



**STRATEGIC VISION**  
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# VISION

VISIONARY INSIGHTS INTO THE STRATEGIC INQUESTS OF NATIONS

## SVI FORESIGHT

VOLUME 3, NUMBER 2  
FEBRUARY 2017

Compiled & Edited by:  
S. Sadia Kazmi

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

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## Strategic Vision Institute (SVI)

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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*

*SVI Foresight* for the month of February presents an anthology of high quality analytical opinions on contemporary strategic and security issues. The short commentaries provide an in depth diagnostic review of the regional and global strategic and security environment. The articles included in this issue have specifically focused on the most current developments in the international politics and evaluate them in a timely manner by furnishing pertinent and critically sound arguments.

Recently the reiteration of the Cold Start Doctrine by the Indian Army Chief Gen. Bipin Rawat has once again raised genuine concerns among the official circles in Pakistan. The provocative strategy clearly has an offensive insinuation that directly clashes with India's so called "no first use" policy. This belligerent gesture by Indian military leadership has been critically scrutinized in one of the opinion articles wherein the writer rightly suggests that Pakistan must be prepared for nuclear fist use by India any time. Pakistan needs to ensure its sovereignty in face of such ominous statements. The article presents cogent explanations highlighting deliberate inconsistency in India's stance. Simultaneously the writer has built a strong case for Pakistan's tactical nuclear weapons.

Acquisition of weapons and arms buildup is another component that has been found at play between India and Pakistan since long. In the wake of emerging diverse nuclear portfolios in South Asia, one of the articles in this volume has undertaken an extensive debate analyzing the state behavior. The article looks into the motives and reasons behind ever increasing weapons' build up in India and Pakistan. It also highlights the practical implications of this trend on the region and specifically for Pakistan. The readers are bound to find an interesting perspective since the conception has been made intellectually convincing with the help of theoretical evidences and factual data.

The serious tensions and vulnerabilities in South Asia, call for operative CBMs. Another article in this issue discerns the efficacy of Nuclear CBMs and gauges the usefulness of risk reduction measures by India and Pakistan. The trust deficit and deep rooted skepticism is the biggest

challenge undermining the CBMs between the two states. Hence establishing a CBM is a difficult task which can always be easily disrupted. The writer maintains that even though India and Pakistan have remained dubious of each other's intentions, it is important to make the CBMs workable through adherence. Such a measure will bring about major shifts in the overall regional security environment and will help foster economic, political, and security cooperation. The article furnishes viable options that would facilitate such peace initiatives and considerably minimize misinterpretation and establish trust between the two adversarial states.

Last but not the least, with regards to an ever increasing recognition of CPEC project and its potentialities, the recently floated suggestion of connectivity through Kashmir has garnered a lot of attention. The possibilities and caveats attached with this ambitious project have been aptly addressed by one of the writers. The article maintains that while this may not be a farfetched idea, the challenges are inevitable which need to be duly addressed for the success of this project and for the larger benefit of all the stake holders. India is one of the major factors which are intertwined with other elements that are bent upon causing hurdles in the smooth implementation of this project. Nonetheless there is a growing recognition that Kashmir could have a central position in this "game changer" initiative. Having the potential to serve as a nucleus for CPEC project it will reap immense economic benefit which will not only help in the development of Kashmir itself but will lead to regional integration. This will eventually foster the energy cooperation at the regional level, since the oil and gas rich resources of Central Asia could easily be accessed and made use of through such an arrangement. Hence this ideal geographical location of Kashmir should be utilised to the optimum level in developing a new economic alliance and greater connectivity between the regions.

The readers can also find a fresh and unique perspective on other important topics including the recently conducted North Korean Ballistic tests, emerging trends in Asia Pacific policy, the strategic and geopolitical developments in the Middle East, recent wave of terrorism in Pakistan and counter measures, the Pak-Afghan relations, the hike in India's defence budget, Indian atrocities in Kashmir, and the prospects of Pakistan-US strategic dialogue. There is a good

analysis of the contribution of nuclear energy in Pakistan's Energy Security Action Plan. The facts and realities behind the cancellation of DASU hydro power project have also been evaluated in yet another article. All these issues have been critically analyzed in this volume.

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

## ***What the Indian Army Chief's Reiteration of the Cold Start Doctrine means for Pakistan and the Region***

***Beenish Altaf***

Despite many denials, the lid has finally blown up over the Indian Cold Start Doctrine. This is done by an Indian official who is credible enough to quote and declare that India is on it officially. Gen. Bipin Rawat, Indian Army Commander-in-chief, blazed a new conflagration by acknowledging that the Cold Start Doctrine exists for conventional military operations in an interview on January 4, 2017, few days after his appointment as the Army Chief. He is the first senior Indian official, military or civilian, to do so as previously all the Indian chiefs avoided using the term Cold Start and preferred calling it a 'proactive strategy'.

This 'proactive strategy' option is actually a more aggressive move. It's worth mentioning here that India has declared the policy of no-first use of nuclear weapons, but all its belligerent steps are pointing towards offensive moves and strategies. It actually threatens Pakistan from its conventional asymmetric preeminence relationship. Islamabad must be prepared for Delhi opting for nuclear first-use, even more so with hardliners like Manohar Parrikar, Ajit Davol and Sushma Sawraj at the helm.

Contrariwise, Pakistan has developed its battlefield nuclear weapons — Tactical Nuclear Weapons — primarily in response to Indian CSD for an assured defensive formation of launching a counter-offensive strike. Pakistani Foreign Secretary Aizaz Chaudhry once outlining the conditions and options for TNW usage said:

"Pakistan's low-yield weapons were meant to lower the threshold for nuclear escalation to counter the perceived logic of Cold Start."

The Cold Start Doctrine is actually a war fighting scheme that calls on India's conventional forces to perform holding attacks before international intervention, or before nuclear retaliation from Pakistan. It is believed that this doctrine is a step that would break down the deterrence in between both nations; consequently it would cause serious consequences, including the potential use of nuclear weapons. India has consistently denied having such a stance, but in 2011 Army Chief General V K Singh admitted there was a proactive strategy in place. The deployment of Indian tanks would be a key to the strategy, as they are key offensive assets to launch rapid attacks in Pakistani territory.

Ironically, Indian Chief's reiteration of Cold Start Doctrine is read as a fundamental exodus from New Delhi's previous policy of proactive strategy and intended to signal Pakistan a

nasty message. Therefore, it would be pertinent to mention here that Pakistan has not ruled out the option of using tactical nuclear weapons if India ever thought to launch any cross-border attack inside Pakistan, whether from ground or through air strikes. Tactical weapons are usually delivered by short-range ballistic missiles that Pakistan does possess, which could effectively counter a Cold Start strike. Moreover, Pakistan can relocate its defensive formations near the Indian borders where it is deploying more than 460 Main Battle Tanks (MBTs), substantially increasing its already sizable tank force.

Though India has always maintained an extensive amount of tank force along the India-Pakistan border line, this time there is confirmation by some Indian senior defense officials to IHS Jane 360 that Indian Army is planning to deploy the nearly 500 (exactly 464) newly ordered T-90MS MBTs along India's western and northern borders with Pakistan. The MBTs have been specifically designed for export by Russia, at a cost of INR134.80 billion or \$2 billion. These new MBTs will replace the already deployed 850-900 Bhishma MBTs or the T-90S Bhishma tanks in the Indian states of Rajasthan and Punjab —both bordering Pakistan. This new T-90 is the main battle tank of the Indian Army, replacing the older variants of T-72 and T-55 tanks in the force.

This alarming increase in the tanks' capability on the border could indicate that India is preparing to methodically activate and implement its Cold Start doctrine, which is endorsed from the recent rotating wave of CSD by the new Indian Army Chief. This would evidently result in a devastating impact for the entire region as Cold Start Doctrine is a war fighting doctrine that would certainly lead the way to a full-fledged nuclear response, once the option of tactical nuclear weapons is exercised from the other side. It categorically vindicates Pakistan's apprehension about Indian plans to use rapid-mobilization limited war operations in any future confrontation.

Meanwhile, on the global level, India's constant aggressive moves, one after the other, give ominous signals to the international community that South Asia is in a state of perpetual conflict. Recently, at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, and the then US Vice President Joe Biden expressed his concerns in a speech over the rise of nuclear weapons in Europe, East and especially South Asia. This could be related to the recent official acknowledgment of Indian Cold Start Doctrine, also to the mobilization of Indian battle forces to the border. As a result, the response from Pakistani side would also be similar to ensure its sovereignty. This is the only way to impede the efforts to malign Islamabad.

<http://nation.com.pk/blogs/09-Feb-2017/what-the-indian-army-chief-s-reiteration-of-the-cold-start-doctrine-means-for-pakistan-and-the-region>

## ***In Solidarity with Kashmiris***

***Babar Khan Bozdar***

The people of Kashmir are fighting for independence over six decades but India has captured the valley unethically, For the People of Kashmir, India is another Israel which is smothering their voice and harassing them with bullets. Indian claim is that, they signed an instrument of accession with Maharaja of Kashmir but their statement is controversial.

The fact is that Maharaja of Kashmir pledged for Indian Military support against the popular insurgency in Kashmir. In spite of Crushing insurgency, Indian forces occupied the whole valley illegally. Therefore, People of Kashmir and Pakistan don't accept Indian claim over Kashmir. The United Nation also doesn't consider Indian claim as legally valid. Therefore, it recognizes Kashmir as disputed territory.

Since 1989, when the People of Kashmir intensified their liberation struggle, the unabated Indian state terrorism has so far resulted in the killing of nearly one hundred thousand innocent Kashmiri's and disappearance of thousand in custody. Amid the mass uprising in Indian occupied Kashmir from 2008 to 2010, Millions of People rampaged in Sri-Nagar and other towns with the demand of their right to self determination.

However, instead of respecting the sentiments of the Peoples, Indian troops and police personnel's responded to the use of brute force, Killing and maiming thousand of peoples during the period. In the mean time, many international human rights bodies and European parliament express concern over discovery of unidentified mass graves in the territory strongly apprehending that the graves contained the dead bodies of those who were killed in custody and fake encounters by Indian troops.

As per UN charter of Human rights, freedom is the basic right of any individual or nation. This privileged of freedom can't be grabbed by any barbarous country. The battle of Kashmir may appear to be long; however, the day is not far when Kashmir will be free from Indian Brutalities. Hence, Pakistan support of Kashmir is genuine and ethical. On this day, entire nation and individuals of Pakistan living outside pay tribute to Kashmiri individuals for their battle which they are doing in Indian occupied Kashmir.

