

Globalization with Chinese Characteristics: A Case Study of OBOR and CPEC (2013-2020)

Zille-e-Huma Mustafa MALİK¹

Abstract

In this study, China's rise in the age of globalization and especially whether One Belt One Road represents a distinctive form of globalization with "Chinese characteristics" is analyzed. Based on the neoclassical realist theory, how global structures and local factors affect and shape foreign policy behavior, such as China's OBOR policy, is among the topics explored in the article. It also examines the origins and development of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, the most strategically important OBOR initiative, with a special focus on how Pakistan has shaped its development model. This paper draws upon the globalization factor, which is being supportive to promote OBOR policy in broad-spectrum and CPEC in precise. It also shows the need of hour where foreign policies are shaped in the light of globalized economic world and choices of becoming partners under the win-win cooperation due to mutual interest cannot be overlooked. Ultimately, the article evaluates how much the CPEC plan and the OBOR initiative represent "China's way of Globalization".

Keywords: China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), domestic politics, foreign policy, Globalization, One Belt One Road (OBOR)

Çin Tipi Küreselleşme: OBOR ve OPEC Örneği (2013-2020)

Zille-e-Huma Mustafa MALİK¹

Özet

Bu çalışmada Çin'in küreselleşme çağındaki yükselişi ve özellikle Tek Kuşak Bir Yol'un "Çin tipi" ile ayrıt edici bir küreselleşme biçimini temsil edip etmediği analiz edilmektedir. Neoklasik realist teoriden hareketle Çin'in OBOR politikası gibi küresel yapıların ve yerel faktörlerin dış politika davranışını nasıl etkilediği ve şekillendirdiği de makalede incelenen konular arasında yer almaktadır. Ayrıca, stratejik açıdan en önemli OBOR girişimi olan Çin-Pakistan Ekonomik Koridoru'nun kökenlerini ve gelişimini, Pakistan'ın kalkınma modelini nasıl şekillendirdiğine özel olarak odaklanarak incelemektedir. Bu makale, geniş spektrumda OBOR politikasını ve kesin olarak CPEC'yi teşvik etmek için destekleyici olan küreselleşme faktöründen yararlanmaktadır. Ayrıca dış politikaların küreselleşen ekonomik dünyanın ışığında şekillendiği ve karşılıklı çıkara dayalı kazan-kazan işbirliği kapsamında ortak olma tercihlerinin göz ardı edilemeyeceği bir vakte ihtiyaç olduğunu göstermektedir. Sonuç olarak makale, CPEC planının ve OBOR girişiminin "Çin'in Küreselleşme yolunu" ne kadar temsil ettiğini değerlendirmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Çin-Pakistan Ekonomik Koridoru (CPEC), İç Politika, Dış Politika, Küreselleşme, Bir Kuşak Bir Yol (OBOR)

INTRODUCTION

Globalization has significant and worldwide influences on economic growth and wealth, culture, political systems, social welfare in humanities and the environment. According to Birdsall, it stimulates development in poor countries (Birdsall, 2007). As China is contributing in developing the poor countries rather developing countries and the top most in line is Pakistan with its project of CPEC. China has received more attention because of its not only rapid domestic economic progress and compliance to the WTO, but as of its active approach for regional economic developments. China has taken benefitted considerably after endorsing free trade agreements (Irshad, et.al, 2015: 200-207). In China, foreign policy is supplementary to the in-house ambitions of retaining internal stability and progression in the economy overall (Brungs, 2013: 256).

The OBOR initiative attempts to address China's domestic and external economic as well as security challenges by significant foreign infrastructural and strategic investment programs such as securing energy transportation routes via land corridors and newly built or purchased ports. Pakistan has acquired substantial amount of investment from China through the CPEC project. It spawned hope and opportunities for transforming the financial setting in Pakistan, which brightened the pathway of collaboration among developing countries and revitalized the projections of OBOR (Shah, 2018: 378). Some consider OBOR as a form of 'Chi globalization' or globalization with Chinese characteristics whilst others view at a new form of inclusive or developmental globalization (Wenshan, 2017). Drawing on this idea, this study explores how far development is integral to Chi globalization in the form of OBOR initiative. This research outlines the driving force behind the OBOR policy of China under the CPEC Project and its impacts on Pakistan. Moreover, this paper not only highlights CPEC project for increasing local economic cooperation and trade but also sheds light on impact of international economic cooperation and trade.

