

The New Cold War: Pak and the Sino-US Rivalry



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Dedicated To

Dr. Ilhan Niaz

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My Ideal Professor in QAU

With Love and Respect

CANDIDATE'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the **Thesis** presently submitted bearing the title "**The New Cold War: Pak and the Sino-US Rivalry**" is the product of my own work and has not been submitted concurrently to any other university for any degree.

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SUPERVISOR’S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that M.Phil Student, Mr. **SarwechDahri**, has completed his **Thesis** entitled **“The New Cold War: Pak and the Sino-US Rivalry”** under my supervision. I recommend it for submission in candidacy for the degree of Master of Philosophy in Pakistan Studies.

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List of Abbreviations

AAGC	Asia-Africa Growth Corridor
AIIB	Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank
AUKUS	Australia-UK-US
BLA	Baloch Liberation Army
BRI	Belt and Road Initiative
B3W	Build Back Better World
CPEC	China Pakistan Economic Corridor
CPC	Communist Party of China
CENTO	Central Treaty Organization
ETIM	The East Turkestan Islamic Movement
FATF	Financial Action Task Forum
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GDP	Growth Domestic Production
JSMM	Jeay Sindh Mutahida Mahaz
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NRO	The National Reconciliation Order
NSG	Nuclear Supplier Group
POFMA	The Protection from Online Falsehoods and Manipulation Act
SEATO	Southeast Asia Treaty Organisation
UNHRC Commission	United Nations Human Rights
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WoT	War on Terror

Preface and Acknowledgements

In my second semester of M.Sc back in 2018, I came to know about three big names of Social Sciences in Qau: Mam Sadia Tasleem, Dr Ilhan Niaz, and Dr Aasim Sajjad Akhtar. I took one course with all three in each semester. In second semester, it was “International Politics since 1945” by Mam Sadia where she taught IR theories mostly. In the next semester, we were taught by Dr Ilhan about the history of the 20th century. The blend of history and theory is a deadly combination because theory just provides you with a glass, but history brings a wonderful view. In fourth semester, finally I was able to register for the course of Dr Aasim though it was supposed to be for first semester students. Meanwhile I also decided to work under the supervision of one of them. Fortunately, I got a chance to work with two of them: M.Sc with Dr Ilhan and M.Phil with Dr Aasim.

Before taking admission, when I talked to Dr Aasim about my research project which was about “Marxist Critique on Post Modernism”. He happily suggested that he could supervise me. This topic could be worked on in either political science or history. Unfortunately, Qau does not offer M.Phil in Political Science. In History, I successfully got admission, but I was told that I can not take supervisor from outside of the department if the parent department has enough teachers. Therefore, I opted for Pakistan Studies so I could work with Dr Aasim. However, I had to change the topic. Hence, I decided to extend research on the topic I already worked in M.SC. I had researched on the Rise of China and BRI previously. So, I came up with this topic on the New Cold War where I wanted to understand the Sino-US Rivalry. But the problem I faced was to connect it with Pakistan. Since the degree was supposed to be in Pakistan Studies, Pakistan should have been the main angle. This led me to CPEC. I connected it with the New Cold War as its manifestation.

Subconsciously, I wanted to engage in that grand debate on US-China confrontation. But I could not do it properly because of two reasons: A) I lacked methodological skills and Language expertise. B) I was supposed to keep Pakistan on the center. Well, the good thing is, it is not the end of learning but rather a beginning. So, I am optimistic that I will engage with this debate in future either in writing or talks.

I am indebted to Dr Aasim that he gave me this opportunity to work with him. He has been very cooperative and generous. My project evolved with time. He did not put any conditions except that Pakistan angle, which was technically a need to pass the degree in that subject. He was always available for my long and unending questions. I always had a few questions off the track, but he never ignored any of them. I would like to mention one thing here about Professor. He has British accent, and I usually missed half the discussion. Probably that's why I was unable to follow his all of instructions. Nonetheless, I enjoyed working with him.

I am also thankful to Dr Ilhan who gave me time for the interview twice. Mam Sadia has the biggest contribution as some of main arguments came into my mind after mindful discussion with her. Apart from my three favorite professors, I am indebted to those interviewees who took their precious time for this project namely Katherine Adeney, Zahid Shahab, Dr Hasan Karar, Dr Farhan Siddiqui, Dr Saeed Rid, Dr Ejaz Hussain, Akbar Zaidi, Haris Ghazdar, Cdr (r) SM Obaidullah, Dr Bakhshal Thalo, Asif Luqman Qazi, Dr Ahsan Kamal. Special thanks to Dr Parvez Hoodbuoy who showed up for the brainstorming session.

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Lastly, I am also thankful to my family who has always supported me in my studies especially to my Ama and Masi and my three cutie pies: Kanwal, Kiran and Danish.

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Introduction

After the disintegration of the USSR in 1991, the United States became the sole superpower of the world, arguably, a scenario never seen before in international politics. However, it did not enjoy that position for more than a decade when China entered World Trade Organisation (WTO) in 2001 – the event which changed the dynamics of the balance of power. The US was so occupied with responding to 9-11 that it almost did not notice the integration of China’s one billion workers into the global economy. In the next seven years, G7 countries were shocked less by the financial crisis of 2007/8 and more by China’s economic stability. The same year, the US State department shifted its focus from West Asia to East Asia by introducing the “Pivot Asia” policy. Moreover, Pentagon officially announced that an era of uni-polarity was passed, and the world was entering the multi-polar world mainly due to Russia’s intervention in Ukraine and China’s meddling in the South China Sea.

One of the mathematical formulas in global politics to measure the state power presented by Ray Cline is $P_p = (C + E + M) \times S + W$. Power perceived is equal to Critical Mass (population and territory) + Economic capability + Military Capability multiplied by Strategic purpose and Will to pursue national strategies. It means that if the US perceives China as a rival power, it implies that the latter has emerged as a global power without any doubt.

Another important year in recent global politics is 2014. On the one hand, Russia annexed Crimea by showing its hard power to the US. On the other hand, China surpassed the US as the number one economy in terms of GDP (PPP) and announced its Belt and Road Initiative project by creating a new alignment process. Subsequently, both powers started engaging their old allies and making new ones. The US increased cooperation with India and Japan to encircle China in Indo-Pacific. While China finalized trade deals with US adversaries – Russia and Iran – to lift the pressure of US sanctions. Both are trying to win over or at least diminish the antagonism of their opponent’s allies. To some extent, China has successfully engaged the US allies like ASEAN, Australia, Italy, and Germany.

Pakistan has remained partly a satellite state of the US in the Cold War and later as a front-line state against War on Terror. On the other hand, it has also remained a close ally of China throughout history. In the Cold War, neither China tried to engage Pakistan more closely nor did the US express any concerns over Pak-China friendship songs. However, the situation has changed now. It is almost like a similar position where India was friendly with the USSR but also engaged the US shrewdly. In the first decade of the 21st century, Pakistan closely allied with the US in War on Terror. In the second decade, it allied with China by signing CPEC - a sub-project of its global BRI project.

China does not want Pakistan to disengage with the US or increase tension with India, probably because by countering terrorism, the US and India are indirectly helping China which wants peace in the region to smooth its trade. However, the US constantly pressures Pakistan to be careful with China's projects. It fears that China might use the strategic advantage of Gwadar port to block oil supplies of the world. While giving a bailout, IMF pursued Islamabad to share all confidential agreements signed with China related to CPEC. Moreover, to sabotage the BRI and CPEC, the US encouraged Japan and India to announce the Asia-Africa Growth Corridor (AAGC). Besides, the separatist movements in Sindh and Baluchistan, proxies of India, were also mobilized against CPEC. With Joe Biden in office, dynamics are also changing. It is being speculated that the US is trying to reverse Trump's foreign policy, which ignored Pakistan. It is being pursued by KSA to join hands with the US and normalize relations with India and maintain a distance from China.

Literature Review

In the 21st century, the most hunted topic in international politics was none other than the rivalry between China, a rising power, and the US, a declining power. Scholars are of different views. SashiTharoor argues in a debate with Martin Jacques that an era of superpowers has already passed (Martin Jacques, 2016). John Mearsheimer explains that to rule the globe a great power must be a regional hegemon and make sure there should not be any other single hegemon in other regions; therefore, the US must curtail the rise of China (Mearsheimer J. , 2021). Martin Jacques and Kishore Mahbubani are of the view that Western dominance is lost,

and the 21st century is Asian(Jacques, When China Rules the World: The End of the Western World and the Birth of New Global Order, 2012)(Mahbubani, 2013). Henry Kissinger states that if the West wants to protect its legacy built after World War II, it should manage China's rise and share world responsibility with her(Kissinger, 2012). Graham Allison negates their opinion that it is quite painful for the ruling power to give space to a rising power, but he also acknowledges that it is the only way to avoid war between two powers(Allison , 2017). Unlike Allison, Anja Manuel thinks that the rise of China is not against the US rather it will also help the US and the world economy. Therefore, the US should behave as mature power rather than offend China(Manuel, 2014).

Although the literature is abundant on Sino-US rivalry, hardly anyone has tried to vest a critical study of their expression of competition with regards to Pakistan. Andrew Small has tried to address the topic to some extent. However, he did not answer why Pakistan and China could not develop a strategic partnership in seventy years. He analyzes that China has internalized the fact that 80 % of the investment in CPEC will be doomed. So basically, CPEC is not an economic project but rather a strategic one(Small, 2015). The argument does not hold water as strategic moves are inspired by the geo-economic interests of states. There is also a need to revisit his argument after the implementation of the first phase of the project.

With regards to CPEC, there is a lot already written with different dimensions more in its favor than criticism. Filippo Boni & Katharine Adeney have written on the issue of federalism and how Pakistan's federal system is being affected(Boni & Adeney, 2020). On the other hand, Zahid Shahab has stressed that CPEC will help in nation-building(Ahmed Z. S., Impact of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor on Nation-Building in Pakistan, 2019). Prof. Aasim Sajjad and Majed Akhtar have mentioned in their papers how it would reinforce state power and create more disparity between the haves and have nots: be it provinces or classes(Akhtar, 2018)(Akhtar, 2018). Dr. Ishrat Hussain has dubbed it a „golden opportunity, if utilized properly, will affect positively the overall economy of Pakistan(Hussain I. , CPEC & Pakistani Economy: An Appraisal). The almost same rosy opinion is shown by the Centre of Excellence for CPEC in a working paper related to employment(Rashid, Zia, & Waqar, 2018). Even more than that is promised in L.T.P for CPEC (2017-30), an official MOU signed by both governments(Long Term Plan for CPEC (2017-2030), 2020).

Contrary to this, Junaid Kamal & Manzoor Malik have stated very critical facts about the trade balance in their State Bank staff notes (Kamal & Malik, 2017). A regional-level analysis is also done by Muhammad Faisal and Faaiz Amir in their papers, which tells how the project can be useful in regional connectivity for trade and regional integration (Faisal, 2019) (Amir, 2016). Debate on China's imperial role is also covered in a paper authored by Dr. Khushboo Ejaz & Mariam Masood (Ejaz & Masood, 2019). And the list goes on. However, most of the literature covers 2019 events except Boni & Adney's paper which was published in June 2020. In this long list of literature reviews, multiple dimensions related to CPEC are explored, yet the main question untouched is about its proposed benefits and ground realities, especially after the implementation of the first phase.

Main Research Question

Is the world heading to a new cold war? What are its causes and what would be its implications for Pakistan particularly in view of the China-Pakistan economic corridor?

Supporting Questions

How is Sino-US rivalry an extension of the old version of the Cold War?

Is China a Marxist state like the USSR?

How the three ideas of "the clash of civilizations, offensive realism, and Thucydides Trap" can help us to understand the New Cold War?

How CPEC can help us to understand Pakistan's alignment with two great powers?

What are the Economic Implications of the CPEC?

What are the Socio-Political and Environmental Implications of the recent Pak-China partnership on CPEC and Dam Projects?

How is the US trying to subjugate CPEC and penalize Pakistan?

How is the current status of Kashmir linked with CPEC?

How the national question has been affected in Sindh and Baluchistan due to CPEC?

How CPEC has provided an excuse to the deep state to increase its influence in all corners of the country?

How Chinese migration is disturbing the social fabric of Pakistan's society?

How will the Chinese language affect Pakistan's education system?

Theoretical Framework

John Mearsheimer has vested a critical study of the US hegemonic policy of spreading liberalism and democracy in the world. His work could help to understand the US approach towards China, and its post 9-11 moves in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. On the other hand, David Harvey has explained the same US moves in the context of New Imperialism for economic gains. His work also helps to understand the surplus capital investment of China in long-term fixed infrastructure in the guise of BRI.

Huntington's clash of civilizations will be applied to see the difference between the West and China and Pakistan's position in that conflict. As author assumes that Western values are not just western, but the whole world has contributed to its civilizational values. Pakistan has more civilizational closeness with the West than China, contrary to the understanding of Huntington. John Mearsheimer's theory of Offensive Realism will also be explained to see US foreign policy in helping India against China and subjugating Pak-China Axis. As he argues that no one can be a global power in real terms. So, to rule the globe, a regional power must make sure that there is no other competitive power in its neighborhood and also make sure that such a situation should not be in any other region where a single power dominates. The US, for example, should try that no rival could challenge its hegemony in Southern Hemisphere. Also take care that there is no single hegemonic power in other regions including the Middle East, Europe, Asia, etc. Therefore, the US is trying that China may not rise as a single hegemon in Asia. Its "Pivot Asia" policy is part of that vision.

Chapterization

Chapter One "The New Cold War: A Historical Overview"

In this chapter, the New Cold War will be compared with the Old Cold War. The comparison will be tested through the following questions:

Is China a Marxist State? Is it a successor state of the USSR ideologically? Does the US perceive it as a Marxist state? What are the similarities and differences between the Old Cold War and the New Cold War? To what extent, the ideology plays a role in the New Cold War as it played in the old Cold War?

Chapter Two “Competing Factors of the New Cold War”

What factors are triggering this new cold war? How can these three theoretical frameworks help us in deducting Sini-US rivalry: The Clash of Civilization; The Offensive Realism and its strategy of Alliance system; The Thucydides Trap: The Rise of China and the US Response?

In this regard, the following questions will be addressed:

Are cultural values and political ideas driving both to go against each other? Can the Chinese political model of authoritarianism appeal to the western liberal democracies as well as third world countries especially Pakistan given the fact rise of populist leaders in all corners of the world? Why people like Trump, Modi, and Khan would not be lured by the one-party system and concentrating powers into their hands? Why their followers would not buy the Chinese success story considering its 30 years history where it produced the biggest number of billionaires, took 80 mn people out of poverty, and made China home to the number one middle-class country? How is the US going to deal with it?

The Alliance system is one of the key strategies to confront peer competitors for regional hegemony. Has any alliance system formed yet which divides the world into two blocks? Is India ready to confront China? Where would Pakistan's strategic interests be aligned with: the US, China, or remain neutral? The great power decline is a natural phenomenon. Considering this, the US has to share the burden of global international order with other countries. Europe cannot take the lead since it is also on a relative decline. It is Asia that has to take that responsibility. In Asia, China and India are two potential candidates. The US has already tested China since the 1990s. Now would it help India to rise given her democratic and liberal orientation due to the colonial legacy?

Chapter Three “CPEC: Economic Implications for Islamabad”

Chapter Four “ Pak-China Partnership: Socio-Political and Environmental Impacts for Pakistan”

In the twenty-first century, the biggest story of the first decade was the spread of liberal hegemony and nation-building in rough states by limiting the influence of religious extremism. The lead actor was the US. Pakistan was forced to align itself with the US in War on Terror in that decade. The story of the second decade was Belt and Road Initiative. It aimed to build the infrastructure of the world to integrate global economies. This was led by China. Pakistan again became part of that project by signing its flagship sub-project: CPEC. In WoT, China and the US both were on the same page. Therefore, Pakistan had no pressure for siding with anyone. However, things are changed with BRI. In WoT, China was an indirect ally to the US because its interests converged with the US. Unlike WoT, BRI is perceived as a threat to US global hegemony. Thus, the CPEC will be a test case for the Sino-US rivalry in the emerging new cold war.

These two chapters will mainly revolve around the CPEC. The former will deal with economic implications. The latter will address the socio-political and environmental consequences of CPEC. The following questions will be put under examination.

What are the economic, political, social, and environmental implications of the CPEC? How is the US creating huge pressure on Pakistan to abandon or at least limit its participation in CPEC?

Methodology

This research is explanatory in its nature. An analytical method has been applied to address the above research questions. Already published literature on this topic has been examined in the

guise of books, research papers, magazine and newspaper articles, policy papers, survey reports, foreign office statements, etc. Talks of international scholars available on YouTube were also watched. Moreover, to address the primary data, around 15 interviews were conducted from experts including academics and stakeholders such as politicians and military personnel.

This study is an effort to understand the Sino-US competition globally by examining Pakistan as a case study. Some questions are also related to the future, so those are explained in a speculative manner.

Interview Guidance

Since the primary research area was CPEC, two interviews were taken from CPEC experts Katharine Adeney and Zahid Shahab Ahmed on Zoom. To understand economic interdependence of Pakistan on US and China, an email interview was taken from an economist Mr. Harris Ghazdar. To figure out environmental implications of CPEC as well as other dams built by China in Pakistan, Dr Ahsan Kamal's email interview was received.

In order to understand historian's intake with regards to Pakistan's relations with two great powers zoom interviews were conducted from Dr Ilhan Niaz and Dr Hasan Karar. As the primary area of research is in the field of international relations, Dr Farhan Siddiqui, Dr Saeed Rid and Dr Ejaz Hussain were taken on board to understand their views about this conflict. Dr Parvez Hoodbuoy, though a physicist yet known as famous educationalist, was approached for an interview to take his intake with regards to China's cultural influence on Pakistan especially in the field of education.

Views of defense strategists, Sadia Tasleem, were taken to understand interests of strategic elite of Pakistan about alliance with great powers. Since she was critique of strategic elite, cdr SM Obaidullah, an ex-Naval Officer, was also approached for a counter perspective. China is a Marxist country, so an opinion of a leftist organization Awami Workers Party was taken from its representative Dr Bakshal Thalo.

In the old Cold War, Jamaat Islami helped the US to defeat USSR because latter was a communist country. However, in the new cold war, it has cordial relations with China despite

the fact it is also a communist state. To understand this contradiction, J.I representative Qazi Luqman's interview was taken in person.

Most of the interviews were online either on Zoom or Skype because I preferred the recording of these sessions except three which were email interviews and one which was in person.

Significance

This study will help readers to understand the emerging competition between two great powers: the US and China. By understanding their competitive policies in Pakistan, the nature of the global rivalry between the two powers could be understood. BRI is the 21st century's biggest project which will drastically shift the dynamics of international politics, trade, etc. The CPEC is its flagship project. Thus, understanding the CPEC is crucial for evaluating BRI. This thesis is a drop of water in the ocean of research, yet this triangle of relationship between US, China and Pakistan is very foundational work which addresses this emerging new cold war from South Asian perspective, especially Pakistan.

Scope

In the 21st century, Pakistan has aligned itself with both great powers. In the first decade, it was the US. In the second it was China. Since WoT did not offend China, the discussion on it will be limited concerning Sino-US convergence. Contrary to WoT, CPEC has antagonized the US. Therefore, the major focus of the thesis will be on it.

Chapter One

The New Cold War: A Historical Overview

Introduction

In contemporary international politics, the most important and crucial geo-political relations are none other than Sino-US relations. Historically speaking, it has remained a hard truth that the most sensitive and affected geo-political relations for the whole world have always been relations of rising power and an existing power: be it Athens and Sparta, Roman and Persian in the 5th century, Baghdad and Christian Constantinople, Ottomans and Christian Europe, France and Britain in Colonial era, the UK and Germany in two world wars, or the US and the USSR in the Cold War (Allison, 2017).

It has not always been bi-polar relations that were important, but there had been other relationships simultaneously which had been equally crucial for international relations. However, whenever two great powers compete for world dominance, their relations subdue other relations. This happened in the era of the Cold War from 1945 to 1991 (US-USSR relations) and could be witnessed now in post-2008 international politics (Sino-US relations).

On ideological grounds, not only does China think of it as a Marxist state like the USSR, but also the US perceives it as a communist country similarly as it saw the USSR.

The first part will discuss the differences and similarities between the Cold War and the New Cold War. It will be argued that how China is virtually a successor state of the USSR in terms of leading Marxist position/doctrine and representative state of Marxist socialism despite many pitfalls. On the very same par as KSA is still the center of Muslim Umma. Despite violating the basic Islamic feature of egalitarianism and sticking with the kingdom, Islamic scholars look at her with sanctity and give all ears to any call from the central mosque of Mecca. Likewise, China is Mecca, and the Vatican of communism and Marxists all around the globe still see her as their center point and have high hopes that it will defend and lead the doctrine. Not only do sympathizers of communism look at her as a leading Marxist state but also its opponents perceive it as the only potential communist state which could be a launching pad to spread its political and economic model in near future. Whether someone likes it or not,

the Chinese model is a reformed version of the Soviet Union. Probably what Gorbachev had envisioned, Deng successfully implemented.

The second section will shed light on the historical relations between the US and China. In this part, a case would be made that 20th-century relations witnessed cordial as well as conflictual relations. When China was not a Marxist state, the US was on good terms with it in the first half of the 20th century. However, the relations became tense once it turned into one of the red states. After 1970, when it started deviating from Marxism, the US drew nearer gradually in hope of turning it into a completely liberal country. Thus, the aberration of cooperation was either because of China's deviance from communist principles or by the hope of the US that China will turn into a democratic state. Unsurprisingly, once the US realized China is unlikely to transform politically with a cordial relationship, it declared a New Cold War to weaken it like the USSR.

The last segment will discuss Pakistan's engagement with great powers in the cold war as well as in the new cold war considering ideological grounds.

The Cold War vs the New Cold War: A Comparative Analysis

Before going into the history of both relations, it would be better to understand the term Cold War itself. As Derrida has explained that to understand any word loaded with concepts that cannot be imagined just by taking the name, it must be deconstructed.

The roots of this term lie in 50 years where first time in history a great power rivalry shaped and divided the world order for 50 years, yet it did not turn into a hot war. Although Eqbal Ahmad criticized this term and argued that it was not a cold war in any sense because 21 million died, an uncounted million were wounded and more than 100 mn became refugees (Ahmed E.). Still, this piece will stick with the traditional meaning of the word: a war in which two great powers did not directly confront each other but rather chose proxies to defeat one another.

It is very important to look at this New Cold War in the light of the Old Cold War because of two reasons mainly. Firstly, one of the involved powers is a state charged with the doctrine of Marxism like the previous one, the USSR. Secondly, one of the parties is the same which took part in the Cold War. Thus, it will apply the same strategies; will use a similar prism to see the enemy, and its aims and goals will also not be different. In other words, China sees itself as a Marxist state and ideological successor state of the USSR; and the US perceives China as a communist state and successor of the USSR. By this, it did not mean the corollary is the same. No doubt there are many differences, yet the very basic and central triggering point is the same: ideology.

(A) Ideology: Is China a Marxist State?

Most scholars including Kishore Mahbubani and Martin Jacques argue that China is not like the USSR in terms of defending Marxism as a frontline state. Even it is no more a Marxist state, and it has no intention to spread communism, nor does it want to preserve the ideology within its own boundaries. Thus, US policymakers should not look at her through an ideological prism (Jacques, *When China Rules the World: The End of the Western World and the Birth of New Global Order*, 2012) (Mahbubani, *Has China Won?*, 2020). This argument does not hold upon close inspection.

Difference between the USSR and China

True, China is not in hurry to spread communism like its predecessor. The following three circumstances would be enough to shed light on how the context of the USSR was different. Firstly, the 20th century was different: due to massive upheavals in the guise of two world wars, the consequent decline of Europe, and rapid decolonization. There was huge space available to implement Marxism in the color of Leninism.

Secondly, there were very strong foundations of Marxist parties needed for Lenin's vanguard doctrine to lead the revolution. As a result, from Southeast Asia to South Asia, from West Asia to Africa, from Japan to Latin America everywhere anarchy was spread, and no one had due potential to attend to the grievances of the masses. Subsequently, communist parties came as an alternative and found a strong foothold to exploit the situation. Naturally, those parties looked for help and a role model to its only Vatican: Moscow. Thus, it was quite

difficult for her to ignore those ideological calls because the basis of the October Revolution was a similar kind of emotional appeal to spread Marxism throughout the world. Even Trotsky was of the view that the Russian revolution should be sacrificed to save the more industrially rooted revolution of Germany.

Thirdly, soon after the revolution, the world powers helped the white forces in the civil war against the red army. Plus, in the guise of Hitler, the West hired and feed a serial killer to eliminate the „premature born baby“ in Lenin“s words, which saved itself in the civil war under the leadership of great revolutionary teachers Lenin and Trotsky, and now was growing stronger day by day under the leadership of strong man Stalin (interestingly the word was derived from steel and translated as a man of steel). However, that serial killer turned into a madman: first started murdering allies of those powers, who created him and made him stronger by feeding and throwing small states in his arms, and later attacked those powers themselves. Initially invaded France and later bombed London. For the time being, the west looked to that man of steel (Stalin) to get rid of that mad killer. Once the fear of mad man was over, they planned to encircle that red virus, which was spreading everywhere like a malignancy and had no cure unless cut from its very roots.

This all paved a way for not only the cold war, but such moves also compelled the USSR to spread world revolution. The US knew that it cannot defeat such a Dev (power) militarily, so it engaged in a war of propaganda and finally won the top man, Gorbachev, by appeasing him.

“Those who cannot be defeated by bullets of steel, sometimes they easily surrender against sugar-coated bullets” Mao

The situation is different in China. Neither there is any massive political upheaval in the 21st century like in the 20th century, nor do strong Marxist political parties exist in different corners of the world which are dialing Beijing“s number. Additionally, China was not encircled by western powers like its predecessor Marxist state, USSR. On the contrary, the western powers were helping China expecting its smooth transition from a Marxist state to a capitalist one.

Does Modernization mean Westernization and Deviance from Marxism?

Although the US think tanks have changed their policy and realized that their efforts did not work to pave way for China to change its political model along with its remaining characteristics, many argue that China has changed and is changing as a capitalist country.

