

Muhammad Shafique \*

Lubna Kanwal \*\*

## **Geo-Ethnic Dynamics of CPEC in Pakistan**

### **Abstract**

*The purpose of this paper is to analyze the geo-ethnic dynamics of China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) in One Belt One Road (OBOR) Project. Generally, CPEC and OBOR are considered the projects of economic connectivity, but, practically and broadly, any idea of communication, transportation and connectivity promotes a sort of cultural, religious, racial and politico-institutional exchanges which led to the development of a more multi-cultural compound of power mechanism working for the development of human civilization.<sup>1</sup> However, the ethno-regional dynamics has always worked potentially behind the success of a trade, exchange routes and power dynamics of centrality. The racially and culturally introvert community has always denied an access to any sort of passages to external elements from their regions. Contrarily, urbanized communities closely associated with trade and commerce along with political elites has always tried to find out peaceful and easy to travel route.<sup>2</sup> In this context the paper focuses to analyze the geo-ethnic dynamics of the CPEC region. This analysis can help understand the nature of CPEC's route determination and future cultural and religious linkages associated with the mechanism of global power. China Pakistan Economic Corridor is going to be considered as a 'game changer' the new global politics of economics, promising a lot of communication, trade, commerce as well as cultural and ethnic exchanges. This mechanism shall work within the paradigm of ethno-cultural regionality, if not on the superior politics of colonial power. However, such paradigms have always created a conflict between colonial and colonized people. To avoid such tensions and conflicts, an understanding of ethno-cultural and geo-ethnic dynamics of CPEC is necessary which is not yet studied potentially. So the paper explores the geo-ethnic dynamics of CPEC in this context. For that paper is constructed not only on historical sources but also on the empirical and current development and commercial data produced by policy institution.*

**Keywords:** Geo-Ethnic Dynamics. Regionality. CPRC. Pakistan. China. Infrastructure development. Multiculturalism. Multiethnic.

### **Introduction.**

The idea of communication, transportation and connectivity always promotes a sort of cultural, religious, racial and politico-institutional exchanges

---

\* Prof. Dr. Muhammad Shafique, Professor, Department of History and Civilization Studies, B. Z. University, Multan, Pakistan. muhammadshafiq@bzu.edu.pk

\*\* Dr. Lubna Kanwal, Department of Pakistan Studies, B. Z. University, Multan Pakistan

which led to the development of a more multi-cultural compound of power mechanism working for the development of human civilization. The routes have also been the tool of invasion and military transportation to control the regional dynamics of power. That is why the powers concerned have always been conscious about the knowledge of the ecology and ethnology around the routes and roads. The popular and prosperous routes and regions are considered those which have a human friendly ecology particularly linked with the availability of water, an easily accessible road and a peaceful ethnic space. Historically, the martial races areas and savage ethno-regions have remained far behind on the development map of human civilization. The racially and culturally introvert community has always denied an access to any sort of passages to external elements from their regions. Contrarily, urbanized communities closely associated with trade and commerce along with political elites has always tried to find out peaceful and easy to travel route. In this context the paper focuses to analyze the geo-ethnic dynamics of the CPEC region. This analysis can help understand the nature of CPEC's route determination and future cultural and religious linkages associated with the mechanism of global power. Traditionally, the imperial powers constructed road for a higher end of accessibility to the far flung areas not ready to accept the suzerainty of the imperial center. However, the peace and tranquility established through military might have been considered the method to bring regional prosperity by promoting trade and commerce and in that way exchange of culture and ideas. This idea is combined with the idea of economic development. In that sense regional ecological and ethnic dynamics has been considered most important factor in the success of economic prosperity plans.

