



**STRATEGIC VISION**  
INSTITUTE

# VISION

VISIONARY INSIGHTS INTO THE STRATEGIC INQUESTS OF NATIONS

## SVI FORESIGHT

VOLUME 3, NUMBER 5  

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MAY 2017

Compiled & Edited by:  
S. Sadia Kazmi

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

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## Strategic Vision Institute (SVI)

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

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

## SVI Foresight

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

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## ***Editor's Note***

Another monthly issue of the electronic journal *SVI Foresight* is here presenting the readers with an apt analyses on a wide range of strategic and security issues. 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.

The month of May marks a historical day that made Pakistan's defence invincible. May 28th, Youm-e-Takbeer is celebrated with zeal and fervor for all the right reasons. With the testing of six atomic bombs, Pakistan became the seventh nuclear power in the world. In response to India's nuclear tests and its nefarious intentions against Pakistan, it was necessary for Pakistan to acquire an impregnable capability in face of this existential threat. Not only was it a befitting response to India but showed an immense display of solidarity and unity at the national level too. At the regional level, Pakistan's nuclear tests added to the strategic stability which otherwise presented a lopsided picture after the tests by India. Highlighting the importance of this day for the political and defence history of Pakistan, a couple of opinion articles in this issue have specifically focused on Youm-e-Takbeer. The inevitability of Pakistan's nuclear tests has been justified with the help of logic and strong supporting arguments. Despite being a nuclear power, Pakistan has shown utmost restraint and always stood for the non-proliferation ideals. It is appreciable that in almost two decades of nuclear tests Pakistan has emerged as a more responsible state possessing the required credentials to be part of all multilateral export control regimes including Nuclear Suppliers Group in which Pakistan strives for a non-discriminatory approach. The biased attitude of international community and the US had been visible in the pre-nuclearized South Asia. Again it was only after Pakistan tested the nuclear weapons that the US sanctions surfaced. Nonetheless the nuclear tests have been successful in managing the deterrence and curbing the conflicts to escalate into an all out war. The potential of nuclear escalation and danger of nuclear war served as a force of deterrence between the two nuclear South Asian states. The author in the article maintains that after 19 years of deterrence, 28th May reminds us of the "historic milestone" towards reinforcement and maintenance of

Pakistan's deterrence capability. This timely and successful response showed operational preparedness of the Strategic Forces and Pakistan's capabilities to safeguard its security, which should not be undermined.

Another article in this issue effectively highlights the prospects of Pakistan and India's candidacy in the upcoming 27th plenary meeting on NSG. The economic, political and strategic factors drive the aspirations of two states to get NSG membership. The article predicts that both the states will have to face tough resistance by the member states, in which it is not just China but another 25 states who have adopted a principled stance for the inclusion of states into the nuclear cartel. So despite US' explicit tilt in favor of India and India's proactive diplomatic efforts, global politics and recent developments have indicated that India may not receive special benefit against the mandate and spirit of NSG in forthcoming plenary. Likewise it will be difficult for Pakistan to get the membership unless it fulfills a certain criteria, which although is yet to be finalized. It is also perceived that the US and India will increase their efforts to convince member states regarding India's membership overlooking the impact of such policies for region and global efforts for Non-proliferation. The readers will find a mature and unbiased take on the possibility of NSG membership for both India and Pakistan. This article will help enhance the understanding about the ground realities and the realpolitik at play.

Another commentary in this issue analyzes the North Korean aspirations and possible tiff off with the US especially in the wake of recently tested ICBM. It is believed that the test stirred a renewed debate about non-proliferation and how it could possibly undermine the global disarmament efforts. However this reality should also be kept in mind that so far nothing has actually worked in case of North Korea. Neither the UN sanctions, nor the unilateral efforts by the US, Japan and South Korea could keep North Korea from adopting a provocative disposition. The writer maintains that the best solution is to keep a balanced approach instead of isolating North Korea. It is suggested that along with the sanctions it is important to keep the diplomatic channels open where the state representatives should try to reach a negotiated solution simultaneously.



The OBOR Summit in China was another highlight of the month which has been duly covered in a couple of opinion articles included in this issue. CPEC being the flagship project of OBOR remains the most significant initiative. Its success will gauge the potential of China's OBOR initiative. Hence the progress on CPEC is not only what Pakistan is striving for but is equally supported by China. Right now CPEC has entered the industrialization phase. Most of the early harvest projects are being completed on time. All this is good news for both China and Pakistan. However much remains to be addressed especially in terms of several ambiguities which still shroud the project. The summit provided an opportunity to Pakistan to seal several more MoUs and strengthen Sino-Pak strategic partnership. The articles included in this issue raise pertinent questions about the gaps and uncertainties and also attempt to provide pragmatic course of action.

The readers will find a proficient and well informed analyses on a number of significant topics including Pak-Afghan relations and the factors disturbing the equation between the two; the US-Arab Islamic Summit, its regional implications and Pakistan's role; Challenges that Iran is facing and the Pak-Iran bilateral relations; India's Missile proliferation after joining MTCR and efficacy of Nuclear Test Ban. A very interesting debate on unmanned aerial vehicles and possibility of escalation along LoC can also be found in this issue.

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



## *Indo-Pak Economic Reset*

*Dr. Shahid Bukhari*

Pakistan and India have been at odds with each other for the last 70 years. Both states have fought wars and faced crises that could have escalated into wars. Characterized by the Ex-President of United States, Bill Clinton, as the 'most dangerous place on earth', the South Asian region still awaits lasting peace. People of the Sub-continent have constantly been paying up for their respective national security needs but the states have yet to ensure security. Rather, the region is entangled in a security dilemma.

Several attempts have been made to bring peace to the region but none has come to fruition. Both states have extremely divergent claims that seem not to be reconcilable too easily, but efforts have continued from intra-state activists as well as the international community towards this end. Meanwhile, both states have also been using bilateral diplomatic channels to settle their disputes. The only good thing practiced in the past was the continuation of the dialogue process. Sadly, this practice has now been obsolete and most efforts for negotiations stand relinquished due to India's policy of halting negotiations if and when anything happens against its will. Negotiations are known as the best tool for settlement of disputes between states. One can observe that even the deadliest conflicts and wars have usually ended through negotiations.

Keeping this in view, if one tries to examine the prospects for India-Pakistan dispute settlement, it is observable that India has always refrained from negotiating with Pakistan on the pretext of so-called acts of terrorism in India. Indian policy to suspend bilateral dialogues with Pakistan, without producing a solid proof regarding Pakistan's involvement in acts of terrorism is the product of increasing extremism in Indian policy circles. While India has always been talking about nurturing of extremism in Pakistan and has pointed fingers at non-state actors in Pakistan, it has never taken care of its own policies that are a manifestation of extremist attitude of Indian state. Promoting anti-Pakistan sentiments in Indian public has become a state policy, which is very alarming for peaceful settlement of outstanding disputes between the two countries. It is observable that anti-Pakistan sentiments have been enshrined in hearts and minds of Indian public, media, and political parties. Pakistan-bashing has become a tool for Indian electronic media to attract audience, while Indian political parties use anti-Pakistan manifestos for their electoral campaigns. Some of the recent instances that manifest Indian state's inability or unwillingness to control such extremist attitudes are the cancellation of Pakistani students' tour in India; stone-pelting training of Hindu groups to respond to Kashmiri stone-pelters; and threats to Pakistani celebrities regarding performances in India. Another incident that shows the extent of radicalization of Indian policy circles vis-à-vis Pakistan is former Indian Foreign Secretary Kanwal Sibal's suggestion that Pakistani soldiers be kidnapped and used to bargain Kulbhushan Jadhav's release. Indian officials are unable to even understand their international obligations. Yet another manifestation of extremism in Indian policy makers at the highest level is the most recent commendation reward given by Indian Army Chief Bipin Rawat to an Indian Major who had tied a Kashmiri boy in front of his military jeep while driving the vehicle in a Kashmiri neighborhood.

It seems that anti-Pakistan sentiments are being deliberately supported as a state policy. Although Indian policymakers have been aiming at isolating Pakistan, it is foreseeable that projecting such kind of extremist attitude in one's own public would contribute only to self-alienation. Since neighbors cannot be changed, it would be wise to develop cordial relations with those at your doorstep, rather than radicalizing your own public in hatred and violence. Indian policymakers must recognize the reality of Pakistan as a prudent state that cannot be undermined through acquisition of weapons or coercive diplomacy. Promoting so much hatred can neither defeat Pakistan nor boost economic development in India. Such an attitude towards Pakistan will prove to be self-defeating for India in its surge for great power status. Moreover, it may also raise questions on the efficacy of Indian establishment to defend its state against the so-claimed Pakistan-sponsored acts of terrorism. History has proved that despite having better resources at its disposal, Indians have never been successful in subordinating Pakistan, and after the nuclearisation of South Asia such efforts will only prove to be self-destructive. This is an era of economic cooperation and development for Asian nations where mutual cooperation will be a better choice. Pakistan has manifested its positive attitude by inviting India to be part of China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) which shall prove to be a road to prosperity in the region. Therefore, it will be a wise choice for Indian policy makers to adopt a policy of 'Act North-West' and open ways for engagement with Pakistan rather than estrangement.

<http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/30-May-17/indo-pak-economic-reset>



## *Challenges in Iran*

### *Dr. Talat Farooq*

Iranian President Hassan Rouhani, a centrist, was re-elected last Saturday (May 20), to a second term by winning 57 percent of the votes in an election that had a high turnout of about 70 percent. He defeated his hard-line rival, Ebrahim Raisi, who had the backing of the allied security forces and the ruling clergy.

This landslide victory, which Rouhani did not get in his first term, should help his pursuit of domestic reforms, continued engagement with the West and build-up of the nuclear deal that he and his cabinet clinched through negotiations with the world powers. The deal constrains Tehran's nuclear programme in exchange for international sanctions relief.

The economy will be on top of Rouhani's second-term agenda because despite the easing of sanctions, economic benefits have yet to touch the daily lives of average Iranians. Unemployment remains high among the youth even though oil exports have rebounded and inflation is back at single-digits.

Rouhani will likely face domestic challenges in implementing his reformist agenda. Although victory has tilted the political balance towards reformists in the short term, Raisi secured a vote tally high enough to remain politically relevant. His success in winning hard-liners' support could put him in a good position to run in 2021 when Rouhani will not be eligible for another term.

A Raisi-supporter cleric warned Rouhani that he should not forget that "more than 16 million people did not vote for him. So he should respect their right to criticise him". Raisi may also be favoured as a possible successor to the 77-year-old Supreme Leader Ayatollah Khomeini, who holds the position for life. Rouhani's domestic and foreign policy reforms will be anything but a cake-walk.

On the foreign policy front, unless there's a fundamental change in Iran-US relations, the weight of continued US unilateral sanctions regime will remain a major obstacle in the way of much needed foreign investment which the sanctions make complicated or illegal.

The nature of the relationship will determine geo-political realities. At a press conference in Riyadh last week, US Secretary of State Rex Tillerson said that the focal point of President Trump's visit to Saudi Arabia was to minimise Iranian-backed terrorism threat in the region.