Often people think that modernization is the same as westernization. However, the proper sentence would be the other way around: westernization is the same as modernization. It means modernization is a broader category that has the capacity to bring all modern systems with all characteristics under its umbrella including the western one. Kishore resembles the Chinese feature of freedom with western freedom. He cites an example that every year so many Chinese travels abroad and surprisingly all return to their home country, unlike the USSR. Other examples widely cited are the lavish lifestyle of the Chinese. Martin Jacques states that Macau's income is far larger than Las Vegas: both cities famous for gambling, clubbing, pubbing, etc. China's advanced infrastructure and middle-class living style are also associated with westernization: quantities of Mac Donald's, Starbucks, etc., and fast trains and huge buildings are some of its examples. By all this, they mean that China is opening like the western liberal society and turning into a capitalistic society though in its own peculiar context.

Although China is becoming a relatively open society, it is a feature of modernization, and it does not contradict Marxism. That in its theory neither argues against freedom of expression nor individualism nor living a qualitative lifestyle though it stresses collectivism. Often scholars misunderstand or have so deeply imbibed this distorted picture of communism that they hardly realize that Marxism is merely against the exploitation of the working class which is the result of surplus capital. It is not against advanced infrastructure, modernization, living a qualitative lifestyle, or even personal private property(Thalo, 2022).

Arguably, the USSR was the only role model available to study the practical implementation of Marxism and it had a totalitarian system in which state-controlled lives of all citizens as described by Orwell in his famous novel "1984". Maxim Gorki, whose novel "Mother" played a key role in advancing February and later October Revolution, often used to criticize Lenin's regime. Once Lenin commented that he was a great revolutionary but

sometimes he experienced episodes of madness referring to his criticism with regards to press freedom. Yet he was never banned. This implies that the Soviet practice to curtail freedom of expression and violation of basic human rights was motivated by a specific context - where revolution was encircled by a lot of enemies. To protect the revolution, they had to eat that poisonous pill. Otherwise, these notions are not indoctrinated in either classical Marxism or its reformed version, Marxism-Leninism. One of the two Prophets of communism, Marx, stated that

“We are, therefore, here concerned with individuals at a definite historical stage of development and by no means merely with individuals chosen at random, even disregarding the indispensable communist revolution, which itself is a general condition for their free development. The individuals’ consciousness of their mutual relations will, of course, likewise be completely changed, and, therefore, will no more be the “principle of love” or *dévoûment* than it will be egoism”(Marx & Engels).

Thus, Marxism is never against individual freedom and living a good lifestyle or even owning personal private property like a house, vehicle, and personal accessories. Of course, its spirit is different from the stage of socialism, an initial stage of communism, “profit according to labor” unlike communism where everyone will be paid for his/her needs.

If China is following socialism with its own characteristics, it does not mean it has abandoned Marxism. China’s modernization is very much according to the Marxist line. Its adoption of mix economy is not a complete surrender to capitalism but rather a strategy to lead socialism with its own variant, unlike the Soviet model which was by itself the creation of Russian leaders because Marxism is not a German bible that cannot be changed in different spaces and time. As Lenin made his own way, Stalin did his own, and yet Mao did his own. Why cannot Deng and Xi lead their own ways?

The very basic difference related between them is cultural roots. Russia had been expansionist historically, whereas China has been very passive and busy on its own. Kishore has mentioned that the Chinese are like Jews and the West like Christians- Russia falls in the West. Yet these distinctions are never hard lines. China has also been involved in exporting revolution. It fought the revolutionary war with the US while Korean War and followed the command of Stalin as a leader. Plus, there was no predecessor model in front of Russia which could guide it, whereas China has this advantage. That is why it is learning from the experience

of not only the USSR but also other small communist states like North Korea, Vietnam, Cuba, etc. Deng learned from Gorbachev's failure. Thus, it reformed the economy but kept political power intact, a base for fighting an ideological war or leading to socialism.

Here are a few extracts from XI's speech on the 100th anniversary of CPC:

“With the salvoes of Russia's October Revolution in 1917, Marxism-Leninism was brought to China. Then in 1921, as the Chinese people and the Chinese nation were undergoing a great awakening and Marxism-Leninism was becoming closely integrated with the Chinese workers' movement, the Communist Party of China was born.....toppling the three mountains of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat-capitalism....By carrying out socialist revolution..... established socialism as our basic system..... only socialism could save China, and that only socialism with Chinese characteristics could develop China....Following the Party's 18th National Congress, socialism with Chinese characteristics entered a new era..... We must continue to adapt Marxism.....Marxism is the fundamental guiding ideology upon which our Party and country are founded; it is the very soul of our Party and the banner under which it strives. The Communist Party of China upholds the basic tenets of Marxism..... the capability of our Party and the strengths of socialism with Chinese characteristics are attributable to the fact that Marxism works..... we must continue to uphold Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory.... We must continue to adapt the basic tenets of Marxism to China's specific realities.....We will use Marxism to observe, understand, and steer the trends of our times, and continue to develop the Marxism of contemporary China and in the 21st century” (Jinping, Full text of Xi Jinping's speech on the CCP's 100th anniversary, 2021).

On a very special occasion like this, promising its commitment to Marxism implies that China will soon bounce back as a communist country. While writing a letter to World Symposium for Marxist Political Parties, he stated that “Marxism is full of vitality in 21st century China and called for developing the doctrine to make it shine brighter..... The CPC stands ready to jointly promote the cause of human progress and the building of a community with a shared future for mankind with Marxist political parties worldwide”(Jinping, Marxism is full of vitality in 21st century China, 2021). This also implies that CPC is in full swing in coordinating with other communist parties.

B: Does the US Consider China „a Marxist State“ like the USSR?

In the following paragraphs, it will be observed how the US perceives China on the same par as it did the USSR: a Marxist state and a launching pad to spread the doctrine of

communism. Kenan had argued referring to the USSR that its foreign policy is an “amalgamation of communist ideology and tsarist expansion.” The Truman doctrine also echoed the same voice that it is a struggle between two ideologies, two political systems, and two ways of life: capitalism vs communism, democracy vs dictatorship, and liberalism vs Marxism. He stated:

“One of way of life is based upon the will of majority....free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression. The second way of life is based upon will of minority.... terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections, and suppression of personal freedoms”(Kissinger, 1994, p. 452).

The whole cold war was founded on the principles of these ideological doctrines. The US perceived its enemy as a state full of zeal and zest and eager to spread its missionary doctrine. In social psychology, the „looking-glass self“ theory proposed by Charles Cooley states that often we shape ourselves as we are perceived by others “People shape themselves based on what other people perceive and confirm other people’s opinion on themselves” (Cooley).

It could be gauged from this fact that the USSR also shaped itself from this perception. In the 1930s, Stalin had practically abandoned the internationalism of Marxism, arguably, at least for time being. However, the West constantly reminded the USSR leadership that they were Marxists and they intended to spread communism and different communist parties were looking forward to their help. Besides, they were a threat to the western ways of life and there could be only one way of life that needed to be survived. These perceptions were well received by the Stalin regime and shaped its policy accordingly.

Initially, for example, Stalin viewed neutrally to Chiang Kai-shek and Mao. Kissinger has mentioned that he maintained official ties with Kominanting during the civil war, encouraged separatists in Xingjian, and did not warmly receive Mao on his first official visit.(Kissinger, 2012, pp. 113-115). However, subsequent events such as Marshal Plan compelled him to accelerate his involvement in helping communist parties to tighten their grips. As a result, he backed the coup of Czechoslovakia in 1948. Moreover, when the USSR felt alienated from Four Power Control Council in Germany and when three of the four powers created a new Deutsche mark, it led to the Berlin crisis[and finally the creation of NATO by

western powers forced Moscow to form the Warsaw pact](Kennedy, 1989)All those US perceptions and moves paved way for the start of the Cold War which witnessed its first proxy in the guise of Korean War. DimitriVolgonov, a former KGB officer, stated that though Stalin was not ready to be involved in a war, he could not refuse Kim II and risked war with the US(Volkogonov, 1999).

In his last years of life, arguably, somehow this desire to spread communism at least in a few corners of the world stemmed from his subconscious Dreams which he and his fellows had seen while the October revolution and could be observed in his moves which he used to make while using his famous „Blue pencil“.

Likewise, US perception can shape the behavior of China and can remind her that it is a Marxist state, and it must lead a front against the joint West. Kishore in his book on Sino-US rivalry says that “... [US] 2018 National Defense Strategy claims that China and Russia are revisionist powers seeking to shape a world consistent with their authoritarian model...” And FBI Director Christopher Wray has echoed the same words “One of the things we are trying to do is view the China threat as not just a whole-of-government threat, but a whole-of-society threat... and I think it’s going to take a whole-of-society response by us” (Mahbubani, Has China Won?, 2020).

Trump administration engaged her in a trade war: most scholars assumed it was a period of aberration where few mad populist leaders have gained power. However, instead of discarding Trump’s anti-China policy, the Biden administration continued its policy toward her which was sensed in the diplomatic world while Alaska Summit between both countries. After a lecture speech by the US side, Chinese diplomat Yang Yiechi responded bristly by violating even diplomatic protocols. He stated, “the US does not have qualification to say that it wants to speak to China from a position of strength”(Nikkei Asia, 2021).

Later, Biden’s first European visit was referred to as a trip to “recruit allies for the next cold war” by Rafael Behr, a columnist at Guardian. At the G7 Summit at Cornwall, China was criticized as an adversary who had to be contained rather than engaged in fair competition. Additionally,the B3W infrastructure project was proposed to counter China’s Belt and Road

Initiative. On the same trip, Biden attended NATO Summit in Brussels which declared China as a “constant threat to rule-based system”(Behr, 2021).

From point of view of Glass theory, it could be argued that the way Truman administration planted seeds of self-image in the USSR through its perception as a Marxist state and through her moves to counter that Marxist state. The same is being repeated by Trump and Biden-led governments. It could be observed through the response of China to US perception and bullying. It responded vehemently to Trade War and imposed sanctions on US goods. In Alaska, the diplomats did not bear the tutoring of the US on democracy and human rights. More important was its instant response against NATO, it states that China does not pose a systematic threat to anyone but if anyone tries to threaten China it would not behave indifferently.

This was a clear call that the days are gone when China used to tolerate bullies, and silently hear western lectures. The defensive mode of China’s foreign policy (hide your capabilities, bide your time) which was switched on by Deng is converted into an aggressive one by Xi Jinping. Probably, on the same line of Mao when he stated that Chinese people are stood up. Another example could be cited when Xi urged whole party workers to read Marxism and some of its fundamentals were telecasted in a show *Marx Got it Right* on Marx’s birthday(The Ohio State University, 2018).

It could be argued that this new cold war could give life to the Marxist doctrine which could lead her to engage with the US on ideological grounds. If the US constantly keeps reminding her that you are a communist state, it will probably behave as one, because Marxism is still an official doctrine of China, as argued above.

II

The US-China Relations: Marxism a Dominating Lens

Although Sino-Western relations history is quite old and could be traced back from the first British mission led by Macartney to China in 1793-4, Sino-US relations are a phenomenon of the 20th century. In this section, the history would be traced from 1911 when China turned into a republic under the leadership of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. The historical evolution of relations has been cordial as well as conflictual based on who held the reigns in Beijing: nationalist Kuomintang, die-hard Marxist under Mao, revisionist under Deng and its successors, or revivalist Xi Jinping. Additionally, Japan remained a dominating factor in close relations between the two in the nationalist era, whereas Korea and Taiwan remain a bone of contention between the two in the reign of the communist party.

Japan: the Dominant Factor in Cooperative Relations of US-China

Since China had turned into a republican state, the US tried to increase close relations with China. On the other hand, Japan was an imperial state which wanted to colonize China. The US was ready to save democracies from fascists and imperialists. It did help UK and France in Europe against Germany. In Asia, it needed to save China from Japan.

From the end of WW1 to the end of WW2, the Sino-US relations could be seen within the reference of the US-Japanese interests and conflicts. The first Sino-US contact concerning Japan was observed in Washington Conference (1921-22) also known as Washington Naval Conference. The US forced Japan to withdraw from its gains of WW1 in China (Mearsheimer J. J., *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, 2001, p. 179). Though Japan was not willing to embrace the treaty, it had no potential to challenge the US at that time.

The second instance was related to the League of Nations (LoN), a brainchild of American President-cum Professor Wilson. It was a form of “post-WW1 international order” to maintain peace and stability and curtail aggressive designs of great powers which could draw other great powers into a conflict and lead to war. Japan invaded Manchuria, a Chinese

territory, in 1931. To get justice, China went to the League of Nations, but Japan vetoed the resolution of withdrawal. Subsequently, Lytton commission was formed which recommended Manchuria be given under Chinese control. Japan refused and withdrew from LoN in 1933. But Western powers did nothing to evacuate the Japanese colonization of China.(The National Archives UK). Although the US was not officially part of LoN, it was considered its founder and informal leader. Besides, its interests were aligned with East Asia, and Japanese expansion was putting off American interests.

The third occasion is when Japan continued its expansion and set designs to conquer mainland China in 1937. Often it is widely cited that the cause behind US entry in WW2 was owing to her undue pressure on Japan to evacuate Chinese territory. However, the facts speak otherwise. John Mearsheimer argues by providing factual data, and very rightly so, that it was not US empathy for China but rather its strategic interests that were affected due to two main events in Europe: the fall of France and the German invasion of the Soviet Union.

It could be evident from the fact that the US did not help China on a wide scale until late 1938. In fact, even then it just provided her economic aid on the minute level. However, when Wehrmacht invaded USSR, the US feared that Japan might attack USSR from another front. If it did so, the USSR would be in a miserable position. France was already out of the war, and the UK was in a defensive position. Thus, East Asia would be open to Japanese plunder. As a result, the US will be facing two hegemons: Germany in Europe and Japan in Asia. Therefore, its policymakers concluded that the survival of the USSR was very crucial for the US strategic interests in Asia and Europe(Mearsheimer J. J., *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, 2001, pp. 219-224). Consequently, to preclude Japan from attacking the USSR, the US forced Japan to evacuate Manchuria through diplomatic bullying which led her to tighten the screws on Japan. The latter had no fallback and the crisis eventually ended at Pearl Harbor. The rest of the story is an open secret.

As a result of this crisis, American diplomats developed good relations with the Chiang Kai-shek regime. In fact, the US ambassador arranged a meeting between Mao and generalissimo. Thus, by sacrificing more people in WW2 than any other power, China won the confidence of the US. It was considered a victorious power. Though France and China had hardly played any role to defeat either Germany or Japan, the UK advanced the case of France

to get her status equal to Big Three and the US did the same for China: London wanted to keep a check on Germany with the help of France and Washington wished to counter Japan with China's help. As a result, both were given permanent seats in UNSC, a signpost of great power.

Although Sino-US relations should have deepened with this move, the end of the civil war divided the country between two Chinas: one was known as mainland China and the other as Taiwan. Nationalist Kuomintang Party and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek who were supported by the US were restricted to a small island of Taiwan and 99% part of China was under the control of communists who were under the influence of the USSR. Consequently, as post-WW1 Sino-US relations were influenced by Japan, post-1949 relations could be seen through two prisms: Taiwan and the USSR. If previous relations were relatively cooperative, this time it was based on antagonism. Because communist China was ready to fight western capitalism under the leadership of the USSR as well as defend its national integrity against American imperialism.

Korean War: Conflictual Mode of Relations

The first US bullet that China bit was Korean War.

When Kim Il-Sung, leader of North Korea, proposed invasion of South Korea to Stalin, he referred the matter to be finally decided by Mao who had a better understanding of Oriental matters. Kim visited Mao and assured him that he could win the battle without the help of Chinese comrades. The former assured the latter that the US would not intervene who objected to this emotional fervor and maintained that all-outwar possibility could not be excluded.

Kissinger analyzed that Stalin was manipulating Mao and playing military cards, which he had learned while defeating Hitler. According to him, by throwing the ball in the court of Mao, Stalin had two outcomes in mind: if the former had a dispute with Kim Il, Korea would be solely under Soviet influence, and if Beijing intervened in war, it would be dependent on the Soviet military.

These charges do not bear up under close inspection. Often realist thinkers ignore the psychological aspect of leadership by over-emphasizing national interest or mechanical and calculated loss and profit. However, this is not how individual Psyche works. Long ago,

Protagoras had said, and rightly so, “man is the measure of all things.” To some extent, it was true that Stalin was throwing a burden toward Mao, but the reason was not making China vulnerable rather he was preparing his shoulder to bear the burden of ideology that he had been bearing for more than 30 years. This way he was creating a sort of international coordination.

This is a common practice within communist parties to follow the chain of command and divide responsibilities. It is hard for western thinkers to understand because they see two countries as two different entities. By reflecting on missionary doctrines like Islam, communism, or even the Christian empire under Pope one can understand that those leaders had a feeling of a joint front with a hierarchy. This is the reason despite many reservations, Mao never criticized Stalin publicly. Even he was hoping to be his successor as a communist leader. It could be evident from the fact that he was not ready to accept the leadership of Khrushchev and when the latter criticized Stalin in his secret speech in 1956, the former withdrew from his international commitments to work as a joint communist front under a single leadership against joint western imperialism less with capitalism.

This joint communist venture brought Maoist China against the leader of the western world, the United States. Both armies faced each other. If leftist leaders miscalculated US commitment to South Korea, the US also did not contemplate that a war-torn country like China which had been occupied in military conflicts since 1931 and was only a year before emerged as victorious in civil war, with poorly equipped weaponry dare to fight to the most advanced military in the world. Though the war did not bring any concrete results, it left deep scars on the military psychology of both powers. China learned its lesson about how difficult it was to confront an advanced military like the US. Thus, it avoided any further confrontation in the cold war with the US. For its part, the US also learned that the Chinese were unpredictable and did not fear any atomic bombs and were ready to risk big war for a just cause.

Taiwan: A Bone of Contention

Another front was Taiwan. The civil war ended with the so-called exile government of Kuomintang on the island of Taiwan which claimed its rights over mainland China. Beijing under the control of communists considered Taiwan as its province occupied by nationalists which needed to be liberated. Mao calculated that Kim's venture might help him to invade Formosa, but it proved to be not true. If the US could risk a big war with USSR for Korea, it

could go to any length to defend Taiwan, because it had cordial relations with Chiang Kai-shek since the 1930s. Thus, the US had proposed a two-state solution like Palestine and Israel. But both nationalists and communists rejected the idea (Kissinger, 2012, p. 151). Consequently, the US stood by Taiwan and refused to acknowledge the government in Beijing and its admission to the UN (similar to what western powers did to Russia after the October revolution). Both powers faced each other over three Taiwan Strait Crises.

The First Taiwan Crisis (1954) erupted on smaller off-shore Islands- Quemoy and Matsu. These islands were located between mainland China and Taiwan. Quemoy from Xiamen and Matsu from Fuzhou was just two miles away. However, both islands had proved nationalist hubs. Strategically, neither the US nor China had any interest in these islands. US secretary of state, John Foster Dulles, referred to them as “a bunch of rock” (Kissinger, 2012, p. 154). Mao’s primary interest was to keep a check on Taiwan and give the message to the international community including the US that they were ready to risk war with the Superpower for their core interests, in this case, Taiwan.

The American Seventh Fleet had been patrolling in Chinese waters since the end of WWII. It prevented both Beijing and Taipei from directly confronting each other. However, the US government announced a withdrawal from such responsibility in 1953. As a result, Kuomintang started armoring these regions. In response, Mao ordered a small-scale attack. In the shelling two American military officers were killed. The US responded by bringing three aircraft carriers into the strait. Even the tactical use of nukes was under consideration.

In 1958, the second crisis occurred where around 1000 lives were lost in the bombardment. This time the USSR also came to the rescue and threatened the US to respond with nuclear arsenals. Khrushchev sent a threatening letter to the White House which stated that “an attack on the Chinese People’s Republic, which is great friend, ally, and neighbor of our country, is an attack on the Soviet Union ... and [it] will do everything ... to defend the security of both states” (Kissinger, 2012, p. 176).

There are only three examples when the US thought of attacking Atom: unsurprisingly, all against Communist states. In Korean War, Mac Arthur proposed to annihilate communist China, and in Taiwan Strait Crisis also against China. While the Cuban Missile Crisis (1962), the proposal was against communist Cuba and the USSR. Surprisingly, both Mao and Federal

Castro echoed the same voice: “we are ready to face Atom.” Not because their countries were strong enough to sustain and retaliate rather the spirit of sacrifice was over the head of the leadership.

Despite the strategic irrelevance of those islands, both powers were ready to engage in total war. Why? The answer is ideological. For China, it was crucial to stand against imperial America, because it was the slogan that had played a key role in organizing the People’s Liberation Army against imperial Japan and nationalist Chiang. Moreover, Mao emerged as the leader of the communist world after the death of Stalin. Khrushchev had no such contributions toward communism compared to Mao. Thus, he assumed himself the successor of Stalin for leading of Marxist block. Therefore, it was significant to emerge as a daring leader who could speak the US on equal footing. Thus, he named the US „a paper tiger.“Had he behaved as a leader of China, he must have kept in mind the weakening position of his country. However, he acted as a leader of a block that was dominating two third of the world's geography. The US also could not afford to allow China to bully Taiwan. It might have encouraged other communist states to go beyond their capacities.

The third crisis was relatively low on a confrontational level. In 1987, Chiang uplifted martial law in Taiwan. Democratic credentials paved way for pro-independence elements who believed in the distinct identity of Taiwan. Lee Teng-hui was one of the key advocates. While his trip to the US in 1994, Taiwan Strait witnessed a series of missile fires by China (Kissinger, 2012, p. 474). The practice was repeated in 1996 as Taiwan’s presidential elections drew near. This time the US also responded by bringing two aircraft carriers (Kissinger, 2012, pp. 476-77). However, the US was not interested as such because after Deng’s reforms and the fall of the USSR it expected the same from China; details would be discussed while evaluating cooperation between the two.

Deviance from Marxism: A Road to Cooperation

As discussed above the aberration of good relations also exist in the relations of two countries. However, this exception was the result of China’s deviance from Marxist doctrine. According to Dr. Kissinger, whenever Mao needed to send his message to Americans, he used to say it through interviews with Edgar Snow, his favorite American journalist. While Vietnam War in 1965, Mao told Snow that “wherever there is revolution, we will issue statements and hold

meetings to support it... We like to say empty words and fire empty canons, but we will not send in troops." Kissinger, rightly, noticed that it was a "resignation from the traditional Communist doctrine of world revolution"(Kissinger, 2012, p. 206). The message was well received in the US. However, the Johnson government was not in a hurry. Since it was not an official policy, Washington had to wait.

The Sino-Soviet split took place in 1962, but the Americans perceived it as some sort of communist conspiracy and propaganda, or at the worst ideological difference between the course of revolution and allies within two brothers. The 1969 Clashes at the Ussuri River proved this perception incorrect. The US realized the ideological gap was wide and the conflict was real. What else could be a better signal for the American think tank than the rift from the Mecca of Marxism?The stage was set for the rapprochement. Here comes the entry of Pakistan.

Role of Pakistan and its Price

Pakistan played a key role in bringing the two states close to each other. On 8 December 1970, the Pakistani ambassador delivered the first handwritten letter of Chinese premier Zhou to US foreign office. It invited US envoys for talks. Later, the secret visit of the National Security Advisor of American President, Dr. Henry Kissinger, was planned via Islamabad to China on 9 July 1971. Even the plane was borrowed from Pakistan's government. This visit proved so successful. Just after three months, China got its permanent seat in UNSC on 25 October 1971: the right that had been denied for more than 20 years. Besides, just after seven months, the first American President Richard Nixon visited China in February 1972. However, Pakistan paid a heavy price for this just cause.

The USSR blamed it for meddling in international affairs and tried to teach a lesson to both China and Pakistan by signing a "Treaty of Friendship" with India in August 1971, just after one month. According to Robert Jackson, the USSR wanted to penalize both China and Pakistan. By signing this pact, it neutralized Chinese military support to Pakistan, especially the nuclear umbrella. The pact implied that if China or even the Western world intervened in the Indo-Pakistan war, the USSR would be bound to rescue India(Jackson, 1975). Unsurprisingly, it did help India on the diplomatic front as well as militarily. The USSR vetoed all resolutions of the UNSC forwarded by the US to condemn India for its role. Additionally, when British and US naval forces entered the Bay of Bengal to help Pakistani forces, they were

stopped by the nuclear submarines of the USSR. With this master diplomatic stroke, the Indo-Soviet treaty, Moscow killed three birds with one stone. Pakistan was dismembered. China got humiliated for being unhelpful to its close ally: Pakistan. The US lost another battle of the Cold War.

Formal Relations: A Comparative Analysis of Mao and Deng

Although the rapprochement started in 1970, the formal relations began in 1979. A significant question arises: Why? The answer is Deng Xiaoping's reforms. Despite Mao's deviance from the doctrine to spread world revolution, his commitment to hold it within China was unquestionable. By balancing relations between the USSR and the US, he was exploiting the weakness of two enemies. However, he continued his revolutionary policies in domestic affairs. Theoretically, he was richer than Khrushchev, Brezhnev, or even Stalin. He was a leader of Lenin's caliber. His Marxist understanding of imperialism and capitalism was unconquerable. His practical struggle for revolution had no precedent in communist revolutions. Even the October revolution was a smooth transition of power. Kerensky's government was fragile. On the other hand, Mao's long march and civil war was a real battle with a strong enemy. Psychologically speaking, one loves his/her achievements, especially if they were the result of heavy price. He even lost his children, not to mention thousands of companions. How he would have agreed to roll back his winnings or skip the missionary doctrine for which he fought his whole life.

Unlike Mao, Deng had suffered personally not for the revolution but rather at the hands of revolutionaries. He was arrested in 1966, when he was general secretary of the central committee of the party, on the charge of being a "capitalist roader". His son was thrown out of his room by revolutionary guards and was denied hospital admission. Consequently, he was paralyzed. Later in 1977, he was again exiled from the power and nearly got saved from arrest. With such history, after the death of Mao, Deng ascended to power in December 1978.