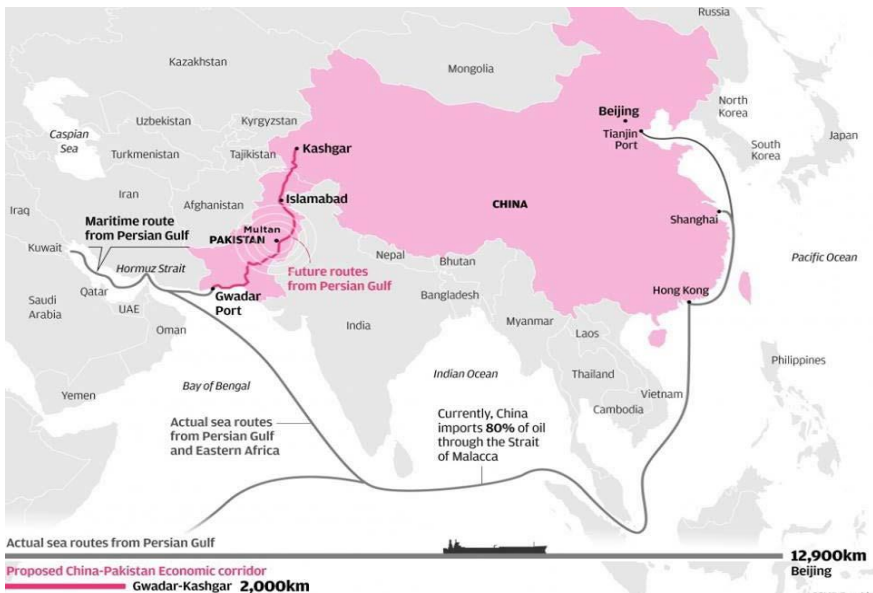
#### **China-Pakistan Economic Corridor.**

China Pakistan Economic Corridor ( CPEC) is one major part of China's initiated project of global economic integrity through the establishment of 'One Road and One Belt'. The project is supported by United Nations Organization and in 2017 Summit of the Project, more than twenty nine heads of State/government and more than hundred delegates from the countries associated with the projects joined hands together. Many experts believe that it is not only a trade or economic initiative but also a plan for the expansion of China's role in the world. China is building its leading role in Asia and beyond for economic and political cooperation through "One Belt One Road" project.<sup>3</sup> Asian Infrastructure and Development Bank, and Naval bases in different countries are being quoted as examples. Creation of Asian Infrastructure and Development Bank is being taken as competitive to existing financial system and supremacy of USA in the international financial sector.<sup>4</sup> However, the project seems to be close ally of commercial globalization project of new capitalism.

Many experts believe that it is not only a trade or economic initiative but also a plan for the expansion of China's role in the world. China is building its leading role in Asia and beyond for economic and political cooperation through "One Belt One Road".<sup>5</sup> Asian Infrastructure and Development Bank, and Naval bases in different countries are being quoted as examples. Creation of Asian Infrastructure and Development Bank is being taken as competitive to existing financial system and supremacy of USA in the international financial sector.<sup>6</sup>

The OBOR project has three corridors to establish in its initial planning to connect China with the rest of Europe and Asia. The first Northern Corridor links Beijing with Rotterdam in Holland; Second Central Corridor establishes links between Shanghai and Paris connecting it with Northern Corridor in Central Asia and Third Southern Corridor connects Guangzhou, the industrial hub of China with Gawadar: a Pakistani port, connecting it with central and northern corridor in Central Asia. It aimed to connect more than 50 landlocked countries to enhance economic integration. OBOR in context CPEC has a status of backbone. (See Map below)<sup>7</sup>

The problem with proposed Central and Northern Economic corridors is very much connected with temporal and resource management. Both the routes are longer in distance than the CPEC to access Middle East and African Countries as well as Western Europe which are centre of international trade activity. The maritime part of the project connects the South Eastern Ports of China with Indian Ocean, Gawadar, Middle East, Africa and Europe. (See Map below)



In this context CPEC becomes a most important part of OBOR as integrating Maritime Time route with that of mainstream Northern, Central and Southern Routes through Gawadar, Xingjian and Tashkent. That relationship between CPEC and OBOR has made Pakistan and CPEC most important position in the new global economic vision of twenty first century. It revives and restores centuries’ old tradition of trade between Asia and Europe known as ‘Silk Route’.