Interestingly, Tillerson appeared to keep the door open by saying Trump might eventually talk to Rouhani as he has never "shut off the phone to anybody who wants to have a productive conversation". However, Trump's speech in Riyadh on May 21 reflected no such flexibility.

Addressing 55 Muslim leaders, President Trump identified Iran as an autocratic state and seemed close to calling for regime change, despite the Iranian presidential election – generally regarded as fair – only a couple of days previously. Denouncing Hezbollah, he put the US squarely on the side of Sunnis against the Shias in the devastating sectarian proxy war in the region. Could this be a 'Trump



Doctrine' for the Middle East? If so, it is bound to widen divisions and escalate tensions without doing anything for peace.

In Saudi Arabia, Trump also emphasised the importance of finding a solution to the years-long civil war in Yemen, where Saudi Arabia supports the government while Tehran backs the rebel Houthi group. The question is: Can there be conflict resolution in the Middle East without involving Iran?

The US would do well to remember its own post 9/11 role in strengthening Iran's regional position by dislodging the anti-Iran Taliban in 2001, doing away with Saddam Hussain in 2003 and then arming and training hundreds of fighters belonging to Shia militias in Iraq with ties to Iran. These were unintended consequences of short-sighted American foreign policy choices for sure, but were very real nonetheless.

With Rouhani back in power, Trump and his team should work towards a less rigid approach that can minimise long-term mutual distrust. The Iranian leader has promised to work towards removing the remaining non-nuclear sanctions, but critics argue that it will not be easy with Trump repeatedly describing the deal as "one of the worst ever signed".

The complexity of the issue was reflected in the Trump administration's re-authorisation of waivers from sanctions targeting Iran's oil exports this week and then imposing new sanctions on four entities and three individuals connected with Iran's ballistic-missile programme.

The Iran nuclear deal showed that Iranians are open to negotiated settlement of disputes. The US must avoid exacerbating regional tensions in the Muslim world and appeasing Israel by openly taking sides. This will only strengthen the hands of the hardliners in Iran.

It is obvious that the majority of Iranians do not wish to live in isolation and would rather engage with the world as a responsible nation. They must not be pushed back into the arms of the 'Death to America' chanting fanatics.

Given Iran's complex government system, Rouhani will likely face the same challenges that checked his efforts towards delivering social transformation in his first term. But a larger mandate means more public support. Women in particular turned up to vote for Rouhani in great numbers as they felt their personal freedoms were under threat from Raisi whose supporters frequently accused the president of abandoning Islamic values. As if Islam starts and finishes with what a woman wears.

As a woman who has lived in Iran for some years in the mid-1990s, this writer has first-hand experience of complete strangers chiding you for 'inappropriate hijab'. "Khanum! Hijab-e-toon durast neest", they would say, just because a few strands of hair had managed to escape the 'rooseri' (scarf).

It may seem like a frivolous observation to the orthodox but for any woman with an independent soul such state-sanctioned restrictions are a violation of her privacy and self-respect. At the end of the day it is the symbolism that counts.

So many years down the line, there appears to be some relief. Watching the election coverage, it was heartening to see fully-covered Iranian women standing next to young ladies who were wearing scarves but whose beautiful strands flew freely in the air. Both sides appeared to be under less pressure to adhere to the strict code.

Let us hope that is truly the case and that Rouhani's reformist agenda will succeed in both the economic and social arenas as well as in his foreign policy approach. A tough call perhaps, but one that can succeed with continued domestic and international support.

<https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/206921-Challenges-in-Iran>



## ***Korean Nuclear Dilemmas***

### ***Beenish Altaf***

The Korean Peninsula has become a permanent quandary from a long time. Tensions have been continuing to by the repeated new projectile launches from North Korea. The launch of North Korean ballistic missile toward the sea off its eastern coast appeared in a blazing time of Peninsula's tensions. 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."

### **American Fears**

The jeopardy has been elevated with the presence of American submarine and imminent arrival of its naval strike group warships. There are also evidences by the US military, claiming the presence of its controversial Thaad missile defence system, which is said to be now operational in South Korea.

Ironically, the usability of this missile defence system was not expected before the end of 2017. Nevertheless, the system is installed and is believed to intercept North Korean missiles although full operational capability is still some months away. But as per a US official, the system only has initial intercept capability that will be strengthened later this year as more parts of the system arrive.

Well, North Korea is continually building up its nuclear and missile program that is causing apprehensions worldwide. It was the 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.

In response of the recent US military exercises, North Korea reacted quite indignantly, blaming the US of risking a nuclear war. Also, the US ships were sent away from Singapore and towards Australia to conduct drills with the Australian navy the US navy which was planned earlier the aircraft carrier would sail north from waters off Singapore as a "prudent measure" to deter North Korea.

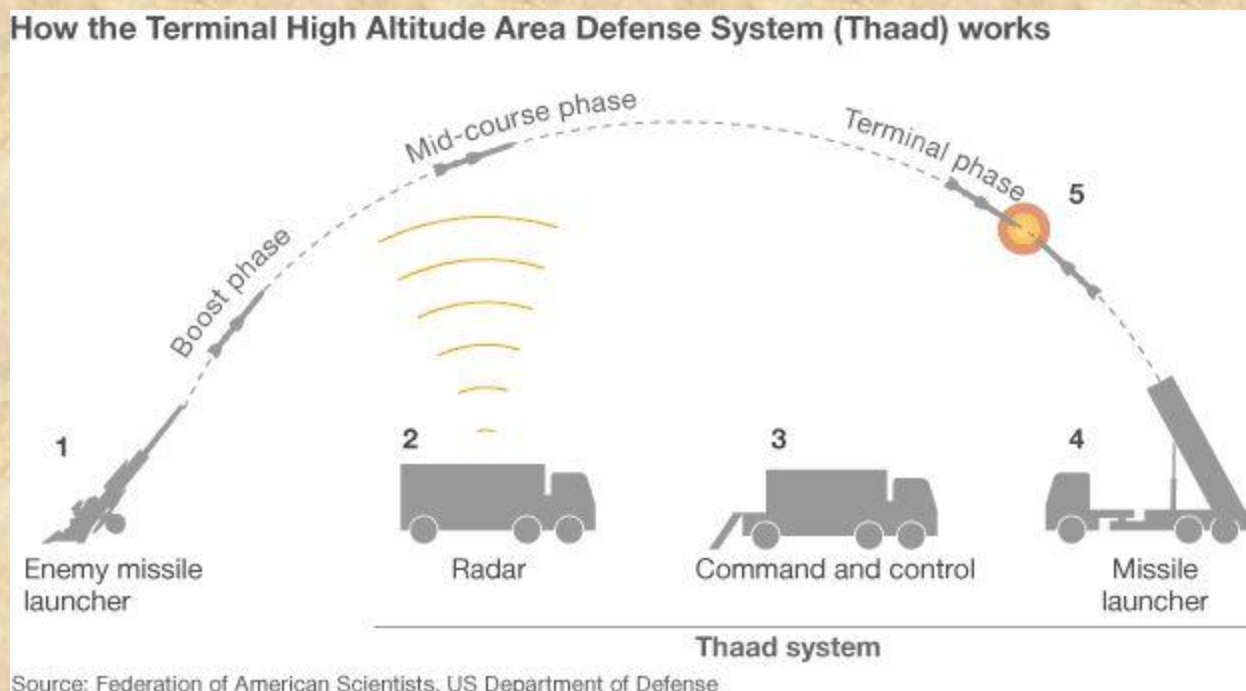


As North Korea is aspirant of its sixth nuclear weapons test, the US as a consequent, warned the North Korea in very open words; all options are on the table which includes military strikes on North Korea to curb its nuclear aspirations. Despite of the US military movements and its outrageous war intimidation the North Korean foreign Minister Han Song-ryol stated:

“Now that we possess mighty nuclear power to protect ourselves from US nuclear threat, we will respond without the slightest hesitation to full-out war with full-out war and to nuclear war with our style of nuclear strike, and we will emerge victor in the final battle with the United States.”

### Specifications and Functioning of Thaad

1. Shoots down short and medium-range ballistic missiles in the terminal phase of their flight
2. Uses hit-to-kill technology – where kinetic energy destroys the incoming warhead
3. Has a range of 200km and can reach an altitude of 150km
4. The Thaad radar system detects the enemy's launch, which is relayed to command and control
5. Thaad command and control instructs the launch of an interceptor missile
6. The interceptor missile is fired at the enemy projectile
7. The enemy projectile is destroyed in the terminal phase of flight
8. The launcher trucks can hold up to eight interceptor missiles.



### 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. Alarmingly, 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.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2017/05/12/korean-nuclear-dilemmas/>



## *CPEC in the Impending OBOR Summit*

### *Asia Maqsood*

The inaugural Belt and Road Summit was organized on May 18, 2016 under the theme of “Navigating a World of New Opportunities through Hong Kong” by the government of Hong Kong special Administrative Region, supported by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the National Development and Reform Commission, the Ministry of Commerce and the People’s Bank of China assisted by the Hong Kong Trade Development Council. China will be holding the second One Belt and One Road (OBOR) Summit in Beijing on May 14-15, 2017 to come up with interconnected development plans. Hence it would be China’s most important diplomatic event of the year. It would provide a visionary blueprint for global economic development in the new world order. As China’s dynamic leader Xi Jinping put forward the Belt and Road Initiative in 2013, with the objective of building a trade and infrastructure network connecting Asia with Europe and Africa along the ancient Silk Road trade routes. Since then more than 100 countries and international organizations gave pleasant responses to the initiative. The routes include more than 60 countries and territories from Asia to Europe via Southeast Asia, South Asia, Central Asia, West Asia and the Middle East.

Being the first link into OBOR (One Belt One Road) initiative, the CPEC (China–Pakistan Economic Corridor) contains tremendous significance promising China access to the India Ocean from the east and west of India. So it is pertinent to discuss here that what kind of promises this upcoming summit would bring for the CPEC project; either good news or ambiguities? As CPEC vision includes the integrated transport& IT systems roads, rail, port, air and communication channels, energy cooperation, spatial layout, functional zones, industries and industrial parks, agricultural development & poverty alleviation, tourism cooperation and people to people communication, cooperation in livelihood areas, financial cooperation and human resource development. Up till now what has been delivered on the ground under this joint venture and what is the remaining part, the gap should be taken into account precariously to manage the perceptions of negative minds by giving correct and transparent information.

The Project Director of CPEC project, Mr. Hassan Daud Butt exposing/revealing the current status of the CPEC said that the project is entering the industrialization phase and nine economic zones have been identified to be set up in different parts of countries. By 2018 7000 MW of energy would be added to the national grid, and eastern and western routes will be completed by December 2018 and July 2018 respectively. As the short and medium term project under the CPEC is being pursued, the long-term plans are yet to be finalized in this upcoming summit which contains overall ideas, track and goals of cooperation till 2030. Pakistan has shared the draft of long-term plans with the China’s National Development and Reform Commission for the approval and signing during this summit. Mr. Butt said that Pakistan is hopeful and expecting good news coming from the summit and both states would soon conclude an agreement for the financing and the construction of Gwadar International Airport.



