, *Realism and International Relations*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 19

<sup>7</sup>Jasmine Ganeshaligman, “Neo-functionalism,” *Europe Union Politics*, 2011.

<sup>8</sup>Ernst Haas, *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social, and Economic Forces, 1950-1957* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004), 54

model to achieve establishing a political community at the end of the integration process. In this model neo-functionalism creates a linkage between economic and political integration. Neo-functionalists claim that after the creation of an economic integration within the framework of a supranational organization, political integration would come into existence almost automatically.<sup>9</sup>

Neo-functionalism explains the regional integration into three factors which interact with one another; growing economic interdependence between nations, organizational capacity to resolve the border issues and supranational market rules that replace national regularity regime.<sup>10</sup> Post-cold war era is considered a new era of regional integration. Here US, Russia and China have directly or indirectly pushing new regional alignments. Russia in initial years after cold war appeared to be closed to US. Hence, after that Russia tilt states to appear towards China. Cold war is no more influencing on states foreign policies. However, China's rise has changed the global political structure. China is now trade partner of US and simultaneously, it is getting close to South Asian states economically. This whole scenario fits in neo-functionalism.

Neo-functionalism has always been difficult to classify in disciplinary terms, because it intersects the usual assumptions of international relations and comparative politics. It recognizes the importance of national states, especially in the foundation of regional organizations and at subsequent moments of formal re-foundation by treaty, yet it places major emphasis on the role of two sets of non-state actors in providing the dynamic for further integration: the 'secretariat' of the organization involved; and those interest associations and social movements that form around at the level of the region. Member states may set the terms of the initial agreement and do what they can to control subsequent events, but they do not exclusively determine the direction, extent and pace of change. Rather, regional bureaucrats in league with a shifting set of self-organized interests and passions seek to exploit the inevitable 'unintended consequences' that occur when states agree to assign some degree of supranational responsibility for accomplishing a limited task

---

<sup>9</sup> Cinar Ozen, "Neo-Functionalism and the Change in the Dynamics of Turkey-EU Relations," *Journal of International Affairs*, Volume III, Number, 3. November 1998.

<sup>10</sup>Ernst Haas "International Integration: The European and the Universal Process," *International Organization*, (1961), 66-92,

and then discover that satisfying that function has external effects upon other of their interdependent activities.<sup>11</sup>

Integration has to do with getting self-interested political elites to intensify their cooperation. Integration is a process whereby political actors are persuaded to shift their loyalties toward a new center whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over the preexisting national states. This functional process of integration depends on the notion of ‘spillover’, when increased cooperation in one area leads to increased cooperation in other areas. Neo-functionalists reject the conventional realist axiom that all games played between actors are necessarily zero-sum in nature. Spillover would ensure that political elites marched inexorably towards the promotion of integration.<sup>12</sup>

After World War II was over, a kind of political union of Europe was conceived by the leaders. This vision of the United States of Europe attracted the considerable attention at the popular level and was kept alive among the leading social scientists, leaders and political activists. The economic integration was, at the most, considered as a stage in the process and an immediate aim, whose goal was the eventual political unification of Europe. The important actors in neo-functional theory are not governments but interest groups and integrationist-technocrats. Functionalism and neo-functionalism agree that international cooperation should be initiated in technical or core functional areas. Functionalists argue that once success has been achieved in these areas, it would give rise to a spillover to other areas. Haas thought that once sector cooperation was attained in one area, the sector imbalance that it caused would create incentives to initiate integration in other areas to counter the imbalances. The integration in the functional areas would lead to political spillover. As functional sectors merged politicians would look for alternatives and redefine their tasks in order to control the new system.

The main focus of the theory of neo-functionalism is the process of integration on regional level. The application of this theory satisfies the new alignments in this region. Different countries in this region, one way or the other, are getting closer for forming such groups where cooperation leads to a simple integration in terms of security and economic integration. The spillover effects

---

<sup>11</sup>Philippe C. Schmitter, “Ernst B. Haas and the legacy of Neofunctionalism,” *Journal of European Public Policy* 12:2 April 2005: 255–272.

<sup>12</sup>Robert Jackson Georg Sørensen, *Introduction to International Relations Theories and Approaches*, (London: Oxford University Press, 2010), 107.

of SCO in this region strongly push almost all the states to rethink their policies that are based on the realpolitik. The joining of SCO by Pakistan and India will ultimately bring them closer to mitigate their tension. However, the fact remains that the superpower game, evidently being played in the region, may disturb this integration process. In this backdrop, some preparations are being taken by major powers including Russia and China. Such as China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) will play its role as CPEC is one of the most important component of this project. Moreover, Russia tends to join connectivity project too, which will bring more avenues of integration the region.

### **Research Methodology**

In order to understand current sequence of research, an effort has been made in this section to disseminate criteria of data collection, analysis and interpretation. The data for this research has been widely collected through secondary sources. Since research in Social sciences is not experimental and most of the times analysis are done through explanation of phenomenon. Similarly, this study focuses on the important topic of social sciences and data is gathered through books and articles.

Methodology of a research is a systematic process that gives framework to the solution of a problem stated in the study by the researcher. The nature of the study required suitable procedures and techniques to accomplish the results of the research. Research is a composition of processes and principles to collect essential data needed for the fulfillment of the research requirements. So, research is not the tool for data collection only but it is essential for a researcher to understand the basic process of research through a right way and its use on the required area.

This study is qualitative and it uses historical interpretive approach to analyze the case of changing regional dynamics in South Asia. The historical interpretive approach based on post positivist approach, which fall into the qualitative research method. For data collection, mostly secondary data has been used. For this study, available websites of archives and official documents were used. For data collection, visited various libraries of Universities, social media and other sources has been used. The data collection tools, used for this research, are books, journals, newspapers and research articles. This research provides basis for comparing data between past and present upon regional dynamics. Historical design is an important measure of IR study that portrays that



one cannot reach to the present findings of the study without knowing the past issues and solutions. This research makes, on several places, comparison between the present and past situations.

### **Delimitation**

This study examines regional dynamics, particularly CPEC and SCO. The security and economic implications of these two initiatives taken by China, steered changes the region. Therefore, in Pakistan China, Russia relations and new alliances of India-US will be highlighted.

### **Chapter Breakdown**

The first part of this study is “Introduction”. It covers the whole plan of research.

The first chapter of this study is “Changing Geopolitical Dynamics in South Asia”. This chapter focuses On Pakistan’s mutual collaboration with Russia and China. This chapter also analyses the core developments that are being taking place in the region due to CPEC and SCO. The chapter reflects the position of the USA after 9/ 11 in South Asia.

The second chapter of this study is “India-US Strategic Partnership: Mounting External Pressures on Pakistan”. This chapter mainly deals with the enhancing Indo-US collaboration in the region and its implication for Pakistan.

The third chapter of this study is “Economic Implications of Regional Dynamics for Pakistan”. The chapter features in detail the geographical connectivity of Pakistan with different area and its possible economic development in the near future due to SCO and CPEC.

The fourth chapter of this research is “Security Implications of Regional Dynamics for Pakistan”. The chapter examines the internal and external security challenges faced by Pakistan. External challenges include: India’s tilt towards Iran, India-US alliance and US policy of Afghanistan. In the internal challenges, terrorism, extremism and economic weaknesses have been discussed in this chapter. Completion of the CPEC is the biggest challenge for Pakistani government.

The fifth chapter is “Future Prospects”. This chapter contains the future perspectives of CPEC, SCO and emergence of new alliance of Russia and China in South Asia. The possible impact of these various factors are discussed.

The last part of the study is “Conclusion/ Recommendation”. The conclusion of study is given in this section. Moreover, in the light of research, some suggestions are given at the end.

## Chapter 1

### CHANGING GEOPOLITICAL DYNAMICS IN SOUTH ASIA

This chapter focuses on the growing influence of Russia and China in South Asian region. The formulation of new alliance in South Asia is providing great opportunities to economic and political aspect of the region. This chapter discusses the improved Russia and Pakistan relations and their military dimensions like their joint military exercises. This chapter explains the growing nature of alliance between China, Pakistan and Russia triangular relation in South Asia region. Moreover, Pakistan has also become the member of SCO which can be provided Pakistan with an opportunity to use this platform for solving their border related issues with it neighboring countries.

IR scholars commonly argue that, in contrast with the previous overlapping bipolar structure of the international system, the end of the Cold War ‘liberated’ regions as an alternative platform for political action as well as a basis for a more graduated analysis. This view is shared by scholars active in international security studies (ISS) and international political economy (IPE), who generally acknowledge that ‘the importance of regional relations expanded with the end of the Cold War, and that regions are a substantially more important venue of conflict and cooperation than in the past.

This study is motivated by an apparent contradiction in the literature of regionalism. On the one hand, IR scholars widely acknowledge the importance of the notion of region in contemporary geopolitical discourse, forming part of and interacting with the other spheres of social life – local, metropolitan, national, international and global – that play central roles in the post-Cold War world. On the other, they fail to interrogate the discipline’s ways of mapping the world, or their implications for the notion of region and ‘the politics of regionness’ that is, the political struggles that mark processes of regionalization or region-making in theory and practice. As John A Agnew has noted, IR scholars often use the term ‘region’ either to ‘group together nations that are apparently similar and thus to simplify a greater complexity’, or to situate IR studies in a ‘meso-regional field of reference’ that is larger than the national, and smaller than the international. Thus, while IR scholars often write about regions, they often fail to (re)think the region as a relevant category in both theory and practice.

World Politics is shaping into new dimension in ever changing relation and states are involving in new alliance to pursue their interests. Furthermore, states are signing agreement to show their interests for solidarities. South Asian states are forming their alliances to get their economic benefit and national interests. After the 9/11 incident, US has lost its interests to stable Afghanistan in the region for of its own interest which led to a situation where Pakistan and China along with Russia are forming their relations to secure the regional contention.<sup>13</sup>

### **1.1 Pre 9/11 Regional Dynamics**

Post World War II, the Soviet Union and the US emerged as two super powers in International Politics. The competition between US and USSR had affected the rest of the world and South Asia too. India and Pakistan chose the opposite block, Pakistan became the ally of US and India that of USSR. The US policy of South Asia affairs concerned the position of India and Pakistan became a prominent issue.<sup>14</sup> Therefore, Pakistan became an ally of the West in May 1954, when the Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement with the US was signed. Later, Pakistan became a member of SEATO and the Baghdad pact which also known CENTO in 1954 and 1955 led to a close military relationship with US.<sup>15</sup> US used a territory of Pakistan to high level spy U-2 for illegal flight over the Soviet Union in 1962.<sup>16</sup> U-2 spy plane one thing clear to the Soviet that Pakistan territory was being used for US operations against it. Pakistan served as the centre piece of US policy in the region and remained its most allied ally. Despite the alignment during Cold War period Pakistan has been given cold shoulder at many times by US. During the 1965 war between India and Pakistan, US cut off their economic and military aids to both nations but Soviet Union provided an economic and military assistance to India. India remained an ally of USSR in cold war era, yet due to its strategic location, large population, and global presence, India remained favorite of US. The importance of India in South Asia region has always been crucial and decisive role in US policy. In 1979 Soviet invasion in Afghanistan, Pakistan used as frontline state by US to counter

---

<sup>13</sup> Jessica da Silva C de Oliveira, "The Place of the Region in IR" *Contexto Internacional*. vol.39 no.1 Apr, 2017.

<sup>14</sup> Umbreen Javaid, "Intensive US engagement for Enhanced role in South Asia," *A Research Journal of South Asian Studies*, June 2010,

<sup>15</sup> A.Z.Hilali, "Cold War Politics of Superpowers in South Asia," *The Dialogue*, 2006.

<sup>16</sup> LubnaSunawar and Tatiana Coutto, "US Pakistan Relations during the Cold War," *The Journal of International Relations, Peace Studies and Development*, 2015.

the communism. The USSR entered neighboring Afghanistan in 1979, attempting to shore up the newly established pro Soviet regime in Kabul, but Soviet was disintegrating in 1989.<sup>17</sup>

The disintegration of Soviet union is one of the most important events in the history of mankind it has transformed the whole nature of global politics and dramatically altered the basic parameters in which the various relationships between nations, states and classes have hitherto operated. On Christmas day 1991, the soviet flag flew over the Kremlin in Moscow for the last time. A few days earlier, representatives from eleven soviet republics met in the Kazakh city of Alma-Ata and announced that they would no longer be part of the Soviet Union. Instead, they declared that they would establish a common wealth of Independent states. Because the three Baltic republics (Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia) had already declared their independence from the USSR, only one of its fifteen republics, Georgia remained. The once mighty Soviet Union had fallen largely due to the great number of radical reforms that soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev had implemented during his six years as the leader of the USSR. However Gorbachev was disappointed in the dissolution of his nation and resigned from his job. It was a peaceful end to a long, terrifying and sometimes bloody epoch in world history.<sup>18</sup>

For centuries China stood as a leading civilization, outpacing the rest of the world in the arts and sciences, but in the 19th and early 20th centuries, the country was beset by civil unrest, major famines, military defeats, and foreign occupation. After World War II, the Communist Party of China under Mao Zedong established an autocratic socialist system that, while ensuring China's sovereignty, imposed strict controls over everyday life and cost the lives of tens of millions of people. After 1978, Mao's successor Deng Xiaoping and other leaders focused on market-oriented economic development and by 2000 output had quadrupled. For much of the population, living standards have improved dramatically but political controls remained tight. Since the early 1990s, China has increased its global outreach and participation in international organizations. Over the past three decades China's economy has moved from being largely closed to becoming a major global player. Its innovation system has undergone considerable change and its innovation performance has improved noticeable.

---

<sup>17</sup> Alan Taylor, "The Soviet War in Afghanistan 1979-1989," *The Atlantic*, August 04, 2014.

<sup>18</sup>Javid Ahmad Mir," Disintegration of the Soviet Union and the end of BiPolarity: Its causes and impact on international relations," *International Journal of Political Science and Development*, March 2017, Vol. 5(2). 30-33.

## 1.2 Post 9/11 Regional Dynamics

The new axis of Russia, China and Pakistan are giving a new dimension in South Asia region. Since in inception, China and Pakistan have unforgettable economic and military relations, although Russia and Pakistan relations were so weak because there was historic mistrust between them in their past and Russia had closer ties with India. Security cooperation among Russia and Pakistan is one of the key factors for South Asian region because of their geographical importance. Both Russia and Pakistan common desire can be explained to reduce the US influence in the region and to peaceful settlement of Afghanistan issue.<sup>19</sup> One of the dominant factors in the region is instability in Afghanistan which has spillover effects in the regional politics. Moreover, Pakistan is also effected from terrorism and eliminate instability in the region, which has export from Afghanistan after 9/11 incident. The regional instability in the region is the reason to create a situation for Russia and China to join hand together.<sup>20</sup>

On the other hand, after 9/11 US have lost its influence in Afghanistan to pursue its own interests. However, US involvement in the region and its military alliance with India is a threat to other South Asian states and their newly emerging alliances. Since 9/11, US has shifted its policy in the favor of India and forgetting Pakistan as a frontline state in the region. US policies of South Asia are creating American-India coalition nexus to counter Pakistan, Russia and China alliance in the South Asia. Therefore, the determination of China, Russia, and Pakistan alliance to make the region stable and to rebalance the South Asia region and regional dynamics. US wants to establish its supremacy upon the rest of the states of the world and make alliance in every region. Due to US has lost hegemonic grip in the region, since Russia reemerges and China emerges as a growing economic power. Thus, US is facing a threat to its hegemony in the region and form an alliance with India to counter the new emerging states in the region. On the other side, China and Russia created a counter alliance along with Pakistan to maintain balance in the regional politics. Hence, Pakistan formed the alliance with Russian and China which can be deterring of India aggression.<sup>21</sup>

---

<sup>19</sup> Samuel Ramani, "Russia and Pakistan: A Durable Anti-American Alliance in South Asia," *The Diplomats*, April 21, 2018.

<sup>20</sup> Sajjad Haider, "An Emerging Alliance in South Asia," *Pakistan Observer*, November 6, 2017.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid,

### 1.3 Formation of Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO)

SCO is Political and economic cooperation that has three fundamental visions to encounter the evil of terrorism, extremism and separatism in the region. It is a cooperation of six nation-states established on June 15, 2001. It was initially comprises of Russia, China, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. It was originally formed to stabilize the border issues and to increase the military- intelligence sharing and to counter terrorism among the states of the organization. In 1996 it was first known as Shanghai five but after the addition of Uzbekistan it was named as SCO in 2001.<sup>22</sup> The major players of the SCO are China, Russia and the United Nation Security Council (UNSC). West believed that SCO was made to counterbalance the functions of NATO and its future is uncertain. While west understands that the SCO is made against the counterbalance of NATO and the future of this Organization in uncertain. Keeping all this in mind, it can be noted that, for ailing countries like Afghanistan SCO can put its best efforts.<sup>23</sup>

#### 1.3.1 Inclusive of Pakistan and India as Observers

The permanent membership of Pakistan opened up gateways of opportunities for Pakistan and now SCO is expanding its political and economic interests to South Asian region. Pakistan was firstly became the observer state in 2005.<sup>24</sup> For being the full member of SCO Pakistan applied in the year 2006. The role of Pakistan in Afghanistan believes in peace and peaceful relationships with its neighbor countries and promises to promote trade corridor and potential for energy. Furthermore, Pakistan's growing relations with Russia and its close economic and strategic ties with China helped Pakistan to get its full membership in SCO. SCO Summit held on 9-10 July 2015 in Russian city of Ufa, it opened up the entry gate of opportunities for Pakistan and India into folds back. It was expected for both countries to wait for the meeting to be held next in 2016 in India to get the full membership of the economic and security grouping.<sup>25</sup>

The focal point of SCO was based on non-traditional security challenges like regional stability issues, uncertain situation in Afghanistan and economic cooperation. It is the heartiest desire of

---

<sup>22</sup> Eleanor Albert, "The Shanghai Cooperation Organization," *Council Foreign Relations*, October 14, 2015.

<sup>23</sup> Tyler Roney, "The Shanghai Cooperation Organization: China's NATO," *The Diplomat*, September 11, 2013.

<sup>24</sup> Zahid Ali Khan, "Pakistan and Shanghai Cooperation Organization," *Islamabad Policy Research Institute*, (2013), 61

<sup>25</sup> Muhammad Nawaz Khan, "SCO and Regional Security," *Islamabad Policy Research Institute*, January 19, 2016.

regional powers through the historic routes of Pakistan and neighbor countries to transform this region into a trade hub. Pakistan's permanent membership in SCO enable it to play a more vital role in ensuring regional stability through diversify option in Pakistan's foreign policy on a diplomatic note. Moreover, SCO vision of combating terrorism, separatism and extremism is closer to the counter terrorism narrative of Pakistan. Pakistan is joining the regional framework of institutionalized platform of SCO to encounter terrorism.<sup>26</sup> The SCO through "Shanghai spirit" can play a constructive role and can reduce the element of tension among Pakistan and India in South Asian region. Due to its geographical and strategic importance Pakistan has added the value to SCO as a permanent state. For its ideal and economic integration, Pakistan served as a natural ally to SCO. Moreover, Pakistan has its significance as a viable trade passageway for Central Asia, other members and the People's Republic of China as being the permanent member. The fruitful steps taken by China as connecting Gawadar port with Kashgar and building an economic zone, updating the Kurrakorum Highway and creating trans-continental connectivity across Central Asian countries are the live examples of SCO under the flagship of China and Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). Currently, in the entire region on its own, alone, Pakistan can promise an economic turnaround.<sup>27</sup>

The important concern of SCO states is the uncertain situation in Afghanistan. The security situation in Afghanistan is linked with the stability in SCO member states. Insecure situation in Afghanistan is a threat to the SCO regional cooperation and stability plans. To ensure the peace across Afghanistan China and Russia both played supportive role but however, they believe that Pakistan is the only key player that can best read and understand the Afghanistan situation. Worst security situation will affect the stability of entire region. In current days US relations with China and Russia are going in a worst phase. State relations are observing a shift in intergovernmental cooperation, Indo US strategic partnership is ensuring an improvement in the relationship between Pakistan, China and Russia.<sup>28</sup>

Pakistan's greater ties with Russian Federation helped a lot to gain its regular membership in SCO. Being an observer state Pakistan gained a useful access to the leadership of Russian Federation,

---

<sup>26</sup> Maryam Nazir, "SCO membership and Pakistan," *Islamabad Policy Research Institute*, July 27, 2016.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Muhammad Munir, "SCO and imperatives of regional security," *Pakistan Observer*, August 21, 2017.



which later on resulted in stronger and mutual ties with Russian government and helped in minimizing the level of distrust between them. Russian President Putin, Publicly approved Pakistan's bid to join SCO. Moreover, he revealed that "Pakistan is an important country in the Muslim world and South Asia for Russia".<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, Pakistan is excitedly engaged in achieving the great economic and energy potential from SCO led by Russia and China. Pakistan's role in Afghanistan and being a corridor for energy, trade, economy and other cooperation favored Pakistan in achieving its full membership and being recognized as a unique strategic and geographic player in the South Asian region. The ongoing political scenario in Central and South Asia in Eurasian region inspire other states in this region to acquire the collective benefits from such cooperative organizations like SCO. In central Asia and Eurasian region SCO holds viable importance in the development of this region. This cooperation mainly holds the areas of economic, security, bilateral and multilateral dimensions among SCO member states. In this international and regional political scenario Russia and China are the dominant players that help the smaller states in the region to pursue their common political and economic goal collectively under the flagship of Shanghai Organization cooperation.<sup>30</sup>

This Cooperation Organization was legitimately established in 2001 with the aim to pacify extremism, violence and regional security issues. Anonymous aim of the SCO was to encounter the gaining influence of US on South Asian countries after the incident of 9/11. In the backyard of China and Russia the presence of NATO was a threat to both regional powers and disliked by both of them. Hence, at that time they strongly asses the need of such cooperative organization which could counterbalance the US monopolistic policy in power politics and thus SCO was formulated. The two important players in South Asian region Pakistan and India assessed the importance of this association of intergovernmental organization and applied for full membership in 2006 and 2014 respectively. The 15<sup>th</sup> SCO occurred at Ufa in Russia there Pakistan and India received its full membership in SCO on 10 July 2015.<sup>31</sup> Being two nuclear states in the region with a high population rate and economic vision added new dimensions in the framework of SCO. By the grace of this expansion, Pakistan integrated economically and militarily with SCO members to

---

<sup>29</sup> Muhammad Nawaz Khan, Beenish Altaf, "Pakistan Russia Rapprochement and Current Geo Politics," *Islamabad Policy Research Institute*, Journal XIII, No. 1 Winter 2013. 125-134

<sup>30</sup> Nasurullah Brohi, "Pak-Russian Relations: Path to SCO membership," *Foreign Policy News*, November 29, 2014.

<sup>31</sup> Sarah Akram, "Pakistan Russia Relations: Future Trend," *Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad*, March 24, 2016.

contribute in the stability and peace process of South Asian region. Furthermore, as being the member of SCO Pakistan can build ties in its neighborhoods with other members of this organization.<sup>32</sup> Pakistan officially signed the memorandum with the giant player in this region, Russia and China, and other members of the Central Asia as permanent member of SCO on June 2016.<sup>33</sup> Pakistan is represented by President Mamnoon Hussain at the Uzbek capital held at 16<sup>th</sup> Heads of State Council Ceremonial.<sup>34</sup> On Foreign Affairs, Advisor to Pakistan's Former Prime Minister Sartaj Aziz signed up the copy of memorandum. This memorandum was jointly signed up by all members of SCO, their Foreign Ministers Advisors and Secretary General. After the fulfillment of necessary documentation and obligations required for formal acceptance of memorandum, all the members of SCO attending APP were addressed by Advisors to Prime Minister Sartaj Aziz that "By signing this document Pakistan has finally achieved a milestone of permanent membership in SCO". He added that this memorandum is the continuation of Pakistan's approval as full member done last year in Summit Ufa. Moreover, he revealed that, this memorandum reflect the positive acknowledgement of Pakistan for SCO. At Summit, Pakistan and India has also contracted the memorandum which represents the SCO's effort towards expansions in this region. Both, Pakistan and India has important positions in the South Asia. Pakistan has got prime geographical and strategic location and position for South and Central Asian countries and Eurasian region. SCO is Eurasian economic, political and military organization in which Pakistan and other countries have great access to resources grouping with Russia and China.<sup>35</sup>

### **1.3.2 Permanent Membership**

Pakistan and India finally become the full members at the Ufa Summit in Russia. As being an observer state Pakistan and India attended first SCO Summit in 2005. The President of Kazakhstan welcomed India and Pakistan as the full member at the 17<sup>th</sup> Summit held at Astana.<sup>36</sup> At Astana

---

<sup>32</sup> Muhammad Ihsan Qadir, Saif ur Rehman, "Expansion of Shanghai Cooperation Organization Harbinger of Regional Peace and Prosperity," *Journal of Political Studies*, Volume 23, No. 1, 2016, 117-132

<sup>33</sup> Muhammad Jamil, "Pakistan becomes full membership of SCO," *Pakistan Observer*, June 25 2016.