This context, CPEC converts Pakistan-China “all-weather friend” relations to solid globally important bilateral economic and cultural ties. CPEC’s impacts will not be limited to two countries, but, it will also provide a healthy opportunity for the most stable economy of South Asia and global world. China Pakistan Economic Corridor is one of the major development stories in post 9/11

world. It is being analyzed in different ways with differing opinions and objectives. For Pakistan, CPEC is a comprehensive development program that entails the linking of Gwadar Port to China’s northwestern region of Xinjiang through highways, railways, oil and gas pipelines, and an optical fiber link. Major physical infrastructure to be built includes 2,700-kilometre highway stretching from Kashgar to Gwadar through Khunjrab, railways links for freight trains between Gwadar and Khunjrab linking to China and having possible regional connectivity with Afghanistan, Iran and India, However for the others it is a different ideological and political leaning.

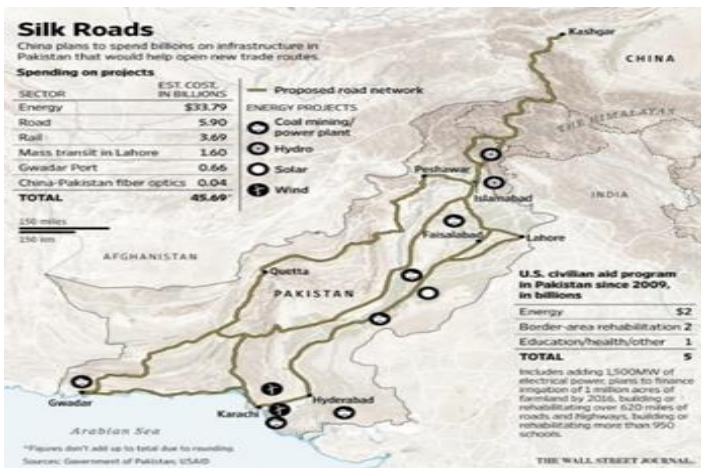
Politically, Pakistan reiterates its claims on the Indian occupied Kashmir through the assertion and acceptance of China’s power on the region and passing PCEC out of Gilgit-Baltistan and Kashmir confirms the China’s long standing commitment with the Kashmir issue and assertion of Pakistan’s claim. The trade volume between Pakistan and China has expanded from \$1 billion in 1998 to \$15.15 billion in 2015. This enhanced cooperation then laid the foundation of China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). Pakistan’s economic prosperity is closely thus connected with CPEC to further expand the economic cooperation. Chinese companies and government is investing generously in this context.

In Pakistan, three parallel routes connected with each other are planned which will initially be supported with existing infrastructure.<sup>8</sup>

### Three CPEC routes in Plan <sup>9</sup>

The problem with proposed central and Northern Economic corridors is very much connected with temporal resource management. Both the routes are longer in distance than the CPEC to access Middle East and African Countries as well as Western Europe which are centre of international trade activity.

In that sense it is not simply a trade route, but the route provides opportunities to develop economic hubs around the road. It has the rail, road and maritime connectivity projects along with establishment of industrial estates, establishment of coal, solar, wind and oil power projects and fiber optic connectivity projects. All these projects provide support to OBOR.



## **CPEC and Ethnicity**

CPEC has to work on a geographical-cultural space which is identified as a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic formation. Although collectively constructing a plural Pakistan, regionally, it represents a large number of geo-ethnic groups.

Formally, ethnicity is considered to be a major trance of resistance and claim to power by marginalized. The word 'ethnicity' is based on word 'ethnic' which is derived from Greek word 'ethnos' translated as 'people' or 'nation'.<sup>11</sup> In the *Webster's New World Dictionary*, 'it is explained as 'designating or of any of generous population, as distinguished by customs, characteristics, language, common history, etc.'.<sup>12</sup> In the *Chambers Dictionary*, 'ethnic' is connected with 'nations or race'; pertaining to the customs, dress, food, etc, of a particular racial group; foreign; exotic.<sup>13</sup> The term 'ethnicity' has a major problem with the term 'race' as race belongs to biological differences and ethnic groups and ethnicity includes cultural and political differences.<sup>14</sup> For Urmila Phadnis, the rise ethnicity can be attributed to the legacy created by sovereign states incorporating many ethnic groups into one state by ignoring existing ethnic and cultural division. Ethnic group has somehow not achieved the status of a nation; an ethnic group therefore is distinguishable within a nation.<sup>15</sup> In this context, 'ethnicity is a particular form of political self awareness and political representation in which specific circumstances can become extremely polarized against other forms of identities and associations, claims for itself permanence'.<sup>16</sup>