Unsurprisingly, he tried to reverse Maoist policies. One of the key features was the opening of the economy. He introduced economic reforms in the name of modernization. He wished to follow the Meiji restoration of Japan: a top to bottom approach. The principles were based on the liberal concept of the economy- the producer of wealth is its owner. This could not have been ignored in the Western world. Additionally, Mao had stopped sending troops to

Vietnam. Nonetheless, he sent non-military staff to their support. In the era of Deng, China attacked Vietnam. For the first time, the two communist states fought a war against each other. Probably, these developments convinced the US to formally establish relations with China. Thus, as far as China was moving away from Marxism, the US was getting closer to it.

The Rise of China Facilitated by the US

Glasnost, Perestroika of Gorbachev, the fall of communist regimes in Eastern Europe, and the subsequent disintegration of the USSR gave high hopes to the West especially the US for regime change in China. The west assumed that economic change in China would ultimately bring the end of one-party rule. Democracy will flourish in China. The new China might be like Taiwan or Hong Kong. Fukuyama's euphoria played the role of opium for the US. It concluded that liberalism had triumphed ideologically. Capitalism or Free Market being its economic face had engulfed the whole globe. Democracy, a political component of liberalism, needed to be spread. The social feature of liberalism - Human Rights – would be protected. No more ideological battles. Monarchies as well as one-party states mainly communists especially in China should be encouraged to follow the course of history in Hegelian terms: adopt democracy and respect human rights.

Thus, it encouraged China and helped its integration into the world market by accepting its admission to WTO. The US shifted its industries to China and opened its market for



Chinese products. It also gave her access to its technology. As a result, the flat curve of growth reached its peak. In 2008, the world witnessed a financial crisis, but China emerged as a relatively strong economy. Sarkozy called Hu Jintao for a bailout package. The world was witnessing a new reality. In 2014, China surpassed the US as the world's largest economy in terms of GDP PPP.

China under Xi: The Starting Point of the New Cold War

US help proved a fuel for Chinese economic growth. However, what did not change was something on the political front and social grounds. Instead of becoming democratic, Xi Jinping even reversed the single democratic feature: term limits for President. He declared himself a lifetime president on the same paras the USSR. Out of seven leaders, only Khrushchev left power while being alive though by force. In China, only Mao holds such power. Deng set a precedence of retirement which was followed for three decades.

Xi's China also put tight restrictions on Uighur Muslims. More important he brought massive changes to Hong Kong and reduced its democratic features. The abuse of human rights was witnessed in such a developed society. Xi also brought closer China towards Marxist doctrine. These all signs proved that China is not going to be democratic just because it liberalizes its economy. Moreover, the Chinese BRI has the potential to challenge American imperialism. Its bullying against East Asian states in the South China Sea, and threats to Japan have compelled the US to protect its allies by countering China.

On the other hand, Russia has also resurged. It went into hibernation after the fall of the USSR. However, 9-11 and Iraq's invasion helped its economy to grow because of increasing oil prices. In 2008, it attacked Georgia, and in 2014 annexed Crimea. In 2022 Ukraine happened. In all three events, the West threw Russia into Chinese arms. Under BRICS and SCO, both countries are moving forward to counter the western liberal order. The stage is set for the New Cold War.

III

Pakistan and the Cold War

The twentieth century was full of political upheavals. Those political changes mainly stemmed from various ideological fountains: be it a communist critique of capitalism, democratic decline due to dictatorship, religious rhetoric, or slogans of sovereignty. Pakistan was also created because of 20th-century upheavals. Therefore, it was ideologically charged.

One of the theories about the partition is western interests to block the access of the USSR to the Arabian Sea, famously known as warm water. According to Tariq Fateh, an expert on the partition, the British proposed a plan that the creation of a new state in the north-western region would safely guard British interests: and curtail communism from reaching South Asia. He states that initially, the British offered Mr. Nehru to help them to confront the USSR. However, he declined. The second option was Jinnah. He gracefully accepted the offer by stating that they were Muslims and already against communism (Dera Bugti, 2013). Although this bold claim lacks historical evidence, the later developments confirm one thing which is Pakistan's ambitious ideological aspirations.

Dr. Farooq Dar- Ph.D. on Jinnah - has mentioned that Quaid sent his special envoy Mir Like Ali to the US for fundraising. Washington accepted the offer, but Pakistan's role in the Palestine issue compelled the US to suspend the deal. That is the reason the ambassadorial post remains vacant from 1948 to 1950. This indicates how ideologically charged Pakistan was.

Nonetheless, the Pakistani state has not remained on auto-pilot mode. Its aspirations have changed with various rulers in charge.

Ayub Khan and Western Alignment

Although Ayub took direct reigns in the late 1950s, it developed a strong say within policy-making circles from the days of mini martial law in Lahore in 1953. He became defense minister in 1954. Since then, he remained in charge of alignment with great powers. He was the key figure who supported SEATO and CENTO: anti-communism alliances. In his era, Pakistan also replicated the political model of the US based on basic democrats. Thus, he changed the parliamentary system to a presidential one.

In the economic sphere too, he followed the capitalist model of the US. Indicators of economic growth were even praised from De Gaulle to President Johnson. Ayub's decade of development is celebrated as a glorious period in the economy of Pakistan. All facts and figures are in his favor- the first five-year plan witnessed 17pc growth in manufacturing, whereas in the rest of his tenure agriculture and industry grew 6pc and 10pc, respectively (Zaidi S. A., 2015, p. 6). Despite these facts, Akbar Zaidi, a leading economist, mentions that this development was restricted to central Punjab and Karachi which was on the price of the rest of the country and functional inequality was the preferred philosophy of Ayub's advisor, Mahbub ul Haq, who limited its focus on rich only (Zaidi S. A., 2015, pp. 6-7). The major chunk of the economy was concentrated among 20 famous families. Thus, regional inequalities were ignored which triggered the fall of Dhaka (Haider, 2016). Lastly, not only provincial disparity was reinforced but also class differences increased due to Ayub's state-led passive revolution which was inspired to catch up with developed states.

The social domain was also inspired by western liberalism. He introduced family laws where a restriction was put on polygamy. The consent of the first wife was needed for a second marriage. He also introduced various checks on Ulemas.

Bhutto and Bilateralism

He was a controversial and conflicted figure. On the one hand, his father was a big Muslim landlord. On the other side, his mother was a poor Hindu. He experienced an aristocratic elite lifestyle but also witnessed how his mother suffered in his parental family. As a result, he

enjoyed the taste of luxurious life but also developed a lot of affection for the lower class. Unsurprisingly, he ended up as a socialist. He had high regard for Chinese leadership from Mao to Zhou; even used to wear a Mao cap

Like Ayub Khan, he also started influencing his thoughts on the policy of the state when he became part of Ayub's cabinet. He was the main architect of the Sino-Pakistan friendship. The Pak-China boundary issue was unresolved since 1947. Bhutto first signed this agreement in 1963. This move helped him to take charge of the foreign ministry in the next few months.

After becoming President, Bhutto introduced his bilateral foreign policy. Although it mentioned normal relations between the East and the West, his antagonism against the US was visible. He pulled Pakistan out of SEATO. Thus, formally broke up military ties with the west. Besides, he successfully created another block on ideological grounds: OIC. Thus, his international engagement was motivated by both socialism and the Muslim brotherhood. The interesting fact is both were anti-west. Apart from the socialist block, the first time any other global group threatened the economic interests of the west in general and the US in particular. The oil embargo by Muslim countries sent shock waves to the international economic order. Moreover, he increased economic partnerships with the USSR. Steel Mill was also an effort of those initiatives.

Internally, he also introduced socialist policies. Many giant corporations and banks were nationalized. Shahzad Chudary wrote in an article about Bhutto "In his (Bhutto) hatred of the moneyed industrialist who he felt stood against his political primacy he moved away from the capitalist market economy to a nationalised economic structure similar to the communist model. He nationalised most of banking, industry and services opening the floodgates of government-sponsored jobs more as a populist measure than economic sense" (Chaudhry, 2022).

Moreover, he introduced land reforms where feudal lords were forced to limit the possession of land; also distributed land among farmers. On the political front, he tried to make Pakistan a one-party state by empowering FSF which were mainly recruits from PSF.

In short, the Bhutto era was ideologically tilted toward socialist block in the Cold War. More important, it was against the US hegemony in global politics.

Zia and US Sponsored Afghan Jihad

He was personally a religiously charged man. Besides, he was put on the throne because of the US and Jamaat Islami's conspiracy against Bhutto. From 1973, things started changing in Afghanistan. Monarchy was overthrown and a republic was formed with the help of communists. In November 1976, a failed coup also took place by armed officers in Afghanistan. Guesswork would suggest that the US was worried about the development in both countries: Pakistan and Afghanistan. It might have sensed the sour revolution in Afghanistan and more socialist influence in Pakistan under Bhutto's reign.

Bringing general Zia into power, the US planned to kill two birds with one stone. Pakistan was saved from further socialization. Zia rolled back the socialist policies of Bhutto in Pakistan. For Afghanistan, J.I provided a counter-narrative in name of political Islam. Religious indoctrination of Pakistan armed forces was carried out. Moreover, the Mujahidin were religiously fed by J.I and militarily trained by Pakistan armed forces. Volunteers from J.I also took part in the Afghan war of the 1980s.

Zia era was a reaction to Bhutto's socialism. It again threw Pakistan into the US camp. Theocracy played the role of bridge between Islamist Pakistan and the Christian US against the atheist USSR. The war proved the last nail in the communist coffin. Consequently, Marxism did not remain on the central stage of international politics or academia. Liberalism and political Islam emerged as central pillars of global politics. For the next two decades, both dominated the central part of the theatrical stage in literature as well as politics.

Fragile Decade of Democracy: 1988 to 1999

During this decade, the US-led institutions tried to bring Pakistan into the orbit of a Neo-Liberal economy because the Zia era could not bring many structural reforms in the economic sphere. Besides, this was the time when the communist model no more remained an alternative. China was already moving towards an open market and India too brought changes in its economy. In Pakistan, efforts were also taken.

While commenting on the fragile democratic decade of Pakistani history (1988-1999), Zaid mentions that "Pakistan's economy has been under the tutelage of the international lending agencies, the IMF and World Bank" (Zaidi S. A., 2015, p. 8). This could be viewed from these facts that one of the caretaker governments was headed by Moen Qureshi, ex-vice

President of the World Bank. More surprisingly, the government did not bother to appoint a finance minister in the 1990s, because the advisors of IMF and World Bank were enough to lead the economic policies of the government. These acts could not only be seen as a violation of sovereignty, but they also affected the economy of Pakistan (Zaidi S. A., 2015, p. 8). Unsurprisingly, this involvement of the IMF was not only due to an unstable political setup but also was more related to the policies of the previous military government. Ishrat Hussain has stated that “by 1987-88, defense spending had overtaken development spending.... [which] was curtailed to 3 percent of GDP” and as a result, the social sector could not perform well. Subsequently, the rising debt service could not be met without the help of the IMF (Husain I., *Governing the Ungovernable*, 2018, p. 67).

However, this policy of the „Structural Adjustment Program“ and the Neo-liberal economic model did not prove better for the economy of Pakistan. One of the sad facts about this decade is that poverty almost doubled: from 18 percent to 34 percent. Additionally, the social and gender gap also increased (Husain I., 2018, p. 71).

Musharraf and War on Terror

General Parvez Musharraf was also ultra-liberal in his out-look. He introduced the doctrine of enlightened moderation which was inspired by western liberalism. In his era, a lot of liberal moves were introduced. To create his soft image in the West, he gave complete freedom to the press; reserved a 17% quota for women in assembly as well as bureaucracy; passed women's rights bills; registered Madrasas and initiated a crackdown on extremists just to name a few.

With great power engagement, the Musharraf era could be mainly looked at with the preview of the War on Terror, where he happily assisted the US. Ideologically, global politics focused on Islamist extremism as a threat to the western liberal order. Neither Russia nor China seemed peer competitors in the first decade of the 21st century.

Since religious extremists were a joint product of the US and Pakistan's ideological factories, the US could not provide any anti-dote individually. Therefore, it needed Pakistan as an ally to dismantle its engineered factions. Although Musharraf was pro-west and against Talibanization, the various other stakeholders who were still under the influence of General Hamid Gul opposed military operations. State institutions worked in two contradictory modes.

On the one hand, Pakistan provided bases to the US military for conducting operations against the Afghan Taliban. On the other hand, they were covertly helped. It could be argued that the Pakistani state is not a monolithic actor as realists claim. Various state holders had different interests. Owing to military discipline, army chief's opinions dominated the policies, but internally opposition existed which created the concept of good Taliban and bad Taliban.

Secondly, a huge amount of aid was given by the US, IMF, and other international economic groups (Zaidi S. A., 2015, p. 8). Pakistan was also forgiven 1 bn \$ debt by the US, FDI reached 5 bn \$ in 2007, and the annual GDP growth rate was 6.8 percent in 2002-2007 (Husain I., 2018, pp. 71-72). This was something that could not have been ignored by Pakistan's military.

This economic and moral support helped military rule to take strong roots and prolong its duration - though it proved fatal for the socio-economic fabric of the country. With dollars pouring, the liberal faction of the establishment rebuked its old allies - right-wing extremists. As a result, there was an operation in different parts of Pakistan against them by NATO and Pakistani forces jointly.

According to Pakistan Economic Survey's report "During last 13 years (2001 to 2014), the direct and indirect cost incurred by Pakistan due to incidents of terrorism amounted to the US \$ 102.51 bn" (Pakistan Economic Survey (Annexure III), 2013-14). Apart from economic loss, the human capital loss is also unbearable: 21,485 civilians and 6660 security forces personnel were killed from 2003-2016 (Zakaria, Jun, & Ahmed, 2019). About these facts, Harris told the interviewer that these figures are guess estimates. More important, the Pakistan military has taken huge benefits from that economic help from the US (Gazdar, 2022). So even if Pakistan lost 100 bn amount that was the money of taxpayers. The amount received by the US directly went to the accounts of generals.

China's War on Terror

No great power including China opposed the US invasion of Afghanistan. In fact, Beijing was pleased that the US is taking care of regional security on its own. The biggest beneficiary of WoT is none other than China.

Internally, it was worried about the Uighur crisis. The concept of Pan-Islam and militarization of Muslims put severe pressure on leaders of CPC. Beijing feared internationalization and militarization of Islam would ultimately provide the base for the recruitment of Uighur Muslims in the Taliban, Al-Qaida, and ISIS camps. Besides, support of Taliban and Al-Qaida to ETIM would bring the War on Terror to Chinese land. On the one hand, to deal with this crisis, it supported US War on Terror in Afghanistan as well as in Pakistani peripheries. On the other hand, China pursued Pakistan to use their political clout on the Taliban and isolate ETIM from the gang of a flock. Andrew Small has mentioned the primary motive to attack Lal Masjid was not to please Washington but rather its arch-rival and Pakistan's forever friend, Beijing (Small, 2015, pp. ix, x).

This shows Pakistan was serious to tackle Chinese concerns. He also argues that CPEC is not an economic investment but rather a political bribe to Pakistan's military for side-lining the Uighur issue from mainstream Muslim rhetoric. This is the reason that, unlike Palestine and Kashmir, Xing Jiang is not mainstreamed on Muslim platforms.

One of the suspicious questions which a historian could raise is "was it a coincidence that in 1977 the army took over in Pakistan and after two years a crisis emerged in Afghanistan which naturally needed a response from the US"? Was it again a coincidence that an army chief controlled the reigns of Pakistan in 1999 and again after two years 9-11 happened from the soil of Afghanistan which again needed the US response? In both cases, the army chiefs of Pakistan legitimized their dictatorship; the military in both eras enjoyed a huge amount of aid; both. Afghan war and the War on Terror helped them to rule, and once both wars ended, American interests declined. As a result, both rulers lost power.

Conclusion

Although most scholars from the right as well as the left do not consider China as a representative Marxism or successor state of the USSR, this piece concludes that enough evidence is available to declare China a Marxist state. It does not mean it behaves exactly the same as did the USSR. Since Lenin had his own views about communism and Stalin his own. Probably, Mao had his own and Xi has his own. There is no single way to lead any country towards communism. These are all experiments. USSR did its own. China is doing its own. Russia being a core state of the USSR had a very different history of foreign relations. It was

one of the main expansionist European powers. On the other hand, China had always restricted itself to Chinese waters. As a result, both behaved differently concerning exporting their version of revolution. The USSR came out as revisionist power. China seems status quo power with regard to the spread of communism.

Nevertheless, China perceives itself as a core Marxist state leading communism with its own peculiar characteristics. Recent steps taken by Xi such as his focus on Marxism on the 100th anniversary of CPC, and the telecast of Marx's life on the national television show that strong voices for communism still exist in CPC. The factionalism in CPC is not a secret anymore. The liberals and hard-core Marxists exist. Xi has tilted towards the latter faction. Who knows when a hardcore Marxist will take over China?

The US looked at China through the prism of Gorbachev for a while. It helped China to transform its economy which it assumes will help China to become a democratic country like Russia. However, their assumptions proved wrong. China became more Marxist and non-democratic with the lever of economic might. Hence the US has ceased this policy of cooperation. Anti-China voices are more powerful in the US policy-making circles for a decade. Trump won the election on anti-China rhetoric. Biden reversed all of Trump's policies except his China policy. Rafael Behr wrote that Biden's trip to Europe was to recruit allies against China for the New Cold War. NATO declared China as an official competitor. Build Back Better World has been announced by G7 worth \$ 40 tr. Quad is no more a formal alliance. AUKUS is also a reality. Thus, a web of alliances and economic packages for third-world countries suggests that the New Cold War is on its way.

Not only strategies but motives also prove that the New Cold War has already begun. It is just a matter of time before both powers officially announce their participation in this conflict. The reason again is going to be ideological because it is the only way to get authorization for such a deadliest conflict from the public. Ideologies are easy to exploit. The complex economic calculations and philosophical political concepts are hard for the masses to grasp.

Chapter Two

Competing Factors of the New Cold War

Introduction

Although the debate about the primary driving forces for Sino-US confrontation is not new, the contemporary tense geo-political environment has once again triggered this debate. Various views already exist. The others are being added. At the end of the Cold War, Francis Fukuyama introduced the doctrine of unending peace. “The End of History” thesis argued that since the ideological battle had ended and liberalism had triumphed, no confrontation on a global level would take place. The argument goes that there are two types of people: the one who wants to be treated as equal and fair (Isothymia) and the others who wish to be served preferentially (Megalothymia). The two faces of liberalism are qualified to fulfill the needs of both groups. Liberal democracy treats all people equally in the political and legal spheres. Anyone having citizenship will have the same rights be it a billionaire or a factory worker - thus, fulfilling the need of Isothymia. On the other hand, a person with the desire for Megalothymia would have equal opportunities to win the economic race in the free market and be treated with superiority due to his wealth. As a result, society will remain in harmony (Fukuyama, 1992).

Despite the delicacy of the argument, it proved futile. During 9-11, it faced the first flow. The second seems the New Cold War.

The first chapter has already established that ideological clash still dominates Sino-US relations and by default global politics as well. However, critical theory explains - and rightly so - that neither two events could be explained with the same prism, nor any phenomenon could have a single interpretation, especially the ongoing one. The New Cold War is not an exception. Hence, there are various other competing factors and possible justifications, which have probably triggered this war. To understand Sino-US rivalry, it is crucial to explain them.

In this chapter, three theoretical frameworks will be discussed which could help in understanding the causes of the New Cold War: The Clash of Civilizations, Offensive Realism, and Thucydides Trap. Each theory would be explained with its basic assumptions and applied

to the Sino-US confrontation. Moreover, the relation and position of Pakistan in those conflicts will also be discussed in each framework.

I

Clash of Civilization: A Cultural Factor

It was probably the first anti-thesis of “the End of History” advanced by Huntington and endorsed by many mainstream theorists. The baseline of this doctrine is the primacy of identity and culture. It is based on the premise that “we know who we are only when we know who we are not and often only when we know whom we are against”(Huntington, 1996, p. 3). Thus, the hypothesis of the author is “In the post-Cold War world, the most important distinctions among people are not ideological, political, or economic. They are cultural.” (Huntington, 1996, p. 2). In international politics, these identities are combined and shaped as grand identities known as civilizational identities. The theorist believed that these identities would shape “the patterns of cohesion, disintegration, and conflict” [which would be the bases of any new cold war in the future].(Huntington, 1996, p. 2).

He states that China conceives itself as the leader of the “Sinic Zone” which includes Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, Vietnam, etc.(Huntington, 1996, p. 110). Kissinger has associated a similar concept of Tributary states with China. From 1 to 1820, China remained the largest economy of the world(Tharoor S. , 2016). It had its area of influence in these regions. Although after the opium wars it faced a century of humiliation and lost its prominence. Since its rise, it has tried to be assertive in the region.

Naturally, China wishes to influence these countries. It is unlikely to accept western dominance in these areas. On the other hand, the US has security pacts with key states in the region including Taiwan, South Korea, and Japan. On the one hand, these states are branches of Chinese civilization in terms of identity. On the other hand, they are predominately influenced by western culture in terms of education, technology, law, social values, etc.

Apart from East Asia, the Subcontinent has historically remained a colony of the West. It inherited western socio-political institutions from Britain. Pakistan also deeply associated itself with the West even after independence. More specifically it aligned with the US. Its

political institutions are western in its nature. Its elite has played a key role in enhancing the interests of the western elite. However, the situation is changing with increasing Chinese influence in Pakistan. This is going to bring some sort of confrontation between the US and China in both regions: East Asia and South Asia.

Controlled Society vs Liberal Values

A) China

On the social front, China is a very close society. As a state, it sees its citizens in terms of child-parent relations, where parents have every right over their children (Jacques, *Understanding the Rise of China*, 2011). The state knows better than its citizens about their needs and wants. Being a parent, the state can punish or refrain citizens from doing anything. Citizens being a child are minors. Their intake on policy-making matters less. Thus, liberal values are discouraged in Chinese society. As a result, we witness massive human rights violations in China. Uighur Muslims are mistreated and manhandled. They are sent to forced camps for reeducation; forbidden from keeping their beard; and punished for following their religious values. More shocking was the recent UNHRC report. It mentioned how China is involved in organ harvesting on prisoners of minority communities. Their hearts, kidneys, and other organs are sold (China: UN human rights experts alarmed by organ harvesting allegations, 2021).

As far as freedom of expression is concerned, China has state-controlled media. It is not free to criticize beyond certain limits to policymakers. People are not encouraged to protest. A limited protest right is allowed against lower officials, but leadership is immune from any such act. In 2021, a female tennis player named Peng Shuai alleged ex-vice premier Zang Gaoli of manhandling her before his retirement. Instead of providing justice to her, she got missed. Women Tennis Association boycotted China. They urged the Chinese government to allow her to appear, but all in vain (World Affairs, 2021).

Protests were also witnessed in Hong Kong in 2019. Hong Kong is an autonomous part under “one China two systems.” It has maintained its British legacy for two decades. However, the current regime introduced “extradition law” and cut the wings of freedom. The people of Hong Kong protested. The videos went viral when protesters entered in Airport with US flags.

They appealed to the US to intervene. Trump administration also condemned China's human rights abuse(Mahtani, 2019).

B) The US

On the other hand, the US is a champion of western liberal values. It needs to protect such values. Liberalism believes in freedom of expression, freedom of religious practice, and the right to register a protest. For a long, the US has been accusing China of the issue of human rights. First, it was the issue of Tibet and Dalai Lama, later Uighurs state persecution, and now the crisis of Hong Kong. These all-unfolding events have helped the US policymakers to conclude that China is not different than the Soviet big brother in Orwellian terms. It is hard to believe that China can change itself; a view previously maintained by the US ideologues. Therefore, it seems likely that Chinese surveillance would be difficult for US citizens to bear in such a globalized world.

Although emotions are widely ignored in international relations theory, it plays a vital role. It was a public opinion that compelled the US to intervene in world wars. The videos of brutal acts against Uighurs and other dissent members of society will possibly infuriate US citizens. As a result, the government would be bound to keep a check on Chinese actions. Recently, Russian membership was withdrawn from Human Rights Council(UN General Assembly votes to suspend Russia from the Human Rights Council, 2022). It would not be a surprise if a similar move could be taken against China in the future. Uighur diaspora is already active in the US capital. It is lobbying among US congressmen. There could be far-reaching consequences of this.

Chinese Cultural Onslaught

If such cultural values within China can bring two countries against each other. What if China tried to export them to Asia? A case study from East Asia and South Asia would give better insight.

A) Singapore: A Case Study from East Asia

In East Asia, take the example of Singapore, which is already a police state. Although it is more inclined toward the West nowadays, once the US is pushed out of Asian waters, Singapore would feel no difficulty in maintaining close ties with China given the huge Chinese membership in its society. Out of the 5.5 million's population, 75% constitutes Chinese.

Singapore's government introduced "The Protection from Online Falsehoods and Manipulation Act" (POFMA) in 2019. It gives the right to a state minister to declare any news false and give the notice to correct it. If anyone fails to respond to this „correction,“ his/her social media page would be banned. Additionally, up to 12 months in jail, as well as a \$15000 fine, could be given as punishment. According to the world report 2021, around 50 times, POFMA was invoked by 2020 (World Report 2021). Given such a record, it is more likely to imitate Chinese values of curtailing freedom of expression.

The US understands these future threats posed by Chinese culture to the enlightenment values. Therefore, it has been trying to limit the influence of China in East Asian societies.

B) Pakistan: A Case Study from South Asia

Can Pakistan Imitate the Chinese model? To answer this question, we have to look at history and see what sort of experiences the military establishment has already done.

1. Military's Various Formulas to Remain in Power: A Bird's-Eye View

Pakistan has been a deep state since the first decade of its independence. To remain in power, the military establishment has tried various formulas. Agitation against Ayub Khan helped them to realize that dictatorship could not be tolerated beyond its time limit. So, they planned for a hung parliament. However, the free and fair elections of 1970 sent a clear message to

them that political leaders in Pakistan had the capability to emerge as the sole leader of the house and leader of the opposition in this case Mujeeb and Bhutto: shattering the Dream of a hung house. They tried military operations to pressurize political leaders to compromise but failed and lost one part of the country.

With Bhutto, they tried a power-sharing formula. Then Air Marshall himself drove the plane over General Yahya's home and threatened him to resign and handover the reign to Bhutto (Niazi, 1998). To their unfortunate, once he came into power he started weakening the military elite by introducing a nuclear project; creating a post of the joint chief of staff; kidnapping two chiefs of armed forces and took resign from them at gun point; and most important slow down the process of freeing prisoners of war. This was a horrific experience. General Zia thought to appoint a civilian PM, Muhammad Khan Junejo, without the backing of a political party. But he also did not prove loyal.

