



VISION

VISIONARY INSIGHTS INTO THE STRATEGIC INQUESTS OF NATIONS

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Compiled & Edited by:
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Strategic Vision Institute
Islamabad

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Strategic Vision Institute (SVI)

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Strategic Vision Institute (SVI)

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SVI Foresight

SVI Foresight is a monthly electronic journal. It has a multi-disciplinary perspective highlighting on the contemporary strategic and security studies. The Journal is envisioned to be a collection of policy-oriented articles written by its Research Associates, Visiting Faculty and professional experts. The objective is to provide the readership with a concise all-round and real-time policy oriented discourse on contemporary strategic regional and international developments, highlighting their relevance to Pakistan.

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Editor's Note

The SVI Foresight electronic issue for the month of March brings to you all a compilation of analyses on a number of issues including Insider threats to Indian Nuclear facilities, US-Pak ministerial level strategic dialogue, Indian spy in Baluchistan, Energy security and pipeline politics, extremism in Pakistan and the writ of state, Islamic State (IS) and Shiite local armies in Iraq and the US-China confrontation in South China Sea.

Interestingly enough for the first time India has been identified as having potential threats to its nuclear facilities. The Belfer Centre for Science and International Affairs; Kennedy School published a report titled "Preventing Nuclear Terrorism: Continuous Improvement or Dangerous Decline" in which they have enumerated some "insider threats" to Indian nuclear facilities. While it is good news that West has finally been able to see the reality beyond its personal biases, however, no concrete measures have yet been taken by the West to bring India into mainstream nuclear safety and security culture. The security and safety of Pakistan's nuclear assets on the other hand continue to be a concern for the West despite having a robust security and safety record. An article in this journal exclusively looks into this issue and criticizes the Western prejudices and points to the reasons behind this bias against Pakistan.

In another article the US-Pak strategic relations have been analyzed in the context of multifaceted Ministerial-level strategic dialogue that has recently been resumed between the two after a long hiatus of three years. It promises to bring about a new era of long term cooperation in the fields of energy, strategic stability and nonproliferation, the Defense Consultative Group, Counterterrorism, Economics and Education. However the self interest is largely at play behind this cooperative engagement where Pakistan is expected to concede to certain demands by the US in order to fully benefit from this. The engagements declared by the US in the dialogue would be easy only if Pakistan works towards improving its ties with neighbors and put limits on its nuclear program, otherwise there would be another twirl in the roller coaster relationship. The writer suggests that the US has to be more considerate towards Pakistan's security concerns and should look at the regional dynamics with an unbiased lens.

The readers can find an interesting debate about the significant role of rhetoric in securing strong position in any political dispute and how it can be so instrumental in furthering states' national interest if used tactfully. This observation comes in view of the confessional statement by Mr. Sartaj Aziz about providing safe haven to Afghan Taliban leaders. The possibility of such a statement tarnishing all the efforts that have so far been made by the Pakistani government to restore peace in Afghanistan are quite high. The writer expresses concerns about valid suspicions that may arise regarding government's sincerity to the peace process as a facilitator.

A tactful rhetorical maneuvering along with a more careful and language focused mechanism needs to be adopted for effective political influence in line with the national interest.

Another concern causing apprehensions among the official circles of Pakistan is the growing propinquity between KSA and India. Pakistan has been a close and trusted ally of KSA while India has managed to win the title of KSA's strategic partner. An exclusive article presents a well balanced analysis of Pakistan's equation with KSA while closely scrutinizing the emerging geopolitical dynamics in the region.

The sale of F-16 to Pakistan is an important issue that has been facing several delays owing to various reasons. Most recently when the US President eventually sanctioned the delivery of F-16 aircrafts, India vehemently came out with objections against the probable use of these aircrafts against India. However, more than India's reservations, the US itself has long been indecisive about giving the aircrafts to its "uncertain ally" i.e. Pakistan. A unique commentary in one of the articles addresses this issue and looks at the reasons for delays and India's unfound fears.

The journal also sheds light on the problem of growing extremism in the name of religion. Mumtaz Qadri and the IS are two different yet similar phenomenon where one managed to mobilize local population against the rule of law and the other is carrying out large scale recruitments to fight against the supposed infidels, yet both are misguided by their wrong and self suited version of religion. Mumtaz Qadri's execution and the nationwide attention that it received might lead one to believe that the wave of religious fanaticism has engulfed the whole nation. This thought is further augmented by the massive turnout on his funeral which is quite alarming. However one of the articles in this issue rightly contends that while some strongly disagree with the legislation that sentenced Qadri, there is a large scale awareness and appreciation about the fact that the government resisted intense pressure from the religious right to grant Qadri a reprieve. The enlightened faction of the society might have reservations against capital punishment for humanitarian concerns but they stood strongly by the rule of the law throughout Qadri-episode, hence provides some hope for the society where writ of the state is held supreme. The need is to work towards creating more tolerant, humane and pluralistic society where dissenting views and beliefs are allowed in order to coexist peacefully. At the same time another article included in this journal points to the fact that the global media and the world at large are keeping abreast of every update on IS even though a new observable development is fast emerging on the scene and may prove to be a bigger challenge for the Iraqi government i.e. the resurgence of Shiite civilian armies. At the moment Iraqi Shiite civilian armies enjoy the backing of the state with sufficient representation in the parliament as well, owing to their instrumental role in fighting off the IS supported by Iran, however if allowed to have too much influence, it might be difficult to keep the Sunni population out of Shiite

subjugation. As per the author, the facts and figures further prove that Shiite civilian armies are responsible for the state's security as well so it's a difficult situation to deal with where the ideological chasms may further aggravate and provide rationale for Sunni militancy against Shiite local armies which could in turn provoke a lash back from Shiite local forces.

This journal also contains summary of an In-House Lecture titled *"SCO: A Dominant Player of Future and Prospects for Indo-Pak Bilateral Relations after Becoming Permanent Members of the Organization"*. The lecture was delivered by Mr. Nasurullah Brohi (Senior Research Associate), for the SVI researchers. It was followed by an interactive question and answer session with exchange of useful ideas and deliberations about various aspects of the topic.

It is hoped that the issue will help readers in staying updated with the current political environment and will find the analyses useful. The SVI Foresight team invites and highly encourages the contributions from the security and strategic community in form of opinion based short commentaries on contemporary political, security and strategic issues. Any suggestions for further improvement are welcome at our [contact address](#). Please see [here](#) the copy of SVI Foresight electronic journal. You can find us on [Face book](#) and can also access the SVI [website](#).

Syedah Sadia Kazmi
Senior Research Associate

1. Opinion Articles:

Shia Militias Standing Up to IS

Sidra Khan

While a significant part of the global media's consideration concentrates on the dangers posed by the Islamic State (IS) the more confused and more pertinent issue for Iraq is resurgence of its Shia civilian armies. The year's long partisan civil war in Syria gave a vital rationale to the rising armies in Iraq. As a restored Sunni uprising prompted the fall of Iraq's second biggest city of Mosul in June 2014 and walked on towards Baghdad and Shia populated domains, Shia local army counter-developments in southern Iraq has escalated and extended- displaying a more profound and more perplexed issue for Prime Minister Haider al Abadi.

The regional intermediary war in Syria and the developing gatherings among the revolts inside Syria and Iraq has made a venue for Shia local armies to upgrade their enrollment, re-establish their reasons, and fill their coffers. Not at all like IS – esteemed an out and out foe of the state- Iraq's Shia local Shia armies don't fit flawlessly into any classification, at any rate crosswise over time. At the present minute, Shia local armies are an expansion of the Iraqi state- with formal and causal political representation in parliament, agreeable binds to the external forces, practically a security's section mechanical assembled.

The Iraqi armed forces troubling execution straightforwardly associates to the reemergence of the civilian armies which started well before the fall of Mosul. In the late 2013, Sunni radicals assumed control of the urban communities of the Fallujah and Ramadi, constraining Iranian upheld Shia Militiamen to the bleeding edges in Anbar region. Their expanded action helped push Sunni Arabs into the arms of extremists. All things considered, as an issue of military ability, the Iraqi administration went to the trust that Shia militiamen could most successfully battle Sunni aggressors, particularly after the significant flood of Shia civilian armies into Syria (Lebanese Hezbollah, Ashab Ahl al –Haq, Kata'ib Hezbollah among many) has moved the military towards Bashar al- Assad's support in combating his own particular guerillas.

At present, the Iraqi government is standing up to IS and other Sunni guerillas while piggybacking off the vicinity and quality of Shia local armies on the combat zone. Given the breakdown of four of the Iraqi armed forces fourteen divisions over the mid year, Shia civilians armies have turned out to be all the more practically attached to the states' security structural engineering. Also, the security help that Washington gives Baghdad has streamed down to enable those volunteer army strengths combating IS. Thus, the force of these Shia local armies just develops as an element of battling the Islamic state.