CPEC has very robust, bilateral, political, economic social basis following the trends of economic globalization as per the need of time. It promises a massive development and with China's creative diplomacy, this century would be the Asian century. Is it a credit? What is the payback time of credit? What would happen if any default occurs? These questions need to be addressed/asked by Pakistan in the upcoming summit. A flood of lending to a smaller country lack strong foreign exchange reserves might not be able to repay the loans if projects fail to generate revenues as expected?

This summit would provide Pakistan with a platform to show its concerns regarding the whole measure of investment of the CPEC project. As CPEC is a grand vision/strategy, would take a decade but there is no measurement of the total investment. So Pakistan's concerns should be addressed regarding total investment in long-term plans which will be featured in the forthcoming event/summit. As the CPEC came into being from a proposed initiative to strategy, from a concept to a concrete project Likewise, Pakistan is optimistic regarding the finalization of long-term plans of CPEC in the OBOR summit. The great news is expected to be heard during the summit. Pakistan has great opportunity to interact with other participating countries to make more inclusive and open the CPEC project. PM Nawaz Sharif will be being paid the prominent standing at the summit. He will address the high-level dialogue and both the roundtables. There are 29 heads of state and government, representative of 61 international organizations and delegates from 110 countries, the secretary-general of UN, the president of World Bank and the International Monetary Fund will be at the OBOR Summit. This would provide an opportunity to the Pakistani delegation to interact with relevant leaders to enhance diplomatic and business bonds. This is pertinent to discuss here that Pakistan should discuss all the security concerns and anti-CPEC sentiments emerging from the rival countries along with the deadlines for the future projects because security aspect is very crucial and how the negative propaganda should be managed through the perception management methods. The collaborative efforts should be taken into account to scuttle the anti-CPEC efforts/sentiments.

<http://southasiajournal.net/cpec-in-the-impending-obor-summit/>

## ***Factors Disturbing Pak-Afghan Relations***

### ***Babar Khan Bozdar***

The recent border skirmishes have plunged Pak-Afghan relations. It is a conspiracy to derail the diplomatic ties between two neighbors. The ill-will between two neighbors is not new but decades old. The soil of Afghanistan is always being used against Pakistan in which some soldiers and innocent civilians lost their lives. The element of fear and insecurity prevails in the minds of peoples across the border. They are habitual. Which have serious repercussions?

Eventually, Pak-Afghan relations are all weather sour, but Pakistan always supported peace, prosperity, and stability in the neighboring country. Pakistan's efforts for improving relations have been turned, when Afghan forces attacked census team along with security personals. Pakistani troops professionally responded Afghan forces resulted in the massive loss in the form of casualties. Later on, Afghan soldiers accepted their mistake. It must be noted that Afghan forces were already informed about census activity, but they neglected it and attacked. Doesn't it show incompetence and non-professionalism of Afghan Army? There are following possible factors which are disturbing Pak-Afghan relationship.

#### **Afghan Leadership**

The most important factor is Indian inclined Afghan leadership which is incompetent, biased and arrogant. The rhetoric of Afghan President Ashraf Ghani has turned into a harsh critic of Pakistan unforgiving to the point of exceeding Indian Falcons and, apparently, undermining his own nation's advantages. At the Heart of Asia Conference in Amritsar, where the subject was participation against security and cooperation, Mr. Ghani's talk was forceful, practically as though Kabul fancied a burst in Pak-Afghan ties. When Afghan president, took office over two years back, he made it need to contact Pakistan through some strong verbal explanations and political means; it showed that resetting ties with Pakistan were a central part of his strategy. That initiative had gotten warmly by both political and military leadership in Pakistan, but Mr. Ghani soon became impatient with what was perceived in Afghanistan as Pakistan's slow pace in addressing his country's concerns. Moreover, Pakistan, too, has had genuine concerns vis-à-vis Afghanistan. The National Unity Government became increasingly hawkish towards Pakistan, as it deliberately followed pro-Indian mantra. A growing closeness with India, that the security establishment, here, saw is one of the reasons behind instability in Baluchistan.

#### **Durand line**

Durand line is another bone of contention in Pak-Afghan relations. Sir Mortimer Durand had drawn this line in 1893 between Afghanistan and then British India, which later got divided into two countries India and Pakistan in 1947. Afghanistan was considered by the British as a sovereign state at the time, although they control its foreign and diplomatic affairs. The Durand Line slices through the Pashtun tribes and further south towards the Baluchistan. It politically separates ethnic Pashtuns, and the Baloch tribes, who live on both sides of the outskirt in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Moreover, the



original agreement is one page. Afghans believe that with Great Britain, the agreement was only for 100 Years after which the acquisition of land would revert to them while, formal agreement, however, makes no such reference in this regard. No evidence of this contention has ever been produced in the English version of the accord, however, and it is not clear whether the Dari and Pashto language versions of this Agreement still exist? Therefore, there is no such legal provision of Afghanistan's claim over Durand Line.

According to Joseph V. Micallef, "The Durand Line would become one of the principal issues of Afghanistan's foreign policy for the next century and even now remains at the heart of Pak-Afghan relations." History is witnessed that, all critical issues have been better resolved through diplomacy, arbitration, and negotiation. Thus, frequent attacks on Pakistani troops are childish acts of the Afghan army.

### **Instability in Afghanistan**

Since 1980s Afghanistan is on the verge of instability and war. Due to the rivalries of a different world and regional powers, peace is a distant dream in Afghanistan. The recent three decades of war has obscured the predetermination of Afghan peoples. Besides, it has also brought demolition and affected the whole regions in general and Pakistan in particular. The insecurity in Afghanistan is affecting the destiny of the lives across the border. Due to continuous wars, severe instability, and involvement of international and regional powers in Afghanistan, Pakistan's internal security has been severely affected. Resultantly, the problematic emergence and resurgence of Taliban made Pakistan a frontline state in the war against terrorism. Furthermore, the bulk of Afghan refugees is also a significant threat to Pakistan's security. They are haunting peace process. All the terror incident happened in Pakistan are to be claimed responsibility by Afghanistan –based terror outfits. While at the same time these refugees are also caught in subversive activities. Due to instability in Afghanistan, peace is at stake in Pakistan.

A stable, prosperous and developed Afghanistan is in the greater interests of Pakistan. To utilize Afghanistan as a door to Central Asian Republics, Pakistan needs friendly relations with her. Pakistan needs an agreeable government in Afghanistan which could promise her interests inside and outside the nations. The insecurity in Afghanistan creates numerous problems for Pakistan on socio-economic and political realms. Various crooks and fanatics come to Pakistan, which is aggravating the inside peace and stability in Pakistan.

In a nutshell, it is the need of the time that Afghanistan's leadership should realize the sensitivity of the issue and not be used by foreign hands. Afghanistan's Indian persuade foreign policy will serve as a zero-sum game in Pak-afghan relations. However, only the immediate engagement of Pakistan-Afghan leadership for the permanent solution of issues can serve the larger interest of the region.

<http://southasiajournal.net/factors-disturbing-pak-afghan-relations/>



## ***Forthcoming NSG Plenary Meeting: Prospects for Pakistan-India Candidacy***

*Asma Khalid*

Trajectory of Non- Proliferation regime is most likely to be determined in forthcoming (27th) plenary session of NSG. Nuclear cartel of 48-member states deals with the export of nuclear material and Nuclear related technology. According to the NSG guidelines, membership of group requires that states should be a member of Non-Proliferation treaty in order to get the membership of group. Both India and Pakistan is aspirant to get the membership of NSG. Since the membership application of India-Pakistan, debated over inclusion of Non-NPT has been intensified.

Support of Major Powers to India by providing waiver by US, India's intensive diplomatic efforts and introduction of discriminatory Grossi formula to support the Indian bid for NSG membership has shaken the India-Pakistan's bilateral dialogue on nuclear matters and such discriminatory approach has undermined the spirit of global Non-proliferation regime. Though, despite of presenting the discriminatory proposal on December 6, 2016, support of major powers and China's demand for unbiased non-discriminatory approach, India's inclusion in NSG is reached on critical stage. In this regard the question arises that what will be the prospects for Pakistan India candidacy in forthcoming NSG-plenary meeting? And what are the policy options for Pakistan to promote its stance to counter the resistance in getting the NSG-membership.

Both India and Pakistan are determined to get the membership of NSG for three significant reasons: economic, political and strategic. Membership of NSG is top priority of India as it will enhance India's prestige in global affairs as well as it will allow the India to actively play its role in international arena for export and import of nuclear related technology. On the other side, NSG membership will ensure economic, political and technological benefits for Pakistan. Secondly, providing any special exemption from NSG principle to India and ignoring Pakistan's bid will disturb the strategic balance in South Asia. Due to these multiple dimensions both Non-NPT states are making rigorous efforts to get the membership of nuclear cartel.

Trends have revealed that both India and Pakistan will face tough resistance in getting the NSG membership in 27th plenary meeting. Because, NSG works on consensus and member states has remained dividend on the matter of NSG membership. It has remained dividend on US and Chinese position spite of India's extensive lobbying with the countries since last meeting of NSG. Notwithstanding proactive lobby, India is failed to win Chain's support for NSG membership as China is stick to its stance and demand for non-discriminatory criteria-based approach. On the other side, US claim that India being a like-minded country deserves to be included in the group just to serve its own defence and strategic objectives. So despite of US backing and Indian proactive diplomatic efforts, global politics and recent developments have indicated that India may not receive special benefit against the mandate and spirit of NSG in forthcoming plenary. And it will be another setback for India and getting

the membership of group will be a difficult task for both India as well as Pakistan. It is also perceived that US and India will increased their efforts to convince member states including china without considering the impact of such policies for region and global efforts of Non-proliferation.

Subsequently, Significance of forthcoming plenary for Pakistan cannot be ignored and it is imperative that it should not give up its quest for membership. Though China's official stance support the Pakistan's candidature but it is important for Pakistan to maintain its resilience and sustainability in its strategy regarding membership of nuclear cartel. For this purpose policy options for Pakistan includes: First, Economic engagement and need to project itself as a great economic incentive for other states. Second, Pakistan need to adopt more proactive foreign policy and diplomacy to cater the support for Pakistan's bid in nuclear group.

Though debate over membership of Non-NPT states has reached on critical stage as despite of improved nuclear credentials, Pakistan is facing discriminatory attitude and country-specific approach has been followed by US to support India. Yet, Pakistan should not give up its efforts and need to constantly move towards its ambitions. Such strategy will send the message to international community that Pakistan is not in hurry, it is working and has maintained the balanced pace to get the recognition as responsible member of the nuclear cartel.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2017/05/19/forthcoming-nsg-plenary-meeting-prospects-pakistan-india-candidacy/>



## ***Pakistan-Iran Bilateral Relations: Regional Peace and Development***

***Muhammad Adil Sivia***

Forces of globalization have helped create unparalleled prosperity in human history. Regional integration and free movement of goods and capital along with decreasing the distances between people and states has been hallmarks of globalization. The fruits of globalization are not distributed equitably among different states of the world. Pockets of extreme development and poverty have emerged. Societies that are agricultural, tribal or primordial have been largely left out of development loop spurred by globalization. When it comes to different regions of the world, South Asia has not realized its development potential and benefited at large from processes of globalization.

The negative impact of globalization has created certain pressures on the ability of states to manage their relations with others states and maintain control over their territory. Negative non-state actors are actively damaging states especially in developing world. Disorder and poverty in developing countries has impact on the developing world as well. Hence the responsibility for managing globalization in constructive way falls mainly with developed world.