The people of Pakistan, belonging to different cultural, ethnic and linguistic groups and interpenetrating each others' territory, have grown sharp hostilities. Certain ethnic communities are considered low at the status scale of political power and social standing,<sup>17</sup> but ethnicity does not stop at being simple or innocent with aspiration for political power. In Pakistan, the alternative concept of ethnicity is more inclusive and allows for more equitable treatment of different groups. It suggests that adherents of almost all religions belong to one or another of the regional and linguistic based ethnic groups.<sup>18</sup> Therefore, a geo-ethnic analysis of CPEC becomes necessary. It is connected with the possibilities of expectations, aspirations, opportunities, mutual coordination and future planning.

## **Geo-Ethnic Zones of CPEC**

The CPEC is a 2700 long route and can be divided into eight major ethnic regions claiming either a status of nationality or struggling to determine their place in the power structure of Pakistan. These include Gilgit-Baltistan, Kohistan-Hazara, Pakhtun, Hindko-Pothohar, Saraiki, Baloch, Punjabi and Sindhi. These regions have different sort of ethnic claims, some times on the plural formations, but having a history of self reliance and individual identity.

### **1. Gilgit- Baltistan**

Gilgit Baltistan is a Multi-lingual region and major languages of the region are Shina, Balti, Burushaski, Khowar and Wakhi. The region shares borders with Chinese province of Xinjiang and India. Its area of over 72,971 km (28,174 sm) and is highly mountainous. It had an estimated population of

1,800,000 in 2015. Gilgit Baltistan is a security sensitive area due to long standing border conflict with India and Sectarian divide. It has a tribal geological and demographic formation. It is militarily controlled since 1948, therefore more peaceful than other tribal formations.<sup>19</sup> Due to its controversial status, India has raised questions on CPEC's passing through the region. But AJK government, Pakistan Government and Chinese Government took a clear stance on the status of Gilgit Baltistan as part of Paksistan.<sup>20</sup> Due to the politico-economic development in CPEC Gilgit-Baltistan is given a Provincial status within already existing paradigm of governance. Gilgit Baltistan has welcomed this idea of the provincial status. Moreover, they are demanding the representation in the National Assembly and Senate of Pakistan as well.<sup>21</sup> For a smooth functioning of CPEC it is necessary to address this issue of core importance.

## 2. **Hazara**

The Hazara region has tribal formation. Gojri and Hazara linguistic ethnic groups seeking a different identity from the Pakhtuns form the major part of the region. The region has played a major role in anti-Pakhtunistan strategy and have been working closely with the forces of integration. The people of Hazara are seeking an ethnic identity and a more proper weightage in the state policy and federation definitions with a movement for provincial status. The Hazara as a region never had strong ties with KPK. The people of Hazara expect that CPEC will boost the economic activity and bring prosperity in the region.<sup>22</sup> Omer Ayub Khan, one former minister also endorsed CPEC as a valuable opportunity for the development of the region. Khan demanded to develop Hazara electric supply company.<sup>23</sup> It is assured that Hazara region will not be ignored in CPEC development plans.<sup>24</sup> The region is linked with the Motor Way One and other infrastructure support is being developed in the region.

## 3. **Pakhtun**

Pakhtuns are Pakistan's most powerful ethnic representation. They have racial and ethnic relations with Afghans as a warrior race of Asia. Two Western Routs of CPEC are planned to pass through the Pakhtun ethnic region. A large population of Pakhtuns is consist of Afghan refugees/migrants. They have a hold on the road transportation system of Pakistan's economy. The formation of Pakhtun region is based on tribal autonomy. Pakhtun region is a center of Islamic Revival movements, resisted by the leftists since long time. Pakhtun have a traditional society and have a strong representation in military.

