



VISION

VISIONARY INSIGHTS INTO THE STRATEGIC INQUESTS OF NATIONS

SVI FORESIGHT

VOLUME 3, NUMBER 12

DECEMBER 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)

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SVI Foresight

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

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Editor's Note

The *SVI Foresight* team wishes all its readers a prosperous 2018. The year 2017 has come to an end with major developments at the local, regional and global level in terms of Pakistan's internal politics, regional policies and drastic shifts in the global political domain. *SVI Foresight* for the month of December gives a roundup of all these developments and provides the readers with an insightful input on various contemporary political and strategic issues. This has been a productive year with regards to progress and development on the CPEC project. One can see that despite all the efforts at creating negativity and controversy against CPEC by the anti-CPEC actors, there has been a steady and substantial progress on this flagship project of China's BRI initiative. This also means that CPEC is moving toward its final goal. The much awaited CPEC Long Term Plan (LTP) was unveiled by the Minister of Planning, Development, and Reform Ahsan Iqbal on 18th December 2017. One can find some lucid commentary on various dimensions CPEC with special reference to the LTP in this issue. Iran also inaugurated the extension of its Chabahar port. Should this worry Pakistan and China? Readers will be able to find some useful analysis on this particular development as well.

Middle East is another region which stayed in news throughout 2017. Recently President Trump's decision to make Jerusalem the capital of Israel attracted a worldwide response. An article included in this issue particularly looks at the role of the UN and its effectiveness in this whole episode has been evaluated. How the process of peace in Middle East has been thrown into jeopardy in the aftermath of this decision and the future discourse of Israel-Palestine issue has also been closely looked into with objective analysis for the readers to benefit from.

Nuclear debate can never be irrelevant in the context of South Asia. Readers will find a couple of well written articles on the Economics of Nuclear Power, Nuclear Deterrence and Pakistan's Second Strike Capability in Indian Ocean Region, Pakistan's Need for FSD capability etc. Last but not the least, a thorough evaluation of maritime security in the Indian Ocean and its impact on Pakistan can also be found in one of the articles 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

India's Offensive Posture

Anum Malik

South Asia with two nuclear rivals India and Pakistan is facing a number of traditional and non-traditional security threats because of perennial security issues. Disparity is a more appropriate term when describing the Indo-Pak equation. India sees itself as a rising regional and extra-regional power and considers military power as a main element in regional power structure. Like any aspiring regional player, India also seeks potential partners such as the United States; and is wary of potential rivals such as China and Pakistan. Pakistan, being in a different position, seeks to deter any offence from India. However, India has started adopting an offensive-defensive posture which poses greater challenges to the already fragile regional security.

In numerical terms of population, economics, military manpower and equipment, it is almost meaningless to discuss an India-Pakistan balance. India's defence partnership with Israel is a critical example of India's designs to upgrade and modernize its military might. The Indian security establishment came up with the Cold Start Doctrine to address the future threats from Pakistan with massive conventional force. The 'Indo-US Strategic Partnership' is an indication of not only Indian ambitions, but also a sign to follow the aggressive diplomacy in the region.

Indo-US cooperation in high-tech defence equipment has raised concerns in Pakistan that have compelled it to look for advanced weapons technology. Such compulsions may create a path towards destabilization of the strategic balance in the region. India and Israel in future may also work in partnership to induct Dvora-III vessels into the Indian Navy to secure an edge over Pakistan when it comes to contesting claims between the two countries over the Exclusive Economic Zone in the Arabian Sea, specifically in the Sir Creek area. With the changing strategic dynamics, Pakistan finds itself in an altogether different position. However, Pakistan is well aware of the situation as Ex Chief of Army Staff General Raheel Sharif mentioned: "Pakistan is capable of dealing with all kinds of internal and external threats, be it conventional or sub-conventional, cold start or hot start. We are ready."

Be that as it may, with India enlarging its defence production; Pakistan needs to deter any offence not only for the future, but also for its present efforts in the War on Terror. Given India's massive defence budget and its overall military strength in terms of sheer numbers, Pakistan should invest in defence technologies that maximize its capabilities against any enemy, be it external or internal. Pakistan needs to continue the development of tactical nuclear weapons to deter India from launching a limited war. On the diplomatic front, Pakistan should continue to highlight India's offensive designs in the region as well as internationally. In the changing view of international and regional security dynamics, Pakistan has to maintain a uniform posture on Full Spectrum Deterrence (FSD).

