



# VISION

VISIONARY INSIGHTS INTO THE STRATEGIC INQUESTS OF NATIONS

## SVI FORESIGHT

VOLUME 4, NUMBER 5

MAY 2018

Compiled & Edited by:  
S. Sadia Kazmi

**Strategic Vision Institute**  
**Islamabad**

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**Strategic Vision Institute (SVI)**

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## Strategic Vision Institute (SVI)

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Strategic Vision Institute (SVI) is an autonomous, multidisciplinary and non-partisan institution, established in January 2013. It is a non-governmental and non-commercial organization, administered by a Board of Governors (General Body) supervised under a Chairperson and administered by a Management Committee headed by a President/Executive Director.

SVI aims to project strategic foresight on issues of national and international import through dispassionate, impartial and independent research, analyses and studies. The current spotlight of the SVI is on the national security, regional and international peace and stability, strategic studies, nuclear non-proliferation, arms control, and strategic stability, nuclear safety and security and energy studies.

## SVI Foresight

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*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*

This particular issue for the month of May is unique in a sense that it brings to its readers an extensive analysis of the 20 years of nuclearization of South Asia. The short analytical commentaries made by various scholars in this issue specifically address this major milestone. Not only the inevitability of the nuclear tests for Pakistan is reflected upon but also how the nuclear weapons have established the much needed deterrence equilibrium in South Asia. 28th May marks the “historic milestone” of Pakistan’s successful and calculated response to counter India’s aggression through operational preparedness of the Strategic Forces to maintain peace and stability. Nuclear weapons capability for Pakistan has been instrumental in deterring India as one can see that despite multiple escalations after overt nuclearization of South Asia, India has not dared to attack Pakistan thus atomic weapon capability of Pakistan has ensured safety, security and durable peace and protection from any external aggression.

Another article in this issue discusses on the contrary, that the Indian nuclear ambitions have often managed to dwindle the strategic stability of South Asia. The process of nuclearization in South Asia was initiated by India under the guise of so called peace nuclear explosions. Nehru government set the foundations of India’s atomic program by utilizing the master plan of Dr. Homi Jehangir Bhabha, who entwined civil nuclear program with military nuclear program in a way where the growth of civil program would mean the growth of military program. India, after 20 years of covert nuclearization, went overt in 1998, which essentially changed the security architecture of not only South Asia but had profound impact on the international security and political environment. This also brought in with it a problem of nuclear proliferation when India started pursuing its ambitious nuclear energy program, which was a tool to facilitate its military ambitions. The article raises a pertinent question that what suddenly motivated India to conduct tests in 1998 when the deterrent was already successfully established and was in place for 24 years? Even if one believes that China was the reason behind India’s military nuclear program, still there was no immediate threat to India in 1998. Thus, the factor which motivated the Indian government in 1998 was its ambitiousness to rise as a threat in international system to adjacent states. The article rightly concludes that these actions taken by India to achieve its national goal of being a regional and international power changed the security layout of South

Asia and has pulled the region into a never ending conventional and non-conventional arms race.

The issue of water scarcity in Pakistan is yet another important area that one of the articles in this issue addresses. This problem has assumed a chronic nature for Pakistan owing to a number of factors including the lack of effective water management framework in place. It has been argued that the mismanaged and ineffective water policies need to be looked into on the immediate basis. The check and balance on the implementation as well as judicious distribution of water by IRSA among all the provinces is crucially required. Most of all there is no mechanism to save and store the water, most of which is annually wasted into the seas. It is believed that Pakistan loses 90% of river and rain water mainly because there is no storage mechanism in place. Additionally, India has been illegally constructing dams over river Chenab and Jehlum, in violation of Indus Basin Treaty further adding to the water shortage problem for Pakistan. Indeed global warming and climate change cannot be ruled out as yet another factor contributing to the problem. The article offers important suggestions and recommendations and presses for the need for immediate action in this regard.

Other significant articles included in this issue talk about India's conventional force posture development, credibility of India's second strike capability, US' withdrawal from JCPOA and its global implications, Russia's growing propinquity to Pakistan, and one can also find a detailed analysis of the CPEC summit 2018.

It is hoped that the issue will help readers in staying updated with the current political environment and they 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 improvements 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](#).

Senior Research Associate  
Syedah Sadia Kazmi

## ***We Will Come Out Stronger than Ever***

### ***Uzge Amer Saleem***

How many times have we heard something negative about our state coming from the western and from our beloved neighbour next door who doesn't leave any stone unturned in portraying Pakistan as a state full of internal problems namely poverty, terrorism and corruption. It is surprising how the same problems prevalent in India are just conveniently overlooked by their media. However, the point here is that there seems to be an international campaign going on currently with the sole aim of portraying Pakistan as a failing or a failed state. The general image of Pakistan is that of a small state which is economically dependent on the western powers and that allows terrorism to nurture in its backyard and that we do not let anyone in because we have sealed the doors to our internal affairs with our nuclear program. As much as the adversary would like to sell this image, any sane human being out there with a little knowledge of Pakistan's struggles would disagree. Let's take an objective look at how things are and how they have been for Pakistan in the past.

Ever since the independence, India has tried its best to see Pakistan collapse, so Pakistan gets an adversary right from the very beginning. Pakistan is a state that faces an intrinsic challenge of a limited strategic depth. Although this same factor can be exploited in one's own favour, it nonetheless comes with its own challenges. Owing to the decision taken by the previous leaders of Pakistan, the strategic depth was put to test time and again. Not only were there occasional agitations from India in the east but a troubled Afghan border offered another set of challenges in the west. No wonder the army and state resources have been spread out on these two borders for decades now.

This is a situation most states would not be able to cope with but Pakistan has been managing it with success. Moving on, Pakistan has been fighting other state's wars on its soil which has caused additional and long lasting troubles of most disastrous nature. The war on terror has been most tiring for Pakistan because not only has it consumed the state's strategic and conventional resources but the menace of terrorism has infiltrated into the fabric of society as the biggest challenge ever to grapple with. The families have been torn to pieces as a result of terrorism as a reward for the decision to fight the war on terror. Yet the western and the Indian media have the audacity to allege that Pakistan is sponsoring terrorism. They might be forgetting that it is Pakistan which is and has been bearing the direct brunt of terrorism for a long time now. However, despite all the bloodshed and loss, Pakistan still manages to survive and stands tall in the face of all these challenges.

Perhaps a factor about Pakistan that the rest of the world can just not seem to come to terms with is its nuclear program. Through a carefully orchestrated propaganda it has been popularized that Pakistan's nuclear weapons are vulnerable to security and safety glitches, specifically the terrorists' attack. Can the world please wake up and see that Pakistan does not want war? Pakistan wants an end to the war that it was dragged into years ago. Pakistan's nuclear program is an asset that protects it from the evils next door and that is why Pakistan would never compromise on the safety and security of its nuclear program.

Pakistan has been pushed back diplomatically because at this point in time, it doesn't serve the great powers' interests. Constant efforts are being made to completely isolate Pakistan as is evident from the recent attempt at putting Pakistan on the FATF grey list. This is not the first time that such an effort was made; even previously Pakistan was faced with such a situation but came out of it successfully. So far every move made to push Pakistan back has made Pakistan stronger than ever so why call it a failed state? How can it be termed as a failed state when it is fighting continuous wars against terrorism on multiple fronts and at the same time managing the largest number of refugees for years now? It is making efforts to stabilize the region and that too amidst constant skepticism? Pakistan is a state of fighters and it is a country of hope. It is not a failed state; it is a state that has the ability to rise which it eventually will.

<https://dailytimes.com.pk/239566/well-come-out-stronger-than-ever/>

# ***MODI-XI WUHAN Summit: Critical Analysis of Competition and Cooperation***

***Asma Khalid***

*“When two Asian giants shake hands, world notices,” (Manmohan Singh)*

Peoples Republic of China (PRC) and India are known as the two most populated states of the globe. Both states have been closely interlinked through history and civilizational interactions; as both are the ancient civilizations of this world. Both countries found their place on the map around the same time period, both countries underwent economic transformation around the same time and turned into big giants in the field of economy. Surprisingly, the growth is almost parallel to each other. It is also important to note that both states have territorial disputes over Tibet issue, Aksai-Chin, Arunachal Pradesh, disputes over the Twang district, and Shaks gam valley. Both countries have fought a deadly war in 1962 over the Aksai-Chin area, and have faced skirmishes with each other in the decades of 1970s and 1980, including 2013 border tensions. Therefore, a relationship of co-operation and competition exists between both states.

Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi traveled to Wuhan in central China for an “informal summit” with the Chinese President Xi Jinping on 27 and 28 April 2018. The most significant element of this meeting is that Modi’s visit came against the backdrop of almost two years of friction between China and India over various issues including the most significant Doklam standoff. In addition to this, India’s bid for Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) membership, and China’s Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) have also been the frictional points between the two.

