



# VISION

VISIONARY INSIGHTS INTO THE STRATEGIC INQUESTS OF NATIONS

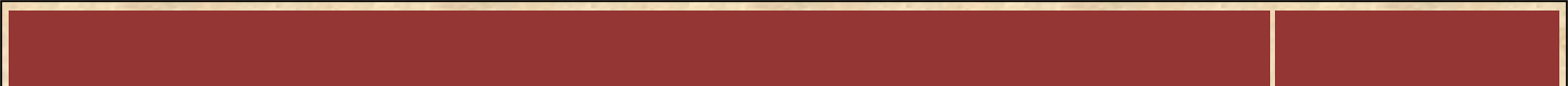
## SVI FORESIGHT

VOLUME 4, NUMBER 7

JULY 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) 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*

On the domestic political front, the month of July had been abuzz with election euphoria in Pakistan. The whole country braced itself for the much anticipated general elections amidst the hopes to install a more functioning democracy. Hence, this issue of the SVI-Foresight wouldn't have been complete without offering some reflections on the whole process. A brief commentary included in this issue talks at length about the "democracy dilemma" which in itself has been a challenge for Pakistan. The article points out various irritants and hurdles in the way of democratic institute in Pakistan and suggests some recommendations to address them. Another article makes an attempt at predicting the future of Pak-US relations with the change of administration in Pakistan. How would the nuclear politics be impacted, is another area to look into. Will the US revisit its stringent tone towards Pakistan giving way to less tensed relations? One article included in this issue aptly criticizes SIPRI Annual Report which only offers a flawed analysis of Pakistan's nuclear forces. A crisp rebuttal of alleged weaknesses in safety and security of Pakistan's nuclear weapons offers an eye opening factual narrative which will indeed bring a fresh and real perspective to the ongoing debate about whether Pakistan is prone to nuclear terrorism or not. Another article presents a strong case in favor of tactical nuclear weapons of Pakistan. A good commentary highlighting various dimensions of deterrence equilibrium in South Asia and how it is constantly being threatened by very ambitious India will offer a valuable read. A debate on how the canister launch of Agni-V by India is impacting the regional stability takes the argument further and highlights the biased and preferential treatment by the West extended to India. The readers will also find a substantive debate on the 50 years of failure of NPT. Its weaknesses and limitations have been perceptively pointed out which the readers are going to find useful. Last but not the least, some articles included in this issue comprehensively discuss CPEC and how it is delivering on the proclaimed promises in terms of energy generation, impact on domestic political capital, and stability and prosperity.

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



## ***CPEC: Cause or Remedy to Pakistan's Debt Dilemma?***

***Waqas Jan***

Pakistan's most recent debt and balance of payment crises have come to highlight yet again with the continuing fragility of its economic and financial situation. Even despite a considerably improved security situation and a significant rise in its GDP growth rate, Pakistan's current account deficit over the last fiscal year has neared the \$16bn mark reducing its Forex reserves by nearly 40pc. This will likely further exacerbate public debt, which currently stands at a staggering 70% of GDP. Add to that the political upheaval of the current election season; the past few years' narrative of Pakistan emerging as a key developing market stands in all out jeopardy, as investors both at home and abroad watch with increasing trepidation.

This bodes ominously for the widely publicized China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), which has over the last few years dominated economic discourse within the country. Having become increasingly intertwined within Pakistan's politico-economic framework, CPEC's detractors and supporters both at home and abroad have hotly debated whether CPEC itself is the cause, or remedy to much of the country's economic and financial troubles.

### **Warnings of an impending Debt trap**

For instance, the widening current account deficit over the last few years has been continually attributed to the huge import costs of machinery and related building materials for CPEC projects currently underway. This was highlighted by the government as necessary given their stance that importing such capital goods was essential to the long-term restructuring and development of the country. This was also the reason used to justify the rampant borrowing undertaken by the government. By issuing sovereign bonds and taking on expensive commercial loans, the government in effect borrowed more in its attempt to curtail dwindling Forex reserves; reserves that were, and are still crucially needed to meet the ever widening current account deficit.

In a similar vein, critics both in and outside of Pakistan have pointed out the potential of CPEC turning into a 'debt trap' for a structurally and financially weak Pakistan. Parallels are often drawn against the Sri Lankan experience of having China fund and build the Hambantota sea port only to have it included as part of a debt-for-equity swap, when low revenues and high liabilities left it unfeasible for the Sri Lankan government to own and operate it. The massive liabilities being incurred on behalf of CPEC projects are often compared to this example.

This is especially true considering Pakistan's increasing reliance on both public and private Chinese banks for financing CPEC related projects. This over-reliance on Chinese funding has in fact extended beyond CPEC projects with the Chinese government repeatedly offering small bailouts to the Pakistani government. The most recent one being the \$1 billion emergency loan released at the end of June to help cover Pakistan's unsustainable import bill for the next few months. Thus as CPEC's



detractors have pointed out, there is certainly a growing dependency on Chinese funds that can in turn be used as leverage against Pakistan on the geo-political front.

### **Age-old cycles of debt induced poverty**

On the other hand, despite criticisms identifying CPEC as a potential threat to Pakistan's politico-economic autonomy, it is extremely difficult to argue that the Pakistani economy would be any better off without CPEC. Owing to deep seeded politics and decades old economic structural failings, Pakistan has been unable to mount the sort of economic turnaround seen in the other post-colonial yet newly industrialized Nations of Asia. This is in spite of the comparisons tinged with nostalgic 'what ifs', which are often drawn against the economies of the East Asian tigers and even China for that matter.

Yet, there has been little if any effort to emulate the export led growth strategies of the above countries backed by a strong industrial and manufacturing sector. In fact, both exports and manufacturing have instead declined over the last few years, serving as the most glaring examples of the Pakistani economy's structural failings. Moving beyond short term measures of financing the deficit through loans and bailout programs, expanding the country's exports is in fact the only viable and sustainable solution to the country's widening Current Account deficit.

This is in contrast to prevailing policy measures that have continued to relinquish the country's politico-economic autonomy to its creditors. The only difference being that policy makers, in light of deteriorating relations with the US over the last few years, have preferred to slowly substitute China for the Bretton Woods institutions as its major source of credit. As has been for decades, the economy's reliance on external funding remains the same even in light of dramatic shifts in the global political economy.

Still, even amidst mounting public debt and new credit lines from Chinese sources, Chinese officials stationed in Islamabad have gone to great lengths to point out that, out of the \$19 billion used to finance CPEC projects so far, only 31.6% has comprised of loans to the government in the form of preferential buyer credit. The rest of the financing has been doled out in the form of aid, interest free loans and loans secured by private investors from commercial banks, all of which are mostly outside of Pakistan's debt servicing obligations. Taking into account both ongoing and completed early harvest projects, the same officials have placed the overall burden of CPEC projects at around 10% of the country's overall debt servicing obligations. They too point out that the primary factor behind Pakistan's worsening fiscal and external accounts is more due to its economy's inherent structural limitations and challenges; the same challenges that have plagued Pakistan and the surrounding region for decades. They argue that it is overcoming these very limitations and challenges that CPEC as a part of the overall vision of the Belt & Road initiative aims to address over the long run in a holistic, sustainable manner.

### **Of Grand visions and dreams**

Coming back to Pakistan' gaping debt crisis in relation to CPEC, it is unlikely that debt under CPEC has played a major role in bringing the economy to its present position. Despite being a slave to

geo-political tensions, Pakistan's economy has suffered more from years of mismanagement and structural failings that have moved beyond the security dynamics of the South Asian region.

What CPEC instead does, is offer in concrete terms, a viable chance for the country to prioritize its economy as the basis for its power and influence within the region, in the same way China has done at a global level. It offers perhaps the only realistic chance for Pakistan to move beyond its Agrarian focus and develop a robust manufacturing sector to help add greater value to its exports. By successfully leveraging the massive investments in energy, transport and communications infrastructure as well as the financial opportunities under corresponding SEZs, Pakistan can use CPEC as an opportunity to break free of its present structural limitations that have so far reinforced the ensuing cycles of debt and poverty.

This however, is only possible if the underlying, decades-old problems of the present debt crisis are correctly identified and remedied in accordance with a sustainable long-term approach. While all of this is unlikely to materialize overnight, policymakers and administrators overseeing CPEC need to re-prioritize the development of long-term sources of revenue, as opposed to the short-term sources of credit that have come to characterize CPEC in day to day politico-economic discourse. If not, then the entire CPEC initiative is reduced to being just another excuse to borrow more funds to keep the economy afloat. This serves neither Pakistani nor Chinese interests in the long run.

<https://www.voj.news/cpec-cause-or-remedy-to-pakistans-debt-dilemma/>



## ***The FATF Meeting: Unjustified Decision for Pakistan***

***Uzge A. Saleem***

The threat that loomed over Pakistan since February has finally made an impact and unfortunately it is a negative one. In simpler words, Pakistan has been placed on the FATF Grey list. Optimists say that it is a rude awakening and there is still time to get a hold of matters and prevent the state from falling into the blacklist whereas the pessimists are of the opinion that the decision to sideline Pakistan like this is biased and unjustified. So far the pessimists seem to be on the logical end of the debate.

The FATF is an organization that works to keep a check on Money Laundering activities and Terrorist Financing. Pakistan is not a direct member of the organization, but is associated through the Asia/Pacific group which deals with money laundering. This is why direct impositions cannot be made on Pakistan, but APG and other financial institutions like the World Bank can be pressured not to give loans to Pakistan.

If the case is to be evaluated right from the beginning, then it can be seen that it was interest driven from the very beginning. The decision was not made in the first meeting rather a second round was called in where some members were offered incentives to vote in favor of the decision and the others were conveniently not present. This is proof of the fact that the superpower has made a decision to sideline Pakistan until and unless the state bows down to all their demands and they have gained the support of many states by one way or another. The end result of this was that in June 2018 Pakistan was finally placed on the dreaded Greylist. The injustice is evident from the fact that according to the Money Laundering index formulated by the Basel Institute there are 45 states above Pakistan in terms of money laundering of which none has been mentioned or even discussed to be placed on the FATF greylist. It is clear that the move has an agenda behind it which might be to pressurize Pakistan into following the US orders otherwise there were 45 other states to consider before bringing Pakistan into discussions regarding strategic deficiencies.

As far as Counter Terrorist Financing is concerned, it is nothing more than a mere allegation which is being propagated by the hostile next door neighbour to discredit the state's Nuclear Program. Pakistan is not sponsoring terrorism rather it is battling terrorism on its own soil. This is being done so not to satisfy the USA but for the state's own national security. Something which is a personal concern and a threat to the nation cannot be sponsored by the state thus all these allegations are false.