The people and societies who are marginalized or have suffered at hands of domestic and foreign actors, will come back to haunt the developed world. Chaos in Middle East and rise of negative non-state actors is indirectly the result of policies of major powers. Hence the responsibility for playing constructive role in addressing the grievances of developing countries becomes very important.

The state of Pakistan and Iran bilateral relations can be viewed from the perspective of negative impact of globalization and destabilizing role played by great powers in this region of the world. Pakistan and Iran have enjoyed historically very cordial relations. Despite changing regimes in the two countries, people in both countries have viewed each other favorably.

During Cold War, the US and USSR cultivated and played different countries against each other for proxy wars. Regional countries used this interference of major powers in this region to further their sphere of influence that took the form of proxy wars often taking sectarian color. Outside powers have often exploited sectarian affiliations to divide the Muslim countries and societies for sowing discord and chaos in Muslim world for keeping greater Middle East destabilized.

Recent border tension between Pakistan and Iran is serious cause of concern for these two very important countries of this region. Prosperity of one country in increasingly globalized world is now linked with its neighbors. Pakistan believes in the policy of stabilized region because its internal stability and development is linked with stable and progressive region. Non-state actors that have targeted Iranian Border Security forces are treated as terrorist by Pakistan. Terrain makes it difficult to effectively patrol the border between Pakistan and Iran. Resorting to public statements for discussing the state of bilateral relations and impediments by certain military leaders of Iran was very imprudent move.



Working out new joint mechanisms for effective border management complete operationalization of existing arrangements is needed for removing the non-state actors that work as irritants between the countries otherwise very friendly relations.

After signing Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) between Iran and P5+1, and subsequent lifting of sanctions on Iran, Pakistan stands to benefit from rich petro chemical base that Iran has. Importing oil and gas from Iran is economically more feasible compared with other sources that Pakistan is relying at the moment. The dictates of energy security make it incumbent of Pakistan to diversify its energy mix and energy importing destinations as well.

One Belt and One Road (OBOR) initiative by China and selecting China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) are the flagship project of grand economic design, regional countries especially Iran stand to benefit from this project. Iran can export petro chemicals to energy deficient Pakistan and China. Iran has already shown official willingness to become part of CPEC. Developing cordial bilateral relations with Pakistan is necessary for Iran to achieve enhances access to Chinese economy.

To certain degree peace in Afghanistan is dependent on convergence of interest between the countries bordering Afghanistan. Pakistan and Iran both have influence on certain section of Afghan society. For increasing the potential and realization of developing of the people of these two countries, regional integration coupled with CPEC is of paramount importance. Iran and Pakistan are founding members of Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO). True realization of ECO objectives will be greatly enhanced by linking ECO countries under CPEC. The leadership of both countries need to persuade each other and send signals through their policies and actions that bilateral relations needed to be viewed in their entirety only. Linking bilateral relation with policies of third country can only increase distrust among Pakistan and Iran that will be counterproductive to the purposes of regional integration and economic development.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2017/05/19/pakistan-iran-bilateral-relations-regional-peace-and-development/>

## ***Blame Game and the Recent Indo-Pak Border Security Crisis***

***Zainab Aziz***

The strategic conditions in South Asian Region are still overshadowed by the strained India-Pakistan Relations while its being more than five decades now. There has been varied intensity of conflicts between the two neighbors having nuclear power but the contemporaneous decade has observed upsurge in tension levels, incapability to liaise with each other on the matters of mutual concern and the rising mistrust between the two nations.

Few weeks ago, General Joseph L Votel, Commander US Central Command, in his statement before the Senate Armed Services Committee, raised concerns about the tensions between Pakistan and India. Giving his views on India's stance on Pakistan's diplomatic isolation, General Joseph said: "India's public policy to 'diplomatically isolate' Pakistan hinders any prospects for improved relations. This is especially troubling as a significant conventional conflict between Pakistan and India could escalate into a nuclear exchange, given that both are nuclear powers."

Tensions have been high in Kashmir since last July, when Indian security forces killed a young Kashmiri leader, prompting months of widespread protests and an ensuing security crackdown in Indian-administered Kashmir that killed at least 80 people.

According to a statement issued by the ISPR at that time, Indian Army has been targeting innocent civilians on both sides of line of Control in recent past. "Any misadventure by Indian Army across Line of Control will be a miscalculation, shall be responded with full force and could lead to unintended consequences," it added.

Pakistan's foreign office, meanwhile, summoned the Indian deputy high commissioner to condemn what it termed "the unprovoked ceasefire violation by the Indian occupation forces" overnight.

"The deliberate targeting of civilians is indeed condemnable and contrary to human dignity and international human rights and humanitarian laws," it said in a statement.

Pakistan and India maintain a 2003 ceasefire agreement across the LoC, but India frequently violate it, usually blaming the Pakistan for instigating hostilities.

The ceasefire violations by Indian troops along the Line of Control (LoC) continued throughout the day at different sectors, resulting in injuries to six civilians inclusive of four women. After Nakiyal Sector, the Indian troops targeted civilian localities in Baroh Sector where the exchange of fire was continuing till late in the evening.

Both countries have claimed the Kashmir region in full since partition and independence from Britain in 1947, but administer separate portions of it. The South Asian neighbours have fought two of their three wars over Kashmir.



Whenever there is a sudden surge in violence in Indian-administrated Kashmir, hostilities between India and Pakistan increase at the Line of Control (LoC), which serves as the de facto border between the two countries.

New Delhi may be uneasy about the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), a bilateral economic project between the two countries that promises to invest more than \$46 billion in the country. Apparently, the leadership in Pakistan believes that India's open hostility towards CPEC, which is being called Islamabad's economic lifeline, cannot be countered by accommodating New Delhi's demands and threats. Rather, the current policy in Pakistan is to stand up to Indian threats regardless of political, diplomatic or military consequences. Historically, Pakistan has always done in the past by employing all available means, including security and diplomatic, to thwart hostile designs by New Delhi.

During the past many years, Pakistan has missed opportunities to settle the Kashmir dispute, while India has played for time and held on to the two-thirds of Kashmir that is under its control albeit at a heavy cost. Several proposals have been made by various groups in recent years. The ideal solution would be to hold a plebiscite in the entire state, including the Indian and the Pakistani sides, under U.N. supervision as promised in 1949. Since the outcome of such a vote is obvious, India has opposed it under one pretext or the other all these years. It is a hard sell even today.

<http://dailytimes.com.pk/blog/17-Apr-17/indias-foreign-policy-ambitions-and-capabilities>



## ***Nuclear Weapons Ban: Casting Pearls before Swine***

### ***Beenish Altaf***

Despite objections from major nuclear powers, more than 120 countries launched the first round of United Nations negotiations on a global nuclear weapons ban in March in New York City. Britain, France, Israel, Russia, and the United States all voted against the treaty, whereas China, India, and Pakistan abstained. With the second round of negotiations next month, a hard look is needed at whether this new initiative aiming for total disarmament is necessary, productive, or wise. Two key issues stand out. First, the treaty is unrealistic – nuclear disarmament has been attempted and failed time and again under a number of existing treaties. Second, nuclear disarmament on its own does not do much to prevent conflict, especially with rising conventional arsenals around the globe. Thus, rather than devoting time and energy to a new initiative, the international community should focus on improving and fulfilling the objectives of existing regimes.

#### **Resistance from Nuclear States**

Austria, Brazil, Ireland, Mexico, South Africa, and Sweden, all non-nuclear states, took the lead in this humanitarian initiative to ban nuclear weapons. The United States and several other nuclear powers argued that a ban would not work and that the world should stick with a more gradual approach to disarmament. Ironically, the United States has still not ratified the Comprehensive-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT) that it signed back in September 1996, which hardly demonstrates an inclination towards even gradual disarmament. Similarly, Britain's Ambassador to the United Nations Matthew Rycroft did not attend the negotiations, claiming that a ban treaty could not lead to "effective progress on nuclear disarmament." France's Deputy Ambassador to the United Nations, Alexis Lamek, resisted the treaty because of, he argued, his country's continued reliance on nuclear weapons for security and stability. China and Russia also resisted due to security concerns.

The South Asian nuclear states contend that a disarmament treaty outside of the Conference on Disarmament (CD) is a clear duplication, as the CD is the sole body responsible for governing disarmament issues. Pakistan has always been a supporter of nuclear disarmament. It proposed that the South Asian region be a nuclear weapons-free zone soon after the Indian so-called "peaceful nuclear explosion" in 1974. However, Pakistan refrained from voting in favor, arguing that there is no need for a treaty outside the CD. India opposes the treaty on the grounds that it is not a comprehensive instrument on nuclear disarmament.

#### **Issues to Consider**

The concept of a nuclear ban is unrealistic. Currently, no country is taking any steps towards nuclear disarmament – especially the P-5 states, which are bound by a commitment to do so under the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT). There have been numerous international treaties negotiated at both the bilateral and multilateral levels for the same purpose, but none have achieved significant success. Negotiations on the proposed Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty (FMCT) have still not begun after

decades. It can be argued that after years of stalemate over the CTBT, the United Nations is interested in introducing another treaty to show its eagerness to work on disarmament. But if the NPT and other nuclear treaties have not yet accomplished their goals, how can one expect this of a new treaty?

Hypothetically, even if global nuclear disarmament is achieved, it still will not do much to limit the possibility of future conflict. The move towards global disarmament would cause deterrence to rely on conventional force imbalances rather than nuclear ones. If a crisis occurs and war becomes unavoidable, conventional aggression could still flare up in the absence of nuclear weapons. Nuclear disarmament on its own does not make substantial progress towards risk management or escalation control. Thus, as Dr. Zafar Khan has argued, the international community's approach to complete disarmament needs to address issues of discrimination, conventional and nuclear force modernization, negative security assurances, conventional imbalances, nonproliferation regime restructuring, and conflict resolution.

Through the lens of deterrence optimism, one must also consider the fact that nuclear weapons may have prevented a third world war. In the absence of a conventional arms control regime, complete nuclear disarmament could push the world towards increased aggression, especially considering the growing conventional arms build-up and arms commerce by the nuclear-weapons states. As Dr. Zafar Iqbal Cheema has rightly argued, the idea of disarmament seems noble, but we must consider the circumstances under which we intend to achieve it. Pakistan's representative to the First Committee on Disarmament, Ambassador Zamir Akram, has emphasized the importance of containing advancement in the number and sophistication of conventional weapons. He advocated for a balanced reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments, as it has an underlying relationship with the continued dependence on nuclear weapons. Disarmament is not just about nuclear weapons—the missile race around the globe is also a concern. For instance, ballistic missiles greatly influenced U.S. strategy in the nuclear age. With South Asia and North Korea's mounting missile developments, the world is heading in a dangerous direction towards enhanced missile programs.