The bilateral relationship of China and India badly deteriorated due to friction on multiple fronts. However, in December 2017, two high-level visits from China were marked as important and represented that both states are looking for a fresh review of their bilateral relationship. Within a few weeks both the Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi and State Councilor Yang Jiechi visited India. Additionally, Since February 2018, efforts from the Indian side to normalize the relationship, have been quite noteworthy – especially the cancellation of Dalai Lama’s events in Delhi marking the occasion of 60 years in exile of Dalai Lama is a significant step by the Indian government to appease China. On the occasion of cancellation of Dalai Lama’s events, the Cabinet Secretary PK Sinha and India’s Foreign Secretary Vijay Gokhale stated that “very sensitive time” in India’s bilateral relations with China and therefore, it is “not desirable” for government officials and other leaders to take part in the celebrations of the Tibetan government in exile”.

Later, on 23 February, the Indian Foreign Secretary Vijay Gokhale to China presented the idea of an informal summit which found ready approval by Modi. Since then various visits by the Indian officials, including India’s National Security Advisor Ajit Doval and Minister of External Affairs Sushma Swaraj have been taking place. These visits have played a significant role in preparing for Modi’s summit in Wuhan. The later events witness the reciprocal visit by the Chinese Vice Foreign Minister Kong Xuanyou to India

in April 2018 to finalize the matters regarding the summit. The MODI-XI summit is considered as timely and bold move by India to make an earlier visit to China before the upcoming Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) Summit scheduled to be held on June 9-10, 2018. The summit is actually an informal meeting with specific agenda mainly based on the idea of engaging in a free-flowing conversation between the two leaders.

During the meeting, PM Modi identified five “positive” characteristics of the Indo-China relationship: soch (thinking), sampark (contact), sahyog (cooperation), sankalp (determination) and sapne (dreams). On the other side, President Xi asserted that the problems between India and China are only temporary and limited, and the two countries are the “backbone of the world’s multipolarization and economic globalization.” These statements from both sides indicate that there is the intention to steer the domestic and international focus away from the contentious matters in the bilateral relationship, and is an effort to avoid further derailment.

Discussion on vital issues took place between the officials of both states which included the domestic, political and economic matters, as well as the regional developments like the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), and international issues such as the US-China trade war. The discussion also included China’s contentious Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). Chinese Vice Foreign Minister Kong Xuanyou confirmed that China will not force India to join the BRI.

The summit is also marked by some important policy directions provided by the two leaders. Another noteworthy development is Xi’s willingness to provide strategic guidance to their respective militaries in order to strengthen existing communication mechanisms and to collaborate on an economic project in Afghanistan. These developments make one wonder about the impact of the Summit on Pakistan and its probable repercussions for the Asian security and stability at large.

It is significant to note that only a day after the announcement of first “informal summit” between Chinese president Xi Jinping and Prime Minister Narendra Modi, Beijing mentioned that importance of Islamabad cannot be ignored, which provided necessary reassurance to Pakistan that their relationship would remain unaffected and would “never rust”. Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi stated that: “We are ready to work together with our Pakistani brothers to undertake the historical mission of national rejuvenation and achieve the great dream of national prosperity and development,” and “in this way, our iron friendship with Pakistan will never rust and be tempered into steel.” Such statements highlight the importance of Pakistan within the strategic contours of Asia. Additionally, the fact cannot be ignored that Sino-Indian military confrontation is a reality that cannot be resolved simply by conducting bilateral exercises. However, significance of Modi-Xi summit cannot be ignored which over a period of time, even could become a matter of concern for Pakistan. Nonetheless, the statements by Chinese officials after the summit, and the support that Pakistan has been receiving from China through CPEC somewhat dispels Pakistan’s concerns.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2018/05/14/modi-xi-wuhan-summit-critical-analysis-of-competition-and-cooperation/>

## ***South Asian Strategic Stability and India's Nuclear Bomb***

***Ahyousha Khan***

In the history of nuclear proliferation, the month of May is of great significance for the South Asian region as in this month both India and Pakistan tested their nuclear weapons. South Asian nuclearization is dynamic and dangerous enough to be an issue of concern for not only the region, but also for international security.

May 2018 marks 20 years of overt nuclearization in South Asia, however, the often forgotten fact is that the process of nuclearization started way before 1998. Many would say that it started when in 1974 India tested nuclear explosive device under the guise of peaceful nuclear explosion. But the attempts to bring nuclear weapons in South Asia started even before 1974. However, that particular PNE by India started the chain reaction in the region and resultantly Pakistan started its own nuclear program to securitize its sovereignty and security. Before, India's 1974 test, Pakistan had no intention of going nuclear.

On the other hand, the threat from China is taken as a reason behind India's nuclearization. Nonetheless, a proper analysis of Indian ambitions and nuclear proliferation suggests otherwise. Initially the Indian nuclear program was projected as a peaceful program started at the time of Nehru administration. Additionally, it is believed that the military usage of India's atomic program started under the rule of Lal Bahdur Shastari as the PM. But it was Nehru government that set the foundations of India's atomic program by utilizing the master plan of Dr. Homi Jehangir Bhabha, who entwined civil nuclear program with military nuclear program in a way where the growth of civil program would mean the growth of military program. He was a firm believer that the growth of Indian civilization was dependent upon atomic energy.

These views were expressed in 1948 when the concept of peaceful nuclear explosion didn't even exist. Moreover, declassified US State Department documents tell that India was interested in the nuclear explosion technology since 1954. The timeline of these actions suggests that Nehru administration was aware of the future dimension of India's nuclear program. Moreover, it also asserts that when it comes to the nuclear program, India's actual policies are different from its state narratives and doctrines.

Later in 1974 by extracting plutonium from spent fuel at CIRUS and its reprocessing at Trombay under the supervision of Homi Jehangir Bhabha, India tested its nuclear device under the label of peaceful nuclear explosion to avoid direct backlash from international community. In addition, it was also an attempt to develop a deterrent by demonstrating technological competence to all players in Asia-Pacific region. India started its program way before Chinese nuclear test and 1962 war.

Furthermore, by a peaceful nuclear explosion, a deterrent was established by India, which stopped the war during the crisis with Pakistan. Even then after 24 years of covert nuclearization, overt nuclear tests were conducted by India in May 1998. Beyond any doubt those tests changed not only

South Asian, but also international security architecture and political environment. However, the problem of nuclear proliferation started when India made ambitious nuclear energy program, which was a tool to facilitate its military ambitions.

The question arises that when the deterrent was established and in place for 24 years, then suddenly what motivated India to conduct nuclear tests in 1998. Even if one believes that China was the reason behind India's military nuclear program, still there was no immediate threat to India in 1998. Thus, the factor which motivated the Indian government in 1998 was its ambitiousness to rise as a threat in international system to adjacent states.

At the end of 20th Century international community was determined to make India, Pakistan and Israel sign the CTBT to achieve decisive success in attempts for non-proliferation. But, if the CTBT was signed by India the ability to develop all kind of missiles including ICBM would be taken away. Resultantly, the biggest South Asian state would never be able to show its strength at the regional and global level.

These actions taken by India to achieve its national goal of being a regional and international power, changed the security layout of South Asia. In addition, it has pulled the region into a neverending conventional and non-conventional arms race. Thus, to avoid war and counter India, Pakistan resorted to nuclear deterrence as a strategic stability in an environment of mistrust and on-going conflicts.

<https://www.eurasiareview.com/14052018-south-asian-strategic-stability-and-indias-nuclear-bomb-oped/>

## *India's Conventional Force Posture Developments*

*Beenish Altaf*

Force posture is predominantly a comparative term. Its two main dimensions are structural capabilities and the policy-intent. Given the relative difficulty of assessing intentions, there is generally more inclination towards analyses of capabilities. A contrary viewpoint is that capability structure of an adversary's armed forces and comparative force posture analyses is less applicable in its structural dimension than strategy (policy-intent).

In this context, Hammonds' definition of force posture development states that "the force posture understanding is valuable because of its hard empirical qualities: i) it deals with capabilities that can be observed from both sides, ii) it is actual output of one's own resource input and organizational process, and as such, is not always what one be anticipated."

The two major components of capability development force posture are: force structuring, and force development. As a component of military capability building/development, force structuring essentially deals with the type, size and structure of the armed forces. Whereas, force posturing is a long term process keeping pace with the dynamics of the developing strategic environment. It is an evolving process that constantly shifts from the contemporary to the future requirements. Modernization is an important component in the quest to acquire state of the art technologies and weapon systems as well as meet the life cycle requirements of existing inventories leading to force development.

While focusing on the evolution of India's conventional force posture, India's Forward Defence Policy needs to be explained first. In this regard, it is not incorrect to state that the Indian strategic culture is essentially led by the legacy of the British. Nehruvian forward defence policy is reflective of the same mindset which aims at counterbalancing the adversary and maintaining the power balance. However India adopted this policy without having a sufficient power base.

