

## Part II.

Q.2. CPEC has been underway for a decade. Critically evaluate its ambitions and realities.

### Introduction

The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) was launched in 2013. It was touted by both countries as a regional game-changer which would strengthen Pakistan's position in South Asia by acting as the cross-roads between South Asia and the middle east. A decade has passed since the launch of CPEC but the benefits of CPEC have only been limited in Pakistan. The Project is facing a number of challenges of which the security situation in Pakistan is the most significant one.

### What is the CPEC Project?

The CPEC Project is believed to be a part of China's initiative for regional connectivity through a series of land and sea networks. China, in order to access markets in the middle east, Central Asia and Europe and to reduce its dependency on the strait of Malacca for trade has launched this mega project called Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) of which the CPEC is an integral part.

## China's Belt and Road Initiative

In order to establish an alternate route for the trade, China launched its BRI project under President Xi Jinping. It is a network of land routes and sea lines connected by a series of ports in countries like Pakistan, Iran, Afghanistan, Oman and others in the Gulf region reaching as far as Europe. Participating countries are offered a win-win deal which would strengthen their positions and boost their regional connectivity and relevance.

### CPEC as the flagship project of BRI

The CPEC project launched in Pakistan is believed to be the flagship project of the BRI, the first in a series of mega projects under BRI. The CPEC starts off from the ~~Xia~~ Xinjiang region in China and from there enters Pakistan through the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa region, connecting through a series of land route routes to both the Karachi and Gwadar Ports. Completion of this project would allow China to expand further under its BRI project.

### Ambitions under the CPEC project

There are a number of ambitions set out by the two countries for the CPEC project.

## Relocation of Industries

The CPEC Project has the relocation of industries throughout Pakistan as a major goal. By establishing a number of exclusive economic zones, Pakistan's industrial sector would witness a number of positive effects.

## Agricultural Modernization

Agricultural modernization is also an important part of the CPEC. Through Chinese cooperation and transfer of information, Pakistan would modernize its agricultural sector to boost its yield and make it more efficient.

## Boosting Pakistan's regional connectivity

The CPEC Project would boost Pakistan's significance in the South Asian region by improving its connectivity to international ports and to land locked countries like Afghanistan and Central Asian Republics (CAR). Pakistan would act as a transit point for International trade when its ports are connected through the warm waters of the Arabian Sea to the ports of Oman and the Persian Gulf.

## Skill development and employment

CPEC also covers different aspects of utilizing and developing human capital.

Through professional training programs, skills would be developed in local workers which could then be employed in CPEC related projects.

### Improving land connectivity

Through a series of railway and road projects, CPEC aims to improve land connectivity within Pakistan which would prove beneficial for transport of goods from and to the Karachi and Gwadar ports. A number of motorways are either being built or already operational. Thus, land connectivity is also an important aspect of CPEC.

### Cultural exchange and people to people contact

The CPEC project also aims to improve people to people contact between China and Pakistan which would build trust and lead to positive cultural exchange.

### CPEC 2.0

The CPEC Project, by the end of 2022, was believed to have entered its second phase. The second phase is much broader in scope. It would feature Business to Business (B2B) investment in agriculture and information technology to enable Pakistan to export its products according

to the Chinese standards. Special economic zones, rural revitalization and meaningful people-to-people exchanges were also some areas of increased cooperation under the CPEC Phase II.

## A Decade of CPEC

China and Pakistan celebrated a decade of CPEC on 31<sup>st</sup> July 2023. Pakistan has so far received ~~28~~ 25.4 billion dollars in direct Chinese investment in various schemes in addition to huge loans and currency swap agreements under the CPEC Project.

## Realities of the CPEC amid challenges

Despite ambitious targets set under CPEC, Pakistan has not seen any major successes ~~under~~ except from the establishment of road infrastructure and the Gwadar Port. The Gwadar Port is still not operational. The security situation in Balochistan and other parts of Pakistan is making it hard for the Chinese to complete CPEC.