<sup>34</sup> Shumaila Andleeb, "Pakistan signs Memorandum of Obligations for SCO's full membership," *Associate Press of Pakistan Cooperation*, June 24, 2016.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid*,

<sup>36</sup> Nadeem Akram, "It is a Historic day: Pakistan become full member of SCO at Astana Summit," *Dawn*, June 9, 2017.

on June 9, 2017 Pakistan and India signed a document with Russia, China and other members of SCO at 17<sup>th</sup> Summit proposing that they will join the hands of this organization's vision of expanding the regional security as the full membership of this organization now.<sup>37</sup> The full membership of Pakistan doesn't only allow him to take the advantages in Eurasian region just but also it allows Pakistan to have political, economic and security advantages from others geostrategic regions. It promotes the peaceful regional cooperation of Islamabad's vision. Protecting the political stability of the SCO countries while assuring economic, trade and security cooperation of the region are the utmost objectives of the SCO. The vibrant and key purpose of the SCO is counter terrorism. Perhaps, member states in SCO can facilitate Islamabad to pursue the element of counter terrorism through mutual intelligence sharing and mutual action against it. Ultimately, it is useful for Pakistan and other members to combat against the threat of trans-national terrorism under Regional Counter-Terrorism Structure (RCTS). The members of SCO shared prosperity with Pakistan to ensure peace, economic development and to ensure mutual trust. Our Prime Minister Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif stated in Summit that "the core values and spirits of Shanghai Organization Cooperation resonate with the culture and the values of Pakistan and mutual cooperation will lead to a peaceful neighborhood".<sup>38</sup> But it is true that Pakistan failed to convince western and eastern neighbors in bringing the peace in the region and neighborhoods disputes. Importantly, vision of SCO resonates in the five year treaty proposal of good neighborliness proposed by Chinese President.<sup>39</sup>

In order to ensure deep rooted connection in the region both India and Pakistan is making investment in building infrastructure. In order to have great access towards Eurasian region and Afghanistan India is engaged in making Chabahar port at Iran. Pakistan is having high hopes on China Pakistan Economic Corridor, which will ensure high infrastructure plans and will broaden economic links with the help of Chinese government.<sup>40</sup> Pakistan has got excellent relations with Chinese government while Pakistan is also putting efforts with Russian Federation to enhance their mutual ties to strengthen the trust and mutual benefits. Pakistan is also enhancing the cooperation

---

<sup>37</sup> Ibid,

<sup>38</sup> "PM Nawaz Arrives in Kazakhstan to attend the SCO Summit," *The Express Tribune*, June 08, 2017. Accessed to <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1430418/pm-nawaz-arrives-kazakhstan-attend-sco-summit/>

<sup>39</sup> Dr. Zafar N. Jaspal, "Full membership of SCO: What does it mean for Pakistan?," *Pakistan Defence*, June 15, 2017.

<sup>40</sup> Peter Korzun, "India, Pakistan to Become Full Fledged SCO members," *Online Journal Strategic Culture Foundation*, April 26, 2017.

with other countries to counter the terrorism and to meet the energy and economic challenges of the region. Russia and Pakistan both countries are putting stress to continue the momentum gain in a fruitful way, as they share similar cross cultural and cross regional views over the majority of international issues. Stronger relations between Russia and Pakistan will ensure the best interest of stability and peace in South Asian region.<sup>41</sup>

#### **1.4 China's Connectivity Project**

China is the new emerging power in world politics. China has cooperated diplomatically and financially with more than 70 neighboring states and across the Eurasian and landmass. China's BRI projects aim to build trade and infrastructure is linking Asia with Europe and Africa.<sup>42</sup> China's BRI developmental plans will increase the overtime and maritime connectivity to the other region. China is trying to more stable economy and needs to establish the domestic industrial reforms in the neighbor states. After the initiative of BRI project, China has spent more than \$34 billion which primarily focus on connectivity projects such as ports, railways, energy pipelines and grids. BRI is mechanism and connectivity system to construct a large market for international and domestic level. The cost of BRI is expected to more than \$1 Trillion and China has invested more than \$210 Billion in Asia region.<sup>43</sup> The China's BRI project is the initiative of Chinese administration and government to facilitate economic coordination among states that is also known as Maritime Silk Road for 21<sup>st</sup> century and Silk Road economic initiative. From historic point of view it is the mega investment projects which are covering more than 70 countries, almost quarter of world's GDP and around half of the world's population.<sup>44</sup> China deals with six economic corridor world-wide. These are; China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), China Central Asia-West Asia Economic Corridor (CCWAEC), China-Magnolia-Russia Economic Corridor (CMRC), China-Indo China Peninsula Economic Corridor (CICPEC), New Eurasian Land Bridge, and Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar Economic Corridor (BCIMEC). China Magnolia Russia Corridor (CMRC) is a triangular corridor proposed by China of the heads of the states at Dushanbe, Tajikistan in 2014.<sup>45</sup> The corridor of New Eurasian Land Bridge links Kazakhstan, Russia, Belarus, Poland and

---

<sup>41</sup>Nasurullah Brohi, "Pak-Russian Relations: Path to SCO membership," *Foreign Policy News*, November 29, 2014.

<sup>42</sup> Mahinda Rajapaksa, "China's BRI Initiative Hits Roadblock in 7 Countires," *The Economist Time*, April 15, 2018,

<sup>43</sup>Ibid,

<sup>44</sup> Lily Kuo and Niko Kommendo, "What is China Belt and Road Initiative?" *The Guardian*, 2017,

<sup>45</sup> JWT Desk, "Economic Corridors under China's OBOR Initiative," *Jahangir's World Times*, September 05, 2017.

Germany and 30 more countries through rails spreading 10,800 KM from China's city of Lianyungang to Belgium's Antwerp and Holland's Rotterdam. China Central Asia West Asia Economic corridor (CCWAEC) is the corridor that links Arabian Peninsula with China. This Corridor linking Xinjian via Arabian Peninsula and Mediterranean Sea with Persian Gulf.<sup>46</sup> It is corridor linking five Central Asian and 17 others states in West Asia. This corridor also includes Iran, Saudi Arabia and Turkey. China Indo China Peninsula Economic Corridor (CICPEC) is a corridor that connects Indo China Peninsula with China through Thailand, Cambodia, Myanmar Laos, Vietnam and Malaysia. It is a corridor that will boost up cooperation between ASEAN countries and China. Bangladesh China India Myanmar Economic Corridor (BCIMEC) is a corridor among China, Bangladesh, India and Myanmar which is proposed by Li Keqiang in his visit to India in May, 2013 and in December, 2013 both India and China established a mechanism for these four countries to enhance the mutual cooperation and regional connectivity between them.<sup>47</sup> In May, 2013 Li Keqiang under the flagship of OBOR also proposed a corridor between Pakistan and China known as CPEC that will connect Kashgar with Gwadar. It is an initiative of trade setup of railways, highways, pipelines and optical cables. Both mega corridors CPEC and BCIMEC passes through South Asian region. Through BRI projects, China will connect the Middle East, Europe and Africa which would be great opportunities for them. China has signed bilateral agreements with different states; including states are Hungary, Russia, Mongolia, Tajikistan and Turkey.

### **1.5 CPEC and its Significance**

CPEC is a multidimensional unique mega project which doesn't just have socio- economic benefits for China and Pakistan but as a whole sum it is a developmental project for all the countries in Central and South Asian region. In May 2013, when the Chinese Prime minister proposed the idea of CPEC, none of us visualized the practical implications of this mega project for Pakistan and the entire region. Currently, with the concept of global dynamics and regional change, CPEC is serving as binding force between Pakistan and China relationship. CPEC is an agreement of 46 billion US dollars investment which today has reached up to \$62 billion and still in the phase of expansion. Projects under CPEC involved energy projects, transportation infrastructures, rails and roads,

---

<sup>46</sup> Ibid,

<sup>47</sup> Ibid,

building economic zones and development of Gwadar port.<sup>48</sup> Moreover, CPEC will connect Pakistan and China in a way that will ensure the flow of millions of tons of goods via Gwadar port from China to Africa, Europe and Middle East. The infrastructure for oil and gas pipelines under this initiative will fulfill the energy demands of South Asian countries including Pakistan. Ultimately, such activities will be economically and strategically beneficial to China as it will reduce time and distance to ship its goods Africa, Europe and Middle East. CPEC will act as a source of connection between Middle East and Gulf and South Asia with East Asia. This corridor, with up to \$62 billion investment to connect Kashgar with Gwadar will serve as a turnaround for Pakistan and less developed regions of Central and West Asia. This project will cover almost 3000 Kilometer distance to connect Kashgar with Gwadar. CPEC will be further expanded to the Middle East and Persian Gulf as they hold significant strategic positions in their regions.<sup>49</sup>

CPEC connects Arabian Sea, Middle East and other states of the region with China through road and sea link, ultimately CPEC is equally beneficial to China. Once these sea ports and pipelines along with roads when turn out to be useful the Xinjiang's economy will nurture to a viable level.<sup>50</sup> The another utmost advantage of CPEC for the China is that it will help it to be an entrance to Europe, Middle East and Central Asian states along with providing energy sources to the Persian Gulf. Through Pakistan, with this direct connection with Arabian Sea China will ensure its trade with West Asia. Consequently, more than three quarters of oil imports are shipped through bypassing the Strait of Malacca.<sup>51</sup>

## **1.6 Russia and China in South Asia**

Since power is a relative phenomenon, so all countries are not equal. Russia, China and the US are different in terms of power. The pace of the growth of their economies and militaries are different. China has implemented reforms in a gradualist fashion, resulting in efficiency gains that have contributed to a more than tenfold increase in GDP since 1978.<sup>52</sup> Reforms began with the phase

---

<sup>48</sup> Muhammad Munir, "CPEC as a Mean to Regional Connectivity," *Islamabad Policy Research Institute*, September 7, 2017.

<sup>49</sup> Moonis Ahmar, "Strategic Meaning of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor," *Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad*,

<sup>50</sup> Hasan Askari Rizvi, "The China Pakistan Economic Corridor: Regional Cooperation and Socio-Economic Development," *Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad*, 2017.

<sup>51</sup> Zahid Hussain, "The China Pakistan Economic Corridor and the New Regional Geopolitics," *IFRI Center for Asian Studies*, June 2017. 1-30

<sup>52</sup> China, accessed September 5, 2019, <https://www.inclusivefinanceplatform.nl/geodata/china/>.

out of collectivized agriculture, and expanded to include the liberalization of prices, fiscal decentralization, increased autonomy for state enterprises, growth of the private sector, development of stock markets and a modern banking system, and opening to foreign trade and investment. Still, China's per capita income is below the world average.

On the other hand, Russia has undergone significant changes since the collapse of the Soviet Union, moving from a centrally planned economy towards a more market-based system. Russia is one of the world's leading producers of oil and natural gas, and is also a top exporter of metals such as steel and primary aluminum. Russia is heavily dependent on the natural resources such as oil and gas. A combination of falling oil prices, international sanctions, and structural limitations pushed Russia into a deep recession in 2015, with GDP falling by close by 2.8%.<sup>53</sup>

The size of the U.S. economy was at \$19.39 trillion in 2017 in nominal terms. The U.S. is often dubbed as an economic superpower and that's because the economy constitutes almost a quarter of the global economy backed by advanced infrastructure, technology, and abundance of natural resources. While the U.S. economy is service-oriented, contributing almost 80% its GDP, its manufacturing merely contributes about 15% of its output. When the economies are assessed in terms of purchasing power parity, the U.S. loses its top spot to its close competitor China.

The above mentioned disparity of power brought Russia and China close to each other. The rising coalition of China and Russia in the 21<sup>st</sup> century is evident. Both states have signed economic and military related agreement to achieve their aim. Subsequently, with the withdrawal of Soviet Union, both China and Russia have improved its bilateral relation in the field of economy, politics and social aspects. They signed agreements upon the main issue of border management and some other areas of regional cooperation. The territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Russian government was the fundamental concern and it shows the Russia's ultimate concern that it's connected to the border security. The capacity of both states to come up with a solution at this main issue sets the basics for China-Russia cooperation. Russia took away itself from Chinese border in order to prevent any emergence of aggression solution. So, the Russian government

---

<sup>53</sup> Russia Banks and Financial Institutions Handbook Volume 1, (*International Business publication*: USA), 2014.

largely focused in building up the domestic security of Russia and exchanged of Russia and China Supplier of arms equipment's regarding security concern.<sup>54</sup>

Firstly, the strategic cooperative partnership that is established by China and Russia is now institutionalized in a legal and official documentation form. When the President of Russia Yeltsin visited China, both sides agreed to declare strategic cooperative partnership anticipated towards 21<sup>st</sup> century.<sup>55</sup> As being strategic partners, both countries opposed the unipolar system supported and led by US. It was clear perception by both the partners to follow the multi polar system in the region. In post-cold war era US played a leading role and China and Russia refused to support US. So an anti US policy built up by Russia and China which is a vital feature of this deliberate cooperative coalition. The Russian-Sino friendly agreement was signed between both these nations on July 16, 2001.<sup>56</sup> The main purpose of this treaty is to improve the bond of friendship and cooperation and to initiate the new stage of bilateral relationship among these countries. This agreement was signed at Moscow. This was the initial treaty that is signed between both countries just based on genuine equality but not the military cooperative alliance.

Neither Russia nor China wants that the international order has to be set by the US alone. On numerous global issues China and Russia are continuously opposing US stands and positions. However, the partnership of both these countries does not stand for anti US but rather to move the world forward to a multi polar system.

The strategic location of South Asian countries has an immense importance for major powers. The population of South Asia is 1.4 billion, which is almost 20 percent of the world's total population. South Asia has significant importance for Major Powers and major players like Russia, China, and the US. Subsequently, when incident of 9/11 occurred, South Asia became most dangerous region in the world. Pakistan has significant importance in this region; as it serves as a bond among South and Central Asia through Afghanistan. After 9/11, Pakistan switched its policy towards China and Russia and started to build mutual cooperative relations with both of them.<sup>57</sup>

---

<sup>54</sup>James Clay Moltz, "Russo-Chinese Normalization from an International Perspective: Coping with the Pressures of Change", in T. Akaha, Ed., *Politics and Economics in the Russian Far East* (New York: Routledge, 1997), p. 190.

<sup>55</sup> Wang Gungwu and Zheng Yongnian, ed "China and the New International Order," (UK: University of Nottingham, 2008), 239

<sup>56</sup> Ibid,

<sup>57</sup> Hafza Andleeb and Munaza Khalid, "Pak-China-Russia Nexus Implications for South Asian Region," *South Asia Journal*, April 3, 2018.



The affairs of South Asia changed in international politics after 9/11 era. In the cold war period and post-cold war period Pakistan has been used against war on terror and against USSR as a front line state. At the time of cold war period Russia and Pakistan were in opposition.<sup>58</sup> Pakistan and Russia steadily started to improve their relation after decades of enmity situation among them. , Russia and Pakistan are trying to improve relations. As Afghan Taliban was a serious threat to former Soviet Union territories and to Central Asia, Russian carefully persuaded Pakistan's support in a bid to end the civil war in Afghanistan. Pakistan is suffering from serious isolation in the region. It is criticized and rejected by Afghanistan, India, Iran, NATO and US because Pakistan supported Afghan Taliban constantly. Currently, Pakistan's economy is solely dependent upon the administrative and financial assistance of Chinese government. Thus, government of Pakistan is very much keen to rebuild its relationship with Russia for security and economic concerns. Pakistan wants to have warmer ties with Russia to counter US and Western influence in the region and also to oppose the US monopolistic view of the world.<sup>59</sup>

When India started to build defense ties with the US, traditional and exclusive Indo-Russia military cooperation paused for a while. When India strengthens its ties with US, a gap between bilateral relationship of Russia and India has created and to fill up this gap Pakistan took the advantage as a new ally to Russia in South Asia. After forty five years when Russian defense Minister visited Islamabad in December 2014, and signed a pact of cooperation's between the two countries. Moreover, another milestone was accomplished when both of the states made an inter-governmental deal of two billion US dollars' worth to construct a gas pipeline between Karachi to Lahore in October 2015.<sup>60</sup> Furthermore, Moscow sold four MI- 35 helicopters to Pakistan and in the same year Russia welcomed and supported Pakistan to be the permanent state member of SCO.<sup>61</sup> As a result of these actions Pakistan hosted the joint military exercise of Russia and Pakistan forces at Cherat on 24 September. In June 2014 Russia lifted the embargo on the supply of its arms to Pakistan to facilitate Pakistan's arms imports from Russia. Ultimately,

---

<sup>58</sup> Arif Rafiq, "Pakistan: Russia's New Best Friends?," *The National interest*, September 27, 2015.

<sup>59</sup> Ahmed Rashid, "Russia and Pakistan Slowly Move Toward an Embrace," *Aljazeera*, December 3, 2016.

<sup>60</sup> Dr. Sudha Ramachandran, "Russo-Pakistan Relations are riding High," *Asian Times*, April 24, 2015.

<sup>61</sup> Yasir Masood, "Rekindled Pak-Russia Relations," *The Express Tribune*, August 9, 2016.

this rapprochement between Russia and Pakistan has enormous affect on India and also has wider consequences for the region of South Asia and to the other states of the world.<sup>62</sup>

By looking at the worst consequences of war in Syria, President of Russia Vladimir seems determined to settle the upsetting situation in Afghanistan. It is vibrant for the states of South Asia to assist the region with a favorable environment to live in where China is emerging as an economic giant while India and Russia as military powers. Security situation in Afghanistan is still going in crises because Kabul doesn't have the capability to encounter the aggressive Afghan Taliban who has control over rural areas of the country. Pakistan also encouraged Russia to join the quadrilateral cooperation table of China, US, Afghanistan and Pakistan to settle the security situation in Afghanistan. The recent Summit among Pakistan, Russia and China which held at Moscow put stress on regional issues especially to prevail peace in Afghanistan.<sup>63</sup> In this scenario, it opened up an opportunity of alliance among Russia, China and Pakistan to shape the future of this unstable region.<sup>64</sup> At present the biggest fear for South Asian states including Russia and China is the existence of ISIS terrorist groups in Afghanistan. It is evident from current news that thousands of terrorists are guided to Afghanistan from Syria to destabilize Afghanistan and rest of the countries of the region. It is suspected that US is using ISIS as proxy to counter the influence of Russia and China.<sup>65</sup>

The triangle of Pakistan, China and Russia will help the other states of the region not only to fight against extremism but also to confront the growing effect of the US in South Asia. It is the reality that the alliance of Pakistan, Russia and China would be more vibrant and fruitful for the region as all of these three states possess nuclear weapons. Around 7,620 integrated warheads are in custody of these three states as reported by SIPRI officially.<sup>66</sup> The triangle of these three states would possess extraordinary power to counter their enemy, whether it is India or the US.<sup>67</sup>

---

<sup>62</sup> Dhananjay Sahal, "South Asia's New Relations and Opportunities," *International Policy Digest*, November 17, 2016.

<sup>63</sup> Mian Abrar, "Putin Sends another Strong Message," *Pakistan Today*, January 22, 2017.

<sup>64</sup> Kamran Yousaf, "Pakistan, Russia and China Inch Closer to Formal Alliance," *The Express Tribune*, April 3, 2017.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Polina Tikhonovo, "China, Russia, Pakistan Superpower Triangle Becoming Reality," *Valuwalk*, November 15, 2016. Accessed to <https://www.valuwalk.com/2016/11/china-Russia-pakistan-super-power/>

<sup>67</sup> Zainab Aziz, New Emerging Axis of Russia, China and Pakistan: Regional Implications, *Daily times*, March 18 2017.

Russian interest in South Asian region is of great concern for US. The security and instability in Afghanistan have a direct effect on Russia. Although Pakistan is putting efforts to make sure the stability and harmony in Afghanistan as it is backed by China. Hence, peace in Afghanistan is a common area of interest for both Russia and Pakistan.

South Asian and other countries of the world are witnessing the new great triangle alliance of Pakistan, Russia and China. Russia knows that Pakistan and China are the traditional and strong allies in this area. China is promising to ensure and enhance greater ties between Russia and Pakistan. As both of the countries are struggling to facilitate their mutual cooperation so there is no fear of disappointment between Russia and Pakistan. India and US are cooperating in the field of defense and trade area of cooperation. But it is evident that Pakistan's and Russia's relationship are based upon equality, mutual benefit and loyalty. Pakistan also encouraged Iran to be the part of Pakistan, China and Russian triangle alliance.<sup>68</sup>

Russia and China relations are so important and without Russia it is so hard for China to turn the concept of unipolar into bipolar view of world. In short it is not possible for China to shift the unipolar into bipolarity unless it builds an alliance with Russia.<sup>69</sup> On the other hand some analysis argued that US cannot make alliance with China and Russia and it cannot stop Russia and China to make an alignment upon political and military issues. Alexi Voskressenski, a Russian Sinologist argued that China and Russia are always in a situation to explore some kind of alliances with each other.<sup>70</sup> On the other hand, Western experts believe that Russia-China alliance is "Anti-American" that has ambitions to harm the American interests and to reconfigure the concept of balance of power.<sup>71</sup> The alliance among Russia and China is also called as an alliance of selling of arms from Russia to China.<sup>72</sup> Wishnick stated that Russia and China alliance is a coalition alliance over vast range of issues having political and military foundation support from both ends. Kuchins compared the current Chin-Russia alliance with Sino-Soviet alliance of 1950 and revealed that current alliance is much deeper and tighter than before. Although, there mutual military alliance is

---

<sup>68</sup> Alaeddin Boroujerdi, "Iran Hints at Joining China, Pakistan and Russia Alliance," *National News* January 28, 2017.

<sup>69</sup> Alexander Korolev, "On the Verge of an Alliance: Defining Contemporary China-Russia Relations, *International Studies Association Asia-Pacific Conference*, June 27, 2016.

<sup>70</sup> Alexei Voskressenski, *Russia and China: A Theory of Inter-State Relations*, (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 208.

<sup>71</sup> Alexandr Nemets, "Russia and China: The Mechanics of an Anti-American Alliance," *The Journal of International Security Affairs*, 11 (2006): 83-88

<sup>72</sup> Robert H. Donaldson, and John A. Donaldson. "The Arms Trade in Russian-Chinese Relations: Identity, Domestic Politics, and Geopolitical Positioning." *International Studies Quarterly* (2003): 709-732.

not that much grown but it has significant impact on China foreign policy to determine the regional security factors in Asia.<sup>73</sup>

In the following years, Russia and China emphasized in many recent joint documents to raise the voice of Non-West nations to be the part of multipolar international system of politics. Medvedev-Hu argued in 2008 that nations like China and Russia and BRICS to facilitate multilateral formats that contradict with US unipolar view of the world.<sup>74</sup> On Oct, 2014 Russian President Putin stated at Valdai International Discussion Club that unipolar system is not sustainable in the world because imposing one nation's model produces different and opposite results.

Traditionally, India-Russia's relations were stronger than Sino-Russian alliance. Currently, Russia has improved its relations with China and old ally of Russia i.e India is drifting away and similarly India's relation with China is also getting weak. At the moment, India seems unhappy with China and Russia alliance while the China and Russia is also worried about Indo-US alliance in the region.<sup>75</sup> It is understood that Pakistan is improving its relations with Russia while India tilts towards US. Recently, on December 4, 2016 Russian Ambassador for Afghanistan stated in Heart of Asia Conference at Amritsar that Russia doesn't have any problem with the closer ties of India and the US. Similarly, India doesn't have the right to dislike the growing relationship between Russia and Pakistan.<sup>76</sup> India needs the US to balance the situation in the region and to counter the influence of Pak, Russia and China alliance either as a balancing strategy or either to follow the footsteps of US. It is argued that at a fast pace if India joins the US alliance system it may worry Pakistan, China and Russia. It may not make India safer and in similar way it will create problems to the other countries of the regions as India reveals itself as a centre of geopolitical rivals in the Asia. To impose the geographical pressure on China, US is in alliance with India as a containment strategy.<sup>77</sup>

---

<sup>73</sup> Alexey D. Muraviev, "Comrades in Arms: The Military-Strategic Aspects of China-Russia Relations." *Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs* (2014): 163-185.

<sup>74</sup> Alexander Korolev, "Systemic Balancing and Regional Hedging: China-Russia Relations," *Chinese Journal of International Politics*, September 17, 2016.

<sup>75</sup> Cary Huang, "Triangle Diplomacy At work again with China and Russia playing again one off the other," *South China Morning Post*, May 1, 2017.

<sup>76</sup> Ashok Sajjanhar, "How Should India Response to Russia – China- Pakistan Triad?," *Observer Research Foundation*, January 2, 2017

<sup>77</sup> Ananth Krishnan, "India's with US may irritate Pakistan, China and even Russia: Chinese Media," *Central Tibetan Administration*, August 30, 2016.

World is continuously examining the dynamism of new powers emergence and new alliances, in which China and Russia are playing a key role to determine balance of power and to practice it globally. In present days Russia and China is countering US (US) supremacy in the region, in the similar way Russia and China is balancing the US influence in the region, in upcoming years Russia and China will become close partners to create a win-win situation for them using their tactical expertise as being strategic partners. Their mutual relationship is developing Russia's dependency on China and their multilateral collaboration will minimize the options for India in intergovernmental organizations like BRICS, SCO and RIC.<sup>78</sup> China rise in the region also narrow down Indian influence in the neighborhoods. Similarly, India was also worried in the past about America's influence in its neighboring states. Now a day, India's regional challenges are enhanced by the economic, military and political influence of China in all South Asian countries. Several officials state that India and US recent alliance is creating problems for Russia and China. However, the fact is that China and Russia are mutually collaborating to deal with America.<sup>79</sup>

### **1.7 Irritants between China and India**

Both China and India are the oldest civilization in international politics. They have exchanged their culture and Civilization from Centuries year ago, but now Beijing and New Delhi do not have favorable relationship.<sup>80</sup> China and India are largest developing countries who share the demarcated boundaries. Both states are facing same attribute and Problem including large population, growing economy and conflicting situation with neighbors. Both states shared a long border of 3488 km, which is yet to be delineated.<sup>81</sup> China and India have fought a war in 1962 and low intensity conflict with one another.<sup>82</sup> Historically, India and China are facing major irritant in their relation, these irritant related to boundary issue and border dispute between them. China's claim that Arunachal Pradesh is their holly land but China did not identify that the Sikkim is a part of India territory. China perceives that Sikkim is a separate nation for their people. The border conflicting situations between them are belonging to two factors, one is British colonial legacy and other one understands about map. China and India see their border on different point on the ground.