Most importantly Pakistan should keep its nuclear doctrine ambiguous. As per Indian security experts' writing and expressing visible fears, India still does not know at what point Pakistan would cross its nuclear threshold. This feeling of doubt and fear deters India from carrying out any conventional

adventure such as surgical strikes inside Pakistan. Pakistan should start focusing on improving its network-centric and electronic warfare capabilities. Pakistan must take every effort to complete the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) since it would create strategic interdependence of China on Pakistan. China, being the strongest player, both economically and militarily, in the region with a permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), would not like any conflict between Pakistan and India and could use its influence internationally, if so needed. Nevertheless, India's offensive posture is a harbinger of grave dangers for South Asia, especially for Pakistan. Along with that, Indian aggressive policies have already provoked an arms race in the region. According to Terestita C Schaffer, a former US diplomat and a senior analyst with Brookings:" In a nuclear environment, the conventional war concept propagated by India is not logical, it is not possible to quantify the concept of limited war in terms of geography, weapons or political objectives in the Indo-Pakistan equation. A limited war from Indian point of view may not be limited from Pakistani perspective".

Pakistan desires peace and seeks cordial relations with all its neighbours, especially with India since indulgence in any war may be more costly to the former than the latter. The technological developments by India including Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABMs) systems and its defence agreements with other countries especially Israel and the US, is worsening the strategic picture of South Asia. India's continuing arms build-up not only means more suffering for its own poverty-ridden people; but also for the people of Pakistan.

<https://pakobserver.net/indias-offensive-posture/>

Economics of Nuclear Power

Qura tul ain Hafeez

It's all about organized lightening. Lights, sparks, brightness are symbol of life. It enables us to see the world with more clear vision. When rest of the world is aspiring to reach beyond the limits of the sky, countries like Pakistan are still facing power shortages. In Pakistan Summers are welcomed with a gift of 8000MW shortfall while winters embrace a cool and smoggy shortfall of 7000MW.

According to an estimate 1.3 billion people in the world are spending their lives without enjoying the benefits of electricity. Pakistan ranks at the fourth position among the list of countries that are facing energy deficit according to a United Nations Report, 2013. So, Pakistan is confronted with the problem of how to meet this energy crisis in best possible way?

The world consumption of energy has been increasing day by day. It's not only the developing countries who are facing energy shortfall but even the developed countries are also trying for the means to enhance their total energy capacity. The economic feasibility of power production has two major modes of costs, i.e. fuel costs and capital cost. Advanced economies like the US, Japan, and China are relying on nuclear power plants, which are cost competitive, reliable and are capable to generate more energy. Beside, 449 nuclear power plants already operating in 30 countries, there are 60 others that are under construction in 15 different countries around the globe. Being one of the largest consumers of energy China plans to increase its nuclear power capacity up to 70% by 2020. Likewise, Japan and the US incorporate about 30% and 20% of their total electric output through nuclear energy respectively.

Considering the prevailing energy consumption of Pakistan, thermal and hydro powers are the major source of electricity generation. The total installed capacity of thermal power plants is 16599MW i.e. 61%, while that of Hydro power plant is 7115MW i.e. 34% of the total electric output. Although, Pakistan is a nuclear power but unfortunately it contributes a very small portion of nuclear energy in total output. There has been a significant improvement in average shortfall of electricity from 7938MW to 2888MW with an increase in output i.e. 11804MW to 18658 MW since 2013 to 2017 respectively. However, still it is now essential to take a better decision for selection of energy resources and nuclear is the best option.

Currently four nuclear power plants are successfully operating in Pakistan. KANUUP1, CHASHMA I, II, and III are producing almost 1030 MW of electricity altogether. Recently, in September 2017, CHASHMA IV started operating with a total capacity of 340MW. KANUUP is a Canadian Pressurized Heavy Water Reactor under international safeguards with a net design capacity of 125 MWe. CHASHMA I, II, and III are Canadian Pressurized Water Reactor (CNP) with design Capacity of 300, 300, 315 MWe respectively. Pakistan is on its way to construct two more nuclear power plants; KANUPP II and KANUUP III with Chinese assistance under international safeguards. The two plants are scheduled to be operationalized by 2020 and 2021 with total design capacity of 1100 MWe each. In the past couple of days China National Nuclear Corporation (CNNC) announced that it will build a one-million-kilowatt-class

nuclear power unit with HPR1000 technology at the Chashma Nuclear Power Plant in Pakistan. This will be the seventh nuclear power unit that China has exported to Pakistan and the third HPR1000.