All in all, local army development raises in the vicinity of frail states. Be that as it may, as the state develops in limit and endeavors to reassert its power, a characterizing issue then gets to be focused on the most proficient method to incapacitate, deactive and reintegrate these informal strengths

into an official system. Amid the counter insurgency years, the US military had pushed for Shia civilian armies to be incorporated inside of Iraq's security powers. Sadly, this exertion neglected to eradicate the causal system, ties debasement and sectarianism that plagued the nation's security forces. The endeavor to reintegrate the Shia volunteer armies once again into the state's security system is unrealistic to work a second time ground.

Notwithstanding, regardless of the fact that it needed to go up against and stamp out the Shia volunteer armies on the front line the Iraqi government does not have the wellbeing not that the US military gave before. In the spring of 2008, previous Prime Minister Nouri al- Maliki dispatched a military hostile (Charge of Knights), which went for finding the torch Shia pastor Miqtada al Sadr's Jaysh al (Mahdi Army) volunteer army from southern Iraq. Washington had seen the occasion as Baghdad's critical movement towards Iraqi patriotism. In actuality, Maliki, had not abruptly turn into a patriot by doing combating powers of his own group. Rather Shia power governmental issues started the choice to face the Mahdi Army and reassert the administration control over contending focuses of force in Iraq's security device. Amid those times, with levels of savagery in Iraq quickly declining the Sunni revolt has no more served as the essential danger against Maliki's survival

Today, Abadi has all the earmarks of being in the same difficulty; subject to Shia militiamen to counter risk postured by Sunni aggressors'. Consequently, the vicinity of outfitted gatherings is commonly fortifying: the danger postured by Sunni radicals sustain a rationale for Shia militancy, while the risk of Shia local armies' propagate a rationale for Sunni militancy. The procedure of defying the last will probably blow up the risk postured by the previous. While Baghdad could endeavors to handle both Sunni and Shia furnished gatherings, at the same time, such a strategy would without a doubt risk Abadi's political survival. The new executive has not yet united his energy and stay needy and compelled by Shia powerbrokers, most particularly Iran- a truth of Iraqi political life that is unrealistic to change at any point in the near future. While Abadi may need to go head to head with Shia civilian armies sooner or later in his residency, one must recollect that amid the Knights Charge, the Iraqi armed forces would have frizzled in its fights against Mahdi Army militiamen has the US military not mediated to backing Maliki's hostile.

Tragically for Abadi, he doesn't have the advantage of a outside military occupation to spare him. His choices to survive and manage the Shia civilian army issues are significantly more restricted than his antecedent. Combating IS is not about as vexing of an issue than attempting to make sense of how powerless states subject to local armies will rule them in.

Terrorism researcher, Martha Crenshaw guaranteed it is difficult to battle one adversary either Iran or IS remains Sha'm without reinforcing the other. It can shows up the Obama organization concurs with this forecast and also warming to extended part for Tehran in an area. All of this is not shocking given Obama's announcement in December, that Iran could be an exceptionally effective regional force" that would be useful for everyone. At that point in ahead of schedule in 2015, joint Chief's executive Gen Martin Dempsey commented that Iran endeavors against IS in Iraq is a positive thing, in so far It didn't excite partisan strains. All the more as of late, the state department has been strolling back to Secretary of State John Kerry slip that the administration may be interested in arranging with Iranian adjusted Syrian despot Bashar al Assad.

In any case the administration, ought not to rush to surrender to Tehran's triumphs in Syria and Iraq as the cost of IS annihilation. In any case to finish this, it needs more than an arrangement to debase and eventually annihilate IS. The world needs three sets of strategies for "Iraq, Iran and Syria" with a focalized way to deal with the fallouts.

<http://www.stratagem.pk/armed-dangerous/shia-militias-standing-upto-is/>

Fangs of Man-Made Law

Saima Ali

On Monday, 29 February 2016, at 0430 hours in the morning the Anaconda once again struck with all its might to swallow a victim of misinterpretation and rigidity of a man made law. The killer of Salman Taseer, Malik Mumtaz Qadri was executed at Adiala Jail, Rawalpindi. Mumtaz, a former police commando, assassinated Taseer in Islamabad's Kohsar Market on January 4, 2011.

Governor Taseer was killed in the mistaken belief strongly held by Qadri that he had in some way committed a blasphemous act by the mere consideration of the blasphemy laws being in need of overhaul. He has been supported by some, not least by lawyers who showered him with rose petals on one of his appearances for judicial remand. The calls by religious groups that those who sought the execution of Qadri should themselves be executed have found no public resonance. Indeed, outside the purview of extremism and rabble-rousing street action, there has been little by way of organised or sustained support for Qadri. That in itself may prove to be one of the few positives to emerge from this sad affair.

As per the Constitution, the official name of Pakistan is the "Islamic Republic of Pakistan." Among countries with a Muslim majority, Pakistan has the strictest anti-blasphemy laws. The first purpose of those laws is to protect Islamic authority. By the constitution (Article 2), Islam is the state religion. By the constitution's Article 31, it is the country's duty to foster the Islamic way of life. By Article 33, it is the country's duty to discourage parochial, racial, tribal, sectarian, and provincial prejudices among the citizens. Under Article 10A of constitution it is also the state's duty to provide for the right of fair trial.

Blasphemy laws were first introduced in the Indian subcontinent by its British colonial rulers. Communal tensions between Hindus and Muslims before the partition of the subcontinent backed by political interests of different groups, including colonial rulers, were the main reason behind enactment of blasphemy laws.

Pakistan's history in relation to the practice of blasphemy laws can be divided into periods before and after General Zia-ul-Haq's era. Until the ascendancy of Zia to power, most of the blasphemy cases were in line with what the founder of the country had assured the Muslims and the non-Muslims in his speech of 11 August 1947. After taking power Zia made amendments to blasphemy laws from 1980-1984 as part of his Islamization drive and five more laws relating to blasphemy were introduced to the statute book.

From 1851 to 1947, there were only seven incidents that were blasphemous in their nature. Before Zia's coup, only eight blasphemy incidents took place in the country. During this short period of eight years (1980-88), Pakistan witnessed eight blasphemy cases reaching the court.

Pakistan's opposition to blasphemy has caused Pakistan to be active in the international arena in promoting global limitations on freedom of religion or belief and limitations on freedom of expression. In March 2009, Pakistan presented a resolution to the United Nations Human Rights Council in Geneva which calls upon the world to formulate laws against the defamation of religion. In 2014, "The Nation", conducted a poll of its readers that showed 68% of Pakistanis believe the blasphemy law should be repealed.

The execution of Qadri had been widely expected and social media prior to the event were a-buzz with those who supported the hanging and those who did not. Capital punishment solves nothing and has never been a deterrent, and in a country where mistakes are far from justice system, this is sufficient reason to find some verdicts at the very least doubtful. The use of capital punishment under such circumstances becomes a travesty. Although we oppose capital punishment, we equally advocate the rule of law. We disagree with the legislation that sentenced Qadri to hang, at the same time we support the fact that the government has resisted intense pressure from the religious right to grant Qadri a reprieve.

There is more to a Muslim's identity than theological adherence and its adopting Muslim pluralism that will breed religious coexistence in Pakistan. This would in turn create a society that is democratic, humanistic and tolerant enough to abolish the capital punishment. And that is when Mumtaz Qadri will truly be eliminated.

The question still remains that the child, who lost its father and mentor, just after one year of its birth in 1947 and now a comparatively young independent country in the community of the nations of the world, can have the direction to fight its way out of the nest of anacondas and can fit in the jigsaw of the world as visualized by its founder and the forces that led to its independence?

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2016/03/10/fangs-man-made-law/>

Sale of F-16 to “an Uncertain Ally”

Shahzadi Tooba Hussain Syed

Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired, signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed. The world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children. (Dwight Eisenhower)

President Barack Obama’s administration announced on Feb. 12 that it had approved the sale to Pakistan of the aircraft, as well as radars and other equipment. In the early 1980s, the U.S. government initially agreed to sell Pakistan 111 F-16 aircraft. This decision was influenced by the close partnership with Pakistan during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The mainstay of the air force was the F-16 fighter.

India expressed disappointment over US administration’s decision to sell eight F-16 fighter jets to Pakistan, saying it disagrees that “such arms transfers will help combat terrorism”. Foreign Secretary S Jaishankar summoned US Ambassador Richard Verma to convey India’s “displeasure”. “We are disappointed at the decision of the Obama Administration to notify the sale of F-16 aircrafts to Pakistan. We disagree with their rationale that such arms transfer helps to combat terrorism. “The record of the last many years in this regard speaks for itself”. And the record they are talking about is that F-16s provide a critical counterterrorism capability to Pakistan and the Pakistan Air Force (PAF) has made extensive use of its aging F-16 fleet to support Pakistan Army operations in the Swat Valley and in the Bajaur Agency of the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). According to information furnished by the Pakistan Embassy in Washington, the PAF flew 93 sorties in August 2008 in operations against the Taliban. Furthermore “It is in America’s national interest to sell eight F-16 fighter jets and related equipment to Pakistan,” the Defence Security Cooperation Agency (DSCA) notified US Congress.