---

<sup>78</sup>Nandan Unnikrishann, "Trend and Russia-China Relations: Implications for India," *Observer Research Foundation*, July 06, 2015.

<sup>79</sup>C. Raja Mohan, "BRICS Summit: Putin, Xi, Modi," *The Indian Express*, October 15, 2016.

<sup>80</sup> Rup Narayan Das, *India-china Relation A New paradigm*, (New Delhi: Institute for Defense Studies and Analysis, 2013) 32

<sup>81</sup> Prabhaskar K Dutta, "Beyond Doka La: 10 Irritants in India-China Relation," *India Today*, July 02, 2017,

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

Both states military is very strong and China has deployed more than three lakh soldiers on the eastern border side.<sup>83</sup> On the other hand, India has deploy 1, 20,000 soldiers in the region. India also announced a new mountain strike corps and half of the mountain strike corps India will deploy between China and India border.<sup>84</sup>

Historically, China's water sharing dispute with almost all neighbors states including Cambodia, Laos, Thailand and Vietnam. The water issue between China and India is considered the major concern between them. In fact, many scholars argue that the water dispute between them will be the major source of conflict in future. China is engaged to build new dams at Brahmaputra which is advantageous to China but it is a source of water dispute between India and China.<sup>85</sup> There are four rivers that flow to India from China, so both of the countries must have the common understanding of the equal advantages out of these rivers and ensure balance share of this water through a formal agreement so that the flood and many other issues in India must be resolved through it. Furthermore, India claims that China is not providing them the exact detail about the water level at Brahmaputra which is a sudden flood risk at Arunachal Pradesh and Assam states of India (See Appendix-I). So now India is planning to build almost a dozen of dams at Brahmaputra in order to counter the flood risk.

India was the first state which identifies China as a communist nation-state where both are neighbor countries in the region but they have kept hostile relations from last five decades. Both states are facing different political dispute over, Dalai Lama issue, Tibet issue between China and India relation become worst and fought a war in 1962. But After globalization, India and China have started a new chapter of relation and recently both states Prime Ministers visit one another to tranquilize the relations. China is building naval bases and port to encircle the India. This port and naval bases policy of China is called string of Pearl. China is playing active role in Indian Ocean to counter the India policy in the region. China is functioning at Chittagong Hill in Bangladesh, Myanmar's Cocos port, Gwadar in Pakistan and Sri Lankan Hambantota port, Marao Atoll port in Maldives to encircle the India in the region (See Appendix-II). On the other hand, India is trying to develop a close alliance with neighbor countries to pledge China dominance in South Asia. India

---

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

<sup>85</sup> Bashir Ahmed Dar and Shoukat Ahmed, "Major Bilateral Issue between India and China," *Art and Social Sciences Journal*, January 07, 2014.

has promoted good relation not only with Japan, also with Vietnam, South Korea and Central Asian neighbor states of China.<sup>86</sup> Interestingly, India's relationship and its role with Bhutan and Nepal are critically seen by China. Indian and Chinese forces are in eyeball to eyeball encounter position near Doka la. On the other hand, India is engaged to facilitate Nepal's external trade while with Bhutan India has security arrangements to protect his border.<sup>87</sup> At Makunudhoo, in early 2018 Maldives and China proposed to make a joint oceanic observations which in India perspective and perception is the reason to counter the Indian influence in this region while speculating that China wants to military port in Maldives.<sup>88</sup>

### **1.8 India and Pakistan Relations**

In South Asia there are two major powers; Pakistan and India. Both have got different religion and conflicting ideologies by birth. Both countries are in conflicting relationship with each other in different areas from their day of independence. Both of them possess nuclear capability in south Asian region. They are always creating deterrence against each other. Pakistan, India and Israel never signed the Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) to be known as nuclear weapon states.<sup>89</sup> India did the test of its nuclear device in 1974 and faced the perceived resistance at the bid.<sup>90</sup> On May 11 and 13 when India obliged, it was perceived that Pakistan would fear by great powers and US not to follow the suit of nuclear weapon testing.<sup>91</sup> It was dreamed that India will hold the pressure in South Asian region now but it did not happen so. Advani argued that as India possess the nuclear power; so it would be the biggest threat to its neighbors that India can easily stepped in Kashmir. As result Pakistan tested its nuclear weapons on May 28.<sup>92</sup> In May 28, 1998 Pakistan tested five numbers of devices in subcontinent for political reasons.<sup>93</sup> Hence, Pakistan became nuclear power on May 28, 1998. Both Pakistan and India faced a great amount of international pressure to ratify CTBT after testing their nuclear weapons.<sup>94</sup> As being nuclear states, it is feared that in South Asia both of the states will exclusively focus to confront on nuclear dimensions with each other.

---

<sup>86</sup> Prabhash K Dutta, "Beyond Doka La: 10 Irritants in India-China Relation," *India Today*, July 02, 2017.

<sup>87</sup> Mohan Malik, "China and India: The Root of Hostility," *The Diplomats*, September 12, 2017.

<sup>88</sup> Manoj Kumar Mishra, "Shadows of Mistrust Persist in India-China Relations," *Asia Times*, October 10, 2018.

<sup>89</sup> Kelsey Davenport, "Nuclear Weapon: Who has What as a Glance," *Arms control Association*, July 5, 2017.

<sup>90</sup> Michael krepon, "The 1998 Indian and Pakistani Nuclear test," *Arms control Association*, June 11, 2008.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

<sup>92</sup> Sabina Inderjit, "Advani Tells Pakistan to Roll Back Its Anti-India Policy," *Times of India*, May 19, 1998.

<sup>93</sup> Shah Meer Baloch, "The Fallout from Pakistan's Nuclear Tests," *The Diplomats*, May 29, 2017,

<sup>94</sup> Anwar Iqbal, "pressure on Pakistan, India to ratify CTBT," *Dawn*, Sep 17, 2016.

Ultimately, security of South region is challenged and influenced by several factors based on three levels; regional, domestic and global level.<sup>95</sup>

India and Pakistan are trying to band waging with major powers to counter one another in the region. The core conflict between Pakistan and India is the Kashmir's issue. Both states are facing security threat from one another in their line of control, which is creating a disturbance in the region. Major Powers and International Organizations have played mediator role to resolve the issue of Kashmir but they are not succeeded.<sup>96</sup> Major Powers are trying to maintain the peace in the region, which is important for the South Asia region. By birth, both states have fought four wars. Both states also played a blame game on one another to destabilize the region. New Dheli blame on Pakistan is great relations with Jihadis group like, Afghan Taliban, Jaish-e-Mohammad, Lashkar-e-Taiba, and the new emergence of Al-Qaida are creating a disturbance in the Indian territory. India understands that Hizbullha Mujahedeen are responsible for numerous attacks on the Indian administrated Kashmir from last two decades. On the other hand, Indian spy like Kalbushan Yadiv enters into the Pakistan territory to destabilize the Pakistan. The LOC between both states are the most dangerous Place in the world politics. Islamabad and New Delhi have their own political reason for continuing the conflict.<sup>97</sup>

### **1.9 US-China Geopolitical Competition**

South Asia is very important for major powers. The great powers always want to reshape the international system in their own way. Post-Soviet Union disintegration, US policy toward South Asia changed due to two reasons. Firstly, the US policy formulation process to see the South Asian countries i.e. Pakistan and India in different ways upon its own interest in the region. Second, the main purpose of US policy to maintain peace, globalization, and non-proliferation of Nuclear Program in South Asia and promotion of democracy in the region.<sup>98</sup> Post-cold war, US began tilt toward India to constructing the democracy in the region. US started economic, political and military exchange relations with India. US also supported the India leading position in the region.

---

<sup>95</sup> Maleeha Lodhi, "Security Challenges in South Asia," *The Nonproliferation review*, 2001. 118-124

<sup>96</sup> Subrata Kumar Mitra, "war and Peace in South Asia: A Revisionist View of India-Pakistan Relations," *Research Gate*, November 2003,

<sup>97</sup> Richard H. Curtiss, "India and Pakistan: The World's most Dangerous Place," *Washington Report on Middle East Affair*, August 2002, 34-35

<sup>98</sup> Zhang Guihong, "US Security Policy toward South Asia after September 11 and its Implication for China: A China Perspective," *The Institute for Defense Studies and Analysis*, May 06, 2003,



US understand that India is the emerging power in the international system and pledge the dominance of China in South Asia.

Post 9/11 situation, the US pattern of relationship has changed in the South Asia region. The US involvement in Afghanistan, Indo-Pak rivalry, fight against terrorism and growing inspiration of China and Russia in South Asia improved the significance of this region. Thus, today US interest in the region is not only a single issue but focuses on the core issues. Terrorism is one of the biggest Phenomena and Pakistan considered as a most powerful ally of US in the region.<sup>99</sup> US wanted to rule over South Asian region but China and Russia is complementing each other as a balancer to counter the US Policy. Russia and China complementing South Asian states in the area of economic and security aspects.

CPEC is facing security related concerns from hostile India in neighbor, aggressive act of violence from Pakistani Taliban and Baluchistan and Xinjiang insurgency. US concern about CPEC is unclear, while on the other hand CPEC challenged the influence of US and its allies in Central and South Asian region.<sup>100</sup> Through CPEC China will avoid the route of Strait of Malacca which is apparently at risk due to the blockage of India and US naval. Upon South China Sea, China has adopted aggressive policy in last few years. Despite of the objection on China by international community, China has built artificial land masses in West Philippine Sea and South China. China is claiming South China Sea as a whole which created a worrying situation amongst Vietnam, Japan, Philippines and also US.<sup>101</sup> Since around Gwadar two Chinese war ships are deployed and as Gwadar is equipped by Chinese superior technology, CPEC is raising its stakes in Arabian Sea. On the other hand, US navy is doing regular patrols in its surrounding. Gwadar's increased strategic importance would increase the level of contest among US and China upon Arabian Sea.<sup>102</sup>

U.S and China relations are in complex phase currently. Gharam Allisan wrote in his book that there are sixteen cases in which ruling and rising states threatened each other in over the past 500

---

<sup>99</sup> Mehraj Uddin Gojree, "The US Interest and Policy in South Asia: From Cold War Era to Strategic Rebalancing," *Research Journal of Language, Literature and Humanities*, Volume 2, April 6, 2015, 5-12

<sup>100</sup> Mushtaq A Kaw, "The China Pakistan Economic Corridor Between Hope and Fear," *The Central Asia Caucasus Analyst*, April 26, 2017,

<sup>101</sup> Divya Soti, "China Pakistan Economic corridor: Challenges for India and US," *South Asia Monitor*, May 05, 2015.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid,

years.<sup>103</sup> As a result of this threatening, there are twelve cases in which and rising states head to head while there are only four cases they avoided war because of huge and painful outcomes at both ends. In most of the cases rising power replaced ruling power as a result of war.<sup>104</sup> Currently, China and U.S are in worse relation because US is perceiving China a serious potential enemy to it. Pentagon said that; there would be a serious trouble for US if we face a real enemy. On the other hand both China and U.S know that it will be unwise and worse situation for both of them if they fight a war. U.S and China can only avoid a war between them if they accept two internal truths. Firstly, they cannot be in a war again as history reveals the worse consequences of the wars they fought in their past. They have to reduce the risk among each other rather than increasing it as they are in enmity relation from past couple of decades.<sup>105</sup> Secondly, war is inevitable. History offers, so many lessons for the states today with respect to the success and failure of the war. US can build relationship with China to eliminate China's effect in South Asian region without in the war kind of situation with China.<sup>106</sup> Their mutual relations are not only vital for US markets but also have significant importance globally. Therefore, developmental projects of CPEC results in different reactions in the US. Many scholars argued that CPEC is also an opportunity for the private sectors of America which have significant interest in one Belt and one Road initiative.<sup>107</sup> At other side, as US and China are in competing relationship with each other upon strategic issues and consequently OBOR initiative is not recognized as a potential opportunity by US. Moreover, in short term Chinese interest, China wants to compete and replace so called liberal international order by creating a parallel and illiberal economic and political order.<sup>108</sup> Through CPEC China seeks to counter the influence and interests of US.<sup>109</sup> From the perspective of Pakistan, US is unhappy because of complementing and cooperative relationship among China and Pakistan through CPEC which is a multi-billion dollars project which will renovate Pakistani economy into regional trade block.<sup>110</sup> As the international system observed a shift in US policies towards power politics, It is

---

<sup>103</sup> Graham Allison, *Destined for War Can America and China Escape Thucydides's Trap?*, (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Boston, 2017)

<sup>104</sup> Ibid,

<sup>105</sup> Ibid,

<sup>106</sup> Ibid,

<sup>107</sup> Murtaza Hussain, "How Obama's Asia Pivot Nudged China toward Pakistan but Helped Aggravate India," *Intercept*, September 1, 2016,

<sup>108</sup> Alek Chance, "The Belt and Road Initiative and the US-China Relationship," *China US Focus*, November 3, 2016.

<sup>109</sup> Daniel S. Markey and James West, *Behind China's Gambit in Pakistan*, (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, May 12, 2016)

<sup>110</sup> Sophia Siddiqui, "US not Happy over Pak-China Growing Relations, CPEC," *Pakistan Observer*, June 14, 2016.

necessary for Pakistan and China both to show possible concern to the potential challenges associated to this corridor.<sup>111</sup>

Indo-Chinese war in 1962 and afterwards Pakistan's humiliating defeat in 1971 led to the smooth and friendly cooperation between China and Pakistan. Mostly this cooperation was based on just military and political level. This cooperation extended to the social, economic, strategic and cultural level as the President of China officially presented the proposal of CPEC. CPEC is the name of mega infrastructure to be built for the regional and economic good well of China, Pakistan and whole regional countries included in this mega project. It provides the shorter route to connect South Asian countries with Middle East, Gulf and East Asia. It means that it will cut the cost and will save the time in shipping goods from China to other countries. Numerous options for South Asian countries and Pakistan are hidden in CPEC. Challenges for Pakistan can be the India's great oppose to CPEC and US complementing India, Baluchistan insurgency, different terrorists groups operating in Pakistan time to time, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa opposing the route change made by federal government to the CPEC, blame game between Pakistan and Afghanistan at border instability and the quality and merit of work force associated with the CPEC plan. Although, CPEC is facing quite serious challenges but this plan has plenty of economic, military, political and strategic advantages for South Asian countries as a whole.

To cover up, the emerging alliance of Russia and China in South Asia region is considered as useful for them. The main focus of China and Russia alliance is the ultimate good well of the region through economic, military and security cooperation in the region. New emerging alliance has rejected the dominance of U.S to set the world order and being the major player for the region. Russia and China are opposing the unipolar system and promote the multi polar system in the world affairs. Pakistan is tilt towards China and Russia whereas India's supporting US and its policies. The next chapter focuses on the India and U.S tactical cooperation and US concerns over on CPEC and SCO.

---

<sup>111</sup> Dr. Chunyang Jia, "New Trends of US Policy toward South Asia: Challenges to CPEC," *Islamabad Policy Research Institute*, 2017. 95-121

## Chapter 2

### INDO-US STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP: MOUNTING EXTERNAL PRESSURE ON PAKISTAN

This chapter elaborates the regional dynamics in South Asia in the Post 9/11 era. The Indo-US Nuclear Civil Deal and its implication on the region. The changing security nature of this region particularly the case of Pakistan and India is discussed. Moreover, the growing collaboration between China and Pakistan and responses from India and the U.S has also been discussed. In addition, various dimensions of globalization and its impact on the region have also discussed.

#### 2.1 Indo-US Strategic Partnership

From the beginning it is human desire to seek for possession and security of life. History reveals that from the start countries were in the search of power as security phenomena imperatively affected the distribution of power. Therefore major players and powers in the world look forward to gain dominant positions over its rivals. International anarchic system, uncertain intentions of several states and existence to be persistent is the main element and objective according to Realist paradigm. The survival and being prosperous are the elements that support states to get edge over other countries through power and supremacy in the region.<sup>112</sup> The expression of such power politics is US-Indo strategic partnership. This agreement signed in 2006 when US President George Bush visited India. Both of the states aimed to enhance Indo-US cooperation almost in every field of defense cooperation till nuclear trade. India and US stronger ties appealing to minimize the control of China in South Asia as a strong economic and military rival to them.

Realism depicts the real situation of the states in the world including its negative aspects. The key factors in relations among states are actions not just the words. Realism is best illustrated by E.H. Carr and he states that the world must be expressed the way it is rather than the way any state wants it to be.<sup>113</sup> Mark D. Gismondi further discusses the Carr's theory of peaceful change; he argues that there must be a careful construct between power and morality that involves change. He

---

<sup>112</sup> Edward Hallet Carr, *Twenty Years Crisis, 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations*, (New York: Micheal Cox, 2001), 283.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

further discussed that without power political stability is yield weaker in amount.<sup>114</sup> Carr as being a realist, emphasized upon balance of power. He argued that balance of power is actually the best mechanism that helps in prevention of war.<sup>115</sup> Carr revealed that the outcome of twenty years crisis of WWI was that the overall security situation of the region was disastrous and ineffective.<sup>116</sup> Balance of power with respect to Morgenthau's view illustrated that for regional and local stability the region must not be driven solely or a coalition of powers as a dominant force.<sup>117</sup> Balance of power situation helps to restrict a dominant state to disrupt the status quo of societies as suggested by the realists. Balance of power is based on ideology that has a universal application and long term consideration and it exists when competing force stabilize and neutralize the regional situation.<sup>118</sup> A state choose to be either bandwagon or balancing in the state of war position in balance of power situation, the decision or condition the states to be in either situation govern the survival of countries.<sup>119</sup> Theory of BOP ensures that what measures and steps states must take for their survival against power states and any other potential threat. These measures can be internal or external. Internal measures can be rising the own military force and can be making alliances with other states.<sup>120</sup>

In 2009, Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh visited US and met President Obama. Obama energized mutual strategic partnership to utilize their interests in a best way to minimize the challenges for India worldwide. The President Obama referred to India as a defining global and strategic partner of the 21<sup>st</sup> century around the world and in Asia-Pacific.<sup>121</sup> In the Similar way, Modi Switched its policy from non-alignment to alignment one just to meet India's best interest engaged itself in long term cooperation with US in many aspects.<sup>122</sup> Today India has got closer ties with US not only in conventional lines of economic, military and geo-politics to counter

---

<sup>114</sup> Mark D. Gismondi, *Ethics, Liberalism and Realism in International Relations*, (London & New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2008), 139-140.

<sup>115</sup> Edward Hallet Carr, *Twenty Years Crisis, 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations*, (Micheal Cox, 2001), 283

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

<sup>117</sup> Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), 4.

<sup>118</sup> L. Oppenheim, *International Law: A Treatise*, (London: Longmans Green & Co, 1955), 73.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

<sup>120</sup> John A. Vasquez and Colin Elman, *Realism and the Balancing of Power: A New Debate*, (Longman, 2002), 13.

<sup>121</sup> "Fact Sheet: US Relations with India," *US Department of State: Bureau of South and Central Asian Affairs*, <https://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/3454.htm>

<sup>122</sup> Hemal Shah, "US-India's Defense: Pivoting the Strategic Partnership Forward," *Foreign Policy*, January 23, 2015, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/01/23/in-u-s-indias-defense-pivoting-the-strategic-partnership-forward/>

extremism and influence of China. Under the Modi's government, the ties among both nations grew healthy and towards a better future. In order to oppose the closer alignment between Pakistan, China and Russia, the foreign policy of India entered into a necessary interest- driven step under Modi's government.<sup>123</sup> In early 2000 civil nuclear agreement between US and India, later in 2005 defence cooperation among both states highlights the greater amount of opportunity to India in terms of US cooperation. Recently in 2015, signing of Joint Strategic Vision and renewal of Defence Cooperation Framework Agreement further solidify the closer ties among both states in the region.<sup>124</sup>

### **2.1.1 Military Dimension**

After the incident of 9/11, Indian and U.S support grown up imperative for security purpose. Their mutual nuclear deal is considered as a defence tie among India and US. US has opened up the all technological and military doors for India, Israel and other allies. For last eight years US biggest arms importer is India. India buys weapons costing \$100 billion each year, out of which two-third is deployed against Pakistan. Moreover, US political and military support encourages India to use combative behaviour against Pakistan. Thus, Indo-US relations has become a challenge for whole Asia economy and is a threat for Pakistan. There is a conflict in Indo-China relationship because of closer ties of China and Pakistan. India with the support of US wants to destroy the developmental projects of CPEC. The presence of Kulbhushan Yadav is the example of influence of RAW in Pakistan. India sends his soldiers on secret missions to Pakistan, North Korea and China. Furthermore, US is using India forces to destroy its enemies.

Pakistan might suffer a lot in past if India were in good relationship with US in past as of now. The arms imports from US and nuclear weapons might be used mostly against Pakistan. Indo-US strategic partnership is a major threat for Pakistan in current days.

---

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> "US India Security Cooperation; Progress and Promise for the Next Administration," *Centre for Strategic and International Studies*, October 2016, Accessed August 10, 2018. [https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fspublic/publication/161003\\_Hicks\\_USIndiaSecurity\\_Web.pdf](https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fspublic/publication/161003_Hicks_USIndiaSecurity_Web.pdf)

### 2.1.2 Security Implications

India and US strategic partnership is a threat for the defence and security of Pakistan. Both countries are continuously engaged to design and raise a propaganda against Pakistan. From this stand point India is improving its military and economy by the support of US. When the balance of power of these two nations does not compatible with any other state they easily come under the situation of war. It can be concluded that Indo-US relationship is the cause of Indo-Pak war.

As the last century was declared as “American Century”, in the similar way this century can be declared as “Asian Century” in which China and India are perceived as key players. After the Second World War the world order is shaped by victors USA and Soviet Union while lesser powers in the era were France, China and UK. Ideological conflict among these major powers occurs upon democracy and communism to shape the new order. Both of these super powers were in proxy wars in Korea, Vietnam, Cuba, Algeria and Afghanistan and blown-up fire on rivalry amongst both states.

European Union is also another power center for the region that is emerged as economic one than the strategic entity. States like Japan, Brazil, Germany and South Africa are also putting their efforts to be labeled as emerging economic powers but their impact is limited till their neighbors. Beijing and US of America are the most prominent actors and natural opponents in the equation of changing powers where India’s role can tilt the scale either side of the changing power equation. China seems to be the world largest economic player by 2040 or so in the South Asian region.

India is seeking power through “Look East” policy by making alliances with major powers like US in the region to counter the effect of China. Japan is also supporting the closer security cooperation with New Delhi to minimize the power of China in this region. Japan sees China’s upswing as a threat to the region. Similarly Indonesia, Malaysia, Vietnam, South Korea and other neighbor nations are not only complementing each other in military field at Indian Ocean re also increasing military cooperation with India not only at Indian Ocean, but Afar Sea of Japan and up to the Straits of Malacca.

As it is hype created that there is a significant progress in Indo-US relations, India cannot ignore the efforts of Russia because for last couple of decades or more both of the states were trusted partners that has close military, economic and political ties. When there was no one to support India, at that time Russia contributed in developing the defense, nuclear, space and its heavy industry. International forums like BRICS, SCO and Russia-India-China Triangle (RIC) expanded their mutual assistance in disaster management, pharmaceutical and tourism. In recent years, India has a tilt towards US as compare to Russia. Thus, India has become focal point for both US and Russia.<sup>125</sup> In North, the relationship of India has improved slowly and the stance is security is responsible for slow integration in South Asian region.<sup>126</sup> In 2006, SAFTA and admittance of Afghanistan in SAARC being as its eighth member in year 2007 put breath in SAARC members to improve the economic condition of South Asian region.<sup>127</sup> However, the hurdles to the smooth functioning of the region still exist. These obstacles are uncertain political and democratic environment, India's supremacy in the region, conflicting relationship of Pakistan and India and the dependencies of South Asian countries on west to make the economy grow. It is more than two and a half decade of SAARC's but sadly one of the South Asian state enabled its prominence to be the driving force for economic incorporation of the region and neither ensured the political trust among states of the region. In order to ensure real accomplishment of SAARC the state members must ensure the long term political disputes especially Pakistan and India dispute over the issue of Kashmir. Moreover, SAARC must have to identify the concept of supra-nationalism for states sovereignty of the region.<sup>128</sup> Indo-US closer ties are enhancing 'big brother syndrome', as traditionally India has got a leading place in South Asia. Additionally, it is also capitalizing an advanced role in Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).<sup>129</sup> Indo-ASEAN ties are showing signs of progress, the Sino-Indian relationship remains characterized by the term co-

---

<sup>125</sup>V.D Chopra, *Significance of Indo-Russian Relations in the 21st Century*, (New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, 2008) 55.