Parvez Musharraf made deal with B.B through the US. He made up his mind to remain president and share power with the civilian PM. However, she also broke the deal on her arrival and started relying on the masses rather than Musharraf's promises. He also gave freedom to the media to portray himself as liberal and moderate so he could be acceptable to the US. Unsurprisingly, the media appeared damaging to his rule.

Zardari very cleverly introduced the 18th amendment by sharing the pie of government with all political forces. The military later realized it is more dangerous than Mujib's six points (Husain K. , 2018). To deal with this, they introduced Mr. Khan as a charming leader, but he could not win in 2013's elections. Nawaz Sharif was already anti-establishment due to his personal experience with them. He tried to make generals subservient to the law. Thus, not only did they decide to overthrow him but also bring Mr. Khan into power by hook or crook. They assumed that he would be their puppet and they would be free to run foreign affairs contrary to their experience with Sharif and Zardari. They were of the view that since he has no electives on his plate he would completely rely on them. Besides, they felt that he would manage the economy rightly because the team would be selected by them. That's the reason Asad Umar was removed, and various other IMF-recommended finance ministers were appointed.

Contrary to expectations, the economy busted severely. Foreign relations with the Middle East and the West deteriorated. Corruption rose to its height (CORRUPTION PERCEPTIONS INDEX, 2021). The popularity of the Nawaz League's rebellious narrative went to its height. The icing on the cake was that former PM Khan did not appoint General Nadeem as the new DG ISI. Consequently, the establishment turned neutral, and the regime got changed. This does not stop here. As a result, PTI leadership has started targeting military generals. Its social media campaign has not refrained from defaming General Bajwa and his family. On the one hand, it has infuriated military think tanks. On the other hand, the power struggle within the ranks of the military is taking pace. The cracks are visible.

Retired military officers registered their protests publicly. Their video logs are viral now a day. Major Adil claimed that Ajit Dovel wrote a policy paper for the Indian government after meeting General Faiz Hamid in UAE. He warned his government that if this man becomes chief he would be dangerous for our regional ambitious plans. Therefore, use your channels (Nawaz Sharif and the US) to stop him from getting the post (Soldier Speaks, 2022). He implied that this regime change operation has taken place mainly to refrain General Faiz from acquiring the top position. The US managed this deal through PML N.

Although the story might be fictional and part of a propaganda strategy, it is hard to deny that PTI is doing all of such without any internal support from the deep state. Andrew Small has quoted one American who commented that "we are not afraid of Generals but Brigadiers. Because by the time Zia came their habits of Drinking were too old. They used to send children to the US for studies. The younger Brigadiers are sending their children to the Middle East" (Small, 2015, p. 91). This view suggests that there is some sort of ideological battle within the army. Some are pro-west, and others are more Islamists, which makes them by default anti-West. To cut the story short, the military's current experience to remain in power for a longer period failed as usual.

Chinese Authoritarianism and Pakistan's Military and Political Elite

Given this historical scenario of the army's adventures to save its interests, it is not hard to predict that Chinese authoritarianism could be an attractive model for the Pakistani establishment. It's a one-party rule. The party is predominately occupied and run by bureaucrats rather than ideologues (Niaz, 2022).

Instead of democracy, the Chinese have a meritocracy. Offices are allocated based on performance and interviews. The high command is responsible for choosing the office bearers, not the citizens. Zhang Weiwei argued that the eligibility criteria to become a member of a standing committee is a two-term experience of running provinces as a head, which are larger than most European states. He said Trump would have no chance in the Chinese system to come into power [and destroy the institutions](Intelligence Squared, 2012).

This system has brought massive success to the economy. It successfully managed covid crisis where all other democracies failed including the US. Even the West is discussing whether democracy is still a viable system, or the world should look toward alternative political setups (Tasleem, 2022). If the West can think of, why Pakistan's elite would not feel comfortable imitating such a model. It has enough potential to resolve many of the establishment's problems.

Pakistan's military is not less strong than the Chinese communist party. The process of recruitment is the same: the commission's exam. Promotions take place on performance and loyalty in both organizations. In China, if it is the condition for becoming president to serve a province twice, a general must have experience of six months of serving a corps to become eligible for the post of army chief in Pakistan (Why ISI chief Lt Gen Hameed's appointment as Corps Commander is promotion, not punishment, 2021). Chinese mixed economy works as a hybrid system with public and private ownership. The state enterprises owned 30 pc of the industrial and service sector in 2008 though the number of companies was just 3.1 pc. The giant corporate for example, Chinalco one of the world's largest producers of aluminum, is state-owned. (Jacques, 2012, pp. 227-230). State-owned means property of CPC by default. The same goes for Pak Army. It runs huge businesses. From running banks to bidding toll plaza contracts, and from making cereals to fertilizers and cement, the armed forces do all sorts of commercial activities. Former defense minister Khuwaja Asif told Senate that around 50 commercial entities are run by armed forces (Wasim, 2022).

China had a precedent of retiring its president like Pakistan's COAS. However, Xi has made himself a lifelong President. Ambitious generals in Pakistan would love to introduce such reforms or create another post to maintain the role of superiority as Ayub did in the political sphere. Now it could be the turn of the military. By doing this, they are likely to think

that they could maintain the grip of the army over the country; top man's unquestionable authority over institutions; controlled state media; officially legalizing the presence of big brother, protectionist economy to give subsidies to its own companies.

There are many lessons like these that Pakistan can learn from China. If one thinks that it is just wishful thinking. And there is no possibility of all these imaginary threats. Martin Jacques' argument can help in understanding the seriousness of this. He writes that many regions including South Asia except India are more likely to accept China's tributary role given its financial influence as well as "an implicit acceptance of the virtues, if not the actual superiority, of Chinese civilization"(Jacques, 2012, p. 569). This implies that China has the capacity to influence the world with its great civilizational pull.

Two hundred years of colonization seeped Western values into South Asia. In the more globalized world cum era of digital technology, China would hardly need 20 years to make Pakistan more Chinese. SadiaTasleem mentioned that if China's magnitude of providing help to Pakistan has increased, its capacity to harm has also improved(Tasleem, 2022). While CPEC, Chinese companies faced many issues of red tape. Unsurprisingly, they demanded speeding of CPEC projects on equal par with the Chinese system where no such clutches exist. A sitting officer is more authoritative than the rules. What needs to be done should be done without any checks and balances. This is also suggested by IshratHussain to the government. To help the Chinese, Pakistan created a separate autonomous body for supervising CPEC namely CPEC authority. In fact, AhsanIqbal was appointed as planning minister at China's request.

While answering the question of whether the Chinese political model is capable to be an alternative model and threat to the US, SadiaTasleem maintained the interesting view: why the American elite would not try to adopt the Chinese model where they would have more control over the institutions as well as society. It is quite different how civil society will respond to this; it might get threatened by this model. This is a very interesting corollary. While the Cold War, the western elite was threatened by the economic model of the USSR. They propagated against communism to threaten western civil society. In the new cold war, civil society might take the first step to stop the western political elite from getting inspired by the Chinese model.

The rise of populism has made it a more doable job. Fukuyama has written that the western public sees multinational companies, which are small empires like any state itself, as success stories. They observe that the CEO of those companies has complete authority and can make any decision unlike their President or PM, who has to follow many procedures. Keeping in view this observation, it is not difficult to understand that the Chinese model can also be viewed on a similar pattern of multinational companies once it is more visible to the public of western countries.

It could give a better sight than any MNC to the lower strata of society mainly because it is a state. The power of a CEO could only be allotted to one strong man: a populist leader. However, a state's complete model with a comprehensive setup and success history could be replicated. Thus, America cannot incorporate Apple's system in the US constitution, but it can certainly copy the Chinese model.

MamSadia talked about two classes" elite and civil society- the first as beneficiary, and the latter on the receiving hand(Tasleem, 2022). The third and most important class also exists - the lower class. Civil society, mainly comprised of the upper middle class, might resist such change. However, the lower class, which is frustrated and more prone to be attracted to the rhetoric of leaders, would be easily manipulated. Unlike civil society or to be classified on broader terms as middle class, the lower class has less to do with liberal values, especially in terms of governance. They will welcome such change.

As Sadia states the western elite would welcome and support such intellectual movements which will advocate the Chinese model(Tasleem, 2022). In Pakistan, we have already seen this crisis over the governance model. The former PM frequently mentioned that the parliamentary system has many fault lines. He blamed the system for being blackmailed over the NRO question. By stating this he initiated a debate. On social media, an organized campaign was initiated. IhsanIqbal raised questions over this suspicious activity to sabotage the current system. He tweeted that "When the government, imposed through rigged elections, has ruined the country, then whisperings of imposition of an Indira Gandhi-like emergency and change in the system through various formulas are being heard(Ahmed W. , 2022).

In the CSS 2022 current affairs paper, the candidates were asked what system is better for Pakistan: Parliamentary or Presidential. This implies that this topic of system change is

seriously taken in policy-making circles. CSS exam is one of the key methods for surveying the opinion of the cream of society because around 10000 aspirants sit in the exam each year. More than double studied the topics but delayed the exam.

A populist leader like Mr. Khan, who has a following of millions, has the capacity to bring change to the system. In the 20th century, leftist as well as rightist revolutions took place all over the world from October Revolution to the Iranian Revolution, where organized parties on Lenin's concept of cadre overthrew regimes and imposed one-party rule. In the 21st century, populist leaders have emerged from Victor Orban to President Duda, from Trump to Boris Johnson, and from Modi to Khan, just to mention a few. In Pakistan, PTI has emerged as a fascist party exactly like the Nazi party in terms of propaganda warfare. After the regime change, it is highly probable that if Khan loses the election he may bring the element of militancy into his party. In short, If Ayub Khan can replicate the US system of basic democracy, why a new dictator from the military or an arrogant populist leader could not imitate China's political model?

Response of the US

Both case studies helped in understanding that Chinese socio-political institutions and the cultural onslaught are on their way in both regions (though Parvez Hoodbuoy discarded this view of increasing Chinese cultural influence in the world (Hoodbuoy, 2022)). This will not stop in these two regions. The domino effect could also work here exactly like in the USSR. These changes will prove a disaster for the US. America enjoys soft power all over the world. East Asia is the biggest market for American universities. Thousands of students annually take admission to the richest American institutions, which adds billions of dollars to the US economy. ASEAN is one of the key trading partners for the US. The brain Drain takes place mostly from these regions. South Asia has a high percentage of youth and fresh minds.

The cream of Pakistani society either opts for civil services or goes abroad. The weak and illiberal among them chose for Gulf. Some of them try for Europe, but the finest among them ended up in the US. Medical doctors, for example, the mediocre go for Plab in the UK, and the extraordinary apply for USMLE. This is the story in every field. Likewise, the Indians are the backbone of American technology. Considering this, the US cannot afford to lose its

social and cultural influence in these regions. Therefore, it is also trying to counter Chinese soft power, and incentivizing American soft power.

The USAID, semester exchange program, US-Pak Knowledge Corridor, Full Bright Scholarship, and many other such initiatives within the field of education are not purely apolitical. The political agenda always works behind these projects. During the Cold War, Moscow and Peking used to send thousands of red books to Pakistan. America did the same. It also helped JamaatIslami to publish their works against communism. Afghan Jihad was a key battlefield. Pakistan army was brainwashed through that literature.

Similar trends could be found in the New Cold War. Chinese are incentivizing the learning of Mandarin. Confucius institutes are working all around the country. Thousand Pakistanis received scholarships and went to China for learning the language. Recently, we witnessed a Baloch suicide bomber attack, on Chinese teachers. It is an open secret that Baloch freedom fighters are supported by Indians with the mutual assistance of Americans. A suicide attack by a Baloch woman is seen as a very serious move by separatists. They chose an educational institute for an attack rather than any economic or political project. This implies the seriousness of both Chinese and their opponents concerning the Chinese language.

Hence the cultural front is one of the key competing factors of the New Cold War.

II

Offensive Realism

John Mearsheimer has explained that great powers always try to become world hegemon. Since the globe is quite big and geographically it is not possible to be a global hegemon. Therefore, great powers indirectly dominate the international order: to become a regional hegemon and make sure no other great power acquires the same status. A simple interpretation of regional hegemon is the unquestionable authority of any great power in a particular geographical region, where no peer competitor exists (Mearsheimer J. J., *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, 2001).

The United States, for example, is a regional hegemon in Western Hemisphere. No, any state has the potential to question its authority in the Americas. It has introduced its Monroe

doctrine: the US will not tolerate any European or other great powers' interference in the region. No country from the region will be free-handed to be an ally to other regions. Cuba, for example, has been punished for a long. The Cuban missile crisis was an American reaction to the violation of the Monroe doctrine. Now to dominate the globe, the US will go to any length to stop any other power from emerging as a regional hegemon. As a result, the US would be free to navigate in all corners of the earth.

One of the key strategies to counter the emergence of any other regional hegemon is a web of alliances, especially with its rivals. The US remained the only state which acquired the status of regional hegemon from 1991 to 2008. It followed the above strategy in this era. For this period, the US kept a check on all peer competitors via its rivals so they may not become a regional hegemon. To keep a check on Russia in Eastern Europe, it expanded NATO. It tried to curtail China in the East China Sea as well as the South China Sea by helping ASEAN and Japan. It maintained close ties with South Korea in Korean Peninsula against North Korea. In west Asia, Iran has been curtailed through KSA and Israel. In South Asia, the ally against China was India.

The Emergence of Peer Competitor and Frontline Actors

Since 2008, China has been trying to assert its power in East Asia, and Russia in Eastern Europe. The two events which paved the way for the rise of multi-polarity were the financial crisis of 2007/2008 in which China's economic might appeared more visibly; and the Russian attack on Georgia which reflected its resurgence. These events helped Americans to shift their focus from the Middle East to East Asia and Eastern Europe. In this regard, America has been strengthening partnerships with various key allies in South Asia as well as East Asia. In South Asia, its potential frontline state is India, and in East Asia its Japan and Australia.

A) India: Frontline State of the US

To keep a check on China, the US strengthened its strategic partnership with India, Japan, and Australia. In 2007, the four countries made an informal military alliance: Quad. In 2008, the US signed a civil nuclear deal with India which paved way for its membership in NSG. Since then, India has been given preferential treatment in South Asia. The motive is to encourage India to stand against China.

Raj Mohnstates that “the whole idea of Indo-pacific as a strategic construct is about a) recognizing that old framework of US alliances in the region and ASEAN multilateralism is no longer enough to secure regional order b) the US has worked hard to bring India, the only rising great power with a scale to match China, into the equation to help balance and deter China. JMS endorsed this point that China is not the only threat in East Asia but also to India. Since China is building a blue water navy in the Indian Ocean, the main threat is to the Indians. Therefore, “by creating Indo-Pacific theatre, the US is trying to tie India and East Asia together to counter China(Mearsheimer J. , 2021).

However, Dr. IlhanNiazand SadiaTasleem do not buy the above argument. According to Niaz, India has not changed its Cold War policy of extracting benefits from two camps. Duringthe new cold war, Indians might exploit American anxiety regarding China, but they will keep their options open. So, India will be happy to welcome western economic pressure on China. For example, many western countries are thinking of relocating their manufacturing base from China to India(Niaz, 2022).

Miss Tasleem echoed similar views. She is of the view that India has not clearly decided that it has to play a confrontational role against China. She stated that Indians are not vocal in criticizing the Chinese on internal issues of human rights etc. Chinese has also not opposed Indian UN resolutions as in the case of Masood Azhar. In BRICS both have a consensus on a lot of issues.

Furthermore, she said that India’s focus in Quad has remained on non-strategic issues: energy, environment, etc. In Galwan valley incident, Modi completely denied the presence of any crisis. He was trying to hide it from the public. Unlike disputes with Pakistan, which he mentionseverywhere. In the case of China, he tried to evade the facts. When the crisis became public, the government used rhetoric against China. Indian nationalists boycotted China’s products and burnt them. For the first quarter of 2021, the volume of trade was affected. However, as soon as public anger vented out both governments managed the crisis and draw the lines of the border. In July 2021, China again became the first trading partner of India. This is all because India is still thinking about whether the US has to remain a superpower for a long or it is a declining power. So, if it is a declining power, there is no point in putting all eggs in

the American basket. Sitting in Quad is giving a message to China that we do not lack options. But it has also opened options for China as well(Tasleem, 2022).

There is no doubt that America wants India to be the policeman of the Indo-Pacific along with other key allies and increase pressure on the eastern front. It is also true that India's foreign policy is ambiguous towards China. Ilhan and Sadia's point has a weightage that India has not yet decided to be the front man of the US in the region and still following the Cold War policy. However, this is a deliberate move on the Indian side. One thing must be remembered today's India is not Nehru's India. It is Modi's India. It needs global prestige and power. Its short-term goals are getting a permanent seat at UNSC; becoming a member of G7 and NSG; increasing say in IMF and World Bank; more shares in WTO; building the world's finest army. Who can help India in all this? The answer is the US only. Then why would it not go to the camp of the US?

India is not clear because of China's reluctant behavior toward open confrontation. Andrew Small writes that there are two viewpoints within Chinese circles. The old ones still want to maintain normal relations with India, but the younger ones are ready to name India their enemy(Small, 2015, p. 53). Therefore, until China unfolds all its cards, India will keep its card close. However, anyone with a basic understanding of geopolitics can conclude that the Sino-US confrontation is unavoidable. China's victory in the conflict means its dominance in Asia without any checks, which would be a clear blow to Indian interests. Therefore, the only way for India is to join the US against China. Thus, the alliance seems natural. All other bilateral relations including Indo-Russia and or Pak-US are a footnote of the new cold war.

B) Australia: US Recruiter in the Pacific

Australia is the only country that does not have any direct dispute with China. Australian economic rise is somehow connected with the rise of China. It withdrew from Quad in Kevin Rudd's tenure as prime minister. However, the next PM again joined it in 2010. JAI was another alliance that was formed by Japan, Australia, and India. But Australia remained reluctant in aggravating China. Thus, Japan and India made it JI. But recently it has entered into another alliance: AUKUS, where the US and Britain will help Australia build 8 nuclear-powered submarines.

This alliance came into being at the cost of offending France, which had already signed a deal with Australia. AUKUS deal was on the cost of the French-Australian submarine deal. Consequently, France had to bear the loss of A\$90 bn. France was already reluctant in naming China as the enemy of Europe at the NATO summit of 2021. This deal further offended the French and even Germany took its side. The strife between the UK and EU has widened since Brexit, and between the US and EU since Trump. The deal between the three English countries also gave a message that how culture, and language play a role in alliances. In reaction, France called its ambassador from Australia and the US. Only after Biden's direct call to Macron did things get cool.

Although it is against Australian economic interests that it joins the hand with the US against China. However, the Australian deep state gave a message to the world that it cares more about strategic balance and less about economic prosperity.

C) Pak Realignment

In the quagmire of trilateral relations of the three powers (the US, China, and India), Pakistan has three options either to go in the US camp, opt for China, or remain neutral. Every option has its own pros and cons. Sadia stated that the role of Pakistan is difficult to understand currently because it is fluid. Besides, various stake holders have different views with regard to alignment. In the army, we clearly see that they do not want to offend the United States at any cost. They have always looked at the US with a preferential lens because of their bias about the superiority of US military weapons. Secondly, because of personal interests as they have to buy houses in the US after retirement. In this sense, it is a very westernized strategic elite. The US invests in them through training programs etc. (Tasleem, 2022).

As far as China is concerned, the strategic elite thought that they should not put all eggs in one basket and draw benefits from both sides. However, it seems it would not work anymore. Within the next 3 or 4 years, all states in this region have to take sides that either with the US or China. The latter might not say it publicly, but the former would clearly warn that either you are with us or against us (Tasleem, 2022).

It is a bit earlier to say what Pakistan will do at that stage because it all depends on where Pakistan's economy goes in the next three years, and on whom economic dependency

remains. However, it would be very difficult for Pakistan to go against China in a direct confrontation like providing military bases, intelligence input, etc. because of geographical proximity, unlike the Soviet Union. Besides, the Chinese have understood Pakistan better in the last two decades partly due to CPEC. They know the weak spots: how to pull the plugs when everything is on a ventilator. So going against China is hard, and Americans will not accept neutrality. They already have the leverage of harming and exploiting Pakistan (Tasleem, 2022) She ended the discussion without providing any concluding remarks.

On the other hand, Dr. Saeed Rid argued that the Pakistani military is very clear in its position regards China. They knew that the US is not a reliable partner. China is a natural ally considering India factor: "The enemy of my enemy is my friend" and vice versa. Pakistan is only waiting for the offer from China. Either they are willing to provide everything which the US has been offering or can offer; be it military aid, loans, or umbrella in international issues like FATF, etc. (Rid, 2022). However, the question arises of whether China is ready to afford the liabilities of Pakistan.

China seems to unfold its cards very carefully. Kissinger compared China's foreign policy with the west and wrote "unlike West who are habitual of playing chess and they aim to kill the king to win the game, Chinese play Wei qi (translates as "a game of surrounding pieces" where they keep surrounding the enemy without attacking and encircle it in a way that it finds no way to move beyond" (Kissinger, 2012, p. 23). The same goes for the foreign policies of both China and America. The latter is very patient. Mao said to Nixon that we could wait for 100 years to get Taiwan.

Unlike China, the Pakistani strategic elite is very ambitious and hefty. They lack such patience. Pakistani generals are very self-centered. They view geopolitics through the prism of their personnel presence and playing a central role. So, their long-term policy does not go beyond ten years. In the 1965 war, General Yahya visited Beijing for getting Chinese military assistance. Zhou Enlai advised him that India has a conventional superiority over Pakistan. Therefore, avoid direct fighting; Try to prolong the war; Fight people's war instead of armed battle; Go back to courtyards and let Indians take the urban centers; Exhaust them. They won't be able to withhold cities of another country for a long time. Consequently, they would withdraw. Yahya commented that Zhou did not know anything about warfare (Niaz, 2022).

Yahya did not know Zhou's capability as a General. He had commanded forces against the Japanese as well as Chiang Kai-shek's nationalist forces. The views were the result of western bias. The Pakistani region has been a colony of the UK historically. Pak army is an offshoot of the British army. In the post-independence era, the Pak army was built with the help of American military aid, training, advice, etc. Therefore, its mindset is aligned with western military strategy: offensive tactics in war. Instead of waiting for the enemy, prefer an attack or encirclement.

Given such a mindset, it is less likely that Pakistan will wait for the Chinese decision. As Americans are already doing their preparation for encirclement through alliances, it is more likely that Pakistan will bandwagon towards the US.

However, this hypothesis has a glitch. In case, Pakistan chooses the US camp, it has to be India's junior partner in South Asia. Given the size of its army and economy, India has to play a central role in bringing down China. So, one hundred-million-dollar question is whether Pakistan is ready to accept India as a senior ally. History could also help us in this regard. In the 1962 war, when China advised Pakistan to open the western front against India, Ayub Khan did not oblige. Surprisingly, he offered Nehru to form a joint defense in the sub-continent: with reference to China without naming it. Nehru declined the offer by questioning "a joint front against whom?"

Sadia stated that Pakistan's military is desperate to resolve all issues with India including Kashmir. Bajwasahb is saying people to propose some sort of formula to solve the Kashmir question. Even they are open to the idea of calling the LOC as an international border. Because they know that they are no match for the Indian army. In case, they lose the war. They will lose the remaining bit of credibility. India factor has been a crucial excuse for their survival and increasing defense budget. However, they have various other projects at their disposal: safeguarding nukes, CPEC, internal crisis of separatism, and extremism. So, the Indian question is no more sole reason of survival (Tasleem, 2022). Therefore, it seems possible that Pakistan might opt to resolve issues with India and enter the US camp.

The other problem is if Pakistan cannot stand against India, how it could face giant China? The answer lies in the Pakistan army's skill in intelligence operations, harboring extremism and sponsoring terrorism on ideological grounds, its experience in watering proxies.

In four direct confrontations with India, it has always been on the losing side of the battle. The only success it got was in proxies. It created the world's finest terrorist organizations like Mujahidin, Taliban, and Al-Qaida on ideological grounds; exploited American money and military hardware. It successfully defeated the Soviet Union in Afghan Jihad. The second victory was its double cross against Americans in War on Terror. It provided safe heavens to the Afghan Taliban; helped them to survive for 20 years. Meantime, they were busy exploiting American resources. In the end, they brought them to power in Kabul. The third partial success is exporting terrorism toward India and destabilizing it.

Thus, Pak Army has a good reputation and experience in covert operations. They knew fighting is not their cup of tea. So, the fourth front is ready for it to show its masterful skills: exploit Uighurs. Like Afghans, they are also in the border region. Western China is mountainous like Afghanistan. ETIM is already fighting its war. In Afghanistan, they have already placed Taliban. In New Cold War, they can utilize this weak point of the Chinese. Maybe they do not come openly against China. However, if they decide to do, the public sympathies in Pakistan are already with all Muslim victims. First Kashmiris were Jihadists and India was Satan, whereas the Uighurs issue was even not acknowledged. Now Kashmiris will be forgotten, and Uighurs will be freedom fighters.

Every country has a different track record. The US lost all wars against weak powers: Vietnam, Iraq, and Afghanistan. However, it has won all wars against great powers. It defeated Germany in WWI and WWII. It also defeated Japan in WWII. In Cold War, it broke down the USSR. It also seems on the winning side in Ukraine. So, America is thinking to bring down China to revive its military might which has been lost after the fall of Kabul. Pakistan might be ready for another adventure to join the US and help her bring down China. It has great experience in exploiting the US and how to please them and extract benefits. Both could be helpful to each other.

III

Thucydides Trap

This is another variation of the realist school of thought. Graham Allison introduced this jargon in his book "Destined for War." It is an extension of Thucydides' argument which he

articulated while presenting the explanation of the Peloponnesian War (431–404 BC) fought between Athens and Sparta. He wrote that “It was the rise of Athens and the fear that this instilled in Sparta that made war inevitable.” This tells that the main cause between the two powers was the structural standing of both in geopolitics. The rise of Athens questioned the authority of the existing power: Sparta (Allison, 2017).