### **The Way Forward**

Since the second round of negotiations will be take place in June-July, some are optimistic about concluding the treaty despite the fact that few states consider the March session a success – success cannot be achieved without the support of the nuclear-weapons states. Instead of devoting time and energy to new initiatives such as the nuclear weapons ban treaty, the international community should focus on more realistic and pertinent objectives, such as limiting nuclear commerce around the globe. Open-ended nuclear deals such as that between India and the United States only increase insecurity and threaten strategic stability, ultimately pushing other states to increase and modernize their weaponry. Finally, the P-5 should show an increased willingness to work towards nuclear disarmament under the existing treaties. A good place to start would be substantial development on the New START agreement between the United States and Russia, which aims to limit both sides' nuclear arsenals.

<https://southasianvoices.org/nuclear-weapons-ban-casting-pearls-swine/>



## ***Pakistan's Nuclear Tests and Deterrence Stability in South Asia***

*Asma Khalid*

The month of May remains very important in history Pakistan for its defense. 28<sup>th</sup> of this month is a day when the defense of Pakistan was made invincible. On this day Pakistan conducted six nuclear tests in response to five nuclear tests conducted by India. It is important to note that it was the second time that India was conducting nuclear tests, the first test being so called Smiling Buddha in May 1974. Soon after nuclear tests, sanctions were imposed by the UNSC both on India and Pakistan. The country maintained logical position that Pakistan was not the first to conduct nuclear test. Pakistan despite having developed the capability for over a decade avoided conducting hot testing of nuclear devices. Pakistan was left with no option but to conduct a test of its nuclear devices to become overt nuclear power to send the message to regional bully India that had been sending highly threatening and destabilizing signals to Pakistan. At that time Indian political and military leadership after the tests was following aggressive posture towards Pakistan and was expecting surrender of Pakistan and the subservient role of Pakistan in South Asia in the wake of a nuclear test by India. Under these circumstances Pakistan was justified to conduct nuclear tests of its own. The conventional military imbalance that India had with Pakistan and its reflection in Indian policy towards Pakistan forced the Pakistani policy makers, both military and civilian, to consider the nuclear weapons option for security of Pakistan. The rationale of Pakistan's military nuclear program remains countering the conventional military superiority of India. In the past India under different pretexts mobilized its military to exert pressure on Pakistan. It was Indian short-sighted behavior that made Indian conventional military superiority vis-a-vis Pakistan irrelevant after Pakistan became overt nuclear power.

In following decade after the nuclear tests, Pakistan developed different delivery systems and nuclear doctrine for defining the role of nuclear weapons in overall external security of the country. All weapons are means of extending the national interest of the country. The role of nuclear weapons in Pakistan is making unbearable the cost of any military option that India may consider against Pakistan. Hence the concept of strategic stability comes into play. Pakistan has degraded the military options for India to the point where they become irrational. Since the rationale of Pakistan's nuclear weapons program is countering Indian conventional military force, adopting first use doctrine is logical. It's the balance of terror between India and Pakistan that discourages India from using conventional military force in any misadventure against Pakistan.

If Pakistan were to adopt "no first use" policy, such a doctrinal position might encourage India to believe that it can utilize its conventional military force against Pakistan in short war before nuclear weapons become relevant. Indian Cold Start doctrine is specifically structured under this false assumption that shift, swift and decisive victory over Pakistan was possible by rapid deployment of conventional military force in theatre of its own choosing. Though India initially denied the existence of any such doctrine, later statements from security elite of India have revealed that such doctrine does exist for all practical purposes. An Indian security elite mindset that conventional war with Pakistan was possible under nuclear overhang is highly destabilizing. By adopting the first use nuclear doctrinal



posture, Pakistan has made it explicit that any conventional military attack on Pakistan will not remain restricted to this domain only. In such a scenario, the responsibility for the use of nuclear weapons by Pakistan will rest with India.

There is a lot of negative propaganda associated with the development of tactical nuclear weapons (TNWs) by Pakistan. It was aggressive behavior of India manifested in Cold Start doctrine that forced Pakistan to develop TNWs. As theatre level nuclear weapons, TNWs are for self-defense. The stability effect that TNWs have in South Asia is highly under recognized.

Pakistan has developed robust command and control system for nuclear weapons. This structure is formalized in the form of National Command Authority (NCA) with the Prime Minister as its head. Like all other nuclear weapons states, the composition of NCA is reflective of consensus between civil and military leadership in this regard. Critics of military's representation in the NCA are oblivious to the fact civil-military leadership work in tandem with the purpose of securing the country. The control over nuclear devices remains with the civilian leadership.

The utility of nuclear weapons can be checked from the fact that despite multiple escalations after overt nuclearization of South Asia, India has not dared to attack Pakistan from eastern border. Pakistan achieved major milestone in January 2017 and gained credible second strike capability, which has ensured durable peace and protection of any attack from India. Therefore, the development of credible second strike capability by Pakistan has enhanced the deterrence relationship and strategic stability in South Asia.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2017/05/27/pakistans-nuclear-tests-deterrence-stability-south-asia/>

## ***Youm-e-Takbeer: Tale of the Finest Hour and 19 Years of Deterrence***

*Maimuna Ashraf*

This May, the two South Asian nuclear states mark the 19th anniversary to the first detonation of their nuclear devices. Pakistan and India celebrate national days in commemoration of Chagai and Pokhran-II respectively that established nuclear deterrence for both states. The explosion of atomic bombs embarked 'overt' nuclearization of South Asia, albeit the aspect of nuclear deterrence in the region can be traced back to the pre-nuclearization period when the debates raged with ambiguities regarding their nuclear capabilities.

The strategic stability debate in South Asia had already taken a new dimension when India conducted its so-called peaceful nuclear test in 1974. After these tests Pakistan urged Western powers to establish a nuclear-free zone in South Asia, however, all such efforts were opposed. In April 1998, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif addressed letters to world leaders, including US President Clinton, drawing their attention to India's pronouncements which "connote a giant leap towards fully operationalizing Indian nuclear capability", but these requests were treated indifferently.

India announced two sets of nuclear detonations on May 11 and 13. It was a worrisome and shocking moment for the world especially for Pakistan. Notwithstanding it was the first explosion since the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) opened for signature in 1996 and Indian initiative of nuclear detonation had heavily tilted balance of power towards India in South Asia accompanied with the fear to start a destabilizing arms race between the neighboring states. There was no retaliatory action by the international community against India for violating the established norm of nuclear non-proliferation.

The change in the geo-strategic situation of the region, after Indian nuclear tests, was evident in the 17 days before Pakistan decided to exercise its nuclear option. Additional army divisions were sent into Indian-held Kashmir and Pakistan had been told 'to realize the new realities on the ground' by the then Indian home minister and former BJP president, Mr Lal Krishan. He warned Pakistan about the government's new pro-active approach to deal firmly with Pakistan in Kashmir. India's entrance in the nuclear club had been declared a decisive step by the Indian policy makers to bring a qualitatively new stage in Indo-Pak relations, particularly in finding a lasting solution to the Kashmir problem. These 17 days were the most critical in the history of Pakistan.

After deliberating various policy options and days of excruciating, Pakistan finally decided to carry out nuclear tests on May 28 and 30 in response to Indian nuclear explosions. Finally, the agonizing clouds displaced and replaced with the mushroom-shaped smoke. Interestingly, the United Nations Security Council resolution to condemn the nuclear detonation of two states and US sanctions were surfaced only after Pakistan conducted the nuclear tests.



After the nuclear tests by Pakistan and India, the debate on nuclear stability was divided into two groups: nuclear optimists and nuclear pessimists. The optimists maintained that the possession of nuclear weapons by both states would stabilize the region by ensuring nuclear parity and mutual fears of catastrophic destruction. Conversely, the pessimists argued that the miscalculations, misunderstandings and various organizational problems might lead to deterrence failure. In addition they highlighted the destabilizing consequence of nuclear proliferation.

Many critics believe that nuclearization had positive impact on the crisis behavior and defend the argument that post nuclearization conflicts between India and Pakistan took place as result of regional tiffs and not as an effect of nuclearization. Moreover, these conflicts did not escalate due to the deterrence effects, potential nuclear escalation and danger of nuclear war. Recounting to the realities of South Asia, pragmatically the presence of nuclear weapons influenced the strategic decisions in post nuclearization conflicts; Kargil, Operation Prakram and Mumbai attacks.

The conventional asymmetry between the two arch rivals, can persuade the conventionally strong to adopt destabilizing measures even in the nuclearized environment. The threat to be retaliated by nuclear weapons prevents the conventionally stronger opponent from using its force and thus prevents the other nuclear power, with less conventional force, from full-scale conventional conquest. Furthermore, the existence of nuclear weapons internationalizes any confrontation between the two states, thus ensures a better resolution than what could be in absence of nuclear weapons. In recent times, the growing disparity and asymmetry in South Asia is favorable to India but challenging for Pakistan. Nonetheless, the nuclear factor balances the strategic equation in South Asian landscape.

Deterrence, as precisely termed, is “the exploitation of a threat without implementing it, or exploiting the existence of weapons without activating them”. Consequently, nuclear weapons are essentially supposed to be the weapons of peace and not war. It is extensively believed that the existence of nuclear weapons restrained Pakistan and India to wage another war after 1971. However, the need of time is that both states should start strategic dialogues to consider Confidence Building Measures (CBM) in order to avoid any misfortune event in future. This would be significant move in a scenario when Pakistan in response to India is building up its nuclear capabilities to ensure the credibility of its nuclear deterrence.

India’s doctrinal transformation and ballistic missile defense capabilities, which are rapidly maturing, had indulged Pakistan in miniaturization of warheads. Lately, India’s evolving sea-based capabilities is coercing Pakistan to develop full spectrum credible minimum deterrence capability, by having each leg of nuclear triad, to deter all form of aggression.

After 19 years of deterrence, 28th May reminds the “historic milestone” towards reinforcement and maintenance of Pakistan’s deterrence capability. This timely and successful response showed operational preparedness of the Strategic Forces and Pakistan’s capabilities to safeguard its security, which should not be undermined. Every year, the day recalls that Pakistan’s decision to exercise the nuclear option had been taken in the interest of national self-defense, to deter aggression, whether



nuclear or conventional. Thus, on 28th May Pakistan completed a landmark journey with triumph, which makes this a historical occasion for all the years to come.

<http://nation.com.pk/blogs/28-May-2017/youm-e-takbeer-tale-of-the-finest-hour-and-19-years-of-deterrence>

## ***Role of Pakistan and the Arab-Islamic Summit***

### ***Zainab Aziz***

Visiting Saudi Arabia as a first foreign trip, President U.S Donald Trump has manifested his long-term strategic ambitions. Donald Trump's keynote address at the Riyadh Summit has widely been discussed and analyzed. If the President Trump's speech is critically examined, the essence of his address to over 50 heads of Islamic states was much about praising Middle Eastern Countries in order to fulfill the greater U.S national interests. Moreover, President Trump gave much "guidelines" to the Islamic countries like choking the finance of terrorist groups, countering extremist and violent ideologies or defeating the terrorist forces. Trump also referred the Summit as the beginning of peace in the Middle East followed by the peace in the world. He admired the role of the Middle Eastern states in combating terrorism and extremism in the region. Although his visit and speech was opposite to what he used to refer extremism to only 'Radical Islamic Terrorism' during his presidential campaign. In order to strengthen the military power of Saudi Arabia, U.S also signed an agreement of \$110 billion of defense purchase with it. President Trump concluded deals that would result in the mutual interest of both the countries.