As wrong and unjust as the decision might be the bottom line is that it has been made and it will have consequences for Pakistan until and unless the state manages to get off the list. The first and most damaging consequence would be the decrease in foreign direct investment. Generally, when a state is put under suspicion of money laundering and sponsoring terrorism, foreign investors become reluctant to invest in the state because of its unstable internal conditions. It is common in the business world to opt for investment in areas with minimum chances of risk. Pakistan, with the label of the FATF grey list automatically becomes less appealing to investors. This is likely to put a strain on the country's financial situation. Furthermore, if Pakistan fails to satisfy the organization in the future, then the FATF is at full



liberty to persuade the World Bank and IMF to stop providing loans to Pakistan as well. Considering the mega projects underway in Pakistan like CPEC, foreign investment is an important aspect and any decrease in that would have a negative impact on the state.

Though it should not have been done, but since it is done, Pakistan needs to increase its efforts to change its international image and also build a comprehensive and effective plan to eradicate all issues that put the state in a position to be blamed for such matters.

<https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2018/07/13/the-fatf-meeting-unjustified-decision-for-pakistan/>

## ***CPEC and Pakistan-China Energy Cooperation***

*Venita Christopher*

The demands of global energy are substantially rising day by day in the 21st century, whereas the dependency on fossil fuels like coal, oil and natural gas has become a serious concern which is about 80% of the world's primary source of energy. The concerns about fossil fuels are due to their ever rising prices and their negative impact on the environment due to the harmful emission of greenhouse gases.

Therefore, in this context the reliance on nuclear power energy is considered by various countries, including Pakistan, a good alternative option of energy supply, which is comparatively cheaper also. Pakistan has great strategic importance in South Asia because of its location, its dynamic young population, its vibrant economic potential, being a nuclear power, and now being a strategic partner of China in the backdrop of the construction of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). The CPEC is a flagship project of China's Belt and Road initiative (BRI) and the completion of CPEC is likely to bring major economic advantages to China, Pakistan and South Asian region.

Like many other countries, for its economic development based on enhancing its industrial and agricultural production, energy is very important for Pakistan and it needs to address its current energy crises on an urgent basis. In this context signing of the CPEC agreement with China in 2015 is considered a milestone achievement, as it includes many electricity generation projects, which will help address energy shortages of Pakistan.

Apart from developing other means of electricity generation in Pakistan, China is already helping Pakistan in nuclear energy production by supplying nuclear power reactors under IAEA safeguards based on agreements signed in the field of nuclear cooperation. Apart from installing Chashma 1 and Chashma 2 power plants, which are already producing electricity in Pakistan, in 2017 China has signed another deal with Pakistan to also install Chashma 3 and Chashma 4 power plants. Out of these each power plant, after completion, will produce 1000 megawatts of electricity. As part of the CPEC project, China is also building two HUOLONG ONE nuclear reactors in Karachi that will be ready to use by 2021.

After signing the CPEC agreement China is very keen to help Pakistan in the energy production, as energy is required not only for the construction of CPEC projects but also for its subsequent operation. This is because China is also going to get huge benefits by trading with the outer world under the ambit of CPEC. In other words, apart from helping Pakistan in energy production, this cooperation also serves China's own economic interests in a major way. In this context, the CPEC is a win-win project that serves Pakistan's and China's interest.

As China is doing a lot to advance its interests by expanding its economic productivity through CPEC related exports, Pakistan should also take the CPEC as a big opportunity to become economically self reliant. In this context, it should focus on completing the construction of the CPEC and its related energy projects on time, so that it addresses its energy shortages and quickly moves on towards its economic development.

In fact, it is more important for Pakistan to work harder for completion of the CPEC related projects and make use of the CPEC to advance its industry and agriculture, increase trade, attract foreign direct investment and increase its revenues. This is important because Pakistan's economy needs a major boost to recover from its ever increasing budget deficits, inflation, domestic and foreign debt situations, widening gap of balance of payments due to constantly declining exports and falling foreign exchange reserves.

This is also important to repay the domestic and foreign debt in order to save Pakistan from becoming a defaulting state in the coming years. Above all it is necessary to avail the opportunity of reaping CPEC related advantages to develop Pakistan's economy in a reasonable time frame to meet its aforementioned obligations and finally to bring prosperity to Pakistan and its people.

In the light of above it is logical to say that Pakistan and China's cooperation in the energy field is beneficial for both countries and CPEC is a project that helps Pakistan in meeting its energy shortages. Simultaneously it will be beneficial to both Pakistan and China to advance their economic interests. Indeed, the CPEC related energy projects and trade will be much more beneficial to Pakistan to meet its above discussed economic challenges.

<https://www.eurasiareview.com/14072018-cpec-and-pakistan-china-energy-cooperation-oped/>



## ***Dilemma of Strengthening Democracy In Pakistan***

***Fateh Najeeb***

No country can achieve political stability without the active coordination of different state institutions working within their own specified parameters. For a nation to keep moving smoothly on the road to prosperity and maintaining national cohesion, consensus among political forces and other stakeholders is mandatory. History of developed and successful democratic nations is evidence of such instances in which political stability came out as a result of collective national wisdom.

Talking about Pakistan's political dilemma, a few things become very clear that certain impediments had always been there right from the emergence of Pakistan as an independent state. Due to the internal politics in the power corridors, Pakistan was unable to formulate its constitution till 1956. Soon after that, in 1958, as a consequence of a long spell of endless political differences of the politicians in power and related lack of efficiency in handling the government affairs, the very first Martial Law was imposed. As a result the country was ruled by the military General Ayub Khan, although in that period Pakistan was able to achieve high economic growth progress. Since then, Pakistan has faced four martial laws till date.

Apart from these military takeovers and running of the governments by the military leaders for almost thirty years at different times, the elected civilian governments have also ruled the country for about 40 years. It is a popular perception among the majority of masses that the politicians adopt malpractices like nepotism, aristocratic behavior, change of loyalties etc and do not run the government affairs efficiently, which motivates the military leaders to take over the affairs of the country. However, whatever the reason may be, there is no justification to not allow the democracy to strengthen its roots, as according to Pakistan's founding fathers, Pakistan's future lies only in the democracy.

Although not likeable, but perceivably different military leaders took over the governments based on certain grounds, propagated mainly due to the inability of the civilian leaders to govern the country efficiently and their attitude of encouraging corruption, thus, undermining Pakistan's socioeconomic development and its foreign and defence policy objectives. For instance, in 1958, the politicians' inability to govern the diverse two part country inevitably invited Ayub Khan to take over. Similarly, in 1969 when Ayub's presidential democracy failed on some accounts he had to hand over the power to General Yahya Khan.

Again in 1977, when the opposition parties failed to admit the election results and Bhutto was unable to bring the opposing politicians to negotiation tables, Zia-UL-Haq was motivated to take over, as some politicians, including late Air Marshall (R) Asghar Khan had advised General Zia to take over reins of the government. In 1999, when the then PM Nawaz Sharif sacked General Pervez while he was on the flight from Sri Lanka, back from his visit, in reaction, General Pervez Musharraf ordered a military takeover by alleging PM Nawaz Sharif that he had tried to hijack the PIA plane carrying General Pervez Musharraf and many other passengers, by ordering that plane to land somewhere else instead of Karachi airport.

Although, elected civilian were governing the country since 2008, in view of various apprehensions the political atmosphere remained ripe with the news stories of the civil-military divide and possibilities of the military take over being there. This situation was there because on most of the national issues and defence and foreign matters both civilian and the military leadership did not seem to be on the same page. However, apprehensions about military's alleged role in the politics are still there, despite the current Chief of the Army Staff's negation stating that the military supports democracy in the country.

Broadly seeing through the efficiency of the civilian political leadership in strengthening democracy by cooperative politics and working on national issues with consensus, the civilian leaders are still not working as per the people's aspirations. Many of our politicians are involved in corrupt practices. Those who declare themselves Mr. clean have not much reliable past. So far, they have not been able to prove through their efficiency that politicians can provide Pakistan with the best form of the government that can make Pakistan a welfare state providing equal opportunities to everybody. Although, it is not an excuse for military powers to intervene in politics. Hence the problem is that how this desired sustainable and durable system will come into Pakistan, because inefficiency and corrupt practices of the politicians still offer chances to the military leaders to take over the government in Pakistan.

It is also a historical fact that Pakistan, because of its ideological mythology and geographical proximity has always been a security state. It has yet to achieve the objective of a welfare state, which is a way to address the present internal and external issues of Pakistan. Furthermore, the public perception of military institution is as a disciplined, honest and purely nationalistic institution, which majority of our politicians' lack. The supremacy of civil institutions is alright, but to achieve it the political pundits in Pakistan has to prove themselves loyal, honest and men of words and actions. Also, both sides have to recognize each other's constitutional role in true letter and spirit.

Neither military nor political leadership can handle the prevailing issues of Pakistan single handedly. The need of the hour is to cooperate with each other on domestic, defence and foreign policy issues. Since, the foreign policy of any country is the outcome of its internal strength, domestic peace, prosperity and national cohesion leads to a strong and effective foreign policy. This fact needs to be understood by all stakeholders. Hence every institution should remain in its own domain to strengthen government hands to serve the county in all areas, particularly in carrying out socioeconomic development of the country and running of strong foreign and defence policies. In this context, democracy will be only sustained and strengthened if all national institutions work in their own domains and mutually cooperate to maintain a good atmosphere for development of the country.

To avoid future military takeovers, sustain democracy and develop economically, we can also learn from our friendly country, Turkey. Turkey has also suffered such political upheavals in their history, but now they have managed to restrict the influence of each institution to its own sphere. Though, Pakistan's scenario is somewhat different, but things are not as bad as perceived by some people in Pakistan. As a student of international politics, my personal opinion about the future of Pakistan seems



very bright if our politicians follow the guidelines of our founding fathers and military establishment concentrates on its own responsibilities and always gives a helping hand to the civilian governments.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2018/07/16/dilemma-of-strengthening-democracy-in-pakistan/>



## *Is Pakistan Prone to Nuclear Terrorism?*

*Sonia Naz*

Nuclear terrorism is a potential threat to the world security. Nuclear security expert Mathew Bunn argues that, “An act of nuclear terrorism would likely put an end to the growth and spread of nuclear energy.” After 9/11, the world came to know that al-Qaeda wanted to acquire nuclear weapons. The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) has observed thousands of incidents of lost, left and unauthorized control of nuclear materials and such materials can go into the wrong hands.

After 9/11, terrorism generated negative perceptions about the nuclear security of Pakistan. The western community often pressurizes Pakistan that its nuclear weapons can go into the wrong hands. Nations mostly obtain nuclear weapons for the international prestige, but Pakistan is one of those states which obtained the nuclear capability to defend itself from India which has supremacy in conventional weapons.

Pakistan has taken fool-proof measures to defend its nuclear installations and nuclear materials against any terrorist threats. Pakistan is not a signatory of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), Comprehensive Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT) or Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty (FMCT) because India has not signed them. If Pakistan signs these treaties and India does not, it would raise asymmetry between them.