Allison theorized this concept on various historical conflicts between rising and existing powers. He has mentioned 16 case studies. Four out of them escaped this trap and the rest ended up waging war. In the 20th century those conflicts were between Britain and Germany which turned into World War I, II. The third case was between the US and Japan which resulted in Pearl Harbor and Hiroshima/Nagasaki. However, the US and UK escaped this trap in the early 20th century; and the UK supported by France also avoided any confrontation with Germany since the late 1990s. The US and USSR also eluded direct confrontation but actively participated in the cold war (Allison, 2017).

In this light, China and the US are also engaged in this sort of trap. The US is trying to curtail the rise of China, which is struggling for creating a space for itself in the global order. China thinks that since the economic reality has changed (it has surpassed the US economy in PPP terms, and by 2028 it will become the world’s largest economy in nominal terms), the share of responsibility and say in world affairs should also be accordingly (The Corner, 2021). China can only increase its share at the price of the US’s dominance. Therefore, the confrontation between two powers is a natural phenomenon.

Rise of India

Since Sino-Indian relations are an integral part of Sino-US rivalry, the rise of India could not be detached from this discussion.

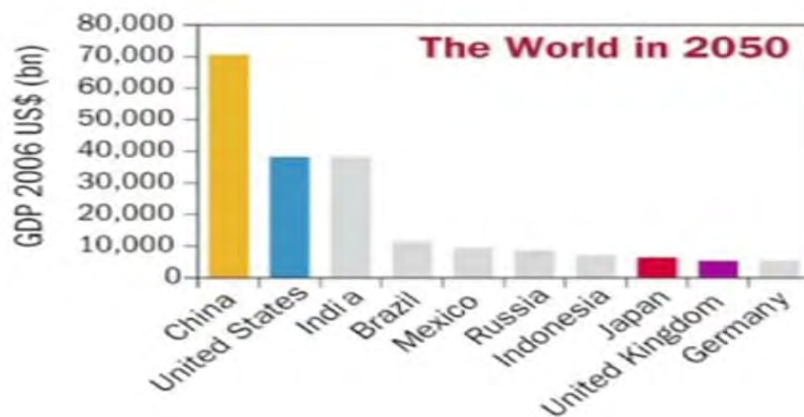
Ilhan said that the Sino-Indian conflict could be an American fantasy. But it is not as severe that both states go for an all-out war. He also mentioned that the rise of India is unlikely to contain the rise of China. He is of the view that western thinkers do not have enough data to back this trajectory that India is going to surpass the US economy in 2050. These predictions are based on current growth trends, which cannot surely be translated (Niaz, 2022). He is right in the sense that economic predictions do not always prove true. In the 1980s, every indicator

suggested that Japan will be the world's largest economy, but its bubble got burst(Tharoor S. , 2016).

However, the skeptics have also been talking about the possible bust of China's rise. But we can observe it is still growing. Besides, there is a difference between Japan and India. The 21st century's economic trend helps us to conclude that countries with huge populations have a relative advantage over less populous states. China, India, Indonesia, Bangladesh, and Brazil have outperformed smaller European countries. Bangladesh had 3.95 positive growth rates in 2020 amid Covid-19 when the rest of the world was in minus growth. The US had -3.4 and Euro area -6.4 in 2020. Even Pakistan had -0.9% only way less than the US.

Moreover, the less developed world has more potential than the developed world to grow. G7, for instance, contributed 45.3% to global GDP in 1995. On the other hand, E7's share was 22.6% almost half. By 2015, the E7 crossed the G7 by contributing 36.3% against 31.5% of the G7(Mahbubani, Has the West Lost it?, 2018, p. 16). In 1950, the share of E7 will

Projected size of national economies



be 50% in PPP terms.

More important is historical evidence, from 1 to 1820, India has always remained the world's second-largest economy, unlike Japan which rose after Meiji Restoration. If the west bets on India and transfers its companies to India from China plus shares intellectual information, it has every potential to outperform China. SashiTharoor rightly said that India faces a lot of hurdles in the process of developing being a democratic state. However, it keeps

releasing its pressure, unlike China. Any political frustration could lead to the decline of China, but India will keep growing. It's like a pressure cooker. China does not allow the population to express their grievances. These can blast someday like a cooker. This all implies that the rise of India is an undeniable reality rather than an American fantasy.

India: Successor of the US

Another sub-variant of the rise of India is America helping India in succeeding in Asia. It is a very interesting question that Alison has not answered clearly why those four powers escape war? Out of the four, three cases were in the 20th century. The USSR and the US avoided direct confrontation because of nuclear arsenals. Besides, by any definition of war, they were in war: Be it in Korea, Vietnam, or Afghanistan. UK and France avoided the war against Germany because of political integration in the guise of the EU.

However, the most typical case is of the UK and the US. Neither there was the threat of nuclear, nor political integration, nor even economic interdependence. There could be three possible reasons. Firstly, the US was far away from the UK. The latter had its main interests in Eurasia instead of the western hemisphere. Besides, it has a potential rival in the guise of Germany in its neighborhood. Therefore, the US seemed like a reserve partner to be exploited against Germany. Thirdly, both were English speaking countries. The western values which were led by UK and France were also fundamental part of the US society. As a result, the UK did not opt to confront the US in western hemisphere in early 20th century and accepted to be its junior partner after World War II in global affairs.

A similar trajectory of trilateral relations could be seen in Indo-US relations. The Indo-US rivalry clearly exists in the economic sphere. The US has a trade deficit of \$22 bn from 2020-2021. It jumped to \$32.8 bn in 2021-2022. Trump had initiated a mini-trade war against India as well. Economic indicators suggest that after China, India will also surpass the US economy and will become the second largest economy by 2050. However, the US seems ready to accept India's rise, for similar reasons: the above three conditions also exist in US-Indo relations. India wants to be a regional hegemon in South Asia and the Indian Ocean, but the US has very little interest in the region.

Secondly, like the rivalry of US-UK in presence of Germany, the Indo-US conflict seems blurring under the shed of Sino-US rivalry. Dialectics suggests that prominent contradictions are resolved first and the less eminent later. Thirdly, India has the same political liberal values and English institutions. Thus, India will be warmly welcomed by the US in the Sino-US confrontation, not as a junior partner but as a rescuing force.

Pakistan's Dream of Great Game

Bismark once said about Italy that it has a big appetite but broken teeth. This saying also fits with Pakistan. Its strategic elite has always seen dreams of the great games. They have always over-projected Pakistan's geo-strategic position and showed a willingness to play its role in great power rivalry. It offered bases to the US against USSR; Helped Americans in Afghan Jihad; Led the case of Palestine from the very beginning; Created OIC as a Muslim block and tried to lead it. It opted for nuclear arsenals despite being a small power. Currently, it boasts about its standing in the power index which is 10th. So, Pakistan considers itself as the leader of the Muslim world due to its military might.

Like Russia, Pakistan's strategic elite believes it should be treated as a great power in the region and medium power around the globe exactly like India due to its strong standing army and nuclear weapons. For them, it matters less that its economy does not fit by definition to be assumed even medium power.

Historically, Pakistan has not left any opportunity to play its part in great games. In the above paragraphs, we have already discussed how it played role in Afghanistan against the USSR and the US. It has also been trying to contain the rise of India. It leads to a coffee club in the UN where it blocks the entry of any new power into UNSC because any changes will definitely pave way for India to acquire a permanent seat in the UNSC (Mahbubani, *The Great Convergence: Asia, the West, and the Logic of one World*, 2013). It has also blocked the entry of India into OIC despite the fact it is the third largest Muslim country in terms of population slightly behind Pakistan. On the issue of Kashmir Pakistan lobbied against India. It successfully pursued Turkey, Iran, and Malaysia in the initial days. However, it failed against

India in the Arab world partly due to the US backing to India, but its economy and technology have also its share.

Amid the Kashmir crisis, Modi was given the highest civilian award by UAE and Bahrain rolled the red carpet for him. Since India has developed very cordial relations with Arab countries, they did not condemn revoke of article 370 (Hadid, 2019). UAE categorically said it is India's internal matter. The Muslim world should not be dragged into it.

Pakistan has also waged information warfare against India. It has campaigned to portray Modi as Hitler, Muslims as Jews of Germany, and Kashmir as a Holocaust camp. The former FM Shah Mohd Quereshi also issued a dossier in this regard. Moreover, Pakistan played a key role in bringing the Taliban to power because India had huge leverage over Ashraf Gani's regime. India was the sole beneficiary of the US project of nation-building in Afghanistan. A major chunk of contracts went to India. Pakistan was almost ignored despite its military contribution to WoT. As a result, Pakistan covertly helped the Taliban. The Doha deal was brokered by Pakistan. On the Afghan front, it defeated India. To curtail India, Pakistan even ignored the wrath of America. Trump blocked the aid of Pakistan. The US also alleged Pakistan of providing safe havens to Taliban. But for Pak India, as an enemy was more important than the US as an ally.

In CPEC, Pakistan expected to have a strategic partnership with China and name India as a common enemy. However, China has been reluctant to accept this offer. As mentioned above, the older generation of China is not willing to declare India its enemy and Pakistan its ally (Small, 2015, p. 53). They are sort of balancing both powers with a slight tilt towards Pakistan. As a result of this confusion, Pakistan started looking back to America. MBS arranged a meeting of Khan with Trump. Khan also played a mediatory role between Iran and the US and KSA. CPEC's documents were shared with IMF (Niaz, 2022). We also witnessed how CPEC's pace slowed in Khan Era. Pakistan helped bring the Taliban to the table in the Doha deal.

However, once Biden came into power, the relations deteriorate partly because the Taliban took over Kabul and dethroned Ashraf Ghani. The US accused Pakistan of managing that coup due to its clout over the Taliban. More important, Khan's unprofessional diplomatic dealing added fuel to fire. He wrote an article in the Washington Post where he condemned the

US. CIA chief visited Pakistan and he was assured of military bases according to ShireenMazari. In an interview with BBC, Khan used the rhetoric language of absolutely not, and the cabinet stated that Pakistan would not give bases. And finally, PM visited Russia amid the Ukraine crisis. Consequently, Pakistan's banks were penalized with \$500mn.

More important PTI government was overthrown. PTI has advanced a narrative that the US conspired against their government. The letter of Donald Lu has become part of the public narrative. PTI's charges of conspiracy might not hold water, but the appointment of the US ambassador to Pakistan after four years suggests that Washington is pleased with the end result of this political crisis. Bilawal Bhutto as a foreign minister was well received by his counterpart Antony Blinken. It seems that Pakistan is moving to mend relations with the US and getting ready to be playing its part in the upcoming great game.

Conclusion

Theories not only explain the complex phenomenon but also impact the future course of events. There are many explanations behind this Sino-US conflict. Three theories that seem explanatory as well as influencing are Clash of Civilization, Offensive Realism, and Thucydides Trap. Long ago when Fukuyama tried to give a narrative of peace, the anti-thesis of his idea started emerging. Huntington predicted that a clash of civilizations will emerge. Unsurprisingly, the US policymakers named 9-11 a war by Muslims against Western civilization. Even Bush declared it a crusade. Since then, Islamophobia was the main topic of discussion in the West. This was the liberal view that it is the responsibility of the US to spread liberal democracy in all corners of the world, especially in the rogue Muslim nations. Nation building in Afghanistan and Iraq was part of this project. However, when the US realized that this task did not seem doable, they abandoned Afghanistan amidst of crisis.

Offensive Realism's architect John Mearsheimer had been arguing against these liberal ventures for a long. So now the US turned to his discourse. He provided a face-saving to the US that although it has lost in small wars against Vietnam and Afghanistan, the US has a wonderful track record of defeating great powers: in WW1 to Germany, in WW2 to Japan, in Cold War to USSR. Thus, the US took the cultural element of Huntington and added it with offensive realism; both against China given its peculiar culture toward the west and its revisionist policies for the international order.

The third explanation comes from Alison's concept of the Thucydides trap. He has argued that the competition of rising, and status quo power is inevitable. The US is an eroding power that will try to curtail the rise of emerging power China. As a result, both will be trapped in this conflict. The war is a natural outcome. Hence, the US statecraft led by the military-industrial complex has developed this anti-China discourse which is the combination of Clash of Civilization and Offensive Realism with additional flavor of Thucydides trap. The result is a readymade explanation for the new cold war.

To initiate this war, an alliance system is used as a strategy. India, Australia, and Japan have already decided to be with the US. In the upcoming days, Pakistan will also have to face tremendous pressure from both powers to take one side. Neutrality is not the option that seems best for Pakistan. Its military junta has always dreamed to play a big role in international affairs. It has never wasted a single chance to be part of any great game. The armed forces are the only asset Pakistan has. It will always be ready to trade its services, especially in this economic crisis. Pakistan's alignment with any great power will reduce the economic burden. History is witnessed that whenever Pakistan has taken part in any such initiative dollar flight has decreased and its income has increased. Our beloved army will not waste a chance to serve the country. However, the main question is with whom? Most scholars are of the view that it will side with China. In contrast, this chapter predicts that it will side with the US.

Chapter 3

CPEC: Economic Implications for Islamabad

Introduction

The first two decades of the twenty-first century have witnessed the rise of China and the relative decline of the US global power. Currently, the emergence of China as a rising global power and the resurgence of Russia as one of the great powers have brought an abrupt end to the uni-polar moment enjoyed by the US. This revolution in international politics has dramatically changed the global power configuration. A few signs are the rise of the East, increasing Indian dominance in the Indian Oceans, changing nature of warfare due to the digital revolution, expansion of geo-economics in diplomacy, and most importantly the revival of the new cold war, which has brought two powers- US and China- against each other. These kinds of changes put tremendous pressure on foreign policy options of weaker states, especially on those countries which try to sail in two boats; are economically vulnerable; politically destabilized; and socially fragile. Pakistan is not an exception.

Pakistan has been maintaining cordial relations with both the US and China since its inception. Despite the fact Pakistan remained an active member of the capitalist camp against communism during the cold war, it never confronted communist China. Even it brought China into the same camp: the western bloc. In all Sino-US conflicts, Pakistan was successful in maintaining neutrality as India did in the case of Soviet-USSR proxies.

However, the situation has changed in the 21st century because two powers are actively engaged against each other. Two kinds of opposite responses are witnessed by both states. On the one hand, Pakistan has faced tremendous pressure from the US about maintaining close relations with China. On the other hand, China has been advising Pakistan to have good relations with the United States as well as its partner in South Asia: India. In the last two decades, Pakistan has allied itself with both powers. In the first decade, it worked as a cliental state of the White House in the War on Terror, but not at the price of antagonizing China. In the second decade, Islamabad planned to build close economic ties with Beijing in the guise of

CPEC. Unsurprisingly, the US did not seem happy. It has been trying to subjugate this project by both means overtly and covertly.

BRI is one of the key projects, which has triggered Sino-US rivalry as one of our interviewees Dr. Farhan Siddiqi mentioned (Siddiqi, 2022). CPEC is its flag-ship project. Since China was an indirect ally of the US in War on Terror, the only confrontational engagement of both powers concerning Pakistan is CPEC: making it a main focal point of Sino-US rivalry. Therefore, the following two chapters including this one will deal with the implications of CPEC. This chapter will reflect on the economic implications for Pakistan which are the consequences of this project. Most of the part will deal with economic consequences resulted due to directly or indirectly from CPEC. Additionally, a short portion will also acknowledge some of the economic benefits of the said project.

BRI: A Mother Project of CPEC

Belt and Road Initiative is the biggest ongoing ambitious plan of China in the 21st century. Its estimated worth is 2.1 tr \$, 7 times larger than the GDP of Pakistan. It will affect almost 80% population of the world. More than 65 countries have officially joined this project including 40 Asian countries and [a nation from the elite club of G7- Italy] (Ahmed Z. S., Impact of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor on Nation-Building in Pakistan, 2019, p. 400). The project is an initiative to revive the Old Silk Road that existed in medieval times. It has two parts; the Silk Road Economic Belt (SREB) – a land route through central Asia based over land, and the Maritime Silk Road (MSR) - a web of sea lanes through the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean (Amir, 2016, p. 586).



The aim of the project, according to Chinese officials, is to create an economic spillover for other countries through geographical connectivity and economic activities: China will help other countries to uplift their economies. In this regard, three continents- Asia, Africa, and Europe- will be connected. There are various projects under BRI. It is commonly misunderstood that BRI is only related to roads; however, it includes the construction of seaports, airports, gas and oil pipelines, railway networks, etc. The key projects under BRI are; a 12000 km railway track from London to Xiwa, a city in China; a gas pipeline from Turkmenistan to China which will eventually pump 55 bn cubic meters of gas per year to Shanghai; and the CPEC(South China Morning Post, 2018).

Critics argue that China is not developing infrastructure out of love for the underdeveloped economies to help them rather it is a capitalistic compulsion to invest in over-accumulation of capital. It should be noted that China has almost 3tr's \$ surplus amount(South China Morning Post, 2017). MajedAkhter has rightly theorized these developments and applied David Harvey's Spatial Fix Theory(Akhter, 2018). Harvey, very profoundly, has told why capitalism has survived despite the inherited notion of destruction. He opines that when

there is a crisis of over-accumulation to capitalism, it finds such ventures as spending money on infrastructure to prolong the investment opportunities and consuming surplus by fixing it in social and physical infrastructure(Harvey, 2003, p. 88).

Other critics argue that it is basically to snare the natural resources of poor countries and it is just another form of imperialism. They have named it China's debt trap diplomacy and the example of Hambantota port of Sri Lanka is cited frequently by them as China compelled her to invest in an ambitious project that was not able to generate expected outputs. Consequently, the Sri Lankan government offered the lease of the port to China for 99 years to escape from the debt return. It has also been argued that China will use those natural assets for strategic purposes(Dhawan, China Debt Trap diplomacy, How China uses money to control and colonise countries, 2017). Furthermore, it is also giving birth to the "develop strategic seaport race." India has also purchased Hambantota Airport of Sri Lanka to counter China. Moreover, it is also developing other seaports such as Chabahar to counter Gwadar port which is viewed as part of the pearl string strategy.

China Pakistan Economic Corridor

CPEC is considered a flagship project of BRI by its proponents. Ejaz Hussain has mentioned that for two reasons it is a test and trial project. First, Chinese engineers have long experience working in Pakistan and the second factor is Pak-China friendship. China wants to tell the world that it cares for its friends and besides any error will be easily corrected and that will help in other projects. Moreover, it is the only corridor that is consisted of two countries as all other corridors connect more than two countries in some cases even two continents(Hussain , China-Pakistan Economic Corridor , 2018, p. 18).

Regarding its origin, some people praise ex-President General Parvez Musharraf as he proposed such kind of project at the start of the 21st century(Ahmed Z. S., Impact of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor on Nation-Building in Pakistan, 2019, p. 404). Whereas others argue that due credit should be given to Co-Chairman of Pakistan People's Party Asif Zardari as in his period, 2013, it was announced. Some appreciate Nawaz Sharif because in his Prime Minister ship, in 2015, it was signed officially- during the visit of President Xi Jinping(Amir, 2016, p. 579). Initially,\$46 billions were announced as the total cost of CPEC but in 2017 it became \$62 bn(Ejaz & Masood, 2019, p. 88). Its aim is to propose energy projects,

develop infrastructure through the construction of modern communication networks and create special Economic Zones. The two main projects under CPEC are the development of Gwadar Port and a link route from Gwadar to Kashgar which will connect China and Pakistan.



Economic Implications of CPEC

Theoretical Framework

China's investment in BRI and its sub-project CPEC could more accurately be viewed with the preview of Harvey's theory of imperialism. He explains that a state invests its surplus in infrastructural projects if it lacks other investment opportunities. The economic boom in China and the flood of its cheap products in the market from east to west is the most sold story of the 21st century among economist circles. According to the 2017 report, its foreign exchange reserves had reached 3.2 tr \$(South China Morning Post, 2017). Besides, it still had a huge surplus of the labor force. But the second decade of the 21st century witnessed a slow growth in the Chinese economy mainly because overproduction in its manufacturing products had reached its peak.

To avoid the over-accumulation crisis, China has initiated the Belt and Road Initiative which has the potential to absorb 21 tr \$ and that could be increased as it is an ongoing project and regularly new projects are being added, and different countries are joining (some are also withdrawing). The world market is facing a crisis of consumer products; therefore, China has decided to invest in long projects of temporal fix like constructing infrastructure which might not be generating profit in short term but will be translated into the primary circuit of capital in the long durée. Furthermore, this infrastructure will create a feasible economic environment as it will provide huge jobs to people. As a result, their purchasing power will be increased. As of January 2021, 140 countries have officially signed MoU with China (Countries of the BRI, 2021). Besides, a new market in Africa and CARs will be created which would have the potential to consume Chinese products. Additionally, China is also developing its western region which lags behind its eastern part but has more space than the latter.

CPEC, being a sub-project of BRI, does not have different importance for China. It could be viewed in the same preview that China needs an investment opportunity to consume its surplus capital as well as surplus labor. Hence, the above historical experiences of imperialistic design should be taken into consideration before having any daydreams about milk and honey.

CPEC was signed in 2013, started in 2015, completed its first phase in 2020, will complete its second phase in 2025, and the third and final phase will be completed in 2030(Long Term Plan for CPEC (2017-2030), 2020). Since it is an ongoing project, it is hard to analyze its long-term implications. Besides, it is a vague project in terms of research because there are no authentic primary documents available. One of the main criticisms as well as the condition of the bailout package by IMF was about sharing all documents of CPEC which the state of Pakistan considers a secret paper. Thus, transparency lacks in the project(Ajmal, 2021). Nonetheless, as five years have passed, there is much literature available as a secondary source. This helps us to determine the economic implications as a consequence of this project.

Following are some of the key areas of economic implication.

Trade/Market

Although the Pak-China friendship is celebrated as the most important landmark, economic relations between both countries could be regarded as a footnote of their political and strategic relations. The biggest boost came in the guise of the free trade agreement signed on 24th November 2006 which came into effect in July 2007 (Kamal & Malik, 2017, p. 2). Owing to this agreement, bilateral trade soared from \$2.2 bn in FY05 to \$13.8 bn in FY16 (Kamal & Malik, p. 4). However, this trade balance was heavily in favor of China. Pakistan's exports only grew from \$0.4 bn in FY05 to \$1.7 bn in FY16 whereas imports boomed from \$1.8 bn in FY05 to \$13.9 bn in FY17 which makes Pakistan in a trade deficit of 12.2 bn (Kamal & Malik, pp. 4-5).

Another statistic suggests that imports from China doubled in the five-year average of FY11-15 due to mainly CPEC because Chinese machinery and equipment were imported from China for the CPEC. On the other hand, exports have stopped growing since 2014. Besides, this trade deficit is not only in quantity but in quality as well. Pakistani exports did not add any value service rather raw material is exported. According to 2016's statistics, cotton's share in Pakistani exports was 61 percent and 14 percent was rice. On the other hand, Chinese exports are mainly manufactured products including 24 percent of electrical equipment and 21 percent of machinery, nuclear reactors, etc. (Kamal & Malik, p. 3). Katharine is of the view the point of competition with Chinese products within China is far from the reach of Pakistan. Nevertheless, she maintains that still a case could be made for the export of high-quality agricultural products to China for example Mangoes which it lacks. But will it be able to solve the problem of the balance of payment for Pakistan? She does think so. (Adeney, 2022).

Critics of CPEC argue that Pakistani state officials did not look at the fact that an open market between both countries will negatively impact the Pakistani industry. One of the frequently asked questions is "does Pakistan has such potential to compete with Chinese products in Pakistani as well as Chinese markets? The answer is a Big NO! Firstly, China has an abundance of labor surplus which means the labor cost borne by Chinese firms is less than Pakistani corporations. Secondly, China is a more advanced manufacturing industry even western products could not compete with it, there is no way for the Pakistani manufacturing industry in near future to compete with it. Thirdly, Chinese companies are state-owned firms,

they can run without profits by reducing prices for a long period to outclass their rival companies, Pakistani state is not in a position to support its local firms financially.

Faaiz Amir, the vice-chancellor of Air University, states that the Pakistani industry which is relatively smaller and less developed may face severe pressures and pricing competition [due to CPEC](Amir, 2016, p. 592). Nonetheless, he mentions that Pakistan could be a bridge between East Asia and South Asia, whereas central Asia will also come within its reach. Hence, it could be the central point for regional integration. No doubt, the proposed task could be completed. However, the main issue is, would Pakistan be able to cope with such a heavy market. As Harris Ahmed wrote, “When CPEC will be completed; Pakistani products would not only have to compete with Chinese products but also with other countries(Ahmed S. H., 2020). Another critic of CPEC, Dr. Aasim, argues that although wholesalers and retailers have got benefited from these Chinese products, the local industry has been severely affected(Akhtar, 2018).

Unsurprisingly, the state hawkish intellectuals like Dr. Ishrat Husain are the biggest proponents of the CPEC. He wrote in an article that 14 percent growth in exports is expected once the CPEC is completed. Because once the issue of energy shortage is solved, Pakistan’s industry will bounce back(Husain I. , CPEC & Pakistani Economy: An Appraisal, p. 8). The official document of the Long-Term Plan of CPEC mentions in its goal and vision section that by 2020 “CPEC shall start to boost the economic growth”(Long Term Plan for CPEC (2017-2030), 2020). Professor Katherine told me in an interview that there are no signs of economic progress due to CPEC yet(Adeney, 2022).

It is stated that the trade deficit has decreased by 3 bn in FY 2018-19. Previously, the trade deficit was 14 bn \$ in FY2017-18, which reached 10.8 bn \$ in FY2018-19. However, this should be kept in mind that it was not the result of any progress of CPEC’s project rather it was due to renegotiation of tariffs liberalization in FTA phase II- previously in FTA phase, I “Pakistan liberalized tariffs on 35.6pc tariff lines” which has been reduced to 19.5 pc(Kundi, 2019).

Employment and CPEC

Since the project was announced, the green gardens have been shown to the youth of Pakistan about employment. An official working paper published by the Center of Excellence mentions that CPEC has the potential of 1.2 mn direct jobs. According to International Labour Organization, the figure is 0.4 mn, whereas Applied Economic Research Centre states 0.7 mn, and Planning Commission shows 0.8 mn in 15 years from 2015 to 2030 (Rashid, Zia, & Waqar, 2018).