<sup>126</sup> Strobe Talbott, "Subramanian: A Countering China's Economic Dominance Business Standard," August 24, 2011, Accessed April 12 2018. <http://www.business-standard.com/india/news/countering-chinas-economic-dominance/446790/>

<sup>127</sup> M. A Razzaque, "SAFTA: Issues for Weaker Economies. South Asia Watch on Trade Economics and Environment," November, 2007, Accessed August 20, 2018. <http://www.sawtee.org/publications/Issue-Paper-1.pdf>

<sup>128</sup>S. Ganguly, "Pakistan could Spark yet another War, Will Kashmir Stop India's Rise?," *Foreign Affairs*, July, 2006, Accessed August 13, 2018. <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/61731/sumit-ganguly/will-kashmir-stop-indias-rise>

<sup>129</sup> Kesavapany, Mani and Ramasamy, *Rising India and Indian Communities in East Asia*, (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies Publishing, 2008).



petition as India is in continuous struggle to alter and replace the China's part in this region. Both, India and China and India have arose stronger economies in region that are in the phase of competition in South Asian region and beyond. As an example India is feared about China's concentration at Indian Ocean and their rivalry over land acquisition in Africa. Despite of that they cooperate in forums like WTO and climate change in the framework of BASIC. A bilateral cooperation among India and China escalated from \$1.7 billion in 1997-98 to \$74 billion in 2011. An ambition is set for the total trade objective of \$100 billion by 2015 even though their associations were marked troubled by the war in 1962 and Tibetan issue is still unresolved.<sup>130</sup> At the same time as India is putting efforts to strengthen it links with China it also discovered new grounds with South Africa and Brazil to make stronger ties with them. India is actively involved in three latest formed multilateral forums like BRICS, BASIC and IBSA and it is a testament to India's cooperation with other states. India, Brazil and South Africa who have got same reformist goal in world politics consider themselves as representatives for developing countries in the region. These states have greater representative power for South in International Financial Institution like IMF, World Bank, UN Security Council and assertive for the attainments of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).<sup>131</sup> India is found as acquiring "Major Power" status for the reforms in South Asian region. IBSA offers India an environment for discussion in the areas of investment, trade, media, IT, health and poverty reduction. IBSA is a three pillar approach enabling and promoting through IBSA funds which is accomplished by UNDP. India's foreign Minister S.M. Krishna met with President of Brazil's Lula da Silva in the fourth Summit and emphasized to accelerate the connectivity among these three emerging economies of the region.<sup>132</sup> Former Minister of India, Manmohan Singh, labelled IBSA as a strong moral force to settle the undisputed issues among these nations.<sup>133</sup> Furthermore, he stated that IBSA has a vast potential for trilateral cooperation and their mutual cooperation is close to 20 billion US dollars now. Moreover, he

---

<sup>130</sup> Vashi, S. M., India's Policy towards Southeast Asia: 1992-2002. Dissertation in the Department of Political Science, *Faculty of Arts*, 2003

<sup>131</sup> J. M. Swaminathan, *Indian Economic Superpower: Fiction or Future*, (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing, 2009) 247-248.

<sup>132</sup> Aiyar, P., India-China trade: A Long Road Ahead. *The Hindu*, September 7, 2006. Accessed August 10, 2018. <http://www.thehindu.com/business/indiachina-trade-record-31-bn-deficit-in-2013/article5562569.ece>

<sup>133</sup> China, India Seek to Increase Trade to \$100 Billion by 2015, *The Financial Express*. May 13, 2006, Accessed September 12, 2018. <http://www.financialexpress.com/news/china-india-seek-to-increase-trade-to-100-bn-by-2015/168561/0>

suggested raising this intra-IBSA cooperation target to 25 billion US dollars by the end of 2015.<sup>134</sup> Apart from IBSA, the forum of BRICS is also encouraging India's collaboration with other developing financial states. In New York the Foreign Minister of Brazil agreed upon the mechanism of cooperation and consultation in numerous sectors with China and India. The agenda of BRICS has expanded its consideration and concerns in the field of terrorism, climate change, security, food, energy, weapons of mass destruction and economic situation. When it was BRIC the Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh stated at the Summit held at Brasilia in 2010 that we four are the countries with unlimited resources, diverse societies and large population and we account for one-fifth of the world's GDP. Moreover, he stated that we aim to develop on its own and dependent upon external economies to develop our developmental goals. Furthermore, he argued that the people of our countries expecting that we must work together for socio-economic development of our people. Global governance of food and energy are the two main areas where BRIC countries are contributing uniquely. In March 2012, India hosted the 4<sup>th</sup> BRICS Summit and aimed to agree upon two contracts, the main contract to increasing the credit facility of domestic coins and confirmation of multilateral letter credit facility agreement among the countries of BRICS. The main purpose of intra-BRICS countries is to take the initiative to replace dollar as a unit of trade among BRICS countries. The officials perceive that this would help to contribute in enhancing the trade and investment among BRICS members as well as it will facilitate economic growth in the time of need among member states. The former Prime Minister of India put up a proposal that BRICS countries must examine the need to develop a South-South Bank by the countries of BRICS states.<sup>135</sup> Financial analyst John Mashaka argued that such propositions from India can reduce the control of IMF and World Bank over South Asian countries. Actually, India, Russia and China aim to demonstrate that they can do a lot without the economic integration coming from West. Moreover, they want to get free from the financial influence of West.<sup>136</sup> In July 2014, the proposed Bank was launched during BRICS summit at Fortaleza in Brazil. Shanghai was chosen as the first headquarter for this Bank, although Modi government wanted that the first

---

<sup>134</sup> Rusko, C. J. and Sasikumar, K. "India and China: From Trade to Peace," *Asian Perspective*, 31 April, 2007 99-123. Accessed September 10, 2018. <http://www.asianperspective.org/articles/v31n4-d.pdf>

<sup>135</sup> Research and Information System for Developing Countries, (2008). *Trinity of the South: Potential of India-Brazil-South Africa (IBSA) Partnership*, Academic Foundation in association with Research and Information System for Developing Countries

<sup>136</sup> Sotero, P. *Emerging Powers: India, Brazil and South Africa (IBSA) and the Future of South-South Cooperation*, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. August, 2009. Accessed September 10, 2018. <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/brazil.IBSAemergingpowers.pdf>

President must be an Indian citizen and headquarter of this Bank must be somewhere in India but failed to do so. It is ensured that the provision of presidency of this Bank among BRICS members must be for rotating five years for each member. The selection of venue as Shanghai rather than Mumbai reveals Indian government failure. Although, Modi indicated that the establishment of this Bank will set up an inclusive global economic growth for BRICS countries.<sup>137</sup> It is consistently emphasized by Indian for 'inclusive growth' in both BRICS and IBSA. However, overall growth in GDP through intra-BRICS and intra-IBSA trade is not prone to address the income differentiation among classes and regions. It is India's ambition to facilitate the poor masses and coming up with a mechanism through multilateral economic institutions that can bring reforms in global financial structure. BRICS and IBSA fundamentally focus on socio-economic development, while the countries like BASIC emphasis upon comprehensive growth factor of the region. In 2009, at Conference of Parties held at Copenhagen, BASIC countries agreed upon to define a common position on climate finance and emissions reductions to create an energy transitions. It is reported by media that they decided to get rid of it if their demands are not tickled by North.<sup>138</sup> As a result, Summit held at Copenhagen did not meet the proposed framework for BASIC states upon emission reduction. India anticipated to cut the intensity of Carbon by 20 to 25 percent by 2020 from 2005 levels. Additionally, India ensured that if the other countries in the region help more to facilitate in climate control and transfer of technology India can do more for the betterment of South Asian region. India's government is solely agreed upon the global emission reduction projects to be monitored rather than the domestic one. There is a mutual consensus upon climate control made between the Environmental Minister of BASIC and Manmohan Singh that the future goal on climate change should equivalent per capita to atmosphere.<sup>139</sup> Moreover, India decided and agreed to the equal access of atmospheric space among the states of the region according to the equity principle.<sup>140</sup> In 2011, at Durban a Climate Conference is held in which Natarajan the former Environmental Minister illustrated that states like India, South Africa and China are not the mega polluters to the climate in the region. Besides that he argued that industrial states must

---

<sup>137</sup> Krishna Meets Brazil President Ahead of IBSA Summit. *The Indian News*, September 1, 2009, Accessed September 12, 2018. [http://www.thaindian.com/newsportal/uncategorized/krishna-meets-brazil-president-ahead-of-ibsa-summit\\_100241385.html](http://www.thaindian.com/newsportal/uncategorized/krishna-meets-brazil-president-ahead-of-ibsa-summit_100241385.html)

<sup>138</sup> S. Vardarajan, "India Pitches for Greater IBSA BRIC Role," *The Hindu*, April 15, 2010.

<sup>139</sup> "Manmohan Singh Says IBSA Can Promote International Peace and Security," *The Times of India*, October 18, 2011.

<sup>140</sup> Macfarlane, "The Russia in BRICs: Is Russia an Emerging Power?" *International Affairs*, 82:1, January, 2006 41-57.

put efforts to minimize the emission rate of fossil fuels. Additionally, Environmental Minister Natarajan claimed that states like BASIC are the developing states on historic emission so these nations must not be abundant first to control the greenhouse emissions on climate change. Some activists and academicians argue that India and the other countries of BASIC can do more as compare to that of 150 developing countries regarding carbon emissions as these 150 developing countries sums up only three quarters to the total emission made by these four countries from BASIC cooperation organization.<sup>141</sup>

### **2.3 Globalization and Regional Dynamics**

Globalization includes monetary integration, the exchange of policies all over the world like culture, global relations and exchange of information. It is a worldwide procedure, an idea, global free market and an uprising for the states. The phenomenon of globalization came into existence after World War II. It depicts that globalization is influential upon local and international cooperation framework among states. It is observed that in past cooperation system the main focus was on local social system but in last couple of decades the era of globalization came into action among states.

It is noticed that ASEAN and SAARC probably take the South Asian countries into the new phase of prosperity and development as an effect of globalization and world politics. The new mind set and leadership of South Asian states would take the region into new revival with respect to international politics. Manmohan Singh, the former Minister of India illustrated that a vibrant Asia probably provide reasons to North America and European Union to grow and attain chances to develop and groom. Moreover, he elaborated that India and China is constantly adding up to the world's total GDP and can support the rest of the nations of the region to revive and make them grow economically and socially. Indian administration has accepted that closer economic ties among the South Asian states is beneficial to individuals, locals and internationally.<sup>142</sup> For South Asia, there is a strong need of regional cooperation among states to get pace and accelerate their economy as reported by Asian Development Bank. India and China are trying to link with other states economy to exchange trade and cooperate socio-politically. Pakistan's Ex-Prime Minister,

---

<sup>141</sup> Opening Statement by the Prime Minister of India Dr. Manmohan Singhat the Plenary Session of the BRIC Summit. April 15, 2010. Accessed September 10, 2018. <http://www.bricsindia.in/india-secondSummit.html>

<sup>142</sup> New Delhi statement on SAARC 2015 and Asian Resurgence (ed.), P. Lama (New Delhi: Concept Information),

Shaukat Aziz, proposes a coordinated system for intra-local participation (in Asia) in key zones, for example, energy, food, water and venture in human capital.<sup>143</sup>

South Asian countries must understand the long-term benefits of regional multilateral cooperation. In successful multilateral agreements, an even-playing field can assist all cooperating countries in developing their economies, promoting good governance, and supporting cross-border infrastructure projects. In South Asia, multilateral cooperation can support the development of stronger transportation systems, collective action against climate change, agricultural best practices, and contributions to scientific development. If the region can act collectively, South Asia is well posed to succeed globally with a diverse range of natural resources and human capital to match the needs of its growing economies.

But, unfortunately, collective regional goals have not been met despite decades of attempted cooperation. South Asia's intra-regional FDI percentage is only 3 percent, compared to the Association of South East Asian Nations' (ASEAN) 25 percent.<sup>144</sup> Of course, SAARC was established a few decades after ASEAN and the political complexity of South Asia contributes significantly to the delay in its operational abilities. The need to maintain nationalistic pride has made South Asian nations less willing to compromise for fear of looking weak to their constituents. Deep political entanglements between India and Pakistan, Afghanistan and Pakistan, and Bangladesh and Pakistan, combined with embedded nationalism, has provoked mistrust, skepticism, and aggressive behavior between South Asian states in multilateral engagements. When India, the most developed country in the region, begets nationalism as cause to reactionary politics, smaller actors also use it to decline compromise, and the situation creates a repetitive cycle.

### **2.3.1 Globalization and Third World: Impacts on Indo-Pakistan Region**

The world has become a global village which paves the ways to establish its relation with one on other. WWII event has drastically changed the World Scenario and categorized the states in different stratification according to its importance and being well developed. The classification of world or countries is based on the most important states which are capitalist states in which country

---

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

<sup>144</sup> Angel Sharma, "The Trouble with South Asian Regionalism," *The Diplomats*, June 10, 2017

trade and industry is controlled by the private Owners. Capitalist states are considered as first world and communist states are considered as second world. Whereas there are countries which are underdeveloped and dependent on developed countries such as Asian and African countries therefore, considered as third world.<sup>145</sup> The aforementioned divisions of states actually represent the cultural, social, political and economic situation of the states. The center of interest is the role of third world countries which are underdeveloped and poor states. Such states can be easily used for power politics by first and second world.<sup>146</sup> It has been common practice that whenever states come in contact to form association, they have to sacrifice to achieve the common interest. It can be political or economic stability or cultural or social development. Classification of states is meant to determine the integrity and harmony which directly effects the strategic policies. Therefore, making associations and collaboration is the integral part of politics which is exercised in the world Wars.<sup>147</sup> The purpose of association is to prevail peace and harmony in the democratic situation. In order to establish a peaceful situation interdependence is the key factor of states to maintain peace and exercise democracy.<sup>148</sup> The attitude of First world and second world towards third world has always been demanding and hostile towards the dependent states. These states are suppressed because their economic and political stability is utterly dependent on them and their sovereignty is at stake. Third world countries associate and make alliance with the developed states for the sake of their greater interests.<sup>149</sup> These objectives are in terms of their alliance is very critical in nature because it is difficult to decide the terms and conditions for political and economic stability. The principal role is played by North because they have upper hand on the dependent states. It directly influence the life style of its inhabitants and increase the social mobility among states. The state of insecurity is one of the prevailing factors of migration among its inhabitants. The third world population moves to either towards the developed states or relatively better place for their survival and better life standards. Social mobility takes place because of economic, political etc reasons, may have drastic effects on states which accommodates them. The ratio of migration from

---

<sup>145</sup> P. M. Michael, *Development and Social Change: A Global Perspective* (New York: Pine Forge Press, 2000), pp.44-90.

<sup>146</sup> Potter, C. *Global Convergence, Divergence, and Development*. The Companion to Development Studies. London. 2000 Retrieved May 29, 2012, from [www.reading.ac.uk/ges/Aboutus/Staff/r-b-potter.aspx](http://www.reading.ac.uk/ges/Aboutus/Staff/r-b-potter.aspx).

<sup>147</sup> Wallerstein, I. *The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: concept for Comparative Analysis*. pp. 45-78

<sup>148</sup> Ibid.

<sup>149</sup> Clark, Ian., *The Post-Cold War Order: The Spoil of Face*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 91-104.

south to north and vice versa can be recognized easily.<sup>150</sup> A couple of factors are held responsible for social mobility and migrations. These are push factors and pull factors. In the case of push factors, the political insurgencies and war like situation compel people to move for a better shelter where as in pull factors people move to gain better social structure. So, when the movement or migration from south to south is taken place it will always lead to a more chaotic situation compared with south to north migration. This leads to another social construct problem which is identity.<sup>151</sup> An individual is generally considered as the representative of his culture and ethnic group. These are socially defined identities which vary from others. Postmodern era has wiped out the cultural identities and we are graded globally.<sup>152</sup> It has been observed that ethnic and identity diversity are the crucial factors in the imbalance of states. It badly damages the sovereignty of states. Ethnic diversities bring clashes internally in a state which sabotage the harmony and peace in the society. So ethnic clashes are difficult to be managed therefore, it is the need of the hour to control such diversities in states. Globalization is one of the steps which has reduced the ethnic and identity clashes to an extent. It does largely effect the Indo-Pak region also.<sup>153</sup> The biggest disadvantage of globalization is, states are unable to exercise its law freely. Therefore, they have to meet certain terms and conditions which are recognized globally. Such global environment provides universal integration in all respect. The impact of globalization in south Asia has been a great consideration because of social beliefs, religious extremism, ethnic diversity and certain prevailing social factors. The aforementioned factors have deeply rooted in the society and it's very challenging to bring drastic changes in it. Indian and Pakistani societies in particular are unable to bring change in their idiosyncratic attitudes. These societies are less flexible and aggressive. They have unable to build their social structures so far so that they could flourish and compete globally.<sup>154</sup>

### **2.3.2 Security Environment of South Asia**

Security insurance is the principal element of nation's survival. The national security of South Asians states is very complex and complicated. The third world states find it difficult to separate

---

<sup>150</sup> Ibid.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid 120.

<sup>152</sup> A. Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimension of Globalization*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), pp. 74-117

<sup>153</sup> Ibid 132

<sup>154</sup> M. Buzan, *The State: the New World Order*, (New York: Colombia University Press, 1995), pp.45-78.

economic, political and military security plans because they are inter dependent on each other. As a result the security environment is difficult to be shaped. Asian states have crucial and fatal security environment. Political instability in Asian states damages the national security plan which further leads to economic crises.<sup>155</sup> The South states are technically not sound enough to counter environmental or climatic catastrophe. Moreover, power or energy divisions are also part of security plans as they have vital role to play in states stabilities. Border management was a core concerned before globalization and it was considered as the sole security plan. But now the national security environment has integrated all aspects of resources which facilitate mankind.<sup>156</sup> The growing ratio of population, Water and energy crises, transnational issues are threats for the third world. They rely only on military powers to defend and maintain the border management issues which are less considerable. Military policies and political agenda go hand in hand so we can separate them. But the problem arises when political and military leadership decisions are conflicting. It sabotages the national security environment utterly.<sup>157</sup> National security plan means to design and device plans for future prospects of nations and states.

### **2.3.3 South Asia Cross Boarder Analysis**

The south Asian boarders have always been subject to threat because of multiple reasons. The danger to security is perceived among states because of internal and external forces. The nature of threats can be economical, political, Sociological and strategic. Moreover, the crucial aspect of South Asian countries is the intervention of military powers in disestablishing the political powers. Ethnic diversity and political instability are the driving forces in a nation structure building.<sup>158</sup> The national security structure has become so complicated that stake holders have to take care of all componential elements to avoid internal and external conflicts. The political leaders have to design plans for economic and military requirement to run the business of the state smoothly because economy, politics, military affairs are so well connected that it is impossible to neglect even one of those aforementioned elements. It will directly affect inter dependent affairs. So, these are the

---

<sup>155</sup> Ibid 83

<sup>156</sup> Barry Posen, *The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflicts*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp.15-57.

<sup>157</sup> Muhammad Ali, *The Fearful State: Power, People and Internal War in South Asia*, (London: Zed Books, 1998), pp.33-49

<sup>158</sup> Paul Brass, *Building Democracy in South Asia: India, Pakistan and Nepal*, (New York: Colombia University Press, 2000), 23-78



assets of a nation which is to be protected by state actors.<sup>159</sup> One of the biggest disadvantages is to meet financial requirement of the state. In the Global world economic development is the top most objective to be achieved. The other threats and dangers include ethnic, sectarian and linguistic diversities which create internal problem and weaken the image of the state at world level. The south Asian actors have tried to tie their relationships with imperialistic states to get rid of their financial and social and political problems. These ties in the long run become problematic in resolving their core issues. As a result, inside dangers are felt by the movement of conventions and convictions looking to force their qualities and authorize certain practices. Ecological dangers appear as conceivable compounding of the earth or weariness of normal assets which may be an additional burden over the economic condition of the state. Environmental policies of South Asian government have no positive effect for climatic control. These policies are inefficient and fail to counter climatic catastrophe. The utmost is done on the part of government is to warn and blame citizen of the states and held them responsible for pollution. Other than climatic analysis, it is observed that south Asian states were centered at the end of the Cold War. The after effects of Cold War were quite favorable for South Asian states because it has brought peace and harmony. one of the factors of peaceful situation in the region is the role and presence of China in 1950s.<sup>160</sup> Moreover, the position of South Asian states, particularly the role of Pakistan in the region, is further strengthened due to withdrawal of Soviet from Afghanistan. Pakistan has played a vital role with the help of China and America to protect Afghanistan. This event has changed the geopolitical situation of the region entirely. Pakistan has shown great concern on the adjacent boarder of Afghanistan because of ethnic and religious affiliations. They have developed friendly relations with the neighboring states because of Islamization. On the other hand, the relationship between Pakistan and India has been hostile since their birth. The bone of contention is the disputed region of occupied Kashmir. Pakistan feels insecure and it's an external threat for its sovereignty on northern frontier. On the other hand Indians blame Pakistani intervention in their vicinity. Both the states possess atomic assets therefore venerable. The declaration of nuclear assets is a groundbreaking motivating force to the two adversaries in the district to look for an enhancement in relations to turn away a disaster. Indo – Pak rivalry, somehow settled after the main clashes that occurred at war of 1971 and Kargil. They have built a truce line after the destructive clashes which

---

<sup>159</sup> *ibid*

<sup>160</sup> *ibid*

were proven lifelong experiences. The incident of 9/11 changed the entire political situation of South Asian region. US government asked Pakistan's administration to join their hands as a key partner against militant groups, Al-Qaeda and Afghan Taliban which sabotaged the peace of US and its allies. Similarly, Mumbai attacks also damaged the sovereignty of South Asian states and create vulnerable situation in the region in terms of security and fired up blame game between India and Pakistan.

### **2.3.4 Transnational Challenges**

These are the challenges that occur at the border among states and serve as criminal activities and instability for the states. As a result of these criminal activities, states have lower control over administration and their development in long run that is important for the stability and the growth of a state. Thus, it is a universal and global issue in the international political set up. In South Asia, the issues associated with transnational crimes are mostly of arms smuggling, terrorism, smuggling of medications, transnational developments, condition corruption, illicit migration, psychological warfare and data fighting, maladies and pandemics in nature. Every criminal group and association takes points of interest of degenerate and breaking down of legislator and of government authorities. By doing such criminal exercises, these associations make a considerable measure of benefits and undermines the vote based social orders of Pak-Indo region. Since 1970s, transnational issues are influencing inter-states relation but after 1990s states are more concern about the national security as transnational issues and violation among states are keeping growing lately.<sup>161</sup> Issues like war on terror after 9/11 incident along with inter-states psychological coercion, offensive behavior, arms smuggling, expansion of weapons of mass destruction and trafficking of medicines adding more danger to the transnational stability and peace of the states. Transnational issues turned out to be more critical for the national security execution of Indo-Pakistan locale and also it changed the whole highlights of the Asian's Journal of Public Administration and Governance universal relations. Security issues are the major concerns for South Asia from past few decades. The era of globalization made security issue more complex, diverse, cruel and violent across the globe and it appeals for timely cooperation among state members globally. The critical fact must not be ignored that Pak-Indo conflicting relationship is

---

<sup>161</sup> Peter, M., and Eduardo, L. *The Locations of Transnationalism*. Peter, M., & Eduardo, L (Edit). Transnationalism FromBelow.Pp.3345.RetrievedJune23,2012fromhcd.ucdavis.edu/faculty/.../smith/.../Locations\_of\_transnationalism.pdf.

blowing up more fire to the international and transactional violation because of blame games and disobeying cease fire at line of control. These kind of issues revealed that there is no proper communication or administration among intra-states upon trans-national violation and issues.<sup>162</sup> Meanwhile, states have to join hands upon versatile, diverse and trans-national and international issues and follow up the communications among states to states to come up with the solution to the international issues regarding security and peace process of the region. Globalization suggested that conflicting and violent activities at border are badly influencing the viable benefits associated to the states in long run. Innovation in the transnational administration system could help state members to achieve feasible outcomes in terms of political stability, economics and security stability.<sup>163</sup> This has been a common tendency towards less various leveled, appropriate, continuing associations of fear based oppression and criminal exercises. The procedure of the new rush of fear mongering in this area is getting to be Post-Westphalian in nature to be understood well in the light of transnational or global action. This action doesn't consider the traditional periphery of the states. This phenomenon extended the cross-out skirting of inner, as often as possible interrelated, security emergencies that genuinely influenced South Asian social orders and between state relations underscores the significance of building up a viable, wide based territorial reaction to the dangers. Despite the fact that designs with respect to the requirement for more noteworthy relationship among states on issues identified with border security, common lawful help, and law authorization, this coordinated effort has been ease back to emerge in South Asia. There are a few fundamental sorts of transnational violations and security dangers in South Asia. These fundamentals with their issues prevailed for so long in South Asian region. The era of globalization transformed the transnational issues of individuals and groups with an expansion strategy to be resolved more precisely with capacity and power by the governments.<sup>164</sup> Several states of the region think about inflexible hindrances to globalization with the end goal to counter such dangers and therefore, the two nations go up against another test in endeavoring to take the control of manifestation of the capacity that globalization posse. The latest decade of 21<sup>st</sup> century reveals that terrorists and extremist groups and criminal activities between Pakistan and India is

---

<sup>162</sup> Pries Ludger, *The Approach of Transnational Social Spaces: Responding to New Configuration of the Social Spatial*, (New York: Routledge, 2001), 25.

<sup>163</sup> Reuter, P., & Petrie, C. *Transnational Organized Crime*. Washington DC: National Academy. Retrieved June 23, 2012 from <http://books.nap.edu/openbook.php?isbn=0309065755>.

<sup>164</sup> Swanstrom, Niklas. (2007). *The Narcotics Trade: A Threat to Security? National and Transnational Implication*. Retrieved September 5, 2012 from [http:// GlobalCrimes.com.edu./pdf](http://GlobalCrimes.com.edu/pdf).

manipulating the peace process and stability of South Asian region through creating military crisis as highlighted by transnational Journal of Public Administration and Governance.

## **2.4 U.S-Concerns over the Chinese Connectivity Project**

US does not openly criticize the idea of China Pakistan Economic Corridor. The officials of US argued that CPEC is the idea of regional connectivity and we very much support it. Moreover, they said that not only China and Pakistan but also its neighbors like Afghanistan would also be facilitated through this economic and regional connectivity.<sup>165</sup> However, US have got concerns about CPEC due to its strategic interests in this region and relative concern of other states like Russia, China and Iran in Central Asia.<sup>166</sup> US has got an eye on the rich resources of Central Asian region. That's why US is making use of all these instruments of IT, military, economy and power diplomacy to win over the interest of this region. Pakistan is the state who facilitated the relationship between two former enemies China and US during cold war period. US sees the rise of China with hater in the region. Territorial and ideological relationship between China and former Soviet helped to establish cooperate relationship between China and Pakistan. India fought a war against China in 1962. Afterwards, both of these states stabilized their relationships although they still have unsettled border issue. These concerns of US and India in the region with Pakistan China is creating problematic conditions for China and Pakistan in this region. The warmth growing ties between India and US is disturbing the balance of power in South Asian region which has a direct influence on China and Pakistan favoring India in this region.<sup>167</sup> In last thirteen years US supported Pakistan by allocating \$13 billion as an aid for counterterrorism cooperation, \$10.5 in economic assistance and \$ 7.6 billion security assistance upon the war on terror phenomenon.<sup>168</sup> But in recent time, US government said that they will not pay Pakistan any further aid. Moreover, US blamed Pakistan that, the government of Pakistan did not took concrete initiatives to counter war on terror. However, the reality is that it is US who used Pakistan as a front line state against

---

<sup>165</sup>Dr Ahmed Rasheed, "All Weather Friendship," *The Diplomatic insight* 8, no. 5 (May 2015).