Moreover, CPEC has put Pakistan in an unpleasant light for countries like India and the US (United States). Local employment or labour generation has been very limited as Chinese prefer giving jobs and CPEC related projects to Chinese companies and workers.

People-to-people contact is almost non-existent and local residents are often sidelined.

and left without any information about the projects taking place in their areas. Tension is on the rise in Pakistan once again and the relations with India has sour due to which the CPEC project is witnessing severe setbacks.

## Conclusion

The CPEC project is with 16 years in the making, has set out a number of ambitious targets it aims to achieve. The targets range from industrial upgradation, agricultural modernization, improved People to People contacts, better connectivity to the region to Pakistan becoming a transit point for global trade. A number of challenges at home have limited CPEC's success so far which is now believed to have entered its second phase with an increased ambition on both sides.

## Q.3. Reforms movements of Shah Waliullah had .....

### Introduction

In the words of S.M. Iqram, "In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Islam in the Sub-continent was faced with such menacing problems as sectarian conflict, low moral values of society, poor understanding of the Holy Quran and a general ignorance of Islam."

Under such a grave state of affairs, the need for reforming the Muslim Society was felt by Shah Wali Ullah. Shah Wali Ullah used his position at Madrasa Rahimia for bringing change in the Muslim Society of the Subcontinent. Shah Wali Ullah's reformist movement had lasting impacts on the evolution of the Muslim Society in the Indian Sub-continent.

### Background and the State of Muslim Society prior to the reform

Shah Wali Ullah began his reform movement after the departure of Aurangzeb Alamgir in 1707 which wreaked havoc not only on the Mughal empire but also on the fibre of Muslims and Islam in the Subcontinent. The Mughal empire did not have any significant influence over the foreign Policy of India. The Marathas were a force to be reckoned with. Muslims lost their political as well as economic power. Shah Waliullah realized the need for a reform movement that would bring Muslim rule in the Subcontinent to what it was.

### Shah Wali Ullah & the Person

Shah Wali Ullah was born in 1703 to a religious family. His father used to work in the Court of Aurangzeb.

helping him with his 'fatwa-e-Alangiri'.

After receiving his early education in Madrasa Rahimiyah, Shah Waliullah went to Arabic for higher studies.

Upon returning to the Subcontinent, he was deeply troubled by the state of Mughal rule in India. He was an original thinker and felt the need for a reform movement.

### **Shah Waliullah's Methodology**

Shah Waliullah started teaching the Quranic principles from the platform of Madrasa Rahimiyah. He believed that many ills of the Muslim society could be cured by spreading the understanding of Quran. He strove to unite different schools of Muslim thought together. He wrote many books which sought to resolve the sectarian differences among the Muslims. He, after exercising ijtehad, translated the Quran to Persian language in order to improve its understanding. He presented solutions to the Muslim society problems faced by the Muslim Society in the light of Quran and Sunnah.

### **Shah Waliullah's Political legacy**

The main objective of Shah Waliullah was to unite the Muslims under the banner of Islam and making the story

enough to stand against any external threat. He took a number of steps on the political front.

### Opposition to Marathas

Shah Waliullah saw that the Marathas were gaining power while the Muslims were losing it. He believed that unity among Muslims would prove a strong opposition against the Marathas.

### Call to Ahmed Shah Abdali

One of the most fierce and bold step taken by Shah Waliullah on the political front was when he wrote a letter to Ahmed Shah Abdali to attack India only to keep the empire from falling into non-Muslim hands.

Ahmed Shah Abdali and Nawab ud Daula gave a crushing defeat to the Marathas but Shah Abdali did not initiate a new Afghan dynasty in India.

### ~~Kindling~~ Kindling the spirit of Jihad in Muslims

Ahmed Shah Abdali kindled the spirit of Jihad in the Muslims of the subcontinent. He united the Muslims against external and internal threats. He strove to develop a sense of brotherhood among the Muslims.

## Shaping the Muslim Identity

Shah Waliullah played a major role in shaping the Muslim identity in the Indian Subcontinent. The separate Muslim identity would form the basis of the two nation theory which became the basis for the Pakistan movement.