Pakistan’s nuclear non-proliferation policy is based on principles as per the NPT norms, despite not having signed it. Pakistan had also proposed to make South Asia a nuclear-free zone in the 1970s and 80s, but India did not accept the olive branch.

However, Pakistan is a strong supporter of non-proliferation, nuclear safety and security. In this context, it is the signatory of a number of regimes. Pakistan established its Nuclear Regulatory Authority (PNRA) on January 22, 2001, under the IAEA.

The PNRA works under the IAEA advisory group on nuclear security and is constantly improving and re-evaluating nuclear security architecture. Pakistan has ratified the 2005 amendment to the physical protection convention for the physical security of nuclear materials.

When Obama announced Nuclear Security Summit in 2009, Pakistan welcomed it. It has not only attended all such summits but proved with its multiple nuclear security measures that it is a responsible nuclear state. Pakistan’s nuclear devices are kept unassembled with the permissive action links (PALs) to prevent the unauthorized control and detonation of nuclear weapons. Different US policymakers and Obama have stated that, “We have confidence that the Pakistani military is equipped to prevent extremists from getting access to the nuclear materials.”

The dilemma, however, is that some major powers favour India due to their geopolitical interests, despite India’s low score in nuclear security as compared to Pakistan, as is evident from the reports prepared by the Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI).

The US has always favoured India for membership of the NSG, ignoring Pakistan's request to become a member of the same. Despite that, it has taken more steps than India to ensure nuclear safety and security. It is following United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1540 (which is about the prevention of proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction), and it is the first state which has submitted its report to the UN.

The report explains the measures taken by Pakistan to ensure radiological security and control of sensitive materials and WMDs transfer.

Recently, an IAEA director visited Pakistan and appreciated its efforts in nuclear safety and security. In view of Pakistan's successful war against terrorism and strong measures that it has taken to secure its nuclear installations and materials, there should be no doubt left about the safety of Pakistan's nuclear materials.

<https://dailytimes.com.pk/268175/is-pakistan-prone-to-nuclear-terrorism/>



## *CPEC and Pakistan's Energy Crises*

### *Qura tul Ain Hafeez*

An adequate amount of electricity is primarily a way towards the industrial growth, transportation, infrastructural improvement, sustainable development, education, agricultural advancement, research and development and almost all aspects of a developed and advanced economy. It also facilitates the provision of jobs and hence better living standards. But unfortunately for the past couple of years Pakistan finds itself stuck in the web of electricity shortfalls and energy crises.

In Pakistan the electricity and power generation is one of the most imminent challenges in the way of economic uplift and Industrial advancement. During 2017 the electricity production declined to 7976 Gigawatt-hours in December, from the higher rate of 8052 Gigawatt-hours in November. Considering the electricity production in the past 4-5 years the average production of electricity is 7877.29 Gigawatt-hour from 2003 until 2017. It attained a high level of production of 14419 Gigawatt-hours in August, 2017 from much lesser production of 4195 Gigawatt-hours in December of 2010.

The national power policy 2013 describes three major policy plans of energy production-short term plan, midterm plan and long term plan for acquiring the sustainable energy. As far as the short term policy objectives are concerned one of the constraints is how to improve the faulty recovery system and how to effectively control the transmission losses of electricity. The recovery was 94.40 % in July and March of the FY-2017, the highest for the past 10 years. However, the rate of the transmission and distribution damages were equal to 16.3%.

The electricity shortfall hampers the economic and industrial growth of the country. Therefore, in order to enhance the industrialization and economic growth, for which provision of sufficient electricity is very important. Hence, since CPEC includes the construction of many power production projects, the agreement signed with China to construct the CPEC will bring many dividends to Pakistan. The construction of CPEC related power projects in Pakistan is getting priority because electricity is also required for the construction of the CPEC. The electricity, thus produced will also help in addressing energy shortfalls in the country as energy will be used to achieve the vital policy objectives of economic advancement and poverty alleviation.

To overcome the electricity shortfall the government of Pakistan and Peoples Republic of China joined hands in 2013 to formulate the first committee for joint cooperation -Joint Cooperation Committee (JCC) of China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). The committee stated its apprehension on the prevailing energy crises and shortfall of electricity. Therefore, in order to address the above mentioned energy challenges the early harvest program of CPEC specially focuses on the energy sector development to maximize the production power of electricity. Out of 21 early harvests energy projects of 10,400 MWs, nine are coal power plants, seven wind power plants, 3 hydropower, and remaining two are HVDC Transmission Line Projects.



Most of the early harvest energy projects are to be completed by 2018-19. Some of the projects which have touched their final phase or have been completed also include two Port Qasim Coal-fired Power Plants with the production power of 660 MW each. These coal power plants are commercially operating since April, 2018. The Sahiwal Coal-Fired Power Plants of 1320 MW each have been completed and both of the units have been inaugurated on May 25, 2017. The Dadu 50MW wind power plant has attained its commercial status on April 5th, 2017. While 100MW Jhimpir Wind Farm and 50MW Sachal Wind Farm started commercially operating since 16th June, 2017 and 11th April, 2017 respectively. There are other energy projects which are under construction and soon will start operating commercially thus playing a vital role in achieving the sustainable growth in the energy sector.

Eventually, these energy projects under CPEC will produce almost 10,000 MW of electricity between 2018 and 2020. However, these projects are largely based on coal power plants. Although it is a good step in this regard, but there is a need to focus on other means of renewable energy projects also. As discussed above the CPEC early harvest energy projects contain only three hydropower projects and 1 solar energy power projects. Like the wind power projects CPEC should also include more Hydro power projects because they are cheaper and more sustainable.

Hydroelectric power plants produced the energy through natural means by using water resources, thus it requires each state to produce their own energy without being dependent on the international fuel resource. Moreover, they provide a clean and non-pollutant energy sources. However, for taking the advantage of hydropower the country must have dams and huge water reserves. Moreover, keeping in mind the effects of climate change and the issue of water scarcity dams is becoming more necessary for electricity production. Also, solar energy plants are a good option for the renewable energy projects with no environmental degradation and carbon emission.

In view of the above mentioned details, it can be concluded that signing of the CPEC agreement with China by Pakistan is a good decision as the project will help Pakistan in ending its energy crises and thus help it in increasing industrialization, and achieving high growth rates that will bring prosperity to Pakistan and its people.

<https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2018/07/19/cpec-and-pakistans-energy-crises/>

## ***SIPRI Annual Report: Flawed Analysis of Pakistan's Nuclear Forces***

***Ahyousha Khan***

Since its inception Pakistan's nuclear program became a victim of nuclear apartheid, even though the acquisition of nuclear technology for not only peaceful purposes but for security purposes is the inalienable right of states. It's worth mentioning that Pakistan in its attempt to acquire mastery in nuclear fuel cycle never violated any bilateral or international agreement/treaty, unlike its regional nuclear counterpart, India. Even then Pakistan's nuclear program has always been termed as stereotyped, as 'Islamic Bomb' or 'fastest growing nuclear weapons program'.

Recently Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) launched its annual year book with estimates of world nuclear forces. By staying true to its years old traditions, SIPRI this time again added 10 more weapons to the nuclear weapon stockpiles of Pakistan. If SIPRI estimates of the past few years regarding Pakistan's nuclear weapons are analysed with a little bit of sanity, one crystal clear fact is that every year 10 weapons are added into the nuclear weapon stockpiles of Pakistan. In year 2010, it was estimated that Pakistan has approx. 90 weapons, then in 2011 the figure was 100 nuclear weapons, in 2012 figured hick to the 110 nuclear weapons, in 2013 estimates showed 120 weapons in possession of Pakistan. From 2013 onwards nuclear weapons estimates remained static till the year 2017.

Now, according to the most recent estimates of SIPRI Pakistan have almost 140-150 nuclear weapons in its inventory. On the basis of such estimates, Pakistan is categorized as the fastest growing nuclear arsenal in the world. Hence, it is important to analyze the statistics on the basis of which these facts by SIPRI and similar institutes are made.

There is no denying the fact that to maintain deterrence against growing Indian conventional asymmetry and military modernization, Pakistan is relying on nuclear weapons. However, the estimates made by the SIPRI and Bulletin of Atomic Scientists are nothing but speculations and assumptions because neither India nor Pakistan has ever declared publicly that how many nuclear warheads are there in their respective inventories. Moreover, it is also not known that how much fissile material both countries have and without knowing the actual amount, it is just the castle in the air, which these organizations are building regarding the actual number of nuclear weapons in possession of Pakistan and India.

It is pertinent to mention India's case because according to estimates of 2016 it possesses around 600-800 kg of weapon grade plutonium and 4.0 tons of HEU. On the other hand, in the same estimates it is stated that Pakistan has approx. 210-280 kg of weapon grade plutonium and 3.0 tons of HEU. These statistics are not given by the respective governments, but it clearly shows that India possesses more fissile material than Pakistan, resultantly it has the capacity to produce more weapons than Pakistan. But, reports by the SIPRI always show Pakistan with more weapons than India.



Another significant factor which these reputable international organizations miss is that nuclear reactors do not work on their 100% capacity around the whole year. Thus, estimates may vary from actual statistics.

Moreover, how much fissile material is used in one weapon can also vary from one state to another state and also in the sophistication of weapon designs. Thus, how much fissile material is being used in a warhead change the estimated arsenal size of a country. Another big flaw in these estimates is on the potential use of HEU by both countries. In India's case it is assumed that all the reserves of HEU will be used in naval reactors even though the reserves are much more than requirement of naval nuclear reactors. On the other hand, in Pakistan's case speculative estimates of HEU are all considered for weaponization and future needs for naval nuclear reactors/propulsion is ignored completely.

Thus, these false estimates lead to biased conclusions and damage a state interest in the international arena. Moreover, due to the serious shortcomings in the existing calculations/estimates, no one can actually predict the actual number of nuclear weapons or fissile material that Pakistan possesses. So, declaring a county 'fastest growing' in making nuclear weapons is nothing but a propaganda that is damaging strategic stability in South Asia.

<https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2018/07/19/sipri-annual-report-flawed-analysis-of-pakistans-nuclear-forces/>



## ***India's Canister Launch of Agni-V and Implications for Regional Stability***

***Asma Khalid***

The three main nuclear players of Asia, China, India and Pakistan, have established a “triangular” dilemma due to their security concerns. This is manifested through the development of advanced conventional and nuclear weapon forces. China is pursuing a military modernisation program to counter the US in the Asia-Pacific region, whereas India’s development of sophisticated strategic forces is aimed towards China and Pakistan. Their acquisition and development of such deterrents of conventional and nuclear forces is a matter of concern for Pakistan and Chinese security planners. In response, it is inevitable for Pakistan to take measures for its security and safety.