During 1980's, India adapted Soviet concept of multi-tiered offensive intended to engage front line defensive forces simultaneously through deep ground maneuvers and vertical penetration. The efficacy of the policy was always questionable due to imbalances in organizational makeup of the armed forces.

Sundarji Doctrine was aimed at the employment of large scale mechanized forces supported by massive air power to achieve maximum degradation of enemy system of forces and absorb significant territory. Prompted by Sundarji doctrine, India toyed with the concept of preventive war. This culminated with the Brass-tacks exercises in 1986-1987, aimed at launching pre-emptive attack on Pakistani nuclear facilities and undermining its conventional military capability and the territorial integrity. Also, in view of the legacy of the Kargil conflict (1999), and its frustration over the stalemate of Operation Parakaram, India tried to explore strategic space for a limited war and military operations against Pakistan under the guise of Cold Start Doctrine (CSD). However, India insist that there exists a strategic space between the outbreak of a conventional conflict and crossing of nuclear threshold and a

limited conventional war is still an option. Limited war is not a war fighting concept perse, but it does provide the framework within which the concepts for war fighting can be developed. Owing to this fact, Indian Defence Minister, George Fernandes once while speaking at a conference by Institute of Defence Studies and Analyses on January 5, 2000 declared that Pakistan's possession of nuclear weapons doesn't rule out the possibility of a limited conventional war.

Indian military planners have been endeavoring to acquire capability for the sake of an aggressive offensive limited war strategy referred to as the CSD. CSD actually focuses on Indian Integrated Battle groups (IBGs) with elements of army, navy and the Indian Air Force (IAF) as thrust formations undertaking deep hard strikes against Pakistan yet limited enough not to invite any nuclear retaliation. In such a military campaign 8-battal groups will go for limited but lethal destruction of armed forces in any territory.

Nevertheless, in the contemporary domain India has multiplied its defense budget as it is the biggest arm importer in the world. For the coming fiscal year 2018-19, it is increased by 7.81 % that is 2.5 Trillion Indian Rupees. Indian Defense Budget was the fifth highest in 2013-17 rising by an annual 8.5 % (SIPRI). It has increased 24% in Arms Imports over the last ten years. In 2016 India signed a contract to buy 36 Rafael twin engine fighter jets from France for \$8.8 billion. India is Israel's biggest arms market, thought to be worth about \$1 Billion per year.

Nevertheless, in the face of Indian offensive war fighting strategies Pakistan is rightly worried about the negative implications emanating from India's offensive force posture developments.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2018/05/14/indias-conventional-force-posture-developments/>

## *Analyzing CPEC Summit 2018*

### *Qura tul Ain Hafeez*

China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is the flagship project of China's Belt and Road initiative, prioritized by both the Governments of China and Pakistan to build a China-Pakistan community of shared destinies. The strategic partnership under the CPEC envisages number of projects among which Energy Security, Infrastructural Development, Connectivity, Trade, Industrial Parks, Agricultural Development, Poverty Alleviation and, Tourism are highly prioritized. Recently the CPEC summit 2018 was held in Karachi on April 23, 2018 to discuss the importance of CPEC and to analyze updates about the progress and development of this project. Perhaps this was the first such event of its kind in which representative from all the provinces participated. The summit not only discussed the progress and development of the CPEC but deliberated upon the issue of regional connectivity as the key component of the CPEC. On recalling the last five years' journey of CPEC up till now, one can infer that indeed CPEC is a chain of connectivity not only within Pakistan but across the region as well. The summit also concluded that Pakistan and China are planning to extend CPEC towards Afghanistan as CPEC is not only about economic growth, but also about community building.

Analyzing the outcome of this summit, one discovers that under CPEC, the country has completed two power projects in Sindh, while another is on its way towards completion. CPEC has resulted in the optimal utilization of two commercial ports and the opening of Ketibunder. Along with this, the development of commercial ports is also in line with the CPEC plan. The project pledges provincial harmony and timely cooperation and facilitation in this regard. As far as the electric power is concerned currently 930 megawatts of wind energy is produced in Sindh alone for the national grid. Moreover, a large chunk of electric power comes from those three Projects which are part of early-harvest program. In addition to this some 300MW is generated through wind power projects and would be part of the grid once the projects are completed in October 2018.

Following this progress rate CPEC is economically beneficial for all the provinces of Pakistan. KPK is contributing nearly 15pc of Pakistan's natural gas output. In hydropower, KP has the potential of producing 30,000MW of energy. The two hydropower projects located at Chitral are also part of the CPEC framework.

Moreover, another important aspect which was analyzed in this CPEC Summit 2018 is the idea of a separate ministry for logistic and transport so that this massive demand for the logistic and transport can be well managed. Once this separate ministry is formed, the work will be done in the shortest possible time thus resulting in faster growth. Businessmen, stakeholders and industrialist also showed their interests in promoting business through CPEC. Surely there is a need for joint ventures between local and Chinese companies to enhance Pakistan's industrial base and productivity.

Eventually once the CPEC project is completed Pakistan will become a hub for transshipment trade. Most of Pakistan's posts- through which trade is being carried out, are complaint to Transports Internationaux Routiers (TIR) or International Road Transports. Therefore, there is no issue of

compliance or connectivity under TIR. It will be easier to import goods and products in other countries thus developing more options for Trade and investment through CPEC.

The initial Phase of CPEC projects of the early harvest program are completed. Now the second phase the long term plan of the CPEC has been started that focuses on industrial activity and agriculture which would be completed by 2025. Currently work on the Long Term Plan is under way, after that in order to take its final shape in 2030 CPEC would be completed and people to people contact will develop, thus resulting in shared trade communities.

<https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2018/05/15/analyzing-cpec-summit-2018/>

## *Credibility of India's Second Strike Capability*

*Ubaid Ahmed*

The third leg of the burgeoning Nuclear Triad of India is of great significance. In any event, the first strike takes out India's land-based ballistic nuclear missiles and strategic aviation, then the Indian Navy's Arihant lurking in the ocean depths to avoid and launch an ambush and retaliatory strikes will render the attacking country unfit for human life. The austerity of the idea of placing a nuclear deterrent on submarines emerged in the 1950s, as the United States and the USSR explored different avenues with arming diesel-electric boats with basic cruise and ballistic missiles.

India has maintained a strong nuclear force to ward off any possible misadventure; India too has built a formidable arsenal including nuclear weapons. As indicated by the most recent information by Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) an international think tank on conflict, armaments, arms control and disarmament, India has burned through \$63.9 billion on its defense forces in 2017, an increase of 5.5 percent compared with 2016.

The Indian Navy too has the indigenously built nuclear submarine INS Arihant which carries nuclear-tipped missiles, giving India an assured second strike capability only if the nuclear submarine is operational. As per the Indian avowals, the nuclear submarine is equipped with the K-15 (Sagarika) and K-4 missiles. The Sagarika missile has a range of 750km to 1,500km and can carry a warhead of 1 tons; the K-4 is a much bigger missile having a range of 3,500km with a warhead capacity of 2.5 tonnes. INS Arihant is the first indigenously built submersible nuclear submarine with assistance from the Russian technology and designers.

Notwithstanding the reports that surfaced regarding an accident that might have damaged INS Arihant. The news item reported by The Hindu stated that the Arihant's propulsion compartment was damaged after water entered it, as a hatch on the rear side was left open by mistake. This report however raised questions rather than furbishing any response primarily because of the glaring technical irregularities, for the submarine has no hatches there. INS Arihant is based on Russian double hull design which has a sealed nuclear reactor section.

Moreover, The Hindu's reporting on the Arihant brings into limelight the threatening and upsetting partition between the nation's political and military authority.

According to the Ministry of External Affairs, India has formally announced and established a command structure which is directly under the civilian control. The Nuclear Command Authority established by India includes a Political Council and an Executive Council. India's Prime Minister chairs the Political Council. It is the only body with authority to order a nuclear strike. The National Security Advisor chairs the Executive Council, which advises the Nuclear Command Authority and carries out orders from the Political Council. However the height of incongruity is that the absence of Arihant from operations came into the knowledge of the Political leadership only when the Indian Navy was carrying out the precautionary advance deployment of submarine assets following the Doklam standoff with

China. It is exasperating to note that India's political leadership came to know about one leg of nation's strategic triad only after they requested a precautionary advance deployment.

The accident not only underscores the professional incapability of the Indian Navy but also speaks volume of the widespread failure in intelligence and the respective checks and balances in place. It additionally implies that military is not keeping the civilian government on the up and up which is against India's declared operating procedures.

Lastly, the accident also called attention to the credibility of India's second strike capability, for the best mode of second strike capability is the submarine launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs), and for the missiles to be launched an 'operational' nuclear submarine is needed, which India as of now has not been able to acquire.