<sup>166</sup> Stephen J. Blank, "U.S. Interest in Central Asia and the Challenges to Them," March 2007, retrieved from December 18, 2015. <http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a464818.pdf>

<sup>167</sup> Khalid Mahmood, "Pakistan-China strategic relations," *Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad*, Vol. 1, No.2. 2017.

<sup>168</sup> Dr. M. Sohail, "China-Pakistan economic Corridor (CPEC): Challenges and Global trade Impact," May 20, 2016. Accessed September 19, 2018. <<http://www.sheir.org/china-pakistan-economic-corridor.pdf>>.

war on terror after 9/11 till now. US wants to demolish the warmth ties among China and Pakistan. Geo-Strategically Pakistan is located in the center of South Asian region and it is an important player in world politics. In order to pursue its interests US always exploited the interests of Pakistan. Once the interests of US is met government of Pakistan is left alone to cope up with the situation afterwards. As Pakistan is used as a front line state being the ally of US, government of Pakistan sacrificed its human and resources. Now Pakistan has explored and developed new foreign policy options in the best interest of economy and national security with Russia and China although their partnership is seen with skeptical eyes by West.

The idea of New Silk Road Initiative (NSRI) was given by US in 2011 and the fundamental purpose of this initiative was to connect and integrate with the region and to bridge between Central and South Asia. This initiative will help to facilitate transport, trade, customs, border operations and people to people contact.<sup>169</sup> CPEC is integrating Pakistan and China currently but many other states like Afghanistan, Russia, Iran and CARs are showing their interests to be the part of this mega project integration. In order to support Pakistan and CPEC Russia sent its military elite in FATA and GB recently. China is perceived as a balancer of US in South Asian region and CPEC might also influence US oil supply on CARs. This might decrease the role of US in this region. However, US and India have stronger political, economic and strategic ties in this region so their role can't be ignored too. On the other hand, Pakistan's role in the region is just viewed through a security lens and in some upcoming future time India may work together with US to restrain China's role in the region.

## 2.5 US-Concerns over SCO

Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) is an international cooperation organization of the Eurasian region with the purpose to counter and eliminate the evil of terrorism worldwide.<sup>170</sup> Shanghai cooperation organization is the first worldwide well known organization that is solely formed to counter the evil of extremism and terrorism as its target.<sup>171</sup> Initially this organization

---

<sup>169</sup>"Us support for the new silk route" accessed December 18, 2016, Retrieved from <http://www.state.gov/p/sca/ci/af/newsilkroad/>

<sup>170</sup> Muhammad Ihsan Qadir and Saif ur Rehman, "Expansion of Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO): Harbinger of Regional Peace and Prosperity," *Journal of Political Studies* 23, no. 1 (2016): 117-132 (117), Accessed September, 2018. [http://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/pols/pdf/files/8%20-%20IHSAN%20-%20SAIF\\_v23\\_1\\_16.pdf](http://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/pols/pdf/files/8%20-%20IHSAN%20-%20SAIF_v23_1_16.pdf).

<sup>171</sup>Shanghai Cooperation Organization Charter, China- Kazakhstan- Kyrgyzstan- Russia Tajikistan-Uzbekistan, Accessed June 15, 2001, <http://people.unica.it/annamariabaldussi/files/2015/04/SCO-Charter.pdf>.

was comprised of Russia, China, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan as its member states.<sup>172</sup> Pakistan and India got their full membership recently as an expansion to SCO. Geographically the state members of SCO cover a large area, expanding from Russia in the North to Indian Ocean in South.<sup>173</sup> SCO member states differ in political standing and size. Central Asian Republics (CARs) have rich amount of resources with no stable political clout, China and Russia are the members of UN Security Council while India and Pakistan possess different political stand point in South Asian region.<sup>174</sup> Pakistan due to the CPEC projects that come under One Belt One Road initiative is likely to emerge as an economic hub for the region while India as being the ally and strategic partnership with US stands on the opposite plank. This organization provides scope of cooperation to the all members and Afghanistan as an observer state to come up with a collaborative strategy upon terrorism, instability in Afghanistan, political and security stability in the region and drug trade elimination.<sup>175</sup> However, the absence of US from SCO put a question mark upon the neutral approach of SCO, US stated that it is an anti-west alliance to limit Washington role in the region.<sup>176</sup> SCO member's states are actively involved to ensure the regional stability and to cope up with concerning political and regional challenges prevailing in the South Asian region.

US has reacted to the Shanghai Cooperation Organization suspiciously upon several reasons. Firstly, whenever US asked to attend and observe the meeting of Summit, its request was always refused. Later on when Iran's government turned aggressive against US under the Presidency of Ahmadinejad, the proposal of Iran as observer state is admitted along with Mongolia, India and Pakistan. It perceived by many observers of America that China and Russia is working together to build anti-western, anti-American and anti-democratic alliance. Secondly, In 2005 Summit, US and its coalition partners were asked for a timetable for their withdrawal from Afghanistan as they

---

<sup>172</sup> Nabila Jaffer, "The First Enlargement of Shanghai Cooperation Organization and its Implications," *Regional Studies XXXIV*, no. 2 (2016): 65-93

<sup>173</sup> Seema Sengupta, "Bigger Shanghai Cooperation Organization may be Game-Changer," *Asia Times*, Accessed June 5, 2017, <http://www.atimes.com/article/bigger-shanghai-cooperationorganization-may-game-changer/>.

<sup>174</sup> Qadir and Rehman, "Expansion of Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO): Harbinger of Regional Peace and Prosperity," 121 2017.

<sup>175</sup> Syed Farooq Hasnat and Zamurad Awan, "Shanghai Cooperation Organization as a Platform for Regional Understanding: It's Economic, Political and Security Potential," *Perceptions XXI*, no. 1 (2016): 83-100 (92), Accessed September 12, 2018. [http://sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/perceptions\\_Spring2016183-100.pdf](http://sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/perceptions_Spring2016183-100.pdf).

<sup>176</sup> Qadir and Rehman, "Expansion of Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO): Harbinger of Regional Peace and Prosperity," 118

were in temporary war against Taliban. This action of SCO was seen as an attempt to exclude US from Central Asia. Thirdly, the prospect that becomes strong in 2006 in the mind of Washington that Iran might be accepted as a permanent member of SCO. US was perceiving that China and Russia is shielding Iran from American and European efforts aimed that the atomic energy program of Iran must not be used for military purpose. Moreover, Washington view of SCO as an anti-west alliance grown more obvious in recent times. There are three principle reasons for it. First, it becomes obvious that China is treating SCO as an economic cooperation forum where China itself is a mega player. On the hand, Russia is keen to make SCO as a military alliance. It reveals that neither China nor Russia wants that SCO evolve in a manner against their approval. Second, Moscow wants the end of US military presence in Central Asia, as a proof Tashkent did end it in Uzbekistan. But some of the SCO state members were agreed to continue their military cooperation with NATO and America. US was feared that Kyrgyzstan might also military cooperation with them but it remained continued at a higher rent. In addition, for the peace program Kazakhstan has expanded its partnership and cooperation with NATO. Uzbekistan hosted German while Tajikistan continued to host French military forces. Third, the testiness occurred in Iranian-Russian relations in 2007 that confirmed that Russia is helping Iran to acquire nuclear weapons. These reasons as well as the polarization of Russia, China and Uzbekistan at one side while Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan and Tajikistan on the side have led many arguments in West to dismiss the SCO as worthless. This view and the polarization of SCO state members highlights that it is mistaken by US to perceive SCO as a threat to it. The current members of SCO are agreed upon common opposition to secession, democratization and Islamic fundamentalism. SCO and its members feared that West and America by the presence of its military in South and Central Asia is putting efforts to install Pro-American democratic governments throughout Central Asian region as they done it in Ukraine, Georgia and Kyrgyzstan as “color revolutions”. SCO and US although have same interest to oppose Islamic fundamentalism. In 2005 Summit, SCO stated that military operation conducted by Coalition forces in Afghanistan is nearly being completed. However, the declaration revealed that threat of Taliban will increase in Central Asian region if America and Coalition forces leave Afghanistan. Neither Russia nor US supports the secession system anywhere in Central Asia. US and China relations over Taiwan is in a complex phase, however US is opposing secession at any part of the China. On the other side of things there are important differences over democratization between SCO and US. US supports democratization unabashedly

while SCO states oppose it. Anyway it is obvious that democratization process in Central Asian region will occur slowly and it is not likely to be happened unexpectedly at once.

## 2.6 Pak-China Partnership: India's Response

China and India are in continuous successful diplomatic relationship and engagement. However, India watch every move between China and Pakistan suspiciously. The point of disruption among China and India is the balance of power although both of these states set off this proposition.<sup>177</sup> Therefore, India is continuously using the antagonist diplomacy to disrupt the cordiality and greater ties between China and Pakistan over CPEC.<sup>178</sup> Actually, India perceives that China and Pakistan's growing relationship attempts to counter India. Pakistan and India cooperation is a direct challenge to India, however India seeks to have regional supremacy in South Asian region. The Prime Minister of India openly criticized the projects of CPEC and stated that it poses a direct threat to India's interest as it passes through the disputed area of Gilgit Baltistan and Kashmir as it is close to the border of India.<sup>179</sup> China and India both are emerging economies and the consumers of energy. India knows that CPEC is a game changer for Pakistan and South Asian region, so Indian intelligence agency RAW opened up an office at New Delhi with the allocation of \$300 million to dislocate the ongoing projects of CPEC. It is a clear indication of India's plan and actions to disrupt the smooth implementations of CPEC projects.<sup>180</sup> Government of Pakistan has handed over its Gwadar port to China, so now government of India is disturbed because of the advantages China will get out of Arabian Sea. It is evident that India is involved behind Baluchistan's insurgency. Baluchistan is the province of Pakistan with gas and oil reserves in abundance. India is claiming that Pakistan and China civilian nuclear deal is a violation to the international protocol linked to the trade of nuclear equipment.<sup>181</sup> India wanted to develop new ties with Iran to counter the influence of CPEC. In this perspective, Indian Prime Minister visited Iran in May, 2016 and signed MOU to develop a port at Chahbahar. Moreover, India signed a trilateral

---

<sup>177</sup> Gulshan Sachdeva, "India's attitude towards China's growing influence in Central Asia." *In China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly*, vol. 4, no. 3, pp. 23-34. 2006

<sup>178</sup> Zahid Ali and Shabir Ahmad Khan, "New Trends in Sino-Pak Defence and Strategic Relations since 9/11: Indian Concern." *South Asian Studies* 30 (2015): 2.

<sup>179</sup> "Understanding the Bigger Picture," accessed December 18, 2016, <https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/cpec-understanding-bigger-picture-shiraz-paracha?forceNoSplash=true>.

<sup>180</sup> MussaratAbid and Ayesha Ashfaq, "CPEC: Challenges and Opportunities for Pakistan", Accessed <[http://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/studies/PDF-FILES/Artical-7\\_v16\\_2\\_2015.pdf](http://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/studies/PDF-FILES/Artical-7_v16_2_2015.pdf)> on June 8, 2016.

<sup>181</sup> Zahid AliKhan and Shabir Ahmad. "New Trends in Sino-Pak Defence and Strategic Relations Since 9/11: Indian Concern," *South Asian Studies*, Vol. 30, no. 2 (2015), p. 247.



treaty with Iran and Afghanistan to develop ports and other projects.<sup>182</sup> In order to renew its relationship with UAE, The Prime Minister of India, Modi visited UAE to establish infrastructural investment fund aiming to reach the target of \$75 billion.<sup>183</sup> All of these steps have been taken by Indian government to contain and counter China and Pakistan partnership and in specific to restrain the projects of CPEC.

To sum up, Pakistan role in the world affairs is highly important. Its share in different organizations and relations with the super powers has always been remained important. The benefit of CPEC is deemed to be countless. The growing Pakistan-China interdependence is somewhat disturbing for U.S and India. If CPEC is joined by Russia, it would bring more concerns for U.S and India. Similarly, Pakistan role in SCO and U.S overall reservations about it, is still to be highlighted in future, notwithstanding, it still has many. Globalizations have both pros and cons for Pakistan and India. It has the power to engage Pakistan and India in security dilemma. The U.S-India strategic partnership and China and Russia's cordial relations with Pakistan can create more security related issues which will be discuss in the next chapter.

---

<sup>182</sup> "The Reality of India-Iran Ties," July 11, 2016, accessed December 18, 2016, Accessed September 18, 2018. <http://thediplomat.com/2016/07/the-reality-of-india-iran-ties/>.

<sup>183</sup> "India Bid to Halt Pakistan Projects Fails Business," *The Express Tribune*, August 31, 2015, accessed December 18, 2016, <http://tribune.com.pk/story/947720/india-bid-to-halt-pakistan-projects-fails/>.

### Chapter 3

#### ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF REGIONAL DYNAMIC FOR PAKISTAN

This chapter explains the growing relation of South Asian states and its economic implication for Pakistan. The chapter highlights Pakistan's economic relations with the countries of Central Asia and the ventures of CASA-1000 and TAPI and geographical connectivity of CPEC with this region.

Pakistan is in good shape when it comes to changing dynamics of the geopolitical situation in the region. Pakistan's position is well poised attributed to its catalytic role in the region and dependency of major player on Pakistan to achieve their influential roles in South Asia. This role has become more eminent after the fall of Russian Federation and rise of China as a strategic power in the constituency, the later has favored Pakistan historically.

#### 3.1 Impact of CPEC and SCO

Pakistan's geographically important position in the region of high trade activity and at the same time high instability has further strengthened Pakistan's importance. The benefits of this scenario are already visible. The major part of this narrative come from the prospects of CPEC, which is expected to be a game changer in the region as well with the larger effect on global politics, will give a huge advantage to Pakistan to play her cards to her benefit. Recently, Pakistan has revisited its policy by reconstructing its relations with Russia and opening new avenues of cooperation with Central Asian states. This shift has brought encouraging results which ultimately would benefit the whole region through up-gradation of economic cooperation and increase collaboration to address security challenges hindering the development in the region.<sup>184</sup> Pakistan's security and financial interests, ostensibly, are attached to the general security condition in the area and monetary relationship among the South Asian and Central Asian states. Pakistani government is without a doubt moving the correct way in such manner and its endeavors are indicating positive outcomes. Restoration of peace in Afghanistan is important for the achievements of CPEC, network with Central Asian states and the fruition of territorial tasks such as TAPI and CASA-1000. Pakistan clearly will be the greatest recipient of every one of these activities.<sup>185</sup>

---

<sup>184</sup> Malik Muhammad Ashraf, "The Changing Geo-Political Dynamics," *Pakistan Today*, November 25, 2015.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid*,

### 3.2 Central Asia South Asia (CASA)

The venture between Central Asia and South Asia which is called CASA 1000, is a cost of 1.6 \$ billions task at present under development that will take into account the fare of surplus hydroelectricity from Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan to Pakistan and Afghanistan.<sup>186</sup> This venture at first only included transfer of electric power to Afghanistan, but Afghan government surrendered its offer of power because of deficiency of interest, consequently Tajikistan will provide 1300 megawatts of power to Pakistan.<sup>187</sup> The project comprised of development and construction of change over stations for conversion of high voltage direct electrical current including 477 kilometers 500 KV line to Tajikistan from Kyrgyzstan; establishing AC to DC 1300 MV at Sangtuda (Tajikistan), spreading line between Peshawar and Tajikistan 750 KM, launching of DC to AC 1300 MV at Peshawar station and 300 MV at Kabul.<sup>188</sup> The CASA project a deal among the participating countries; Afghanistan, Kyrgyzstan, Pakistan and Tajikistan. The advanced and productive CASA-1000 power transmission framework will help change the regional economy dynamics and imply an imperative development towards understanding the arranged Central Asia-South Asia Regional Electricity Market (CASAREM). The CASAREM joint cooperation will help these above mentioned four nations, as well as enhance the power frameworks and will create an inter-regional cooperation between South Asia and Central Asian states.<sup>189</sup> The CASA undertaking would help create business openings and will inspire expectations for everyday comforts of Pakistani individuals. This Project gives a chance to the participating states in the area including Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan in Central Asia to Pakistan and Afghanistan in South Asia power grid. This project will help bring various financial, social and ecological advantages to contributing nations. It will lessen the electricity shortfall, make employments, enhance exchange and decrease carbon dioxide emissions on account of the supply of clean energy. It will likewise add to territorial integration.<sup>190</sup> The CASA Power Project would convey incomes to Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan as well as alleviate power deficiencies in Afghanistan and Pakistan will increment prospects for development. The financial benefits from this venture could add to peace and

---

<sup>186</sup> "CASA 1000: Tajikistan to Export 1,000 MW Hydel Electricity," *The Express Tribune*, January 09, 2016.

<sup>187</sup> Zafar Bhutta, "Pakistan to Receive more as Afghanistan abandons Share in CASA-1000," *The Express Tribune*, June 17, 2016.

<sup>188</sup> CASA-1000 Formally Inaugurated, *Daily Times*, May 16, 2016.

<sup>189</sup> CASA-1000

<sup>190</sup> Imaduddin, "Pakistan hope to early completion of CASA 1000 to meet its energy shortfall," *Business Recorder*, July 06, 2017.

strengthen the security of the region. The CASA Project would reduce the power outage in Pakistan and in turn will help boost Pakistan's economy.<sup>191</sup>

### **3.3 Economic Relations of Central Asian States with Pakistan**

Pakistan and Central Asia have friendly and heartfelt ties because of cultural and religious overlaps. Pakistan is geo politically important and beneficial to the Central Asian countries and serves as a transit route through Gwadar port. Meanwhile, the disintegration of Soviet Union and its withdrawal from South Asian region and formulation of CARs expanded the influence and significance of Pakistan's regional policy in South Asia. Central Asian countries and Pakistan both are in serious arrangements to develop economic, trade, energy and transportation ties but the ongoing war on terror and destabilize Afghanistan and several external and internal complications sabotaging the efforts of Pakistan and other state members of the region to make it happen. Poor law and order situation in tribal areas and exchange of oil and gas pipelines from Central Asian states to Karachi and Baluchistan is also challenging to the economic good well of Pakistan.<sup>192</sup>

The prime minister of Pakistan, Nawaz Sharif's visited Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan on May 20, 2015, 21st May 2015 and in August 2015 respectively. It reveals the importance of political and economic cooperation among Central Asian states. Moreover, the port of Gwadar in Pakistan the port of Turkmenbashi in Turkmenistan fit global trade corridor. Former Prime Minister Pakistan Nawaz Sharif also wants and proposed the framework for two motorways to link Termez in Central Asia with Pakistan. Gwadar will be connected to Central Asia through Termez as it is located between Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan. This route will connect Termez with Mazar-i-Sharif via Kandahar and Chaman. Moreover, a motorway between Toekham and Peshawar via Jalalabad is under construction and would be completed shortly. All these transportation connections would give a boost trade exchange amongst Pakistan and the Central Asian States (CARs). It will be valuable to overcome power shortfalls and extend open trade doors for financial development for Afghanistan, Pakistan and Central Asian States. However, these grand projects will be feasible only if internal security in Afghanistan become

---

<sup>191</sup> "Pakistan to get 1000 MW by 2020," *Pakistan Today*, May 12, 2016.

<sup>192</sup> Umbreen Javaid and Azhar Rashid, "Oil and Gas Potentials of Central Asian Republics and Relations with Pakistan," *A Research Journal of South Asian Studies*, Volume. 3, June, 2015. 127-148

stable. The essential element to the peace and prosperity of the whole region is dependent upon the peace and security situation in Afghanistan.<sup>193</sup>

The Afghanistan, Pakistan, India gas supply pipeline from Turkmenistan also known as TAPI is a plan for natural gas proposed by Asian Development Bank (ADB).<sup>194</sup> This plan will act as a source to supply natural gas from Caspian Sea reserves of Turkmenistan to Pakistan and India via Afghanistan. This project already started to begin on 13th, 2015 at Turkmenistan.<sup>195</sup> This gas supply pipeline is projected to be operational by early 2019. The TAPI gas pipeline project became practical project in Pakistan via start of the proposed pipeline work in Pakistani region. According to then petroleum minister Shahid Khaqan Abbasi TAPI pipeline is a great achievement for the country after it took more than twenty years to start the foundation work of the TAPI project in practical form.<sup>196</sup> This pipeline project, dubbed by many as a peace pipeline project, will bring the participating countries together due to inter-dependence in energy sector and in turn is expected to bring peace and prosperity in the region. It will also connect Central Asia and South Asia.<sup>197</sup> TAPI will supply 13.8 billion cm<sup>3</sup> of natural gas to Pakistan from Turkmenistan to meet Pakistan's increasing demand of energy. It will secure the Pakistan's energy requirement, bring economic prosperity to our nation through creating new job opportunities, and will upgrade required infrastructure. The TAPI natural gas supply pipeline will be the precursor for the accelerated economic growth and prosperity of all participating countries. TAPI would open new avenues for Pakistan to enhance the energy consumption which in turn will bring boost to Pakistan's economy.<sup>198</sup>

### 3.4 Regional Proximity and Integration

The CPEC deal has opened new avenues of opportunities for Pakistan. China has signed a deal in access of \$46 billion that would be invested in multiple sectors. Pakistan was facing with dire situation on energy front and was not able to cope with this crisis with its own resources. This

---

<sup>193</sup> Pakistan and Central Asian States: Challenges and Opportunities, *Pakistan Defence*, September 15, 2016.

<sup>194</sup> "Turkmenistan Starts work on gas link to Afghanistan, Pakistan, India," *Reuters*, December 13, 2015.

<sup>195</sup> Abduljalil Abdurasulov, "Is Turkmenistan's Gas line a Pipe dream?," *BBC News*, July 16, 2015.

<sup>196</sup> "TAPI Gas Pipeline Project enters practical Phase in Pakistan," *Dawn*, March 03, 2017

<sup>197</sup> Zafar Bhutta, "Four Countries in deal for \$ 10 Billion TAPI gas Pipeline Project," *The Express Tribune*, March 04, 2016.

<sup>198</sup> "TAPI Pipeline to help Address Energy Shortage in Pakistan," *Asian Developing Bank*, April 07. 2016.

crisis was severely hampering country's economy by reducing agricultural and industrial growth. The power sector has been given due priority in CPEC. The plans include building of various new power stations internally and up gradations of supply lines as well acquiring electricity from neighboring states. This will link Pakistan with its neighbors in the region and would result in building friendly relations. CPEC should be in the absolute interests of Pakistan and Afghanistan because this initiative will bring development, economic growth and prosperity to both countries and in turn a long term peace in the region.<sup>199</sup>

CPEC would open new endeavors for Pakistan, which will link Pakistan to Middle East, Europe and African continents. It is expected that CPEC and its mega projects will not be beneficial only for Pakistan and China but it will also connect Europe and Middle East with China and beyond that. From Strait of Malacca to Shanghai around 80% of the oil is transported. Maritime Silk Road and Economic Belt will bridge between the markets of Asia, Europe, Africa and Middle East through roads, rails and ports. Gwadar port has got significance importance and influence to China and its allies in Central and South Asian region. Geo-political importance of Gwadar Port makes it worthy in this region as it possess closer ties with Arabian Sea that gives Central Asian states and China direct access to Persian Gulf and to the Middle East. Deloitte published a report that states that in 2015 total of CPEC's estimated worth is 17% of Pakistan's total GDP. Moreover, this report revealed that this economic corridor would provide almost 700,000 of the jobs from 2015 to 2030 which indicates states development rate up to 2.5%.<sup>200</sup> CPEC is expected to markedly reduce the length the present route between Middle and East Asia via Africa. Thus, it will lessen the trading expenditure significantly. One of the important link in this new shorten route is the port of Gwadar which will be crucial in linking the region to global market. These trade activities via Gwadar route are reflecting the geological importance of Pakistan and Afghanistan because it serves as a gateway to potential markets.<sup>201</sup> Cooperatively, CPEC is expected to bring the life time opportunities for Pakistan's prosperity and strengthening Pakistan's position in geopolitics in long term. The territorial states can expand their shared relevance to each other and construct stronger and greater ties for economic activity, founded on the grounds of mutual trade cooperation.

---

<sup>199</sup> Fauzia Nasreen, "The New Great Game in the Central Asia: Challenges and Opportunities for Pakistan," *Muslim Perspective*, Volume, 1. 2016. 18-25

<sup>200</sup> Syed Kamal Hussain Shah, "CPEC Boost Pakistan Economy," *Pakistan China Institute*, June 20, 2017.

<sup>201</sup> Li Qingyan, "Opportunities and Challenges for CPEC to Promote Regional and Stability and Development," *China Institute of International Studies*, July 12, 2017.