The DSCA rejected India’s claim that the proposed sale will alter military balance in South Asia. “The DSCA delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale on February 11, 2016. This proposed sale contributes to US foreign policy objectives and national security goals by helping to improve the security of a strategic partner in South Asia.”

The F-16 is a true multi-mission aircraft and can carry up to 15,200 lb. of bombs, missiles and rockets. It can locate targets in all weather conditions and detect low flying aircraft in radar ground clutter. In an air-to-surface role, the F-16 can fly more than 500 miles (860 kilometres), deliver its weapons with superior accuracy, defend itself against enemy aircraft, and return to its starting point. An all-weather capability allows it to accurately deliver ordnance during non-visual bombing conditions. The F-16 can withstand up to 9-g’s – nine times the force of gravity – with internal fuel tanks filled -. The F-16 is amongst a few aircraft in the world which can go up in a 90-degree vertical climb like a rocket.

Pakistan had originally planned a total purchase valued at \$5.1 billion, almost all of it in national funds. The 2005 Kashmir earthquake and subsequent financial constraints caused Pakistan to reduce the number of new planes it wanted to purchase from 36 to 18, which lowered the overall value of the deal to approximately \$3.1 billion. The 18 new planes are valued at \$1.4 billion, with the remainder of the \$3.1 billion dedicated to associated munitions (valued at approximately \$641 million) and 46 Mid-Life Update (MLU) kits for Pakistan's existing F-16 fleet (estimated to cost \$891 million). Additionally, the United States has provided Pakistan with 14 F-16s designated as Excess Defense Articles (EDA).

The proposed sale improves Pakistan's capability to meet current and future security threats. These additional F-16 aircraft will facilitate operations in all-weather, non-daylight environments, provide a self-defense/area suppression capability, and enhance Pakistan's ability to conduct counter-insurgency and counterterrorism operations. This sale will increase the number of aircraft available to the Pakistan Air Force to sustain operations, meet monthly training requirements, and support transition training for pilots new to the Block-52. Pakistan will have no difficulty absorbing these additional aircraft into its air force.

The U.S. has never hesitated in withdrawing its support but it has also introduced many sanctions on Pakistan from time to time against its all-time most allied ally. This has further exacerbated and undermined its ability to play any productive role and called an "uncertain ally". But that uncertainty is a reaction of "uncertain" U.S. policies towards Pakistan.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2016/03/13/sale-f-16-uncertain-ally/>

South China Sea: The New Trend of Power Struggle

Nasurullah Brohi

The claims of ownership by many regional states over the uninhabited islands and the territories are also a cause of the resentment. Although the apparent triviality and the physical features have been a matter of passionate contest flanked by the region's coastal states but the issues of convolution of jurisdictions make the South China Sea one of the most disputed areas in the world. Remarkably, under the historical ownership of the territories and the further authorizations in the course of the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, China holds an edge over others and gets a distinctive position besides the claims of other so-called bordering states. The Declaration on China's Territorial Sea on 4th September 1958, maintained the breadth of the territorial sea of the People's Republic of China 12 nautical miles whereas, the baseline composes the straight line that connects the coastal islands moreover, the Declaration also applies to the all territories of the People's Republic of China including the Paracel and Spratly Islands.

The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea also affirms that a coastal state is allowed to reasonably define the breadth and limits of its territorial sea according to its economic development and national security. The extra-regional involvements around the South China Sea have become a pressing issue for the region. Since the U.S., views of its Super Power status and the consideration as a Pacific-Power are some of the motives that thrust its regional allies towards the ambitions of collectively seeking an over-enhanced cooperation for the control of the areas around the South China Sea. China advocates by expressing the repeated proscriptions of the international law principally abide the U.S. and its allies to refrain from any interference in the affairs of the South China Sea. Moreover, China's credence for dissuading any possible confrontation can become delicate on the pretexts of the Freedom of Navigation particularly the recent penetration by the US navy along with the naval destroyers by sailings within the 12 nautical miles of the China's Xisha Islands.

China's tendency of soft policies often becomes a reason that usually leans on seeking the options of reconciliation. Such distinct natures of policies pursuing neutrality and the bilateral and multilateral cooperation for business opportunities significantly encourage the environments of political, economic and strategic stability. The unique features of its foreign policy also enable it to seek the resolutions of critical issues through diplomatic and political means rather than aggressive designs and posing threats to other countries in the periphery. However, the recent move is serious perceived as very threats to China's sovereignty and blamed the US as a reason of growing militarization of the region which also compel and push China towards the escalation. China calls the US moves a subduing act that undermine the international laws and deliberately over-sights the universal obligations.

The recent China's proclamation of creating an international maritime center to protect its national sovereignty however, any purposeful ignorance in the future could seriously become a severe

security concern in the region since the posturing of the guided missile systems within the 12 nautical miles off the China's Xisha Islands further add fuel to the chaotic situation also greatly contribute in provoking the v=current course of confrontation.

The inherent paradoxes of the great power capricious budge to be abide by the international laws. The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea that abides all the states' admission to the regulations on international waters therefore any ignorant ambitions would obviously become a replication of the circumventing the obligations of the international laws and regulations.

<http://www.nepal24hours.com/south-china-sea-the-new-trends-of-power-struggle/>

Prospects of Pak-US Strategic Relationship: Trust vs Interests

Maimuna Ashraf

Pakistan and United States have recently recommenced the stalled series of extensive working groups, to revisit and manage the ties between two states at different levels, known as ministerial-level strategic dialogue. In wake of this resumed platform after three years of hiatus, the US Secretary of State John Kerry lately welcomed Pakistani Advisor on Foreign Affairs Sartaj Aziz to convene the multi-faceted Dialogue and to build long-term cooperation in energy, strategic stability and nonproliferation, the Defense Consultative Group, Counterterrorism, Economics and Education. Notwithstanding sharing the common drivers, the bilateral relationship has been facing the tailspin due to many suspicions and expectations. Although there have been array of bilateral activities but not much could provide a breakthrough or buzz the headlines.

The course of dialogue went to lengths to mark a renewed vitality in US-Pak relations. Secretary Kerry, who is well known for handling tough matters with diplomatic means, initiated the dialogue process by stating “Expanding and deepening our relationship has long been a personal commitment of mine. In the Senate, I was privileged to join with my colleague Dick Lugar and with Representative Howard Berman in sponsoring a law that was aimed at lasting cooperation between the U.S. and Pakistan – between businesses and universities and citizens in addition to our governments.” On the contrary, historically, Pakistan and US relations are defined more appropriately by the term kinetic than bilateral. The US largely is being viewed as a state that treated Pakistan merely to uphold its strategic interests in the region.

In the same vein, the Afghanistan problem remained a focal agenda to add any noticeable progress to these strategic dialogues. Pakistan remained the key member to all the quadrilateral, trilateral, bilateral discussions, which took place to support an Afghan-led peace process. However, Pakistan faced a hard time to convince Haqqanis towards negotiating table which led to question its influential role in the process. Despite the fact that US recognized the extraordinary and real sacrifices of Pakistan’s military, especially in Operation Zarb-e-Azb and the ongoing missions in North Waziristan, US remains skeptical of Pakistan’s counter-terrorism strategy in the region. Likewise, the attack on Indian Air Force base in Pathankot reverted all the efforts and appreciations related to Pakistan’s counter-terrorism measures. Although Secretary Kerry commended Pakistan’s commitment not to differentiate between terrorist groups in the implementation of this strategy, still there is demand to take concrete steps to show the world its commitment not to differentiate between terrorist groups. However, the fact that both countries share the objectives related to counterterrorism and their relations have been pushed through Afghanistan affairs cannot be underrated.

For decades, the major reason of complicated relations between the two states has been the disagreements over limits on Pakistan’s nuclear weapons. Granted the United States is appreciative of Pakistan’s nuclear security measures, yet the frustration expressed over the so-called ‘growing nuclear

arsenals' of Pakistan on every significant event comes as no surprise. Pakistan has affirmed that it would not sign any deal that would limit its nuclear program and compromise its national interests when India and US persist to strengthen their defense and nuclear cooperation. These realities suggest that the prospects of civilian nuclear deal and Pakistan's NSG membership on a criteria-based approach are doubtful in such circumstances. It is pertinent to mention here that Pakistan has approved the inter-agency process to ratify the Convention on Physical Protection of Nuclear Material (Amended) and reiterated its determination to take all possible measures to make national security robust that could enable it to effectively respond to the threats to national security without indulging in an arms race. Pakistan has also participated in the IAEA nuclear safety action plan. Additionally it has extended its cooperation in other areas with the IAEA to improve nuclear security. The persistent demands to put limits on Pakistan's nuclear weapons is the result of ignoring these efforts taken by Pakistan with regards to its weapon's security and control measures; compliance to global norms; capacity to keep them safe; and their risk environments.

Notwithstanding the abovementioned realities, the resumed dialogue process is of evident importance as it reestablished a certain level of normalcy in relations. Pragmatically, if Pakistan improves ties with neighbors and put limits on its nuclear program then the engagements dedared by US in the dialogue would be easy, otherwise there would be another twirl in the roller coaster relationship. Expectantly, Washington will be looking after Islamabad for negotiations with Taliban, which could bring some leverage for Pakistan.