<http://southasiajournal.net/the-credibility-of-indias-second-strike-capability/>

## *JCPOA in Post-US Exit: Consequences and Repercussions*

*Nisar Ahmed*

The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) or otherwise known as the Iran nuclear deal signed by the P 5+1 in 2015 was widely hailed as a landmark achievement made possible by sincere dialogue and diplomacy. Indeed, the agreement is to a greater extent an achievement of the nuclear non-proliferation regime that helped checked the increasingly disturbing power symmetry in the Middle East which in return has managed to contain the transformation of low intensity conflicts into all out wars. A relative stability is the hallmark which resulted from JCPOA in the Middle East which is extremely volatile region of the world. A vital question is: how these achievements are going to be affected by the US withdrawal from it?

The US withdrawal from JCPOA will adversely affect the aforementioned three areas of its accumulative achievement with variant degree. First, it has negative consequences for the norm that negotiated settlements in international arenas has the potential and lasting credibility to minimize violence or other coercive means led by war. The momentum and confidence the diplomatic means have garnered in post- JCPOA scenario will come to the crushing halt. The sealed and mutually agreed upon agreements in international arena especially in which the US is the potential party, will come under extreme scrutiny leading to an environment of gross trust deficit. Therefore, on the first instance this withdrawal has negative lasting consequences for the diplomatic norms in itself.

Secondly, US exist from the deal does not augur well for the nascent nuclear non-proliferation regime. This regime has a dearth of good precedents like the JCPOA which has deterred a nation from acquiring and operationalizing nuclear weapons as is the case with Iran. Keeping in view this backdrop of this institution, JCPOA has been its glaring example wherein it has managed to successfully convince a nation to not pursue the path which leads towards the nuclear weapons. Therefore, the US withdrawal has shaken the confidence of the non-proliferation regime to its core. It has engendered a split among the leading nations who were acting as sort of de facto executive to enforce the agreements on the nuclear ambitious states. Therefore, this US withdrawal has undoubtedly far reaching repercussions for the non-proliferation as an institution. This development may affect the nature and its future development as an institutional mechanism to deter the recalcitrant states to change their course regarding the nuclear weapons.

Thirdly, in relation to the above mentioned negative consequences on diplomacy and nuclear non-proliferation regime, the US withdrawal from the deal has far serious security ramifications for the volatile and conflict ridden Middle East. It has multiplied the prospects of all-out war between Iran and its regional rivals on one hand and Iran and Israel on the other hand. Just tonight the announcement of Trump exiting JCPOA and the Israeli aggression on Syrian military bases substantiates the assertion that there exists a correlation between this US withdrawal and the Zionist regime's regional hegemonic designs. It has extremely positive message for the Saudi Arabia. The impulsive and overambitious Crown Prince Muhammad bin Salman (MBS) went on extended tours in the US and Europe to convince

Western leadership that Iran should be contained. Therefore, element of stability in the region – contained low intensity conflicts – got serious motivation to turn into all-out-wars with non-exclusion of nuclear options at the disposal of Zionist regime in the Middle East. The Middle Eastern region with this exit of the US is going to observe substantial turmoil in the months to come which will have some extra regional ramifications.

As a conclusion it could be argued that the US exit has some far reaching repercussions for the diplomatic norms, non-proliferation regime and above all for the volatile Middle Eastern region. All these ramifications resulted from the US withdrawal will also in return have some serious consequences internally and externally. The status of the US as the sole super power of the world will be diminished with this decision. It will create an unbridgeable gap in the West. Henceforth, the EU foreign will be more autonomous, integrated and autonomous in her conduct.

<https://dailytimes.com.pk/228482/the-emerging-troika-and-the-syrian-conflict/>

## *20 Years of Overt Nuclearization and Deterrence Stability in South Asia*

*Ahyousha Khan*

May 2018 marks 20 years of “overt” nuclearization of South Asia wherein one is reminded of the nuclear tests at Chagai and Pokhran-II, which established nuclear deterrence between India and Pakistan. However, it pertinent to mention that the nuclearization of South Asia started with India’s so called peaceful explosion in 1974, which forced Pakistan to seek nuclear weapons in face of the existential threat from India and to contain the prospects of war with the nuclear neighbour. For Pakistan nuclearization was not a matter of prestige but a necessity, nonetheless several attempts were made to stop Pakistan even though India had conducted the PNE in 1974. Such efforts included the proposal for establishment of nuclear weapon free zone in South Asia, which was denied by India.

Later, in 1998 when India conducted two sets of nuclear tests on 11 and 13 May, albeit opening of Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty for signing in 1996, Pakistan was forced to make a tough decision to detonate its nuclear device for validation and credibility of its nuclear deterrent vis-à-vis India. Fact worth mentioning is that the violation of non-proliferation norms by India left the world in shock but no sanctions were implemented readily. However, detonation of nuclear weapons by Pakistan was responded with immediate condemning resolution from UNSC and sanctions from the US. Thus, the biasness of International community regarding Pakistan’s nuclear program was there since the beginning.

However, rationale behind Pakistan’s decision is the fact that national security has no price and if choice between international sanctions and survival would be given, survival would be opted. Overt nuclearization by both states brought nuclear deterrence into full play, which stabilized the region through fear of mutual catastrophic destruction. However, nuclear deterrence requires validation to maintain its credibility in face of ever growing threats. For Pakistan maintaining nuclear deterrence vis-à-vis India is quite an arduous task because of its continuous attempts to break free from fear of catastrophic destruction. In case of South Asia, although deterrence has brought stability but deterrence itself is in fragile state; largely because of two factors; Indian strategic ambitions, and the criminal silence of international community on massive Indian strategic build-up.

To promote its aggressive strategic ambitions, currently India is pursuing aggressive policies and doctrines like “Cold Start Doctrine (CSD) based on limited war proactive strategy” and “Joint Armed Forces Doctrine comprised of surgical strikes” which are making the future of strategic stability in region ambiguous by eliminating the deterrence stability on lower levels of conflict. India’s strategic arsenal composed of short range ballistic missile (Prithvi), medium range ballistic missile(Agni-2), intermediate range ballistic missiles(Agni IV), intercontinental ballistic missiles(Agni V), TNWs (Prahaar and Pragiti), sea launched subsonic cruise missile, ALCM and submarine launched ballistic missiles (K4 and K15) are

also significant developments, which from time to time challenge the deterrence equilibrium in the region.

Moreover, the positive trajectory of Indo-US nexus and Capitol Hill's rhetoric of "do more" for Pakistan is making South Asian political and strategic environment more and more complex. Due to possibility of long term strategic ties with India to counter China, the US has turned the blind eye towards offensive force posture of India. In addition, India is receiving continuous support from international community after Indo-US strategic deals. Recently it has been allowed into export cartels like MTCR, Wassenaar Arrangement and Australia Group to strengthen its credential for NSG and to improve India's military technological capabilities.

Consequently, maintaining strategic stability in an environment of continuous arms race, ongoing conflicts and offensive policies by statesmen is becoming very difficult for Pakistan to maintain. India's offensive force posture, military modernization and arms acquisition and development including the sophisticated missile technology have ability to destabilize the region. However, Pakistan's calculated response by developing sophisticated military technology like short range ballistic missiles (Nasr), Multiple Independently Reentry Targetable Vehicle (Ababeel) and SLCM (Babur 3) has played significant role in preservation of minimum credible deterrence. Although, Pakistan developed policy to extend deterrence at all levels of conflict spectrum, its national policy discourages arms race in the region. Hence, to maintain stability in the region and for its own security, Pakistan is relying on deterrence stability.

Last but not the least, it is the need of the hour that both states should try to achieve strategic stability and resolve underlying disputes for utilization of their resources on the segments where their populations are suffering as arms race and ignorance of deterrence will bring nothing but more weapons, conflicts and aggressive rhetoric.

<https://www.eurasiareview.com/29052018-20-years-of-overt-nuclearization-and-deterrence-stability-in-south-asia-oped/>

## ***Why Does India Want CBMs Surrounding Pakistan's Naval Development?***

*Uzge Amer Saleem*

In 2017, India tested its Submarine Launched Ballistic Missile (SLBM) from a nuclear powered submarine. India did not realize that the move had somehow destabilized the region, it did not feel guilty of taking the war into the Indian Ocean, and it did not hear anything over the triumph of completing the nuclear triad. A full year later, Pakistan successfully tested its Submarine Launched Cruise Missile (SLCM) from a diesel powered submarine and suddenly the whole debate of a nuclear race came into existence. Suddenly the regional security and stability had been destabilized, the Indian Ocean was somehow put to risk and Pakistan's completion of nuclear triad was labeled as an attempt at fueling the nuclear race.