The varying figures are not an issue but rather the practical reality of these jobs. One of the raised concerns is that do Pakistanis have the required skills for these jobs. Besides, would non-skill jobs be only given to Pakistanis, or their friend, the Chinese, will also get a share? Most of the figures, given in the paper, are based on speculation about future estimation. Yet there are few figures which speak about the existing situation. One of these figures is about the road project of KKH (Thakot-Havelian section) in KPK. There were 7800 direct jobs, out of which 6000 were given to Pakistanis whereas 1800 Chinese were recruited. Peshawar-Karachi motorway created 17246 jobs. Out of which, 96 percent were allotted to Pakistanis whereas 4 pc were given to Chinese. However, the classifications of the jobs are not presented in the document. Whether jobs were shared in the same number in qualitative terms or higher-level jobs were given to Chinese and labor jobs were given to Pakistanis. It is not known.

The Sahiwal energy project was the first project to be completed ahead of time. In this project, the construction phase created 6500 jobs. Out of which major number went to foreigners (3770) whereas Pakistanis were 2730. In the operational phase, 1778 jobs were available. Of those jobs, 671 were allotted to the Chinese and 1107 to Pakistanis. Another depressing figure is about Gwadar Free Zone. The skilled labor working in the zone was a total of 1100: 850 went to Chinese and only 250 to Pakistanis. Bear in mind, that these are official numbers that only show a small picture, but from this, we can expect what would be the complete picture (Rashid, Zia, & Waqar, 2018). Dr. Aasim quoted the figure that almost 20000 existing jobs are only affected in the shoe market, let alone creating new jobs (Akhtar, 2018).

There is no second opinion that the current picture is bleak, yet there are heavy expectations proposed by officials and believed by Pakistani youth. It has been suggested by

proponents of the project time and again that there should be training projects to train Pakistani labor for skilled jobs. However, progress does not seem satisfactory in this regard.

Debt Trap: Chinese Creditor Imperialism

One of the main concerns which have been raised by critics of the CPEC is whether Pakistan will be able to return the loans, or it will be part of another vicious circle of debt. The most frequently cited example is the Hambantota port of Sri Lanka, where the government was not able to return loans because the proposed project did not have the potential to return the expected profits. Consequently, China took its seaport on lease for 99 years (Dhawan, China Debt Trap diplomacy, How China uses money to control and colonise countries, 2017). Western and Indian scholars have dubbed this foreign policy of China as creditor imperialism through which it is acquiring natural assets of different countries especially the seaports that could be used for strategic purposes to counter the quad alliance. This heavy amount of \$ 64 bn could also be seen in the preview of this above-mentioned imperial design.

Katherine, a British Scholar working on CPEC, told me that initially most of the scholars believed that the investment would bring enough fruits; GDP will grow, and Pakistan will produce more. Resultantly, the debt would be easily paid. However, her recent work on this indicates the opposite. According to her, debt levels are going through the roof. Pakistan has been trying to renegotiate this debt, but it has not been able to do that (Adeney, 2022). A similar viewpoint was presented by Akbar Zaidi. He told me that the biggest lender of Pakistan's external debt is none other than China (Zaidi, 2022).

Within the left, some argue that China itself was colonized once and it is inspired by the Marxist doctrine of „support the oppressed rather oppress it“ so it would not colonize any country. But one thing they forget is that imperial designs are motivated by missionary zeal where a powerful state thinks that we have the best alternative and our system is better for solving their problems. This is the same concept on which the Arab empire was built to convert people and tell them what the better way to please God is. USSR also followed this while exporting the Soviet model of communism. The US did the same by spreading a liberal and capitalistic model based on the idea of the Washington Consensus. Therefore, it should not be

surprising if China could follow the same lead. Besides, this argument does not make sense that a colonizer could feel the pain. Was the US not colonized once?

On the other side, proponents of CPEC argue that loan is nominal, and this cry does not hold any water. Ishrat Husain stated that the frightening number of \$ 110 bn to be returned for \$ 46 bn is mere propaganda (as in 2017 when he wrote, the CPEC was of 46 bn project, later it reached 64 bn). By denying the possibility of a vicious cycle of debt, he argues that the \$ 15 bn amount for infrastructure is based on government-to-government loans with 2 pc interests to be repaid over a 20 to 25 years period(Husain I. , p. 19). As a result, the outflow on these projects will be \$ 2.5 to 3 bn annually(Husain I. , p. 8).

Furthermore, while explaining how this debt will be repaid, he mentions that due to energy shortages the annual loss in national income is around \$ 6 bn, which will be gained after the energy projects are completed(Husain I. , p. 8). Thus, according to his estimated figures, if we pay \$ 3 bn for a loan even we will be in a surplus of \$ 3 bn, which does not sound bad. However, his analysis of 6 bn loss due to energy shortages is based on current market demand and supply. With CPEC completion, the dynamics of trade and market will be changed as argued above. He also claims that the remaining \$ 35 bn out of 50 bn will be



coming from Foreign Direct Investment rather than loans(Husain I. , p. 8). If this is the case, it is a positive sign. Nevertheless, the possibility could not be denied as the Chinese growing influence implies that it is more than FDI. AhsanIqbal, for example, was reinstated as a

planning minister under pressure from the Chinese government(Boni & Adeney, 2020, p. 450). This reflects that the major chunk of the amount is based on loans rather than FDI.

Provincial Disparity

Another major implication is that CPEC will increase disparity among provinces rather than reduce it. Even in this regard, scholars are divided. Since the inception of Pakistan, Punjab has been dominating the state structure mainly due to its hold on militant and civil bureaucracy and federal structure based on population. Some people fear that as Ayub Khan's passive revolution in Gramscian language proved fatal for the federal structure, and unequal development in central Punjab and Karachi at the price of the rest of Pakistan compelled Bengalis to revolt and rebuke the yoke of this slavery, Baluchistan might rebel in the same manner if CPEC brought another unequal development formula among provinces.

The disparity in sharing of the project is frequently cited in this regard. One of these concerns was the eastern and western road controversy. Initially, the western route, which was supposed to address the less developed regions of Baluchistan and KPK, was included in the project. However, later by ignoring the western route, priority was given to the eastern road. Boni and Adene argue that the change was based on two reasons. Initially, China proposed a new road to build but later it changed its policy to work on existing roads rather than starting from scratch. The second reason was party politics as PML N's base is in Punjab, therefore, it wanted to please its voters by including the eastern road which passes through Punjab(Boni & Adeney, 2020, p. 454). Although consensus was developed in the All Parties Conference to build the western route first, [yet it could not be undermined how the people of Baluchistan and KPK would have felt](Ahmed Z. S., Impact of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor on Nation-Building in Pakistan, 2019, p. 407).

Another concern is about energy projects. Ahsan Iqbal had promised that investment would be in the following manner: KPK \$ 11.6 bn; Sindh 11.5 bn; Baluchistan 7.1 bn;" Punjab

6.9 bn. Thus, Punjab would be given less than Baluchistan to address the former's grievances. Sadly, this did not prove true. The division of energy projects is as following: Sindh 51pc of \$ 27 bn, Punjab 27pc, KPK 7pc, Baluchistan 9 pc(Boni & Adeney, 2020, p. 459) Thus, Sindh and Punjab received more than their proposed share, whereas Baluchistan and KPK received less. HasenNaser Khan claimed that it does not matter where the energy projects are installed because the energy produced will be added to the national grid and distributed accordingly. Boni and Adeney rightly reject this claim that as the employment opportunities will be in place of installation, therefore, location does matter(Boni & Adeney, 2020, p. 460).

However, it could be argued that when was the distribution of resources based on an equal and just basis? So, it will be now onward. Baluchistan produces a heavy amount of gas, yet the majority of areas lack gas opportunities. Sindh, who contributes the largest share in gas, has almost faced the same fate. Therefore, it is highly doubted that the energy produced from these projects will be equally shared. Besides, the formula of the population also does not seem to be just as Baluchistan's areas are too deprived than Punjab's.

The unequal division in jobs is also a matter of concern. The local population of Baluchistan and KPK feel that as they are not highly skilled, their share of jobs will be allotted not only to Chinese but also to people from Karachi, Lahore, and other areas(Boni & Adeney, 2020, p. 461). It is also stated that the land of locals in Gwadar is being purchased cheaply as chips. This also raises the concern of the forceful emigration of locals. Because once the so-called "Dubai port" is built, locals will not be in a condition to maintain such standards. So, either they will be enforced to leave or some of them voluntarily will leave due to an uncomfortable situation. Besides, the Baluchistan government has claimed that they should be given charge of local projects including CPEC which has been put on deaf ears.

Last year, on the birth anniversary of GM Syed, father of the Sindhi nation, SUP chairman Jalal Muhammad Shah urged the same kind of demand from Islamabad that Port Qasim's Authority should be handed over to the Sindh government(Khushik, 2021). Such demands had been raised in past, yet this time they have a more meaningful concern. Because the federal government and establishment, which are mainly dominated by the Punjabi elite, do not have any sensitization towards natural assets of other provinces, therefore, they will not bother to hand over them to the Chinese. This is what happens in Gwadar and the same is

happening with the twin Islands of Sindh. Thus, the sense of deprivation will severely aggravate rather mitigating.

The completion figures of allotted energy projects are more depressing. As of June 2020, Punjab's two projects out of five are completed, and the remaining three will be completed in 2020-21; Baluchistan's one project is completed whereas another one will be completed in 2022; KPK's single allotted project will be completed in 2022. Surprisingly, Sindh has benefited more than Punjab in energy projects, whereas other small provinces are ignored. This will not only increase the deprivation of Baloch and Pashtuns but also affect the alliance of weak and oppressed nations as Sindh is getting a bigger pie.

The eighteenth amendment, which is considered a relief package for smaller provinces that have been affected due to a larger share of Punjab based on population, is also under attack. As China is habitual to work fast and wants to escape from red tape, therefore, it wants an authoritative system. Currently, as land is in the domain of provinces, therefore, some state officials like Ishrat Hussain advised the government that central authority should be established. General Bajwa has given similar kinds of statements that the "18th amendment is more dangerous than six points of Mujeeb." Therefore, it should be revoked. PTI officials have given the same kind of statements. This all could happen on the cover of CPEC. Thus, Majed Akhter while expanding the horizon of Harvey's theory, argues that infrastructural spatial fixes need antagonized social space (Baluchistan, Xingjiang) rather smooth once (Akhter, 2018, p. 231). Thus, the state will get two benefits from doing this. Firstly, the old contraction of conflict will be resolved with carrots and sticks. Secondly, surplus capital will also be consumed. Such analysis draws a very interesting but dangerous analogy.

Interestingly, Xingjiang, the starting point of CPEC-Kashgar, and Baluchistan, the ending point of the project- Gwadar, both are underdeveloped, both are resisting their mighty states, and both areas have witnessed gross violations of human rights. Therefore, it could be assumed that both Pakistan and China want to resolve this complex social space phenomenon by building infrastructure and creating a more visible space for state institutions. This could be seen from the fact that the Special Security Force of 14000 has been created for the security of CPEC projects which mainly exists in Baluchistan. Moreover, Air force and Maritime security have also been added to protect the coast (Akhter, 2018, p. 236).

Language Economy

Another concern raised about CPEC is the growing influence of the Chinese language. Although learning new languages are good for a healthy educational environment, yet when it is a forced effort to change the social culture by giving lures, it could be proved a fatal blow; because there is a huge difference between forceful learning and learning by heart or choice. When the British introduced English, it severely affected the economic structure of Indian society. Many people became jobless just because they found it hard to learn a new language. Yet some people argue that if we can learn English, why not Mandarin? I do not find this argument convincing on the following grounds.

Pakistanis have been familiar with English since the time of the British. Besides, many words have been absorbed by local languages; therefore, it is not difficult for younger generations to learn them. On the other hand, Chinese would be purely a new experience for them. In the global world, the Chinese are nowhere around. So, it might not help in learning by default and passively as English could be learned from movies, Dramas, aids, blogs, vlogs, etc. Additionally, it is the most difficult language and at the same time different from our local languages, unlike English. Mandarin, for example, is based on characters rather than letters. There are 100000 characters (Grandemange, 2021). In contrast, Pakistanis are fond of the short alphabet i.e., Urdu and English.

Moreover, Chinese could be learned in private institutions nowadays, which only the rich and urban population could afford, and the majority of the population will not have this opportunity in recent times. Besides, if it will be started on a massive scale, untrained and unskilled teachers will be available for the rural population in government institutions. What Pakistani teachers have done with English at primary and secondary levels is in front of us and Chinese would be no exception. Hence, a new class of students will emerge, and a new social variant will be added to the already imbalanced educational structure of Pakistan. Thus, the class question will be reinforced by this language paradigm.

In this regard, the government has announced that Chinese will be compulsory at the primary and secondary levels by 2018. Although it has not been implemented yet, there are high chances that this will be implemented gradually. Initially, the Chinese would be appointed

as language instructors, and this will not only increase the burden on the budget but also increase Chinese settlement. Despite learning Mandarin, Pakistanis will not be able to teach it to others for a long time due to its peculiar and difficult nature. Premier Li announced that he will send 1000 Chinese teachers to teach Mandarin in Pakistan. In the start, China might afford the financial burden of teachers, but once it started to take root, Pakistan had to bear this finance.

Furthermore, English provides opportunities for jobs all over the world from where remittances in huge amounts are received in Pakistan. Unlike this, China does not need Pakistani experts except a few extraordinary minds, who even can work with English expertise; because it has a huge population, unlike the rest of the world, especially western countries. It is investing to train its population to serve the mainland. Moreover, their social system is different. Pakistanis will not feel comfortable in China as they are habitual to a liberal lifestyle. Pakistani doctors are famous all over the world, but the Chinese health system is not based on allopathy like Pakistan or the rest of the world, so there will be less space for Pakistani doctors in China. Thus, remittances will be affected badly.

Laborer and CPEC

As discussed earlier there are concerns about labor jobs, yet there is a reason behind writing separately on laborers. According to ZeenatHisam, labor, which is the backbone of this whole project, is being ignored in the discourse of CPEC. Concerns regarding jobs for skilled and unskilled labor are mentioned, and yet issues faced by labor are ignored. Labour is the most deprived class in Pakistan. Some people wonder if China, being an officially Marxist state, might care about Marx's revolutionary class- the proletariat. Yet that is not the case.

Muhammad Ajmal, an M.Phil. on CPEC, has mentioned that though CPEC is not a domestic project, the higher labor on CPEC projects is paid according to domestic law(Ajmal, 2018, p. 108). On the other hand, ZeenatHisam states that there have been 100 on-site deaths and injuries at the Orange Line Train project based in Lahore. Falling from a height, electrocution, and collapsing structures are a few causes of those incidents. Officials from both sides met to tackle the issue. It was found that contractors were not taking proper health and safety measures for labor. But those meet-ups proved futile (Hisam, 2017). As this project is in the city, the casualties were reported easily. However, this might not be the case with remote

sites like Gwadar, TharParkar, etc. There could be other incidents that are not documented properly.

Additionally, the fishermen of Gwadar have been badly affected due to CPEC; because previously they used to do business without any competition. Since the Chinese eat a lot of seafood, they have gotten engaged in this business on a grand level. They have good machines whereas locals are dependent on old patterns. Hence they cannot compete with the Chinese. Consequently, due to the abundance of fish and lack of demand, the price has declined (Ajmal, 2021). Besides, it is not only affecting fishermen but as the whole fish economy of Pakistan.

The almost same situation has been noticed recently on two Islands of Sindh, where the fishermen community reported and protested against rangers of Pakistan who have taken charge of the islands and will handover to China. Despite heavy protests by the Sindh government and the people of Sindh, those islands are given to the Chinese government. BakhshalTalho, a political activist, commented while participating in a protest that as a „loser gambler“ sell the things of his house in last, the Pakistani state is doing the same thing.¹ (Facebook)

More importantly, there have been killings of laborers from Sindh and Punjab at the hands of Baloch freedom fighters due to the ill and incompetent designs of the ruling class. It is not an issue of only law and order. Baloch“s have been warning for a long that no outsider may come for employment on CPEC projects. Since the state has antagonized them, they have no choice but to retaliate. However, the poor laborer either does not know about that critical situation or in compulsion to take risks and goes to work on these projects. Unfortunately, some of them lost their lives. Thus, due to a long historical unresolved issue, the laborer has been badly affected and there are chances that in the future we might witness such incidents.

Indirect Economic Consequences of CPEC: The US Response

Apart from CPEC“s direct consequences, indirect to exist. Since the US has perceived China“s Belt and Road Initiative and sub-project CPEC as creditor imperialism, it did all to fail the projects. In this regard, it has been putting huge pressure on Pakistan to Drop the project entirely or at least limit it. The US has a key concern that Gwadar port could be used as a

¹ He gave this statement to a reporter, which is available on his Wall.

strategic asset by China in the Indian Ocean. Besides, Pak-China strategic partnership would increase pressure on India. The US wants to neutralize the western border for India so it could focus on the eastern border and the Indian Ocean.

The following channels have been used by Washington to create a Drift in the alliance.

US AID

Pakistan has been dependent on the US for economic as well as military aid since 1954. Even Jinnah mentioned US support in his 11 August speech (Gazdar, 2022). Since then, Pakistan has been a major recipient of US aid. Since 9-11, it received around \$33 bn in US aid under War on Terror. Additionally, the US supported Pakistan after 9/11 in negotiating a big debt restructuring with IMF and other donors. In 2008, it promised support for the democratic transition, and also through the Kerry-Lugar Act. Although this did not materialize to the extent as expected partly because of the US preoccupation with its own economic crisis, the Coalition Support Fund continued (Gazdar, 2022). Even in 2007, the US asked China to help Pakistan financially.

However, the Trump administration downsized financial help. In 2018, Trump suspended \$ 1.3 bn in annual aid to Pakistan. It has been argued that the move was inspired by Pakistan's covert support of the Taliban. However, the evidence suggests otherwise. The US frustration with regard to the Taliban was an old phenomenon. Osama bin Laden was found in Pakistan in 2010, but the US did not cut the military aid then. After the Trade war between China and the US, the Trump administration started tightening the screws on Pakistan. The Economic Times observed the following analysis of Trump's withdrawal of US aid to Pakistan:

“Analysts here say US is mounting pressure on Pakistan as it has firmed up an alliance with Beijing by allowing heavy Chinese investments in the strategic CPEC corridor providing China access to the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean” (China rushes to Pakistan rescue after US President Donald Trump's outburst, 2018).

Despite US cry on the Afghanistan issue, the evidence suggests that it has declined interest in the region. Taliban took over Kabul forcefully in the presence of US troops, but they

avoided any confrontation. Except economic pressure, the Biden administration has not done much about Afghan crisis. Likewise, the pressure on Pakistan in the name of terrorism is mere a strategy to either put pressure on Islamabad with regards to CPEC or its most to please US congressmen who are sensitized about human rights.

Even IMF asked Pakistan to disclose details about CPEC before granting a bailout package(Niaz, 2022). As a result, we also witnessed how the PTI government became critical of CPEC, especially after Khan met with Trump. In this short period which was supposed to prove a phase of transition from tense to at least neutral relations between Washington and Islamabad. PTI regime helped the US in finalizing Doha deal, and successfully evacuated western citizens from Kabul. Additionally, Khan also played mediatory role between the US, KSA and Iran in 2019. Reuters claimed that the visit of Khan to Tehran was on the request of Trump to defuse tension between Tehran and Washington(Pakistan says Khan could visit Saudi, Iran, after U.S. mediation request, 2019).

Meanwhile, Pakistan was granted a \$ 6 bnpackage from IMF. It is an open secret that IMF works as a carrot for the US. Moreover, Baloch Liberation Army, a separatist outfit, was also declared a terrorist organization by the US- a move intended to please Islamabad for its efforts(Yousaf, 2019).

To curb Covid-19, Islamabad has also received around \$ 61.5 mn doses of vaccine from the US(The United States Donates Additional COVID-19 Vaccines to Pakistan, Now Totaling 61.5 Million Doses, 2022). These all moves were inspired to revive Pak-US relations. However, things got worse when the former PM visited Russia amid the Ukraine crisis. This development will be discussed in the next section.

FATF

If the IMF is an economic carrot of the US, its political stick is the Financial Action Task Force. This forum is a political wing of G7. It was launched as a watchdog against USSR in 1989. Its jurisdiction was limited to money laundering then. It became inactive after the fall of the USSR. However, it was re-launched in 2001 after 9-11 with extended authority about terrorism. Since then, it keeps putting countries on so-called „grey and blacklist“ to crumble the economies of the opponents or force them to kneel in front of their hegemonic designs.

Pakistan has been placed on the grey list in 2018. It has been maintained by Pakistan that the decision to keep it on the list is politically motivated. Initially, FATF recommended 27-point agenda to complete in order to come out from the grey list. However, when it completed all points, a new set of 7 recommendations was issued by Asia Pacific Group, the sub-branch of FATF. This move was mainly planned by India. Even Indian external affairs minister, Jay Shankar, publicly admitted the Indian government's role in keeping Pakistan on the grey list (Indian FM admits New Delhi's role in keeping Pakistan on FATF grey list, 2021).

According to an estimate, FATF has cost \$38 bn to Pakistan. According to Harris, this cost is in terms of loss of trade and investment due to higher costs of doing business. He also told me in an email interview that "FATF and unstable relations with the US are diplomatic and foreign policy failures. Pakistan needed to be more alert to its own broader interests and should have seen that various countries (including India, of course, after the Mumbai attacks of 2008) were working towards its economic isolation. Pakistan did not read this in time and did not decisively act to prevent isolation. Measures such as developing ties with China (by way of compensating the loss of US support) were mistaken. A big country like Pakistan cannot act like a client state of one or other power. It needs to maintain good relations with everyone and pursue its own long-term interests" (Gazdar, 2022).

Currently, Pakistan has completed all 34-point agenda, but it is still on the grey list. The reason is Pakistan's neutrality in the Ukraine crisis. Pakistan's former PM visited Russia amid the Ukraine crisis. Consequently, the US penalized NBP worth \$50.4 mn for alleged anti-money laundering violations (National Bank of Pakistan fined \$50.4m by USA after Imran Khan's visit of Russia, 2022). Pakistan abstained in the UN against Russia. Since then, a crisis of governance has emerged in Pakistan. Twenty-two envoys of western countries wrote a joint letter to the Pakistan government to condemn the Russian attack (Arab News, 2022).

Besides, Donald Lu, US assistant secretary of state for South and Central Asia, used threatening language in an informal meeting with Pakistan's ambassador to the US. According to the PTI government, Mr. Lu warned that if Islamabad did not condemn the Russian invasion, it had to face consequences. PTI also build a narrative that their government was toppled down by the US.

Although most the Pakistani scholars including Dr.Saeed Rid denied that any such act has taken place, the narrative has been bought by most PTI supporters(Rid, 2022). Even if we discard this narrative just as a publicity stunt, the US involvement in Pakistani affairs could not be out rightly denied. After four years, the US has appointed a full ambassador for Pakistan. Is it just a coincidence that on 1 March 2022 the US senate confirmed the nomination of Donald Armin Blome and on 8 March 2022 PDM submitted the no-confidence motion? Besides, he took charge of the new government's tenure. Maybe this is all a political guess, but the possibility of US conspiracies all around the world including Pakistan could not be underestimated. Future historians must tackle this question.

Economic Benefits of CPEC

It will be over-exaggeration if we totally disown the economic opportunities associated with CPEC. Being a flagship project of the BRI, the CPEC has enormous potential to bring positive change in some the areas. The allocated amount, \$ 62 bn, is not a nominal figure. It is almost 5th of Pakistan's GDP. The economic benefits of the disaggregated projects are as following:

Energy Projects

The major amount of the CPEC is reserved for energy projects. The total allotted amount is \$ 34 bn and \$ 27 bn has already been released(Boni & Adeney, 2020, p. 453). These projects include pipelines for the supply of gas and oil to Kashgar, an Iran-Pak gas pipeline, and building coal, wind, solar, and hydro power projects across Pakistan. According to Ishrat Husain, these Projects will help in solving the issue of energy shortage, especially electricity which is the biggest problem of Pakistan and cost \$ 6 bn loss annually in the national wealth of the country (Husain I. , CPEC & Pakistani Economy: An Appraisal, p. 8). Since Pakistan's manufacturing companies have been facing the issue of power supply, an energy surplus will not only solve the domestic consumption crisis but will also boost the economic productivity which will ultimately help in increasing exports and uplifting the fragile economy of Pakistan.

Developing Infrastructure and Transportation

Another big motive behind the CPEC, other than energy projects, is the development of infrastructure projects. China has proved that infrastructure is one of the biggest successes in booming the economy. In this regard, it has been suggested Pakistan may also develop its infrastructure. As a result, trade routes could be easily connected not only within the country but also with other countries. The amount reserved for infrastructure is \$ 15 bn dollars (Husain I. , CPEC & Pakistani Economy: An Appraisal, p. 20). In this regard, 2000 miles Kashgar Gwadar railway track will be developed, Karakorum Highway will be expanded, upgradation of Gwadar airport will take place, and 125-mile tunnel will be built which will be linking the countries, and existing highways will also be improved. This infrastructure will not only be used for transit purposes, which will generate more taxes, but also create the feasible environment for trade with other countries. Pakistan has 300 million markets on its doorstep which can be utilized for exporting its manufacturing products (Faisal, 2019, p. 13).

Special Economic Zones

In this era of industrialization and consumerism, Special Economic Zones play important role in the economy of countries. China, for example, had established 1750 SEZs by 2009 which accounted for 22% of its national GDP, 46% of its FDI, and 60% of its exports (Khan , Khan, & Anwar, 2016, p. 204). According to World Bank's 2008 annual report, there were 3000 SEZs in 135 countries which created 68 million jobs (Khan , Khan, & Anwar, 2016, p. 205). Initially, there were 27 SEZs proposed in the CPEC which was supposed to create 150000 jobs (Khan , Khan, & Anwar, 2016, p. 206). Later, the number of SEZs was increased to 46 at the request of provincial chief ministers (Ahmed Z. S., Impact of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor on Nation-Building in Pakistan, 2019, p. 411). These moves will definitely double the number of jobs. These SEZs will not only create jobs but also will increase FDI and Pakistani exports by a 14% of growth rate (Husain I. , CPEC & Pakistani Economy: An Appraisal, p. 8).