Consequently, it would take time to witness a transformation in the sentiment of the relationship that continues to be defined by concerns rather than pledges. The agenda of the bilateral dialogues has always been dominated by the security concerns, whether about nuclear weapons or Afghanistan; but more is being expected from the latest round that extends to expectations in the energy sector. Hence, a sustainable course is yet to be adopted to lift this loaded relationship. Otherwise if the US continues to exercise its Asia pivot strategy without realizing deterrence theory in South Asia and Pakistan's interests in the region then the recent dialogue would also prove another episode in the saga of continued talks and ineffectual outcomes. Evidently, just entitling 'strategic' dialogue will not transform the transactional relationship into strategic relationship without mutual trust and interests.

<http://nation.com.pk/blogs/16-Mar-2016/prospects-of-pak-us-strategic-relationship-trust-vs-interests>

Rhetoric and National Security: The Intricacies

S Sadia Kazmi

Sometimes even the most well thought out and careful deliberations turn out to be the major faux pas as has been the case with the recently issued statement by Prime Minister's senior aide Sartaj Aziz. The "confession" that Pakistan has been providing refuge to Taliban leadership. While Pakistan is quite actively playing the role of a facilitator in the Afghan peace process, demonstrating utmost commitment and dedication to the restoration of peace and stability in the region, at the same time it is trying its best to utilise this opportunity to convince the world of its "zero-tolerance" against terrorism and its abettors. The previously maintained policy of "denial" against the presence of Afghan Taliban on Pakistani soil has been part of Pakistan's well known and often reiterated "Afghan Taliban policy". This particular stance also makes up for an important component of state's national security since it helped Pakistan garner some level of trust and confidence regarding its genuine intentions to snuff out all terrorist elements and insurgent groups. However, it will not be incorrect to say that this policy almost faced a jarring setback owing to the recent "public admittance" by Sartaj Aziz about the presence of Afghan Taliban leadership in Pakistan where they have been "officially" provided "safe haven" by the government inclusive of necessary emergency and medical facilities.

One can't help but feel a sense of shock and confusion as to why there was a need for such rhetoric and what made a high profile serving official to issue such a statement at a time when the odds against the success of ongoing Afghan peace process are already quite high. It is believed that rhetoric of any kind, be it a verbal or a written statement, is central to politics. Even in the time of physical engagement, combat or war between the states, a parallel course of rhetoric is always a useful technique to ensure and fortify one's own position. In fact, "rhetorical maneuvering" is considered critical for the success in political disputes. Therefore, diplomatic policies in form of verbal and written statements are an essential activity that states are constantly engaged with since it is a never ending process. The major purpose behind indulging in this act at the state level is to ascertain the national security objectives, hence it should always be in line and consistent with the state's national security. These are the basic guidelines and the usual practice known to all in the policy making echelons and it is expected of them that they adopt a careful disposition in speech and action, which unfortunately was lacking in this particular case.

One is left to wonder if that was an effort to make Pakistan appear "in control" of the peace process. If so, what kind of influence or control does Pakistan have over Taliban leaders where the political process has more often been in favor of Afghan Taliban who seem to be in control and have been using their influence against Pakistan in full advantage, most of the time sabotaging the peace efforts. It also makes one contemplate as to why thus far Pakistan has not been able to neutralize the Afghan Taliban insurgents despite having the capability to do so as per Sartaj Aziz.

Also it is to be kept in mind that there are rifts within the Taliban leadership and there is a big number which is either opposing or not ready to be part of the peace process. It is that particular faction within Taliban leadership which Pakistan needs to have some control over otherwise it does not merit a bragging. Pakistan is already an unfortunate victim of malevolent propaganda having been accused of and tagged as “Taliban sympathizer” by the ill meaning neighboring and Western states. Unfortunately, the government’s response to all this has largely remained ineffective. There is a need for a strong rhetorical rebuttal rather than the meek admittance of these accusations just for the sake of coming across as “influential”.

Despite claiming to have influence over a key actor in the Afghan peace process, the progression has been facing major hiccups. This could very well even prove to be counterproductive raising valid suspicions about the government’s sincerity to the peace process. Hence the policy makers need to be extra cautious when issuing any statement be it a fact or otherwise, keeping in mind that it should never be made at the cost of hurting Pakistan’s reputation. There must have gone a lot of thinking before this statement was finally issued but it further pressed for the dire need for a language focused mechanism aimed at effective political influence, without which any political or diplomatic efforts would only be partially accoutered.

<http://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2016/03/21/comment/rhetoric-and-national-security/>

TAPI Moving Ahead: Dreams and Realities

Saima Ali

Turkmenistan President Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedov received a warm welcome last Wednesday as he arrived on a two-day official visit to Pakistan. His visit has provided a good opportunity to review the decisions taken during last two visits of the Premier Nawaz to Turkmenistan in 2015 as well as exchange views on bilateral, regional and international issues of mutual interest.

The visit is being considered significant as both countries are set to review progress and security of the 1,814 km-long Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) gas pipeline project. Mobeen Saulat, the CEO Inter-State Gas Systems (ISGS) said that work on the project will be started from January 2017 and is likely to be completed by 2019. TAPI is moving on the fast track towards the right direction and now the second phase of feasibility, security of the pipeline, and removal of mines from the TAPI route is underway. Pakistan has played a key role in bringing the TAPI on track.

Earlier in December 2015 the leaders from Afghanistan, India and Pakistan, converged in the ancient city of Mary, 311 km from the capital Ashgabat, to launch the mega project. TAPI will carry gas from Turkmenistan's Galkynysh field having 16 trillion cubic feet of gas reserves, the pipeline will run to Herat and Kandahar provinces in Afghanistan, before entering Pakistan. In Pakistan, it will reach Multan via Quetta before ending at Fazilka in India. From Pakistan's perspective the project is not only a gas pipeline, but also a precursor in making it a trade and transit corridor. Such a corridor could comprise gas pipelines, roads, electricity transmission and fiber optic lines besides economic zones connecting Pakistan with Turkmenistan. Both leaders heap the greatest praise on TAPI, extolling its potential to lead to greater regional integration, energy security and job growth.

This pipeline, if completed, is supposed to carry 33 billion cubic meters of gas from Turkmenistan to the Indian border. According to The Nation, Berdimuhamedov said "The gas line will bring warmth and cordiality, and generate economic activity, create job opportunities and improve the living standards." On the Pakistani side, gas from Turkmenistan will help mitigate the country's significant energy deficit.

A company was registered in November 2014 in which, from India's side, state-owned GAIL India Ltd was to pick 5 per cent stake in the international consortium, whereas from Pakistan side Interstate Gas Systems (ISGS) and Afghanistan's Afghan Gas Enterprise (AGE), were to take 5 per cent stake each in the project and the remaining 85 per cent stake is held by Turkmenistan.

The investment agreement pertains to the 5 per cent shareholding of each of the three gas-importing countries, which means an initial investment of around USD 200 million.

But Kabul is now willing to take only 1.5-4 mmscmd so the share of Pakistan and India will go up to 43-44.25 mmscmd each. The TAPI pipeline will have a capacity to carry 90 million standard cubic

metres a day (mmscmd) gas for 30 years. India and Pakistan were originally to get 38 mmscmd each while the remaining 14 mmscmd was to be supplied to Afghanistan.

On December 13, 2015 Turkmenistan began work on the 214 km section of the pipeline in its territory. The pipeline will travel 773 km in Afghanistan and 827 km in Pakistan before touching the Indian border. Pakistan is keen to “fast-track” construction. Many regional watchers are deeply doubtful of either target date. Pakistan is very hopeful on TAPI, despite the continuing instability in neighboring Afghanistan, through which the pipeline must pass. The visit marks Sharif’s third meeting with Berdimuhamedov in the past nine months. He attended the TAPI groundbreaking in December and in late May 2015, Ashgabat was the penultimate stop on his Central Asia tour.

Terrorism made its usual appearance in discussions between two leaders. The Associated Press of Pakistan reported that Sharif said, “This menace also undermines our endeavors for socio-economic development. We have to work collectively to eradicate the scourge of terrorism and extremism.”

The challenges regarding TAPI are chiefly financial and security in nature. The issue is not whether the project is specifically possible or greatly needed. For example, construction on Turkmenistan’s internal East-West pipeline started in 2012 and the 773-kilometre pipeline completed construction in late 2015 and became operational this month. The Central Asia-China pipeline, running 1,833 km from Turkmenistan to Xinjiang (running north through Central Asia), began construction in 2007 and was completed by 2009. The factors that continued to hamper expansion of trade were lack of direct cargo links, safe and direct land routes, knowledge of Pakistani products and visa facilitation. Efforts are being made to overcome these challenges and strengthen trade ties with special focus on enhanced market access, trade promotion and trade facilitation

However, pipelines need financing and TAPI’s finances have been suspect—the pipeline is estimated to carry a cost of at least \$10 billion. As noted in a Reuters article from December, “TAPI’s construction is led by state gas firm Turkmen gas and none of global energy majors have so far committed to the project that will cost as much as a third of Turkmenistan’s total 2016 budget.” Turkmen gas is said to be putting up 85 percent of construction costs. Dubai-based Dragon Oil is reported to be in talks with Turkmenistan to join the project, but there hasn’t been an update on that front since late November.