India claims that its activities in the Indian Ocean are aimed at deterring the Chinese threat which is why the Pakistani responses are pointless. However, one may think that whoever India might be trying to counter, the very action of stepping into the Indian Ocean and expanding the nuclear capabilities, is a threat to the whole region. India needs to realize that since it initiated the nuclearization wave, any response coming in after that is a mere defensive step and nothing else. Pakistan is absolutely right to achieve the nuclear capability because it does not matter what the strategy behind developing the capability is, what matters is that when the adversary develops such a capability, one has to follow suit. Staying at equal levels in terms of the nuclear arsenal is vital for Pakistan considering its inherent lag in the conventional arena.

Now that the developments regarding naval nuclear capabilities have been made, our Indian neighbors seem eager to develop confidence building measures regarding these. There is a technical reason behind this. The SLCM launch by Pakistan was made from a diesel powered submarine with AIP technology unlike the Indian SLBM launch that was carried out from a nuclear powered submarine. The diesel powered submarine falls under the conventional arsenal and since it is being mixed up with strategic weapons, this is what scares India as it argues that the nuclear threshold is being brought down and the difference between conventional warfare and nuclear warfare is being blurred. Pakistan's ambiguous approach and maneuvering tactics have always been a bit of a challenge for India and this is a mere addition to that. India believes that even if a submarine is not carrying any strategic weapons it could still be destabilizing for the region. This has led India to talk about the possibility of CBM's. What it doesn't understand is that this is simple psychological warfare which is present between states in times of war and peace. Pakistan is well aware of the importance of maintaining stability in the region which is why the state has made the move with clarity. However, it is not the state's concerns what scares the adversary or puts them in a skeptical mindset. If anything, this confusion from the Indian side works well for Pakistan.

The old conventional imbalance between India and Pakistan is no secret which is why it is important for Pakistan to resort to such tactics for its own security. However, Pakistan has always been eager to have peace in the region and believes that if India wants to go for CBM's then there is no harm in it. Proliferation and a nuclear race is not on Pakistan's agenda and if the India wants to take steps to ensure that then it can be done provided India stays true to the CBMs and not surpass them. Agreeing to have CBMs does not mean that Pakistan will let India in on strategic planning. There are certain things that India will have to deal with on its own including the idea that Pakistan can and will take steps for its defense and there is no rule that prohibits the amalgamation of conventional and nuclear warfare. If that scar India then so be it.

<https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2018/05/27/why-does-india-want-cbms-surrounding-pakistans-naval-developments/>

## *The Emperor's Order*

*Ubaid Ahmed*

The unfortunate and disdainful assumptions about GB's youth in social media may belie a lesser known fact about the unyielding patriotism and unwavering loyalty they have always had and continue to have for Pakistan for the last seven decades despite state's persistent denial of fundamental and constitutional rights at par with other provinces of Pakistan. Their loyalties, sense of patriotism and aspirations towards 'Federation' are unparalleled, for they had fought the Dogras and gained independence only to join Pakistan.

With the most astounding proportion of literacy for both males and females in Gilgit-Baltistan, the denial of fundamental and constitutional rights has fostered the internal ashes of explosion that continues to burn underneath the conscious awareness of the youth and eventually might compel them to pen down their abjuration.

The sequential governments in Pakistan have intentionally managed to cap them (people of GB) through restraint which has kept the social wrath alive. Federal authorities of Pakistan have now proposed an executive order with the title "Government of Gilgit-Baltistan Order" which is to be tabled before the Prime Minister of Pakistan in next cabinet meeting for its approval.

On the off chance, if the proposed order is enforced and approved as such in GB, it will help the Prime Minister in securing 'Ultra-Constitutional' powers with regards to GB and will rule over without any powers conferred on him by the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. The PM will thus be a Monarch.

Dubbed as 'GB Emperor Order' on social media, the proposed order suggests that: 'The Prime Minister shall have the powers to adopt an amendment in the existing laws or any new law in force subject to the legislative competence under sub-section 2 of the proposed order. As many as 50 subjects of legislation have been conferred to the Prime Minister. As per Article 41 of the proposed order, the legislative authority of Gilgit-Baltistan Assembly in its own subjects is subservient to the Prime Minister.

Correspondingly, the articles, 60 (4), 60(6), (d) and 99 (2) additionally propose that the Law passed by Prime Minister will prevail the law(s) on the similar subject that is passed by GB Assembly. The proposed order additionally gives the privilege to the prime Minister to charge and collect taxes from the general population of Gilgit Baltistan. Moreover, the judicial powers have also been vested in PM. Likewise, the privilege to designate judges to the Supreme Appellate Court of Gilgit-Baltistan and other sub-courts has been allowed to the Prime Minister while the purview of GB courts is zilch in the mainland Pakistan. This would make the Prime Minister invulnerable to any choice of GB courts as no ruling can be passed against him.

If passed and implemented, the proposed GB order of 2018 will only amplify the grievances of people in GB, thus pushing them further to the margins. The political 'establishment' in this regard

ought to be pragmatic; for, if GB can be taxed equally, they can join the defence forces of the country, citizens are provided with the national identity cards and the passports stamped by the government of Pakistan then why can't they be treated equally and given equal rights?

The present government needs to be vigilant in this regard, for it is already fighting a 'political crusade' to offer 'respect to vote', the proposed GB arrangement, if passed, will no less at that point be a mockery of this slogan.

To conclude, in milieu of the current scenario, there is a single voice of superior patriotism and integration with federation distinguishably intoned among others. The voice of integration being chanted from the mountains downwards to the seashores by the residents of Gilgit-Baltistan must be heard properly as an oracle.

<https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2018/05/27/the-emperors-order/>

## ***Pakistan-Youm e Takbeer: History and Significance***

*Asma Khalid*

28th May this year marks the 20th anniversary of the historical moment when Pakistan successfully detonated nuclear devices in the Chagai district, Baluchistan; and joined the prestigious club of nuclear weapon states. Pakistan was compelled to test the atomic weapon in response to a series of nuclear tests by India on 11th and 13th May of the same year, 1998. It is important to note that it was the second series of nuclear tests by India in 1998, first being the so-called Smiling Buddha in May 1974.

After conducting a series of five nuclear tests in May 1998, the Indian politicians and public were of the view that now they had a monopoly over the nuclear technology and capability in the region; however, the test of six atomic explosions by Pakistan was a befitting response to India's sheer misperception. India's nuclear tests of 1974 and 1998 left Pakistan with no option to ensure its defense but to restore to the balance of power in the region by maintaining deterrence equilibrium. It is the fact that development of Pakistan's nuclear capabilities is the expression of its security concerns to counter India's conventional superiority over Pakistan. Due to various security challenges, security dilemma is operational between both states. India's nuclear test in 1974 was significant factors due to which Pakistan felt threatened and believed that it was only with the help of developing the nuclear capability can it ensure its security and survival. Subsequently, Pakistan followed the policy of nuclear ambiguity which is widely considered justified by security analysts on the grounds of an Indian threat. Same applies to Pakistan's retaliatory response of conducting nuclear tests in May 1998. After India's nuclear test, Pakistan's government emphasized that "Pakistan's failure to respond in kind would have made it vulnerable to its aggressive neighbor." Speech of President Nawaz Sharif in May 1998 has proven that acquisition of nuclear capability was inevitable for the security and survival of Pakistan.

As a result of successful nuclear tests, Pakistan appeared as 7th nuclear weapon state of the world, and 1st country of the Muslim world has the nuclear weapon capability. Since then Pakistan remembers this day as Youm-e-Takbeer; 'The day of Greatness' as a reminder of the tough choice Pakistan made to ensure its defense despite the immense international pressure from the US and other Western countries. Soon after nuclear tests, sanctions were imposed by the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) on both India and Pakistan. However, the explosion of nuclear weapons marks the "Overt Nuclearization" of South Asia, and both countries were acknowledged as defacto nuclear weapon states.

Though the roots of nuclear deterrence and strategic stability can be traced back to the pre-nuclearization period when the debates erupted regarding ambiguous nuclear capabilities of India and Pakistan. Now due to the existence of deterrence equilibrium and strategic stability, no matter how fragile, both Pakistan and India have been able to maintain crisis stability over the past 20 years: wherein no conflict has escalated into a full-blown war.

According to SIPRI 2018 report, India is the largest arms importer in the world. It is developing a sophisticated inventory of nuclear arms comprised of tactical weapons, inter-continental ballistic missiles, and anti-ballistic missile system to fulfill its aspirations of acquiring the status of “regional power.” On the other hand, Pakistan’s leadership, both political and military, understand the possibility to promote security and peace in the region through arms control rather than an arms race. Therefore, to prevent South Asia from a nuclear arms race, Pakistan put forward various proposals: First, in 1974 to declare South Asia as “nuclear-weapon-free zone”; Second, the post-1998 proposal to establish “Pakistan-India strategic restraint regime.” Unfortunately, India has consistently rejected all these proposals. India’s unwelcoming attitude has left Pakistan with no option but to restore to the balance of power in the region by developing sophisticated nuclear capabilities. Moreover, nuclear weapon and nuclear-related technology are seen as contributing to Pakistan’s economic and defense base that could ultimately ensure national security objectives of the country. First, talking about the economy or energy security, Pakistan has a modest nuclear power program. It is using peaceful nuclear power and technology to ensure long-term energy security.