Pakhtun areas of KPK and Balochistan are planned to be connected through the Western Route of CPEC. As per official map, Western route is a short term project, financed by the government of Pakistan and supposed to be completed within a short span of time. The Government of KPK demands that this route should be declared the part of CPEC. The demand is acceded by the federal government.<sup>25</sup> The people and government of the region demand an earlier opening of the western route of CPEC.

## 4. **Hindko—Pothohar**

Hindko-Pothohar is consist of the areas of federal capital and Northern Punjab. The region has developed a very strong role political and policy matter as

the region include capital area. Raja's and Malik's are the two most prominent ethnic groups in Hindu-Pothohar region and they hold good tribal, caste and clan ties. They are the major beneficiary of proposed central zone of CPEC. The major source of their power and strong economy is their participation in military services. Historically a major chunk of armed forces consists of men from this region. Hindu-Pothohar is also called Land of Generals. Other than regional interest, the role of security forces in the success of CPEC projects determines the extended role of this region. Therefore region visualize a strong economic breakthrough and cultural extension through CPEC and has strongly supported all initiatives connected with the CPEC.

## 5. **Saraiki**

Saraiki region includes most of the areas of Southern Punjab and from KPK it includes Dera Ismail Khan and Tank districts. It is a compound of linguistic and racial identity. There is a strong conflict between Punjabi, Saraiki and Baloch in the region. On the one hand, the region has a very strong ethnic movement, focusing on the administrative autonomy from the Central Punjab or so called 'Takht-i-Lahore' in the form of the restoration of historic status of the region as a Province with Multan as its Headquarter. On the other hand, the region has a plural racial formation which has created a sort of intra regional conflict. Therefore, there are Saraiki Province Movement, Tahreek Suba Multan and Bahawalpur Suba Bahali Movement very active in the region. Still North Western part of the region claiming a dominant Baloch ethnicity, have some elements looking towards the inclusion of cross-Indus areas into Balochistan. As Balochistan is an underdeveloped region and the people of this region are most advanced than the Baloch regions, therefore they are expecting a stronger role of the region in Balochistan than in Punjab. The people of the region feel that they are ignored in the execution of planning and infrastructure development of the CPEC projects in the region. This complaint is common by all the stake holders of region.<sup>26</sup>

The Saraiki region include most deprived and under developed districts of Punjab such as Rajanpur, Dera Ghazi Khan, Layyah, Bakkar and Dera Ismail Khan and these areas are ignored in the projects of CPEC.<sup>27</sup> On the contrary to that the role elected representative is questionable because they didn't raise the voice of local in context CPEC.<sup>28</sup> On the other side, there is some positive development to address the deprivation of this region. The newly elected president of Multan Chambers of Commerce and Industries (MCCI) expressed his view that Southern Punjab will be the beneficiary of CPEC. The president MCCI also highlighted the importance and need of economic zone in the Southern Punjab. He added: "The MCCI would serve as a bridge between the trading community and the policymakers, particularly in Multan and in southern Punjab in general".<sup>29</sup> In general Saraiki region will be the beneficiary of Central and Eastern Route.

## 6. **Baloch**

Balochs are a major ethnic group of Balochistan. Balochistan is a tribal society with harsh rivalries among factionalized tribes such as Rind, Murree, Bugti and Brahvi. Baloch region is based on territorial, linguistic and racial monopolies under the sardars. There are several Secessionist Movements and group active in

the region since long. It has a strategic depth of link with maritime silk route and middle east and this importance has made the region center for international politics. Baluchistan is a vast land and mineral resources and is a low populated area. Baluchistan is rich with mines and minerals. Baluchistan demands a due share in the process of development and also emphasis that central government should not utilize the resources of Baluchistan by excluding its main stakeholder-Baloch Community.