Such dynamics have helped establish a multifaceted security trilemma between the three Asian nuclear weapon states, due to which induction and introduction of any technology in conventional and strategic forces of one state is a matter of security concern for other state. This is expressed through India’s offensive policies in pursuit of global power projection, and such dynamics have the ability to disturb the deterrence equilibrium and strategic stability of the region. In this regard, the recent test launch of Agni V demonstrates that India aims to establish credible strategic forces against China, which would not justify its claim of taking a ‘minimalist’ approach against Pakistan.

Trends in India’s missile testing and acquisition in nuclear technologies demonstrates that India is largely supported in its quest of strategic forces modernisation by the states, including United States, France, Russia and other European states. In the SIPRI report of 2018, India is ranked as the largest arms importer of the world and its technological transfer and foreign acquisitions are running in parallel with its motivation to increase the range, payload, reliability and accuracy of missiles, ICBMs, MIRVs, SLBMs and development of space program.

The United States is supporting India’s military developments for its own strategic, economic, political and military goals for the strategic landscape of Asia. Since the US is supporting India as a Great power in South Asia, India has been attempting to prove its conventional and nuclear credentials. Therefore, such aspirations demand from India to obtain more resilient and disastrous military muscles. Therefore, India’s missile inventory, especially the canister launch of Indian ICBM Agni-V, has played a key role in soothing India’s self-image of a regional power and strategic objective of US. Moreover, its operational launch has the ability to increase security dilemma in South Asia, as well as in the whole region, as its range makes its capable of reaching neighbouring states Pakistan and China, as well as the Asian continent as a whole, along with parts of Europe and Africa.

On January 18, 2018 first “Pre-induction” successful test of Agni-V was conducted. Agni V is a three stages, solid fuelled, intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM). The range of the Agni V is 5,500-5,800 KM and it is capable of carrying a warhead of 1,500 Kg. Later in June 2018, the canister-launch test

of Agni V was carried out. The canister-launch version of the missile enables the quick transport of the missile and provides the capability to launch it anywhere. Canister launch of the Agni-V will lower the nuclear threshold in the region and increase the crisis instability. Consequently, according to the report, India is working to incorporate MIRVs technology with Agni V for its credible second-strike capability.

The objective of the first three nuclear missiles (Agni-I, Agni II, Agni III) was to counter Pakistan, whereas the other missiles of the series (Agni-IV, Agni-V) are capable of targeting China, due to their increased ranges. The successful canister launch test of Agni V demonstrates that the nuclear capable missile will soon be inducted into Indian Strategic nuclear command. The Canister-launch of the Agni-V will reduce launch times, and pairing it with MIRV technology will have a destabilising effect on the deterrence and strategic balance of Asia. The induction and introduction of operation ready Agni-V will have serious repercussions for geostrategic landscape of the region.

India's latest developments and missile proliferation indicates the country's shift to acquire more offensive capabilities. Presently, their focus is on increasing the range of its missiles and shift from liquid to solid fuelled missiles, to enhance the level of readiness, and tri-service operation, of nuclear-tipped missile. These developments are providing pre-emptive capabilities to the nation that is inconsistent with their nuclear posture of "Credible Minimum Deterrence". India's offensive, conventional and missile capabilities deterrence stability negatively influence the security architecture of the region. Therefore, canister launch of Agni-V; marked by advance range, accuracy, payload and higher level of readiness has not only worsened the security dilemma and instability in the region but it is also threatening its' neighbouring states with its military build-up.

<https://dailytimes.com.pk/269680/indias-canister-launch-of-agni-v-and-implications-for-regional-stability/>



## ***NPT Turns 50: A Legacy of Failures***

***Beenish Altaf***

Theoretically, 1 July 2018 marked the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the foundation of the Treaty on Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) for signatures. Two schools of thought are prominent in explaining the emergence and evolution of the Nuclear Nonproliferation regime. One of them propagates this achievement as a sincere effort on the part of the major powers to curb the spread of nuclear weapons for a secure and peaceful world. Contending opinion explains it as a political move with implicit ambitions to sanction and secure the monopoly of major powers in this regard.

The NPT Review Conferences specifically the most recent being in May 2018 faced huge disappointment in showing up any positive outcome. It too ended up with nothing concrete in the sphere of non-proliferation regime. Likewise, the Nuclear Weapons States (NWS) are still not taking any substantial step / stance for Nuclear Disarmament (ND), which makes zero contribution to Article VI of Treaty. By what means can a settlement in presence for almost fifty years be judged as something besides a disappointment when one of its particular destinations, the end of atomic weapons, is much further away than in the season of its marking in 1968?

Since its inception, the Treaty has faced enormous challenges in securing its objectives. Ambiguity of its various clauses and discriminatory nature of its agenda has remained crucial in its failure to move towards non-proliferation and complete disarmament. NPT, as an instrument of eliminating nuclear weapons from this planet earth, does not have a well-connected, internally coherent mechanism to achieve the stated objective of arms control and disarmament. Adding to this, the text of this agreement provides for the serious rifts between its signatories and creates an unfavourable environment for the survival of the NPT. Furthermore, the question of haves and have-nots' establishes the authority of some states and denies this privileged treatment to others. Based on these contradictions, its member states has clearly manipulated its existence for certain vested interests. The USA's attempt to provide its NATO allies with nuclear technology and the recent nuclear deal between India (non-NPT state) and the US characterises a clear violation of provisions of the NPT.

Despite the fact that the indefinite extension of the NPT in 1995 reflects the strong commitment of member states to work on stated objectives, the treaty faces a bleak future. In a more recent event, in last review conference of 2015, committed signatory states were unsuccessful in reaching to an agreement / consensus. The divisive issue of complete nuclear disarmament between non-nuclear weapon states and nuclear weapons states has exposed the vulnerabilities of this regime.

According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute's (SIPRI) yearly survey all the nuclear weapons powers, driven by Russia and the United States, are modernizing frameworks that will be effective by the 2040s. Analytically, the NPT is being utilized, not to advance nuclear disarmament, but somewhat to legitimize it. The NPT ought to be rejected and supplanted by a Comprehensive Disarmament Treaty (CDT) that revives the charter of the United Nation that was willingness and a desire for a world free of nuclear weapons and its threat of war.



During 1960-1970s both the USSR and the United States expected that their nuclear predominance was being diluted as nations outside their particular collusion structures, strikingly France and China, made nuclear bombs. Restricting the spread of atomic weapons was, in this manner, seen as commonly favourable. The inquiry was the manner by which to get guarantee from nations that were being requested to give up the nuclear choice.

Yet, numerous nations that upheld the guideline of non-proliferation had genuine reservations. As opposed to seeing the arrangement fall flat, the USSR and the United States concurred, at the later phases of the transactions, “to the consideration of Article VI requiring a cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament.” But ironically there was no time-plan with respect to how this could be accomplished.

To end this deadlock and to achieve the desired objective of non-proliferation and complete disarmament, the NPT needs to revisit its long held agenda which is now becoming irrelevant in the face of much bigger challenge and changed realities. For this regime to be successful, all the established nuclear weapon countries, P-5 or more specifically signatories to the agreement, are required to take the lead by getting rid of their nuclear arsenals which would incentivise others to follow the suit. In addition to this, reservations of non-NPT nuclear weapon states, which have acquired nuclear weapons for certain security concerns, require immediate attention through the modification of the current NPT structure. Considering the failure of last held NPT review conference, the need is to change the traditional consensus based arrangement that has obstructed the progress over other areas of serious nature.

The desired objective of arms limitation and finally complete disarmament demands no less. This 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary reminds all nations, particularly to the major powers, that their commitment to the cause has remained interest based and much more of a political nature. Therefore, in order to move towards a safe and secure world, genuine efforts of all nations are needed in preserving, sustaining and strengthening the declining role of the NPT regime.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2018/07/23/npt-turns-50-a-legacy-of-failures/>

## ***Can Civil Nuclear Deals be Entirely Peaceful? A Case Study of Indo-US Deal***

***Uzge A. Saleem***

Nuclear weapons are a grave reality and probability of the nuclear war is one of the world's worst nightmares. There are conflicts in the world at present that are on the tip of a nuclear breakout. Given these facts, it is crucial to evaluate at this point whether the deals that are made and the fashion in which the nuclear material is being handled currently can prove to be positive in the future or not.

The Indo-US nuclear deal is a civil nuclear deal; but this is just the tip of the iceberg. Despite the fact that it has de Jure civil deal status, it is no secret that India's weapon production has increased manifold since this deal was signed which cannot be a mere coincidence. Technically speaking the Nuclear Spent Fuel is what is being brought into use to avoid any breach of the agreement. The nuclear spent fuel is a by-product produced in the nuclear reactors, by undergoing certain processes it can be turned into Plutonium which can be used in nuclear weapons. Now the material being supplied to India may be used for civil purposes but its by-product can and probably is being used for other reasons. This puts the non-proliferation regime, especially NSG into a tough spot. Usually IAEA comes in handy under such circumstances but the military nuclear facilities of India do not come under the jurisdiction of IAEA. This is a question mark on not only the safety and security of India's nuclear facilities but also on the credibility of intentions of Indian officials to keep the use of nuclear material peaceful. One thing can be proven correct given these facts, proliferation is inevitable. This statement can be given based on the fact that if the superpower and the guardians of Global Security and Stability are signing such deals with such a nation and providing them with opportunities that are most definitely upsetting the security equilibrium of the South Asian region then they are contributing to proliferation of nuclear weapons as much as any other Non-NPT nuclear weapon state. The role of NPT needs to be kept in mind at all times, by all states, in its true essence if the states want to head towards non-proliferation.

Currently there are 15,000 nuclear war heads in the world out of which 80% deployed war heads have been removed by the US and Russia. China maintains minimum deterrence war heads which basically translates into the minimum number of war heads required for its own security. For a long time now UK, France and China have maintained a number of war heads which implies that there is progress towards disarmament but it is frustratingly slow. On top of that if these major powers start signing deals of nuclear nature without ensuring security check and balance with other states than the condition of non-proliferation efforts will deteriorate to dangerously low levels. The personal non-proliferation efforts of these states are visible but their nuclear deals cancel out these efforts.

A new debate among the nuclear aspirants can be seen which now claim that NPT nuclear weapon states don't disarm because they rely on their nuclear programs for security. The second leg of this debate is activated when they see the Non-NPT nuclear weapons states benefitting from trade with NPT nuclear weapon states they also want to become a part of this spree which then makes them believe that acquiring nuclear weapons would benefit them in the longer run. The general image from these deals is that either they need to be on a non-discriminatory basis or they need to be banned for

all. If they are to be signed then one must stay vigilant of the fact that the nuclear material is strictly being used for civil and not military purposes.