Pakistan is also one of the ‘energy deficient’ states that focus on energy security to fulfill its socio-economic demands. Second, due to nuclear weapon capability, Pakistan’s defense has become impregnable. On the other hand, when it comes to the significance of nuclear weapon capability in the political arena to fulfill foreign policy objectives, it is unfortunate that even after acquiring the nuclear weapon capability, the overall political standing of Pakistan in global arena has not favorably changed. Though Pakistan has the option to use a nuclear weapon as negotiating tool to fulfill its political objectives nuclear weapon capability is considered as a tool to ensure state’s defense against aggression, be it conventional or nuclear. Therefore, the rationale behind Pakistan’s military nuclear program remains the same over the years, i.e., to counter the conventional military superiority of India.

To conclude, after 20 years of nuclearization, 28th May marks the “historic milestone” of Pakistan’s successful and calculated response to counter India’s aggression through operational preparedness of the Strategic Forces to maintain peace and stability. Every year, Youm-e-Takbeer is observed across the country in commemoration of Pakistan’s decision to ensure its security, to maintain strategic balance and to deter external aggression despite the immense international pressure and the threat of crippling sanctions. Consequently, the utility of nuclear weapons can be checked from the fact that despite multiple escalations after overt nuclearization of South Asia, India has not dared to attack Pakistan thus atomic weapon capability of Pakistan has ensured safety, security and durable peace and protection from any external aggression.

<http://southasiajournal.net/pakistan-youm-e-takbeer-history-and-significance/>

## ***Pakistan-Afghanistan Action Plan for Peace and Solidarity: What is in it for the CPEC?***

*Qura tul Ain Hafeez*

China intends to extend the CPEC into Afghanistan which is a positive move towards regional economic integration. So, it has played a vital role in bringing the two countries on table. Pakistan recently had its 4th meeting of Afghanistan-Pakistan Action Plan for Peace and Solidarity (APAPPS) on May 14, 2018, which can further pave the bilateral relations among the two neighbors – Pakistan and Afghanistan, thus eventually materializing the CPEC to extend towards Afghanistan. The two sides showed their interest to promote peace and solidarity among six different areas mutually beneficial for them. These areas include commitments including: Pakistan's support for Afghan-led and Afghan-owned peace and reconciliation; to undertake effective actions against fugitives and the irreconcilable elements posing security threats to either of the two countries; deny use of their respective territory by any country, network, group or individuals for anti-state activities against either country, to put in place a joint supervision, coordination and confirmation mechanism; avoid territorial and aerial violations of each other's territory; no public blame game, instead APAPPS cooperation mechanisms would be utilized to respond to mutual issues of contention and concerns and working groups and necessary cooperation mechanism would be set up as per APAPPS. Upon successful implementation of this joint action plan the two countries will meet the common objectives of eliminating terrorism and achieving peace, stability, prosperity and development of the people of the two countries.

Continuing to achieve the peace and solidarity will help improve the economic relation between Afghanistan and Pakistan. As the political constraints and terrorism, extremism, and separatism are the major contributing factors behind the poor economic and trade relation between Afghanistan and Pakistan. At present, for Pakistan, CPEC is the window for economic development. However, this window of opportunity faces severe security challenges. In this regard, the APAPPS will be instrumental in improving the security situation in Pakistan specifically in terms of curbing terrorism. Once these security challenges will be addressed the possibility of extending CPEC to Afghanistan will be even more likely.

Moreover, China has been quite helpful in promoting these peace talks between Pakistan and Afghanistan. This will provide not only a smooth regional connectivity to CPEC but a broader perspective for OBOR initiative. With the extension of CPEC into Afghanistan, the country can become a major beneficiary of this project because in near future the corridor will add to the economic development of this fragile country-Afghanistan, by enhancing economic activities in the area which can put the flimsy economy of Afghanistan on a sound footing, eventually securing and bringing peace to the westward borders of Pakistan. There are several connectivity projects that Pakistan, China and Afghanistan can undertake if become partners under the CPEC. The significant road projects that may be incorporated in the economic connectivity to Afghanistan envisages 265 km Peshawar to Kabul motorway and the road link connecting western alignment of CPEC to Afghanistan by linking Chaman to Kandahar, Mazar-i-

Sharif to Termez near the border of Central Asian countries. This passage will offer an effortless and short access to Afghanistan in order to connect to the sea port of Gwadar (which is almost 600 kilometres shorter than the presently existing transit route being used by the traders and people of Afghanistan). This connection will integrate Afghanistan with other regions and also allow it to start commercial activities through the Indian Ocean.

Consequently, the Chinese efforts for APAPPS will bring Kabul and Islamabad much closer, which is the need of the hour. This will also address Chinese fears about the spread of Islamist militancy from Pakistan and Afghanistan to the unrest-prone far western Chinese region of Xinjiang. This is not the first time that China is playing a role of mediator in solving the conflict of interest and grievances between the parties involved in CPEC. Previously China has played a vital role in bringing the Baloch tribes on the table to discuss the matters related to CPEC. So, the APAPPS will provide a forum to enhance connectivity and cooperation through CPEC projects with neighboring countries, including Afghanistan, Iran and with Central and West Asian states.

<https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2018/05/28/afghanistan-pakistan-action-plan-for-peace-and-solidarity-apapps-what-is-in-it-for-the-cpec/>

## ***Russia Gravitating to Pakistan***

***Sadia Kazmi***

While the prospects of Pakistan and Russia cozying up to each other seem bright, there are certain geopolitical realities which shall be considered before getting too optimistic or skeptical about the future of the ties. The warming up of relations has been welcomed on both sides however one notices an intentional cautiousness regarding out rightly embracing each other. There are understandable reasons behind that. The Cold War grievances although are washing away, owing mostly to the reshuffling of interests at the regional and global levels, they can't be altogether forgotten. This is one of the reasons why Russia at many instances is being very careful lest it annoys its longtime ally and strategic partner India. India has asked Russia not to

Nonetheless, the positive drift has been set in motion through frequent diplomatic exchanges which have considerably cemented the way for promising military, security and defence cooperation. Recent in this regard was a high level ministerial meeting in Moscow led by the National Security Advisor Nasser Khan Janjua on 22-23 April with his Russian counterpart Nikolai Patrushev. The meetings came against the backdrop of the 9th International Meeting of High-Level Officials responsible for security matters, hosted by Russia in Sochi. It also came in the wake of a meeting between the Pakistani and Russian defense ministers at the 7th Moscow Conference on International Security in early April where Russian Defence Minister Sergei Shoigu said both nations would build upon efforts to boost defense cooperation.

A major factor for the convergence of interests between the two is the IS, wherein Russia has genuine fears regarding the existence, influence and spread of the IS and its supporters inside Afghanistan to the adjacent Central Asian states and eventually into Russia. This happens to be a concern for Pakistan too, having Afghanistan its westward neighbor, the threat of IS is brought quite close to home. Hence a collective effort by both Russia and Pakistan against this threat is the need of the hour. Russia has already been quite actively engaged with Iran and Syria in fight against IS. Russia's experience can come in handy for Pakistan, whose battle hardened military forces are already well equipped with fighting terrorism at domestic and global levels. While Pakistan can be helpful for Russia in the context of familiarity with the terrain and can also provide much required physical contiguity. In fact, this is the very reason Russia in February 2018, named an honorary consul to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa that border Nangarhar province in eastern Afghanistan, with IS having its headquarters there.

The presence of IS along the northern borders of Afghanistan also worries Russia since the influence is being spilled over into the adjacent Central Asian states. The desire to expand the military to military cooperation was expressed in the latest bilateral meeting between Pakistan COAS Gen. Qamar Jawed Bajwa and the Russian counterpart Gen. Oleg Salyukov. Both met when Gen. Bajwa went on a two day visit to Russia on 22-23 April 2018. Russia openly acknowledged Pakistan as an important geostrategic partner and endorsed that Pakistan's efforts in curbing terrorism are praise worthy. This is quite opposite to what the US has been accusing Pakistan of and is continuously pressurizing Pakistan to

do more. This could be good for Pakistan especially with regards to the FATF decision put in motion by the US, according to which it is likely that Pakistan is going to be put on the FATF watchlist/grey list by June 2018. This faith in Pakistan's efforts by Russia, surely makes the case for Pakistan much stronger and helps regain Pakistan's faith within the international community.