In 1975, President of Pakistan, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto declared the strike on 5<sup>th</sup> February to bolster Kashmiri's, so as to guarantee that Pakistan is with their Kashmiri brother and Sisters in each trouble. Kashmiri's are being martyred by Indian security personals, yet they have not gone inch back from their principal stand of freedom from India.

The peoples of Pakistan and Jammu and Kashmir are unanimous in deploring the fact that, the response of international community to the just struggle of Kashmiri People has been disappointing. It has failed to consider New Delhi responsible in charge of the genocide of Kashmiri's and urge India to give the people of Jammu and Kashmir their natural ideal of self-assurance. The world needs to mull over that Kashmir has turned into nuclear flashpoint as it involved two nuclear armed-neighbors.

The truth of matter is that because of India's implausible and uncompromising state of mind, the peace of whole south Asia is on stake.

Conversely, Pakistan has been consistent in giving all our support to the just cause of Kashmiri people and has acted as strong advocate of Kashmir cause at the universal gathering. The Pakistan has a number of legitimate and genuine reasons to express solidarity with their Kashmiri brethren as both share strong bond in respect of religion, geography, culture, aspirations and economy.

The founder of Pakistan Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah has termed Kashmir as the "Jugular vein of Pakistan". His commitment to the interests of Kashmir's had driven him to visit Jammu and Kashmir three times before 1947 (in 1926, 1936 and 1944) during which he held extensive talks with Kashmiri leadership.

Let all the peace and equity cherishing countries of the world meet up in communicating functional solidarity with the oppressed peoples of Indian occupied Kashmir.

<http://epaper.pakobserver.net/201702/10/page05.php>

## *Emerging Trends in Asia Pacific Policy*

### *Zainab Aziz*

The emergence of Asia Pacific region as a new strategic centre in the international political landscape is now a reality and it might gain more significance as a region. Foreign policy, elections, protectionism and territorial stakes have turned into an inexorably pertinent subject of the contemporary times. It seems evident that the international political economy will change in 2017 and the stakes are high for achieving regional and global leadership. The national interest of the states will change altogether and their respective foreign policies will be modified accordingly. Withdrawing from the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) free trade agreement that was optimistically negotiated by the Obama Administration and the threatening remarks of leaving NAFTA by the Trump Administration will result in serious consequences in this region.

It is assumed that Washington may lose its power as a political leader that has the potential of carrying out decisions for strengthening regional growth, once it comes out of trade liberalization associations. It is also inferred that in the absence of United States, China will patently gain additional advantage of influencing Asia Pacific countries, therefore bringing down Washington's impact on policies even more. Hence, the states are now determined to negotiate trade deals with or without the Washington's guidance. Meanwhile, President Trump's administration is believed to convince Australia and other allies to follow an explicit policy regarding South China Sea and they must take a rigid stance against Beijing. It is yet to see if the US plays its provocation card by being a regional integration killjoy or it still acts a mediator for the sake of region's stability and prosperity.

The consequences of the Beijing's military objectives with regard to regional diplomacy and foreign policy could be noteworthy. Firstly, the political disintegration and the growing militarization of the region are jeopardizing its stability and there is a risk of increased tensions with the opposing alliances emerging from within the Asia Pacific region. The rapid shift in the Philippines' pro-China stance from pro-US by overlooking the decision of the South Sea Arbitration that came against China is surprising. And the US State Secretary Rex Tillerson explicitly clarified that China's South China Sea ambitions are "not going to be allowed". It seems apparent that US will utilize the interventionist policies of its diplomacy while pushing Australia to take the similar stance as that of US. The issue of South China Sea is likely to divide the alliances on the matters of security and peace. Whilst China's endeavours to give impetus to the international trade relations can result in a stable and prosperous Asia Pacific region. Initially, the US strategy of coalition-building was designed to counter the Chinese tilt towards the East Asia integration associations by gaining the membership of Trans-Pacific Partnership.

TPP performed as a body on which the United States could rely for emphasizing the values of deregulatory systems in the region. This was the essence of Obama's repeated statement: "If we don't write the rules, China will write the rules out in that region." With Japan's economy twice the size of the eight founding participants in the TPP negotiations with the United States, Japan's entry was viewed as important for the pact's emergence as the preeminent trade agreement in the Asia Pacific region.

Furthermore, US wanted to curb the rise of China amidst the current US-China competition in the region. In reaction to the TPP general agreement, China initiated to establish its own regional organizations including the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), the Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia (CICA) and Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). China has promoted its bilateral and multilateral regional economic integration through these institutions. China has inclusively increased its expansion primarily in South and Central Asia along with the collaboration of Russia and India. The Chinese ambition of creating a "New Silk Road Economic Zone" is definitely a credible counter-balance to the TPP. Therefore, China has sustained its economic cooperation with US, Japan and other regional cooperative initiatives too which manifests that China does not want to escape from regional and global cooperation organizations. Yet, it simply countervails the alliances formed under US influence by creating parallel regional concepts.

The above mentioned efforts made by China are only the means to create such an environment for US and Japan where China can easily impede the way of realization of their ambitions while promoting its own strategic and economic interests, regardless of Japan and US being neither the member of CICA nor SCO. In essence, the escalating Sino-US competition of enforcing the set of rules and norms on regional security and economic agenda that is in their country's respective national interest, and shaping the regional political and economic order is the indication of the upsurge in "new" regionalism in Asia and Asia Pacific. This struggle for the hegemony does not involve any direct conventional arms race but implicates the standards-setting process based on the regional order-building approach. These are the tactics employed to neutralize the dominance of the opposite side

<http://pakobserver.net/emerging-trends-in-asia-pacific-policy/>

## ***Efficacy of Pakistan's Counter Terrorism Narrative and Good Governance***

***Muhammad Adil Sivia***

The grand bargain between the society and institution of state is people surrendering their liberties that exist in the state of nature and accepting the authority of the state with implied understanding that the state in turn will work for the welfare of citizens. For any state the *raison d'état* for existence of the state can be none other but service and welfare of the citizens. The Pakistan movement was anchored on the premise that people would be better off in new state managed by their own kind. Through the effective leadership of the founding fathers, and the confidence that the majority of Muslims posed in them, the idea of Pakistan, that was a question of minority rights, became a geographic reality.

Each society has unique factors responsible for the breeding of extremism and terrorism. Any policy dictated by external actors for tackling the threat of terrorism without a holistic understanding of the underlying factors that prompted a certain mindset or organizations is bound to fall short. The targeting of governance structure has been a deliberate action by terrorist organizations to instill fear in the minds of people and expose the inability of the state structure to deter terrorists from attacking at will. The destruction of selected state institutions and functionaries serves the terrorists objective of making the state to come to terms with the agenda of terrorists.

Pakistan is a unique case where apart from other factors, primarily the governance gaps, it has provided a working space for extremist and terrorist organizations. Charitable wings of proscribed organizations fill the void left by the state. Many state functions especially the welfare of the people is performed by such organizations. Consequently, through soft power tools, negative non-state actors develop strong connections with the people of certain areas. Popular support that such organizations derive from certain sections of the Pakistani society is linked with the inefficient state apparatus. The connection between state and society is made through good governance. Citizens that are ignored and marginalized through inefficient governance are easy targets.

Supporters of such organizations ask what has the state done for them. When they compare the benefits they derive from the state and proscribed charitable organizations, their loyalty lies not with the state, but with extremist organizations. Alternative political systems with skewed religious interpretations favoring a certain brand of extremism that such organizations aim to implement through the use of force becomes attractive for people suffering under the prevailing system of governance.

The narrative of Pakistan on national security fails to appreciate the connection that governance has with security. The state came up with National Internal Security Policy (NISP) 2014-2018 that explains a two-pronged strategy to deal with the menace of extremism and terrorism. Comprehensive Response Plan (CRP) is about winning hearts and trust of the public for combating extremism and terrorism. The Composite Deterrence Plan (CDP) is to embolden and make the internal security apparatus efficient. The factors that lead to terrorism one-way or other in Pakistan are connected with the absence of good governance. The state has become a hard state that focuses on the resolution of disputes, and challenges to the state emanating from non-state actors primarily through force utilization.

Unless the state takes a holistic view and improves its governance the narrative of extremists is difficult to be fundamentally challenged.

The attack on schoolchildren in Peshawar on December 16, 2014 can arguably be called a 9/11 moment for Pakistan's war on terrorism. In the aftermath of attack, the state charted the 20-point National Action Plan for combating the menace of terrorism. This plan, however, fails to include the problem of governance that has provided the enabling environment for the extremist mindset. The alleged role that non-state actors have played in foreign policy implementation tools of the state is a reflection of bad governance on the part of the state where certain roles of the state have been assumed by non-state actors often using their acceptance in society for promoting extremist ideology for increasing their constituency.

Donald Trump, the 45th US president in his inaugural speech made clear his intentions about taking the fight against religion-inspired terrorism to a logical conclusion. He said, "We will reinforce old alliances and form new ones and unite the civilized world against radical Islamic terrorism, which we will eradicate from the face of the Earth."

Rex Tillerson, the US Secretary of State in his confirmation hearing, elaborated Trump's security agenda in tackling negative non-state actors. He said, "Radical Islam poses a grave risk to the stability of nations and the well-being of their citizens. These groups are often enabled and emboldened by nations, organizations, and individuals sympathetic to their cause. These actors must face consequences for aiding and abetting what can only be called evil."

James Mattis, the US Secretary of Defense in his prepared answers to questions posed by the United States Senate Committee on Armed Services termed the presence of extremist elements along the Pakistan-Afghanistan border as an operation issue affecting the security situation in Afghanistan. Sanctuary denial to extremist elements through kinetic means can only create a vacuum that will be filled by one or other extremist outfit. Extremist and terrorist outfits are adept at morphing into the next version.

The international and regional pressure and demands on Pakistan to 'do more' against extremist and terrorist organizations will increase under the current US president. Pakistan's actions on war against terrorism cannot be indifferent to demands from international powerful state actors. Governance as a non-kinetic response to constituency of extremist and terrorist organizations is the need of hour for breaking the connection between extremist organizations and the people they recruit for their cause.

<http://www.eurasiareview.com/13022017-efficacy-of-pakistans-counter-terrorism-narrative-and-good-governance-oped/>

## *Proscribed Outfits and Internal Security*

*Saima Ali*

Pakistan is facing various kinds of terrorization; both traditional and non-traditional such as extremism, sectarian violence, separatist movements, political and economic instability, terrorism, and feudalism are traditional internal threats linked with external factors. These activities are going on in different parts of country. Many other security agencies of different states are trying their best to destabilize Pakistan, wherever possible.