Gwadar Port

Seaports are one of the crucial natural assets which contribute to the economy of the country. Pakistan has already one port namely Qasim port in Karachi which contributes a lot in the country's economy. With CPEC developing another seaport, Gwadar, its economic activities will flourish. Since China's oil imports will heavily depend on the port, it will be a big transit customer. Other countries like Iran, Afghanistan, and CARs could also use the port. Besides,

Pakistan's own exports will be increased due to the port. Its proponents also argue that it could be the next Dubai port. The funds allotted to the Gwadar project are \$ 8 bn. Moreover, some of its funds are interest-free and others are grants by the Chinese government (Boni & Adeney, 2020, p. 462).

Conclusion

Unlike war, cold wars are not formally declared by one state against another. No official document mentions this act. The only way to understand the factual reality is to trace the measures of one state taken against its rival country. There are always a few key manifestations of the Cold War. In the old Cold War, it was the Marshall Plan in the economic sphere and the formation of NATO on the military side which proved the start of the Cold War. In the new Cold War, it seems the Belt and Road Initiative and the formation of Quad and AUKUS. BRI has compelled the US to respond to it more robustly. The US and its allies have come up with various means. More recently, the US and its G7 allies have proposed B3W. It seems such moves are new. In fact, since the start of the BRI, various plans have been proposed by anti-China coalition partners. Previously, Asia-Africa Growth Corridor was also proposed by Japan and India, but it did not seem materialized on a greater scale.

Pakistan has engaged with two great powers through War on Terror and CPEC in the last two decades. The former did not diverge the interests of the US and China. Therefore, Pakistan smoothly worked on it. In contrast, the latter is the flagship project of BRI which means it could be a vehicle to advance China's new cold war interests. Naturally, the US is supposed to jeopardize it. India and the US have penalized Pakistan for being part of this project. In FATF, both have successfully managed to keep it on the grey list. China could not do much. Besides, the US has ceased the usual amount of aid given to Pakistan. As a result, Pakistan's economy has been crippled. Pakistan was ready for this trade of cost because it presumes that China's investment will bring prosperity to Pakistan. It made big commitments to its people as well as its great power allies. The covert handling of the Taliban became an open secret. The fear of US punishment was minimized. Pakistan thought the wind was on its back. All dreams seem crushed after seven years. The economic implications of CPEC proved far greater in contrast to its proposed benefits.

According to Katherine, still there are no visible benefits of CPEC, but there is hope for the future. Debt is on its roof. GDP has shrunk. Employment opportunities mainly go to Chinese engineers who are experts at these works. The provincial disparity is also increasing. Baluchistan still feels deprived. The people of Gwadar are protesting for clean water. The fishermen of Gwadar have been severely affected. Those all-rosydreams of green garden, milk, and honey do not come true at least till the end of the second phase. There could only be hope for the third phase. It might bring some sort of ease to the people of Pakistan.

DRSML QAU

Chapter 4

Pak-China Partnership: Socio-Political and Environmental Impacts on Pakistan

Introduction

Although CPEC is an economic project, it is not free from political, social, and ecological implications. There are multi-layers of this project which need to be peeled. In the political arena, Pakistan has been facing internal as well as external pressures as a consequence of this \$62 bn dollar project. Internally, one of the key problems which have been triggered after CPEC is the national question. Pakistan already has a fragile federal system. This new development has created more dents in it.

Although the project proposed enormous economic potential to uplift the economy of Pakistan, yet it became another cause of antagonism among political actors. Even though Sindh is getting the lion's share, its representatives, the ruling party, and nationalists, have criticized the project itself or the way it is being implemented. Bilawal Bhutto, chairman of PPP, criticized PML N for making the project controversial (Ahmed Z. S., *Impact of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor on Nation-Building in Pakistan*, 2019, p. 408). And Jeay Sindh Mutihada Mahaz arranged massive protests against CPEC in 2015. Baluchistan's pro-Pakistan parties as well as separatists have condemned the project in some or other ways. Senator Daud Khan Achkazai depicted CPEC as China-Punjab Economic Corridor (Boni & Adeney, 2020, p. 453). There have been attacks on CPEC projects by Baloch and Sindhi separatists (Ahmed Z. S., *Impact of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor on Nation-Building in Pakistan*, 2019, p. 401). Forty-six people, who were working on those projects, were killed in 2016 by separatists in Baluchistan.

The ruling party of KPK, PTI, is also on the same list of criticizing the Project. PTI chairman talked constantly against the CPEC. Even after coming into government, he tried to negotiate terms with China. GB has said we will not allow the road to cross from here until the constitutional status of the province is not changed (Ahmed Z. S., *Impact of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor on Nation-Building in Pakistan*, 2019, p. 408). There is also the issue of

disparity among provinces. Initially SEZs, for example, were not divided equally. Later when the provinces raised questions, the issue was resolved by China by increasing the total number of SEZs from 27 to 46: distributing 9 each zones among all four provinces, 4 each to GilgitBaltistan and Azad Jammu and Kashmir, and 2 for Islamabad(Ahmed Z. S., Impact of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor on Nation-Building in Pakistan, 2019, p. 411).

Moreover, controversy arose on the Western and Eastern routes. Firstly, it was decided to develop new routes but then China proposed to rely on existing routes(Boni & Adeney, 2020, p. 454). However, critics in Sindh and Baluchistan did not pay any attention to this reason rather they blamed Punjab to shift the route.

The other crucial problem is the increasing securitization of the country. The critics are also claiming that this project will reinforce the power of the state and its “institution”(Akhtar, 2018). Special Security Division (SSD), for example, has been formed under a two-star general comprising 9000 army personnel and 5000 Paramilitary troops (Akhter, 2018, p. 236). Besides, the CPEC authority is established under SaleemBajwa, ex-army general. Bear in mind, that it was opposed by IhsanIqbal, and the proposal was declined by PML N’s government, but President ArifAlvi established it through presidential order(Boni & Adeney, 2020, p. 451). Internationally, Pakistan has lost the Kashmir case in diplomatic circles. India with the help of the US has successfully isolated Islamabad.

In the preceding chapter, the economic implications of the CPEC were discussed. The first section of this chapter will vest critical analysis of the political consequences of CPEC. Internal, as well as external impacts, would be examined. Owing to CPEC, the increasing pressure on the federal structure of Pakistan will be critically evaluated. Besides, how the bitterness of those provinces is being exploited by the US and India will also be touched slightly. Additionally, the vested interests of the deep state in the guise of securitization will be mentioned. How the separatists are being crushed after CPEC? Is there any link between the revival of BLA and state suppression after CPEC? The problem of Kashmir with regards to foreign policy failure would be tested and its link with CPEC would be examined.

The second section will deal with the social implications of CPEC. In the third section, some of the ecological concerns which rose due to CPEC, or five Dams built by China would

be brought under examination. Pakistan's environmentally friendly status in the international world, especially in era of PTI and the contradiction due to CPEC, would be explained.

I

Political Consequences of CPEC

The economy itself has no meaning in this globalized world. It has to be given meaning by political interests. Every economic project in international affairs has political significance. Therefore, the political implication for the region where it is being implemented is not out of question. The CPEC is not an exception.

CPEC has created bitterness between different federating units. The people of Sindh and Baluchistan have opposed it on various grounds. Some have outrightly rejected it. Others have demanded a fair share in it. Baloch fears that their resources will be exploited by Chinese companies. Security of the region will also be increased. Sindh has resentment over the use of its coal. Besides, it also raised concerns over the handover of two of its islands to China through a presidential order. It seems the 18th amendment is also under pressure due to CPEC which is assumed a guarantee to provincial autonomy in this centralized state.

Eighteenth Amendment and CPEC

Recently, there has been a lot of conflict between the federal government of PTI and the Sindh government, especially with regard to smart lockdown vs complete closure of cities (Mirza & Fatima, 2020, p. 218). Most Sindhis think that PPP is representative of Sindh that's why Islamabad does not bear its rule in the province. The 18th amendment, a gift of Zardari, a Sindhi, and chairman of PPP, is being ridiculed by the Center. It gives some rights to provinces to taking their own decisions in certain affairs. Grant of land, for example, is the prerogative of the province. As a result, CPEC projects have faced delays due to red tape. That's why Ishrat Husain advised the government that to make sure that CPEC could work fast and smoothly, the authorities should be taken by the federation (Husain I., CPEC & Pakistani Economy: An Appraisal, pp. 10-12). Thus, the PTI regime is trying to revoke the 18th amendment. General Bajwa also said it is more dangerous than the six points of Mujeeb (Boni & Adeney, 2020, p. 464).

Two Islands of Sindh and China

The Pakistan government has decided to hand over these islands to China for sake of so-called development. However, critics are saying it is like selling islands. PTI government has not taken any consent from the people of Sindh, even the Sindh government was passed and through a presidential order, PIDA (Pakistan Island Development Authority) was established which would help the government in implementing these projects. It is also being assumed that a high military officer will be given charge of this PIDA to deal with the dissent of the people of Sindh. Mark Kinra, a geopolitical analyst, said that “The federal government does not want any authority or power within the country to interfere with what it is doing on the islands. It is like creating an extra-constitutional authority which has overriding power over all existing democratic institutions” (South Asia Monitor, 2020).

However, the people of Sindh have massively resisted this project. Sindh government and most notable Sindhi leaders from all walks of life have condemned the move of the federal government. The clips went viral on social media in which it could be viewed that Sindhi nationalist workers were going on the islands on boats, but on the other side were boats of Rangers which opposed and threatened them to not come close. The local fishermen famous as Mallah, who are residents of that area, were also harassed by army personnel.

One of the interesting facts to understand Sindhi nationalist consciousness is that a PTI MPA, Shehryar Shar, whom nobody knew before except the people of his area. When he opposed PTI's move and talked in the Sindh assembly in favor of the resolution of PPP against that ordinance, not only the majority of Sindhi people appreciate him, but also PPP MPAs in the assembly could not help themselves to praise him. His videos were shared on Facebook by millions of users, thousands of people kept his pictures on their social media display pictures (DP), and he became a “Soomro” (savior) of Sindh for doing nothing except standing with Sindh cause for a moment. That powerful is Sindhi consciousness, which is unique in the sub-continent.

In this scenario, it should not be surprising why Sindh does not welcome CPEC despite getting a bigger pie; because the historical collective consciousness of a whole nation is way stronger than the few policy makers who understand the feasibility of such projects.

Securitization of State

For a long time, India and Kashmir factors remained an excuse for the deep state to keep armed forces intact and justify increasing the defense budget. However, it seems military competition with India directly is no more a feasible option. Pakistan's military elite has already lost its credibility in various segments of society: Baloch, Pashtun, and Sindhi nationalists, MQM, PPP, Nawaz League, religious groups, Jang Group in media, and even more recently PTI, ex-military men, overseas Pakistanis, Pro-PTI media groups and so on. If it tried for any misadventure with India, whatever credibility it has among some hard-core Pakistani nationals, it will lose that too. Therefore, it seems from the Bajwa era policies – Kartarpur, Abhinandan case, and non-military resistance over Kashmir – that the military junta wishes to resolve the India factor. To justify the existence of a large army, it has found some other factors including CPEC and security of WMD.

CPEC is not as big a project as its hype has been created among the populous. Pakistan received \$33 bn pure aid on WOT, but hardly it was mentioned. Pakistan has also lost double the amount of CPEC in WoT in terms of infrastructure. But it was only used against US allegations. On the other hand, CPEC has been dubbed a „fate-changer“ project. Every Tom, Dick, and Harry knows about it. The military has portrayed it as a sensitive project; crucial for the economic security of Pakistan; severely needed for sailing Pakistani boats from dangerous waters.

As mentioned above that SSD has been created which comprises 15000 armed men roughly. The job of this force is just to provide security to CPEC projects. The Kashmir and India factor does not justify keeping forces in various cities. The CPEC does. Now the threat is not on the border but rather inside the country from one corner to another corner: from GB to Gwadar the existence of forces in every city is justified.

One of the motives behind CPEC is to increase the reach of the state to all „no go areas,“ especially Baluchistan. CPEC starts from Kashghar, the city of Xing Jiang, to Gwadar, the city of Baluchistan. Both are the largest provinces of their countries. Both are underdeveloped. Both are isolated from the center. Both have grievances with their states. Both are under serious attack of rebellion. Both are supported morally and militarily by India. Considering these facts, it is likely that Pakistan and China both want to resolve these conflicts.

It seems CPEC provides them with this opportunity. As it was mentioned above the Uighur issue is more serious for China than anything else. It will go to any length to resolve it. Therefore, China aims to uplift the region via development. Also, increase the reach of state to non-state actors through CPEC. Naturally, the Pakistani strategic elite will try to adopt this strategy given the fact that both issues have the same sensitivity and CPEC connects both as well.

It has also been argued that CPEC is a strategic project rather than purely an economic one. A Chinese scholar commented that we know 80% of the investment will be wasted. He dubbed CPEC as a political bribe to the military elite of Pakistan. In exchange they want Pakistan to use their political and diplomatic clout over the Taliban to religious parties of Pakistan to isolate Uighurs. Qazi Luqman, Jammal Islami's Foreign Affairs Director, confirmed this analysis. When I asked about Xi's statement "Islam with Chinese Characteristics in China," he did not react. Rather he said if China's government wants Uighur Muslims to be patriotic, it is not an unjustified demand. We urge all Muslims to abide by the local law wherever they reside all over the world unless it compels them to go against their religion" (Qazi, 2022). He ignored the fact that how Uighur Muslims are being suppressed.

When then-PM Khan was asked about the Uighur issue, he expressed his ignorance. This implies that China has successfully neutralized Pakistan's political and religious elite. Thus, China is resolving the Uighur issue on two fronts. Internally, it is developing its infrastructure through CPEC and increasing the reach of the state. Internationally, it is isolating Uighur militants by bribing Pakistan for developing their infrastructure through CPEC.

About Baluchistan, Pakistan is doing the same. Through CPEC it is connecting all no-go areas of Baluchistan so it could extend the grip of state authority. Besides, the state also assumed that by developing Gwadar they would provide jobs to locals and address their grievances- which turned out to be a false hope. While partition the war of 1948 impacted the psyche of generals and compelled them to develop of strategic culture which was based on the threat of annulment of partition by India. Likewise, after the fall of Dhaka, the strategic culture of Pakistan's military elite was influenced by the concept of the Balkanization of Pakistan. Ajit Dovel's doctrine also mentions that Pakistan should be pressurized through separatist movements.

Currently, Pakistan's military is occupied with this fear. Since CPEC we have witnessed the crack down on separatists. Jeay Sindh existed since 1971. However, not a single time any Jeay Sindh activist was killed by armed forces on the order of a chain of command. Random incidents took place, but they were not part of the policy of the institution. After CPEC, a series of operations took place in Sindh. Jeay Sindh Mutahid Mahaz, founded in 2000, was banned in 2013. The missing persons became a norm. Some were released after software updating. Other's crippled bodies were found. If the released one did not abandon the activity, the next time they were also found dead. More than 100 workers of Jeay Sindh have been extra-judicially killed so far.

Bashir Khan Qureshi, chairman of Jeay Sindh Qomi Mahaz, was working since the 1990s. He initiated a freedom march in 2009, which became an annual party gathering. He died in April 2012 mysteriously while he was campaigning for that year's freedom march. Jeay Sindh declared his death a murder and alleged Pakistan's deep state for the act. They claim the cause of death was a slow poison. His brother, Maqsood Qureshi's car was also burnt by unknown people in 2014. Coincidentally, he was also running a campaign for 2014's freedom march. Eventually, Jeay Sindh stopped this party activity.

Sindh University remained the powerhouse of Jeay Sindh since the 1970s. Even PSF was unable to compete with it. The hostels were safe havens for all party workers who were nominated in criminal cases. Even police never entered that hostel. However, after 2013 and 2014, Rangers took over the University and gradually eliminated Jeay Sindh's influence. Currently, only Sindh United Party, which is not a separatist party, has its unit in Sindh University. All others are wiped out.

After Jeay Sindh, it was the turn of MQM. A crackdown against it was witnessed recently. Since it was a more powerful organization and it never claimed to be anti-Pakistani openly, therefore it was dealt with differently. The influence of Altaf Hussain was cut off from the party. MQM got split. MQM London has been free from all stakes. It does not have any seats in parliament. MQM Pakistan was also forcefully downsized. It got 24 seats in 2013 but was only given 7 seats in 2018. No party could lose its base this way. This was all result of political engineering.

In Baluchistan, the situation is more tensed. According to a report, 53000 Baloch are forcefully abducted by intelligence agencies (Veengas, 2022). Owing to reporting this issue, a well-known Pakistani journalist Hamid Mir was shot down in 2014. This was so serious issue that the deep state did not fear Jang and Geo media group. Various other journalists have been abducted as well. In March 2016, Kulbhushan Yadav was also arrested from Baluchistan which suggests Raw's interference in the region. In the same year, Modi mentioned Baluchistan in his speech on Independence Day which suggested India's open role in the region. Baloch diaspora is also active in the US and the UN. In 2012, US congressmen Dana Rohrabacher introduced the bill of Baloch independence along with Louie Gohmert and Steve King. It stated that "the people of Baluchistan that are currently divided between Pakistan, Iran, and Afghanistan, have the right to self-determination and their own sovereign country" (Imtiaz, 2012). This was just a motion. The government representative clarified on Pakistan's protest that they respect Pakistan's sovereignty. It was just viewpoint of a few congress men rather US administration.

This clarification did not satisfy Pakistani circles. They knew it was a serious concern. The US-India strategic partnership was a visible reality. In 2008 both signed a civil nuclear deal. The same year when China emerged as a less affected economy due to a financial crisis and Russia invaded Georgia. In 2012, Obama introduced the Pivot Asia policy for East Asia. Its purpose was to balance China through allies. The US knew that neither Japan nor any ASEAN country has the weightage to counter China. It can only be India. Pakistani strategic elite understood that India will go to any length to destabilize Pakistan. So, what if one day India uses its influence on the US government and the Baloch diaspora successfully portray their cause as legitimate? The US government along with its western allies passes a resolution in the UN for the independence of Baluchistan. Everyone knows what the US can do. Recently, it successfully canceled Russian membership in UN Human Rights Council. In UNSC, the US can manage three votes. India can bring Russia to the same table. The only country which can block this from happening is China.

Is it just a coincidence that the US congressmen tabled the bill for the independence of Baluchistan in February 2012? Bashir Khan Qureshi also demanded freedom of Sindh in Karachi on 23 March 2012, and after two weeks he was found dead. He was conducting Freedom March rallies for more than 5 years. But this year it was different. The US congress

was already taking up the issue of Baluchistan. Pakistan can afford to lose Baluchistan but not Sindh at any cost. Someone could argue that it is a mere allegation. Khan died a natural death. However, the post-two-year incidents confirm this thesis. In 2013, JSQM avoided arranging a freedom march; but when it announced it would continue the event in 2014. Khan's brother got murdered two days before the March. Although the party did not quit the event that year, it stopped announcing the next year. Since then, JSQM is no more the biggest nationalist party in Sindh. It has shrunk to a small group.

Dr. Safdar Abbasi, chairman of another faction of Jeay Sindh, left Pakistan and quit his political activities. In 2013, JSMM was also banned. These shreds of evidence are enough to prove that Pakistan's security establishment has planned to eliminate all forces of resistance before they grow and become cancerous for the state. They are ready to bear all criticism at this stage especially when all attention to human rights abuse in the region is diverted towards China.

Pakistani establishment thinks that CPEC is one of the great opportunities to bring China to the table. Pakistan adopted a similar strategy in the 1963 border commission with China. By giving some of the areas to China, Islamabad made Beijing a stakeholder in Kashmir on the western front. Currently, it seems Pakistan is doing the same. Through CPEC China's stakes will be high in both Gilgit as well as in Baluchistan. In case, there is any resolution tabled in UNSC about the independence of Baluchistan, China will come to its rescue because its own stakes would be aligned with that region. This is the reason Baloch separatists are trying to jeopardize this project (Jain, 2018).

Kashmir and CPEC

The US government has historically followed the policy of hyphenation towards South Asia which promises to be neutral between Pakistan and India. However, things have changed recently. Along with other factors, Pakistan's growing economic and strategic partnership with China has compelled the US to change its historical stand. Recently it had re-hyphenated towards India and de-hyphenated towards Pakistan. This has also impacted the Kashmir cause.

On 5 August 2019, the Modi government changed the status of Kashmir by revoking article 370. Now Kashmir has become part of the Indian union rather than a special territory. It

has been argued that BJP intends to change demographic realities by changing the political nature of Kashmir. All Kashmiri political parties including pro-Indian opposed this move. To handle political agitation, government-imposed curfew. Human rights abuse became a norm. However, Pakistan failed to bring all international players to oppose India. The US state department official Morgan Ortagus stated that “revoking article 370 is India’s internal affair”(BusinessToday.In, 2019).

Pakistan also failed to convince its Muslim partners to increase diplomatic pressure on India. UAE and KSA did not oppose India. Even UAE commented that Kashmir is not a problem for Muslim Umma. Amid the Kashmir crisis, Modi was awarded the highest civilian award by UAE. The only countries which supported Pakistan over the Kashmir issue were Turkey, Malaysia, and Iran. However, when they called a Kululmpur summit in 2019 to address issues of Muslim umma including Kashmir, Pakistan was forced to degrade its participation on the consular level; neither its PM nor FM attended the summit.

It has also been argued that China’s increasing influence in GilgitBaltistan will bring negative consequences for the Kashmir cause. For a long, Pakistan avoided integrating GilgitBaltistan into Pakistan. It is understood that any such move would make it a violator of UNSC resolutions on Kashmir. India also did not opt for any such move with regards to Ladakh or Jammu. However, things changed after CPEC. Pakistan allowed China to build a road passing from Gilgit. China is also building a Special Economic Zone in GB and Kashmir. This provided an excuse for India to criticize Pakistan. India has been criticizing CPEC since its inception. It also boycotted BRI on this issue. No one should be surprised if India did the same in Kashmir. It removed article 370 and divided Ladakh and Jammu from Kashmir. This should be understood as a reciprocal move. India wished to integrate Kashmir for a long. It has no desire to get back to Azad Kashmir.

However, it restricted itself from any unilateral action because it would have affected its candidacy for the permanent seat of UNSC. Since the US and other western countries would have opposed such move, India waited. However, CPEC provided an excuse on two levels. On one level, it could argue now that first, it was Pakistan that violated UNSC resolutions by allowing China to invest in disputed territory. Besides, CPEC is also throwing Pakistan into the arms of China which will provide strategic leverage to exploit US grievances against CPEC.

Rumors also exist that India took in confidence the US before changing the status of Kashmir. According to a newspaper, “Multiple media reports from the US and India said that External Affairs Minister S Jaishankar had informed Secretary of State Mike Pompeo about the Indian decision on Jammu and Kashmir when they met in Bangkok last week” (The Quint World, 2019). This indicates that either both reached an understanding before 5 August or India tried to convince the US after the move. In both cases, the US response to Kashmir supported the Indian stance. This suggests how the Kashmir case has been affected due to CPEC.

II

Social Implications of CPEC

Since the start of CPEC, there has been a lot of talk about East India Company. The critics argue that as East India Company came to India for business but emerged as a political power broker, Chinese companies can do the same after such a huge investment in CPEC and other non-CPEC investment projects. There are also talks about China's cultural hegemony. Before the East India Company, the dominating language and culture in India were Persian and Arabic. EIC through social engineering transformed that culture. English became a dominant language. Western education replaced the vernacular education system. The social status of Raja and Maharajas was downgraded. A Collector had more powers than those rajas. The laws of marriage were changed. Blasphemous laws were introduced. The practice of Sati was banned. In short, the whole social fabric of society was disturbed.

Since CPEC has just started, its social implications could not be far advanced. Still, there are some signs which could not be ignored. It has already been discussed in the language economy section in the preceding chapter how the Mandarin language is taking over English. Besides, there is a wave of Chinese settling in Pakistan. If they get successful assimilation, the Chinese cultural influence will increase. In the coming days, our Cinemas might be showing Chinese movies. On Pakistani TV channels, Chinese dramas will be aired. Tourism of Chinese toward Pakistan will increase. People-to-people contact will be fostered. Integration of academic disciplines might take place. This all seems a positive cross-culture activity. However, there are always strings attached to everything. The current situation is not an exception.

Human Trafficking

According to a report, 1000 Pakistani girls were married to Chinese from October 2018 to May 2019(South China Morning Post, 2019).There are two reasons behind these marriages. One is human trafficking. The other is China's gender imbalance due to its one-child policy. The practice took place in a way that the girls from poor backgrounds especially from the minority are targeted. In contrast to China, Pakistani society has female sex in surplus. Therefore, parents from humble backgrounds are easily lured.

In this regard, one of the girls from the Christian community said that she and many others like her were married to Chinese because some marriage counselors showed them rosy gardens. However, their intention was human trafficking. In China, these girls were supposed to be sold for forced prostitution. These Chinese pay money to brokers and ask them to find brides for them. They also show themselves as converted Christians which is totally bogus.

In this regard, FIA has also arrested eight Chinese who were involved in such heinous crimes. The agency also showed doubt about human organ trafficking. However, the Chinese consulate rejected the allegations of organ trafficking but assured us that they would take steps to stop cross marriages as they were illegal in China. This means they did not accept it as cases of forced prostitution but rather as cross marriages(Bilal, 2019).

Pakistani Education and CPEC

Another dimension that has been ignored by many scholars is the quality of education. Since CPEC, there has been a surge of Pakistani students going to China. Previously they used to try for the West, East Asian countries, and the even Middle East which has also western faculty. According to an estimate, there were roughly 28000 Pakistani students in China in 2019; around 6000 of them were enrolled in Ph.D. Professor Hood Buoy mentioned that he did not know any single student who is enrolled in of top-notch university in China. Most students are enrolled in third-grade institutions.(Hoodbuoy, 2022). Considering this fact, it is not hard to predict how harmful it is going to be for the Pakistani education system. Most of them will be back and join academia in Pakistan. The tag of foreign return might help them in getting a better place against any candidate from Pakistan. The research culture of Pakistan is already worse. Hoodbuoy wrote a critical article about the research culture in Pakistan in response to the national celebration of being listed of many Pakistani scholars on a top-ranking list. He

mentions that “Knowing a few individuals who made it to the exalted „Stanford scientist list“, I would be surprised if they could pass a tough high-school-level exam for entering undergraduate studies in a decent university like Stanford”(Hoodbuoy, The Academic Rankings Racket, 2020).He also recommended that most faculty members should be forced to retire(Hoodbuoy, 2022).