However, President Trump failed to acknowledge the sacrifices that Pakistan gave in countering terrorism and extremism. "The nations of Europe have also endured unspeakable horror. So too have the nations of Africa and even South America. India, Russia, China and Australia have been victims," US President Donald Trump said in his keynote address, skipping the name of Pakistan, which lost over 70,000 civilians and more than 6,000 of its valiant soldiers to terrorism. He remarked about some other specific countries e.g. Egypt, Jordan, Iraq, United Arab Emirates and most importantly Saudi Arabia but he didn't even mention Pakistan. For this reason, the Pakistani lawmakers and policymakers must review a Trump's visit and speech which definitely leaves a food for thought for revising our own policies.

The way Pakistan was being ignored and silenced at the US-Arab-Islamic Summit is a matter of serious consideration while Pakistan being handed over the command of Islamic Military Alliance that was also Saudi-led predominantly. Addressing India as a victim of terror in his speech at Riyadh Summit, President failed to recognize Pakistan as one. This is at the time when the International Court of Justice (ICJ) has stayed the execution of Kulbhushan Jadhav, an Indian spy convicted of terrorism in Pakistan. However, on Thursday's weekly briefing on 25<sup>th</sup> May, 2017, Pakistan Foreign Office spokesman Nafees Zakaria claimed that the Saudi Arabian monarch, King Salman had apologized to Nawaz Sharif for not giving him a chance to speak at the US-Arab summit held last week in Riyadh. Regardless of this apology, such conditions turned Islamic Summit to just Gulf Countries meeting where an important country with regards to fighting terrorism like Pakistan did not get a chance to speak. Pakistan was the sole Islamic nuclear state in the Islamic Summit and still getting such treatment indicate the far-reaching ramifications on the role of Pakistan that it has to play in the contemporary circumstances creating 'Global Centre for Combating Extremist Ideology'. This entire scenario has far-reaching consequences on the role that Pakistan has to play in the newly created theater of 'Global Centre for Combating Extremist



Ideology'. It seems uncertain now that whether Pakistan will share any kind of responsibility in the new emerging geo-strategic environment after getting rebuffed on unsure terms.

Contrary to it, the statement that President Donald Trump gave on a telephonic call to Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif just after winning presidential elections in January 2017 that 'I am ready and willing to play any role that you want me to play to address and find solutions to outstanding issues' shows a shift in his stance towards Pakistan now. This reflects a great change in the foreign policy of U.S towards Pakistan. In the current situation, Pakistan must strive to become a worthy ally of U.S once again for which it may need to bring some changes in its own foreign policy.

Increasing hostilities with the neighboring countries like Afghanistan, India along with the U.S pressure on Pakistan are making the situation more volatile for Pakistan. Pakistan needs to change its approach to make U.S realize that it has to play a balanced role in order to diffuse a situation in which India is playing more aggressive role day by day. Pakistan must also appoint a full-time foreign minister that can be held responsible for making constructive strategies and policies. Pakistan should also disseminate the account of its efforts in eliminating extremism and countering terrorism in its various regions. The strategic location of Pakistan still makes it relevant and important to the whole world in order to confront the emerging challenges. Therefore, international community must play a role in bringing Pakistan together to resolve the ongoing issue especially related to South Asian region.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2017/05/29/role-pakistan-us-arab-islamic-summit/>

## ***There is No Such Thing as a Free Lunch: China's Long Term Plan for Pakistan***

*Asia Maqsood*

Pakistan's newspaper Dawn reported a detailed report of Long Term Plan on CPEC concluded in the recent OBOR Summit held in Beijing which has raised many concerns about the project. It is said, this plan is not the project document, but it delineates the aspirations of both sides. In short, it laid out associated projects which would have long-run impacts on Pakistan's surveillance, agriculture, tourism, transportation, and finance and security situations. The LTP of CPEC has following salient dimensions;

First, thousands of acres of agricultural land would be leased out to Chinese companies to set up demonstration projects ranges from irrigation technology to seed varieties.

Second, there would be a surveillance system crossing cities across the country with 24-hour video recording on roads and in market places and data will be sent to the command center.

Third, national fiber-optic would be laid for the internet traffic as well as the terrestrial distribution of broadcast television. Chinese media would cooperate with Pakistani broadcasters in the broadcasting the Chinese culture in the country.

Fourth, there would be industrial parks or special economic zones hosting Chinese firms operating in textiles and garments, cement and building materials, fertilizers and agricultural technologies.

Fifth, there would be a coastal tourism industry in the south includes cruise ports, nightlife, water sports though more work is needed to be done. Free and low-interest loans issued to Pakistan to be given out as the project gets under way.

Lastly, the plan asks for the visa-free tourism possible with China to provide more convenient policy support for Chinese tourists to Pakistan without any reciprocal arrangement for Pakistanis.

At first glance, it is little to appease Pakistan. Many see this is the China's colonialism approach towards Pakistan. Let it be clear that it is not colonialism that China cannot take over the country as stable Pakistan is very much important for China in Belt and Road Initiative. Nations cooperate with each other to pursue their national interests in this anarchical international environment so Pakistan must be aware of protecting its sovereignty and its national interests. This is an economic project started commonly with the infrastructure, energy, industry.

In the long-term the plan would be implemented as it is without devising policies by Pakistan will significantly diminish Pakistan's authority over its land and resources and would allow Chinese nearly unrestrained access to our ports and other assets. In short run, this would be an awesome concoction of capital into Pakistan but in the long term if this plan as it is implemented without



discussing in the parliament of Pakistan may be paying back more money than China is bringing into Pakistan.

Initially, this program was not talking about the agriculture, but now in this LTP report, the major portion has been discussed the agricultural field. Though everything is connected with each other as the development of infrastructure bring revolution in the agricultural technology. Many studies have been done in this regard as Woelcke's study reveals that investment in the road infrastructure reduces the cost of transportation. The improvement in the quality of the roads leads to the increment of 20 Or 35 percent in the purchasing power of the farmers according to the season. Likewise, poor infrastructure has adverse impacts on the export of agriculture output because farmers usually have low access to credit in almost all developing countries which could be a hurdle in purchasing the inputs used in farms. It is also observed that markets located at a distance are the main hurdle to use fertilizers and to sell the agricultural products. Various types of infrastructure and agricultural output growth are directly proportional. If the irrigation infrastructure is developed, the revolutionary changes in agricultural output are inevitable by enhancing the land use intensity and provide incentives to farmers to use productivity increasing inputs. Rural electrification increases the irrigated area and also irrigation facilities. Resultantly the output of crops cultivated through underground irrigation system which is always higher than those under canal or tank irrigation. Hence one could be optimistic about the CPEC project that the development of infrastructure brings revolution in agriculture technology.

So the CPEC has a direct impact on the agriculture sector also like the long term plan more talks about the agrarian economy. Mr. Ahsan Iqbal, the Project Director of CPEC, claimed on last Monday, "It is a live document, and both sides [China and Pakistan] have the understanding to modify it as per the need besides reviewing it periodically," he further mentioned that the long-term plan could not have been disclosed by Pakistani government without consulting the Chinese, he called the Dawn story "half cooked" in a race to break the news first".

Pakistan has signed some new deals of \$500 million ahead of Beijing' international forum (OBOR Summit) which has been attended by leaders from at least 29 countries to promote Xi Jinping's vision of expanding trade links.

Discussing the plan's layout to make the visa-free tourism possible with China to provide more convenient policy support for Chinese tourists to Pakistan without any reciprocal arrangement for Pakistani nationals to visit China, I must say Pakistan cannot take this enormous step as it is most affected country from terrorism, there could be more chances of infiltration of terrorist including Uyghur militants to Pakistan. Pakistan should not only rely on the foreign direct investment China but with the better security environment, it should cooperate with other countries for the direct investment like Bangladesh, etc. There is some optimism regarding the CPEC long term plan if Pakistan devises some policies if any default occurs.

<http://southasiajournal.net/there-is-no-such-thing-as-free-lunch-chinas-long-term-plan-for-pakistan/>

## *Unmanned Aerial Vehicles and Escalation Along LoC*

### *Muhammad Adil Sivia*

The intensity and frequency of unprovoked shelling across Line of Control (LoC) by Indian occupying forces targeting civilian population in Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK) has increased under the Bharatiya Janata Party driven by extremist Hindutva ideology.

Since January 1949, India continues to blatantly refuse the mandate and functions of United Nations Military Observers Group in Indian and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) that was created to monitor ceasefire violations on both sides of LoC.

On May 25, Indian troops fired on the vehicles carrying UNMOGIP observers on Pakistani side LoC in Khanjar sector. Despite the fact that the vehicle carrying observers had the blue UN flag hoisted on it for clear identification, the firing incident shows that it was deliberate action on part of Indian troops to target the UN observers. The purposes of such deliberate firing can be none other but to stop UNMOGIP observers from collecting evidence of ceasefire violations by Indian forces.

Realpolitik in the 21st Century at a tactical level bears a profound shift where states are looking for alignment of interests, instead of alliances. Balancing China at least in military domain brought convergence of interests between India and the US. In 2005, India and the US signed a ten-year defense framework in which they committed to increasing defense trade, the transfer of technology, and counterterrorism collaboration. Barack Obama realized the waning influence of the country around the world and presented the “Pivot to Asia” strategy that was later renamed as “Rebalance to Asia” for reasserting the US leadership role around the world, especially Asia. This strategy viewed India as natural partner in South Asia. India seized the opportunity to align with the US for exploiting the ‘China threat’ to build its military muscle.

Prime Minister Narendra Modi’s military modernization project aims to spend \$250 billion by 2025 to develop a kill factor. Such a plan will further put pressure on Pakistan to adequately enhance defense spending to counter conventional threats to its security.

In June 2016, under the Obama administration India requested the US to supply 22 General Atomics Guardian drones. These drones are primarily used for surveillance purposes, but can be armed with air-to-ground missiles as well. A major hurdle for India acquiring both armed and surveillance UAVs from the US after joining the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) on June 27, 2016 with the US support was removed. With the signing of Logistics Support Agreement (LSA), Communications Interoperability and Security Memorandum of Agreement (CISMOA) and Basic Exchange and Cooperation Agreement for Geo-spatial Cooperation (BECA) with the US, India has renewed its push for acquiring combat Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs).

For increasing pressure, the US Senate India Caucus co-chairs Senator John Cornyn (R-TX) and Senator Mark Warner (D-VA) have written letters to Secretary of State Rex Tillerson and Defense



Secretary Jim Mattis for the early approval of 22 General Atomics Guardian drones for India. India is also in a consultative process for buying 100 armed Avengers UAVs from the US. Avengers drones armed with Hellfire anti-tank missiles can strike targets eight kilometers distant. The delivery of 10 Israel manufactured Heron TP-armed drones is due this year. Dual-use Heron drones can be used both for reconnaissance and air-to-ground missiles.

The induction of advanced surveillance and combat UAVs along the LoC by India will be highly destabilizing. India has claimed to carry surgical strike in the aftermath of Uri attack, a claim vehemently denied by Pakistan due to absence of any evidence of such strike. Armed UAVs will provide India the capability to strike targets within Azad Jammu and Kashmir without risking the lives of its ground soldiers and air force pilots.