<https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2018/07/26/can-civil-nuclear-deals-be-entirely-peaceful-case-study-of-us-indo-nuclear-deal/>



## *Significance of Pakistan's Tactical Nuclear Weapons*

*Sonia Naz*

A Tactical Nuclear Weapon (TNW) is a nuclear weapon, smaller in its explosive power, which is developed to be used in the military situation on a battlefield. A TNW is a non-strategic weapon. It is the product of Cold war. The US considered it convenient to deploy TNWs on the territory of its North Atlantic Treaty allies to save them from the Soviet largest conventional force. The TNWs became part of the US policy to enhance deterrence to prevent Soviet aggression in Europe. Pakistan also developed NASR to thwart India from launching military offensive in the form of the Cold Start Doctrine (CSD). Pakistan's desire to become a nuclear-armed state is rooted in a belief to secure itself from India which has supremacy in conventional force along with nuclear arsenals. Nuclear weapons hence play crucial role in Pakistan's overall military strategy. NASR missile system is the short range missile system for tactical level operations. In fact, NASR is a rapid response weapon developed to support "full spectrum deterrence" by thwarting India's growing conventional strength advantages. The NASR is reported to have 60 kilometer range along terminal guidance system. Tactical weapons such as NASR are designed with the limited range to be used against an opponent who has supremacy in conventional force over Pakistan. According to the former head of the Strategic Plan Division (SPD) Lt General Kidwai, the nuclear weapons would be only used "if the very existence of Pakistan as a state is at stake." The sole aim of the nuclear weapons is to deter Indian aggression. He also stated that Indian CSD is an offensive limited war strategy designed to seize Pakistan's territory swiftly, hence, the developments of TNWs have sufficiently blocked the avenues for serious military operation from the Indian military side.

The NASR has been designed to "consolidate Pakistan's strategic capabilities at all levels of the threat spectrum". In 2011, Pakistan conducted the test of tactical nuclear weapons. In July 2011, India also tested its TNWs (Prahaar). They compared it with the American TNWs with claim that development of these TNWs took Defense Research and Development Organization (DRDO) two years. The Prahaar has many similarities with NASR for example it can be deployed rapidly within a few minutes. It can be fired from a road mobile launcher. The second test of TNWs was conducted in 2013. A year later another test of TNWs was conducted. According to SPD the effects of this missile are strategic in nature and they would increase the existing deterrence capability.

In fact, NASR is well timed and necessary to address the problem of conventional asymmetry between Pakistan and India. Pakistan is not interested in symmetry with India but it wants to maintain the strategic stability in South Asia. While, Indian Cold Start Doctrine, its conventional military modernization and its deals in civil nuclear field with superpower generated the need for Pakistan to design TNWs. Because, Indian conventional force modernization render the Pakistan nuclear massive retaliation inevitable. Zafar Nawaz Jaspal states that the NASR is a cost-effective way (due to Pakistan's resource constraints), to alleviate the rapidly growing conventional asymmetries between India and Pakistan and to counter the threat of limited war. Because, India has been the world's largest arms importer since 2009. The development of short range missile is part of Pakistan's security policy because India has supremacy in conventional force and it spends more money than Pakistan on its military force

modernization. While, Pakistan also can spend more money on its conventional force, but, it believes in minimum credible nuclear deterrence within its limited financial resources. The purpose of the development of TNWs is defensive not offensive because Pakistan would use it to fortifying its borders. NASR has been criticized by the international community and India by arguing that it would increase arm race in the region, but, the purpose of this development is just to overcome the growing threats from the Indian hawkish doctrines. CSD forces Pakistan to increase its dependence on nuclear weapons.

The dilemma is that if India violates any international law nobody says anything. But if Pakistan takes any step to deter Indian aggression and secure its border, international community criticizes Pakistan. Great powers are interested to change the rules of international non-proliferation regimes for India, but, their attitude towards Pakistan is very discriminatory. International community should understand that Pakistan does not do anything independently, but, it follows India. India's hawkish policies force Pakistan to convert its nuclear doctrine from "minimum" to "full" deterrence while Pakistan believes in minimum credible nuclear deterrence.

[https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2018/07/27/significance-of-pakistans-tactical-nuclear-weapons/#disqus\\_thread](https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2018/07/27/significance-of-pakistans-tactical-nuclear-weapons/#disqus_thread)



## *Deterrence Equation in South Asia*

*Beenish Altaf*

The deterrence equation in South Asia is gradually changing amid the acquisition of advanced technologies and missile developments by India, most notably Ballistic Missile Defence (BMD) system. Similarly, India is heading into the continuous modernization of its military build-up, aspiring to become the giant arms trader of South Asian region. It outdoes China as the world's largest importer of weapons systems, indicating the country's intent of modernizing its military capabilities with an outreach beyond South Asia. It is feared that the whole Asian security is fueling arms trade now as the region has accounted for 46 percent of global imports over the past five years. As according to a report by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), six of the world's ten largest arms importers are in Asia and Oceania.

In the field of missiles, India and Russia have agreed to extend the range of their missiles e.g. BrahMos supersonic cruise missiles beyond the current 300 km. The land-attack version of BrahMos supersonic cruise missile with an extended range increased from 290 km to 450 km was successfully test fired. It is evident that India and Russia have extended the range keeping Pakistan in mind because BrahMos with 300 km range was still unable to target inside Pakistan but after enhancing the range the missile can hit anywhere inside Pakistan. So it carries serious regional implications in this regard. It would be worrisome not only for Pakistan but for China too. An Indian military official stated at some point of discussion, that "our threat perceptions and security concerns are our own, and how we address these by deploying assets on our territory should be no one else's concern." The statement depicts the aggressive and offensive mode of Indian mindset. So, a greater range for BrahMos would imply that India's power to strike would get an unprecedented fillip.

Unfavorably, these developments are compelling Pakistan to take necessary actions to maintain the strategic balance in the region. In addition to these state of the art weapons procurements; India is also in a process of introducing changes to its nuclear doctrine and may adopt pre-emptive nuclear posture. This posture would be an extremely destabilizing action which would fundamentally alter the deterrence equation and strategic stability in South Asia.

Indian pre-emptive doctrine would be a serious threat for the regional peace as it may pressurize Pakistan to consider pushing the nuclear button even before India exercises the pre-emptive nuclear option in a crisis like situation. The No First Use (NFU) actually refers to a pledge or a policy by a nuclear power not to use nuclear weapons as a means of warfare unless first attacked by an adversary using nuclear weapons. It clearly depicts the preemptive mindset of Indian conscientious nuclear weapons managers/ regulators. Evidently when it comes to India and Pakistan, each and every bit of such intentional or unintentional rhetoric plays a major role in shaping the future relevant moves.

Consequently the nuclear exchange in South Asia could become more plausible and believable right at the onset of a crisis or a terrorist attack which can escalate the situation between India and



Pakistan. Pakistan and India would have to seriously get engaged in a dialogue process to prevent a bolt from the blue nuclear exchange as just a direct communication line between General Headquarters of Pakistan and India would prove inadequate in resolving a serious crisis in South Asia.

However, looking at the current Indian hardliner government, there is a little hope for optimism that India may consider the options to meaningfully resolve the existing issues which perpetuates instability. It thus becomes imperative for the international community, especially the global powers, to facilitate a dialogue process between New Delhi and Islamabad and to mediate on the unresolved disputes which pose an existential threat to one third of the world population. Regional forums like South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), and Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS) can play an important role in facilitating conflict resolution between India and Pakistan.

<https://nation.com.pk/27-Jul-2018/deterrence-equation-in-south-asia>

## ***CPEC's Impact on Domestic Political Capital Within Pakistan***

*Waqas Jan*

As Pakistan took to the polls for fresh elections, political commentary remained awash with both current and future prospects of the China Pakistan Economic Corridor, highlighted as a key component of the overall policy agenda. Considering the massive scale of investment, as well as the promise of real usable infrastructure, it is evident how CPEC has come to represent one of the most visible examples of development and progress within Pakistan's socio-economic framework. Thus, it was no surprise when the outgoing government framed a number of completed CPEC projects at the center of its re-election campaign, as proof of all the 'work' that was carried out during its tenure.

Similarly, other major parties contesting for a piece of the electoral pie had also laid out their own visions of how to take this massive initiative forward, if and when they earned that mandate from the Pakistani people. It was as if every contesting politician's promise of better roads, jobs, sanitation and education became tinged with the possibility of being more than just the sophist pageantry of election season. After all, government representatives may change, but CPEC with its overarching and long-term vision is here to stay and continue, beyond the mandates of these elected representatives.

It is quite profound when one realizes how these individual infrastructure projects such as better road links, new power plants and mass transit systems have come to resonate so deeply with every-day citizens as signs of progress. Even though hard numbers and economic indicators may currently point otherwise, the awe-inspiring effect of a shiny new power plant or inner city bus service is often enough to re-kindle a sense of National pride after decades of under-development. Throw in some fiery speeches and a few nice shots of ribbon cutting ceremonies with foreign investors and there you have it; visible proof of progress and economic development.

But again, the numbers don't lie. Rising unemployment, debt, and dwindling foreign reserves all point towards regression rather than progress. To be able to experience any semblance of 'real' economic growth and progress, these large-scale infrastructure projects under CPEC need to be translated into long-term and sustainable Economic Development.

This in turn requires a massive overhaul of ancillary sectors such as improving the quality of education, incorporating the training of vocational skills, and promoting entrepreneurship and investment (both foreign and local) to build a vibrant economy on top of such infrastructure. Not to mention ensuring the provision of equal rights and opportunities to minorities, women, transgender and the disabled to help ensure the maximum level of participation from all levels of Pakistan's diverse socio-cultural framework.

It is thus imperative that going forward, the political undertones of economic development and progress under CPEC should be minimized. Instead, the country's bureaucratic institutions should take greater ownership of both its successes and failings. These institutions should further ensure that all this

is carried out on the basis of quantifiable targets and transparent indicators representing a sense of accountability and responsibility beyond the mandates of elected representatives.

Already for instance, the Ministry of Planning and Development has taken center stage with regard to ensuring the completion and execution of these projects. However, it should be emphasized that it is the work and responsibility of its underlying machinery; its bureaucrats, planners and officers at the ground-level. Not the personality cult of its individual leaders and elected representatives that can't help but seek the maximum political capital to be gained.

CPEC's most recently completed projects have made it obvious that a certain degree of politicization may however be unavoidable. After all the gained political capital may still prove as too tempting to avoid for elected representatives. Yet, for all its short-term wins and challenges, the long-term vision that CPEC inspires across a broader regional level as an idea, presents a whole host of opportunities for political leaders to 'sell' to their constituencies. It doesn't have to be promises that are to be completed within their electoral term. But rather, ensuring that their policies encompassing education, security and discrimination across the board are in line with this overarching vision of progress and development. Policies that are geared towards empowering those institutions in charge of the above; for after all, it is only by strengthening the Pakistani state's institutions and by instilling a stringent sense of accountability and professionalism that the growing politicization of CPEC can be overcome at the domestic level. It is imperative that whichever government comes in to power these coming weeks, it keeps this in mind when setting its policy agenda for CPEC.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2018/07/27/cpecs-impact-on-domestic-political-capital-within-pakistan/>



## *US Led War on Terror and Afghan Peace*

*Hareem Aqdas*

The region known today as Afghanistan has been subjugated to a series of warfare since the soviet occupation, till date, including the United States led NATO's is on in full swing. Afghanistan shares its borders with multiple countries, including Pakistan. The unrest in Afghanistan has been a major cause of instability of the region, including the spread of terrorism in the neighbouring countries, particularly along the Afghanistan-Pakistan border. The people of these areas known by the ethnicity of "Pashtuns" have been the major effected population of the unrest. From training those to become the U.S. backed "mujahideen" against the former USSR to unleashing the war on terror against them when they started to retaliate, Pashtuns are the sufferers.