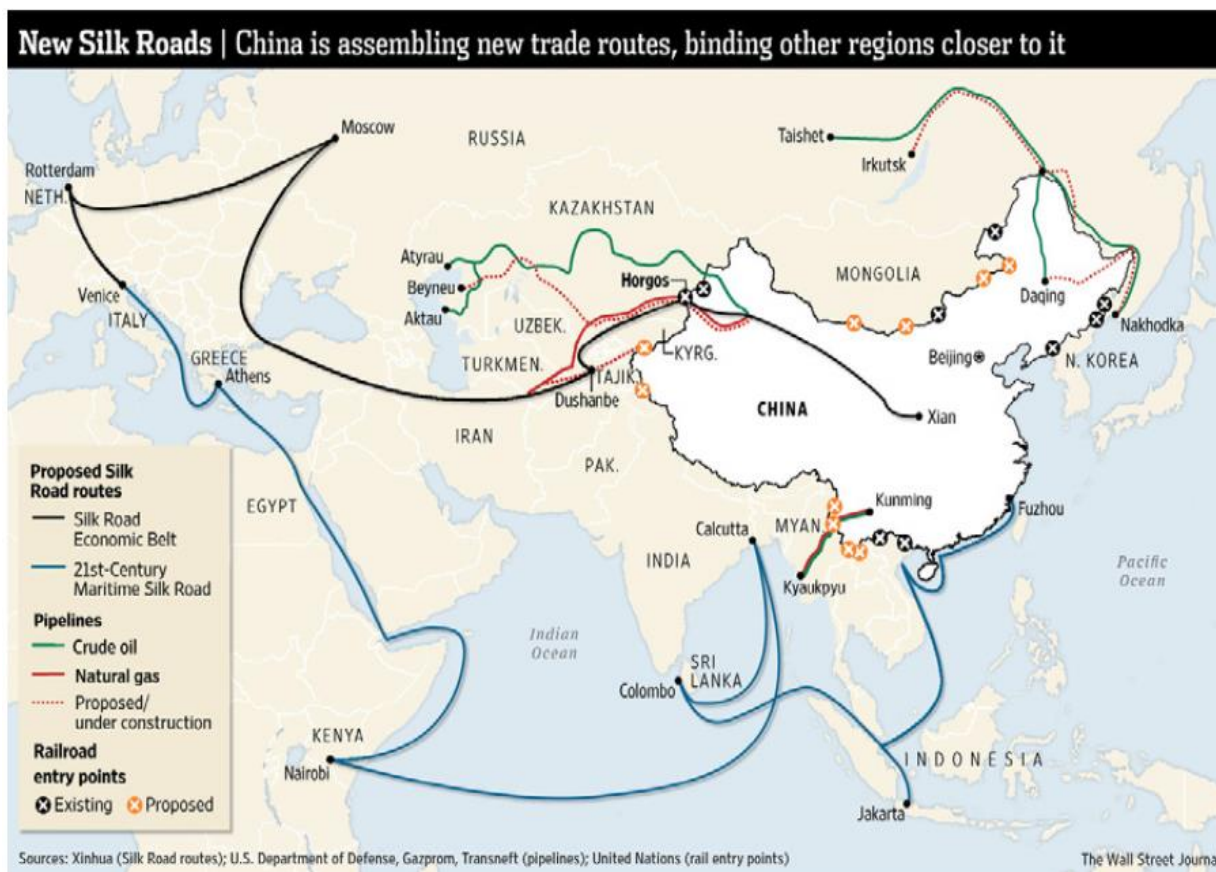
This study is of great importance and value in the scheme of globalization and OBOR typed studies. Scientifically, it contributes to the understanding of the CPEC, particularly by pointing up the in-depth rationalities behind the strategies and policies deployed by China and Pakistan in the framework of the CPEC in order to achieve their targets and pursue their domestic and foreign politics agenda. This study can also be of value to policy makers to understand and formulate policies. The present research is qualitative in nature and based on a triangulation method for case study methodology, which has been used at the data collection stage.

The rationale for choosing CPEC as the case study here is, because it is representative, as it is the most significant OBOR initiative project. As for secondary source data used in this research, include documents based on content analysis, historical description, as well as comparative and analytical reports. The documents include government publications, organizational reports, academic research papers, news, books, journals and electronic sources related to Belt and Road Initiative , security, domestic's politics and foreign politics in China and Pakistan, in order to reach optimal results and conclusion. Moreover, to discover how far the OBOR represents a new model or Chinese way of globalization through a case study of CPEC.

The objectives of the study are; to analyse the overall position of OBOR in the era of globalization, to understand the in-depth rationalities behind inclusive globalization of China in the form of OBOR. Furthermore, to highlight the implications of Chi-globalization in the form of CPEC for Pakistan's development and to understand the in-depth rationalities behind the strategies and policies deployed by China and Pakistan in the framework of the CPEC.

Background

According to "the Asian Development Bank, Asia faces an infrastructure-funding gap of estimated USD 26 trillion through 2030. To address this gap, various regional and sub-regional initiatives aim to develop better transport connectivity within Asia. This includes, among others, the Association of South East Asian Nation connectivity initiative, the Central Asia Regional Economic Cooperation Program, the Greater Mekong Sub-Region cooperation Program, the South Asia Sub-regional Economic Cooperation Program, and the Belt and Road initiative also known as OBOR" (Syed & Ying, 2020).



Source: The Wall Street Journal

Figure-1 Silk Road routes
 Source: Xinhua

OBOR is considered as a continent wide long-term policy and investment program, which aims at infrastructure development and speeding up of the economic integration of countries along the route of the historic Silk Road (Syed & Ying, 2020).

OBOR is China's most ambitious foreign infrastructure project in modern history, and perhaps historically the closest is the British Empire in the 19th century designed to foster global trade (Shah and Page, 2015). Belt and Road initiative / OBOR includes building of oil refineries, industrial parks, power plants, mines, fiber optics' networks etc. these are designed to improve connectivity and increase global trade (Wolf, et.al, 2011: 101). Since the 1980s, China's economic transformation, has considerably amplified its footprint in the region. The OBOR is President Xi Jinping's main foreign policy initiative consisting of 900 infrastructure projects, estimated at about US\$1.3 trillion with some sources estimating the total figure to be at US\$900 billion (Bilal, 2017).

China is expanding its footprint through connectivity and globalization. OBOR has two axis. One is overland Economic belt of six corridors serve as new routes in and out of China connecting China to London, gas pipeline for Caspian Sea to China, speed network in Southeast Asia and then there is maritime Silk Road a chain of seaports stretching from South China Sea to Africa (Syed & Ying, 2020).

Table -1. List of the 72 BRI-participating economies

Region	Economy
East Asia	People’s Republic of China, Mongolia
Southeast Asia	Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Lao People’s Democratic Republic, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Timor-Leste, Viet Nam
South Asia	Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka
Central Asia	Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan
Middle East and North Africa	Bahrain, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Palestinian Authority, Syria, United Arab Emirates, Yemen
Europe and Central Asia	Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro, Poland, Romania, Russian Federation, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Turkey, Ukraine
21 st Century Maritime Silk Road	Ethiopia ¹ , Kenya ¹ , Morocco ¹ , New Zealand ¹ , Panama ¹ , Korea ¹ , South Africa ¹

1. Economies not listed in the 2015 Official Action Plan.

Economies are grouped based on the World Bank Group’s classification by region.

Source: China International Trade Institute.