Security in Afghanistan is still the biggest hurdle to TAPI’s completion. Given Afghanistan’s current security environment, Taliban present a serious obstacle to the project’s completion. Certainly Turkmenistan will construct its piece of the pipeline, but there are many more miles to go before Pakistan and India can benefit from Turkmen gas. Security in northern Afghanistan, and especially along the Turkmen-Afghan border, remains a massive wild card. And while Turkmenistan declined Russia’s aid in beefing up border security, that move doesn’t necessarily offer as much confidence about the current state of affairs in the region as Ashgabat may have wanted. Afghan President Ashraf Ghani has said that the country will put together a 7,000-strong force and that it would begin clearing the route in April.

Berdimuhamedov’s visit to Pakistan still needs clarification is how the pipeline will be protected, during construction or after? Pakistan steadfastly wants early completion of Turkmenistan Afghanistan-

Pakistan-India TAPI gas pipeline project because it considered it a new chapter in economic collaboration and greater regional integration with Central Asia. Pakistan is ready to provide any assistance to expedite the implementation of TAPI project and help minimize its cost.

The strategic environment is still hostile to the TAPI dream, until and unless peace restoration in Afghanistan, Afghan government is not in opposition to provides security to TAPI. But at the same time operation zarb-e-azb the internal law and order situation in Pakistan is much improved. Dust surrounded the project over came clearer after US gave a green signal after Kerry visited the Ashgabat last year. These are signs of improvement to set up the TAPI project. It is essential for the TAPI members to work strenuously for the project implementation at the earliest in order to convert a dream into reality as it would help integrate the four member states by linking the energy-rich Turkmenistan with the energy-starved South Asia.

<http://www.eurasiareview.com/21032016-tapi-moving-ahead-dreams-and-realities-oped/>

Historic Ally vs Strategic Partner: Where Does Pakistan Stand in KSA's Look East Policy Towards India?

S Sadia Kazmi

As the time of India's PM Narendra Modi's planned visit to KSA is nearing, some concerns bordering skepticism seem to be emerging in the official circles of Pakistan regarding the nature and outcome of the visit and future direction of relations not just between India and KSA but also between KSA and Pakistan.

It is important to keep a close eye on the ever changing political landscape and the subsequent evolving patterns. The geopolitical realities tend to change fast and the shifting of partnerships is a time old practiced norm of international politics. Friends can turn into adversaries any time and blood thirsty enemies can be shaking hands the next day depending on their rational choices and national interests. Soon after Narendra Modi took office as the Prime Minister in India, the initial phase of his premiership doesn't reflect very warm relation with KSA, partially owing to his violent past tarnished by the genocide of Muslims in Gujarat, India. However, PM Modi has been pursuing enthusiastic foreign policy which shows a pattern of vigorous international visits to make India more relevant in the global politics and ultimately help it rise beyond a regional power status. This also kept the not-so-cordial KSA from completely foregoing its relations with India.

But now it is quite obvious that KSA and the Gulf states are actively seeking to engage and cooperate with India in politico-economic, security and diplomatic spheres. The predominant nature of their bilateral relations echoes a healthy economic partnership, and this is what PM Modi's upcoming visit in April to KSA will focus on, along with the possibility of expanding counter-terror initiative. This growing economic orientation is further being bolstered by KSA's "Look East" policy where India is specifically being given the central position. Recently India has even been termed as an important "strategic partner" by the Saudi Foreign Minister. Similarly, for India, KSA holds a major position in its "Think West" policy, not only for its oil-rich status but the fact that KSA exercises a natural supremacy over the Muslim world for hosting two holy cities and is revered worldwide, and it will give India an excellent opportunity to gain much larger presence and foothold in the West Asian region. For KSA, India offers the biggest market for its oil exports in South Asia. There is almost three million Indian labor force employed in KSA sending substantial revenue back home.

On the flipside, despite being traditional allies, Pakistan and KSA relations recently faced a minor glitch which even though lasted only briefly but cannot be overlooked while analyzing KSA's "Look East" policy, in which India features predominantly. The ongoing Yemen crisis and Pakistan's neutral stance caused a slight ruffle in the bilateral relations which further got aggravated owing to the ambiguity regarding the status of Pakistan's inclusion in the KSA-led 34 states' coalition against terrorism.

However, with Pakistan's active participation in the North Thunder exercises last month, the equation has been substantially balanced.

All these instances point to an important fact that small temporary glitches cannot easily tarnish a long and time tested trusted relationship between KSA and Pakistan. It also reinforces the fact that Pakistan remains indispensable to KSA in its security calculus. After Pakistan's adopted neutrality, for all the valid reasons, on Yemen crisis despite KSA's request to join in the KSA-led Yemen intervention, Pakistan was once again asked to be part of 34-state coalition. The uncertainty on part of Pakistan didn't bog KSA down and the North Thunder presented a new opportunity to Pakistan, to which it conceded. One can easily confer that the great level of understanding and acceptance of each other's limitations is quite evident in these developments. This is also one of the reasons why the Saudi Foreign Minister Adel Al-Jubeir in his recent statement expressed that "Pakistan is an historic ally and will remain to be so."

Nevertheless, in the evolving scenario it seems both KSA and India have evaluated and realized their respective importance for each other. Some speculations doing the rounds have even proclaimed that India has effectively taken advantage of alleged cold patch in Pak-KSA relations and jumped into the temporary breach to win some place for itself. On the other hand, one can also sense an even-handed approach being adopted by the KSA and Gulf states towards India and Pakistan where they have openly expressed that relations with India will not come about at the expense of relations with Pakistan nor will they be imposing their decision in case of differences between Pakistan and India.

Although it is comforting to know that KSA is keeping a balanced approach and is quite vocal about it too, but the facts show that Pakistan will always take precedence over India for KSA. This is no wishful thinking but the mutual interdependency between the two has always been indispensable, to which history stands witness. A modest number of Pakistani troops are always stationed in KSA, a privilege that KSA is yet reluctant to offer to India despite calling it a strategic partner. Also the very choice of terms "ally" and "partner" points to the obvious that Pakistan is being seen as part of a long term relationship that is characterized by agreeing with each others' values while "partnership" is a more narrowly defined relationship that indicates a specific bond around a particular project only. Pakistan also, on its part, while carefully avoiding to become part of Iranian or Saudi proxy, has always given security commitment to KSA. Warming up to India may not necessarily wean KSA away from Pakistan but for Pakistan it sure is important to stay watchful and redouble its diplomatic efforts with KSA and other Muslim states including Iran.

<http://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2016/03/27/comment/historic-ally-vs-strategic-partner/>

Spy Games in Baluchistan

Shahazdi Tooba

An Indian naval officer working as a spy for Indian Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) in Pakistan's south western Baluchistan province has been captured and exposed. Military spokesman Lt Gen Asim Bajwa while releasing a six-minute video of confessional statement given by the spy said that "This is no less than the state-sponsored terrorism". It was said by the Pak Army that the capture of an Indian spy in Baluchistan is a proof of India's interference in Pakistan. A proof and authenticity of Pakistan's permanent representative at the United Nations (UN), Maleeha Lodhi's handed over evidences of Indian interference in Baluchistan and other parts to UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon, last year.

The spy identified as Kulbhushan Yadav was working under the cover name of Hussain Mubarik Patel. Yadav narrates his story that he was a resident of Mumbai, where he was commissioned in January 1991 and belonged to Indian Navy's engineering cadre, held the rank of commander and his service number was 41558Z. Indian government flatly denying of having any link with its RAW-guided naval officer, admitted that Kulbhushan Yadav is a former official of Navy. New Delhi has formally sought Counselor access to the man detained in Pakistan. The question is why he couldn't poison himself? Most probably he was not a well-trained agent. May be a serving military officer's training is bit different then a proper trained spy.

He detailed how he entered the intelligence world and joined RAW in 2013 after which he was assigned the task of promoting unrest in Baluchistan and Karachi. He had previously visited Karachi undetected in 2003 and 2004 from Chabahar (Iran), where he had established his jewellery business to conceal his activities.

Gen Bajwa said the primary task given to Yadav was to revive the dying Balochistan insurgency and sabotage China-Pakistan Economic Corridor. India has made no secret of its strong opposition to the CPEC project, and it is believed to be making covert efforts to sabotage it. Indian Foreign Minister Sushma Swaraj has said last year that Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi "very strongly" raised the issue regarding China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) during his visit to Beijing, and called the project "unacceptable". Swaraj said Modi was "concerned" about the \$46 billion project, adding that the Indian government had summoned a Chinese envoy to raise the issue over the corridor that is to run through Pakistani Kashmir.