The idea of proscribed organizations was introduced, whereby governments would draw up a list of organizations connected with terrorism and would then proceed to taking action against these groups under the ATA's steps of procedure. These organizations are continuously challenging the internal security of the state, territorial integrity and are jeopardizing the accomplishment of its national interests. Much of these proscribed organizations may not be directly involved in terrorist activities but play an important role in fostering, promoting, supporting and glorifying terrorism.

In addition, there are also proven evidences of the foreign involvement in these activities. Like the terrorist and insurgent activities in Baluchistan are threats to Pakistan's internal Security. According to the foreign office of Pakistan, the militancy in Baluchistan is gaining support from foreign players especially our Eastern neighbor. Separatist movements in Sindh and Baluchistan added by sectarian violence are posing credible threats to Pakistan's internal security.

Pakistan has lost 35000 lives and \$118 billion in the war on terror. In 2015, Pakistan has formally declared 212 outfits as proscribed organizations. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs banned 171 organizations, while the Interior Ministry banned 60 more organizations. One can perceive the proscribed list on NACTA website from Lashkar-e Jhangvi, Sipah-i-Muhammad which were proscribed in year 2001 to recently proscribed Jamaatud Dawa (JuD), which was been put on the watch list by the interior ministry in 2015. It was already enlisted under UNSCR 1267 along Al- Akhtar and Al –Rashid Trust organizations. Finally this year DG, ISPR Maj Gen Asif Ghafoor while putting ban on (JuD) stated that the decision to put Jamaat-ud-Dawa (JuD) chief Hafiz Saeed under house arrest “is a policy decision”.

It is to notify that Pakistan's list of proscribed organizations was not available to the general public up until very recently, while in justice, alerting the people to the organizations that threatened them should have been the first step in countering terrorism. The list should be readily available on the websites of NACTA, the Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Information, Ministry of States and Frontier Regions as well as on those of the Home Departments of all

provinces, territories, arms licenses issuing authorities, passport-issuing authorities, immigration authorities, State Bank of Pakistan and all commercial banks.

The lack of an authentic list leads to ambiguity in response of the government as well as the public. This confusion should be got over come. The lack of authentic lists of banned militant organizations as well as their members, leads to indistinctness in the response of the government as well as the public.

Furthermore, a nationwide approach, backed by political will, is required to curb and destroy these banned outfits from grass roots level. There is a need to have a proper organization at the federal level to monitor the status of the ban implementation. One such organization could be National Counter-Terrorism Authority (NACTA).

It should be strengthened along NAP. As it provide for the execution of convicted terrorists, establishment of military-led speedy trial courts, action against armed militias and the strengthening and activation of the National Counter Terrorism Authority (NACTA). National Action Plan should have timelines for achieving any of the goals the Plan also should mention those who will implement it or monitor its progress.

<http://pakobserver.net/proscribed-outfits-internal-security/>

## ***Nuclear Vs. Conventional Weapons: A Debate on India's Defence Budget (2017-18) Hike***

***Asma Khalid***

The principle purpose of the nuclear weapon is to deter the adversary to ensure the national security. International scholars has identified that states contribute in the nuclearisation process for various reasons ranging from status-quo to security threats, deterrence, offensive strategies and enhancing the state's standing in international arena.

Since beginning, the role of nuclear weapon has not much evolved since its origin. Such as during the Cold-War era nuclear capability was used to deter and maintain the balance of power among two symmetric adversaries and nuclear doctrine of the states was perusing state-centric policy.

Whereas in 21st century, the role of the nuclear weapon has slightly evolved as now states go after acquiring the nuclear arsenals to overcome the conventional superiority of the adversary through nuclear deterrence. Another significant shift has seen that nuclear capability is acquired to deal with regional security concerns. Thus, since its inception factor of deterrence has remained the constant, it means that its role in military planning will not change.

Nuclear weapon plays pivotal role in national security as it is the significant component of integrated defence policy that is comprised of conventional forces and diplomacy including the nuclear capability. Nuclear armed states aims to decrease proliferation of nuclear weapons under the Non-proliferation treaty. But the steady hike has been observed in the nuclear spending of these states. The hike in nuclear spending reflects two dominating facts. First, nuclear capability has stabilizing effects among states relations by making the conflict unacceptably catastrophic. Secondly, states negate the conventional military superiority through the deterrence. Rising nuclear budget proves that these both factors are operational in South Asia.

Rising defence budget reflects that states are facing security dilemma. South Asia is significant for unparalleled nuclear build up between two nuclear rivals: India and Pakistan.

Regional security dimensions revolve around the triangular relations between China, India and Pakistan. Pakistan's military doctrine is India-centric, whereas India claims that it's military doctrine is China specific but technically and practically most of its strategic developments are made against Pakistan.

Security dilemma and adversarial bilateral relations have resulted in conventional and nuclear arms race. Conventional military imbalance is one of the significant factors that Pakistan is forced to respond the arms buildup triggered by India.

Defence budget is considered as most important element of national security in South Asia. In 2017-18 defence budgets, India has allocated US\$ 53.5 billion to modernize and expand its armed forces. The latest defence budget aims to achieve the objectives of “make in India” strategy to design, make, develop and produce military arms to achieve self-reliance and reduced dependence on imports, the heart of this initiative is Aero India. India’s Finance Minister Arun Jaitley in his federal budget speech in 2015 stated: “we have been over dependent on imports, with its attendant unwelcome spin offs, we are thus pursuing the ‘Make in India policy’ to achieve greater self-sufficiency in the area of defence equipment.”

India has become biggest arms importer of the world, as it is trying to build its armed forces to counter Pakistan and deal with the rising military power of China. Generally, compared to previous budgets, the military expenditure and spending of India has doubled means 100 % increase in last 10 years, since 2006 as Indian military spending was \$19.23 billion in 2006 to US\$ 53.5 billion in 2017. Yet, in 2017-18 budget government announced 10% hike to spend on modernization of its forces.

Since 2004, India has increased its defence budget around 16.5 percent. Indian war-prone military strategies and its modernization drive have not only widened conventional asymmetry, but have compelled Pakistan to enhance its defensive strength. There is possibility that a constant focus on modernizing and enhancing armed forces, might give India enough courage to wage a limited conflict against Pakistan.

Although, Pakistan has always rejected a conventional or nuclear arms race with India, but it cannot compromise over its minimum credible and sufficient conventional and nuclear deterrence. It reflects that against India’s growing conventional superiority, Pakistan’s nuclear weapons capability ensures its deterrence and status quo in region.

Though, Pakistan tries to fill the defence production gap through maintaining its credible nuclear deterrence. Additionally, many factors have compelled Pakistan to increase its dependence on nuclear weapon. Significantly, Economic and technological constraints to achieve conventional parity has played central role to shape Pakistan’s perspective nuclear policy.

Despite India’s military modernization drive, it may not be able to perform an offensive strike, and it is very difficult for Indian policy makers to gain a strategic surprise over Pakistan due to its nuclear deterrence. Therefore, India’s increasing defence spending has been viewed

as a factor of instability in regional nuclear/conventional equations and could force Pakistan to review its nuclear calculus.

<http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/22-Feb-17/nuclear-versus-conventional-weapons>

## ***Energy Security: Cancellation of DASU Hydro Power Project***

### ***Shahzadi Tooba***

The Dasu Dam is a gravity dam currently being constructed on the Indus River 7 km upstream of Dasu village in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province, 74 km downstream of Diamer-Bhasha Dam and 345 km from Islamabad. The 242 m tall dam will support a 4,320 MW hydroelectric power station which will be built in two 2,160 MW stages. Current status according WAPDA's official page is that Five contracts for preparatory were awarded and Contractors mobilized to site. Out of five, two Contracts of Project Colony (PC-01) and Dasu Resettlement Sites (Choochnag) & Shatial Open Air Museum terminated due to breach of Contract by Contractor. However, works on three Contracts are in progress. Letter of Acceptance for Contracts of Main Works (MW-01, Main Hydraulic Structure (RCC Dam), Spillway, Low level outlets, River Diversion & Hydraulic Steel Structures, MW-02, Underground Power Complex, Tunnels & Hydraulic Steel Structures) issued on December 29, 2016 to a Chinese company M/s China Gezhouba Group Co. (CGGC) being the lowest responsive bidder. Commencement work expected at site probably in March/April 2017.

The first stage cost an estimated US\$ 4.278 billion including funding by the World Bank (US\$ 700 million), the Industrial and Commercial Bank of China (US\$1.5 billion), Deutsche Bank (US\$1billion) and Aga Khan Development Network (US\$ 500Million). DHP is one of two hydropower projects mentioned in the Pakistan Vision 2025, managed by the Power Wing of WAPDA. Dam Design and Construction Supervision has been assigned to a joint venture Dasu Hydropower Company led by a Japanese firm Nippon Koei and Dolsar (Turkey) with local Sub-Consultants. The construction is expected to start in 2015 and completed by 2022.

Dasu Hydropower Project is of immense importance not only for generating a large quantum of electricity to stabilize the national economy but also for sociology-economic uplift of the remote and backward areas of Kohistan in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

A few days back a rumor just surfaced that this very project has been cancelled later it happened to be that its just not a rumor, but the project has not yet been cancelled, it's the contract which was initially awarded to a Chinese company named China Railway First Group (CRFG) in November 2015. Moving swiftly, Wapda has not only encashed the performance guarantees of the two contracts awarded to China Railway First Group (CRFG) in November 2015 but also ordered the contractor to vacate the project area immediately, while calling for fresh tenders to make up for lost time.

According to the contractor i.e. CRFG, quoted by DAWN, "practically no work was done because of Wapda's inability to settle land disputes with locals. "Wapda is the defaulter

because it didn't provide the land. The contractor actually had the right to terminate the contract, but it didn't." In its response, Wapda chairman retired Lt Gen Muzammil Hussain, the authority said it had "provided the partial possession of the site to the contractor M/s CRFG in line with the Contract Discussion Agreement/Conditions of the Contracts". Another reason presented by WAPDA is that World Bank had loaned 58 percent of the cost of the project, and if the World Bank's requirements were not fulfilled, the loans could be repealed. Earlier Wapda had blamed the CRFG for subletting the contract to a Lahore-based blacklisted company in order to terminate the contract, even though the former was not a legal contract.

Further when the court has been consulted the Additional Attorney General (AAG), Rana Waqar, informed the court that under the presidential ordinance of 1960, the government has full right to award contracts. He informed the court that the government had inked an agreement with the International Development Agency (IDA).

The project lingered on due to acquisition of land but after two years of delay in kick-starting Dasu Dam Project, Pakistan Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA) reached a consensus in December 216 with affectees of the project relating to acquisition of land. In this case the Chinese company CRFG seems right but the partial possession of the land was also handed over to the company. No any clear reason came up of the issue because WAPDA has awarded the project to Chinese Company.