Under these circumstances, Pakistan will be forced to respond in kind and the situation will escalate due to Indian aggressive actions along the LoC. Recently Lt. Gen. Vincent Stewart, the head of US Defense Intelligence Agency in testimony to US Senate Armed Services Committee has shown serious concerns about India launching aggressive actions inside Pakistan on the pretext of stopping cross-border attacks.

The US, Israel or any other state supplying UAVs, especially armed UAVs, to India must play a responsible role for keeping tensions under control along the LoC. Such UAVs deliveries should only proceed after written guarantees from India that these UAVs will not be used along the LoC. The US as a world leader must consider the dangerous implications of these UAVs on peace along the LoC. The world leader must not forget that keeping India and Pakistan away from armed conflict is in the best interest of international community.

<http://www.eurasiareview.com/29052017-unmanned-aerial-vehicles-and-escalation-along-loc-oped/>

## ***What Does US-Arab Arms Deal Bring for the Region and Pakistan?***

***Sadia Kazmi***

As the US President Donald Trump signs the deal worth US \$350bn with the Saudis, the world watches with the bated breath. Not just because this multibillion arms deal with the Saudis is the single largest deal in the US history but also because it doesn't come without regional and global implications. As per the plan the deal worth US \$110bn is to take effect immediately while the remaining will be implemented over the period of 10 years.

For the US and KSA the benefits are huge and obvious. It is worth noticing that this agreement is being explicitly appreciated by the US and Saudi Arabia for bolstering the long-term security of Saudi Arabia and the Gulf region “in the face of Iranian threats”, while also bolstering the Kingdom's ability to contribute to counter terrorism operations across the region. The US Department of State in a statement expressed hope that this arrangement will help KSA become more self sufficient and it will also reduce burden on the US military forces. For the US it brings massive amount of money and major uplift of its economic landscape. Along with that the US \$ 250bn commercial investment is hoped to create thousands of Jobs. The Military Industrial Complex (MIC) has once again managed to come for the rescue of US GDP by the sale of arms and generating revenues unhindered for at least a decade. According to the reports some of the weapons machinery KSA is going to receive includes tanks, artillery, helicopters, light closer air support, intelligence-gathering aircraft, and systems such as Patriot and THAAD. Saudi Arab will hire US companies and the US will also provide extensive training to their Saudi counterpart. Overall the sale includes deal in five categories that cover border and coastal security, cybersecurity, air force modernization, and air and missile defence.

This show of strategic cooperation between the two old partners sends out a clear message to the regional states as well as to the international community and to the friends and foes alike. The unprecedented arms sale and investment has given a fresh thrust to the long term alliance and conveys that the US is looking forward to having an “Arab NATO” in this part of the world and a common defence against a common enemy. Here the US Secretary of State Rex Tillerson specifically mentioned in the news briefing that the threats to the region are being allegedly posed by Iran. Hence highlighting Iran as a common enemy of the two states and of the whole region. However the idea of Arab NATO has been floating around since long where the US military and political leadership have been working on it for years now. One of the reasons as to why US is looking for a military based alliance in this part of the region is because within Europe there is an ever growing weariness and waning of interest regarding the US war prone ambitions.

This would be quite in contrast to the stance by former US President Barack Obama vis a vis the Arab states with regards to its West Asia policy. In the last month of his term in office, former President



Obama halted the sale of precision-guided munitions to Saudi Arabia over concerns that the Royal Saudi Air Force (RSAF) was targeting civilians in Yemen.

But now the arms package includes a Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) missile defense system from Lockheed Martin, similar to the one being made operational in South Korea, which costs around \$1 billion. A software system, a package of satellite capabilities, as well as fighting and artillery vehicles are also reportedly part of the negotiations. More than \$1 billion worth of munitions, including armor-piercing Penetrator Warheads and Paveway laser-guided bombs made by Raytheon, might also be included in the package. The International human rights organizations have been critical of Saudi-led coalition in Yemen, which they believe has violated the rules of law as its military actions include indiscriminatory attacks against the civilian population including hospitals, markets, schools, and religious centers. Saudi Arabia's prime target is Houthi rebels that support former President of Yemen, Ali Abdullah Saleh. It is also believed that Houthis are being allegedly backed by Iran.

It looks quite obvious that both US and KSA are making all the efforts to keep US in, Iran down and Russia out of the region by disabling and neutralizing Iran, and simultaneously building up military strength of the US and the Arab world.

However one can also understand that it doesn't remain about the KSA, Iran and the US anymore, but a larger spectrum of regional politics is to be taken into account. Russia and Syria for instance cannot be taken out of this scenario. Russia despite being the extra regional state has been actively involved in the regional politics by putting up a strong fight against terrorists long the borders of Syria. Not only does this arms deal raise alarms for Iran but Russia too is very much concerned about the multibillion military cooperation. This may further fuel crisis in Syria as apparently both Iran and Russia support the Syrian regime and are fighting against US and KSA backed terrorists in Syria.

As far as Pakistan is concerned, being a close ally of the KSA and having historically good relations with Iran, it is becoming increasingly difficult for Pakistan to adopt a balanced approach towards both countries. At the same time it cannot afford to further alienate the US than it already is. Added to all this is the fact that Russia is warming up to Pakistan, which should not be taken for granted by Pakistan. Hence for Pakistan the Middle Eastern region presents a dilemma where only a neutral policy would be the only wise step in the right direction. Otherwise the regional arrangements with sectarian undertones will not only lead Pakistan to take sides with one against the other but will also fan the sectarian elements within its own borders. Since the arms deal is openly against Iran, it is important for Pakistan to think twice before formally being part of KSA led Islamic Military Alliance against Iran, Syria, and Yemen. In fact the Foreign office spokesperson Nafees Zakria indicated that Pakistan is yet to take a final decision on the Saudi alliance. Similarly Defence Minister Khawaja Asif on the floor of National Assembly assured that Pakistan would withdraw if the Saudi alliance turns out to be sectarian in nature. Pakistan should not let the urge to join the biggest Muslim alliance overshadow and undermine its ties with neighboring Iran.

Although with the former COAS Gen (R) Raheel Shareef leading the 41 nation counter-alliance, it was speculated that Pakistan has accepted to be part of this alliance. However that is yet to be decided

as is clear from the statements of Pakistan government officials. In fact in an effort to resolve serious issues between KSA and Iran, the mediatory efforts by Pakistan cannot be ignored. There has to be a realization on the part of Pakistan that the country cannot afford to antagonize Afghanistan, India and Iran at the same time. As in case of any conflict with Iran, India can badly damage Pakistani interests at eastern borders or vice versa.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2017/05/30/us-arab-arms-deal-bring-region-pakistan/>



## ***Kulbhushan Jadhav Case***

### ***Babar Bozdar***

The United Nations' highest court has directed Pakistan to stay the execution of Kulbhushan Jadhav, given capital punishment by a military court for alleged involvement in espionage and terrorism, till it gives its final decision on India's petition to annul his death sentence.

With the formation of the United Nations in 1945, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) came to be formed as the judicial organ of the UN. The Court is governed by the Statute of the ICJ ("the Statute") and the rules framed thereunder. Naturally, the member states of the UN are automatic parties to the Statute.

India's decision to approach the ICJ was a clever move in that; they cited repeated violation of Vienna Convention by Pakistan on the Jadhav case. A timely conversation by India with the ICJ Registrar resulted in Judge Ronny Abraham, President of the Court, immediately writing to Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif to delay the execution till the Court could schedule a hearing and adopt provisional measures. The hearing at such short notice was unprecedented. It demonstrated that the Court shares India's anxiety that the execution was imminent. Pakistan was taken aback and caught on the backfoot.

A screenshot of Dawn report/ICJ/YouTube read; "We based our case on jurisdiction, and it proved weak." By staying Pakistan's execution of Kulbhushan Jadhav, ICJ ruled in India's favour.

#### **Inputs from various press sources are quoted below.**

Rejecting Pakistan's argument that the court did not have jurisdiction in the matter, ICJ said that Pakistan must take all measures at its disposal to ensure that Jadhav is not executed before the final settlement of the case at the international court.

While the office of the Attorney General Ashtar Ausaf Ali responded to the ruling by saying that "as far as Pakistan is concerned, the court's decision today has not changed the status of commander Jadhav's case in any manner," according to Dawn, Pakistani analysts and observers have labelled the jurisdiction argument as "weak" and "damaging." T

he Pakistan daily quoted senior PPP leader Sherry Rehman as saying that espionage should have been the focus of the arguments. "We based our case on jurisdiction, and it proved weak."

The arguments for Pakistan had been presented on Monday, May 15, in an emergency hearing organised on India's appeal. According to a PTI report, Pakistani representatives had argued that there has been no response from India on Pakistan's accusations on Jadhav "who has confessed to having been sent by India to wage terror on the innocent civilians and infrastructure of Pakistan."

Khawar Qureshi, who led Pakistan's arguments, said that the ICJ is not a criminal court and can thus not give a decision on cases relating to national security.

Pakistan had further argued that the provisions of the Vienna Convention did not apply to a “spy involved in terror activities”.

Former Attorney General Irfan Qadir, according to a Dawn report, blamed the lack of experience of the lawyers who handled the case for the ICJ ruling. “We need a dedicated team for Pakistan, loyal to the country,” Qadir said. “Pakistan’s jurisprudence has been ruined because of this.”

Criticising the ICJ order, retired Justice Shaiq Usmani reiterated Pakistan’s argument that the UN’s top court does not have jurisdiction and that Pakistan made a mistake by appearing there. “They have shot themselves in the foot,” Usmani told DawnNews

Urdu television channel Dunya News, on the other hand, quoted lawyer and columnist Yasser Latif Hamdani as saying that the ICJ decision was “exactly in accordance with the expectations,” and that the country should have provided Jadhav with consular access from the very beginning.

According to Yasser, the case, however, would benefit Pakistan more in the long run, since it is the smaller party. “India had now used a multilateral forum and it can’t back away from it tomorrow on similar grounds.”

According to the Express Tribune, in a statement issued on the ICJ order, the attorney general’s office has said that Jadhav still has “ample” time to petition for clemency and that that country is “determined to pursue this case to its logical end.”

London-based barrister Rashid Aslam said Pakistan was ill-prepared and did not make full use of the 90 minutes it had to make its argument at the ICJ. He contended that under the Vienna Convention, a spy’s human rights are forfeited. Lawyer Faisal Siddiqi said the issue was one of consular access “which Pakistan should have given in the first place.”

Another lawyer, Farogh Nasim, said Pakistan should not have conceded to the ICJ’s jurisdiction. “India did not give consent to the Kashmir issue going to the ICJ, then why did Pakistan give consent to the Jadhav case?” Analysts and observers blamed Pakistan’s legal team for the setback caused by the ICJ’s order. Some argued Pakistan was unable to present its case forcefully because of its weak legal team, and others said the country should not even have appeared at the World Court.

Former attorney general Irfan Qadir said he was shocked by the decision. “I think this decision is a violation of the principle of natural justice. I am shocked as to why Pakistan went there and presented their position and gave it in such a rush,” he said.

Shaiq Usmani, a retired judge of the Supreme Court, told a newspaper the decision was alarming because the “ICJ does not have jurisdiction.” He said, “It is Pakistan’s mistake to have appeared there. They shouldn’t have attended. They have shot themselves in the foot.”