Another factor of sabotaging this project is Indian involvement in Chabahar Port in Iran. As the strategically important port, could give India a sea-land access to Afghanistan and Central Asia, bypassing Pakistan. New Delhi already pledged to build a container terminal and a multi-purpose cargo terminal on two berths at the Chabahar Port in south-eastern coast of Iran. Pakistan's decision to transfer the management of the port to the Overseas Port Holding Company of China for 40 years sent jitters to India, which responded by moving fast on the Chabahar Port Project.

Yadav, as he said, was planning to attack the Gwadar Hotel where Chinese were staying and where there was presence of a sectarian organization. It is not a new thing because RAW has been involved since 2006 when three Chinese engineers lost their lives in an attack claimed by the separatist BLA in Hub, a town west of Karachi. Yadav admit its link with this organization. These Indian backed Separatists routinely attack power and energy transmission lines. Moreover they had planned to bring in 30-40 trained RAW operatives to coordinate and help in reviving the Baluch insurgency.

Another aspect of the issue is that Yadav passport number is L9630722 that bears Iranian visa with April 16, 1970 mentioned as the date of birth. The Indian spy joined RAW in 2013 while served the Indian naval intelligence in the past. He was earlier appointed at Iran's port Chabahar. Lt Gen Asim Bajwa in this regard said that he could not say with certainty, or even knew, if the Iranian government or its intelligence was aware of RAW carrying out its intelligence operation from its soil but the information had also been passed to the Iranian intelligence agency.

Pakistan and Iran share a long land border in Pakistan's Baluchistan province. On the Iranian side is the vulnerable Iranian area Seistan Baluchistan that has seen much dissident activity. So the Iranian visa to the spy and his entry from Iran raised eyebrows in Pakistan. There is also the report of India putting in \$170 million for the development of Iran's Chahbahar port just 70kms away from Pakistan's Gwadar port and airport being developed by China. The Indian oil minister scheduled to visit Iran soon may sign a massive deal for the Farhad gas field and gas exports to India. In the past Iran supported the Northern Alliance in Afghanistan and there were reports of Iranian funding in Pakistan to garner support for the Northern Alliance. That was a long time ago and the situation has changed. For Pakistan relations with Iran and Saudi Arabia are not a zero sum game, it is a compulsion to have good relations with both. Neither Iran nor Pakistan would want problems in their respective border provinces and both countries understand the need for intelligence and security cooperation to prevent exploitation by outside elements. The capture of the Indian spy is a wakeup call for both to beware of those who generate trouble by misusing access.

Anyhow with all the facts and narrations above mentioned, stuck and don't know how to react Yadav statement that he was "voluntarily giving the statement and cooperating with his investigators".

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2016/03/30/spy-games-in-balochistan/>

India's Insider Nuclear Threats Started Appearing Onscreen

Beenish Altaf

At last the curtains, albeit slightly, have started rising up with regards to Indian nuclear security matters. Besides the Indo-US strategic partnership aiming at mutual outcomes, the US had now come up with some factually correct information that pointed at the Indian nuclear facilities potential threats. Incidentally, it has been on the press recently with help of the US report on preventing nuclear terrorism that has expressed concerns over 'insider threats' against India's nuclear assets.

The report titled 'Preventing Nuclear Terrorism: Continuous Improvement or Dangerous Decline?' formulated as a Project on Managing the Atom Report released by Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs Harvard Kennedy School. According to this report the US officials have reportedly ranked Indian nuclear security measures as weaker than those of Pakistan and Russia, and the US experts visiting the sensitive Bhabha Atomic Research Centre in 2008 described the security arrangements there as extraordinarily low key.

As compared to the prior debates blazing over Pakistan's NTI ranking (both theft of sabotage ranking) it is highlighted in aforementioned report that although India has taken significant measures to protect its nuclear sites, its nuclear security measures may be weaker than those of Pakistan. India faces significant insider corruption. It is difficult to judge whether India's nuclear security is capable of protecting against the threats it faces within itself as the information available about India's nuclear security measures is too limited in this regard.

Examining about the Indian nuclear security and safety measures many such incidents have been on record that squeal about its poor record. Investigating that, Vijay Singh, a Central Industrial Security Force (CISF) head constable at the Kalpakkam Atomic Power Station in 2014, shot and killed three people with his service rifle. Although the CISF had a personnel reliability program in place, it was not able to detect Singh's deteriorating mental health, despite multiple red flags including him saying that he was about to explode like a firecracker. Albeit of India's evidential stockpile of nuclear weapons and weapons-usable nuclear material, India also has a civilian plutonium reprocessing program in a workable practice.

Moreover, the threats to India's nuclear security systems have been highlighted in the series of articles titled the Public Integrity Magazine, a subsidiary of Center for Public Integrity, and Foreign Policy Magazine, a subsidiary of the Washington Post, on India's civil and military nuclear program, and in Foreign Policy and Huffington Post. So, the articles predominately dealing with the security risks to Indian nuclear weapons has been co-written by R Jeffry Smith, a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and Adrian Levy. Adrian Levy wrote five articles on India's nuclear mining, enriched uranium and weapons. Levy has co-authored a book on the 2008 Mumbai attacks called *The Siege: Three Days of Terror Inside the Taj*.

The first Levy article titled “India’s Nuclear Industry Pours its Wastes into a River of Death and Disease” (14/12/2015), is about a supposed trail of disease and ill health caused by uranium mining by Uranium Corporation of India Ltd.

The Second “India’s Nuclear Solution to Global Warming is Generating Huge Domestic Protests” (15/12/2015), is about the protests over the Russian built Electricity generating nuclear reactors at Kudankulam In Levy’s words Transparency and accountability are lacking at India’s largest nuclear park, where a Russian reactor was constructed with faulty parts over violent local resistance. They articulated that experts regarded the issue assurgent and Kalpakkam shooting alarmed Western officials who question whether India has adopted enough measures to safeguard its sensitive facilities and building blocks of a devastating nuclear bomb from being stolen by insiders with grievances, ill motives, or in the worst case, connections to terrorists. However, after conducting interviews of several US officials, they concluded that ‘Washington is not forcing India for rapid reforms. The Obama administration is instead going to avoid any friction that might disrupt a planned expansion of U.S. military sales to India.’

The Third “India is Building a Top-Secret Nuclear City to Produce Thermonuclear Weapons, Experts Say” (16/12/2015), is about a mysterious new “Thermonuclear City” coming up at a place in Karnataka called Challakere. The article says it will be the subcontinent’s largest military-run complex of nuclear centrifuges, atomic-research laboratories, when it’s completed, probably sometime in 2017. It also speaks of anew nuclear arms race between India China and Pakistan.

The Fourth India’s nuclear explosive materials are vulnerable to theft, U.S. officials and experts say 17/12/2015 as the name suggests is about lax security at India’s nuclear installations but Levy says Washington has chosen not to press for tougher security while its trade with India is booming. And the last Fast Radioactive, and Out of Control” (17/12/2015), is about India is not adequately safeguarding its booming nuclear installations and material according to US officials and experts.

Paradoxically, despite of bringing all the above issue into lime light, Western concerns are not enthusiastic in bringing in India into the mainstream of nuclear safety and security culture. Contrarily Pakistan’s nuclear concerns remained on the US screens yet in the absence of any recognized security failure. The Western think tanks continued to pressurizes Pakistan in or the other way to move towards limiting its element of sovereignty. No matter what the verdicts were: either to roll back or cap off, or to normalize or limit the nuclear weapons. Well, conspicuously the US is not forcing India to take any precautionary and safety measures, by the way that it should. The Obama administration is instead going to avoid any friction that might disrupt a planned expansion of U.S. military sales to India.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2016/03/30/indias-insider-nuclear-threats-started-appearing-screen/>

Iran Sending Peace Message Through Military Exercises

Sidra Khan

Recently Iran launched a wide-scale military exercise that will traverse a zone of 2.2 million square kilometers and is code-named Mohammad, the Messenger of God, after the prophet of Islam. The drill is occurring all around, ashore and ocean, with contender planes, air guard frameworks and under-surface vessels being tried. Press TV cited Iranian Army Brigadier General Abdolrahim Mousavi stating that the exercises would boost Tehran's defense capacities.

Regardless of UN attempts to halt Iran's ballistic rocket development, Iran continues with active development of its long-range ballistic rockets and even so intends to make use of these rockets in military drills as per a key armed force authority. There have been rigorous discussions in the Iranian parliament in favor of continuing ballistic rocket drills after the atomic arrangement as a show of power and a military impediment against the US and Israel. The Iranian move comes at a time when restriction on Iranian ballistic rocket exchange is to be lifted.

Iran's recent ballistic missile testing took place after disapproving viewpoints between the US and Iran with respect to an announcement in Annex B of UN Resolution 2231. That announcement states, "Iran is called upon not to attempt any action identified with ballistic rockets intended to be equipped for conveying atomic weapons, including dispatches utilizing such ballistic rocket innovation, until the date eight years after the JCPOA Adoption Day or until the date on which the IAEA presents a report affirming the Broader Conclusion, whichever is prior."