Source: OECD Business and Finance Outlook, 2018

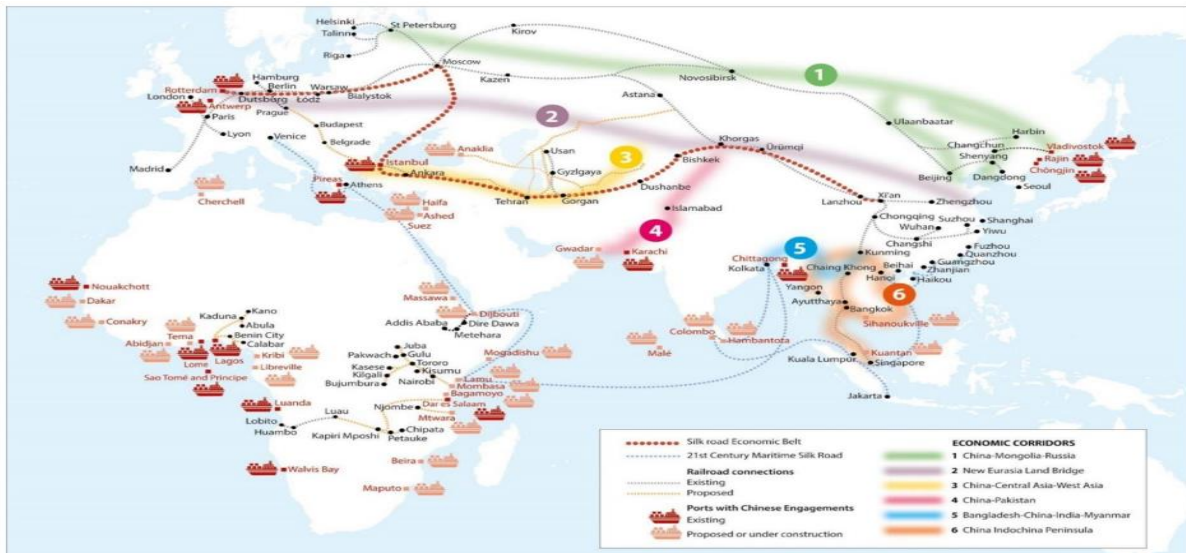


Figure -2. One (land) belt one (maritime) road OBOR routes

Source: OECD Business and Finance Outlook, 2018

These Six corridors include “New Eurasian Land Bridge Corridor (NELBC), China, Mongolia, Russia Corridor(CMRC), China Central and West Asia Corridor(CCWAC),China Indochina Peninsula Corridor(CIPC),China Pakistan Economic Corridor(CPEC), and China, Bangladesh, India, Myanmar Economic Corridor(CBIMEC)” (The World Bank,2018)

Table 2. BRI-participating economies and economic corridors

Economy	Economic Corridor	Economy	Economic Corridor
1 People's Republic of China	-	37 Singapore	China-Indochina Peninsula
2 Bangladesh	Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar	38 Thailand	China-Indochina Peninsula
3 Bhutan	Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar	39 Timor-Leste	China-Indochina Peninsula
4 India	Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar	40 Viet Nam	China-Indochina Peninsula
5 Myanmar	Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar	41 Belarus	China-Mongolia-Russian Federation
6 Nepal	Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar	42 Estonia	China-Mongolia-Russian Federation
7 Sri Lanka	Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar	43 Latvia	China-Mongolia-Russian Federation
8 Albania	China-Central West Asia	44 Lithuania	China-Mongolia-Russian Federation
9 Armenia	China-Central West Asia	45 Mongolia	China-Mongolia-Russian Federation
10 Azerbaijan	China-Central West Asia	46 Russian Federation	China-Mongolia-Russian Federation
11 Bosnia and Herzegovina	China-Central West Asia	47 Afghanistan	China-Pakistan
12 Bulgaria	China-Central West Asia	48 Pakistan	China-Pakistan
13 Croatia	China-Central West Asia	49 Bahrain	China-Pakistan ¹
14 Georgia	China-Central West Asia	50 Kuwait	China-Pakistan ¹
15 Islamic Republic of Iran	China-Central West Asia	51 Oman	China-Pakistan ¹
16 Iraq	China-Central West Asia	52 Qatar	China-Pakistan ¹
17 Israel	China-Central West Asia	53 Saudi Arabia	China-Pakistan ¹
18 Jordan	China-Central West Asia	54 United Arab Emirates	China-Pakistan ¹
19 Kyrgyzstan	China-Central West Asia	55 Yemen	China-Pakistan ¹
20 Lebanon	China-Central West Asia	56 Czech Republic	New Eurasian Land Bridge
21 Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	China-Central West Asia	57 Hungary	New Eurasian Land Bridge
22 Republic of Moldova	China-Central West Asia	58 Slovak Republic	New Eurasian Land Bridge
23 Montenegro	China-Central West Asia	59 Slovenia	New Eurasian Land Bridge
24 Palestinian Authority or West Bank and Gaza Strip	China-Central West Asia	60 Poland	New Eurasian Land Bridge
25 Romania	China-Central West Asia	61 Kazakhstan	New Eurasian Land Bridge ¹
26 Serbia	China-Central West Asia	62 Ukraine	New Eurasian Land Bridge ¹
27 Syrian Arab Republic	China-Central West Asia	63 Egypt	21st-C Maritime Silk Road
28 Tajikistan	China-Central West Asia	64 Ethiopia	21st-C Maritime Silk Road
29 Turkey	China-Central West Asia	65 Indonesia	21st-C Maritime Silk Road
30 Turkmenistan	China-Central West Asia	66 Kenya	21st-C Maritime Silk Road
31 Uzbekistan	China-Central West Asia	67 Maldives	21st-C Maritime Silk Road
32 Brunei Darussalam	China-Indochina Peninsula	68 Morocco	21st-C Maritime Silk Road
33 Cambodia	China-Indochina Peninsula	69 New Zealand	21st-C Maritime Silk Road
34 Lao People's Democratic Republic	China-Indochina Peninsula	70 Panama	21st-C Maritime Silk Road
35 Malaysia	China-Indochina Peninsula	71 Korea	21st-C Maritime Silk Road
36 Philippines	China-Indochina Peninsula	72 South Africa	21st-C Maritime Silk Road

Note: This list contains the 65 economies listed in China's Official Action Plan for the BRI launched in March 2015 and seven economies that have been associated with the initiative more recently.