At the same time Russia and Pakistan both believe that economic development is the ultimate answer to any kind of extremism. There is a realization that the economic prosperity is bound to bring stability and peace and fends off any untoward elements. Even though at present, the trade volume between the two only accounts for US \$ 500 million, which is not much. The energy starved Pakistan could be a potential market for Russia. By forging military, economic and robust diplomatic ties, Russia can upend historic alliances in the region, as there are many common grounds on which to build a firm diplomatic ties. There is also a hope that Russia would explore the option of being part of the economic corridor with Pakistan. Although it might be too early to say anything in this regard with certainty but the possibility cannot be , as ruled out, as Russia requires a convenient access to the warm waters, which Pakistan can provide to it.

Along with that, the US factor also is one of the pushing elements, where in Russia views the presence of the US inside Afghanistan with concern. By warming up to Pakistan, Russia also wants to undermine the US influence particularly in Afghanistan and in the region.

Last but not the least, the Russian growing interest in renewing relations with Pakistan, provides a much needed respite to the deteriorating diplomatic Pak-US relations. While the Russia-Pak relations cannot probably serve as a substitute for Pak-US relations, but the opening has emerged where Pakistan can diversify its diplomatic options and may not necessarily have to rely on just one state.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2018/05/30/russia-gravitating-to-pakistan/>

## *Nuclear Suppliers Group Upcoming Plenary*

*Beenish Altaf*

With the approaching of the twenty-eighth Plenary Meeting of the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG), an elite nuclear cartel to control nuclear commerce, the fingers are crossed once again with regards to the non-NPT state's membership issue. With this in the contemporary international security environment, the NSG membership debate has emerged as an urgent issue for the states in Asia, explicitly.

It is known to all that post- Indo US nuclear deal, the US is lobbying and pressurising the rest of the states in order to accommodate India into the NSG club. For this purpose the international community is continually portraying India's nuclear track record as A grade. This could be to achieve their (big powers) self-centered goals. After the US, many other countries have followed suit by engaging India into similar kind of Uranium deals (Indo-US Nuclear Deal) for a dual purpose. Undoubtedly, India is one of the worst proliferators; it once had scornful disdain for non-proliferation regimes, which has now been conveniently forgotten by the world. Consequently, it has negative implications for the South Asian nuclear region.

Previously, several countries, apart from China, were defying the US pressure and insisting on a two-step approach for admission of non-NPT states into the NSG and for the need to develop an objective and equitable criteria, which would be applicable to all the applicants in future. On the other hand, India has ruled out the possibility of joining the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) as a non-nuclear weapon state. Amandeep Singh Gill, permanent representative of India to the Conference on Disarmament, told the UN General Assembly recently that the question of India joining 6th NPT as NNWS (non-nuclear weapon states) can not arise in the near future.

In the backdrop of China's continued efforts to block India's entry into the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG), Indian official said that it has taken up with Beijing all the concerning issues during the recent Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Dialogue between the two sides.

The Indian delegation at the talks was led by Pankaj Sharma, Joint Secretary (Disarmament and International Security Affairs) in the MEA, while the Chinese side was led by Wang Qun, Director General of Department of Arms Control at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China. This is a step that India considers as a much needed one, especially after its entry into three of the four multilateral export control regimes over the last two years.

If India wants recognition as a nuclear weapons state, it should be required to meet the nuclear group's standards, including opening negotiations with Pakistan and China on curbing nuclear weapons and halting the production of nuclear fuel for bombs. In this regard, President SVI Dr Zafar Iqbal Cheema said that India's alone entry into NSG would put back Pakistani efforts for developing its infrastructure and industry by decades. Therefore, such an eventuality would have serious consequences for national security and economic and industrial development of Pakistan.

Nevertheless, the outcome of this forthcoming plenary meeting on the enlargement of cartel's memberships would not come as a surprise because no major breakthrough for non-NPT states accession to NSG is expected for the foreseeable future, viewing no change in China's position for accepting new or non-NPT countries into its fold.

However, it is yet to be seen what consensus participating Governments will reach on the admission of new states into its folds. However, Pakistan feels encouraged by the increasing number of states supporting neutral formula and realizing Pakistan's concerns about preferential treatment extended to India.

It is hoped that NSG members would adopt an impartial criteria for all non-NPT countries in the forthcoming plenary meeting. Otherwise, another exemption for India would accelerate arms race in South Asian region by infuriating Pakistan to expand its nuclear capabilities and will also question international efforts to curb proliferation. To sum-up, criteria-based NSG membership is a mutually beneficial proposition because it will benefit the strategic restraint, the stability in South Asia, the Non-proliferation regime, NPT and NSG.

<https://dailytimes.com.pk/246295/nuclear-supplier-groups-upcoming-plenary/>

# *Israeli Atrocities Against Palestinians and International Response*

*Nisar Ahmed*

The world's media is castigating Israeli soldiers who killed unarmed Palestinians on April 20, 2018 in the wake of Great March of Return in Gaza. This action coincides with the relocation of the U.S. Embassy to Jerusalem.

The uproar in the international community has only begun, as the plight of the Palestinians, who live in a de facto prison run by Israel, has come into sharp focus with these actions, and social media has put the conflict under a magnifying lens.

The Organization of the Islamic Cooperation Council (OIC) has also been urging the international community and the UN to play their due role for a peaceful settlement of the Palestine issue in line with relevant UN resolutions and international human rights laws. For its part Pakistan has also displayed its unwavering solidarity with its Palestinian brothers and called the attention of the slumbering human rights organizations to the abominable use of force by Israeli occupation forces against Palestinians who been rendered homeless in their own home and has unequivocally condemned the controversial and illegal US decision to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel.

In the same vein, in Brussels, 4497 pairs of shoes (representing Palestinians killed by Israelis in the last decade) were laid out on the square outside the EU Foreign Affairs Council as ministers are meeting to discuss their response to the recent massacre of unarmed Palestinian protestors.

In a video posted in The Irish Post, May 25, Irish shoppers quickly acted to remove Israeli products from shelves in a boycott action.

However, Israel's persecution of Palestinians remains unabated. On May 27, as reported in B'Tselem, an entire Palestinian community of 32 families, Kan Al-Ahmar, is being forcibly transferred from their West Bank homes.

It was in defense of such a Palestinian neighborhood that American Rachel Corrie (a 23-year-old peace activist with the International Solidarity Movement) was killed on March 16, 2003, by an Israeli soldier operating a bulldozer to demolish the home of a Palestinian pharmacist. She had courageously stood in front of the home to stop the bulldozer, but lost her life instead.

"These deaths are preventable. They are us. We are them," Rachel Corrie said in a speech as a young girl.

(Demolishing civilian homes violates Articles 2 and 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Articles 33, 53, and 54 of the Fourth Geneva Conventions.)

For the most part, the international community has shamefully ignored the plight of Palestinians, and the ongoing genocidal war of Israel against them. It only came out 14 years later after Arafat's death in 2004, that he had been assassinated, poisoned with polonium (probably by the Mossad). The United States has supported Israel with financial aid and military aid. International businesses have profited from the occupation of Palestinians.

The United Nations Human Rights Council is considering a report, "Who Else Profits" which blacklists Israel and the international businesses that have played a crucial role supporting occupation and settlement, deeming it a criminal business activity violating human rights.

In March of this year, Trump cut off more than half of \$65,000,000 humanitarian aid pledged to Palestinian refugees through the United Nations Relief and Welfare Agency (UNRWA). He demanded that the Palestinians stop sending payments to Palestinians in Israeli prisons, and to the families of those who had died.

The U.S. Congress is split on passing a law against anti-Semitism, a law which would jail Americans for 20 years for the crime of criticizing Israel. Anyone criticizing Israel's war against Palestine gets accused of anti-Semitism, which I consider a red herring to deflect accountability for murder. Just because Jews have been persecuted, doesn't make their persecution of Palestinians acceptable. Persecution is persecution. It's always wrong.

If the U.S. Congress passes such a law, it should be immediately struck down as being unconstitutional, as it is a huge move against freedom of speech.

Today, May 29, 2018 the Israeli Navy stopped a Palestinian flotilla attempting to sail from Gaza to Cypress. 22 Palestinians were arrested, including Palestinian patients and students. This was an act of desperation as some Palestinians do not have access to needed medical care.

Not everyone in the international community has looked the other way. Two previous freedom flotillas were launched to assist the Palestinians. On May 31, 2010 a flotilla of international peace activists sailed from Turkey for the Gaza strip. Israeli's navy troops intercepted the six ships, five of which surrendered without incident, but nine of the activists on the sixth ship were killed when they were boarded. At the time, Turkey branded Israel a terrorist state.

A second flotilla was intercepted October 5, 2016, 35 nautical miles off the coast of Gaza. International women activists, including Nobel Peace prize winner Mairead Maguire of Northern Ireland, were arrested.

The Israelis launched Operation Protective Edge against the Gaza Strip in 2014, killing over 2,000 Palestinians, including over 50 children. That Israel suffered little or no consequences to these actions has given Palestinians a sense that Israeli soldiers act with impunity.