Baloch region has the most important role on OBOR and CPEC as its Gawadar Port provides a connectivity between Maritime Route and land route of OBOR. Therefore, it owes a major share in the development Projects of CPEC. In CPEC, almost \$ 793million has been allocated for the eight Projects Gawadar, which include:

- East-Bay Expressway
- Gawadar International Airport
- Construction of Breakwaters
- Dredging of berthing areas & channels
- Infrastructure for Free Zone & EPZs port related industries
- Necessary Facilities of Fresh Water Treatment and Supply
- Hospital at Gawadar
- Technical and Vocational Institute at Gawadar<sup>30</sup>

Inspite of this major share, Baloch have some major grievances with the CPEC project. They have a fear of major ethnic shift in the demographic structure of the region due to the planned migration and settlement resulting out of the CPEC development projects and internationalization of Gawadar. The reason is that Gawadar has a very low intensity of population per mile and as the projects will completed, the influx of more population is expected. Therefore, it will have impacts on political rights of Balochs through converting them into a minority ethnic group.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, Akhtar Jaan Mengal, one popular tribal-political leader of Balochs, has raised questions on the impartation of the benefits of CPEC for Baloch population. He has shown concern on the possibility of Balochs' conversion to a minority ethnic group.<sup>32</sup> There are a few incidents of violence reported against the CPEC workers.

## **7. Punjabi**

Punjab is a multicultural and a multiethnic region and Punjabi linguistic ethnicity forms the core of region. Its two other major ethnic claimants are Pothohar and Saraiki. There are no tribal formations in Punjabi ethnic formation but casts and clan ties. It includes the Sargogha, Lahore, Faisalabad and Gujranwala divisions and most thickly populated area of Pakistan. This area is supposed to be the major beneficiary of Central and Eastern Route of CPEC as a region of power elites. This region sends a major representation in the provincial Assembly and have a major ethnic share in the National Assembly, even finding representation from Pothohar and Saraiki region. Due to the dominant political and establishment role, small federating units have strong reservation on its dominant role. Before the emergence of one unit, Bahawalpur was not the part of Punjab and after the annulment of one unit the previous status of Bahawalpur as a



federating unit was not restored. Political deprivation, illiteracy, undeveloped infrastructure and insufficient representation in policy making has led to the movement of division of the province.

One popular narrative focuses on Punjabis as one of the potent reasons behind the deprivations of other ethnic formations. The P in CPEC was questioned, whether stands for Punjab or Pakistan?<sup>33</sup> On that narrative, it is a common view that CPEC would only develop benefits for the Punjabi dominant region.<sup>34</sup> CM KPK while giving an interview clearly complained that he even didn't see the original documents of the CPEC<sup>35</sup> and there is perception that CPEC is project between China and punjab. Senator Daud Khan Achakzai said: "it is, in fact, the China-Punjab Economic Corridor, because it will mainly benefit Punjab and not the other provinces".<sup>36</sup> In this context, the CPEC's team leaders are Punjabis and there is no voice raised against any project of CPEC in the Punjabi ethnic heartlands rather an enthusiastic presentation and planning can be observed highlighting CPEC as a project of Future prosperity.

## 8. **Sindhi**

Sindh is linguistic ethnic unit in the south of Pakistan. It is consist of Sindhi, Urdu, Saraiki and Baloch ethnic representations dominated by Sindhi and Urdu ethnic movements. Primarily, there are two divides in this unit. First, there is Urban and rural divide. Second, there is ethno-linguist divide between Urdu and Sindhi speakers. The people of the land has been asserting their historical identity going back into the times of Indus Civilizationin 2500 BC.

The region facing regional nationalist assertion due to the lack of provincial autonomy, dominance of Punjabi ethnic and demographic politics and rise of Mohajir nationalism. The Sindhi Nationalists emerged as a strong pressure group by the 1950's due to the efforts of Muhammad Ibrahim Joyo and G.M Syed after the migration of Hindus from Sindh.<sup>37</sup> By 1972 *Jeeay Sindh* became a powerful slogan.

Sindh is supposed to be major bene beneficiary of Central and Eastern routes of CPEC. Although Western route marginalizes Sindh in the politics of CPEC, the ports of Karachi and Bin Qasim still can keep the Sindh major contributor to the Pakistan's economy. However, Sindhis demand new industrial zones out of Karachi into Upper Sindh as a benefit of CPEC. CPEC has initiated eleven energy projects which include coal and wind energy projects into upper and southern Sindh.<sup>38</sup> On the other side, few reservations are also expressed by Strengthening Participatory Organization and Sindh Economic Forum. The complaint is that: "The number of CPEC projects is being distorted, as already on-going Thar coal projects are being included in this package, which makes no sense as the Sindh government, along with its partners, is already working on it". They have demanded the construction of a new route starting from Arore, near Sukkur, going through Mir Pur Khas up to Keti Bandar."<sup>39</sup> This is expected to make the southern regions of Sindh a part of main stream economic activity and CPEC.