The purpose of the mention of this scenario basically highlights the fact that the people of Pakistan and Afghanistan- the Pashtuns- have witnessed a very prolong war. This is a war that is neither the creation of their own, nor concerns them directly. It is a war with no clear end, with no particular benefit and it is only hurting the people. In fact, this long war has brought miseries to the people of Afghanistan and the region that now must end.

The insurgencies in Afghanistan have resulted in the worsening of security situations in Pakistan, as is evident through the course of history. Finally, these insurgencies took the shape of suicide bombings to widespread terror attacks that resulted in large scale life and property losses. In Pakistan the spillover of terrorism from Afghanistan has been rooted out successfully with the success of the "Zarb-e-Azb" and the ongoing operation "Rad-ul-Fassad. Although Pakistan has achieved this grand success after giving immense human sacrifices and suffering heavy economic losses.

The recently announced US Strategy / Policy on Afghanistan is also going to have a significant effect on the future regional developments. The salient points of president Trump's Afghan Policy announced in 2017 can be summarized under six main headings:

- 1. Troop Levels:** Pentagon authorized to ramp up troop numbers, who will be engaged in counterterrorism and training activities.
- 2. Military Autonomy:** Military commander were delegated authority to act in real time and expand the US operations to target terrorists and criminal networks in Afghanistan.
- 3. Open-ended:** No fixed timelines given for completion of the mission in Afghanistan.
- 4. Fighting Enemies, But Not Nation-building:** Victory in Afghanistan will mean "attacking our enemies" and "obliterating" the Islamic State group. Vowed to crush al-Qaeda, prevent the Taliban from taking over the country, and stop terror attacks against Americans. US will continue to work with the Afghan government, "however, US commitment is not unlimited, and support is not a blank cheque" and the US would not engage in "nation-building".

**5. Pakistan Bashing:** The US “can no longer be silent” about alleged terrorist safe havens in Pakistan. Trump alleged that Pakistan often gives sanctuary to “agents of chaos, violence and terror”, the Taliban and other groups who pose a threat to the region and beyond.

**6. Enhanced Indian Role:** India to help more in Afghanistan, especially in the areas of economic assistance and development.

These stated interests call for a continued, ongoing unrest in the region. While the U.S. does not realize its own failings in Afghanistan, to cover up its own failures it asks Pakistan to “DO MORE”. In this context, it should be realized by the US and its other allies that Pakistan has already played a major part in the war on terror by defeating terrorism in its border regions with Afghanistan and elsewhere in the country by giving sacrifices much more than what the US and NATO forces have suffered from. Therefore it is the US who has to review its policies in Afghanistan and find a solution of the conflict there to bring peace to the region.

The United States Government should now realize that the people of Afghanistan and Pakistan have suffered too much from the war on terror and its backlash in the form of terrorist incidents. Especially Afghanistan people who have suffered since last 40 years want relief and peaceful conditions to resettle in their houses. The region also wants peace to focus on its economic development and welfare of its people. It is therefore better that the US initiates peace talks with the Taliban along with other Afghan groups to agree on a formula of US withdrawal from Afghanistan and holding free and fair elections in Afghan to form a government that is acceptable to all Afghans. This is the only way to end the war and bring peace in the region, so that the people of this region could also lead a normal life, like the people of other regions.

<https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2018/07/27/u-s-lead-the-war-on-terror-and-the-afghan-peace/>



## ***China's Neo Mercantilism and Sino-Pak Strategic Relations***

*Qura tul Ain Hafeez*

The economic reforms of 1978 in China brought about an increase in its Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). Following the neo mercantilist policies it has encouraged the free trade wherein the Chinese firms introduced themselves and opened up to the international markets. Although the central government gave some relaxation on some of the industrial products but there are still state owned enterprises in large numbers. Better educational plans, export/import controlled regimes, and Chinese engagement in FTA with different South Asian countries including Pakistan are the contributing factors in the Chinese economic strides. Today China's top trade commodities are textile, technological equipments and machinery, organic chemicals, iron, steel and other products. According to an estimate China earned \$10.36 trillion GDP growth in the fiscal year 2014. In the mid of year 2015 China's trade surplus was worth \$59.49 billion achieving favorable amount of 70.9 hundred million as balance of trade.

It is to be understood that the Chinese neo mercantilism is not harmful for the developing countries and under developed regions of the world although there is a lot of criticism on China's economic policies. It is one of the core assumptions of neo mercantilism, which addresses that along with the economic development of a state it emphasizes on the world economic development. Neo mercantilism promotes the regional organizations and markets. It's a broader platform. Hence in the light of that it can be assumed that the Chinese investment projects are going to be beneficial for Pakistan as well as for China. China receives a positive response that encourages it for investment abroad because most of the investment is done for providing better conditions of infrastructure, roads, bridges, energy sector, railway projects etc. It not only benefits China by providing Chinese contractors business, but it is also helpful for creating job opportunities in Pakistan and for its economic growth. The purpose behind neo mercantilist policies of China is that China itself is running through the process of development. So it encourages doing business in different parts of the world because overseas economic relations are mutually beneficial for China's home markets and other countries.

Similarly, China's neo mercantilist approach should not be seen as harmful for Pakistan's strategic relations specifically within the context of Sino-Pak strategic partnership. Both countries are enjoying trustworthy strategic relations whereas for past one decade there has been a lot of improvement in the economic relations as well. China believes in regionalization through promoting regional trade and interaction with business community. China's active role in regional organizations like SARRC, ASEAN, and SCO is meant as part of its efforts to bring economic stability for the whole South Asian region.

Another aspect of neo mercantilism is that it puts emphasis on increasing the exports and decreasing the imports. According to the estimates collected from the UN Comtrade Database and United Nations Comtrade Statistics and International Trade Centre (2016) by 2013 the trade volume between China and Pakistan increased over \$12 billion. In 2000 Pakistan's exports to China were \$244.65 million and in 2004 and 2005 it reached \$300.53 and \$435.68 million respectively. While Pakistan's imports to China in 2000, 2004 and 2005 were \$550.11, \$1488.7 and \$2349.3 respectively.



The overall volume of Pakistan's imports and China's exports is more than Pakistan's exports and China's imports. It might appear that China through its mercantilist policies is only increasing the level of exports but the reality is that it is simultaneously providing business to Pakistan. As per the official records, in 2006, the percentage of Pakistan's export to China after free trade agreements was \$506.64 million i.e. around 6% of what? And Pakistan's share of total import to the world was 7%. Similarly in 2012 exports to China were 30% and percentage of share to world was 27%. While Pakistan's imports in 2006, and 2012 were 9% and 20% whereas total share to the world was 11% and 18% respectively. It shows that Pakistan is doing most of its trade with China, and Chinese companies are providing Pakistan a good business. Hence it surely is proving beneficial for Pakistan. The amount of this trade balance increased after Pakistan's FTA with China. At the same time Chinese neo mercantilist policies are bringing developments for Pakistan's as well as for its own trade enlargement.

There is no denying the fact that China is one of the world's largest economies and it is hoped that Pak-China economic collaboration will bring economic stability in South Asia and will make Pakistan a regional hub of trade activities. Currently China has started about 22 projects in Pakistan including reconstruction of Karakorum highway, heavy machinery complex, tank and aircraft building, and the mega project of Gwadar Seaport under the umbrella of CPEC (China-Pakistan Economic Corridor). CPEC being a flagship project of China's BRI strategy includes Chinese investment of about \$52 billion from deep seaport Gwadar to civil energy agreements, infrastructure and road projects. This will enhance trade and commercial opportunities for Pakistan. Moreover about 10,000 MW of electricity will be generated when it is completed by the end of 2018.

Eventually China's neo mercantilist policies are a source of regional economic integration and the BRI will bring the countries economically more close to each other in a network of interdependence. The CPEC will be especially a major project of China's Vision of BRI and will make Pakistan a boon for economy and a source for FDI. Already according to Board of Investment, Pakistan's expected net foreign direct investment (FDI) has had a jump of about 60 percent in 2017/2018. Hence it can easily be interpreted as a project of mutual interests and collective benefits and by no means the CPEC should be viewed as another East India Company.

<https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2018/07/28/chinas-neo-mercantilism-and-sino-pak-strategic-relations/>

## *Pakistan's Journey to the Infinity and Beyond*

### *Ahyousha Khan*

Earlier this July, Pakistan launched two satellites from China's Jiuquan Satellite Centre. Pakistani official from MOFA confirmed the launching of satellites named – PRSS-1 and Pak-TES-1A. PRSS-1 is 1200 kg satellite which has the capacity to operate at an altitude of 640 kilometers. On the other hand Pak-TES-1A is 285 kg satellite accessorized with optical payload that can fulfill the national needs.

These satellites will enable Pakistan to meet its requirements of land mapping and natural disaster management through imagery. Pakistan used China's assistance in launching its indigenous satellite because it yet has to master the technology in launching vehicle. Satellites assigned for geographical mapping work in polar orbit, which means that they are not geostationary satellites rather satellites pass over both poles with an inclination of 90 degrees to the body's equator. Satellite on its each rotation to observe the earth passes over the equator at different longitude.

The recent space launch of Pakistan is through the support given by Asia Pacific Space Cooperation Organization (APSCO), which is an institute functioning as independent, non-profit organization between governments of different countries with full legal power. Its members are from states like Pakistan, Bangladesh, Mongolia, Peru, Thailand, Indonesia and Turkey. In the backdrop of this collaboration future cooperation between Pakistan, China and APSCO will be further strengthened.

Satellites Pakistan sent in space are earth observational and optical satellites, which would allow Pakistan space agency SUPARCO to analyze its imagery requirements which involves land mapping, crops assessment and rural and urban planning. Moreover, it will also enable Pakistan to observe land and forest degradation, effects of climate change, melting of glaciers, heavy flooding and will allow Pakistan to manage its resources and disasters more effectively.

Pakistan is a state which is disaster prone and is becoming victim of heavy flooding quite regularly. Moreover, fresh water resources are rapidly depleting across the country. Thus, in such circumstances satellite with earth mapping capability is truly a blessing which could enable Pakistan to counter its issue of water management more effectively. It is important for country like Pakistan that is based upon agrarian economy to manage its natural resources as effectively as it could. Thus, rapid and slow changes in geography of a country with potential to effect will be easily observed and timely managed through the help of remote sensing satellite.