Source: OECD Business and Finance Outlook, 2018

Table-3. Scope and Objectives of OBOR

Scope	Objectives
<p>Encompassing economic, strategic and cultural connectivity.</p> <p>Power generation, transmission and distribution, primary energy including supply, energy demand and efficiency, transport, water and sanitation.</p> <p>Telecommunication including roads, railways, airports, electricity generation, transmission and distribution.</p> <p>Water and telecommunication including transport (roads, railways, airports, and ports), water.</p>	<p>Facilitating trade and investment, and thereby development of neighbouring countries.</p> <p>Free trade zones along the Silk Road.</p> <p>To enhance financial co-operation in the region to fund infrastructure.</p> <p>To gain access to natural resources.</p> <p>To strengthen transport infrastructure in the BRI corridors.</p> <p>To deepen cultural exchanges in the region.</p> <p>Strategically shoring up China's security of energy, resources and food by taking a regional leadership role with most important neighbours</p>

Source of data: OECD Business and Finance Outlook, 2018

China Pakistan Economic Corridor

CPEC is the prolongation of China's aspiration to a diminutive and cost effective course to Middle East Asia, Central Asia, Africa and the rest of the world. The notion of CPEC devised from the transport corridor. Transport corridors are the networks or paths, which link one economic center to another either within a nation or among multiple nations. CPEC is only transportation corridor and is perhaps China's most important project involving corridors linking Xinjiang to Gwadar Port (anticipated worth of US\$62 billion) and major infrastructure projects comprised of highways, rail links, energy projects, and industrial parks (Markey and West, 2016: 31).

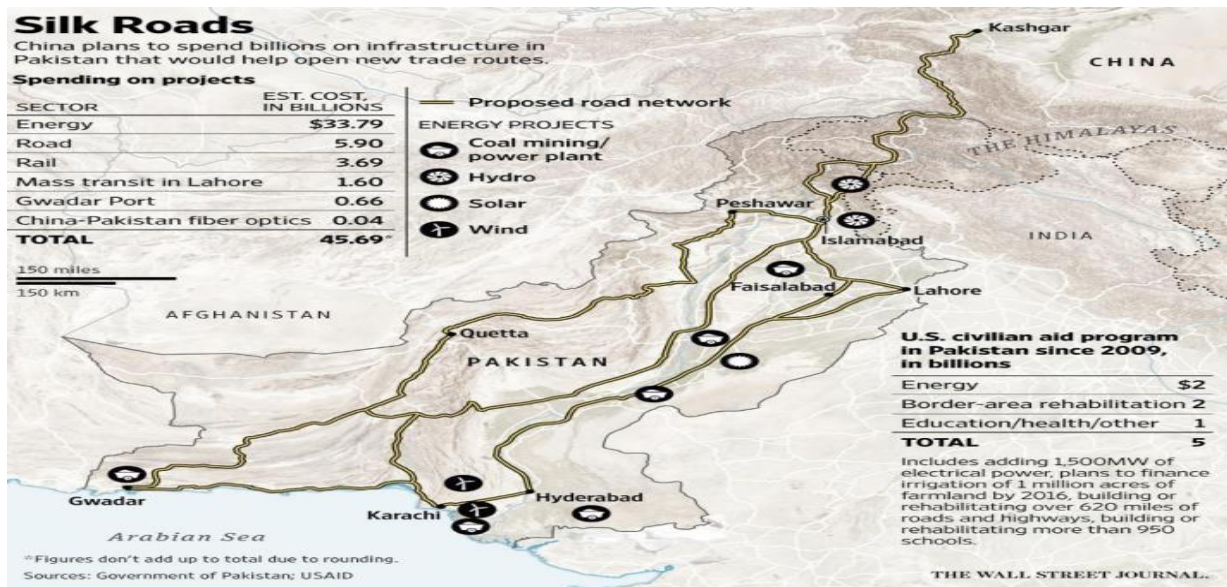


Figure-3. CPEC
Source: Siasat, 2016

In 1954, China and Pakistan initially recognized the strategic importance of Gwadar. However, since then the materialization process took a lot of time. The CPEC is considered a game-changer for the region as it will boost the economic connectivity of Pakistan and China (Khetran, 2017: 112). CPEC is one of the six corridors of OBOR. Although, it seems an ideal project of building an economic corridor from China's province of Xinjiang and reaching Kashgar in the North of Pakistan and to Gwadar in the Southwestern coast of Baluchistan (Baloch, 2015).

CPEC project is anticipated to be accomplished up to 2030. It was unequivocal that the CPEC will be financed by both countries in order to strengthen and decline the reliance on foreign countries (Qadri, 2015: 160).

Some of the important agreements and Memorandum of Understanding signed are as under:

- Economic and Technical Cooperation Agreement between China and Pakistan.
- Exchange of notes of feasibility study of the demonstration project of the DTMB, on provision of anti-narcotics equipment, on provision of law enforcement equipment, and on feasibility study of Gwadar hospital.
- MOU on provision of Chinese governmental concessional loan for second phase up-gradation of the Karakorum Highway (Havelian to Thakot), Karachi-Lahore Motorway (Multan to Sukkur), Gwadar port East Bay Expressway Project, and Gwadar International Airport.
- Protocol on banking services to agreement on trade in services.
- MOU on provision of material for tackling climate change.
- Framework agreement on cooperation on major communications infrastructure project.
- MOU on cooperation between NDRC of China and Ministry of Planning Development and Reform of Pakistan.
- MOU on Pro Bono Projects in the Port of Gwadar Region.