The reason why Pakistan should do more for nuclear power plants is because they are cheaper and reliable than the coal fired plants. The total fuel cost of a nuclear power plant is typically one third of a coal fired plant. 1 kg of Uranium is equal to 3 tons of coal and can produce up to 36000 KWh electricity. Furthermore, Uranium pellet of one inch has the capacity to produce higher amount of energy than one ton of coal because of its higher density. Nuclear energy generates electric balance through diverse sources of electricity. Moreover, it also provides a wide array of jobs for engineers, mechanics and scientist and boosts economic growth with high pay packages. In addition to all that, nuclear energy reduces the effects of greenhouse emissions due its environmental friendly characteristics.

Pakistan is running its nuclear power plants in a safer mode under proper safety measures following the international standards. However, according to international bodies – non-proliferation regime, Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) – Pakistan is not eligible for the nuclear trade with countries around the globe unless or until it signs the NPT. But Pakistan's crippling energy sector demands a nuclear energy to envisage a target of 8,800 MW of electricity by 2030. Countries which are not member of NPT should be allowed to do civil nuclear cooperation, because it is the right of every state to pursue peaceful civil nuclear program for fulfilling its energy needs.

Countries which are permanent members of the NPT and NSG should promote peaceful nuclear energy access to the developing countries. As this will improve their energy requirements and will help them eliminate poverty and human sufferings. Moreover, nuclear energy also has the potential to improve financial conditions of developing countries by making international markets accessible. It's important to adopt the non-conventional indicators of power rather than merely relying on conventional means. Nukes should be meant to deter not to actually bring in the battle field. Once a country has acquired a nuclear technology it should further enhance it for peaceful purposes as well. Utilizing the nuclear technology for peaceful purposes would stabilize the international political economy. So, economic interdependencies would make war evitable.

<http://moderndiplomacy.eu/2017/12/15/economics-of-nuclear-power/>

Nuclear Deterrence and Pakistan's Second Strike Capability in Indian Ocean Region

Ahyousha Khan

To make nuclear deterrence work without any hurdles, states desire invincibility for their nuclear arsenals against the threat of being taken out in first attack massive retaliation from the enemy. Enemy's lack of ability to wage an aggression is the role assigned to nuclear deterrence. If nuclear arms race between two nuclear belligerents goes on, states strive to keep their deterrence against each other relevant by choosing an option of second strike capability.

Second strike capability allows the state to respond to the nuclear attacker with nuclear retaliation. End of 20th century was marked with nuclearization of two South Asian neighbors. Ever since their nuclearization both India & Pakistan – are constantly involved in nuclear arms race. In this contagious race, both have been pulled into the spiral of developing weapon capabilities in the form of ballistic missiles, cruise missiles and ballistic missile defences to Multiple Independently Re-entry Targetable vehicles. However, recent developments of nuclear submarines and naval nuclear weapons by India and Pakistan are the step forward on the deterrence ladder. Now, both countries are developing their 2nd strike capabilities to deter their enemy from resorting to the first attack.

Since the beginning of its nuclear program, India wanted to have nuclear triad and started its nuclear submarine program in 1970's. India acquired its first ballistic missile submarine (SSBN) in 2009 and now it is developing its indigenous ballistic missile submarines and nuclear powered attack submarines (SSN) as well. Moreover it has sea based K4, K15, Brahmos and Dhanush missiles. From India's perspective, the development of 2nd strike capability is a logical step but it has changed the strategic equilibrium between India and Pakistan. Moreover, it has opened the new arena of nuclear arms race for South Asian nuclear rivals.

However, what is done is done. So, there is no point in repeating these chronological events. But, what is necessary now is the development of credible and survivable 2nd strike capability by Pakistan to maintain the strategic balance and to uphold the nuclear deterrence in the region. This initiative should be important for Pakistan because it is neighbor to ambitious, shrewd, and hostile nuclear neighbor that wants Indian Ocean as only its area of influence.