## **Conclusion**

The CPEC as a project of Global connectivity is consisting of eight different ethnic regions. Although none of the regions is homogenous ethnic

representation rather reflect a somewhat plural demographic structure, yet the major junk of population in these region reflect a major ethic claim. These regions demand a major share in the economic development projects and road linkage with the mainstream CPEC routes and the smaller ethnic groups or politically marginalized groups have expressed the feelings of marginalization in the execution of CPEC projects. They have demanded two types of role: One that these regions should be given a role in the planning and execution of CPEC Projects and should not be marginalized in this context and Second that these regions should be allocated some major projects of economic development to bring economic parity between major developed areas and underdeveloped regions. The major challenge for CPEC is how to not marginalize and how to properly accommodate all these ethnic formations. Although a mechanism of mutual administrative consultation and concensus building at administrative level and provincial governments levels have been developed, but the ethnic grievances at public level are not supposed to be address through any mechanism. The communities and groups already feeling marginalized in the federation and main stream politics may feel more marginalized and neglecting in the present structure. This need to be addressed systematically and efficiently to meet the future challenges and plans of future development. CPEC as a major project of global economic connectivity and every region and ethnic group is connecting its future plans with the projects. As the initial function of CPEC is linked to the existing infrastructure which is already available in the form of Motor Way 1,2,3, and 4 and which has become the part of central route of CPEC, therefore, there are some feelings of marginalization in the areas of Western and Eastern rout.

The recent undertakings by National Highway Authority of Pakistan reflect a wider concern to address the ethnic representations in development work but still it need to be dealt carefully. The western route marginalizes the two major provinces but simultaneously the Construction of Motorway from Peshawar to Karachi before the Western Route of CPEC will affect positively to the feelings of marginalization. However, the tribal assertions and sectarian militant groups still are being taken as a major hurdle for western route of CPEC.

The ethnic structure of the CPEC indicate another ignored concern of social-cultural connectivity and dynamics of new ethnic formations and problem of cultural assimilation and conflicts. Although CPEC is the project of economic connectivity, yet economic connectivity always brings an ethnic collision and inter-civilization conflict. To avoid such type of issues need a careful translation into policy and planning as well as into policy making mechanism. China as a largest country is supposed to encourage a mass scale legal migration to Pakistan and it is going to be conceived as major ethnic threat to the ethnic representations of Pakistan. All these concerns have genuine sociological, psychological, economic and political foundations but are not yet discussed properly and are still marginalized. This ignorance may create some major problems as a result of the proper functioning of the CPEC.

## Notes & References

---

<sup>1</sup> See for details, William J. Gudykunst, *Cross-Cultural and Intercultural Communication*, California: Sage Publications, 2003. Also See Chien Wen Yu, 'Marco Polo: Pioneer of East-West Communication, Transportation and Trade', *Bridgewater Review*, Volume 33/ Issue 2 (Nov-2014), pp. 28-30.

<sup>2</sup> See for theoretical approaches, Nigel Rapport, ed., 'Democracy Science and "Open Society" A European Legacy?' Special Issue, *Anthropological Journal on European Culture*, Vol. 13 (2014),

<sup>3</sup> J. Wang, (2015) 'China's 'New Silk road': A case study in Eu-China relations' in Amighini, A. & Berkofsky, A. ed., *Xi's Policy Gambles: The Bumpy Road Ahead* (pp. 92–109). Beijing: ISPI. 2015.

<sup>4</sup> S. Xu, 'Vision and Actions on Jointly Building Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road', *National Development and Reform Commission, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Ministry of Commerce of the People's Republic of China*,

<sup>5</sup> J. Wang, Op. Cit.

<sup>6</sup> S. Xu, Op. Cit.

<sup>7</sup> *China Daily*, June 28, 2014.