Pakistan is a state where population is growing rapidly. Thus, there is a need of a lot of rural and urban planning as unplanned cities and towns will be prone to natural calamities and basic facilities will not be available to them. However, this problem can also be controlled and managed with properly organized rural and urban mapping and thus PRSS-1 could play an important role in it.

Although these satellites are not part of CPEC project but they could play significant role in geographical mapping of the areas under the China Pakistan Economic Corridor project (CPEC) and



would keep planners updated regarding the changes in geographical structures. Thus, would enable them to make environmental safe projects for the longer benefit. Although Pakistan is committed to use these particular satellites for socio-economic benefits but future venture of remote sensing satellites could also enable Pakistan to keep an eye on extremely porous Pak-Afghan border, which could help the country in identifying terrorist movement and consequently in eliminating the terrorism from not only Pakistan but from the region.

Development of both satellites by Pakistani scientists is indeed commendable but it is to be acknowledged that the dream to go beyond infinity would not have become a reality without China's help. States should and must reach new avenues like space and was high time for Pakistan to launch its satellite because its regional rival has already began the weaponization of Space by placing three designated naval, one military satellite in space.

However, self-sufficiency is equally important as successful nations do not go beyond infinity without self-sufficiency. So far, the biggest challenge for Pakistan in its way to achieving self-sufficiency in space technology is lack of launch vehicle, which needs an immediate focus by the scientists and researchers.

It is also the responsibility of government of Pakistan to spend more on space technology as space satellites are not just the eye in the sky, which help observe and monitor but are also enabling our communications around the globe, thus, performing the role of ears in sky as well.

<https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2018/07/28/pakistans-journey-to-the-infinity-and-beyond/>



## *Fifty Years of NPT: Weaknesses over the Course*

*Asma Khalid*

NPT is a landmark treaty that lies at the heart of non-proliferation regime (NPR). In July 2018, Fiftieth anniversary of the NPT has been celebrated. Theoretically, NPT is committed to the goal of arms control and aims to accomplish the nuclear disarmament. For this purpose, the NPT member states are devoted to pursue three key objectives of the treaty: prevent horizontal proliferation, state's right to use nuclear energy for peaceful objectives, and nuclear disarmament. However practically due to shifting US' alliances, major power politics, and growing arms race, the fifty years of NPT has only delivered "Distress, Conflict and discrimination".

Loopholes and weaknesses exist in NPT which are being misused by Nuclear Weapon States (NWS) and Non-Nuclear Weapons States (NNWS) of the treaty. Despite the NPT's presence for 50 years and an expansion in its membership, atomic weapons have not been wiped out from the world. All the NWS aim to maintain their nuclear weapon state status due to their security or strategic concerns. Despite the dialogues of arms control, all major and smaller nuclear weapon states are committed to maintaining credible deterrence and strategic balance. Such aspirations of NWS demonstrate that major powers party to the arms control and disarmament treaty are merely the silent spectators to the existing weakened structure of the so called universal treaty of 191 member states due to their own vested interests.

The fifty years of NPT have reaffirmed that the universal mechanism to fight with nuclear proliferation and achieving the objective of disarmament is not adequate for two reasons: first, the international mechanism of non-proliferation has failed to deal with the few potential proliferators; secondly, strategic and security concerns of NWS and NNWS has undermined the Articles I, II, IV, VI and X of the treaty. In spite of the fact that until the 1980s worldwide measures to counteract atomic multiplication were generally more effective, yet in the subsequent years the NPT was not much successful to counter the aspirants of nuclear capability such as North Korea, Iran, Libya and Syria. Due to inadequate mechanism and weaknesses of the treaty, now nine states possess nuclear weapon capability and approximately 30 states have the technical ability to acquire it that is viewed as serious threat to the NPT.

Despite the potentials of non-proliferation, since 1968 with participation of 191 states and various agreements and talks, an efficient and effective regime stresses on pin pointing the weaknesses and restructuring, re-evaluation and reformation of the treaty structure. The key setback to the NPT is that the articles of the treaty are not fairly adopted by the member states due to which the regime has failed to address the significant objectives of horizontal proliferation, arms control and disarmament. For instance under Article I of the treaty, transfer of nuclear material and technology by NWS to NNWS is prohibited. But treaty has failed to address the transfer of fissile material and nuclear technology from one NWS to another NWS. Such dynamic have increased the insecurities of NNWS and resultantly forces

them to take extreme measures to ensure their security .e.g. North Korea. Simultaneously, despite being the member of the treaty, the US has been providing nuclear related technology to India since 1990s under the umbrella of various bilateral treaties or agreements. India-US nuclear agreement and granting of NSG waiver to India is viewed as an intentional measure to help India increase its military buildup to carry forward strategic ambitions of the US in the Asian region.

Furthermore, the US agreement with India for joint production and development of military related technology such as mini UAVs , distinctive kits for C130 and designing/ development of jet engine technology has played central role in speedy development of India's nuclear program. Such development is not only the violation of NPT by the US but also compels the NNWS to acquire nuclear capability to address their security concerns. Right of all states to use nuclear energy for peaceful objectives played key role as bargaining chip and is viewed as major loophole in the treaty due to technical similarities in peaceful use of nuclear technology and technology for military purposes. North Korea Withdrew from the NPT in 2003. Article X of the treaty provides the right to member states to withdraw from the treaty if their sovereignty is on stake. However not accepting the states' right to withdraw from the treaty is denial of their right of self defence and violation of treaty. Therefore, discriminatory attitude, special treatment and country specific treatment pose serious question mark on the implementation and standards of NPR. It demonstrates that the regime is just an instrument of major powers to fulfill their strategic and foreign policy objectives.

The current doctrines of NWS comprise of elements warfare, which shows hegemonic mindsets of major powers and explains their reluctance to give up on their "nuclear assets". These factors have posed negative impact on the process of non-proliferation and disarmament. Therefore it can be inferred that the above mentioned scenarios have played central role in keeping Pakistan away from joining the NPR. If NPT states want to attract non-NPT states for the membership of regime then the current member states will have to pursue non-discriminatory approach towards non-proliferation themselves.

<https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2018/07/29/fifty-years-of-npt-weaknesses-over-the-course/>



## ***CPEC: A Tool for Stability and Prosperity***

***S Sadia Kazmi***

CPEC is essentially a project aiming at development through energy generation, highway, roads, railways, and port infrastructure eventually enhancing economic connections between China and Pakistan. Even though the project has been delivering well on its objectives and has been well appreciated within the policy and local circles of both China and Pakistan but it doesn't come without certain unavoidable challenges. For instance, the very concern about the security and stability of Pakistan as well as the whole region raises genuine question marks on the potential and ultimate utility of the CPEC. Unless the peace and stability is guaranteed, the dream of development might not be fully materialized.

China on its part believes that development through economic ventures is a reliable recipe for the overall stability and prosperity of not just Pakistan but for China as well. CPEC allows the two to cooperate in a number of areas including the security sector, be it the energy security, economic security or a more traditional aspect of security of the masses of the two states. All these aspects are seen as closely interlinked and the cooperation in one area is believed to bring positive results for all the interconnected sectors. The belief is strong that the economic progress strengthens the internal security and stability. This is one of the reasons why the CPEC encompasses wide range of developmental projects and invests in infrastructure, energy generation through oil and gas pipelines, and establishment of industrial zones. China also pins hope that the promised stability will flow into the western part of China especially Xinjiang as well through effective and timely materialization of CPEC and all the projects envisaged under it.

Pakistan on its part also believes that CPEC has come as a source of great relief for its dwindling economy and holds great strategic significance for Pakistan. There is a strong commitment on Pakistan side to make it into a success story at all cost. Pakistan's Vision 2025 is supplemented by the objectives of CPEC wherein it plans to move from a lower middle income nation to become an upper middle income nation by 2025. One sure way of achieving this dream is by inviting as much FDI as possible. The widespread problem of unemployment is also hoped to be address as the CPEC promises to bring sufficient employment opportunities for local population and skilled youth.

But there are severe challenges facing the CPEC and these objectives. The very project although making satisfactory progress, is embroiled controversies. There are concerns that China stands to benefit more from it than Pakistan, issues regarding debt accumulation on Pakistan are also blow out of proportion, skepticism prevail regarding distribution and prioritization of projects among the provinces, and a more relevant worry about the disruption of policy commitment with the change of government in Pakistan after elections. Usually the policies and promises of previous governments are stalled and over ruled by the succeeding governments for their own vested interests. China fears that any such disruption might lead to a setback in the smooth progress of the CPEC. However, one can be certain that most of these fears are unfounded. In fact, the Chinese Ambassador has already paid a visit to the Prime

Minister elect Imran Khan and has expressed satisfaction over the assurances given regarding the continued and unhindered commitment on the CPEC. China has even agreed to further offer \$2 billion in loans to Pakistan. Which is reflective of China's confidence and faith in Pakistan when no other country has ever brought in such investment. This is duly acknowledged by Pakistan as well. However, there is also a concern that the ultimately Pakistan might be pulled into a debt trap in view of the fact that the loan is ultimately repaid with interest and Pakistan hardly has meager foreign reserves. However, this has been clarified by the officials on both sides by ensuring that a steady economic growth owing to the CPEC will help Pakistan overcome these issues and repayment of loans wouldn't be a problem then.

Nevertheless, China and Pakistan regard the CPEC as a tool that possesses the potential to bring out political stability through economic integration. The respective national development policies have accommodated CPEC high on the priority list. Even though both the states have already been enjoying robust political and military relations, but this multifaceted economic development venture brings hope for massive benefits with win-win outcome for the two.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2018/07/30/cpec-a-tool-for-stability-and-prosperity/>



## ***Anticipated Dimensions of Pak-US Relations Post July 2018 Elections***

***Fateh Najeeb***

Traditionally, bi-lateral relationship of the two “frenemies” (United States and Pakistan) has undergone different ups and fusses. Though the ‘war on terror’ opened new horizons of mutual partnership exceeding to a new level, President Donald Trump’s antagonistic approach towards Pakistan soon scattered the brief honeymoon period of good relations. Soon after being elected, Trump’s revulsion towards the old ally created an environment of qualm for both sides. The situation further worsened with the announcement of South Asian policy in August 2017.

Despite these shortcomings, the US has always been yelling in favor of democracy and peaceful transition of power to democratic institutions in Pakistan. Though, Atlantic power has endorsed dictators in Pakistan in different phases of relationship based on its own interests. Whatever the case had been, the current political situation and suppositions of 25 July elections has left analysts to foresee the future of Pakistan-US relations which are presently not very good. Constant blaming on Pakistan assisting terrorists, diplomatic restraints, matter of FATF and mutual lack of conviction raises many questions.