- MOU on establishment of China-Pakistan Joint Cotton Bio-Tech Laboratory.
- Framework agreement between the National Railway Administration, China and Ministry of Railways, Pakistan on joint feasibility study for up-gradation of ML1 and establishment of Havelain dry port of Pakistan Railways.
- Protocol on the establishment of China-Pakistan Joint Marine Research Center.
- MOU on cooperation between the State Administration of Press, Publication, Radio, Films and Television of China and Ministry of Information, Broadcasting and National Heritage of Pakistan.
- Triple party agreement between China Central Television and PTV and Pakistan Television Foundation on the rebroadcasting of CCTV-NEWS/CCTV-9 Documentary in Pakistan.
- Protocol on establishment of sister cities relationship between: o Chengdu city Sichuan Province of PRC and Lahore city o Zhuhai city, Guangdong province and Gwadar city, Karamay City, XianjianUgur, and Gwadar city.
- Framework agreement between NEA and MOPNR on Gwadar-Nawabshah LNG terminal and pipeline project.
- Commercial contract and agreement on financing for Lahore Orange Line Metro Train Project. MOU on financing for KKH up-gradation Phase-2 (Havelian to Takot), KLM, Gwadar East Bay Expressway, Gwadar International Airport projects.
- Financing agreement relating to the 870MW hydro-electric Suki Kinari hydropower project between EXIM Bank of China, Industrial and Commercial Bank of China Limited and SK Hydro (Private) Limited.
- Financing cooperation agreement between the EXIM Bank of China and Port Qasim Electric Power Company (Private) Limited (on Port Qasim 2x660MW Coal-Fired Power Plant).
- Framework Facility Agreement for 720MW Karot Hydropower Project between China Development Bank Corporation, EXIM Bank of China and Karot Power Company (Private) Limited.
- Term sheet of the facility for Zonergy 9x100 MW solar project in Punjab between China Development Bank Corporation, EXIM Bank of China and Zonergy Company limited.
- Drawdown Agreement on Jhimpir Wind Power Project between UEP Wind Power (Private) Limited as borrower and China Development Bank Corporation as lender.
- Terms and conditions in favor of Sindh Engro Coal Mining Company for Thar Block II 3.8Mt/a mining Project, Sindh province, Pakistan arranged by China Development Bank Corporation.
- Terms and conditions in favor of Engro Powergen Thar (Private) Limited, Sindh province, Pakistan for Thar Block II 2x330MW Coal Fired Power Project arranged by China Development Bank Corporation.
- Framework Agreement of Financing Cooperation in Implementing the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor between China Development Corporation and HBL.
- MOU with respect to cooperation between WAPDA and CTG.
- MOU among PPIB, CTG, and Silk Road Fund on Development of Private Hydro Power Projects.
- Facility Operating Agreement for Dawood Wind Power project between ICBC and PCC of China and HDPPL.
- Framework Agreement for promoting Chinese Investments and Industrial Parks Development in Pakistan between ICBC and HBL on Financial Services Corporation.
- The Financing Term Sheet Agreement for Thar Block –I between ICBC, SSRL.
- Energy Strategic Cooperation Framework Agreement between Punjab province and China Huaneng Group.
- Framework Agreement on the China Pakistan Economic Corridor Energy Project Cooperation.
- Cooperation Agreement between Sino-Sindh Resources (Pvt) Ltd and Shanghai Electric Group for Thar Coalfield Block I Coal-Power Integrated Project in Pakistan.
- Cooperation Agreement for Matiyari-Lahore and Matiyari (Port Qasim)-Faisalabad

Transmission and Transformation Project between National Transmission Distribution Company (NTDC) and National Grid of China.

- IA on Port Qasim Coal Fired Power Plant between Power China and GOP.
- Cooperation and Facility Agreement for: o The Sahiwal Coal-fired Power Plant Project between Industrial and Commercial Bank of China Limited, Huaneng Shandong Electricity limited and Shandong Ruyi Group.
- HUBCO Coal-Fired Power Plant Project between CPIH and HUBCO Power Company Salt Range Coal-fired Power Project between CMEC and Punjab Government.
- MOU between NUML Pakistan and Xinjiang Normal University, Urumqi China for Cooperation on Higher Education.
- Agreement on collaboration on establishment of NUML International Center of Education (NICE) between NUML Pakistan and Xinjiang Normal University, Urumqi, China. (Progress, 2015 & Board of Investment, 2015).

Senator Syed Mushahid Hussain, chairman of the Pakistan Parliament's Defence Committee, in an interview with Chinese media, explained CPEC project as a platform of projects which uniting people from all regions under an umbrella of prosperity. Moreover, he anticipated Gwadar project as a full success through its number of projects from road, power, industrial, and rail and fiber optics nationwide. According to him, CPEC has multifold benefits in trade sector, energy sector, electricity and entirely new level of technological advancements at educational, political, economic, and social level (The Nations, 2015).



Figure-4. Gwadar Port, the significant trade route for CPEC project

Source: Xinhua net, 2018, http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2021-05/14/c_139944824.htm

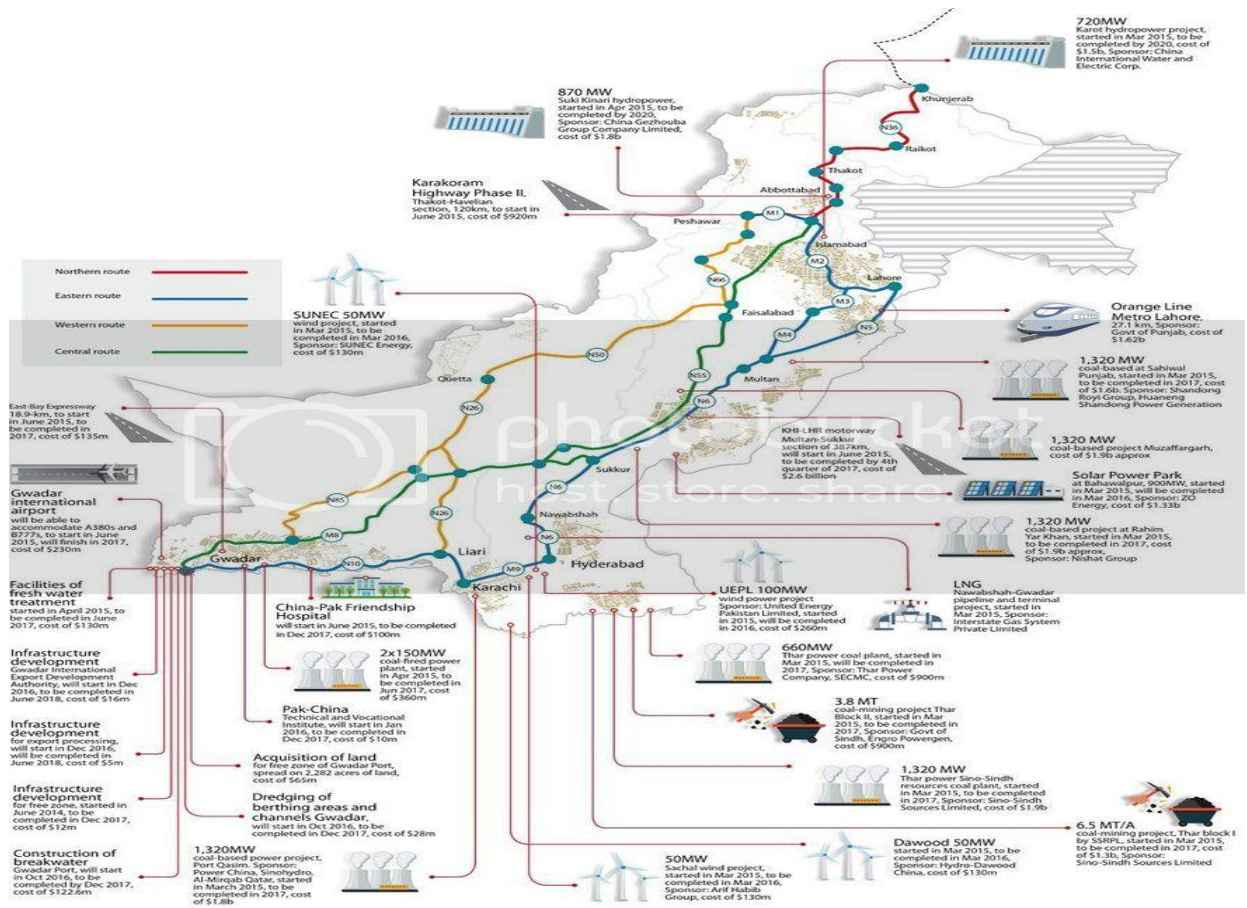
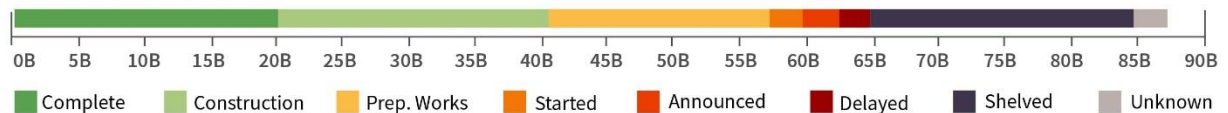