To cap all, an impartial judicial enquiry should be made to protect the rights of both the parties; of course it has made some reputational impacts. Each party should accept its mistakes. In this case WAPDA has shown all the authority to award or cancel the project. The authoritative culture laced with excessive bureaucratic controls and corruption is the main reason to hinder the FDI to Pakistan. The development in the country has suffered because of this culture in absence of an efficient judicial system. Foreign companies are reluctant to do business here because their rights are not protected. Until and unless, we reform ourselves, our development shall remain stagnant and the nation shall not be able to realize its economic potential.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2017/02/22/energy-security-cancellation-dasu-hydro-power-project>

## ***Fighting Pakistan's War of Narratives Under Hybrid Warfare***

*Muhammad Adil Sivia*

The complex global world that we live in has fundamentally changed the tools used by states, non-state actors both negative and positive for achieving their objectives. Means that are utilized for the attainment of overt and covert ends remain highly responsive to changes in communication technologies. Warfare has undergone sea change because of information technology revolution. Defense and promotion of national interest in 21<sup>st</sup> century is no more the responsibility of individuals and institutions established for such purposes only. Tactics used by adversaries during peace and wartime, definition of warfare, battlefield and legitimate targets has been continuously evolving because of technological and information revolution.

The concept of Hybrid War emerged after 2006 Israel-Lebanon war whereby a non-state actor Hezbollah frustrated the state actor Israel in achieving its strategic objective of dismantling the organization. Hybrid warfare includes the optimal combination of conventional/unconventional, regular/irregular, and information and cyber warfare. Threat is not reduced singular form or domain. Hybrid warfare included whole of the adversary state as legitimate targets and attacks are multi-pronged and multidimensional not restricted to conventional war tactics. Preparations for conventional war capabilities are constant by the adversary while utilizing non-state actors to engage and weaken the target state from within through irregular warfare. Exploitation of domestic fault lines like political, economic and societal is the main target of hybrid warfare. The incremental approach that is followed in hybrid warfare is designed to gut a state from within.

Hybrid warfare is very much relevant to Pakistan. In fact, the state and society of Pakistan is already fighting hybrid warfare launched by India for destabilizing Pakistan. The adversary is targeting Pakistan from within through extremists and terrorists as proxies for thousands cuts strategy. Through hybrid warfare, strategic objective that adversary is trying to achieve is not annihilation of Pakistan as state but making her so weak that Pakistan accepts Indian bid of supremacy in South Asia and compromises her vital interests and accepts resolution of outstanding disputes on Indian terms. Recent unearthing of spying network after Kulbhushan Yadav was captured by intelligence agencies of Pakistan show that there has been shift of tactics from India. After the overt nuclearization of Pakistan, any conventional war adventure will be too costly for India. Fighting hybrid war against Pakistan under the rubric of nuclear weapons has become preferred strategy by India.

Sun Tzu a Chinese strategist and philosopher said, "War is a moral contest, they are won in temples long before they are ever fought". The task fighting and effectively winning wars of

narratives in the court of world opinion cannot be accomplished by diplomatic corps alone. In post-truth era where objective facts are less influential in shaping opinion compared with repetitive assertion of certain agenda points, foreign policy has become battlefield of competing narratives. Selling Pakistan's view abroad has become increasingly difficult because of absence of effective intellectuals for disseminating Pakistan's rationale of policies adopted. Information domain has become extremely important for effectively disseminating the narrative of the country to both domestic and foreign audiences. The questions about Pakistan's commitment to fighting extremism and terrorism often go unanswered in academic circles. Though US officials accept the safety mechanisms that Pakistan has put in place for protection of nuclear installations, questions raised by academics about safety of such installation and anti-proliferation mechanism are not effectively counter through academic arguments.

Pakistan due to deliberate policies adopted by ruling elite both civilian and military for furthering their rule has become a regressive society where alternative perspective or dissent is discouraged and often dissenters are silenced through threats or actual use of violence. In Pakistan, the culture of narrative management and manipulation strategy by certain state institutions has created the intellectual void. Absence of broad base of independent scholars and scholarship has created intellectual gap. Adversary is effectively utilizing the dearth of capable human resource in information domain hence Pakistan's perspective is highly underrepresented. Pakistan's adversary on one hand is exploiting the ideological and social differences among the Pakistan's society and on the other hand is constructing alternative narratives about Pakistan's state and security institutions for effectively harming Pakistan's view abroad.

The presence of educated Indian diaspora especially engaged in policy influencing institutions in Capitol Hill gives India a structured cost effective tool for favorable disposition. The policy of investing in people is now working as force multiplier for India in international politics through effective utilization of Indian-Americans for furthering foreign policy objectives. The combination of diplomatic pressure and international sanctioning of certain Pakistani individuals and organizations alleged to be involved in terrorism by UN Security Council Committee established under UN Resolution 1267 is reflection of US power exploited by India through sustained campaign.

Promotion of freedom of expression and investment in people becomes the urgent course of action for neutralizing the adversary's hybrid war tactics used against Pakistan. Often poisonous narrative against Pakistan goes effectively unchallenged by academics in Pakistan that narrative informs the opinion of policy makers especially in the West. Development of

quality human resource is necessary for effectively calibrating and disseminating Pakistan's perspective in international arena where competing narratives battle.

<http://dailytimes.com.pk/blog/23-Feb-17/fighting-pakistans-war-of-narratives-under-hybrid-warfare>

## ***What Does a Diverse Portfolio of Nuclear Weapons Mean for Pakistan and India?***

***Maimuna Ashraf***

Nuclear pessimists and optimists are lately discussing the emergence of diverse portfolios of nuclear weapons in the South Asian context. Pessimists argue that the trend to develop a survivable nuclear force is further complicating the South Asian tension, whereas the optimists view that the nuclear force structure establishes a strengthened deterrence posture against the rival. Nuclear force can be comprised of nuclear triad consisting of three components: land, air and sea based delivery systems. The sophisticated bombers for aerial system, technologically advanced ballistic missiles for land based missions and submarine/submarine launched ballistic missiles for the sea based delivery system. The rationale for acquiring a three-branched nuclear capability is to considerably decrease the possibility that an adversary could wipe out all of a country's nuclear force structure in a first-strike attack. This provides a credible threat of a second strike and ensures a state's credible nuclear deterrence. In nuclear strategy, "the second-strike capability is a country's assured ability to respond to a nuclear attack with powerful nuclear retaliation against the attacker". To acquire this capability, and to convince adversary of its viability, is considered imperative in establishing nuclear deterrence.

Here arises the question: why would a state go for sea-based capabilities when its land based missiles are able to cover its adversary? To understand this phenomenon that why states adopt a certain assortment of nuclear weapons one must comprehend the policymakers' decisions about the nuclear force structures. For instance, a state can acquire certain capabilities by possessing an individual nuclear platform, because nuclear platforms vary in terms of range, destructive power, vulnerability to attack, effectiveness against different kinds of enemy forces, and other important attributes. Hence, the acquisition of a particular nuclear platform is inadequate. In order to achieve the best state goals and assured deterrence, nuclear optimists believe that states must consider diversifying weapons and totality of nuclear capabilities by creating a portfolio of platforms.

According to nuclear scholars "diversification is advantageous for defensive reasons. Lacking experience with nuclear conflict, nations cannot know which weapons will prove most effective or most vulnerable on the battlefield. Emphasizing a particular nuclear platform increases the risk that nuclear forces will become vulnerable to enemy counterforce targeting or other measures, or even to unforeseen or accidental logistical or maintenance problems. This is one of the fundamental justifications for the nuclear triad."

Furthermore, it is said by Former Secretary of the Air Force Thomas Reed, “diversity poses an insoluble targeting problem to any aggressor. Any attack that might seriously cripple one leg of the Triad constitutes a clear and unambiguous warning to the other two. There is no known way to attack all three simultaneously”.

Lately, after the successful test of nuclear-capable Babur-III SLCM from a submerged platform, Pakistan declared to achieve the second strike capability and stated it the ‘manifestation of the strategy of measured response to nuclear strategies and postures being adopted in its neighborhood’. Babur-III has been incorporated with the state of the art technologies that include sophisticated guidance system, highly advanced navigation features, and underwater controlled propulsion that would hit the target with defined accuracy. Moreover, stealth technologies like terrain hugging and sea skimming flight capabilities will dodge air defenses and radars in emerging South Asian landscape with India possessing Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD) while the sea-based mobile platform will keep it undetected. Conversely, the first successful flight test of Ababeel, after the two operational MRBMs Shaheen-I and Shaheen-II, would enable Pakistan to launch multiple warheads using Multiple Independent Re-entry Vehicle (MIRV) technology. This development placed Pakistan among few states, including US, China and Russia that possess this technology. The development of the Ababeel weapon system was aimed at ensuring survivability of Pakistan’s ballistic missiles in the growing regional Ballistic Missile Defence (BMD) environment. Therefore, this development will augment Pakistan’s deterrence posture. These developments have three evident and instant implications. First, it is likely to provide Pakistan a seaborne nuclear deterrent while India already possesses it after formally commissioning its nuclear powered submarine — INS Arihant. Second, since Indian BMD had reduced India’s vulnerability to Pakistani ballistic missiles strike, undercut Pakistan’s offensive posture, yet strengthened India’s defensive capabilities, therefore MIRV technology is an effective option to neutralize this development. Third, these developments stabilize the status quo, because when the strategic equilibrium is in play; the concept of mutual destruction functions and the nuclear opponents has reciprocal annulment of options for war at any level.

Another question that often surfaces against Pakistan is that if Indian nuclear submarine is aimed to deter China then why would Islamabad enter into a maritime nuclear race with New Delhi? The answer is in understanding that this sea-based nuclear deterrence transpired from the fear of being destroyed by a state possessing superior capabilities. Just like India is compelled to respond to Chinese sea based nuclear developments, so is Pakistan with regards to India. Many analysts believe that a diversified nuclear force structure, covering each leg of nuclear triad, assure the credible second strike capability and mutual fears of destruction. Thus, theoretically, completion of nuclear triad on both sides, Pakistan and India, assures credible

second-strike capability, reduces the vulnerability of nuclear attack and helps stabilize a nuclear relationship.

<http://nation.com.pk/blogs/24-Feb-2017/what-does-a-diverse-portfolio-of-nuclear-weapons-mean-for-pakistan-and-india>

## *Cross Border Sanctuaries and Pak-Afghan Relations*

*Saima Ali*

In international politics all nations have their own national interests, and there are no permanent allies and opponents. Neighboring states can be a benefit or a nuisance, depending on the capability to identify one's long-term interests for long lasting peace on its borders.