First of all, it is quite rational to envision the upcoming government’s behavior towards the US. At the same, it is equally important to assume the US response to actions of the upcoming government in Pakistan. The US administrations has shown diplomatic alertness by giving statements of free, fair and transparent electoral process with the hope of working together for peace and stability in the region. But, the things are not as simple as they seem to be. A lot more depends on the upcoming Pakistani government that how it responds to the US policies and intentions while safeguarding own national interest.

Secondly, the root causes of trust deficit need to be identified by both sides via adopting harmonious approach. No one needs to be over confident and over conscious of immediate results because there is nothing easy to get rid of in dealing with the US like super power. Similarly, Pakistan will never allow any power to compromise on its national interests. Pakistan’s international image as portrayed by the US and its other close ally having anti-Pakistan agenda leaving no opportunity to deprecate Pakistan require realistic approach to minimize growing hostile sentiments.

At third place, there is wide spread anti-American sentiments and resentment among masses in Pakistan because of no-recognition of Pakistan’s positive role, sacrifices and favoring India in this region. Religious spheres take the US as anti-Islamic power, general public views it as aggressor and civil-military officials are fed-up with the ‘do more’ mantra. Cutting of aid will leave no positive impact. Strategic alliance with China and recent inclination towards Russia are immediate responses from Pakistan to the changing behavior of the US. Strategic importance of South Asian region will never allow the US to ignore this part of land as is evident from its hegemonic surveillance over here. The US has to admit

need of purposeful comprehensive negotiations with Pakistan. Threats, economic chaos creating suspicions will never pay back good upshots. Conversely, it will lead to further worsening of circumstances.

Furthermore, the United States' apprehensions prevail like heavy clouds. Pakistan must ensure the US its full support to eradicate terrorism from its soil. Diverse sects of society, political parties and military official should unite to detect the problems and devise a comprehensive plan to sustain national peace and stability. Improvement in relations with neighbors can create a softer corner in the US. Importantly, the US should limit its pressurizing tactics on Pakistan. Diplomatic maneuvering and positive international image can do a lot for Pakistan. Both states need each other. There is no alternate for both of them considering the geo-strategic realities except accommodating each other. The US is also cautious of recent entry in main stream politics of previously banned militant organization. This really is a serious issue for Pakistan itself which demands positive role from civil society along with the government to limit their activities to the acceptable level.

Seemingly, things are not as bad as they are being tacitly exposed by international media. Tragedy is that Pakistan has been unproductive to present its case in an appealing way. It is lagging behind in diplomatic performances. The exemption of civil-military collective approach to some extent might be among the reasons behind this horrendous state of affairs along with inactive foreign policy institutions. Economic dependency and low level output in terms of indigenous resources and capabilities is another area which the state of Pakistan suffers through which ultimately defines its foreign policy choices. Internal law and order situation and individual rights preservation can minimize the impacts of external threats in such an ethno-diverse country.

The recent elections are very significant in this perspective because the future of Pakistan's foreign affairs has to be handled by the upcoming Government. The US is also eyeing on this electoral phase to define its future conduct of bi-lateral relations. Though, there is no major breakthrough expected instantly after the elections in terms of dealing with the super power. But, it definitely will bring out the new spirit and motivation among Pakistanis to handle the major power's reservations. Ostensibly, there is nothing much different in the election manifestoes of all most all major political parties contesting elections. This is a clear indication of few conjoint apprehensions about policies and treatment of the super power. The tangible steps will define the future road map of Pak-US relations. How the policies are pursued will be seen shortly.

<https://www.eurasiareview.com/30072018-anticipated-dimensions-of-pakistan-us-relations-post-july-2018-elections-oped/>



## ***CPEC: A Boon for Gilgit-Baltistan***

***S Sadia Kazmi***

Gilgit-Baltistan being the only entry point between China and Pakistan holds immense significance which translates into this region being strategically important not just for China but for Pakistan as well. Neglecting this region in anyway will not reap the promised benefits of CPEC for Pakistan, and this is already clearly understood by the Pakistani policy makers. Although some serious irritants remain to be resolved including the mainstreaming of Gilgit-Baltistan, nonetheless, the problems shouldn't hold back the development of the region. CPEC which connects the Gwadar port in Baluchistan to Kashgar in China, has a number of projects distributed among the provinces of Pakistan. Similarly, the Gilgit-Baltistan region sets to gain from the Moqpondaas Special Economic Zone. The 250 acres of land have been identified which is allotted for this SEZ and the initial feasibility report has already been shared with the Chinese counterpart. The type of industry this SEZ offers include Marble, Granite, Iron ore processing, Steel industry, Food processing, Leather industry and Mineral processing industry.

The SEZ is easily accessible through Gilgit Airport (35 KM) and Skardu (160 KM). From Sust dry port it lies at a distance of 200 KM and runs on a CPEC stretch of 4 KM on the Gilgit-Skardu road. The industrial projects envisaged under the Moqpondaas SEZ bring a wave of hope to the industry starved yet resource rich region of Gilgit-Baltistan. Despite it having the highest literacy rate as compared to any part of Pakistan, the people of GB find it hard to avail good employments. CPEC promises to bring job opportunities for the local educated population by setting up these industries and giving boost to the trade activity with adjacent China. The road link will allow the smooth flow of trade goods on daily basis with an added advantage of opening routes for tourists in this part of Pakistan which is blessed with the most beautiful mountain range of Karakoram, Himalaya and Hindukush. The region offers rich cultural and civilizational history which has a huge potential to generate revenues by attracting large number of foreign tourists. However, these potentials are still untapped and need to be propped up through properly organized and methodical policy. There is no fish industry in the region despite the area offering best quality trout in Pakistan.

Although the CPEC has been welcomed by the locals, there are serious grievances that need to be addressed. For instance, it is feared that the CPEC projects might displace the local population for the sake of building industries and establishing SEZs. It is also a concern that the heaving traffic might temper with the ecology of the region causing pollution and rise in the temperatures, same is being thought about the railways once the trains start passing through the region. Building of roads and tunnels as part of KKH through hills and mountains has caused landslides a constant feature in many parts of the region, fundamentally changing the landscape. It is also believed that the influx of Chinese goods, workers and officials in the region has somehow taken over the local industry and almost sidelined the local populace. Although it is understood that the security and safety of the Chinese nationals is a responsibility of the local security forces but putting up barriers and cordoning off the specific areas and making them into 'no entry zones' has managed to alienate the locals in their own

region. Some part of the local population is also skeptic about the promised benefits of the CPEC project. However, these insecurities have been addressed by the Chinese as well as Pakistani officials.

Chinese Ambassador to Pakistan Yao Jing has emphasized upon the fact that “Gilgit-Baltistan is an important part of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) project and residents of this region will be provided maximum benefit”.

A Chinese envoy in April 2018, during a meeting with a delegation of Gilgit-Baltistan Chamber of commerce and Industry was vocal in expressing that “The Chinese government wishes for the development of the residents through trade activities between GB and neighbouring Xinjiang province, for which various projects including hydropower projects, Gilgit-Chitral road, Karakoram Highway (KKH) upgradation and maintenance schemes have been initiated in the GB region.”

Hence one can be sure that GB is likely going to benefit in terms of business development, energy generation, infrastructure development and telecommunication. The connectivity through road and train plus intra-city roads will facilitate social and economic integration. Moreover, resource development is expected in the region as people are getting trainings, learning Chinese language and business skills. Therefore, by giving due consideration to the concerns of local population and timely addressing and clarifying them, one can stay more hopeful about the promised benefits of the CPEC for this region.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2018/07/31/cpec-a-boon-for-gilgit-baltistan/>



## ***Russia-Pakistan Relations: Economic and Public Dimensions***

*Venita Christopher*

Pakistan is recognized by Russia as instrumental for political and peaceful settlement of Afghanistan issue and pivotal in linking the Eurasian Economic Union with South Asia, Indian Ocean, and beyond. Relations between both the states are gradually being developed on the basis of mutual benefits and convergence of interests. This is reflective of clear shift in the foreign policy of Russia towards Pakistan. Pakistan provides a potential market for Russian arms which is an incentive for Russia as Russian economy heavily depends on its arms exports. Pakistan is the seventh largest arms importer of the world. The two countries have also been conducting regular joint military exercises such as the ones in 2016 and 2017. Such measures would definitely address the problem of trust deficit and would pave way for more dependable relation.

Russian and Pakistani diplomats along with multiple other organizations and the UN are undertaking collaborative ventures to overcome the threats of terrorism in the region. Recently Russia has made agreements with Pakistan to uplift arms embargo, sold Mi-35 attack helicopters, and has negotiated a deal with Pakistan for SU-35 and SU-37 fighter jets. These trends show that Pakistan is acknowledged as an important player by Russia that could bring peace to the South Asian region mainly Afghanistan. But the decades old foe of Pakistan i.e. India, has been quite concerned about Russia-Pakistan cozying up to each other. Nonetheless, despite the warming up trend between Pakistan and Russia, the much anticipated visit by President Putin to Pakistan could not see light of the day since 2012. There is a serious need to open active diplomatic channels and mutual grounds for collaboration should be identified for the high level visits to happen between the two states. Russia should re-arrange the President's visit to Pakistan as Islamabad is also trying to broaden its agenda to exchange its views and dialogues with Russian federation.

It is not to be overlooked that Russia is still quite cautious in its action when it comes to dealing with both Pakistan and India. It is trying to develop and strengthen military and strategic relations with both the states. Keeping in view the new positive trend in diplomatic ties, in the last two years, one can witness that both Russia and Pakistan have organized regular exercises of naval and ground forces on Russian and Pakistani territories as well as tactical and military exercises to strengthen their ties with general staffs on both sides. The two countries have a general consensus on undertaking counter terrorism and extremism operations in Pakistan.

In this regard Pakistan recently introduced Regional Anti Terrorist Structure (RATS) in Shanghai Cooperation Organization which was wholeheartedly appreciated by as an effective measure to fight against drug trafficking which is one of the main sources of funding to terrorists. The Russian and Pakistani military leadership has managed to engage with each other by regularly participating in the

conferences held annually by defense ministry of Russia to contemplate on the matters concerning regional and international security.

The IPI and TAPI pipelines are the potential areas for Russia and Pakistan to collaborate however, these projects couldn't take off mainly because of the external pressure from the US and India which refrain and dissuade Russia from enhancing ties with Pakistan. Russia also signed agreement with Pakistan for the investment of 2 billion USD in North-South gas pipeline for the supply of Liquefied Natural Gas from Karachi to Lahore which was to be completed by the end of 2017 but unfortunately the work on this project has not yet been started.

The economic interdependence between Russia and Pakistan can be established by the consolidation of Eurasian Economic Union via CPEC to South Asia and to Indian Ocean and beyond. Pakistan should take steps to diversify its arms production, mainly its military hardware by strengthening its military ties with Russia moreover Pakistan also needs investment in its energy sector which would be provided by Russia. Hence both can be considered as mutually beneficial partners for each other.

<https://www.dailyharoof.com/russia-pakistan-relations-economic-and-diplomatic-dimensions/>