Following are excerpts from Noam Chomsky's 2005 book, Middle East Illusions, as he describes the history of the conflict, and possible outcomes.

“The participants in the Palestine tragedy of the past half century perceive it as a national conflict: Jews against Arabs.”

“Sooner or later, at some moment the international situation will be unfavorable. That moment, if it arrives, will be the end of Israel, though the catastrophe will be far greater in scale.”

“The Palestinians have suffered a severe historical injustice in that they have been deprived of a substantial part of their traditional home.”

Chomsky explains how this impasse cannot be resolved through the use of force (see Chapter 2, “A Radical Perspective”). He set forth two alternatives, “The first is the continuation of the national struggle between Jews and Palestinian Arabs, both sides locked into the losing strategy that I have already discussed. This will lead either to the physical destruction of the Palestinians, or to a much wider—probably nuclear—war, with unpredictable consequences... The only other alternative... is the establishment of a Palestinian state in the currently occupied areas. He adds, “I suspect that only extreme pressure from the great powers could lead Israel to accept a truly independent Palestinian state.”

Chomsky describes a third way, one which embraces social change brought about by local forces in both societies, a movement in which people no longer identified themselves as Jews or Arabs, but people committed in a common effort to achieve social justice, freedom, and brotherhood.

Finally, a long-range process of transition to a peaceful society requires an armistice and agreement to shun violence as a tool to achieve goals. What is required is the grace that comes from women’s involvement in changing to a way of life that allows everyone involved (Israelis and Palestinians) to thrive.

<https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2018/05/30/israeli-atrocities-against-palestinians-and-international-response/>

## ***Drawback of the US Exit from Iranian Nuclear Deal***

***Sonia Naz***

The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) was signed in 2015 between P5+1 (US, UK, France, China, Russia and Germany) and Iran to stop Iran from getting nuclear weapons. It helped prevent Iran from production of fissile material for at least 10 to 15 years. However, the US President pulled out from the nuclear deal, which is possibly the greatest blunder ever by the, US that not only damages the ability of the West to prevent Iran from getting nuclear weapons but also undermines the credibility of nonproliferation regime which work for the nonproliferation of nuclear technology on global level. This unilateral decision by the US would necessarily draw Iran closer to China and Russia. In fact, the move by the US has somewhat already pushed these three states closer to each other.

Iran is already helping Russia in favour of Bashar al-Assad in Syria. The head of the Iran economic affairs Mohammad Reza Pour Ebrahimi stated that “our ties with Russia would be strengthened and *not only will the previous agreements remain in force, but, there will be new ones, there will be new contracts*”.

Iran nuclear deal had not only managed to roll back the Iranian nuclear program, but also set in place strict monitoring measures to prevent Iran from ever acquiring nuclear weapons. This deal and strict security measures played an important role in preventing Iran from developing highly enriched Uranium and Plutonium needed to make a nuclear bomb. President Trump withdrew from this deal without offering suitable substitute. It is interesting to note that that this move by the US has in fact isolated the US by separating it from its European friends, they are not happy with the US over this step. Iran’s President Hassan Rouhani said that Iran would remain committed to the deal and would achieve the goals of the deal in cooperation with the other members. According to the statement of President of the European Commission, Jean Claude Juncker “European companies would not comply with American laws against Iran and it will launch laws that ban European companies and courts from obeying US sanctions against Iran”.

According to the international nuclear experts President Trump has handed a huge gift to Iran by freeing it to build up nuclear weapons and containing international inspections. Trump’s decision has increased the probabilities of war as Iran can now build nuclear weapons. It also undermines the US’ influence around the globe. It proves that the US cannot be trusted with its promises. It would also increase Iran’s hostility towards the US and its presence in Syria and Iraq. The US withdrawal from the deal also puts a serious question mark on the diplomatic efforts of Obama and the EU. If Trump is thinking about a better deal to renegotiate he would find it very difficult because Iran would no more trust the US which just unilaterally withdrew from the deal that was successfully being followed by Iran through regular IAEA inspections of its nuclear sites. The US would be disappointed if it expects that Iran would give up its regional activities in Syria and Iraq. Iranian military officials said that Iran would not come under the US pressure to limit its military activities in the region.

There is also a possibility that Iran might move to another extreme to enhance its security. Russia and China would also increase their cooperation with Iran as Russian interests already match with that of Iran and Iran-Russia partnership would limit the US influence in the region. It would also increase Iran's dependence on Russia and trade between both states. This move by the US has intensified the Iranian nationalism. When Iranian public will face the re-imposed sanctions again, their hatred would be increased against the US. Hence, one can rightly say that it is the US gift for the hardliners in Iran which challenges the podium of moderate elites like Hassan Rohani. It not only justifies the hardliners but it has also managed to considerably increase the dominance of Iranian hardliners hence closing the doors of diplomatic interaction with Iran in the future. Last but not the least, the US exit from the JCPOA would increase the Iranian hostility towards the U.S and would also bring Russia and Iran closer with enhanced interaction and influence in the region.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2018/05/30/drawbacks-of-us-exit-from-iran-nuclear-deal/>

## ***Water Scarcity in Pakistan: Need for the Immediate Action***

***Sadia Kazmi***

While Pakistan has been blessed with water from natural resources, which mainly include the rivers flowing from mountainous regions, the underground water basins and the rain falls, yet over the period of time, owing to many factors, Pakistan has essentially become a water deficient country. The situation is so alarming yet no concrete measures have been taken in this regard by the concerned authorities. It is essential that in order to address this grave issue, it should first be recognized as a national security threat having direct implications for each and every individual, industry, economy and each level of policy making and implementation. According to the recent statistics and report by the IMF Pakistan ranks third among countries facing water shortage in the world. While the Indus River water is considered as best drinking water by the World Health Organization, its quality has increasingly been deteriorated as most of the chemical ridden waste from factories are being dumped into it without any accountability, eventually polluting the water and causing huge damage to the health of people and livestock. This contaminated water is making it undrinkable to the dangerous levels. People, especially those living in the urban areas are contracting life threatening diseases like Hepatitis and Cancer.

As Pakistan is the agrarian state, its economy banks upon cultivation which solely depends on the water supply. But with the water levels going down, the already weak economy of the state is set to face tremendous blow. Not only the volume of crops is going to be affected but the possible revenue that is generated by exporting the crops, will suffer. This will have dire socio-economic implications as great number of people earning livelihoods through peasantry and farming, would lose their jobs, making them move in throngs to the urban areas, resulting in the congestion of cities. The population is also on an increase with rapid pace, which means more pumping of the water from underground sources and in turn causing the underground water level to go down. This has already been happening in the major cities of the country, Islamabad being the capital is facing 65% of shortage in the water supply.

This alarming situation owes largely to the mismanaged and ineffective water policies. There is an immediate need to devise a timely water policy. The check and balance on the implementation as well as judicious distribution of water by IRSA among all the provinces is crucially required. Most of all there is no mechanism to save and store the water, most of which is annually wasted into the seas. It is believed that Pakistan loses 90% of river and rain water mainly because there is no storage mechanism in place. Additionally, India is another factor which has been illegally constructing dams over river Chenab and Jehlum, in violation of Indus Basin Treaty further adding to the water shortage problem for Pakistan. It is high time that the whole nation as one should recognize the need for constructing dams and barrages. According to the UNO report Pakistan has a surface water of 153MAF and has underground water resources of only 24MAF and could probably run out of drinking water by 2025. In this regard the construction of Kalabagh, along with Bhasha and other dams is need of the hour. Kalabagh dam if constructed will bring multifaceted benefits and much needed respite to the dwindling economy and water issues of the state. It will have the potential to generate 3600 megawatt of electricity. The

water storage capacity would be 3.2million MAF, which can rid the country of water problem for next hindered years or so. Last but not the least, around 850000 acres of arid zone in KP can be turned into cultivable land. The need is to bring all the stakeholders on the same page and sensitize them towards the dire need of this project for the benefit of all. In this regard, the negative propaganda should be mitigated and grievances of the locals should be listened to and duly addressed.

Global warming and climate change is another factor which is causing severe heat waves, long dry spells without rain and unexpected droughts and famines not just across the country but all over the globe. Nonetheless Pakistan faces the imminent threat more readily than many of the other countries of the world.

Along with all that there is a need to cultivate civic sense where each and every individual should be sensitive towards the wastage of water. The water leakages from pipes, taps, flushes etc at homes and in streets should be watched and taken notice of by the individuals and immediate measures should be taken to keep such wastages. There should also be a sense of responsibility towards using less water during taking showers. The water situation today demands that a bucket instead of free-flowing water from showers and taps should be used. Unless these habits are developed by all, the problem of wastage of water cannot be address nor could be effectively minimized.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2018/05/31/water-scarcity-in-pakistan-need-for-immediate-action/>