Washington believes that ballistic missiles are prohibited as per this condition, while Iran says it has not acknowledged the extension. Iran further states that its rockets are not intended for atomic payloads meaning the section is immaterial regardless. Be that as it may, Iran's long range ballistic rockets, especially the Shahab 3 and Sejil 2, can actually carry high payload including atomic bombs.

As indicated by Fars, both the US and Iran have acknowledged that the section is non-binding as it only "calls" on Iran to stop from the rocket development. Iran's Foreign Ministry responded to the addition in an announcement, stating that the ballistic rocket system is not violation of the UN resolution.

On the other hand, Saudi Arabia is preparing a multi-nations coalition, mostly comprising of Sunni states, and has called it a clear message that the coalition of "Muslims" stand united in going up against all difficulties and safeguarding peace in the district. Saudi Arabia has carried out air strikes against ISIL in Syria as a component of a US-led coalition battling the radical extremist group.

The 40 nation coalition recently carried out military exercise called Northern Thunder. This exercise speaks not just of the development of a noteworthy military partnership in the Middle East, but explains an intricate political dilemma. Both Iran and Riyadh are battling for dominance in the Middle

East. If Iran continued with its development of ballistic missiles, it might give impetus to Riyadh's desire to do the same. It's always a tit for tat when it comes to Saudi Arabia and Iran.

<http://www.voiceofjournalists.com/iran-sending-peace-messages-through-military-exercises/>

Beyond the Pipeline Politics: Pakistan-Turkmenistan Relations

Nasurullah Brohi

Pakistan has been a constant ardent to augment its relationship with the countries in the Central Asian region. The warmth of pursuing such foreign policy is particularly inspired with the historic experiences of non-interference and the mutual respect for each other's views on different regional and international issues. This affection further ranges from the common bonds of religion in addition with the cultural and linguistic closeness. Apart from such notions, the exceptional trade and business opportunities within the Central Asian countries is the potential means that also enthruses to enhance the bilateral and multilateral relationship between the CARs and Pakistan. Particularly, the oil and natural gas a rich country of Central Asia, Turkmenistan has always been viewed an important partner for cooperation by Pakistan.

The recent visit of the Turkmenistan's President Gurbanguly Berdimuhamadov to Pakistan was an illustration of the reality to explore a variety of ways to further boost up the ties between the both sides. This occasion also provided the consideration for jotting down a new era of the vast cooperation and the greater regional integration. Pakistan being energy strived country critically needs Turkmenistan support for overcoming the enduring problem. To address the energy crisis, a Memorandum of Understanding was signed to further explore the cooperation in the fields of energy was signed between Pakistani and Turkmen Petroleum and the Oil and Gas Ministries respectively. The two sides once again vowed for the timely completion of the Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) gas pipeline project.

The Pakistani side further demonstrated its firmness about the mutually beneficial project and vowed its commitment for all sort of support to expedite the implementation process of the long cherished dream of TAPI project. Pakistan expressed its high appreciation for Turkmenistan's offers of assisting it by adding 1000MW in its electric grids to overcome the current electric shortfall in the country. Whereas, the prospective role and the opportunities encompassed for the whole region through the China-Pakistan-Economic Corridor (CPEC) and with Pakistan's extended assistance, the project will also provide the Turkmenistan to export and exploit the opportunities in the regional and international market through its trade and commerce potential through the project.

To address the issues of communication space and the less familiarity of the two nations about each other's language, a particular MoU was signed between the Pakistan's National University of Modern Languages (NUML) and the Magtymguly Turkmen State University (MTSU). In the modern era and the changing pace of the diplomatic discourse, the MoU is realization of the fact that without appropriate communication between the people of two sides it would be really hard to keep sustaining the brotherly ties of the two nations in the coming future.

The visit of President Gurbanguly is viewed in Pakistan as a ray of great hope in terms of manifold opportunities that cover a great deal of the prospects to cover the issues and moreover, inspires the two sides for the eager pursuance of mutually beneficial objectives. During his visit Pakistan

and Turkmenistan inked over eight accords and Memorandums of the Understanding ranging from areas of cooperation that include closer interaction and cooperation for strict check over the money circulation and money laundering that is a prime source of distress in the region. It was high time for such crucial visit which has successfully initiated a process of the concrete steps such as the exchange of financial intelligence between the two sides to tackle the menace of the radicalization and terrorism in a greater regional and international interest.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2016/03/31/beyond-pipeline-politics-prospects-pakistan-turkmenistan-relations/>

Scary Sea Based Nuclear Ambitions Are Threatening to Spillover in South Asia

Maimuna Ashraf

India and Pakistan are intertwined in an absolute longstanding security competition. Although, nuclear parity does not exist in the region neither both states are conventionally parallel but action-reaction or tit-for-tat cycle is rapidly enhancing the nuclear capabilities in Southern region, specifically of India and partially of Pakistan. Nevertheless, India's conventional superiority and nuclear advancements strongly influence Pakistan's threat perceptions and nuclear strategies, resultantly boosting the region's nuclear developments. The two most recent developments in South Asia have critically hoisted the danger of an accelerated nuclear arms race between India and Pakistan. First, the predominant development in region is the production and modernization of ballistic and cruise missiles by both states, along with the deployment of Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD) by India; second, the developments related to sea-based nuclear warheads that are shaping naval nuclear regime in South Asian region.

Currently, both Pakistan and India have enough nuclear capable bombers, warheads and ballistic and cruise missile. Notwithstanding these aspects, the robust modernization and enlargement of India's military arsenals has significantly increased the size of its conventional and nuclear weapons. India's pursuit of BMD will undermine the prevailing paradigm of mutually assured destruction or strategic equilibrium because the BMD shield system will make India believe that it can launch a nuclear strike while successfully defend itself against any retaliation. Evidently, it will become requisite for Pakistan to seek strategic partners who could provide the capability to counter BMD. Second, asymmetry will pressurize Pakistan to develop an assortment of nuclear missiles and delivery systems in view of amid reality that deployment of BMD would assist Indian ambitions to launch a conventional military operation such as through cold start.

Conversely, the evolving naval nuclear dynamics in South Asia would start a new competition in the region with alarming future prospects. Both states are said to be developing their naval nuclear forces. India, the world's largest weapon importer, has a while back approved \$16 billion for nuclear powered submarines and naval warships. Reportedly, India plans for developing more than 160 ship navy, 3 aircraft carriers and more than 40 warships and submarines that includes anti-submarines corvettes and stealth destroyers. India is one of the three Asian countries to maintain aircraft carriers.

The above mentioned naval concerns are surfacing more vehemently as India has finally tested the long awaited the indigenously-developed, nuclear capable K-4 ballistic missile lately. According to various sources, the Defence Research and Development Organization (DRDO) has not yet made public its recent test of nuclear capable submarine launched ballistic missile (SLBM) K-4. Although the missile is yet to get its actual name, it was being developed under a secret project, code named K-4. The name is said to have been derived from Missile Man of India Abdul Kalam. The test has been declared as 'roaring success' and according to the revealed details "the K-4 missile was fired at a depressed trajectory,

starting from successfully clearing the launch tube and breaking the water surface to stage separation and maintaining the ballistic trajectory. The missile was launched from a submerged pontoon, replica of a submarine, from water 9 meters deep". Reportedly, the missile achieved all parameters before zeroing in on the pre-designated target with high accuracy. Presumably, it has been confirmed that the missile has been tested at its full-operational range. The K-4 is an intermediate-range nuclear-capable submarine-launched ballistic missile with an alleged range of up to 3,500 km. During a previous test in March 2014, the K-4 was only tested to a range of 3,000 km. However, as the technical details on the top-secret K-4 remain scarce, purportedly, it is 12 meters long, weighs around 17 tons, can carry a nuclear capable warhead of up to 2 tons, and is powered by solid rocket propellants. Moreover the missile is capable of cruising at hypersonic speed, also features an "innovative" system of weaving in three dimensions during flight as it approaches its target. According to DRDO officials the missile will have to undergo at least two more developmental trials before it will be test-fired from the ballistic missile nuclear submarine (SSBN) INS Arihant. The INS Arihant was slated to be commissioned this month, but like several delays yet again a delay seems likely. The submarine is equipped with four vertical launch tubes, which can be armed with four K-4 missiles or K-15 missiles, another member of the K-series of missiles.

On other hand Pakistan last year approved a proposal from China to purchase eight diesel-electric submarines. However viewing India's naval ambitions, Pakistan will look to neutralize developments with India and it may prove an initiative for having permanent sea-based deterrent equipped with submarine launched variant of cruise missile. Evidently, the pursuit of sea-based nuclear strike force is the next step towards India's quest for an assured retaliatory capability and Pakistan's naval nuclear ambitions are fueled primarily with growing conventional asymmetry rather than strategic imbalance between both countries. Nonetheless, an imperative issue is missing in debate that what a new command and control model will be adopted by Indian strategic forces and what challenges it would pose to the security of region. However evidently, these two recent developments in South Asia affect three foremost components of strategic stability that includes deterrence stability, arms-race stability and crisis stability. The recent trends show that India is shaping the regional security domains and Pakistan is bound to react accordingly.