The Jamaatul Ahrar, which is responsible for the recent attacks claiming over 100 innocent lives, is the largest and most lethal of Pakistani militant outfits currently operating from the Afghan border region. As the Additional Secretary from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA) Tasnim Aslam raised the “grave concern [Pakistan has] about the continuing terrorist attacks on Pakistani soil by the terrorist outfit Jumaat-ul-Ahrar (JuA) [operating] from its sanctuaries inside Afghanistan,”

The network has pledged allegiance to the militant Islamic State group (IS) making the situation much more dangerous. The Pakistan Chief of Army rightly consulted and took into confidence the US Commander, General Nikelson in Afghanistan so he can play a big role in mitigating the danger lurking over the good neighborly relations of the two countries. Along with recent announcement of Operation Radd-ul-Fasaad in the aftermath of a fresh resurgence in terror attacks in Pakistan.

Unsurprisingly cross border sanctuaries has been a foremost reason for the latest escalation of terrorist attacks both in Pakistan and Afghanistan. This perilous approach of ‘my enemy's enemy is my friend’ has provided terrorists greater space to operate, thereby threatening the entire region. Cross-border attacks only fuel hostilities between the two countries, making it more difficult for them to join hands in fighting the common enemy. Along this these insurgencies, helped by cross-border sanctuaries and support networks, also weaken the host country's sovereignty.

Pakistani officials say a second key Chaman border crossing into Afghanistan has been sealed, which was never sealed in history closing the trade supplies to the neighboring landlocked country. The border closure in Baluchistan comes after a suicide bombing at the Lal Shahbaz Qalandar shrine that killed 88 people. The closure is to demand Kabul to act against militants who have sanctuaries in Afghanistan. Earlier, the border crossing at Torkham, which connects Pakistan to Afghanistan's Nangarhar province, was also put down the lid.

The combination of Afghan and Pakistani grievances against one another has led to a relationship that is now in a shockingly poor state. Still, there are compelling reasons for both sides to move the bilateral relationship back towards cooperation. Pakistan, has had genuine

concerns in relation to Afghanistan. As Mr. Ghani 's administration became increasingly hawkish on Pakistan, they deliberately steered closer to India — a growing closeness that the security establishment here saw as one of the reasons behind the renewed security troubles in Baluchistan. Moreover, with counter-insurgency operations in North Waziristan and other parts of Fata nearing their final stages, the problem of sanctuaries for anti-Pakistan militants in Afghanistan, particularly in the eastern region, has become a thorny issue.

Islamabad's precise and lawful concern over the support for the Baluch nationalist insurgency by Indian intelligence in Afghanistan has at some extent exaggerated relations between the two countries. Cross-border sanctuaries are major hurdles in the fight against insurgency and terrorism. It is not only true for Pakistan, but also for Afghanistan fighting its Taliban insurgency. Hostile relations between the two neighboring nations have certainly made it much more difficult for them to deal with the terrorism.

One significant point is to highlight is that the real problem is the inability of people on either side of the border to accept that there are dilemmas with the faith that need to be addressed. Till such time as violence is seen as a legitimate means of securing Islamic ends, terrorism will continue to flourish with a religious sanction and legitimacy. If we have to defeat ISIS, we must acknowledge that pursuit of religious ends by use of violence is not justified.

Pakistan's move to secure the borders and restrict illegal cross-border movement is reasonable, given the serious security situation. But its efforts cannot succeed with the current state of tension with Afghanistan. It is also important to build trust between the people of the two countries because their destinies are knotted and they must end this destructive war of sanctuaries. Pragmatically, Pakistan can't afford to be opponents with both India and Afghanistan. Need of the hour is mutual respect, honesty in eradicating terror from the soil. At the same time, Afghanistan must also realize the importance of its relations with Pakistan, a neighbor that has been there to support it in the past, rather than demonstrate an obvious shift towards India. If there is no peace and stability in Afghanistan, there will be no peace and stability in Pakistan and vice-versa.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2017/02/27/cross-border-sanctuaries-pak-afghan-relations/>

## ***Nuclear CBMs and Indo-Pak Reducing Risks of Nuclear Related Mishaps***

***Asma Khalid***

India and Pakistan have been suspicious of each other since the time of independence. Their relationship has witnessed tensions, conflicts and even wars. The onset of nuclear weapons has added a new dimension to the rivalry. In March 2000 US president Bill Clinton had called South Asia as “the most dangerous place in the world”. The role of CBMs naturally becomes critically important for maintaining peace in this tense region.

To engage in strategic stability, both states India and Pakistan signed a bilateral agreement to reduce the risk of nuclear related risks. Actually this agreement came into force on February 21, 2007, when India and Pakistan signed agreement on “Reducing the Risk from Accidents Relating to Nuclear Weapons.” They held the Fifth Round of talks to review nuclear and missile related CBMs as part of the Composite Dialogue process in October 19, 2007. Now this agreement is extended for the period of five years from 2017-2022 and comprises a part of the Nuclear Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) agreed between Pakistan and India. Key objective of the agreement is to promote peace and stability among two countries. The agreement provides that the nuclear capability of the both states makes it imperative to avoid any conflict. Under the agreement, both states are binding to exchange information if any nuclear weapon related accident occurred under their control and respective jurisdiction, which could create the risk of nuclear war or radioactive fallout.

Such initiatives between both states would not just reduce the possibility of a surprise attack by either state, but would also allow the states to reduce the risk of accidental nuclear mishap. Such agreements will ensure better security situation in the region. Both India and Pakistan would be less wary of each other’s actions and intentions and thus their insecurities regarding each other would diminish greatly. The Nuclear CBMs would also help them resolve their political disputes and would help them find solutions to their long standing conflicts.

India and Pakistan have been suspicious of each other; the trust deficit is the greatest obstacle for these CBMs. Although CBMs provide the atmosphere for improving inter-State relations, and establish trust between adversarial states but some level of trust is even necessary before CBMs can be negotiated. Hence the existence of limited level of confidence is an essential prerequisite for effectively pursuing the CBMs. Conversely the association of India Pakistan has been such that leads them towards mistrust and suspicion. In the light of their past experiences both states always remain dubious of each other’s intentions and thus shape their policies accordingly.

Similarly the serious tensions and instabilities characterizing the Indo-Pak relations them self-hinder the application of nuclear CBMs. These measures require an environment of continuous adherence, but the intermittent skirmishes between both states disrupt this process and thus thwart the effective implementation of CBMs. It is recognized that CBMs are difficult to establish but easy to disrupt. As soon as a crisis occurs the states leave behind the confidence building process and their compliance to these measures. India and Pakistan follow the same path, therefore hamper CBMs. So it is important that CBMs should also be maintained in the emergency situations like the normal times.

The introduction of nuclear weapons in South Asia has serious repercussions for the regional security. However history reveals that both India and Pakistan have moved forward in their Confidence building process. Even if the success is not very magnificent, it's not that gloomy either. The pressing need of nuclear CBMs for Socio-economic development of both states and for the security of the region is strongly felt. And this realization paves way for a sustainable and continuous peace process in the region. The implementation of effectual nuclear CBMs between India and Pakistan is the need of the hour and the most appropriate way forward for both states. The nuclear CBMs would aptly provide means to bring about a fundamental shift in the existing security environment of South Asia. These CBMs will foster economic, political and security cooperation amongst India and Pakistan by enhancing trust, reducing the chances of misinterpretations and inhibiting the use of force by both states. During the new wave of frosty relations, the peace initiatives between India and Pakistan are a beam of light. If the two countries are successful in establishing effective nuclear CBMs they can harvest huge benefits.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2017/02/27/nuclear-cbms-indo-pak-reducing-risks-nuclear-related-mishap/>

## ***CPEC and the Prospects of Regional Integration: Possibilities and Caveats***

***Sadia Kazmi***

The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is garnering greater attention around the world where more and more state leaders are expressing inclination to join the project. In a recent statement by Jammu and Kashmir Chief Minister Mehbooba Mufti, it has been suggested that both Indian held Kashmir and Azad Kashmir should be made part of the project in order to eventually create a trade corridor between South Asia and Central Asia. She also stressed that the traditional road links should be opened for the free movement of people and goods across the region. This would include Srinagar-Muzaffarabad, Poonch-Rawalakot, along with Suchetgarh-Sialkot, Kargil-Skardu, and Bandipora-Gurez-Gilgit and Nowshera-Mirpur roads. This way, whole of the Kashmir can serve as a nucleus in this project. Even though the proposal sounds too lucrative not to be taken seriously; there are a number of caveats attached.

No doubt it gives hope of having regional cooperation, transit, trade, and energy transformation. The idea as opposed to the present realities is not a farfetched one. In the past the subcontinent was linked with Central Asia through Kashmir. Subcontinent would always be used as the transit route for trade purposes which was a constant source of peace, stability, and cross-cultural prosperity. However this opportunity was lost as a result of the partition in the year 1947.

Not only did it leave the newly created states Pakistan and India without a natural source for their energy and economic needs, but the partition also brought forth the issue Kashmir between the two. Since it became a disputed territory, the chances of accessing Central Asia through Kashmir remained quite unlikely. However in view of the changing geo-economic and geo-political scenarios at the regional and global levels, the ideas for reopening of traditional trans-Jammu and Kashmir and trans-Azad Kashmir routes, have been floated by Ms. Mufti.

There is a growing recognition that Kashmir having the potential to serve as a nucleus for CPEC project will reap immense economic benefit. It will not only help in the development of Kashmir itself but will lead to regional integration which will eventually foster the energy cooperation at the regional level, since the oil and gas rich resources of Central Asia could easily be accessed and made use of through such an arrangement. Hence this ideal geographical location of Kashmir should be utilised to the optimum level in developing a new economic alliance between the regions through it. If this materialises, it will be immensely supplementing

the CPEC along with combining the two emerging economic hubs i.e. South and Central Asia. Kashmir itself will be able to have some political and economic stability.

However, talking about the caveats, the first and foremost is the India factor. There has been a repeated show of concern with regards to CPEC within the Indian official circles since the beginning of this project. Connecting CPEC to Central Asia through trans-Kashmir arrangement doesn't sit well with India. It has been very vocal in stating that China is trying to violate India's territorial sovereignty through CPEC, as it passes through Azad Kashmir, which India still believes to be its own territory.

Secondly, there is also an apprehension that if CPEC is allowed to pass through Azad Kashmir, which according to them is Pakistan Occupied Kashmir i.e. under Pakistan's influence; this will give some kind of legitimacy to Pakistan's control over Azad Kashmir. This of course is not acceptable to India at any cost as for India; the whole Kashmir belongs to them.