<sup>8</sup> CPEC is not a difficult project for Pakistan as Pakistan has a large roads and railway network. Pakistan has more than 270000 kilometers of Roads network, which is supported by Pakistan Railways also. And Pakistan has to just make these sources organized and interlinked. For Pakistan has already completed some major infrastructure projects.

<sup>9</sup> <http://cpec.gov.pk/map-single/1>

<sup>10</sup> <http://cpec.gov.pk/map-single/2>

<sup>11</sup> Adam Kuper, *The Social Science Encyclopedia*, New York, 2001, p.261.

<sup>12</sup> David B. Guralnik, *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language*, New York, 1974, p.481.

<sup>13</sup> Catherine Schwarz, *The Chambers Dictionary*, Chamber Harrap Publishers, 1994, p.578.

<sup>14</sup> Michael O. Shaughnessy, *Media and Society an Introduction*, Jane Stadler, New York, 2005, p.260.

<sup>15</sup> Urmila Phadnis, *Ethnicity and National- Building in South Asia*, Rajat Ganguly, New Delhi, 2001, pp.16-19,45.

<sup>16</sup> Rajat Gungly & Lan Macduff, *Ethnic Conflict and Secessionism in South and Southeast Asia*, New Delhi, 2003, p.60.

<sup>17</sup> Manzooruddin Ahmed, *Contemporary Pakistan Politics, Economy and Society*, Karachi, 1982, p.215.

<sup>18</sup> Feroz Ahmed, pp.238-241.

<sup>19</sup> Government of Gilgit-Baltistan. <http://www.gilgitbaltistan.gov.pk/> (accessed March 2016).

<sup>20</sup> See statements of three governments in Daily Dawn repeated in 2015-17.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

- <sup>22</sup>“CPEC to generate economic activity in Hazara: governor”, *Dawn*, January 4th, 2016.
- <sup>23</sup>“New era: CPEC will enhance Hazara’s contribution to exchequer”, *The Express Tribune*, July 25, 2016.
- <sup>24</sup>“Hazara route: Western corridor must have all facilities, says CM”, *The Express Tribune*, April 28, 2016.
- <sup>25</sup> <sup>25</sup>“Make western route integral part of CPEC”, *The Express Tribune*, October 4th, 2016 and “ANP announces protests to push for CPEC western route”, *Dawn*, October 4th, 2016.
- <sup>26</sup> Muhammad Feyyaz, *Demond for Saraiki Province*, Official, Islamabad: PILDAT, 2011.
- <sup>27</sup>“Remote, Backward Dirtricts of Saraiki Belt Ignored in CPEC Projects”, *Daily Frontier Star*, January 18, 2016.
- <sup>28</sup> Ibid
- <sup>29</sup> ‘CPEC will benefit Southern Punjab’, *The Express Tribune*, October 2, 2016.
- <sup>30</sup> <http://cpec.gov.pk/gwader>
- <sup>31</sup> Akhtar JaanMengal, interview by Wajahat Saeed Khan. MahazWajahat Saeed Khan Kay Sath ,January 9th, 2016 .<http://viitv.com/2016/01/mahaz-wajahat-saeed-khan-kay-sath-9th-january-2016/>
- <sup>32</sup> Ibid
- <sup>33</sup> Abbas Nasir, "What’s ‘P’ in CPEC?" *Dawn*, January 9th, 2016.
- <sup>34</sup> Andrew Small, "Corridor of Uncertainty." *Herald*, January 2016.
- <sup>35</sup> PervezKhattak, interview by MoeedPirzada. Tonight with MoeedPirzada ,January 3rd, 2016.<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sdHTuC066BM>
- <sup>36</sup>“Senators say CPEC turned into ‘China-Punjab’ corridor”, *Dawn*, November 24, 2015.
- <sup>37</sup>Nadeem F. Paracha, "Making of the Sindhi identity: From Shah Latif to GM Syed to Bhutto", *Dawn*, September 10, 2015.
- <sup>38</sup>“Sindh largest recipient of energy projects under CPEC”, *The Nation*, July 14, 2016.
- <sup>39</sup>“Legitimate Concerns: CPEC not benefitting Sindh, claims analyst”, *The Express Tribune*, January 24, 2016.