Figure-5. CPEC project mapping from transport to energy projects
Source: Siasat, 2016

The fast-paced development of the Gwadar shows its importance both geographically and economically not only for China but also for Pakistan. In the time of globalization, traders of both countries want to accumulate thoroughgoing benefits from both domestic and international markets. However, this project presents serious security threats and challenges to both countries. Transformational achievements were promised while launching the CPEC but progress is comparatively slow such as from 122 announced projects, a quarter (32 projects) have been completed, or roughly \$20 billion of the estimated \$87 billion in funding. Despite promises to turn Pakistan into a higher-value manufacturing hub, the vast majority of special economic zones (SEZs) remain empty, and information and communication technology (ICT) projects have been limited (Hillman,2020).

Table -4

Tracking CPEC Project Progress



CSIS | RECONNECTINGASIA

Source: CSIS, 2020

Theoretical framework

Neoclassical realism

Gideon Rose (1998), who coined the term ‘neoclassical realism’, explained it this way: “Neoclassical realism explicitly incorporates both external and internal variables”. In the international system, the

motivation of a country's foreign policy is determined chiefly and specifically by its relative material power capabilities as neoclassical realist advocates maintain. Furthermore, their argument is that foreign policy effects indirectly and in complex manner due to these power competences for the reason that systemic pressures rendered through prevailing variables at the element level. This makes them neoclassical realists. Neoclassical realism practices domestic politics and designs to flesh out the model of power, the significant variable in neorealism'.

Neoclassical realism is an approach to analyze the foreign policy. It suggests a conceptual framework for understanding how foreign policy and domestic politics interact. Rose explains foreign policy is a comprehensive product of a country's core dynamic forces and foreign policy makers retort crisply to unequivocal exterior state of affairs (Rose, 1998: 144-172).

Furthermore, Smith (2018) emphasizes the same theme that neoclassical realism explains;

"The actions of a state in the international system can be described by intervening systemic variables such as the distribution of power capabilities among states but also domestic factors. In addition, it explained by the cognitive variables such as the perception and misperception of systemic pressures, other states' intentions, or threats. Neoclassical realism further adds that 'states' mistrust and inability to perceive one another accurately, or state leaders' inability to mobilize state power and public support can result in an under expansion or under balancing behaviour leading to imbalances within the international system, the rise and fall of great powers'. World politics is always and necessarily a field of conflict among actors pursuing power combination shaped by domestic politics" (Smith, 2018: 742).

Neo-classical realism is the outcome of studies of foreign policy focused on the interaction between the international system structure and domestic factors. Neoclassical realism's objective is to determine how the structure of power in the international system combines with the idiosyncratic domestic features of countries to shape their foreign policies. Neo-classical realists discard the assumption of neo-realism, which claims that systemic structures/pressures primarily shape the behaviour of states. A state's behaviour is determined by the intersection of its relative power (or position in the global power structure) and its domestic politics (Firoozabadi and Ashkezari, 2017: 99). Fundamentally, neoclassical realism shows that how elites, state bodies and communal actors of domestic variables within the social order distressing the power and sovereignty of act of the decision-makers in foreign policy'. Neoclassical realism addresses foreign and domestic policies, cooperation among states and domestic political institutions. In this regard, an intervention improves neoclassical realism that concerns talks about the escalation and collapse of the authorities.

Neoclassical realists contend, states with equivalent gross competencies nonetheless discrete state configurations expected to perform contrarily. Moreover, the neoclassical realists are certain of consideration of the associations amid power and policy entails nearby scrutiny of the frameworks within which foreign policies framed and executed (Rose, 1998: 144-172). Schweller (2004: 159-201) evaluated the role of domestic politics in realist theory, and theorizes that; "Systemic pressures are filtered through intervening domestic variables to produce foreign policy behaviours." As cited in his article workings by Thomas Christensen, Aaron Friedberg, Randall Schweller, Jack Snyder, William Wohlforth and Fareed Zakaria altogether display that countries evaluate and familiarize to modifications in their peripheral milieu relatively because of their atypical inland organizations and political state of affairs.