### The Jihad Movement as a direct legacy of Shah Waliullah

The jihad Movement initiated by Syed Ahmad Barelvi is believed to be a direct legacy of Shah Waliullah. Shah Waliullah united the Muslims under the banner of Islam which kindled in them a spirit of jihad which in turn made the Jihad Movement possible. Shah Waliullah's teaching and the Jihad Movement strengthened the separate Muslim identity.

### Conclusion

Shah Waliullah played a significant role in developing the identity of the Muslims in the Subcontinent. He united the Muslims and worked to bridge the gaps between different sects. He saw Islam as a rational religion and presented solutions to the Muslim problem in the light of Quran and Sunnah. His fight against the Marathas and other external and internal threats

strengthened the Muslim identity. His teachings had a direct influence over the separate Muslim identity and its development which then became the basis of the two nation theory. The claims for a separate Muslim homeland then became established on this very two nation theory.

#### Q. 4. Pakistan is facing a trifecta of challenges - - - .

##### Introduction

The years 2022 and 2023 have been deeply challenging for Pakistan. Pakistan is faced with challenges on its political, economic as well as foreign policy fronts. Pakistan's economic growth has suffered severely owing to the political uncertainty and instability.

Tight macroeconomic policies and tough foreign policy choices have also played against Pakistan. Owing to these challenges, the constitution of Pakistan has been undermined on several issues. Rapid and deep rooted reforms are needed in economic and political sectors. Moreover, foreign policy framers also need to devise plans for a more holistic approach of Pakistan towards other nations.

## Political unrest in Pakistan

The political landscape of Pakistan is mired in challenge. The constitution is often undermined or misinterpreted for political point scoring. Uncertainty and instability on political front has damage democracy and the democratic processes severely.

## Power struggle between political rivals

The power struggle between political powers has wreaked havoc on the state of neutral institutions like the Supreme and high courts. The Parliament works not for the benefit of the public but rather for the benefit of political elites. Political rivals' mudslinging at one another has damaged democracy in Pakistan.

## Dynastic Politics

A major issue in Pakistan on the political front is that of dynastic politics or rules. In Pakistan, no democratically elected government has completed its five-year term in office. Parties with a dynastic structure like the Pakistan People's Party and the Pakistan Muslim League (N) have led to distrust on the part of the public in democratic process in Pakistan.

## The civil-Military Imbalance

A historical defect in the politics of Pakistan is that of a civil-military imbalance. The military power enters into the political sphere which again undermines democracy. Most recently, the government of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) came into power in 2018 with allegedly strong support from the military. When the government of PFF PTI started having a troubled relation with the military, it was toppled in April 2022. With the support of the military, PML (N) came into power. This shows that Pakistan is colonized by its own military.

## Delayed Elections

Elections in Pakistan are almost hardly held on time.

After the dissolution of the KP and Punjab assemblies in 2022 elections were supposed to be held but the government failed to do so because it worked in its favor to not hold elections to the assemblies.

General elections in Pakistan are often being delayed despite a number of constitutional provisions for holding them in time.

## Economic Challenges faced by Pakistan

Political Unrest brings in its wake economic collapse. Pakistan's economy is on the verge of collapse. Its dependency on foreign loan has reached an unhealthy level. Pakistan is facing a stagnant economic growth.

## High Inflation

Owing to global factors like the war in Ukraine and internal factors like Political unrest, trade deficit, current account deficit and Climate headwinds, Pakistan is facing an unprecedented levels of inflation. In the year 2022, 800,000 Pakistanis left the country owing to high inflation which stood at 24.5 percent according to the Pakistan Bureau of Statistics. High inflation has severely lowered the purchasing power of already poor households.

## Current Account Deficit

Pakistan is facing a wide current account deficit where the country's expenditures are higher than its collections. National and international debt is multiplying year after year.

## Trade Deficit

Low tax to GDP ratio  
High energy imports

Dependency on foreign loans