<http://nation.com.pk/blogs/31-Mar-2016/scary-sea-based-ambitions-are-threatening-to-spill-over-in-south-asia>

Pak-US Strategic Dialogue: Unrealistic Expectations

Beenish Altaf

PAKISTAN is not looking for any option as an alternate to its nuclear capability. The current Pak US strategic dialogue has reassured the muscle of its survivability. The recent US Pak Strategic Dialogue is another change to improve bilateral ties among the two states. It is a continuation and sort of a revival of the 2013 Strategic Dialogue framework and is aimed to extend and solidify the bilateral relationship between both the states. After the old notion “do more” this time the strategic dialogue covers cooperation on six broad segments that include cooperation in economy and finance; energy; education, science and technology, law enforcement and counter-terrorism, security, strategic stability and non-proliferation and defence.

Previously the Dialogue languished until 2010 when it redefined its agenda to include consultations on security, counter-terrorism, non-proliferation and defence. Currently both the states decided to remain on the same page on the issues of countering terrorism and extremism. The agenda thus reflected the character of bilateral relations that was largely determined by familiar security concerns and dynamics of the Afghan situation instead of a common desire to expand economic, technological or people-to-people interaction.

The recent sixth ministerial level dialogue round should essentially help security-related confidence building with some dividend expected in the energy sector as well. The categorization or the revival did not indicate a change in the sentiment of the relationship that continued to be dominated by concerns instead of promise. The US maintained a strategic dialogue with many countries; and had offered it to Pakistan in March 2006 when President Bush arrived in Islamabad following a much-heralded visit to New Delhi. The stated intent was to build long-term broad based cooperation in energy, finance, education, science and technology and agriculture. When it comes to India’s nuclear capability, the US put blind eye on it. Historically, Pakistan was left with no option except restoring the balance of power in the region when India tested its nukes. Why the US is silent on Indian nuclear capability if it is the only state which introduced nukes in South Asia? Ironically as regards nuclear capability, the US wants to strengthen India only to serve as a bulwark against China and as such cannot stand any other counterforce.

Broadly analyzing, that holding of Pak-US strategic dialogue in Washington is considered to have a positive impact as it would further strengthen the existing relations between the two countries. Formerly this relationship status among both the countries was confined to matters related to security only, but in this meeting the cooperating areas has been broaden and expanded quite well that covers wide range of fields (economy and finance; energy; education, science and technology; law enforcement and counter-terrorism; security and strategic stability). Despite of absence of the Pak-India relations and tension were not the agenda of dialogue. India has involved itself in arms race that would definitely destabilize the balance of power in the region.

The bothersome and upsetting area among both countries remained as always the Pakistan's nuclear weapons program. After the series of attacks; one after one, to cap or to roll back and now the new agenda point raised in the dialogue is to reduce the nuclear weapons and limitize its expansion. Also that is reported to be the world's fastest growing nuclear program. The counterpart of John Kerry US Secretary of State, here in Pakistan Sartaz Aziz rolled out any possibility to reduce the number of nuclear arsenals pointing towards a credible and tangible threat – the largest arms importer; India. But at same time he assured that “our engagement on non-proliferation and strategic stability will continue and Pakistan hopes to see greater US understanding of Pakistan's security concerns and its desire to contribute actively as a mainstream nuclear power.”

Pakistan Prime Minister's Advisor on Foreign Affairs spotted that Pakistan's top security concern is strategic and conventional imbalance with India, for which Pakistan would not restraint its capability unless India does. It is outrageous that one nuclear state in a region continues to grow its weaponry either in form of missiles, nuclear warheads or submarines, how come the other state roll back or cap up its tool of survivability. There is also a report from The New Indian Express that India is going to test fire secret undersea Weapon. India's Defence Research & Development Organization (DRDO) will test-launch the indigenously-developed, nuclear capable K-4 ballistic missile from a submerged platform in the Bay of Bengal this week. India's nuclear warfare policy is centered on a No First-Use (NFU) doctrine. The K family of missiles is meant to boost India's second strike capability and will be the cornerstone of the sea leg of the country's nuclear triad. India still maintains a policy of keeping its nuclear warheads de-mated from the missiles.

Apart from this, Adrian Levy, an investigative journalist for The Guardian who recently wrote about India building an entire city devoted to producing thermonuclear weapons. Despite for many such developments the US is focusing on how to direct Pakistan contrarily has made no such demands from India.

<http://pakobserver.net/2016/03/31/pak-us-strategic-dialogue-unrealistic-expectations/>

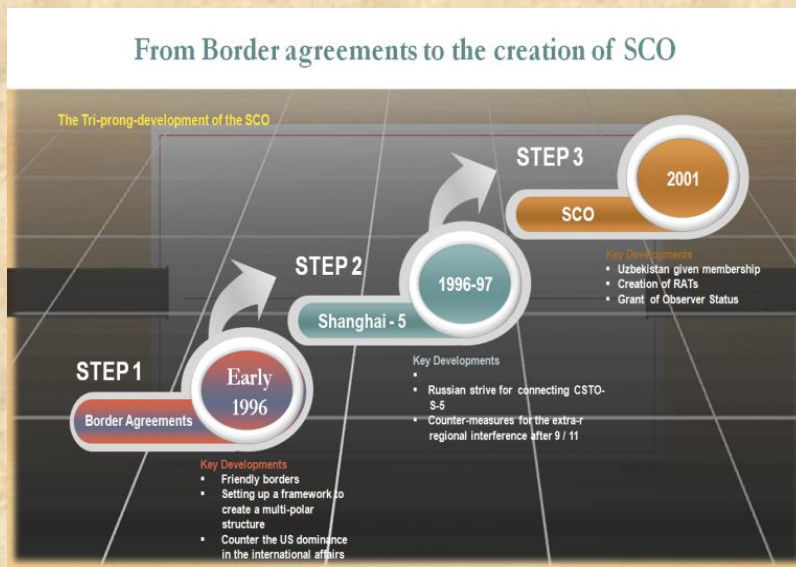
2. Lecture Series: Lecture No. 2

SCO: A Dominant Player of Future and Prospects for Indo-Pak Bilateral Relations after Becoming Permanent Members of the Organization

Nasurullah Brohi

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) was created in June 2001; consisting of China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. The Organization was formerly known as Shanghai Five (Shanghai-5) and was originally created in 1996 through the initiative of creating friendly borders and later on signing of the Treaty on Deepening Military Trust in Border Regions by the heads of states of China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. This moment was a turning point in Sino-Russian relations and a step towards drawing the sketch of a new global political system to balance the power equilibrium against the United States and the NATO.

The Organization was basically aimed at dealing with border issues in the region but later on it was decided that the Organization should further be able to effectively control the sphere of influence. The concept of sphere of influence can be described as an area/state that was previously under the control of any powerful state. Keeping such developments in view, by the year 1997, a proposal for multi-polar global political system was mutually agreed upon during the annual meeting of heads of states of Russia and China. The Organization was gradually materialized as an alliance that was against the US dominance and further struggling to diminish its dominance on the global political and military affairs.



Organization.

Before the creation of Shanghai-5, the Russian Federation had already made arrangements for the preservation of the control of its previous sphere of influence. Even after the collapse of the Soviet Union all of its former satellite states joined its Commonwealth of Independent States and the Collective Security Treaty

The Organization works along the idea of creating an environment of mutual respect, trust and friendly ties with neighboring and member states based on enhanced support for the progressive cooperation in the political, economic, cultural, educational, scientific technology, power, communication, energy and environmental protection areas. Right from its inception, the nature of Organization remained ambiguous as it often conducts military drills and naval exercises. The member states of SCO also have equal share of troop allocation in the SCO Collective Response Force and a Regional Anti-terrorism Structure (RATS) with a remarkably dedicated number of personnel. The Organization has successfully countered the growth of extremist organizations like Turkistan Islamic Movement, Islamic Movement of East Timor and other separatist organizations involved in terrorist activities in Xingjian and other parts of Central Asia.

The Council of the Heads of States of SCO members has approved the full membership for Pakistan and India after they have been found fulfilling certain statutory requirements and it is hoped that by 2016 both states will become permanent members of the Organization; raising many hopes about the future of cooperation and some solution for many persisting disputes that have served to be a bone of contention in the South Asian region. Moreover, if the SCO effectively tackles the historic resentment between Pakistan and India, it would become a landmark in the history of diplomacy and will be able to prove itself as one of the influential multilateral alliances in the world, attracting even greater number of states to come under the SCO umbrella. However, apart from the issue of SCO's role in the region's economic development and members' security issues, a particular emphasis is required for the result oriented efforts to resolve core issues like Kashmir, Siachen, and Sir Creek etc on priority basis.

Both India and Pakistan are already members of the SAARC that has hardly played any effective role in overcoming the existing hostility and the resolution of disputes. Besides providing business opportunities to the member states, a real-time framework is the need of hour to further expose the SCO as an influential player in the regional and international affairs. Otherwise even after granting permanent membership to Pakistan and India, the outcome would be no more than a further divide in the Organization particularly by crafting the conception of organization within the organization where the two sides would be backed by their respective supporting states.