The research culture is already poor in Pakistan. Plagiarism and intellectual theft are considered normal even among faculty members. Hoodbuoy gave an example of a professor who has written hundreds of papers in Mathematics but would not be able to solve basic equations(Hoodbuoy, 2022). If I share my experience, I was graded 15 As out of 20 courses in my M.Sc. degree. I topped the degree. I also was awarded 93% in my Thesis. Honestly speaking, till my last of M.Sc. I was not able to write a correct paragraph grammatically. Today when I check my sessional, I feel what I have written. Why was I not penalized for not writing well? Consequently, I did not realize how weak I was. Fake grading boosts your confidence, but unfortunately, the world outside is brutal. The reality check put me off.

The only few teachers who are helping to survive this outdated education system are the ones who studied at western institutions. Now the foreign return scholars would be divided among western and Chinese. The latter is supposed to be worse than the Pakistanis.

Fortunately, Pakistan is considered better in medicine in the region. Pakistan’s FCPS exam is one of the most difficult exams in the world. The FCPS is accepted in all Middle Eastern countries. FCPS in Ped’s is also accepted in the UK. A considerable number of Pakistani doctors are serving in various countries in a privileged position. However, recently we have seen a wave of Pakistani students doing MBBS from China. There is no entrance exam at all. All they need is money to become a doctor. Unfortunately, after five years of the degree, they are unable to pass a licensing exam.

Many have recently criticized PMDC for dual standards against Pakistanis getting MBBS degrees from China. Although PMDC recognized some reputed universities, others are not. The students studying in the latter category have to take an exam. However, it seems that the exam is not as tough but since it is related to life and death PMDC cannot ignore the fact. Even it might be okay to practice as an MBBS because we have already this practice where nurses or compounders practice as a doctor in rural areas. The most dangerous thing would be

admission in post-graduation where one would be authorized for the surgery. This could lead to a huge crisis in the health department.

III

Ecological Implications of Pak-China Projects

Recently Pakistan has taken very promising initiatives with regard to global warming. The former PM Imran Khan announced at the Green Initiative Summit held in Riyadh that “Pakistan would shift 60 pc of all its energy production to clean sources by 2030”. Further, he said that the country will use 30 pc electric vehicles by the same deadline. Previously, he also took an effort to plant 10bn trees and according to him, 2.5 bn have already been planted. These seem environmentally friendly policies(The Dawn, 2021).

However, if we look at CPEC and other non-CPEC projects built under the Pak-China partnership above efforts appear futile. CPEC aims to exploit non-renewable energy projects especially coal on a massive scale. Besides, it has not taken into account how sea life has been impacted after Chinese settlements in Gwadar. In this regard, CPEC has not so far addressed any ecological concerns.

Energy Projects under CPEC

The major focus of CPEC is on resolving the energy crisis in Pakistan. Out of \$ 62 bn, \$ 34 bn has been allotted for energy projects. To resolve this crisis, there are around 21 energy projects: 9 out of them are based on coal, five on the wind, four on Hydro, and only 1 on Solar. The total expected outcome of these projects is around 13000 MW. A major chunk of it will come from coal projects roughly 8200 MW(CPEC Authority). According to an estimate, 51mn tons of Co₂ will be emitted due to these coal projects(Aslam, 2021). This implies that China is throwing all its garbage at Pakistan. It is exploiting Pakistan’s coal. So, it would be Pakistan rather than China to be blamed for carbon emissions on the global stage. Proponents of these projects have claimed that since Pakistan is not responsible for environmental degradation and it is an underdeveloped country, these projects are justifiable.

Dr. Ahsan Kamal told me about a different view in an email interview. He stated that “Generally, the impact of coal power plants is well known –it is disastrous for the environment and transfers the cost to communities in the proximity of the projects. Thar Coal

is already causing public health problems for Thari communities with poisoned water and air. Further, the black carbon deposit on northern glaciers will directly increase because of coal power plants(Kamal A. , 2022). He also criticized the proponents of these projects by mentioning “Anyone who thinks 'environmental damage' is justifiable because Pakistan has a low contribution to global warming must move from Drinking Nestle water to Drinking Thari water. It is ridiculous to justify these projects just because Pakistan is a low contributor to global warming”(Kamal A. , 2022).Further, he advised that “Mega projects like coal and hydro have direct costs for local communities, and system-wide effects, which will only exacerbate the worst effects of climate. Pakistani state must be investing in projects that lead to climate adaptation and then climate mitigation”(Kamal A. , 2022).

Infrastructure under CPEC

The major chunk of the CPEC amount is for developing trade routes and infrastructure: \$15 bn. From Kashgar to Gwadar a huge network of roads, highways, and pipelines is being built. Most trade and heavy transportation in Pakistan are carried out by heavy Trucks which do not follow any environmental guidelines. Whatever the current load is it will be doubled after CPEC. It is estimated that around 36.5 mn tone CO₂ will be added due to this heavy trafficking(Aslam, 2021).

As a result, the air will be polluted, and it will affect life expectancy in Pakistan. Additionally, some of these routes will be constructed after slicing forests which will bring negative consequences for wildlife. ZofeenEbrahim has noted that 54000 trees have already been cut down in KPK. This has affected the life of Markhor and Ibex. More is supposed to happen(Ebrahim, 2017). NHA granted a contract to a private research company to look at the negative impacts of CPEC. It concluded as an eco-unfriendly project. Then environmental minister MushdullahMasdiq rejected it by saying the report was prepared by immature and untrained staff.

Five Dams built by China

Apart from CPEC, China and Pakistan have also signed anMoU for building five dams on the Indus cascade worth \$ 50 bn. This is a huge amount which was bigger than the initial \$46 bn amount of CPEC. The project was signed in 2017 amidst CPEC. All these projects will

produce electricity of around 40000 MW. Some of the key projects are DiamerBasha Dam, Patan Hydropower Project, Thakot Hydropower Project, Bunji Hydropower Project, and Dasu Hydropower Project. They can produce 22,320MW(Awan, 2017).

Among them,the Diamer-Bhasha Dam is one of the biggest projects worth \$15 bn. It has been argued that this project has enormous potential for resolving water and electricity shortages. According to former chairman CPEC authority, SaleemBajwa, the dam will produce 4500 MW of electricity The importance of the project could be assessed from the fact that then PM Imran Khan and Army Chief QamarJavedBajwa both were present on the site at the launching day. The project is also dubbed as eco-friendly(Klasra, 2020).

However, the critics are of the view that these dams would bring disaster in the environmental sphere. Someone argued that it will affect the water flow towards lower riparian. Consequently, the agriculture of Sindh will be severely upset. The life of farmers which is already hell will be tenser than before. The chances of displacement are also high. Moreover, the cycle of the season will also change. The season farmers harvest in June to August will be coming in April-May. This will disturb every aspect of life.

It has been a long debate between Sindh and Punjab that whether dams should be built or not. Does Sea need the water of a river, or it is a waste of water to leave into the sea? Sindh has been advocating that if we do not leave river water into the sea, it will eat up the dryland of the city. This is one of the key reasons why Sindh advanced against Kalabagh Dam. On the other hand, Punjab has been maintaining the view that since water has been wasted at sea, it is better to build a dam.

The basic concept behind building dams is to store water through the diversion of the river. No doubt there are some advantages of dams and for many years the scientific community was in favor of building dams without any second thought. However, new studies reveal different facts and have changed the basic dynamics of approaching water issues. Before discussing the disadvantages of dams, it would be better to have a look at some of the key arguments of Dam lovers. Also, see whether these arguments hold water or not.

Three Refutable Arguments of Proponents

Flood control is one of the main arguments produced by proponents of dam time and again. Mr. Hasan Abbas, an expert in hydrology, rightly points out that according to Wapda's 1992 report Pakistan's reservoirs are not built for flood control. 1994's flood is only one example to quote. Another sacred belief of dam lovers is that it helps in water storage. Mr. Abbas mentions that not only existing but also proposed ones combined together don't exceed the storage capacity of 50 MAF, whereas Pakistan's groundwater storage capacity is 3000 MAF, far-far than dams. Third and the main apology is cheap Hydro-Power generation. By comparing facts and figures of hydro-energy and solar energy, Mr. Abbas states that the latter is 20 times cheaper than the former. While commenting on recent floods (2022), he said the main reason is construction in front of the river be it a dam or any other building. Though dams help in controlling small floods when there is more water, dams bring massive destruction (Abbas, 2022).

Besides, American Rivers & International Rivers Network also propose better alternatives in the guise of Solar and Wind energy. Hence, these three main arguments do not worth more than outdated, rotten, and propagandist narratives. Besides, these are based on faulty reasoning. One more apologetic viewpoint is that water is wasted in the Arabian Sea; therefore, it is better to store it. William Young, a water expert, depicts another myth associated with water in Pakistan. He explains that for 80 years this water has been discharged into the sea; whereas, due to the loss of eastern rivers and the construction of dams, 80% of annual flow to the sea has been decreased. Unsurprisingly, it is affecting the health of the lower delta and ecosystem (Young, 2017).

Additionally, a report released by Fisher Folk in 2015 mentions that 3.5 mn acres of Sindh have been eroded since 1956 due to sea. The Chairman of the forum also claimed that the districts of Sajjawal, Thatta, and Badin will be submerged by 2050, and Karachi by 2060 by Sea water. They demanded the release of 35 mn acre feet (MAF) of water to save Sindh from this crisis (The Express Tribune, 2015). However, their pleas have been un-eared since now. Imagine the consequences, if the flow of water is decreased further after the building of those five dams. Therefore, it is easy to predict how disastrous it will be for the lower riparian.

400-500 million people are displaced in the downstream areas. Most of the dam displacement will be in the delta and has already taken place. Floods and scarcity migrations are also linked to dams and irrigation systems”(Kamal A. , 2022).

Impact on Fish and Fisherman

Impacts on the fish and fisher community are another matter of concern. It has been argued by environmentalists that the free mobility of fish is restricted as the dam is a barrier. As “upstream fish movement aiming ovulation and feeding is prevented” consequently, the fish population is decreased Drastically(TAHMİSCİOĞLU, ANUL, EKMEKÇİ, & DURMUŞ, 2007, p. 762). Besides, due to tribunes, many are killed. According to one report, the construction of Xinanjiang dam in China affected severely to fish species as they were decreased from 107 to 83. The situation of Pakistan is no better. One fisherman sadly reported that they had not seen big fish in last 10-15 years(Khaskheli, 2020). Palo, famous species of fish in Sindh, which is even discussed in the poetry of Shah Latif, is Drastically reduced from 70% to 15%.

Not only fish but also the fish community, Muhana/Mallah in Sindh, whose survival is dependent on the business of fish, is also badly affected because the quality and quantity of fish both declined. The unemployment ratio is increasing in this community. Their small business of boating is also no more intact and Hyderabad’s Mohanas are compelled to work as general laborers in which they are not experts and could not earn equivalent income to the previous one.

Earthquakes

Furthermore, geological damage could also not be ignored. Due to the construction of dams, frequent earthquakes have become the norm of the day. Hoover dam was reported to be the biggest cause of earthquakes in the US. The ecosystem of the delta area is also affected as argued by Abdul Hadi, a Ph.D. student from Turkey. He states the fact that around 2 mn acres of the fertile delta are eroded due to lack of water in Kotri.Besides, mangroves have also reduced from 345000 to 200000 hectares(Hadi, 2015, p. 13).

In this regard, one of the key speakers told Dawn that the “Neelum and Jehlum Project was built in haste” because the authorities ignored all warnings issued by environmentalists.

Moreover, it was also argued that this region is unstable for dams given its track record of earthquakes. They quoted how the 2005 E.Q brought deadly consequences. It caused around 90000 deaths and 3 mn displacements.

Conclusion

Apart from economic implications, Pakistan has been facing other challenges in the sphere of environmental, societal, and political. With regard to politics, it has been argued that the securitization of the country has increased. In past, authorities were relatively tolerant towards criticism as well as intellectual discussions about separatism. With CPEC in making, this tolerance has disappeared. Everyone who speaks against not only Pakistan but also CPEC is dubbed a traitor. Previously, the slogans of Sindhu Desh were part of common discourse. Every Tom Dick Harry was Sindhu Deshi. Now even hard-core leaders avoid speaking foul language because of the fear which has been instilled in the last seven years. The internal security crisis of Pakistan especially concerning Baluchistan has also severed. Earlier it was maintained that CPEC will address the grievances of Balochis. The provincial disparity will decrease. However, what is being witnessed is that Baloch's resurgence has become tougher. They perceive CPEC as the last nail to the coffin because this way China and Punjab both will have access to their assets. BLA never attacked on such a grand scale to Pakistan's armed forces. Sindhis are their natural allies, but they did not fear disturbing that alliance by killing Sindhi laborers. This message was strong enough. No more compromise.

On the Kashmir front, India revoked article 35A and integrated Kashmir into Indian Union, but Pakistan could not do anything. The sole reason was the US backing to India to counter the Pak-China axis. By giving access to China in Gilgit, Pakistan also provided an excuse to India to change the status quo in Kashmir. This way international criticism of legal experts was neutralized.

Moreover, the social fabric of society is also disturbed. Chinese migration and clash between two populations are indicators that Pakistan could not afford more diversity. It has enough of four nations, one migrant faction, and two other nations waiting to be part of Pakistan. Minorities in Pakistan already face much at the hands of Muslims. Now Chinese have added their part. Christian girls are being tied with Chinese in fake marriages. The purpose is human trafficking for forced prostitution.

Pakistan has been trying to portray its soft image as eco-friendly, but CPEC has negatively affected it. The energy projects are based on coal. Infrastructure is being built without taking measures to protect the environment. Apart from CPEC, \$ 50 bn worth of dams is being built by China in Pakistan. Those dams will create massive disasters for humans as well as water life. Displacements from the construction site will take place. Thousands of people will be forcefully removed from their homes. According to one estimate, the number is 0.8 mn. Fish life always gets disturbed due to dams. This time it would be more severe. The recent floods have warned that if any dam collapses in the future, the destruction will be catastrophic.

DRSML QAU

Conclusion

The New Cold War has begun on the same par as the old cold war. The competition between two sets of ideas rather than socio-political and economic systems compelled the US and the USSR to engage in that confrontation. Currently, the same is going on. China's political and economic system has threatened the western liberal values protected under the international liberal order. Many argue, and rightly so, that China is a revisionist state. It will try to build the international order revolving around China and China-centric values. This has been perceived by the US. As a result, it is trying to curtail or slow the economic rise of China which could decline its political clout over other countries needed for developing any new world order. This struggle has of course triggered a new cold war.

This study has found that there are the following reasons which have instilled fear among both powers against each other. Firstly, since the end of the cold war, the US was under the impression that eventually China would also be transformed into a non-communist country and would adopt the liberal features in its economy as well as a polity. With this assumption, it kept helping China to grow economically. However, with Xi Jinping holding the reigns, China became an assertive power. It bullied East Asian countries, tried to revoke the independent status of Hong Kong, and started a crackdown against Uighur minorities. Ice on the cake, Xi made himself lifetime president by abolishing the term limit. This all happened amidst China becoming the world's largest economy. This proved American assumptions wrong. Resultantly, the US has changed its foreign policy from cooperative to conflictive.

Secondly, not only the US has started looking at China as a communist country, but also China itself perceives as a Marxist state with unique Chinese characteristics. As „looking glass theory“ in Psychology argues that individuals perceive themselves through the lens of others. If others think they are strong. They consider themselves strong. If the rest view them as arrogant, they started believing and behaving that way. Applying this concept to Sino-US relations, it feels that the US perception has affected China's view about itself. It has started believing that it is a communist state and wants anti-US world order. The CPC telecasted a show on the life of Marx on his birthday. Xi also stressed on Marxism and Socialism in his speech on the 100th anniversary of CPC. Thus, ideology has played a vital role in instigating the new cold war

Since theories not only explain reality but it also shapes reality, the Sino-US conflict is also shaped by some theories. Apart from this ideological notion, the idea of the clash of civilizations, the theory of offensive realism, and the concept of Thucydides' trap add some value to this conflict.

The idea of „the Clash of Civilizations“ proposed by Huntington explains that the cultural notion plays a vital role in foreign policy. The US foreign policy revolves around Western cum Christian missionary ideology. It believes the world is evil without these values. It is the responsibility of the US to protect these values. As a result, it tried to close the gate of Muslim fundamentalism in the Muslim world though it failed. Now it has turned its main focus towards China because the Muslim world has no core state which could propagate its values from the state level. OIC is an impotent platform to spread Islamic values. On the other hand, China has the potential to launch its cultural onslaught against western liberal values. It seems it has started this to some extent. Therefore, it is significant for the US to respond on time.

Offensive realism also adds meaning to this rivalry. John Mearsheimer has been arguing for a long that the US should abandon helping the rise of China instead it should curtail it. No regional hegemon can be a status quo power. Since China is going to be a regional hegemon, it would try to challenge American interests in Asian water. Hence it is crucial for the realist interests of the US state to give tough time to China. It seems the US has now paid heed to this logic.

The third concept is Graham Allison's Thucydides trap. It tells how history helps us to know that the conflict between the rising power and declining power is inevitable. The eroding power always tries to block the rise of emerging power. Consequently, both are trapped in this conflict. The rise of Germany puts off England and both ended into World War One. Thus, the rise of China has put heavy pressure of the declining power, the US. The latter is trying to regain its supremacy. This will lead both to the war. The direct war is not out of option let alone the cold war which has just begun.

One of the strategies of the cold war is a web of alliances. The US is already building this. It has formed Quad with Japan, India, and Australia. In the AUKUS, the US and the UK are helping Australia to build eight nuclear powered submarines. The US view India as a

potential successor state which can help it to protect liberal internal order; because India is the only power which can balance China in long run given the size of both countries.

In this regard, Pakistan also needs to take position. There have been various arguments regarding Pakistan's alignment with the two powers. Historically, Pakistan was born on ideological grounds. Therefore, it is always charged with ideology. In the Cold War, it aligned itself with the US against communism. In new cold war, it could ally with China against the alliance of Zionism and Christianity or under the slogan of East vs west. It could also side with the US by stating that it wants to liberate Uighur Muslims from the chains of China. Besides, Pakistan's military elite has always seen dreams of the great game. Therefore, if they are offered good terms they will happily assist any power.

The evidence suggests that China is like a „banya“ nation (the term banya is used for miser Hindu businessmen especially those involved in usury; it cannot afford to give liquid funds to Pakistani generals for their luxury life. Once a Chinese official told Andrew Small that with Zardari we have to make sure that the money is not going to Swiss bank but spent in Pakistan. It could be deduced from this that China is not like the America which uses its money to exploit services of the elite of third world countries. It minds business. The Pakistani elite want its own CPEC (means money for personnel projects). Therefore, it is less likely that it would opt for China. Neutrality would not be acceptable to the Americans. Thus, this thesis argues that Pakistan will ally with the US.

The engagement of Pakistan with two great powers in last two decades is based on two projects: War on Terror and CPEC. In the former project, Pakistan allied with the US, but China did not create any difficulties for Pakistan or the US since the interests of two great powers converged. In the second decade, Pakistan started CPEC with China. However, the US did not approve this because the interests of the two powers diverged here. CPEC is a flagship project of the BRI which is perceived by the US as a manifestation of China's effort to build new world order. AIIB which is funding this project is sensed as a rival to ADB. Italy has joined BRI. Therefore, the US is trying to counter BRI. It has announced B3W from the platform of G7. Since CPEC is part of BRI, the US is not pleased on this with Pakistan.

The US and India are trying overt and covert means to malign this project. Owing to CPEC, the Kashmir case of Pakistan has been weakened as the US is backing India. Besides,

construction in disputed region has affected western voices which were pro-Pakistan. The US and India also put pressure on Pakistan by keeping it on the grey list of FATF.

Internal security of Pakistan has also been severely compromised. The deep state is heavily active in all corners. The CPEC has provided a new excuse to it for increasing its influence. Since the start of CPEC, the crackdown against Sindhi nationalists has been witnessed. Previously, the slogan of „Sindhu Desh“ in Sindh was like „Jevy Pakistan“ in Punjab. Now the things have drastically changed. The Jeay Sindh organization has shrunk. Even the core leadership is afraid of lose talk let alone the workers.

One of the arguments in the favor of CPEC was it would resolve the grievances of Baluchistan and would mainstream Balochis. However, Baloch nationalist movement has become stronger than ever. The separatists“ organizations have collaborated and they are actively engaged against CPEC projects. The recent suicide bomb by a well-educated Baloch mother in the Chinese education centre was a symbolic move. It is sign of seriousness. Like religious fundamentalists, the Baloch insurgents have become way more powerful than their previous capability to harm the state.

Apart from these implications, CPEC has also proved a failed economic project contrary to the expectations of political elite. It was assumed that FDI will increase after CPEC. The electricity shortage will be reduced. Exports will sour. The employment will increase. The national question will be resolved. However, things got exacerbated rather diminishing. The GDP has declined. Trade has increased with China, but it is not in favor of Pakistan. The technical jobs go to Chinese. The people of Gwadar are protesting. The two Islands of Sindh were given to Chinese through presidential order which aggravated national feelings of Sindhis. This has widened the gap of national cohesion.

Apart from political and economic implications, the CPEC has also generated social implications. The Chinese population is increasing. Pakistan is already a country of more than 10 big ethnicities. It is land of three religions with various sects in Muslim community. The Chinese ethnicity with Buddhist background will add another conflict. Recently a few Chinese were arrested for arranging bogus marriages with Christian girls. The motive was human trafficking. In addition, the Chinese language has been incorporated in Pakistani education system. It will create burden for the students.

Ecological implication is another aspect of CPEC. PTI chief tried hard to build soft image of Pakistan as ecofriendly. However, CPEC projects have jeopardized that effort. The use of coal projects will increase the share of CO₂. Trucks used in infrastructure projects were not regulated according to environment regulations. Besides CPEC, China is also building \$ 50 bn worth dams in Pakistan. The recent floods have proved how dangerous dams are. The displacement due to construction is another problem. Only 0.8 mn people will be displaced due to one giant dam. The fish life will also be disturbed. Additionally, the fishermen, who are already suffering due to use of Chinese trawlers in Gwadar and Chinese presence in two Islands of Karachi, will also suffer due to dams because the population of fish will decline.

DRSML QAU

Interviews

CPEC Experts:

1. Katharine Adeney, Director of University of Nottingham Asia Research Institute, UK. Interview conducted online via Zoom. Dated 25 August 2022.
2. Zahid Shahab Ahmed, Research Fellow at Deakin University, Australia. Interview conducted online via Zoom. Dated: 4 August 2022.

Historian's Response:

3. Dr. Ilhan Niaz, HoD History Department Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad. Interview conducted online via Zoom. Dated: Part A; 16 June 2022. Part B; 23 June 2022.
4. Dr. Hasan H. Karrar, Associate Professor, Department of Humanities and Social Sciences at LUMS, Lahore. Interview conducted online via Zoom. Dated: 12 August 2022.

Intake of IR Experts:

5. Dr. Farhan Hanif Siddiqi, Director at School of Politics, and International Relations (SPIR), Qau, Islamabad. Interview conducted online via Zoom. Dated: 18 July 2022.
6. Dr. Saeed Ahmed Rid, Associate Professor at National Institute of Pakistan Studies (NIPS), Qau, Islamabad. Interview conducted online via WhatsApp. Dated: 26 June 2022.
7. Dr. Ejaz Hussain, Associate Professor of Political Science, Department of Social Sciences, Iqra University, Islamabad. Interview conducted online via Email. Dated: 31 July 2022.

Views of Defense Strategist:

8. Sadia Tasleem, Ph.D. Scholar at The University of British Columbia, Canada. Interview conducted online via Zoom. Dated: 23 June 2022.

Analysis of Economists

9. Dr. S Akbar Zaidi, Executive Director of IBA Karachi. Interview conducted online via Zoom. Dated: 4 August 2022.
10. Harris Ghazdar, Senior Research Associate at the Collective for Social Science Research (CSSR). Interview conducted online via Email. Dated: 19 July 2022.

Opinion of an Educationalist

11. Dr. Parvez Hoodbuoy, Educationalist and author at Dawn. Interview conducted online via Skype. Dated: 25 July 2022.

Perspective of Military Personnel

12. Cdr (r) SM Obaidullah SI (M), ex Naval Officer at Maritime Security Force. Interview via Zoom. Dated: 27 July 2022.

Point of View of Political Representatives

A) Leftist

13. Dr. Bakhshal Thalo, Secretary General of Awami Workers Party. Interview conducted online via WhatsApp. Dated: 30 July 2022.

B) Rightist

14. Asif Luqman Qazi, Director Foreign Affairs Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan. Interview conducted in person. Location: The Mount Sinai School, F-10/2, Islamabad. Dated: 1 August 2022.

Hypothesis of Hydrologist

15. Dr. Ahsan Kamal, Lecturer at NIPS, Qau, Islamabad. Email Interview. Dated: 16 August 2022.

Failed Efforts

I also contacted following experts who agreed for giving interview but did not respond later: may be due to technical reasons or other commitments.

16. Dr Muhammad Khan (HoD IR, NDU)
17. DrFaisal Bari (Professor at Lums)

18. Dr Farzana Bari (former chair to Gender Studies, Qau)
19. Dr Manzoor Khan Afridi (Faculty member of IR, Islamic University)
20. Ms. Asma Sana (faculty member of IR, NDU)

The following well known international figures were also contacted but I did not get any response from them.

21. John Mearsheimer (Political Scientist)
22. Kishore Mahbubani (Author of Has China Won?)
23. Martin Jacques (Author of When China Rules the World)
24. Emma Reisz (Ireland Based Historian working on Chinese history)
25. Andrew Small (Author of Pak-China Axis)
26. Brad Sherman (the US Congressman; Speaks on Human Rights Abuse in Pakistan)
27. Steve Tsang (Hong Kong based China expert)
28. Peter Frankopan (Author of Silk Road) (He excused for being part of any such activity. He said unpublished interviews distort the message).

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