The son of a retired police officer Mr. Jadhav joined India’s National Defence Academy in 1987 and was commissioned as an engineer in the Indian Navy in 1991. Indian legal counselor Deepak Mittal in his interview told that Mr. Jadhav was “a blameless Indian national” who had been held



incommunicado “for over a year on created charges.” But Pakistani representatives accused New Delhi of “political grandstanding” and told the court, Jadhav “has confessed to having been sent by India to wage terror on the innocent civilians and infrastructure of Pakistan.”

Pakistan says Jadhav was arrested in March last year in the restive Balochistan province. In April, a military court sentenced him to death for alleged involvement in spying and subversive activities. India has contended he was kidnapped from the Iranian port of Chabahar and his secret trial was a “farce.”

He added, “Until the ICJ gives its verdict, the case will go on in Pakistan. But (Jadhav) cannot be executed until the stay order is there.”

India and Pakistan are all-weather enemies, and their relations have gotten worse on many occasions, but India always stressed to resolve all issues bilaterally. While numerous issues were resolved bilaterally, many remain pending.

The Atlantique Incident was an event in which a Breguet Atlantic patrol plane of the Pakistan Navy’s Naval Air Arm, with 16 people on board, was shot down by the Indian Air Force for violating Indian airspace. The episode took place in the Rann of Kutch on 10 August 1999, just a month after the Kargil War, aggravating already tense relations between India and Pakistan.

Foreign diplomats based in Pakistan and escorted to the site by the Pakistani Army noted that the plane might have crossed the border. The Islamabad-based diplomats said they also believed that India’s reaction was unjustified. Pakistan later lodged a compensation claim at the International Court of Justice, blaming India for the incident, but the court dismissed the case, ruling that the Court had no jurisdiction in the matter.

Jadhav’s case is perhaps the most contentious dispute between India and Pakistan at this moment, and it is likely to shape up the course of future diplomacy between the two countries. Politics and diplomacy are playing out at their best while the ICJ endeavors to adjudicate the case by international laws and conventions.

In a nutshell, India and Pakistan routinely accuse one another of sending spies into their countries, and it is not uncommon for either nation to expel diplomats accused of espionage, particularly at times of high tension. Similarly, spy war has also created enormous tension and disturbed regional stability. Proxy wars should end in South Asia to achieve peace and harmony amongst nations in this region.

<http://southasiajournal.net/kulbhushan-jadhav-case/>

## *CPEC and the Energy Crisis in Pakistan*

*Sadia Kazmi*

This is quite unfortunate that despite having vast energy resources especially the coal reserves in Thar, Baluchistan, and Punjab, Pakistan is in the throes of energy crises. Its energy potential remains largely untapped or goes to waste due to incapable management and lack of effective framework and policies. The frequent and prolonged electricity outages could lead to economic collapse of the state. As per some estimates, over 140 million Pakistanis do not have access to the power grid and are suffering twelve hours or more of load shedding on daily basis. This not only causes suffering at the individual level, agitation and anger against the government, but adds to the socio-economic plight of the state as well. Loss of GDP growth rate and decline in the industrial and commercial output has been frequently witnessed.

China and Pakistan attempted to address this dire problem together and in November 2014 came up with some early harvest energy generation projects based on coal, solar, wind and hydel power. The reason why the energy projects with a total capacity of 10,400MW were given priority (categorized in early harvest scheme) is obvious: it is the most pressing issue Pakistan is facing today and merits an immediate attention along with substantial practical measures to overcome the issue. CPEC at the moment covers 12 early harvest energy generation projects including Sahiwal coal fired project, Port Qasim power plant and Karot Hydro power station. It is also strongly believed that these projects will be completed by 2017-18 which would help to meet energy requirements of the country sufficiently.

Recently the OBOR Summit in China held in the mid of May 2017 brought further hopes for Pakistan especially in the energy sector along with other significant infrastructural areas. Pakistan and China sealed agreement on a number of energy projects under the ambit of CPEC.

According to the new agreement there shall be 15 CPEC prioritized energy projects with the installed capacity of 11,110MW. The Three Gorges Pakistan Second Wind Power Project (50MW), the Three Gorges Pakistan Third Wind Power Project (50MW), the Hubco Coal Power Plant (1,320MW) and Oracle local coal power plants (1,320MW) are included in the prioritized list. Chinese stance in this regard is very clear: “We come to Pakistan not for profits only. We attach more importance to development of local industries, helping them to become more sustainable”. This deal is more pragmatic considering the fact that it is based on recommendations made by CPEC Energy Planning Expert Group earlier this year in February. Also the fact that these recommendations were presented after extensive research work and scientific analysis make them more viable. By now many of these energy projects have shown considerable progress. The energy projects include one solar, four wind, and four coal power plants, which are all anticipated to complete by 2019 with the capacity of 6810 MW. It is hoped that this initiative will create employment opportunities, improve the problem of load shedding, and will bring great socio economic dividends.

However a very important aspect is the conservation of energy that should not be ignored. No matter how many energy generation projects are launched and measures are taken, it will not



effectively deliver unless the energy conservation mechanism is put into place. The idea of energy conservation entails reduction of energy consumption through different means such as efficiency enhancement, consumption of commodity with a sense of civic responsibility. With the increase in population and depleting energy resources across the globe, the conservation of energy has become an important consideration in energy security concerns. Particularly in case of Pakistan, the problem of energy generation and energy conservation are instigated by widespread corruption and inefficient use of energy. Hence it is important that concerted efforts are made by both the political sector as well as common citizen. It is important to inculcate the awareness to consume civic commodities with a sense of ownership and gratitude.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2017/05/31/cpec-energy-crisis-pakistan/>

## *India's Missile Proliferation after Joining MTCR*

*Maimuna Ashraf*

In the aftermath of missile tests conducted by Pakistan and India in the past six months, decisive developments in the nuclear geometry of South Asia have been observed. New delivery systems are being introduced into nuclear inventories, and the payloads, ranges, reliability, and accuracy of existing missile programs are being improved. The latest development on both sides is the completion of the nuclear triad (land, air, and sea-based capabilities), followed by Pakistan's first test of a MIRV payload and India's launch of an intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM). However, India maintains an edge over Pakistan with regard to technological development due to its admission into the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), a multilateral export control regime that claims to curb missile and unmanned aerial vehicle (UAV) proliferation by controlling transfers and placing 300 km-range and 500 kg-payload limits on technology exports. India's formal accession to the MTCR ended its technology-denial phase, allowing club members to export high-end, dual-use technology to India. Trends in missile tests and technology acquisition show that India's entry into the MTCR has facilitated its pursuit of sophisticated technology, including long-range missiles and surveillance-armed drones, and furthered its space program. India's enhanced political standing due to MTCR membership has improved its credentials to join the other three export control clubs, which will be a significant leap in India's pursuit of nuclear legitimacy. But these developments may also have serious consequences for the region.

How has MTCR membership facilitated India's missile technology? India has been focused on extending the range of its conventional precision-strike systems, made possible by its MTCR accession. The range of the BrahMos cruise missile was extended to 450 km after the country gained membership to the MTCR. The range of the previous missile was under the threshold of MTCR because the export of missiles to India having more than 300 km range was prohibited under the regime's rules. The country now possesses land, sea, sub-sea, and air variants of BrahMos to counter surface and sea-based adversaries. The air-based missile is reportedly expected to be tested from a heavy-duty Sukhoi-30MKI fighter soon, while the submarine version is undergoing trials. India and co-builder Russia are aiming to not only double the existing range of the BrahMos missile but also produce new variants for use on submarines and stealth fighters. India now reportedly has plans to sell the 290-km BrahMos missile system to at least 15 markets globally, including Vietnam and Indonesia. China has already expressed apprehension over the deployment of the BrahMos along the Indo-China border. If deployed on Vietnamese ships, it would also be a concern for Chinese vessels in the South China Sea. With the obstacle to export extended BrahMos removed, India could potentially sell the missile to fellow MTCR members like Japan. The extended range and tri-service operation of the nuclear-tipped BrahMos could also put a strain on Pakistan's naval fleet by strengthening India's deterrent and threatening sites in Pakistan.

Another beneficiary of India's MTCR membership is its space program. Previously, MTCR norms and U.S. sanctions prevented Russia from exporting cryogenic engines to India. These engines are crucial for launching manned space flights and geosynchronous satellites and other necessary forms of space



communication. However, there was significant concern that India would use the cryogenic engine to develop an ICBM. Though India was able to develop an indigenous cryogenic engine, it is with MTCR membership that India was able to receive key components needed to upgrade testing technology, which aided its recent launch of 104 satellites into space. While the country has limited technology to launch heavy payloads, the Indian Space Research Organization (ISRO) can now gain access to restricted rockets and related technologies to further its satellite-launch capability. ISRO is currently preparing for India's first flight launch of the GSLV Mark III rocket, which could put humans in space. Access to this sensitive technology could also help India build anti-satellite (ASAT) capabilities. Notably, India's Agni-V already has the necessary components for an ASAT capability.

India's admission to the MTCR has also paved the way for the purchase of armed Predator Avenger drones from the United States, as the drones are only sold to MTCR members. Negotiations for this purchase are reported to be at an advanced stage. The drones will enhance India's striking capability, which is particularly alarming for Pakistan considering its close geographical proximity and hostile relationship with India. There has already been some speculation about U.S.-made surveillance drones along the Line of Control (LoC) in disputed Kashmir. The sale could push Pakistan to seek Cloud Shadow military drones, also high-altitude long-endurance UAVs, from China. Next on India's wish list are the Heron TP armed drones from Israel, which are moving from the procurement phase to the delivery phase after years of delay. Moreover, due to India's MTCR membership, there will be no legal glitches for the procurement of the Arrow theater missile defense interceptor from Israel, a sale the United States denied earlier on MTCR grounds. India's pursuit of more UAVs will not only speed up the arms race in the region but also heighten the risk of conflagration through Delhi's increased capability to target militants across the border.

These benefits in India's pocket subsidized by MTCR are likely to have regional implications. India's MTCR membership is hailed as a potential stepping stone to membership in other elite nuclear clubs such as the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG). India was not a member of the MTCR last year during the NSG plenary meeting when the decision not to include India in the group was made. As the 27th NSG plenary meeting approaches, India may negotiate for NSG inclusion in exchange for Chinese candidacy to MTCR as China sought membership of MTCR in 2004. India's missile development within just one year of joining the MTCR is striking, and membership in an elite nuclear cartel like the NSG would further expedite this process. Yet even if India stays out of the NSG, the MTCR still allows for significant improvement in India's frontline vessels. As a consequence, Pakistan and China are likely to enhance their bilateral military cooperation to counterbalance India's newfound capabilities. The competition of matching capabilities in response to amplified threats and interplay of missiles and satellites will complicate the threat-perception calculus of the region. Ultimately, missile proliferation, along with the import and export of sensitive technologies, will adversely impact Pakistan-China-India triangular nuclear dynamics. In light of this emerging arms race among the trio, the strategic stability and nuclear equilibrium in the region are under threat.

<https://southasianvoices.org/indias-missile-technology-acquisition-current-trends-and-future-prospects/>