Pakistan being geo-strategically is situated at prime location for West and Central Asia, Persian Gulf and Middle East could take advantage out of it. It is because of specific elements such as sustainable political situation, inadequate transportation frameworks and power deficiency that the economy of Pakistan has stayed shy of use of its potential. With the completion of CPEC projects, Pakistan is expected to magnify its geo-strategic importance. CPEC would link South and Central Asian states, Gulf nation states and Northern for a long term economic and energy cooperation.<sup>202</sup>

### **3.5 The First BRF Summit 2017**

The Belt and Road Summit held in Beijing from 14th to 15th May 2017 concludes on a high note. State leaders from 29 of the 65 countries that are part of the Belt and Road Initiative, and representatives from over 100 countries attended the summit to endorse President Xi's new globalization strategy. With greater connectivity between Europe, Asia and Africa, the Belt and Road Initiative aims to make the shared destiny of these regions as its purpose for win-win cooperation. The overarching theme of this year's Belt and Road Summit was people-to-people ties. China's ambitions to spread the gains of infrastructure and industrialization to a region comprising 60% of the world's population have been fueled by the impetus to accomplish true win-win cooperation. At the heart of these projects for deeper integration lie the people. While state leaders and representatives seemingly symbolize the interests of the economic and political blocs, the end goal of these developments is to provide greater opportunities and better livelihood to ordinary people. For in China's philosophy of modernization, development and cooperation, all belts and roads must lead to the people. China has the unprecedented achievement of having already lifted 600 million out of the poverty trap.<sup>203</sup>

Therefore, with remarkable emphasis on people-to-people ties, China's plans for this century represent a marriage between the political, economic and social needs of our time. Russia, Turkey and Pakistan, three players of strategic importance for China, have collectively emerged as key partners for Beijing as the turns in favor of the Global South. The signs of Pakistan's inclusion in this power bloc were becoming increasingly apparent with Moscow's bid for Pakistan's permanent

---

<sup>202</sup> Fakhar Hussain and Mezhar Hussain, "China Pakistan Economic Corridor and Its Geopolitics Paradigms," *International Journal of Social Sciences Humanities Education*, Volume, 1. 2017. 1-17

<sup>203</sup> Zoon Ahmed Khan, "Xi Jinping Hosts the Historic Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation," *youlin Magazine*, May 16, 2017, accessed May 26, 2019, Jinping. <https://www.youlinmagazine.com/story/the-belt-and-road-summit-2017-in-beijing/ODQ0>

member status in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, and recent convergence in security cooperation. In light of Russia's strategic relationship with India for decades, this unlikely partnership with Pakistan was a notable tilt in Moscow's policy. More winners from the win-win partnership series include Central Asia, East Asia, Middle East and African nations, which have supported China's vision. Even Latin American countries with a history of connectivity with China, have expressed their desire to become part of the Belt and Road Initiative.

The rise of an Asia ready to unite in order to take charge of its own destiny is not exclusive to the Global South. President Xi's invitation was extended to leaders from Europe and the US, but received a lukewarm response. Even though European countries are significant stakeholders in China's economic development and globalization plans, their hesitation to become frontrunners in this new-age globalization is dampened by traditional alliances.<sup>204</sup>

As the much anticipated Belt and Road Summit comes to a dramatic end, little doubt remains of China's growing political clout and emergence as a global leader. The vision promulgated by this new diplomacy of shared destiny, respect for sovereignty and focus on people, has in a sense revolutionized the global order. The endorsement of over 100 countries has stoked this energy. Questions remain regarding the nuances and technical challenges in actualization of this vision, but the needed political will demonstrated by the success of the BRI summit stands as a firm foundation. Winners of this development start with China, Russia, Pakistan and Turkey all across Eurasia and Africa. However, it is also important to note that both India and US economic cooperation with China has been on the rise. India has become one of the largest beneficiaries of Chinese FDI, with exponentially increasing trade. Similarly, despite political differences, the US and China boast a strong trade and FDI relationship. Therefore, it would be wise to note, that China's clout neither begins nor ends with the Belt and Road initiative.

### **3.6 The Second BRF Summit 2019**

The second BRF Summit attended by 37 leaders, including Russian president Vladimir Putin, Italian prime minister Giuseppe Conte, UK chancellor Philip Hammond, Pakistan's prime minister Imran Khan and the heads of state of the 10 ASEAN (Association of South-east Asian Nation)

---

<sup>204</sup> Ibid.



states. Countries that previously attended but have chosen not to come this year include Turkey, the Uighurs, a Muslim minority, Poland, Spain, Fiji, Sri Lanka, and Argentina, according to the Eurasia Group, citing geopolitical issues as a possible reason. Critics have also called for China to institutionalise the Belt and Road initiative, so that the project is not seen as entirely Chinese-led. Others have cited environmental concerns, as Chinese companies build coal power projects around the world. Coal projects accounted for as much as 42% of China's overseas investment in 2018, according to the China Global Energy Finance database.<sup>205</sup> China has scored some key wins for the project. Italy is now the first G7 country to endorse the initiative, after signing up for Belt and Road in March, despite criticism from the US. This month, Malaysia agreed to continue a \$10.7bn rail project, previously cancelled.<sup>206</sup> So far, China has signed more than 170 agreements with 125 countries, according to Chinese state media. Between 2013 and 2018, these deals totaled more than \$90bn in Chinese investment.<sup>207</sup> Beijing has also begun to take some steps to soothe concerns. Officials are reportedly drafting rules on which projects can be called "Belt and Road", to prevent the initiative's brand from being diluted by unsuccessful projects.

### **3.7 India and the BRF Summit**

Unsurprisingly, Indian leaders were absent from the Second Belt and Road Forum (BRF) for International Cooperation hosted by China in Beijing on April 26 and 27. New Delhi has been a vocal opponent of its neighbor China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), a multi-billion dollar overseas infrastructure investment initiative spearheaded by Chinese President Xi. India also boycotted the first BRF in 2017, citing its concern over the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) project China's flagship BRI project in Pakistan. India cited issues of "sovereignty" and "territorial integrity" as the roots of its concerns. The CPEC project passes through Indian-claimed but Pakistan-administered portions of Kashmir. China has reiterated that the Indian absence from the BRI festivities will not impact the Indo-China relationship. At a press conference about the BRF, Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi stated that the ties between India and China were insulated from differences due to BRI. Trying to assuage Indian fears around CPEC, Wang has

---

<sup>205</sup> Lily Kuo, "Belt and Road forum: China's 'Project of the Century' hits tough times," *The Guardian*, April 25, 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/apr/25/belt-and-road-forum-chinas-project-of-the-century-hits-tough-times>.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid,

<sup>207</sup> Ibid

argued, one of our differences is how look at the BRI. The Indian side has its concerns. We understand that and that is why we have stated clearly on many occasions that the BRI including the CPEC is only an economic initiative and it does not target any third country and has nothing to do with the sovereign and territorial disputes left from history between any two countries.<sup>208</sup>

Thirty-seven heads of state, numerous ministers and 5,000 delegates participated in the second BRF. India was not the only South Asian country who turned down China's invitation. Pakistan and Nepal were the only two South Asian nations that sent their heads of state and government to the BRF. Nevertheless, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, the Maldives, Myanmar, Nepal and Pakistan have all allowed new BRI projects in their countries. Not only is South Asia one of the fastest growing regions in Asia, it is also vital to China's goal of building a "String of Pearls" in the Indian Ocean.

### **3.8 India's Response to Belt and Road Initiatives (BRI)**

India has got the largest economy amongst South Asian countries so it has significant influence on regional stability and peace. From the beginning Pakistan and India have hostile relations in the region so India wants to be in more constructive relations with other countries of South Asia. India perceived that the Chinese BRI project is threatening to Indian Ocean and South Asia Policy of India. India's concern about BRI project of constructing road, building up infrastructure in the form of airports and railways within Nepal and within Bangladesh, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Maldives. China will use it for military and strategic purposes.<sup>209</sup> China and Pakistan are in long term cooperation upon political, economic and security aspects. India is also worried by this alliance and Chinese influence in the region whether it is economic or political.<sup>210</sup> India is in strong opposition to the CPEC as it knows that it is a key factor for Pakistan. It is the determination of Chinese government to carry out this corridor in the best context of Pakistan's potential although Pakistan still has security issues associated with it. India perceives that Indian sovereignty is challenged through Pakistan occupied Kashmir route in CPEC plan. India is also criticizing

---

<sup>208</sup>BansariKamdar, What to Make of India's Absence from the Second Belt and Road Forum ?, *The Diplomat*, May 09, 2019, accessed May 26, 2019, <https://thediplomat.com/2019/05/what-to-make-of-indias-absence-from-the-second-belt-and-road-forum/>

<sup>209</sup> Manoj Kumar Mishra, "Shadows of Mistrust Persist in India-China Relations," *Asia Times*, October 10, 2018.

<sup>210</sup> Li Qingyan, "Opportunities and Challenges for CPEC to Promote Regional Stability and Development," *China Institute of International Studies*, July 12, 2017.

Gwadar-Xinjiang route that passes through Gilgit-Baltistan in PoK, as India considers its own part of the territory.<sup>211</sup> India is against this corridor and backed by US to fail this mega developmental plan. India has got serious concerns about the gigantic venture made by China with Pakistan to make Pakistan an economic zone for trade and to fulfill the energy demands. At Chinese Kyushu reactor Pakistan is producing plutonium and eight submarines of \$5 billion worth are sold to Pakistan.<sup>212</sup> This act will raise the Navy's capacity of Pakistan and a worrying situation for India and its allies.<sup>213</sup> After the implementation of CPEC when Gwadar port fully becomes functional, Pakistan will become a trade hub. Though, China believes in brotherhood long term relationship with Pakistan. India is struggling to create chaos in Baluchistan to destroy the mega project of CPEC. On the other hand, Iran also has a stake in CPEC in the form of Iran-Pakistan gas pipelines with China. This will enhance the mutual bond of interest between these three countries and will counter the influence of India-US alliance.<sup>214</sup>

Regional and local security is the most dangerous challenge to China and CPEC. CPEC links the region in South Asia that faces highest level of security challenges in the region. Afghanistan mystery can be specifically the biggest security challenge to CPEC, as it is considered as the hub of terrorism after the incident of 9/11. The success of CPEC is dependent upon the security situation of Pakistan, Afghanistan and its Western part.<sup>215</sup> This is the reason China is in quadrilateral talks with Taliban through Pakistan, China, US and Afghanistan. After the withdrawal of NATO forces, the security situation gets worse in Afghanistan because Taliban ended the table talk with quadrilateral forum. Afghanistan and CPEC are the most challenging issues for Pakistan's strategic and diplomatic alliance.<sup>216</sup> Major concerns are prevailing in Nuristan and Kunar provinces of Afghanistan where Tehreek-e-taliban Pakistan, Al Qaeda, Self-Styled Islamic State, Turkestan Islamic Party and Movement of Islamic Uzbekistan are concentrated. CPEC is directly affected by these groups in the northern region of Pakistan.<sup>217</sup>

---

<sup>211</sup> Rajat Pandit, "China Pakistan Economic Corridor Challenges to India's Sovereignty," *The Time of India*, March 16, 2017.

<sup>212</sup> Ibid,

<sup>213</sup> Sushant Singh, "Pakistan got to buy eight Submarines from China," *The Indian Express*, April 02, 2015.

<sup>214</sup> Zafar Bhutta, "India bit to halt Pakistan Project fail," *The Express Tribune*, August 31, 2015.

<sup>215</sup> Andrew Small, *The China-Pakistan Axis Asia's New Geopolitics*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015),

<sup>216</sup> Maria Bastos, Confront the Challenges: Engage Afghanistan Protect CPEC," *Global Village Space*, October 12, 2017.

<sup>217</sup> Muhammad Amir Rana, "Economic Corridor Challenges," *Dawn*, May 17, 2015.

Recently, India has developed relations with Iran to counter BRI project in South Asia. India also has initiated to build Chabahar port with Iran to counter the influence of Gwadar port (See Appendix-III). The port of Chabahar also aims to fulfill the energy demands coming from Gulf region to Afghanistan, Central Asia and its surrounding. For regional connectivity, India and Iran effort to develop chabahar port. This port will act as a transit route and a source that will link India, Afghanistan and Iran. Moreover, this port will enhance the India's influence in the region while limiting the Pakistan and China's influence in South Asia.<sup>218</sup>

In conclusion, economic concerns appeals for the opportunities offered by the CPEC, SCO, TAPI and CASA mainly. CPEC is the large investment made by the China for the goodwill of South Asia in the area of railways, power generation, oil and gas and building up Roads etc. Pakistan act as a catalyst or as a mediator that connects South with Central Asia, Europe, Middle East and Africa for the reason that it has geostrategic and regional importance. CASA is the name of Central Asia and South Asian power project that will ensure export of surplus hydroelectricity from Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan to Afghanistan and Pakistan. According to this agreement Tajikistan will Provide a 1,300 megawatts of electricity to Pakistan. Theses aforementioned projects in the region may be helpful in the future. The upcoming decades, if move peacefully, will be beneficial to both Pakistan and CARs. The next chapter is about internal and external security implication of regional dynamics for Pakistan.

---

<sup>218</sup> Harsh v. Pant, "India-Iran Cooperation at Chabahar Port: Choop Water," *Center for Strategic International Studies*, April 02, 2018.

## **Chapter 4**

### **SECURITY IMPLICATIONS OF REGIONAL DYNAMIC FOR PAKISTAN**

This chapter highlights the changing regional dynamics since 2001 and its effects on the South Asia region. This chapter particularly focuses on the security implication of regional dynamics on Pakistan. Indian tilt toward Iran and US role Afghanistan has also discussed in this chapter. This chapter focuses on the internal and external challenges facing by Pakistan in the region. The role of Quadrilateral Cooperation and Coordination Mechanism has also been discussed to counter the terrorism and extremism in the region. For internal security, Pakistan has done military operations against within its territory.

#### **4.1 External Challenges**

Undoubtedly, Pakistan is passing through very critical situation of its history. Pakistan is facing external challenges which are creating instability in Pakistan. Except China, neighbor states of Pakistan are trying to destabilizing the Pakistan internal security situation. Pakistan is sandwich between India and Afghanistan. Pakistan security perception is largely influenced by neighbor states. After independence, Pakistan and India have fought three wars, and the issue of Kashmir remains unresolved between them. The India violated the UN Security Council resolution on the Kashmir issue which is serious threat to Pakistan security. On the other side, instability in Afghanistan is the major concern to Pakistan's internal security. US believes that Pakistan is providing a safe haven to Afghanistan militant groups. They understand that without Pakistan peace cannot be maintained in Afghanistan. Peace and Stability in Afghanistan is important for neighboring states including Pakistan. India US alliance is major concern to security situation in South Asia region.

##### **4.1.1 India's Tilt toward Iran**

Closer ties and relations of Iran and India is influencing the India and US collaboration. Their mutual cooperation is also called as collusion, hub or vital association. Several groups in US perceives that New Delhi-Tehran cooperation is damaging their power and control over Middle

East and Southwest Asia.<sup>219</sup> It is noteworthy for India to keep up close relations with Iran to shield its regional strategy in case of fallout from Afghanistan, to maintain access to vital resources of Central Asia and to manage Pakistan.<sup>220</sup> India and Iran have since set up working gatherings on counter terrorism and antinarcotics; both these activities center on al-Qaeda. Furthermore, the two nations have kept on attempting to counter Sunni activist dangers in the locale and have communicated a shared inclination for a complete conviction against global terrorism warfare. India and Iran confront terrorist threat from its neighbor nations. India and Iran comprehend that Pakistan is giving a help and place of refuge to Taliban on its western and southern outskirts with Afghanistan. Iran has joined India in restricting the good and bad Taliban theory which is threatening the local stability.<sup>221</sup> Pakistan is confronting a Shia and Sunni struggle in the Baluchistan region and Iran is supporting the Shia minorities against them. India and Iran additionally support the Baluchistan Free Army which is dangerous to the Pakistani state. The ongoing arrangement amongst India and Iran to build up the Chabahar Port can possibly commence a vehicle and exchange passage connecting India to Afghanistan by means of Iran, in this manner building up an enticing financial component, and has the potential for another security worldview to achieve a geopolitical move in the region.<sup>222</sup> The advancement of Chabahar Port and the associating transport and exchange hub can possibly open the undiscovered vitality and mineral wealth of Iran, Afghanistan, and Central Asia for export to India. The essential effect of this arrangement is on Pakistan. Afghanistan, Iran and India, constitute more than 95% of Pakistan's regional borders. An arrangement of such scale among Pakistan's neighboring states, barring Pakistan, is a colossal push to segregate the nation.

#### 4.1.2 India US Relations

India and US relationship has been fortifying after September 2001 attacks. They have consented to new agreement and arrangement to make their position conspicuous in the South Asia. The two countries have spent gigantically in atomic resources which extended nearly to billion dollars. In addition, India has been exempted from NGS's management as to exceed expectations

---

<sup>219</sup> Harsh v. Pant, "India-Iran ties: The Myth of a Strategic Partnership," *Center for the Advanced Study of India*, February 10, 2008.

<sup>220</sup> V.D. Choopra, *India's Foreign Policy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, (Delhi: Kalpaz Publication, 2006), 246

<sup>221</sup> Sujata Ashwarya, "India Iran Relations Progress, Challenges and Prospects," *Research Gate*, December 2010,

<sup>222</sup> Sarah Akram, "Growing Indo Iran and Afghanistan Nexus," *Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad*, October 06, 2016.

in the nuclear field in 2008. This help from civilian purpose nuclear field demonstrates its approach to advance assertion of India with US. They put resources into logical and mechanical arranged fields to participate with each other and marked a Declaration on Defense Cooperation in 2014. This encourages the two states to reinforce their position.<sup>223</sup> Indo-US organizational partnerships might have expansive ramifications for peace process of Pakistan, as India is not being able to justify as a balancer among US and China. Thus, Indo-US cooperation will affect the balance of power between India and Pakistan in the region. It is also feared that Indo-US partnership might disrupt the strategic balance of the region and might create situation of war and violence between Pakistan and India. This is evident that US-Indo collaboration is the security risk for Pakistan.<sup>224</sup> From this coalition of India and USA, Pakistan is worried of negative implications for its security. This concern is legitimate because India is one of the largest arms importers, amounting to purchase of over \$100 billions of weapons each year, since 2010. A major fraction of India's weaponry is already set out against Pakistan. The political and military aid of US to India is urging it to create destructive and violent results for Pakistan. Thus, this support of US to India is intensifying the weapons and arms race in the region.<sup>225</sup> Pakistan needs to reexamine its relations with other local forces.

Russia being one of the largest arms maker might relief Pakistan for cultivating and nurturing its barrier stature. Russia has got the best arms control and weapons structure like SU-35, SU-31 contender aircrafts, S300 ballistic destroying rockets etc. Russia built fruitful ties with Pakistan and China as India separate ways from it and drawn closer to US.<sup>226</sup> Pakistan policy makers see the prospects for a fruitful end diversion in Afghanistan as grim likewise on account of the conviction that the US would need to hold some long haul security presence in Afghanistan, which will probably make unease among the Afghan Taliban and nations in the region, including Pakistan. Regarding Pakistan's part at end game, venturing members trusted that the US would keep on pushing the Pakistan military to "accomplish more" to stamp out terrorist havens while Washington tries to open up channels for peace talks with the Taliban with an eye on lessening

---

<sup>223</sup> Arhama Saddiqa, "US-India Defence Deals and Their Likely Impact on Pakistan," *Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad*, January 22, 2016.

<sup>224</sup> Syed Shahid Hussain Bukhari, "Indo US Strategic Partnership and Pakistan's security: A Theoretical Evaluation," *Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad*, 2015.

<sup>225</sup> Maryam Nazir, "Indo-US Alliance and Changing Regional Dynamics," *Islamabad Policy Research Institute*, June 03, 2016.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid,

dependence on Pakistan's security foundation in the political compromise process. US pressurize Pakistan for to do more policy to tackle effectively terrorism in the region specifically with the aim of securing US's interests. US has continuously adopted a harsh policy towards Pakistan. Be that as it may, the local dynamic, Pakistan coalition with China and Russia will give an opportunity to Pakistan to give an answer of this behavior from USA. As indicated by US on many occasions that long term peace is challenging to attain without the assistance of Pakistan. To achieve this goal US will have to choose a balance approach between unconditional favors to India and a harsh volatile attitude towards Pakistan. This policy of securing the interests of regional players would ensure a persistent harmony in South Asia.<sup>227</sup>

The US considers China has its global competitor and has shown concern over China's is not extensive engagement in South Asia region specifically the CPEC deal. Being US ally, India also has shown concerns over projected CPEC path and expansion at Gwadar port essentially for three motives. First, CPEC will result in extraordinary monetary and vital advantages to Pakistan which implies increment in Pakistan's economy and military buildup.<sup>228</sup> Second is that India is afraid that China will develop its military base at Gwadar and it will provide a chance to their naval forces to have access to the Indian ocean but on the other hand Gwadar port would only be used for trade facility among Pakistan and China and not more than that.<sup>229</sup> Third, the planed CPEC route goes through the disputed regions of Gilgit-Baltistan and Kashmir which needs immediate consideration to be resolved.<sup>230</sup> Clearly both India and the US are unhappy over these proceeding in the region specifically of China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, and they have found a common interest in sabotaging it.

#### **4.1.3 US Policy toward Afghanistan**

After 9/11, counterterrorism turned into the chief anxiety of the US National Security Strategy. Terrorism isn't just an issue of US and Afghanistan alone. Pakistan thinks about it as it's most concerning issue in the contemporary security condition. The articulation of Afghan-Pakistan

---

<sup>227</sup> Najam Rafique, "Pakistan US Relations Under Donald Trump," *Institute of Strategic Studies*, January 04, 2017.

<sup>228</sup> Chunyang Jia, "New Trend of US Policy toward South Asia: Challenges to CPEC," *Islamabad Policy Research Institute*, 2017. 95-121

<sup>229</sup> Usman Shahid, "Baluchistan: The Troubled Heart of the CPEC," *The Diplomats*, August 23, 2016.

<sup>230</sup> 6 Christian Wagner, "The Effects of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor on India-Pakistan Relations," *German Institute for International and Security Affairs*, Berlin, 2016, 2,



of the USA strategy and exit arrangement; places of hidings of terrorist in the FATA region of Pakistan; ramble assaults inside FATA; habitual pettiness against the Pakistani security offices, the Indian part inside Afghanistan; Pakistan's two-sided and multilateral relations with its local neighbors on the issue of militancy and radicalism; crossing of Pakistan's red lines by the US in the recent past and the dominance of Americanism voices inside Pakistan are few of the key topical issues which will characterize and portray differing stories on the US part in Afghanistan and its suggestions for Pakistan specifically. The progression of US part inside Afghanistan in lieu of the continuous war against terror is of incredible centrality with reference to understanding its effect and impact on the Pakistan's governmental issues, security, economy and society.<sup>231</sup>

Post 9/11, Pakistan was the strategic non NATO comrade and frontline state against the war on terror. But US understand that, those militant and terrorist which are fighting against the American and killing the American soldiers and Pakistan is providing them safe haven to them. Post 2014, US policy toward Afghanistan was to withdraw from the Afghanistan territory and Afghan army will control the government of Afghanistan. Recently, Trump administration had decided to pull the troops to half in number from Afghanistan and in the similar way they wanted to pull American troops out of Syria but the Defense Minister Jim Mattis has got strong disagreements with Trump's administration and announced to resign on the withdrawal of American troops from Afghanistan and Syria.<sup>232</sup> But US feel that the presence of US army is necessary to pursue their interest and then US had extended their policy in South Asia. US believe that, without US presence in Afghanistan the peace cannot be maintained in Afghanistan and its region. The internal security challenge which is faced by Afghanistan is the reason between Pakistan and Afghanistan animosity. India also supported Afghanistan government against Pakistan. India and Afghanistan are trying to destabilize the Pakistan internal security situation. US also supported the Indian Policy in Afghanistan to build a soft corner and India presence is establishing a local infrastructure and military civil relation to create peace and stability in Afghanistan, which are sources of fear and

---

<sup>231</sup>Allauddin Kakar, "The US-Afghanistan Relations during Obama Era: Implications for Pakistan," *Thesis*, 2014.

<sup>232</sup> Thomas Gibbons-Neff and Mujib Mashal, "US to Withdraw about 7000 Troops from Afghanistan, Official say," *The New York Times*, December 20, 2018.

enmity for Pakistan.<sup>233</sup> India does not want US army drawback to create a vacuum that can regroup the extremist.

First, the region dynamics in South Asia, Pakistan has adopted a cautious policy in South Asia. India is trying to have a power control over Afghanistan and Pakistan because of their significant economic, strategic and political position in the region. Secondly, after the disintegration of Russia and Post withdraw of US an administrative space was generated in Afghanistan. Pakistan is trying to fulfill this vacuum and adopted a policy of strategic depth to safeguarding its vital position in South Asian region. India wants that Pakistan has to support Indian policy in Afghanistan. On the other hand, India's reinforcement is increasing in Afghanistan day by day, because Kabul government has kept a friendly relation with India. Thirdly, post 9/11 scenario made it difficult for Pakistan to protect its concerns in Afghanistan.<sup>234</sup> The critical challenges which are faced by Afghanistan in the region, and also affected sovereignty of Pakistan. Pakistan and Afghanistan both are facing the terrorist's activities in its territory which is in the control of their administration. Pakistan and Afghanistan has to develop an immediate mechanism to shelter themselves from terrorism and need steps to improve their mutual collaboration. Real worry of any state is the national security and it is the obligation for the state to ensure the safety and integrity of its territory internally and externally. Pakistan is facing crisis inside and outside from its fatal neighbors.<sup>235</sup> The crucial anxious situation to the national security of Pakistan is its neighbors. Pakistan's complex and complicated relations with Afghanistan, Iran and India is also a hurdle to the security of Pakistan. Moreover, war on terror and blame game with its neighbors is also worrying for the Pakistan's progress.<sup>236</sup> Pakistan's security situation changed soon after the incident of 9/11. Pakistan is currently confronting with both conventional and non-conventional issues. These issues are rebellious movements, terrorism, political and non-political instability, feudalism and economic is to the national stability and security of Pakistan. These elements and risks to the national security of Pakistan is numerous in the form of CIA, RAW, Black Water and KGB. These

---

<sup>233</sup> Umbreen Javid and Rameesha Javed, "India Influence in Afghanistan and its Implications for Pakistan," *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, Volume 53, No. 1, January 2016. 1-12

<sup>234</sup> Muhammad Ishaque Fani, "Pakistan Foreign Policy: Challenges and Opportunities after 9/11," *Pakistan Horizon*, Volume 58. No. 4, October 2005. 53-64

<sup>235</sup> Mairaj Ul Hamid, "Threat to National Security of Pakistan: An Analysis," *Diplomacy Pakistan News*, November 14, 2015.