India also fears that through CPEC, China aims to meddle into the Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan. China and Pakistan both will be able to put pressure on India to resolve the Kashmir dispute by either accepting independence for Azad Kashmir or lose it to Pakistan. None of the options sound tempting to India; hence its position on CPEC remains sceptical.

India is also staying watchful of China's growing influence in the South Asian region. India being the geographically largest and economically better off state than other South Asian countries considers itself to be the natural regional power of South Asia and enjoys a relative edge over others. For India, it is a source of concern if China takes over South Asia through CPEC and tumbles India's "hegemony" by toppling the regional status quo. India doesn't only see itself as a regional power but has global aspirations. In this regard, it will always want to maintain its domination in the South Asian region.

However amidst all these ifs and buts, the materialisation of trans-Kashmir route will generate around 1 million jobs and will bring in extensive Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) for the whole region. China has tried to mitigate India's fear by openly stating that it is not planning to mediate between India and Pakistan over the Kashmir issue. It has always advised to find a bilateral solution to this problem and plans to continue with the same approach. Chinese statements also advice India not to feel threatened by the development in Pakistan as it will not overshadow or compromise Chinese relations with India. In wake of all these assurances, India should take a more practical and less sceptical approach towards CPEC. It is the time when the whole world is looking at CPEC with the mixed reactions. They do want to join it but weighing their options and weighting for the right time to do that, depending upon the initial success of CPEC. India has a ripe opportunity to join in and reap early benefits instead of waiting till later

for no reason. It is also to be kept in mind that China has invested a lot in this project and for China the success of CPEC is the most important concern hence the possibility of regional integration including the trans-Kashmir arrangement cannot be ruled out.

<http://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2017/02/27/cpec-and-the-prospects-of-regional-integration/>

## *Tracking the Strategic and Geopolitical Security Trends in the Middle East*

*Zainab Aziz*

The forces behind creating chaos in the Middle East region and spreading extremism in Islam haven't been focused upon for a much longer time amid of the Trump Administration coming to the power in USA. The uncertain situation of the Middle East adds on to its vulnerability. Terrorism and violence are not the only causes of instability in the region because the crisis that is looming is much greater than Al-Qaeda, Islamic State/Daaesh or other terrorist groups. This wave of extremism has affected every country in the region including Syria, Lebanon, Libya, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Turkey and the Gulf countries. As Islam gives impetus to this region and it is the fastest growing force in the majority of the countries of world, it is quite evident from the history that Muslims never supported violence on the basis of religion, sect or caste. However, there is a fraction of people who kept going astray from the true essence of the teachings of Islam and caused havoc in this region. The sectarian division between Shi'ite and Sunni is not associated with the extremism at large rather it seems to be a rivalry between Iran and Saudi Arabia for the gaining the regional hegemony, which has a direct influence on Kuwait, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Lebanon and Syria. The tribal and ethnic dissention between Turkey, Iran, Arab and Kurd has nothing to do with Islam yet it has turned out to be more violent than the religion based terrorism.

The recent upsurge in the terrorist attacks and the increase in the number of terrorist groups suggest that there is no short term solution to this menace spread in Middle East. There are sixty seven groups and international organizations that have been proscribed as terrorist groups, among which thirty-one are in Middle East only. They are likely to spread their extremist activities globally which is apparent from survey which suggests that only 36% terrorist attacks in the Middle East and North African region and rest occurred in other parts of the world. The civil war going on in Syria has reduced the overall scenario into the good versus evil moral play. In the garb of this discourse, the fundamental truth has been hid: to wit that the continuous uprisings causing instability and the unabating insecurity have resulted from the existing regional order.

In order to gain peace and stability in the region and to place the regional order on track, Middle East states must work collectively for a shared prosperous future to organize a most awaited regional security architecture when Middle East region is the only regional security and cooperation framework. To this date no meaningful discussion on creating a security and strategic framework has been done. However, the strong opposition to the Iran's

nuclear program and the escalating tensions among the Persian Gulf littoral states, the world's renowned think tanks and the analysts have called for the NATO style collective defense security regime. However, few years ago, the efforts of US to establish a missile defense system for the GCC, as well as increase in US arms sales to the Arab states of the Persian Gulf were the manifestations of this same strategic logic in action.

In these proposals, US was perceived to be the neutral player with no explicit ambitions in the region. This presumption was definitely at best naïve and at worst incognizant to the historical events of US involvement in the region until this very time. Many rational strategists and analysts argued that United States has vital strategic interests particularly in the Persian Gulf region- including securing the free flow of a cheap supply of oil for US domestic energy needs – and the Middle East region. And that US is never going to compromise its interest even if it has to safeguard these interests with covert operations or armed force. As a matter of fact, the United States involvement in the last three decades in the Middle East reveals that more the US strengthens the conventional military capabilities of the Gulf countries, the more it increases its military presence in the region, and the greater the security preoccupations and countermeasures of a number of key regional countries.

On the other hand, Israel has compiled an estimated 200 nuclear weapons over the years covering it with its so-called manifest security concerns. The military strategy of Israel is to act ad libitum and to deter would-be aggressors in order to banish any kind of perceived threat to its strategic national security interests on the basis of its edge by having overt nuclear military advantage in the region. The today's regional rivals- Iran and Israel- once enjoyed close diplomatic relations. Because of Israel's military strength as well as US presence in the form of encirclement policy in the region, Iran has been intensely upgrading its asymmetric warfare and overall military capabilities.

In international relations theory, the traditional concept of security postulates that the only way to ensure one's security is to increase one's power at the expense of other states. This conventional wisdom's manifestation could be easily seen practiced with perfection in today's Middle East. Establishing new ways of thinking about state and regional security must be tried in this volatile region now. A well organized and an inclusive regional security framework in the Middle East, while not necessarily eliminating inter-state competition altogether, has real potential to bring greater stability to the region.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2017/02/27/tracking-strategic-geopolitical-security-trends-middle-east/>

# *Nuclear Energy Contribution in Pakistan's Energy Security Action Plan*

*Shahzadi Tooba*

An Energy Security Action Plan (2005-30) has been formulated to convene the necessities of Pakistan's visualization 2030 for consistent and worthy power supplies as well as to make sure that power insufficiency does not turn out to be a limitation in growth. The major goal of the power sector progression is to augment energy supply in the course of the best blend of all assets together with hydropower, oil, nuclear, gas, coal, as well as renewable power like wind and solar. It is intended to optimize use of the state's original reserve to lessen reliance on foreign fuel. According to the communal sector reserve restraints, an imperative focal point is also making a setting beneficial to the contribution of the private region, both intercontinental and national.

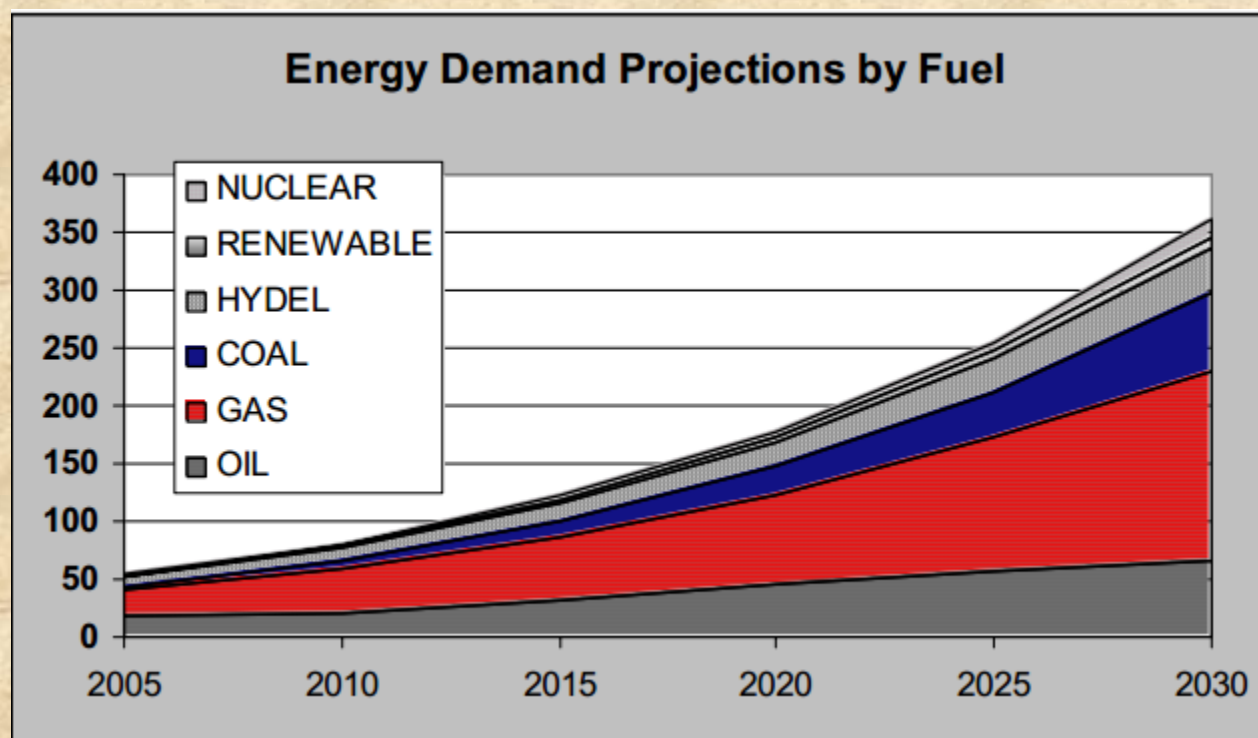
Till 2030, the total energy utilization is predictable to mount 7 times from fifty million tons of oil equal (MTOE) to 360 MTOE. The obligation for power production would augment more over 8 times from 19,540 MW in the year 2005 to 162,590 MW by 2030. It is accepted that Pakistan is going to face insufficiency of useable as well as inexpensive power and more competent usage of energy is enormously crucial. While enhancing competence, a foremost swing is intended towards nuclear, coal as well as renewable over the continuing time period. The distribution of coal within the power combination is intended to be augmented from the present almost 6% to 19% till the year 2030. Nevertheless, the energy blend can only be altered steadily in an extended time span.

The total investment requirements in the energy sector during the next 25 years are estimated at \$150 billion (\$50 billion in the civil sector as well as \$100 billion in the private area). This works out approximately \$6 billion per year (\$2 billion in the public sector as well as \$4 billion in the private sector) and asks for the doubling-up of the existing investment levels.

In the context of energy, the document proposes some of the most far-reaching and comprehensive policy measures ever introduced in Pakistan—from full-scale sectoral deregulation to governance reform and the phasing out of many subsidies.