Supplementary in detail, intricate domestic political procedures perform as broadcasts bindings that channel, reconcile and re-direct policy productivities in reaction to external forces (predominantly alterations in relative power). Therefore, states often respond contrarily to related systemic gravities and prospects, and their reaction maybe little driven by systemic- level aspects than domestic ones (Schweller, 2018: 23-48). The nature of international threats determined by the interests of the domestic coalition largely which governs the state, and domestic political and economic interests are affected by international circumstances. Therefore, neoclassical postulation is an inadequacy seeing domestic and transnational gravities as effortlessly discrete and distinguishable. Foreign security policy adoptions determined by National interests and the global political setting. Even though neoclassical realism institutes a reformist expansion of realism as a charter of foreign policy breakdown, it is unsanctionable to make-believe that it establishes a novel theory of foreign policy.

However, over time neoclassical realism gives a tinge and clear-cut version of foreign policy adjustment. Domestic politics and foreign policies are often inextricably entangled, (Rosenau, 1969: 44-63) national leaders negotiating behavior reflects the synchronized imperative of both a domestic political and foreign relations' motives. This point manifests the idea of convergence or combination or interrelation of "inner politik and aussenpolitik" approaches coined by Michael Clarke. According to this, Clarke considered that China is combining its domestic politics and foreign politics to achieve its strategic targets, including the balance of American supremacy in the Indo- pacific region and secure China's frontier region Xinjiang Uygur (Clarke, 2019: 336-353).

States balance their position by formulating alliances and aggregating their military competencies during the time of peril as per the evaluation of Schweller. Schweller predicted the repercussions of under-balancing behavior for structural realist theory (such as new era of globalization and pressure of economic growth). Therefore, can be an answer of Chinese way of globalization and development through building alliances in the form of OBOR strategy and Pakistan is the topmost alliance with and without CPEC (Schweller, 2018: 23-48). The stimulus of core developments and primacies of Chinese foreign and security policy behavior can be ascertained in the light of neoclassical realist analytical framework.

The theory of neoclassical realism allows us to compare the rhetoric about OBOR as inclusive globalization with the actuality of CPEC and its impact on Pakistan development.

Discussion

Globalization with Chinese characteristics has opened economies nationally and internationally in the form of OBOR in general and in the case study of CPEC in particular. As Friedman (2006) defines globalization; in the case of China, the Chinese government has negotiated remarkable reductions in barriers to trade through establishing international agreements to promote investment and trade in goods and services. An innovative opening of foreign markets, Chinese companies have built foreign factories, established production, and marketing engagements with foreign associates through OBOR policy (Friedman, 2006). As, Waltz (1979: 127-128) pointed out that "Now as always, states pursue their interests by responding not only to the competitive pressures of the international system but also to forces and demands emanating from within their borders". China is seeking more foreign influence, seizing its external opportunities with both hands. The radical situation of global politics spawns powerful inducements for countries to act in specific customs as contrasting to others.

Waltz further claims that (as cited in Schweller 2018: 159-201) "In 'self-help systems, the pressures of competition weigh more heavily than ideological preferences or internal political pressures. Each state arrives at policies and decides on actions according to its own internal processes, but its decisions are shaped by the very presence of other states as well as by interactions with them." OBOR strategy has become a significant element of China's foreign policy agenda due to its domestic situation therefore, are the reasons to the natural response to the country's exalted growth in the form of OBOR. Such as Robert (2010 as cited in Schweller, 2018: 159-201) analyzed that "In China's case, official corruption, lack of political reform, pollution, youth unemployment, and a woefully inefficient capital market due to stalled reforms that would transform China's dominant state-owned banks into commercial banks". Similarly, Jack Snyder (as cited in Schweller, 2018: 159-201) argued that "Domestic political climate is the cause of nationalism centered on (imperial) expansion whether territorial, economic, political, or any combination thereof may arise as a rationalization for the interests of groups that derive parochial benefits from expansion, from military preparations associated with expansion, or about intense international competition".

Likewise, Schweller evaluates that it is highly likely that China will become an economic hub of all Eurasia through her Belt and Road initiative strategy by escalating her power in the zones of global finance, trade, and assistance. As per Belt and Road initiative is already whirling her economic influence into a worldwide web of finance, trade and construction (Schweller, 2018: 159-201). Furthermore, Schweller adds that behaviour of China in International structure can be best explained through the lens of financial crises of 2008, as leaders all over the world in general and in specific Chinese leaders alleged a paradigm shift of finance and power of global balance from West to East and South. Therefore, China's innovative insistence is consistent with the classical realist belief that nations magnify their political benefits abroad when their relative power upsurges (Schweller, 2018: 159-201).

For the same reason, Robert Gilpin illuminates the vibrant association between influence and the national interest by referring to hegemony through realist law: “The Realist law of uneven growth implies that as the power of a group or state increases, that group or state will be tempted to try to increase its control over the environment. In order to increase its own security, it will try to expand its political, economic, and territorial control; it will try to change the international system in accordance with its particular set of interests” (Gilpin, 1981: 94-95). Therefore, it is expected that China will seek to expand its power in the International system through strategies such as the OBOR.

Findings and Recommendations

The growth of China is happening at a time when financial globalization has come to be a key component of international politics (Sinha, 2016). China is the world’s second largest economy. Subsequently union with the World Trade Organization, with other neighboring countries, China expanded trade relations and Chinese expansion of trade. Consequently, global value chain affected also financial and political state of affairs as well influenced through China’s central strategy. In the wake of US case it is another smart way, instead of constructing military bases to every corner of the world substitute it with engaging infrastructure, trade and financial projects to increase the influence and elevating communications and connectivity to other countries by introducing from cultural exchanges projects to constructing economic zones are inclusive strategies of China (Wenshan, 2017).

China exercises her core strategy in the form of OBOR, which she considers a new form of inclusive globalization. Chi globalization is inclusive because it is giving a chance to every country to participate through OBOR. It is not only a route for transport, but as a corridor of trade, it also includes industrial based-zones, gas pipelines, power plants, ports in air and sea. Some of the anticipated trade routes also take account of roughly of the tiniest trade-integrated states of the world for instance Pakistan, Myanmar, Bangladesh, Laos and Cambodia, moreover more established economies such as Russia and Europe. Increased infrastructure facilities in these regions will require better and more incorporated links to the world’s more developed markets. In a nutshell opening up the markets and trade with zero and minimum terrify will have greater implications on economies.