<sup>236</sup> *Ibid.*

intelligence organizations and few more are continuous tussle to disrupt Pakistan whenever and wherever needed and possible.<sup>237</sup>

Baluchistan is the biggest territory of Pakistan 43% of the aggregate zone of the nation. It is likewise the poorest and minimum populated. It is rich in mineral assets and is the significant provider of petroleum gas after Sindh.<sup>238</sup> Also, Baluchistan had been a casualty of insurrection since 1947. The permeable fringe with Afghanistan and Iran made it helpless against the happenings in the neighboring nations like war on terror in Afghanistan.<sup>239</sup> Pakistan repeatedly blames Iran for supporting sectarian divide and resulting violence in Pakistan by supporting Shias and giving material and monetary help. Baloch insurgency also a reason of conflict between both nations. In current times both of the nations are into murdering, territory clashes and holding subjects prisoners and harassing them. Generally Pakistan is enough careful and cautioned to allow Iran into its domain. Essentially, being a neighboring nation, Iran likewise has enthusiasm for Baluchistan. Another regional power, India had a strategic enthusiasm to surround Pakistan and to counter Chinese impact in the region. India is supporting terrorist activities in Baluchistan through its organizations along Pakistan-Afghan boundary. China is another key player in the region, it had consented to the Gwadar venture arrangement with Pakistan and needed to improve its territorial network and vitality exchange by means of Baluchistan under China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC).<sup>240</sup> Foreign ministry reveals that the instability in Baluchistan is from the enemies from Eastern neighbor. This insurgency in Baluchistan and Sind is the vulnerable reasons to the National Security of Pakistan. Additionally, Sunni Shia conflict is also blowing up the fire to the security and stability of Pakistan. It is true that after terrorism Sunni Shia conflict is the most dangerous risk associated to the sovereignty of Pakistan. Outside players likewise supporting the militants in Baluchistan to make unrest in Baluchistan. The geostrategic realities can't be changed however by establishing great administration and promoting law can bring extensive positive

---

<sup>237</sup> Ibid.

<sup>238</sup> Mir Sher Baz Khetran, "Crises in Baluchistan: Challenges and Opportunities," *Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad*, 2011. 24-39

<sup>239</sup> Aymen Ijaz, "Event-Report: Baluchistan Unrest and its Possible Solution," *Islamabad Policy Research Institute*, September 21, 2015.

<sup>240</sup> Mir Sher Baz Khetran, "Crises in Baluchistan: Challenges and Opportunities," *Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad*, 2011. 24-39

changes for security, which at last can maintain a strategic distance from the outside powers to influence our nationals through intermediaries.

Federally administered tribal area (FATA) is made out of seven political regions and six frontier localities that cover in excess of ten thousand square miles along Pakistan's western outskirt and are home to as many as three to six million Pakistanis.<sup>241</sup> FATA, specifically is the most noticeably terrorism affected and influenced territory of Pakistan. The poorly managed border patrol from both sides of Pakistan and Afghanistan adds to the instability present in FATA, thus expanding difficulties to the National Security of Pakistan.<sup>242</sup> FATA is viewed as the focal point of global terrorist activities giving place of refuge to various worldwide terrorist organizations such as Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan and al-Qaeda and allegedly to ISIS. The regional bordering Afghanistan and Pakistan is considered as safe haven of Haqqani Network, Al-Qaeda, East Turkestan Islamic Movement (ETIM) and other global terrorist organizations. At the point when Pakistani troops started focused on activities against them in the Federally Administered Tribal Region (FATA), they would escape to Afghanistan; and when Afghanistan kicked up tasks, they would return once more. Presently, alongside US-Afghan joint activities in Afghanistan and expanding US counterterrorism activities, especially ramble strikes against assigned Taliban individuals and ancestral aggressors in FATA, these terrorists may escape to Baluchistan, Sindh and different areas inside Pakistan.<sup>243</sup> It is additionally blamed that FATA region also contains training camps of Kashmiri Mujahideen after their steady disbandment following the Islamabad Declaration of Peace amongst Pakistan and India in 2004. On the retreat of Soviet army from Afghanistan, FATA lost its significance briefly just to emerge back on the worldwide scene after 9/11 terrorist attacks. Today, FATA is the focus of concern in the regional as well as international war on terror and has become focus of concern of leading country in war against terrorism, the US of America (USA), which sees the region as the primary shelter for global terrorists.<sup>244</sup> To address it internal as well as worldwide concern over FATA situation, Pakistan has shown solid purpose by attempting significant military activities against the aggressors in FATA. In six out of the seven

---

<sup>241</sup> C. Christine Fair and Sarah J. Watson, *Pakistan's Enduring Challenges*, Edit, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015)

<sup>242</sup> Mairaj Ul Hamid, "Threat to National Security of Pakistan: An Analysis," *Diplomacy Pakistan News*, November 14, 2015.

<sup>243</sup> Chunyang Jia, "New Trend of US Policy toward South Asia: Challenges to CPEC," *Islamabad Policy Research Institute*, 2017. 95-121

<sup>244</sup> M. Maqbool khan Wazir, "Geopolitics of FATA After 9/11," *Islamabad Policy Research Institute*, 2011,59-76

organizations of FATA, terrorist activities have been contained yet the danger stays genuine. These organizations have decimated the financial future of FATA. The Pakistan army began tasks against these terrorists and their exercises through numerous successful offensive strikes.

#### **4.1.4 Quadrilateral Cooperation and Coordination Mechanism (QCCM)**

Quadrilateral Cooperation and Coordination Mechanism (QCCM) is a counter-terrorism initiative formed by Pakistan, China, Afghanistan and Tajikistan. The aim of the alliance is to fight terrorism in the region collectively and effectively. In the wake of current geopolitical situation and the threat of terrorism surrounding its member countries, the QCCM initiative was put forth during a meeting on August 3, 2016 at Chinese city of Urumqi. QCCM idea was conceived by Chinese government; however then Army Chief of Pakistan General Raheel Sharif was at the forefront in its establishment. The goals of QCCM can be summarized as (i) to establish cooperation between member countries in counterterrorism evaluation, (ii) verify the terrorism threat, (iii) exchange intelligence information in counterterrorism, (iv) develop mutual trust among member countries, (v) hold joint military exercises and training to cope with terrorist groups.<sup>245</sup> Under the umbrella of QCCM, all four members came to agreement that terrorism is a serious threat for the stability and development of region. Member states agreed to cooperate with each other in launching counterterrorism offensives to effectively eradicate terrorism and extremism. Given the dire situation in the region, the new alliance unfurled in the regional circumstances, is a breath of fresh air to tackle the terrorism which for nearly two decades has been a major threat to the security of the region especially the member countries. Over the last few years terrorism has spread to Chinese territories notably in its province of Xinjiang which China believes that terrorist groups get moral and man power support from neighboring countries, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Tajikistan. China considers these activities as threat against its stability and in turn against the economic development. One of the militant group which China blames for unrest in its southern provinces is Islamic Movement of Tajikistan (IMT) which also pose a challenge for the Tajikistan's effort of establishing a secular government. The terrorist groups operating in Afghanistan, Tajikistan and Xinjiang are also reported to have links with Alqaeda and Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan. TTP has

---

<sup>245</sup> Khalid Iqbal, "Dynamic of Countering Terrorism," *Islamabad Policy Research Institute*, August 10, 2016.

been behind the terrorist activities in Pakistan and Pakistani government is actively engaged in the counter-offensive strikes against TTP and its assets.<sup>246</sup>

Formulation of QCCM is a significant step in the regional politics especially when the mutual trust between Pakistan and Afghanistan is touching new extreme low level. Pakistan has repeatedly blamed Afghanistan for supporting terrorism in Pakistan with the help of India. In this context it is still to be seen how QCCM can be successful in achieving its goals of bringing the four countries together in cooperation against extremism and terrorism especially Pakistan and Afghanistan. China being the major player in the region has also formed influential relations with other countries in the region. Beijing has been reported for actively playing its role in establishing a peaceful deal between Afghanistan and Taliban. Being a major player in the region, China has the ability to influence Afghanistan for a more balanced attitude towards India's role.<sup>247</sup>

The considerations from the forum of QCCM can likewise help in evacuating the feeling of question amongst Pakistan and Afghanistan, who presumably have the greatest stake in battling antiterrorism warfare to advance peace and security inside their own particular fringes and the locale. Sadly, the domains of both these nations have not exclusively been utilized by the indigenous fear based oppressor furnishes yet in addition the militant substances from the territorial nations. Along these lines the endeavors of both Afghanistan and Pakistan with respect to destroying the framework of militant associations is exceptionally significant for the accomplishment of QCCM. Alternate signatories to the assertion in certainty would admire them to endeavor in such manner as it would likewise assist them with dealing adequately with terrorism working inside their domains.<sup>248</sup> Other than countering the terrorist activities, the quadrilateral system is probably going to give ground to trust building measures amongst Islamabad and Kabul, once the procedure of its usage begins. In any case, Pakistan and Afghanistan would need to see each other's constraints and aspect of security and their mutual safety. Afghanistan and Pakistan have got similar interests in the region for various reasons. Being a land-bolted nation, Afghanistan needs a savvy course for travel exchange, while Pakistan needs accomplishment in its vital tasks like the CPEC, and in addition access to Central Asia. The two nations require each other to accomplish their vital goals and if there is a hope of anticipation to achieve peace and it would

---

<sup>246</sup> Malik M. Ashraf, "New Counter Terrorism Initiative," *Pakistan Observer*, October 19, 2017.

<sup>247</sup> Imdad Hussain, "QCCM: a much-needed counter terror arrangement," *The Express Tribune*, August 10, 2016.

<sup>248</sup> Malik M. Ashraf, "New Counter Terrorism Initiative," *Pakistan Observer*, October 19, 2017.

only be achieved through Afghanistan and Pakistan mutual interests. The QCCM can give an imperative platform to trust-building where the two nations can come to see each other's worries and work towards setting up peace through insight sharing and common collaboration on the counter terrorism front. Collaboration and two-sided bargains are without a doubt superior to unnecessary hostility that hinders space and development.<sup>249</sup>

Pakistan through its military operation Zarb-e-Azb has effectively wrecked the framework of the terrorists and militant organizations situated in North Waziristan and are sustaining its fringes with Afghanistan to check cross-outskirt terrorist activities. Anyway a portion of the militants and terrorist fractions managed to disappear to Afghanistan on the grounds that despite a demand from Pakistan to Afghanistan to ensure that no terrorist traversed, the previous did not participate the way it ought to have. The foundation of QCCM ideally can deal with the issues amongst Islamabad and Kabul. This territorial collusion against counter terrorism warfare isn't against some other nation or any global association. It would rather strengthen different activities in such manner, for example, the Quadrilateral Coordination Group (QCG) forum which likewise incorporates US other than Pakistan, China and Afghanistan.<sup>250</sup>

#### **4.2 Internal Challenges**

Pakistan has faced several internal security challenges since its inception. Two main powers of the South Asian region are Pakistan and India. Both states are in conflicting situation after their independence. India and Pakistan are blaming one another to create a disturbance in their internal security situation. Issue of Kashmir is one of the vulnerable conflicts between them. A large number of internal security situations in Pakistan created by external players. The internal challenges to Pakistan are ethnicity, bad governance, political instability, religious extremism, low economic growth, inflation, over population and nepotism. They intervene in the territory of Pakistan and create internal security challenges to Pakistan. These challenges are ethnicity, low economic growth, inflation, religious extremism, political instability, over population and nepotism. These internal challenges have negative implication on the Pakistan's security situation.

---

<sup>249</sup> Imdad Hussain, "QCCM: a much-needed counter terror arrangement," *The Express Tribune*, August 10, 2016.

<sup>250</sup> Malik M. Ashraf, "New Counter Terrorism Initiative," *Pakistan Observer*, October 19, 2017.

### 4.2.1 Ethnicity

Ethnicity is relating to a human group having cultural, linguistic, religious and racial traits in common. Pakistan is a multi-ethnic country, where almost everything is under the influence of ethnic groups. Among these entities Punjabi, Sindhi, Baloch and Pakhtuns are most powerful. The effect of these groups is more visible in the politics of the country.<sup>251</sup> Ethnic conflicts have been a key feature since the dawn of the modern nation-state system. Pakistan's history is also witness to several ethnicity-based conflicts, one of which also led to the dismemberment of the country in 1971. Pakistan is still facing a low-key conflict in the province of Balochistan, which gnaws at the country's overall development. Therefore, it becomes important to understand the causes, dynamics and aspects of ethnic conflicts.<sup>252</sup> The picture of Pakistan emerging from its ethnic situation reinforces the gloom and doom portrayed by its economic and political situation. On the surface, it looks as if ethnic and regional fragmentation is on the increase without mitigation. However, it is important to look at the other side of the coin, i.e., cooperation and integration, and look beyond the surface appearances. Traditionally, Pakistan's ethnic diversity has been defined in terms of the existence of the four historical "nationalities", the Punjabis, Sindhis, Pushtoons and the Baloch, a major linguistic group, the Urdu-speaking people, and several smaller ethnolinguistic groups.<sup>253</sup> Recently, however, a party representing the Urdu-speaking people in Sindh has demanded the "nationality" status for its group, while there has been a consistent demand from a section of the population in Punjab for the recognition of Siraiki-speaking people as a distinct "nationality". We have dealt with the question of ethnic identity elsewhere, and indicated our preference for the word ethnic group over nationality in order to avoid unnecessary conflict and appearance of a double standard. In this paper, we will efly review the major issues in ethnic conflicts in Pakistan, the trends affecting changes in ethnic identity and issues, the intersection of ethnicity, the state and class, and the implications of these changes for national integration in Pakistan.<sup>254</sup>

---

<sup>251</sup> Humera Gulnaz, "Ethnicity in Politics," *Pakistan Today*, August 25, 2011.

<sup>252</sup> Dr Raza Khan, "Dynamics of Ethnic Conflicts in Pakistan," *The Express Tribune*, July 21, 2017.

<sup>253</sup> Feroz Ahmed, "Pakistan: Ethnic Fragmentation or National Integration," *Pakistan Development Review*, Winter 1996.

<sup>254</sup> Ibid



### 4.2.2 Bad Governance

Pakistan's creation in the name of Islamic democratic state, right after the independence is moving in a twisting way from different perspectives such as in terms of governance in Pakistan, political situations, role of political leaders, military performance also the commencement of public opinion. In the past, Pakistan has gone through from a number of troubles and crisis due to its unstable internal-domestic politics and due to the opposition of the different bureaucrats in allocating any commander step. Pakistan's dissemination and divergence includes a number of factors such its social, religious, ethnic, territorial and general matters and circumstances. In the ideological space, Pakistan has economically and politically inconsistent development.<sup>255</sup> We have witnessed this broken system for many decades and have seen that it is damaging Pakistan. Therefore, to improve governance, the current government of Pakistan should pass laws that ensure politicians cannot interfere or remove government employees. It should also ensure that qualified persons are employed on merit through a committee of technocrats, and any vacant seat is filled by the board of governors of the company or organisation within time or strict actions and fines would be imposed against the board of governors.<sup>256</sup>

### 4.2.3 Political Instability, low economic growth and Inflation

Pakistan has among those few countries where political instability had badly damaged the prospects of growth despite the fact that the country is rich in natural resources. It has been an impediment to develop in very sphere of life. However, this menace takes a nation in its claws, economic development suffer the most.<sup>257</sup> Political instability, low economic growth and inflation are a very scary and several problems in Pakistan internal situations. Due to political instability, the political environment of Pakistan uncertain and his will reduce the level of the investment, increase inflation rate and the rate of public debt and slow down the speed of economic development process and growth of the country. Inflation is one of the main cause of political instability. High rate of inflation leads the country towards uncertainty about future investment, which is turn creates political unrest. Inflation affect the political situation of states many ways, it

---

<sup>255</sup> Mubeena Adnan and Bushra Fatima, "Political, Economical and Social Governance in Pakistan: Its Practices and Issues," *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, June, 2018.

<sup>256</sup> Akmal Hussian, "Pakistan Problem of Governance," *Center of Policy Research*, 1993.

<sup>257</sup> Muhammad Usman Butt, "Political Instability and Its Impact on Pakistan Economy," *World Tiime*, June 2014.

reduces the efficiency of a Pakistan by restricting its export. Inflation makes the exports of a country more expensive. Public debt is another cause of political instability in Pakistan. Public debt is that part of total part, which is secured by government from internal and external sources. It has also effected the political situation of a country and create unrest of Pakistan economy. Heavy debt is challenge for Pakistan development. Because developing country likes Pakistan have a small stock of capital and investment opportunities. Pakistan faced Political terminal, termination of elected government, imposition of dictatorial rule and confrontation between politicians, bureaucracy, Military and Judiciary. This is situation in Pakistan is still prevailing.<sup>258</sup>

#### **4.2.4 Poverty, Unemployment and over population**

Most of its population lives in entirely adverse circumstances. Some reports reveal that more than forty percent population of Pakistan lives below the line of poverty. Four out of 10 Pakistanis are living in acute poverty with the population of Balochistan faring the worst among the provinces, according to Pakistan's first-ever official report on multidimensional poverty. A large number of people in our country do not have proper place to live, this miserable condition has given birth to a large number of beggars and needy people who live on the charity of the rich people. The economic condition of an average individual is very pathetic. Poverty; hunger and unemployment afflict a large section of population in Pakistan. The causes of poverty are quite obvious and known. This includes more than half the population in the forever remote Balochistan, 33 per cent in Sindh, 32 per cent in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and 19 per cent in Punjab.<sup>259</sup> But they are much needed for planning, especially when the government appears too embarrassed to release statistics related to poverty. The Sustainable Development Policy Institute, which has carried out this economic-mapping exercise, is justified in calling for the release of government figures and for a policy to combat acute poverty. These are facts which are being kept under wraps at great peril to the country. The population of Pakistan is very large and according to statistics it is increasing at a rate of 2.2 % per annum, which is startling. There are many reasons for this increase in population e.g. lack of awareness, desire of sons etc. It is not possible for government to provide employment to huge populace. Our country has plenty of natural resources but it is so strange to know that our

---

<sup>258</sup> Dr. Abdul Ghafoor Awan, "Impact of Political Instability on Pakistan's Economic Growth," *Research Gate*, October 2017.

<sup>259</sup> "Poverty in Pakistan," *Daily Time*, October 22, 2018.

atomic power is facing energy crisis. These resources cannot be tapped due to lack of technical and skilled labor.<sup>260</sup>

#### 4.2.5 Religious Extremism

Terrorism and extremism are the most sensitive issues to the national security of Pakistan, which must be handled and dealt with through proper policy making and its implementation. These issues affect not only the foreign relations but also the domestic harmony, leading to unrest and terrorism in the state. For their proper handling a thorough approach from legislation to some intelligence-sharing and exchange of successful best practices is needed, as these issues reflect a difficult and different nature of threat to the national security. Pakistan is at crossroads due to sufferings from this violent extremism, which has seriously threatened its socio-political peace. Only peace can bring harmony in society, whereas violence, fear and destruction lead to insecurity, stress and weakening of different institutions.<sup>261</sup> The phenomenon of extremism leading to terrorism is not new, it dates back from the known history of mankind and recent past has witnessed it more persistently and commonly. Many states like Iraq, Pakistan, Syria and many in Middle East and few in Europe are experiencing the worst times in this regard. Pakistan is at the forefront of war against terrorism and its society is experiencing its devastating results in the shape of daily terrorist attacks, unrest, violence and bloodshed. Hence, this extremism leading to terrorism is the biggest threat to Pakistan's socio-economic and political development. Therefore, justifying military interventions for the sake of combating extremism leading to terrorism have created new problems which have further resulted into more anarchic situations. Further certain neglected areas in Pakistan, especially FATA and Balochistan, due to many factors including but not limited to their geography and non-fulfillment of basic economic, political and other social needs of people, have acted as safe heavens for the extremist ideology holders, who have created Taliban in Afghanistan and their franchise in the shape of TTP.<sup>262</sup>

---

<sup>260</sup> Muswar Mithal, "Unemployment in Pakistan," *Technology Time*, March 2, 2019.

<sup>261</sup> Pamela Constable, "Pakistan is making Concessions to Religious Extremists. What's the Cost?," *The Washington Post*, December 3, 2017.

<sup>262</sup> Dr Zahid Yaseen, "Extremism in Pakistan: Issues and Challenges," *Journal of Politics and International Studies*, June 2018.

#### 4.2.6 Nepotism

Pakistan has a big stain on its democracy. This is neither the fault of the judicial nor the military establishment. The problem are not even politicians themselves. However, the real fault lies in the process through which the next generation of politicians are chosen. Regardless of party and ideology, all are guilty of exercising nepotism. From, Imran Khan's PTI to Zardari's PPP including Shareef's PML-N, all of them have visible traces of nepotism within their party structures. In some parties, nepotism is more explicit than in others. Nonetheless, nepotism exists in all political institutions across the country to varying degrees.<sup>263</sup> The selection of candidates based on familial relationship is explicit in Pakistan People's Party and Pakistan Muslim League-N – an obvious point. Every citizen will surely acknowledge that the current leadership of the respective Parties is not due to merit, but due to family relation. Overtime, this has become an expectation rather than an exception for the aforementioned parties. People have become accustomed to it. It has very much become like a mundane, insignificant and everyday phenomenon. A custom ingrained in this country's democracy. Now Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf has also joined them by inheriting nepotism and making it a feature of their party as well. For a moment, one could have placed some hope in Imran Khan's promise to shatter the ranks of nepotism in Pakistan. But it was too good a promise to be enacted. A promise articulated, but not a promise implemented.<sup>264</sup>

#### 4.2.7 Security Challenges to CPEC in Pakistan

There are a lot issues associated as obstacles to put CPEC plans into actions. Pakistan is suffering from internal and external challenges. Pakistan has to face several domestic issues like Baluchistan insurgency, Terrorism, political and economic crises, lack of quality of labor force and power and tax tariff issues.

The most alarming challenge associated to the CPEC is the security threat to the successful completion of CPEC projects. Pakistan has to face internal as well as external security issues to encounter. Pakistan and China internal security issues involve the fire of terrorism and extremism. From Gwadar to Xinjiang there are several terrorist and militant groups like East Turkestan Islamic

---

<sup>263</sup> Muhammad Hussain, "Nepotism remain A Big Stain on Democracy in Pakistan," *Dunya Blogs*, February 18, 2018.

<sup>264</sup> Arshad Mahmood, "Impact of Favoritism, Nepotism and Cronyism on Job Satisfaction A case Study from Public Sector of Pakistan," *Interdisciplinary journal of Contemporary Research in Business*, October 2012.

Movement, Lashkar-e-Tayyiba, Lashkar-e-Jhangvi Tehreek-e-Taliban, Baluchistan Liberation Front, Daesh (ISIS) and rebellious groups of some political wings. All of these militant wings are turning around to sabotage the economic, energy and industrial revolution in Pakistan and its surrounding forthcoming from CPEC mega plans. Many international forces are also active against CPEC and supporting some terrorists groups against it.<sup>265</sup> These major forces are actively assisting sub-nationalist and militant wings in all provinces to demoralize and threaten the utmost objectives of CPEC. These forces are involved in killing and kidnapping of many Chinese workers and attacked on the installation of Chinese companies to destroy the corridor project in the middle of its implementation. In order to provide security to these workers and to provide a safe and sound environment for work, Pakistan has created a special force to serve them. The newly formed Special Security Division force comprises of nine battalion of Pakistan army, Rangers, Frontier Force Corporation and six wings of Parliamentary forces. Afghanistan is also a major threat for CPEC. A lot of terrorist wing like Tehreek-e-Taliban, Al Qaeda, Self-Styled Islamic State, Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan and the Islamic Party of Turkmenistan are concentrated in Kunar and Nuristan provinces of Afghanistan.<sup>266</sup>

Similar to Baluchistan some Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) leaders also opposed to CPEC, thus it serves as a significant challenge to CPEC billions of dollars projects.<sup>267</sup> The actual cause to the obstruction of CPEC is the changes made by government to the original route of it which might result in inadequate distributions of the benefits to all the provinces of Pakistan. It is perceived that most of the benefits to the CPEC will be drained towards the province of Punjab. The actual route of western part would connect Khunjerab with Gwadar through Mianwali, Dera ismail Khan, Khuzdar and Turbat. The government of KPK and opposition parties are against in making changes to original Kashgar-Gwadar route and requested not to make further changes to the original route plan of CPEC. They further argued that changes to the CPEC will be made and divided upon issues.<sup>268</sup> The leader of Qaumi Watan party Sikandar Sherpao discussed in details the changes made to the route of CPEC. He further argued that it is injustice to the people of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa who are already affected by the evil of terrorism so badly.<sup>269</sup> Moreover, he explained

---

<sup>265</sup> Riaz Ahmed and Hong Mi, "China-Pakistan Economic Corridor and Its Social Implication on Pakistan: How Will CPEC Boost Pakistan's Infrastructure and Overcome the Challenges?" *Art and Social Sciences Journal*, 2017.

<sup>266</sup> Jawad Falak, "CPEC Internal Significance and Challenges," *Stratagem*, 2015.

<sup>267</sup> Amanullah Kasi, "PTI Protest against China trade route change," *Dawn*, February 11, 2015.

<sup>268</sup> Amanullah Kasi, "PTI Protest against China trade route changes," *Dawn*, February, 11 2015.