The suggestion is to augment power supply via a finest blend of supplies together with gas, hydropower, oil, coal, nuclear as well as renewable power. As per the outcrops of the plan, organic gas will preserve the utmost share of the energy pie chart in 2030 at 45%, although its division is steadily anticipated to turn down to 18.5%. Coal, whereas, will see a constant boost, with the second biggest share in the energy pie at 19%, as an alternative to oil. Hydropower

might go down from the 3rd place that it embraces at present to 4th place with a division of 10.8%. Nuclear energy and renewable power would rise up their part with 4.2% and 2.5%, correspondingly. Thus, it is apparent that there might be a raise in the percentage of nuclear, renewable energy and coal in the general power blend in the long run. This makes it obvious that Pakistan's aim to optimize the usage of local reserves and to lessen the dependency on oil imports.



Keeping in mind the task, Pakistan's fourth Nuclear Power Plant has started supplying electricity to the national grid on trial basis. Chashma Nuclear Power Plant Unit-3(C-3), situated near Mianwali, has been formally connected to the national electricity grid. After completion of several safety related and functional tests, the C-3 will attain full capacity of 340 MWe in December, when inauguration ceremony will be held.

The country's first nuclear power plant namely KANUPP near Karachi is operational for the last 44 years. The other two nuclear power units at Chashma, C-1 and C-2 are already supplying electricity to the grid for many years. The nuclear power plants C-1 and C-2 are considered to be the best energy generating units in the country with more than 90% capacity factor consistently. These power plants are supplying about 600 MWe.

The new power plant C-3 will add around 315 MWe net electricity to the system. The next unit of the nuclear power generation C-4 at Chashma will start its operation in early 2017. The other two larger capacity nuclear power plants (K-2 & K-3) at Karachi are also under

construction and will be completed in 2020 and 2021 respectively. These plants will further add around 2100 MWe net electrical power in the system upon connection to the national grid. Although the contribution from nuclear energy is small but it's consistent and reliable comparing with the other sources like renewable.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2017/02/27/nuclear-energy-contribution-pakistans-energy-security-action-plan/>

## ***Terrorism in Pakistan and Effectiveness of Countermeasures***

***Sadia Kazmi***

It is in the wake of new terror wave in Pakistan that a renewed zeal to root out terrorism in all its form erupted once gain. Although it was only recently that the military leadership had completed Zarb-e-Azb, the horrifying series of attacks across Pakistan in the month of February led to the launch of Radd-u-Fasaad. While many can be found questioning the feasibility of such a measure, the positive aspect is that it's a collaborative action mutually taken by the civil and military leadership. This factor alone can bring in some hope to the mortified population of Pakistan that tends to suffer the most. Most of the efforts are believed to have been counterproductive so far since the military and civil leadership had fundamentally been on different pages. No doubt verbally the conviction from civil side was visible but when it comes to taking practical action, the resolve was largely missing. Various factors could be held responsible for that such as lack of institutional capacity. Lack of leadership acumen or may be just simple the lack of commitment to the cause.

However operation Radd-ul-Fasaad is a wave of hope where the mutual efforts are being utilized to root out terrorism indiscriminately. The measure was taken after the bombing incident in Sehqaan Shareef which led to a great number of civil casualties. The timely action is highly commendable in this regard. The continued resolve and commitment is essential for the successful culmination of this operation, the effectiveness of which depends on a number of factors. The Operation Radd-ul-Fassad is not just a clean sweep military action against the terrorist elements but should be seen as an effort that should have long lasting and durable implications. This is only possible if along with the military action, the terrorist mind set is targeted. Killing a few people will not completely root out the strongly deep rooted menace of terrorism in the society. The people should be made useful by providing educational and employment opportunities. One of the main reasons for the growth of terrorism in this region is the explosive increase in population and dearth of employment. The two pronged strategy should be to curb population increase and proper deployment of the people. Along with that the civil leadership needs to be clearer in its approach towards the banned religious organizations. It needs to understand that the policy of pick and chose is not going to work anymore. Hence a more objective and sincere commitment is required if the writ of the state is to be established.

While operation Radd-ul-Fasad is being seen as the continuation of National Action Plan, mainly targeting the rogue elements within the country, it was primarily launched after a series of attacks in Sehwan Shareef carried out by Jamaat-ul-Ahrar under the banner of operation Ghazi. It is an Afghanistan based jamaat that has also announced the possibility of it forging an

alliance with Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan splinter groups. Despite Pakistan's demand for the arrest of TTP chief Mullah Fazlullah who is based in Afghanistan, no concrete steps have been taken by Afghanistan in this regard. The only option left to Pakistan was to target the training camps along the Pak-Afghan border. Even though Afghanistan raises voices against terrorism and leaves no stone unturned in implicating and blaming Pakistan in any event of terrorism in Pakistan, ironically when the terrorists hideouts and training camps were targeted, there was a ready reaction from Afghanistan under the pretext of Pakistan violating Afghan territorial sovereignty. Also the blockade of border at Chaman and Torkham is being criticized by the Afghan leadership highlighting the everyday economic losses being incurred because of border blockade. If Afghanistan were sincere about acting against terrorism, it would have welcomed and appreciated these both steps by Pakistan. Contrary to that there is a constant demand for the reopening of the border. Afghan ambassador to Islamabad Omar Zakhilwal has demanded authorities to reopen the Torkham border, saying the closure is causing 'hardships' for people on both sides. But Pakistan's ambassador in Afghanistan Syed Abrar categorically and rightly told Afghan authorities that closure of border with Afghanistan was essential in order to stop the movement of terrorists from Afghanistan border. However, Pakistan should also be careful, not to put boots on the foreign territory. It should urge International community to convince Afghanistan to do its job sincerely without showing any sympathy for any group.

Afghan authorities were also given the list of 76 terrorists hiding in Afghanistan to be handed over but no action has been taken in that regard either. Unless Afghanistan takes any practical measures, the border should remain close. Attention should also be given to the process of sending the Afghan refugees back to their country. The process started in 2014, but on the request of Afghan leadership, the refugees have been given the repeated extensions. Unfortunately there is still no proper measures in place to ensure the registration of Afghans residing in Pakistan. This should also be done more accurately. Unfortunately the policy of brotherhood with Afghanis hasn't worked for Pakistan. Last but not the least, Radd-ul-Fassad and other counter measures against extremist elements will only be effective if no one is exempted under the law and the writ of the state is allowed to establish.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2017/02/27/terrorism-pakistan-effectiveness-countermeasures/>

## ***North Korean Ballistic Missile Test: A Critical Analysis***

*Beenish Altaf*

North Korea launched a ballistic missile toward the sea off its eastern coast. The shot believed to be a modified version of the North's intermediate-range ballistic missile, Musudan took off from Banghyon, a town near North Korea's northwestern border with China that flew 310 miles before falling in the sea. Sarcastically narrating, was it really an attempt just to jolt the new American President? North Korea has since warned that it could test-launch an ICBM "anytime and anywhere," in its first challenge to the new American president. Nevertheless, the United States Strategic Command issued a statement identifying the missile as a medium- or intermediate-range system that "did not pose a threat to North America."

The flying-up apprehensions around the globe is that why North Korea speeded up its nuclear detonations? The answer to the question can be wrapped up in the findings primed by John Hemmings who is a Research Fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, that "North Korea in order to gain its importance wants; regime survival, acceptance as a nuclear power by the US, a peace treaty between the US and North Korea, trade and economic growth on their terms, and Korean unification under Pyongyang's benign rule."

Well, North Korea is continually building up its nuclear and missile program that is causing apprehensions worldwide. Its latest missile test triggered the fear of nuclear terror among the US and other relevant states. It triggered a flurry of phone calls among the worried leaders of the US, South Korea and Japan. It is actually plan of the US to install anti-missile defence system in the South that further elevated and evoked concerns in the North.

### **UN Sanctions**

The test has ignited global resentment with the UN Security Council agreeing to begin drawing up new sanctions against the North and several Western capitals threatening the country of its dire consequences. Nonetheless, the United States, Japan and South Korea have requested urgent diplomatic talks Monday at the United Nations, which prohibits North Korea from engaging in any ballistic missile activities. But it's unlikely that the meeting will lead to any serious punishment for North Korea, which is already under a slew of U.N. and other international sanctions. At the same time, nuclear missile program of DPRK has become reality as despite all the sanctions and the warnings they have been developing their nuclear program. Ironically, nothing has work so far, either the UN sanctions or unilateral steps taken by the US, Japan or South Korea. Even the entire focus of the US has been on tightening sanctions against the impoverished country, which is already under several sets of UN sanctions.

## **Challenge to Non-proliferation regime**

Sarcastically, the test also raised attention-grabbing queries on the proliferation front. Alarming, North Korean nuclear advancements give quite clear message to the international non-proliferation regime and perhaps undermine the disarmament efforts globally. It is taken as a step further towards miniaturization of its nuclear warheads. Whatsoever, it not only defies the nuclear abolitionists' demands, but also increases the probability of nuclear weapons horizontal proliferation in the region. Consequently, threatens to undermine an already fragile security situation in the region too. Isolating North Korea here has proved to be counter-productive. However, the ideal solution would be to resolve the issues with a balanced approach having sanctions and diplomatic engagements simultaneously.

## **Indian covert involvement**

There is a prevailing view from the US analysts believing that India has been covertly helping North Korea develop its nuclear and missile programs despite UN sanctions since 2006. Since 2006, the UN has issued five major sanctions against North Korea. According to international reports and the US experts, India is reportedly involved in training dozens of North Koreans who later took key positions in its sensitive missile programs. More so over, North Koreans have been receiving training related to missile and space programs in India for the past two decades — an outcome of which is seen in the shape of recent ballistic missile test.

## **Pakistan's outlook**

The international community along with the other peace loving countries is exasperated on North Korea's growing nuclear aspirations. Likewise Pakistan has condemned it too expressing it as against the objective of a nuclear weapons free Korean peninsula. More precisely, all that Pakistan wants is peace in Korean Peninsula. It is desired that all the countries in the region including North and South Korea, Japan, China and the US, manage the situation diplomatically with utmost responsibility.

## **Regional Concerns and Security Implications**

Since, the international community is concerned about the new security implications for the country in particular and the region in general, pursued by the current test. China one of the big partisan of North Korea too strongly gave verdict against the launch and called it would worsen the situation in Korean Peninsula. Another point to keep in focus is that "Chinese companies are more implicated in North Korea today than they were before, so the Chinese could stand lose on that front if the US tightens sanctions." But the Chinese will need to be

patient, and hope that the timing works out so that the diplomatic channel will engage before they are forced to backpedal because of distress in North Korea.