China’s interest in such an ambitious trans-regional policy is the lessening of excess capacity, the creation of new export markets and protecting access to raw materials, (Stanzel, 2019) as well as consolidating its role as a leading member of the international order. OBOR as a Chinese way of globalization institutes a diversity of connections and integrations as McGrew says which will have “significant consequence for individuals and communities in quite distant parts of the globe” (McGrew, 1990: 11). OBOR in its thinnest formulation denotes to the global range of production amenities and developments, and sales, overall which reconstruct splitting up of labour internationally. As Reich defines globalization “The intensification of globalization processes has a qualitative change in the pattern of constraints and opportunities facing actors - particularly states” (Reich, 1998: 12).

Through OBOR China would rise in the concreteness and intricacy of worldwide interfaces, which will not only be echoed in the volume of a quantitative evolution, internationalization of economics, but will also be witnessed in production and economic transactions. Li argues that through OBOR China is going to intensify the process of globalization at an unprecedented level in terms of economic relations and extra- regional trade in the South Asia, which has also been globalizing rapidly. However, intra-regional economic exchanges still stay low (Li, 2017). Surprisingly, many countries including Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka are very much inclined towards Chinese offers and both economic and security projects including some military projects because of significance of these projects and their in-house struggling economic situations. Moreover, except China, no other country is offering any such offer and extensive assistance as China to these developing countries. Some most notable development project of infrastructures are building seaports as Gwadar in Pakistan and Hambantota in Sri Lanka moreover development of border area roads of Nepal and Myanmar have been chief projects of the BRI earlier known as OBOR initiative (Garver, 2012: 391-411).

There is no doubt that the CPEC is the most significant project of OBOR, which is talk of the town. Many analysts explain the significance of this project in terms of its routes and passes specifically in terms of oil transports from Strait of Malacca from Gulf to Beijing and other international trade. The symphonic development of this link can diminish Beijing’s reliance on the Strait of Malacca for its global trade (Mardell, 2020). The OBOR has been presented as a domestic policy with geostrategic

consequences rather than a foreign policy (Rana, 2017: 4). Nationally, China has conveyed her message that OBOR is a positive initiative of connectivity driven by a benign nation.

It is an undeniable fact that Pakistan has supported its all-weather relationship with China. Beijing has endorsed Pakistan in multiple projects. However, Pakistan has routinely national security, border control, insurgencies and terrorist events to handle let alone trade and investment. Therefore, Pakistan has little economic goods to offer as Pakistan's lack of effective engagement in economic globalization and supplementary precisely in international trade is undeniably a origin for its dependence on Chinese proposed project (Noshab, 2006: 341).

Overall, the transport projects of OBOR are very well capable of magnifying living situations of Pakistani people through trade and foreign investment. Nevertheless, multiple risks are also linked with OBOR from social, stranded infrastructure, governance (corruption and procurement), environmental and debt risks in addition to Pakistan's already debt situation which is half of all of its foreign debt to China. Despite the high-level bilateral commitment to the project, the CPEC faces a number of external challenges and domestic opposition from the provinces along its route, as well as significant security concerns (Baloch, 2015).

In the case of China, "Economic vulnerabilities such as energy dependency and domestic issues like brain-drain and ethnic conflicts are some of the issues that China has to deal with it internally". (China Daily, 2017). Also for external reasons, "China wants to increase its significance in world politics in order to raise its voice, and fund investment through its trade surplus." OBOR will definitely be a helping hand (China Daily, 2017).

Furthermore, CPEC is providing China a new and shorter as well as more efficient route to receive oil supplies from the Middle East and Africa to China for satiation of China's colossal regular energy necessities. On the other hand, CPEC is opening vistas of trade and supporting economy of huge populated country. Moreover, half of Chinese exports are destined on its Western side, so it will also gain tremendously by saving on its transporting /traffic costs (Salman, 2015).

Both countries but the entire region can benefit from CPEC if they adopt deeper reforms in policies that upsurge transparency, magnify trade, rally debt sustainability, and alleviate environmental, social and exploitation hazards. Drawing upon the factor of globalization, the OBOR presents ideal situation for connectivity both via land and via sea. The proposed corridors under OBOR primarily enhancing the integration among existing economic communities, which is the main driver of foreign policy. OBOR is the need of hour and a ray of hope for many shattered economies to survive in the globalized world and uplifting economic activities by enhancing infrastructure development. Pakistan is one such case and being a closest neighbor to China gives edge to take the benefit from this opportunity at par.

CONCLUSION

To sum up, China's rise in the globalization era is with Chinese characteristics, is also a new form of inclusive globalization to stimulate cooperation among countries by opening up the markets and escalating the opportunities through trade. China is currently the second biggest economy in the world and enjoying free trade, and liberal international order. Nevertheless, it did not become an emerging superpower overnight. Overall, China's efforts in the era of globalization have been resulted in modifying her foreign policies. This study draws on both the internal and external concerns and their repercussions on foreign and domestic policies of the countries through the lens of neoclassical realism. Accordingly, the best theory to analyze foreign policy is neoclassical realism, which has been used in the paper. In the light of neoclassical realism, it was easy to explain the rational of Chinese foreign policy in order to understand the behaviour of China in international system of politics. Therefore, in the light of neoclassical realism, this study reached to the analysis that CPEC is a new inclusive form of alternative Chinese globalization. Besides, this analysis also sheds light on how foreign policies are shaped to comprehend the relationships of both countries. Moreover, how the CPEC has become politically feasible for both countries as a regional policy, i.e. for China, the purpose is future economic growth and addressing security issues similarly, to Pakistan the situation is adverse as well therefore, being an active member of the OBOR project can open highways of opportunities to uplift economy. Furthermore, the OBOR is anticipated to significantly change the dynamics of the global trade, landscape, finance, investment and cooperation levels. Therefore, through CPEC Pakistan has the best opportunity to swing in the globalized economic world. Likewise, Pakistan cannot turn a blind eye towards the security challenges on soil, its image in the world and its crippled economy consequently

signing the CPEC agreement stirring the hope for becoming a full time globalized player in the globalization era. Taking countries on board on OBOR project is one of the significant dynamic of China's foreign policy in globalization era. Nonetheless, China's way of globalization through OBOR gives the impression of crafty move on the other hand; take along bountiful benefits for region overall.

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