<sup>269</sup> Bureau Report, "KP Assembly opposes Challenges in Economic Corridor Route," *Dawn*, February 07, 2015.

that through original route of CPEC under developed zones of KPK like FATA will be linked to this corridor that will enrich the economic stature of these areas but if not done so these areas would remain ignored due to adaptation of new route alignment.<sup>270</sup> Many other sub-nationalist parties are also claiming their stake and strongly opposing the changes made to original route of the corridor. They argue that new route will facilitate western part more as compare to the eastern part. Chinese government and the government of Pakistan interacted with all the political parties and resolved the issue associated with the route change to the CPEC. Thus the allegations of all political parties failed to meet the fact.<sup>271</sup>

In terms of population Balochistan is the smallest province of Pakistan, while it is the largest one according to the Area.<sup>272</sup> According to the socio-economic development, Baluchistan is the least developed province of Pakistan amongst all provinces. Baluchistan's people are still living in tribal form. Baluchistan has got rich amount of resources but due to negligence of authorities and unskilled people these resources are not utilized in the best interest of Pakistan. Provincial government failure and failure in maximizing the capacities and potential of the people of Baluchistan, it leads to under development of Baluchistan. Literacy rate of Baluchistan is 51.5% while unemployment index is 20%. These figures seek serious attention to work upon literacy rate and to enhance annual growth rate through employment.<sup>273</sup> Presence of militancy factors in Baluchistan is a serious threat to CPEC. Baluchistan is a medium through which Gwadar will be connected to Kashgar. Baloch people believe that opportunities of CPEC are not equally distributed amongst all the provinces. As a result of this, attacks are being made on Chinese engineers, gas pipelines and trains to destroy and sabotage CPEC projects. The mission of some militant wings in Baluchistan is to keep Baloch people dispossessed from the opportunities and advantages of this mega project. Muhammad Ali Talpur stated in his article that CPEC and its benefits is just for China. He further claimed that the lives of Baloch people would be demolished and destroyed just for the sake of development and change.<sup>274</sup> Brahamdagh Bugti is another nationalist leader opposing CPEC. The leaders of Baloch Republican Party (BRP) also opposing

---

<sup>270</sup> APP, "CPEC to benefit to entire region, say Analysts," *Dawn*, August 31, 2015.

<sup>271</sup> Jawad Falak, "CPEC Internal Significance and Challenges," *Stratagem*, 2015.

<sup>272</sup> Ann Wilkens, "The Crowded-Out Conflict: Pakistan's Baluchistan in its Fifth round of Insurgency," *Afghanistan Analysts Network*, November 16, 2015.

<sup>273</sup> "Baluchistan Civil Military Relations," *Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency*, March 2012

<sup>274</sup> Maqbool Ahmed, "CPEC: Hopes and Fears as China come to Gwadar," *Herald*, March 14, 2017.

Gwadar port and CPEC and seeking for the referendum under the auspicious of United Nation to decide the future of Baluchistan. All these factors lead to the killing and kidnapping of Chinese workers and also to destroy the fuel tankers of Chinese companies. Moreover, management of Chinese state owned companies are targeted by them.<sup>275</sup>

The obsolete or lack of working labor associated to the CPEC and its projects is also a serious challenge and point of concern to it. Although Pakistan is ranked 10<sup>th</sup> largest state with strong labor force but still it needs a lot development and innovation in terms of mounting its labors. Labor plays a vital and important part in the advancement and development of the state and it needs essential education, training and development, health and physique. In gigantic states across the globe like US, France, Japan, Germany and many other developed countries labor forces are provided with training, essential education, skills and also with incentives on the basis of economic growth and raising per-capita income of the state. Similarly, proper education, training and new skills development of labors or work force will guaranty the successful completion of CPEC projects.<sup>276</sup>

#### **4.2.8 Military Operations**

The choice of Pakistan government to dispatch activity in innate zones against alcove of aggressors under the Zarb-e-Azb program initiated and progressed by COAS General Raheel Sharif. He claimed that it would continue until terrorist actions in FATA and other regions of Pakistan have ended.<sup>277</sup> Pakistan started Operation Zarb-e-Azb on June 15, 2014 in tribal areas against the TTP, and other militant organizations operating from the FATA region, including the East Turkestan Islamic Movement, the Haqqani Network Lashkar-e-Jhangvi, Al Qaeda, the Islamist Movement of Uzbekistan, and Jundullah.<sup>278</sup> The operation launched with Pakistan Air Force strikes and was later expanded with offensive counter-terrorism operations on ground level. Around 50,000 regular ground forces are engaged with the task. The air tasks were helped by US predator drone strikes, which caused broad damage to militant hideouts. Because of the military operation, one million population of FATA become internally displaced to settled

---

<sup>275</sup> Usman Shahid, "Baluchistan: The Troubled Heart of the CPEC," *The Diplomats*, August 23, 2016.

<sup>276</sup> Habibullah Magsi, "China Pakistan Economic Corridor and challenges of quality labor force," *The Diplomats Insight*, February 2016.

<sup>277</sup> Asad Haroon, "Zarb-e-Azb Operation: Production of militants and Terrorists Closes down in Pakistan," *News Desk*, June 17, 2014.

<sup>278</sup> Christophe Jaffrelot, *Pakistan at the Crossroads*, Edit (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), 150

regions. Numerous terrorist leaders are claimed to have been dead, a large portion of them were international militants.<sup>279</sup> These strike are facilitating and ensuring lucrative efforts for both Afghanistan and Pakistan in the field of security and upgrading economic ties with China under the head of CPEC. Hence under the flagship of Zarb-e-Azb and Rad-ul-Fassad to attain and achieve the long last vision of stable and secure Pakistan.<sup>280</sup>

Presently, following one year of task, the North Waziristan and Khyber Agency, including Tirah Valley, were cleared of terrorists with only few militants stowing away through Pakistan-Afghanistan border but military action is being propelled against them also. Moreover, the action against terrorism at Shawal valley is in its last phase and led by Pakistan's army with devotion and dedication. Pakistan has got serious rehabilitation and restoration challenges in the post operation condition. Pakistan has also got serious challenges because of external influence. India and Afghanistan are the external security threats to the sovereignty of Pakistan. Terrorists and extremists who fled to the Afghanistan can use their land to destabilize Pakistan and can do direct assaults. It is the obligation to Afghanistan's government to seal their border and must take corrective measures and actions against Afghan militants and Taliban and ensure not to use their land against Pakistan and the peace process of the South Asian region. Presence of multiple consulates of India is considered as India's plans of starting a proxy war in Pakistan by operating from Afghanistan. India's military-political linkage with Afghanistan and training of Afghan National Army in order to restore Afghanistan's sovereignty is the most imperative security concern for Pakistan.<sup>281</sup>

This chapter discussed in details the security issues and measures made to resolve them gradually. Pakistan is suffering from internal and external security issues. Main security concern is the extremism and terrorism prevailed in Pakistan and its surrounding or caused by the global players. Internal security issues are the Baluchistan insurgency, FATA issues, AL-Qaida, Taliban and other terrorists groups operating in Pakistan. External threats are India, Afghanistan and Iran regionally while U.S and India tilt towards each other is the global threat to Pakistan's security. US global

---

<sup>279</sup> Gurmeet Kanwal, "Pakistan is Headed for Dangerous Denouement," *Institute of Defense Studies and Analysis*, December 22, 2014.

<sup>280</sup> Umbreen Javaid, "Zarb-e-Azb and the State of Security in Pakistan," *Research Gate*, October 27, 2016.

<sup>281</sup> Aymen Ijaz, "Post Operation Zarb-e-Azb: Security and Rehabilitation Challenges," *Islamabad Policy Research Institute*, December 08, 2015.



support to India and India's policy to support Iran also has negative implications for Pakistan. Iran is held responsible to be the reason behind Shia and Sunni riots. Sunni perceived that Iran is supporting and providing minority Shia with material support at back hand. US monopolistic policy in the region of setting the world order and its false implications in Afghanistan against terrorism leads to distrust between two neighboring countries Pakistan and Afghanistan upon blame game at border, territorial or other extremism issues although both of them are the members of QCCM (Quadrilateral Cooperation and Coordination Mechanism) alliance against terrorism. The presence Black Water, CIA, Raw, and many other security agencies of different states are also the security risks for Pakistan's sovereignty. Operation Zarb-e-azb and operation Radd-ul-fassad are the internal measures against security issues where as QCCM (Quadrilateral Cooperation and Coordination Mechanism) is the alliance made by China, Tajikistan, Pakistan and Afghanistan against interstates security issues.

## Chapter 5

### FUTURE PROSPECTS

#### 5.1 Regional Connectivity

The concept of regionalism has been changed in 21<sup>st</sup> century. First region was defined territorial integration. But now, world is identified as economic integration of regional blocks. Different part of the world states interaction with one another to pursue their interest. SCO is the regional organization which forms in 2001.<sup>282</sup> Recently, India and Pakistan are become the member of SCO. SCO consist of major Powers including Russia, China and Central Asian states and now two subcontinent powers India and Pakistan have joined the SCO. The members of SCO are not on the same page on future related economy and security. The issue of Kashmir between India and Pakistan is remained unresolved. The SCO can provide a platform for both states to settle issue of Kashmir. In Future, both states relations can be seen hang in balance. SAARC is regional organization of South Asian states but it is failed to resolve the bilateral issue between them. Two major Powers Russia and China lead the SCO which can settle down the security related issue. SCO will help member states in future to resolve the security related conflict. SCO is also providing economic platform for states member. SCO will provide opportunities to India and Pakistan to increase their bilateral trade. Regional and international organization could play positive role in South Asian states. India and Pakistan both will try to secure their interest.

Historically, we have seen many ups and downs between US and Pakistan relations. Both states have achieved their interest from one another. Post 9/11, Pakistan is again used as a frontline state against war on terror. But post 2011 Pakistan and US relations were unfavorable due to some incident, including Raymond David case, Salala incident and Osama bin laden was killed in Abbottabad.<sup>283</sup> After that Pakistan started new Phase of relation with Russia and China. Pakistan improved its relations with Russia. Pakistan alliance with Russia and China would definitely affaect Pakistan security situations. Post 2014, Pakistan and Russia have done military exercise which would be important for future. On the other hand, U.S and India come closer with one another. The US wants India as regional player and Play as a balancer role toward China in the

---

<sup>282</sup> Zamir Ahmed Awan, "SCO and Pakistan, *Pakistan Observer*, May 29, 2018.

<sup>283</sup> Nazam Rafique, "Pakistan-US Relations: Reset after 2001," *Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad*, December 20, 2011.

region. The US and India joined a strategic partnership in 2008 which will be implication on Pakistan security.<sup>284</sup> Changing regional dynamics may have effect on regional stability. Post 9/11, Pakistan is facing security challenges due to instability in Afghanistan.

Post 9/11, changing regional dynamics in South Asia may have different implication for Pakistan's domestic, regional and global level. At domestic level, South Asian countries are facing security and economic challenges in the region. Pakistan is feeling disturbed due to its complex situation in the region. Pakistan is facing external challenges and economic degradation which are directly threat to the Pakistan internal security. These challenges are terrorism, extremism, political instability and internal security threat to Pakistan. These challenges are creating a negative implication for Pakistan in the eyes of the world. In the Past few years, we have seen Pakistan has done number of Military operations like Zarb-e-azb and Radulfasad against terrorism in FATA which are threat to Pakistan sovereignty.<sup>285</sup> In future, Pakistan need to be more coercive policy to counter security related issues. According to my view, these internal challenges are the major security threat to Pakistan and will remain huge resistance to Pakistan economic stability. At regional level, Pakistan and India are considered the rival states and instability in Afghanistan are the major security threat to the South Asia region. Pakistan also faces security threat because of low intensity conflict in Afghanistan. Instability in Afghanistan is not only serious threat to a country but it would also negative implication on Pakistan sovereignty at regional and global level. According to realist school of thought, peace cannot be maintained in Afghanistan without Pakistan. Therefore, Peace and stability in Afghanistan would provide benefit for the region otherwise it will have negative spillover effect for Pakistan and the region. At global level, Major states Russia and China are increasing their influence in Afghanistan affair but it is not acceptable by the US. The US understand that Afghanistan is its own area of influence. Post 9/11, U.S and NATO forces are struggling to establish the writ of their puppet government in Afghanistan.<sup>286</sup> According to my view, Afghanistan government is never succeeded to restore peace in Afghanistan. On the other side Russia, China and Pakistan are improving their relations and working jointly to restore peace in Afghanistan. US revisit it policy in the region and now become

---

<sup>284</sup> Syed Shahid, "Indo-US Strategic Partnership and Pakistan Security," *Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad*, March 27, 2015.

<sup>285</sup> Nazam Rafique, "Gains of Radd-ul-Fassad," *Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad*, August 18, 2017.

<sup>286</sup> Ashley J. Tellis, "Reconciling with Taliban," *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, January 12, 2014.

come closer toward India. Because, US wants to use India as a regional balancer toward China in the region. US understand that Pakistan will not allow as a frontline states against China. The new alignment in South Asia region will provide a good economic and security situation for Pakistan.

The changing regional dynamics in South Asia may have effect on Pakistan's security and economy. South Asian countries are increasing their economic power and coup up to security issues. Due to instability in the region security is the hindrance for Pakistan's economy. Pakistan security related issue interlinked with India and Afghanistan and sandwich between them. Pakistan internal security challenges are terrorism, Baluchistan insurgency and instability in FATA. External player are trying to destabilize Pakistan and support Baluchistan free Army. External Player understands that Pakistan is the safe haven for terrorist group.<sup>287</sup> Pakistan has done military operation to stabilize the Pakistan internal security issue. Pakistan has taken a lot of step to reduce the terrorist and extremism in Pakistan. Pakistan is signed QCCM which would be helpful to reduce the terrorism and extremism in the member states. QCCM member states understand that terrorism and extremism are the serious threat to regional stability. Regional states need to have cooperative attitude and share their intelligent and joint exercise which would be helpful for security purpose and counter terrorism. Pakistan and Afghanistan are sharing a long border with one another which threatening the national security of both states. Both states could reduce the security problem through bilateral and regional cooperation. Pakistan need to increase its soft power in South Asia regions especially in Afghanistan. For economic growth, Pakistan has changed its economic and security policy toward regional and international level. The changing regional dynamics in 21<sup>st</sup> century Pakistan focus on economic growth and stability. The China Pakistan economic corridor is the huge investment of China in Pakistan which would boost the economy of Pakistan in future. TAPI and CASA Project also provide a great opportunity to Pakistan which could Pakistan reduce surplus of Electricity, gas and other upcoming problem. Pakistan acts as a mediator that connects South Asia with Middle East, Europe, Central Asia and Africa because of its geostrategic and regional importance.

Every state in international system wants to achieve its interest and struggle for power. Every individual state has different interest in international environment. Post 9/11, regional dynamics

---

<sup>287</sup> Seth G. Jones, "The Insurgent Sanctuary in Pakistan," *Center for Strategic and International Studies*, September 11, 2018.

in south Asia has been changed, due to major powers interest. USA is considered as a sole actor in international system. All major powers are trying to increase their influence in South Asia region. South Asia is gradually increasing its influence in international affairs. Due to economic growth, India excels over all states in last decade in the region. South Asia states are facing major issues including terrorism, lack of democracy, national building, and states failure and security challenges. India and Pakistan both have received attentions from major powers. India and Pakistan are rival state in south Asia region. From 1947 to until now, issue of Kashmir is unresolved among Pakistan and India. The region of South Asia will become the confronting region in the world politics due to new challenge, such as security, terrorism, border disputes and balance of power.<sup>288</sup> Post 9/11, regional and major powers are trying to achieving their interest in South Asia region. US wants to maintain its influence in South Asia region for its strategic reason. It can be seen their interest with strategic partnership with India and Afghanistan, and also longstanding engagement in Pakistan. On the other hand People's Republic of China and Russia collaboration in South Asia, and trying for peaceful settlement of Afghanistan.<sup>289</sup>

Russia and China new alignment is very important for South Asia region and especially in respect to Pakistan. Post 9/11, Pakistan is facing security and economic challenges from external and internal sides. Changing regional dynamics would provide great economic and security opportunities for South Asia region. The new alignment of Russia and China may effect on Pakistan economy. On the other side US is not interested in the stability of Afghan due to its strategic interest. Russia, China and Pakistan close relationship would aim to bring stability in the region and especially want political solution of the Afghanistan conflict.<sup>290</sup> Post 9/11, Russia and Pakistan improved its relations when Pakistan became frontline state against the war on terror. Russia and China supported Pakistan in South Asia to maintain the peace in the region. Pakistan and Russian have been increasing their contact for defense cooperation. In 2016, Russia and Pakistan have joined military exercise to increase their influence in the region. Pakistan shifted its policy toward Russia it will have a great impact on Pakistan economy and Russia would be considered as a great player to resolve the issue in the region. On the other side India stance is that

---

<sup>288</sup> Pervaiz Ahmed Takor and Bawa Singh, "The Emerging China, Pakistan and Russia Strategic Triangle: India's New Gordian Knot," *Jadavpur Journal of International Relations*, April 08, 2017.

<sup>289</sup> "South Asia in Major Power's Strategic Chessboard," *National Defense Journal*, October 13, 2016.

<sup>290</sup> Kaswar Klasra, "Pak-Russia Relations Growing," *Pakistan Observer*, January 30, 2017.

Russia and Pakistan military cooperation is wrong approach and it would only create a problem in the region. India feels unhappy because of Pakistan and Russia military exercise which can be threat to South Asia regional stability.<sup>291</sup> Keeping in view Pakistan is looking strong relations with Russia especially when US wants to India play a major role in the region. Due to changing regional dynamics Pakistan can adjust itself in international affairs and achieving more benefit from the world in the age of globalization. Political scenario of the world constantly changing and Russia seems to be beneficial alliance of Pakistan in the upcoming stages.<sup>292</sup>

The China Pakistan economic corridor is the part of OBOR mega project of China to economic integrations of Eurasia through belt and roads and other. One Belt One Road is a mega project of China grand strategy which would peacefully rise of China as a major player on the global affair through their economic policy. CPEC is considered as a game changer in the South Asia region especially for Pakistan. Historically, we have seen China and Pakistan relations are more military based, but it has new beginning to make economic and trade related. CPEC will increase the relationship between China and Pakistan economically as well as public level. The most important advantage of CPEC, China would benefit through the reduction of China trade route from existing sea route to land route from Kashgar to Gwadar. China more than 70% trade through Strait of Malacca which is considered costly and due to security interest of the region is under the serious threat and tension between China and the regional and global player of the region.<sup>293</sup> China considers CPEC is the alternative route which would fulfill the requirement of economic and security issues. It's directly connect to Gwadar Port. Pakistan is geopolitically most important and suitable country for trade and transit route and gateway to Central Asia, Middle East, Africa and Europe through CPEC. CPEC is also facing security challenges in the region because China invest large amount in Pakistan. South Asia region is considered the destabilized region in the world politics. CPEC is facing threat from the regional and domestic level. Afghanistan is the instable state in the South Asia region which is a challenge for CPEC and insurgency in Baluchistan are also creating in the region.<sup>294</sup>

---

<sup>291</sup> Franz-Stefan Gady, "Pakistan Russia to hold Joint Military Exercise," *The Diplomat*, October 17, 2018.

<sup>292</sup> Omer Farooq Khan, "Pakistan-Russia hold Join Military drill," *The Time of India*, October 22, 2018.

<sup>293</sup> Chietigj Bajpae, "Reaffirming India's South China Sea Credentials," *The Diplomat*, August 14, 2013.

<sup>294</sup> Shazar Shafqat, "CPEC and the Baloch Insurgency," *The Diplomat*, February 08, 2017.

Nuclearization of South Asia is the biggest phenomena of world politics. There are two nuclear states India and Pakistan in the region both are in conflicting situation after their independence. India and Pakistan increase their nuclear powers and want to create deterrence in the region. Their nuclear programs are considering threat for International community. India and Pakistan fought three war. Nuclear program of South Asia has for reaching implementation of Non Proliferation Treaty. Nuclearization of South Asia is put some challenges to the world, which are prevention of proliferation and spread of arm race in the region. On one hand, Major Powers condemn the nuclear deal with non-proliferation treaty because they understand that it is threat to international community. On the other side U.S and India have signed a nuclear deal which India will use for peaceful purpose. This nuclear deal is destabilize the region and Major Powers want to stabilized the South Asia region and focus on the non-proliferation policy of the rival states. US, Russia and China would try to reduce the arm race in South Asia which would be great impact on the regional stability.

## CONCLUSION/RECOMMENDATIONS

This study has highlighted the relationships of regional actors in South Asia. A lot of changes are coming in international system which are directly effecting the South Asian region. Throughout study, cooperation and competition of states have been seen. Precisely it is inferred that South Asia region is experiencing new changes. The formation of new alliances and rapprochement between Pakistan and Russia has driven a wave of change in the region. It is evident that China has successfully increased its influence in Central and South Asia. The increased influence of China in the region and its close ties with Pakistan is a direct threat to India. Therefore, New Delhi has found Washington as new strategic partner.

Pakistan is facing several external and internal challenges in these dramatic changes. Internally, Pakistan faces myriad of problems. The sole reason behind lack of implementation of its law and orders is the foreign intervention in domestic affairs. Pakistan is increasing its dependence on China and Central Asia for economic market. Unless Pakistan proves its sovereignty by making policies and bringing them in action. Pakistan has never exercised its policy in the state. It has been practiced by Pakistan since its independence. Foreign and internal policies of South Asian states are highly influenced by states US, China and to an extent by Russia.

Afghanistan has been one of the crucial regional actor, hampering peace in the region. The international interference in Afghanistan has sabotaged the neighboring states affairs. There is only one way out and that is Pakistan has to play an active role to maintain peace in the territory.

Regional dynamics have been changed altogether, old foes appear as friend and old friends are becoming rivals. Pakistan and Russia were rivals in Cold War and it was used by US against Russia. However, now Moscow and Islamabad are bridging ties. The rivalry between Russia and Pakistan was at peak and none could say that their relationship can ever be pleasant. They have recently held joint military exercises. The shift takes place because of the growing interest of Russia in China's CPEC project. Although, Russia does not have any project or share in CPEC but BRI is equally important for Kremlin as it is for other Central Asian states. The route is actually a conjunction of Central Asia, Middle East, Europe and Africa.

The system of international environment is never static. Change is inevitable and every living element in the universe is subject to change. This is seen in Post 9/11 US invasion in Afghanistan



against war on terror. Pakistan supported the policy of war on terror and used its territory against terrorism. Other major powers, such as Russia and China supported the US policy against terrorism. Now, Russia and China are showing great interest in Afghanistan due to US lack of Afghanistan policy which is a key driver in changing regional dynamics.

In this globalized world, no state can live in isolation. Every state tries its best to achieve more power and prestige on the global stage. Pakistan being a strategically important country, has gained more importance since CPEC project has been operationalized. The Russian and Middle Eastern countries tilt toward Pakistan and China, is deemed to change regional apparatus altogether. As an economic hub, Gawadar shall be the boosting factor of Pakistan's and region's economy. The India-Iran cooperation in making Chabahar Port, giving a tough time to Gawadar, has no value. Being a regional power in the Asian, China's policies are more effective than other states. However, the security, in multiple dimensions, in the region will mean a lot for all the countries which are directly or indirectly attached to the China's economic related projects.

Internal and external security of states have got different shapes. Internal ethnic rifts and terrorist activities have marginalized the free will of state affairs. Conflict between Pakistan and India and their counter strategies of each other would be detrimental for regional stability. Similarly, situation in Afghanistan and approach of great powers toward the Afghan issue is not much satisfactory. The peaceful settlement of Afghan conflict would be beneficial for the region in multiple directions. The Indian and other states clandestine activities to sabotage the CPEC project and create chaos in the Pakistan will further disturb the regional peace.

### **Findings**

- New political and economic alliances are being formed in South Asian region in which Russia has redesigned its policies and tilted towards Pakistan and China. It is now more concerned about huge investment, in form of CPEC, can be envisaged.
- US has developed more interest in India because Afghan game has come to an end and its old partners are becoming worthless. The US needs a strong ally to counter Chinese and Russian influence in this region. US is therefore, giving extra privileges to India nowadays such as bypassing all the rules, set to get membership of Nuclear Supplier Group (NSG), for India shows its tilt.

- Now, being members of SCO, Pakistan wants cooperation of other states to counter the menace of terrorism, in this way, bilateral tensions can also be removed. However, the great powers approaches towards any such development matters a lot as US is not member of this organization and have serious concerns about the Chinese role in this region.
- Pakistan has been facing many challenges since 9/11. The post withdrawal of US from Afghanistan would be a great challenge as neighboring countries of Afghanistan are joining China's led organization such as SCO.
- Pakistan wants strong economic relations with neighboring countries particularly with CARs (all are SCO members) which is making US more apprehensive.
- India is trying to stop CPEC and busy in making dangerous alliance in which regional players such as Iran and Afghanistan are being prepared against Pakistan (the Iranian Port of Chabahar is an explicit example) and the US is busy in trade war with China to curb its economic progress and indirectly connectivity projects.

#### **Recommendations:**

- Pakistan should increase the bilateral relationship with neighbor states for that SCO is gateway or productive platform to reinstate its relationship.
- Pakistan should not put all eggs in one basket, it should keep its doors open for US too.
- The core issue between Pakistan and India is Kashmir, both the states should revisit their foreign policy to resolve the issue with dialogue and establish an amicable relationship.
- Betterment of the economy is quintessential for Pakistan.
- Pakistan should self-reliance on the indigenous resources so that it makes the state self-dependent. It would be of help to reduce the foreign interference in Pakistani economic and political affairs.
- Pakistan should try to seek help from regional and international organizations instead of relying on only China, Russia and America.
- Pakistan cannot afford to be used by the foreigners / external forces against any state. In this regard preemptive measures should be taken by the political leaders to ensure sovereignty of Pakistan.