While South Korea and Japan might have legitimate concerns over nuclear movements in the neighborhood, there is also urgent need to resolve the problem through constructive engagement with the North aimed at addressing its concerns as well. South Korea's Foreign Ministry said the test, the first by the North this year, demonstrated the "maniacal obsession" of the North Korean leader, Kim Jong-un, with developing a nuclear-tipped ballistic missile.

### **Critical Evaluation**

It has been evaluated in the past that the North Korean threat is likely to expand into full-blown nuclear-weapons capability early in the term of the next president, so it could be seen on the screens now. For that matter, Pentagon had already decided upon THAAD missile-defence system, in partnership with South Korea and Japan.

Pragmatically, the test does not mean that North Korea is going to drop any nuclear bomb on the US; instead the international community is more concerned about the significant escalating enhancement of North Korean nuclear capabilities. Since, the each new test results with a more sophisticated expertise and technology than its previous attempts.

There were plenty of opportunities in the past when North Korean leadership expressed its willingness to talk to the world on its nuclear program subject to lifting of sanctions and provision of necessary economic assistance. The collaborative approach would have been effective but regrettably the United States preferred to hurl threats on North Korea aggravating the situation further.

But now North Korea aspires to become the giant of the region by enhancing its nuclear weapons and their delivery vehicles. On the other hand, analysts are of the view that to carry out nuclear attack, North Korea would need to miniaturize its warheads so that they can be fitted on a missile for delivery and there are reasonable doubts about claims of the Pyongyang regarding its ability to miniaturize nuclear weapons.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2017/02/27/north-korean-ballistic-missile-test-critical-analysis/>

## *Weighing In on Pakistan-US Strategic Dialogue: Is It Happening?*

*Maimuna Ashraf*

States usually conduct 'strategic dialogues to conduct regular, high level, comprehensive and forward looking exchanges on wide ranges of issues'. Pakistan and United States last year recommenced the stalled series of extensive working groups, to revisit and manage the ties between two states at different levels, known as ministerial-level strategic dialogue.

In wake of this resumed platform after three years of hiatus, the US Secretary of State John Kerry lately welcomed Pakistani Advisor on Foreign Affairs Sirtaj Aziz to convene the multi-faceted Dialogue and to build long-term cooperation in energy, strategic stability and nonproliferation, the Defense Consultative Group, Counterterrorism, Economics and Education.

Notwithstanding sharing the common drivers, the bilateral relationship has been facing the tailspin due to many suspicions and expectations. Although there have been array of bilateral activities and not much could provide a breakthrough or buzz the headlines, yet state level interaction between two states holds undeniable significance because the course of dialogue go to lengths to mark a renewed vitality relations. On the contrary, historically, Pakistan and US relations are defined more appropriately by the term kinetic than bilateral. The US largely is being viewed as a state that treated Pakistan merely to uphold its strategic interests in the region.

It was expected that Pakistan-US dialogue would take place this February, however with new Trump administration; this dialogue is facing a setback. There are certain issues that were discussed previously and still the issues have not reached on any consensus. In the same vein, the Afghanistan problem remains a focal agenda to add any noticeable progress to these strategic dialogues. Pakistan remained the key member to all the quadrilateral, trilateral, bilateral discussions, which took place to support an Afghan-led peace process. However, Pakistan faced a hard time to convince Haqqanis towards negotiating table which led to question its influential role in the process. Despite the fact that US recognized the extraordinary and real sacrifices of Pakistan's military, especially in previous Operation Zarb-e-Azb, US remains skeptical of Pakistan's counter-terrorism strategy in the region.

Likewise, the attack on Indian Air Force base last year in Pathankot reverted all the efforts and appreciations related to Pakistan's counter-terrorism measures. Although there has been appreciation to Pakistan's commitment not to differentiate between terrorist groups in the implementation of this strategy, still there surfaced demands to take concrete steps to show the world its commitment not to differentiate between terrorist groups.

However, the fact that both countries share the objectives related to counterterrorism and their relations have been pushed through Afghanistan affairs cannot be underrated. Moreover, for decades, the major reason of complicated relations between the two states has been the disagreements over limits on Pakistan's nuclear weapons. Granted the United States is appreciative of Pakistan's nuclear security measures, yet the frustration expressed over the so-called 'growing nuclear arsenals' of Pakistan on every significant event comes as no surprise. Pakistan has affirmed that it would not sign any deal that would limit its nuclear program and compromise its national interests when India and US persist to strengthen their defense and nuclear cooperation.

These realities suggest that the prospects of civilian nuclear deal and Pakistan's NSG membership on a criteria-based approach are doubtful in such circumstances. It is pertinent to mention here that Pakistan has approved the inter-agency process to ratify the Convention on Physical Protection of Nuclear Material (Amended) and reiterated its determination to take all possible measures to make national security robust that could enable it to effectively respond to the threats to national security without indulging in an arms race.

Pakistan has also participated in the IAEA nuclear safety action plan. Additionally it has extended its cooperation in other areas with the IAEA to improve nuclear security. The persistent demands to put limits on Pakistan's nuclear weapons is the result of ignoring these efforts taken by Pakistan with regards to its weapon's security and control measures; compliance to global norms; capacity to keep them safe; and their risk environments. Notwithstanding the abovementioned realities, the strategic dialogue process is of evident importance as it reestablished a certain level of normalcy in relations. The previous trend showed that if Pakistan improves ties with neighbors and put limits on its nuclear program then the engagements declared by US in the dialogue would be easy, otherwise there would be another twirl in the roller coaster relationship but what the Trump administration brings for Pakistan is yet to be seen.

Consequently, it would take time to witness a transformation in the sentiment of the relationship that continues to be defined by concerns rather than pledges. Hence, a sustainable course needs to be adopted to lift this loaded relationship. Otherwise if the US continues to exercise its previous Asia pivot strategy without realizing deterrence theory in South Asia and Pakistan's interests in the region then the future dialogues would also prove another episode in the saga of random talks and ineffectual outcomes. Evidently, just entitling 'strategic' dialogue will not transform the transactional relationship into strategic relationship without mutual trust and interests which should be developed with new administration in US.

<http://www.eurasiareview.com/28022017-weighing-in-on-pakistan-us-strategic-dialogue-is-it-happening-oped/>

## ***Pakistan's Internal Security Challenges and Fear of Insecurity***

***Babar Khan Bozdar***

The recent wave of terrorism has shocked Pakistan and left serious effects on the minds of peoples. A series of bomb blasts across the country has saddened the whole nation and there is strong fear of insecurity.

Pakistan is facing severe internal security threats. It may be noticed that actors involved in internal security environment are neighbors (whom we share ethnic and religious similarities), refugees and band outfits which are operating with different names and different styles. Despite the fact that enemy is within and behind these attacks, Afghan Refugees are either directly or indirectly involved, whom Pakistan has been hosting since the 1980s.

Pakistan is also facing tough resistance, a stronghold of religious parties and a variety of threats at the same time; an internal and external threat (especially Indo-Afghan threats), While the influx of Afghan Refugees is another burden. In addition, a coordinated Indian, and Afghan attack designed to fragment Pakistan along ethnic lines are also lurking in the minds of security planners. For the first time, Pakistan is facing a three-front threat scenario which neither any developed country nor any South Asian state has ever experienced.

The influxes of Afghan Refugees in Pakistan are working in the shape of facilitator, spies and as double agent. They are linked with terrorist organizations in Afghanistan and banned outfits in Pakistan. The soil of Afghanistan is being used against Pakistan and still, we are hosting these Afghans Refugees! This is a big question and an examination for government how to deal with?

UNHCR in his report said that 1.6 million Refugees resides in Pakistan are registered while the major chunk is not registered, Moreover 60,000 afghan children born here in Pakistan every year. If we estimate this number and apply in Baluchistan, we will see that very soon Baluch Population will be converted into the minority. They had captured the major share of resources of Baluchistan and it will lead to conflict.

Besides that, Pakistan is in the midst of three strategic doctrines of war at the same time; Cold Start Doctrine, AFPAK Strategy and Fourth Generation warfare. Cold Start is a military doctrine developed by the Indian Armed Forces for use in a possible war with Pakistan. It involves the various branches of India's military conducting offensive operations as part of unified battle groups. In this strategy, more than 80% of Indian troops are deployed on border with Pakistan. Pakistani army is responded this Indian threat by conducting Azm-e-Nau exercise.

Simultaneously AFPAK strategy is another threat to internal security in Pakistan. The central problem confronting the United States in the region is no longer Al Qaeda or Taliban, it's the Pakistan Army.

Fourth Generation warfare is another big threat which is difficult for army to respond it because such techniques are being used to misguide the public and create anarchy and uncertainty among the masses. Hence it is the responsibility of State loving media and nation to respond.

The contemporary spate of terrorism might be a part of isolation policy. Since the announcement Pakistan's Super League (PSL) in Lahore and soon after that a series of bombs were exploded. Hence, Indian involvement can't be ignored, similarly, authorities claimed that enemy wants to destabilize Pakistan by attacking soft targets, but the fact is that Enemy is within and in the shape of refugees and local outfits while foreigner players are virtually a rider clause. Thus there is need of strong checkup rather than putting an eye on them.

Conversely, Pakistan is in state of a war, and every country in that situation of war passes through a bang-bang situation. In fact, Pakistan is facing the same case, where a myriad of internal problems is greatly aggravated by number of agents of external factors within the country. Once these agents are out of the picture, the internal problems will remain, but their resolution will not be as complex as it is now.

Today Pakistan's internal security is on stake. More than 150 peoples lost their lives and dozens were maimed in recent wave of terrorism. Sehwan blast had mourned the whole nation and there is strong fear of Insecurity and terrorism is the agenda of discussion among masses. To cope with this problem Operation Radul Fasad" has been launched to counter terrorism and conduct intelligence based operations to eradicate the damn terrorism from Pakistan. A well known number of soldiers sacrifice their lives for the better and peaceful future of Pakistan but still we failed to eradicate terrorism in practical manner because enemy lies within and now it is more furious, supportive and powerful, which can be imagined from recent attacks.

Security in Pakistan is linked with Afghanistan and Peaceful Afghanistan is in the favor of Pakistan. To cope with this serious issues Pakistan needs to strengthen border security and its strong control over tribal areas. Finally, Pakistan shouldn't expect much collaboration from Afghanistan but rather depend on its assets and techniques to secure the outskirt from the Pakistani side. These two measures will empower Pakistan to oversee successfully the drop out of the inward strife in Afghanistan in coming five to ten years.

<http://www.eurasiareview.com/01032017-pakistans-internal-security-challenges-and-fear-of-insecurity-oped/>