At the moment Pakistan does possess 2nd strike capability in the form of BABUR 3 that is nuclear tipped naval cruise missile for the purpose of deterring the enemy. But, what is necessary is the induction of credibility in 2nd strike capability of Pakistan. Reason behind why Pakistan never opted for nuclear triad earlier is its firm belief in the idea of credible minimum deterrence.

But, with India's massive nuclearization and naval buildup Pakistan cannot sit in denial and needs to develop its 2nd strike capability. It is important for Pakistan to develop 2nd strike capability more

than ever because with huge investment in CPEC and Gwadar Port, Pakistan wants to claim its piece in the Indian Ocean Region for its economic development as well. Development of credible 2nd strike capability would enable Pakistan to protect and promote its interest in the Indian Ocean Region where Indian naval vessels patrol throughout the year. Therefore, for economic prosperity, security of SLOC and ports is necessary so that enemy is not able to use these economic centers as leverage in case of a crisis situation.

Thus, Pakistan needs to take many initiatives for enhancing its second strike capability. First and foremost initiative should be investment in development of small but high-tech ship building industry for achieving self-sufficiency. No country in history has achieved the status of global power with borrowed vessels and purchased ships.

Moreover, Pakistan needs to invest in nuclear powered ballistic missile submarine as well. Because so far Pakistan has spent only in diesel-electric submarines (SSK) that use air-propulsion. For the credibility of sea based deterrence, it is necessary that its position remains hidden from the enemy. Nuclear powered submarines have the capability to stay submersed for longer duration that provides them with the better opportunity to hide from enemies radars. Another aspect that will affect the future of Pakistan's SSKs is Indian space modernization. With ability to see from space, India could locate submarines that have to reemerge after every three weeks. Moreover, with SSKs Pakistan is only able to deploy its cruise missiles and on SSBN Pakistan could deploy its strategic weapons as well.

Lastly, to avoid any accident both countries need to develop some kind of CBMs on practicing restraint, reporting nuclear accidents and advance notification of missile testing. These initiatives are important because with development of 2nd strike capability and naval nuclearization both parties are venturing into untapped territories of nuclear competition.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2017/12/15/nuclear-deterrence-pakistans-second-strike-capability-indian-ocean-region/>

Takeaways from the 7th JCC Meeting on CPEC

Asia Maqsood

China and Pakistan have been working to promote the construction of the CPEC project through sustenance of Joint Cooperation Committee (JCC). According to the available information on the official websites of the CPEC, there are working groups focusing on the areas of long-term planning, energy, transportation infrastructure, industrial cooperation and Gwadar Port. JCC deals with the overall planning and coordination while the working groups are responsible for the detailed planning and implementation of the projects under CPEC.

Since Aug 2013, seven JCC meetings have been held to review the progress on CPEC. The first-ever meeting of JCC on CPEC was held in Islamabad on Aug 28, 2013, which symbolized the joint efforts of both countries to promote the implementation of the relevant work on the key areas of infrastructure, energy, and investment. The summary of the long-term planning of CPEC project was prepared by mutual understandings of both countries. Second JCC meeting was held in Feb 2014 in which feasibility studies on 16 energy projects were approved. Third JCC meeting was held on Aug 27, 2014, in which the prioritized or early harvest projects under CPEC were finalized. Fourth JCC meeting was held in Beijing on 25 March 2015 where many selected energy projects including coal-based, hydel, solar and wind energy projects were reviewed. This meeting also reviewed the reports presented by the joint working groups on five key areas. The fifth meeting was held in Pakistan on 10-12 Nov 2015. In this meeting, it was concluded that the construction of Diamer-Bhasha Dam should be included along with the accorded approval of the coal-based power plants to be built at the Thar Desert in Sindh province to enhance the capacity from 660-2600 MW. The 6th JCC meeting was held in Beijing on December 29, 2016, in which several new projects were signed. Each province was set to get an industrial zone. It was concluded on a pleasing note to speed up the development of the existing projects. Important decisions taken during this meeting include that a 1320 MW power plant will be completed in Sahiwal in 2017.

The most recent 7th JCC meeting on CPEC was held on Nov 20, 2017, in Islamabad. The key points of this meeting included the signing of much-debated CPEC Long Term Plan (LTP) 2014-2030 which includes collaboration in areas of industrial cooperation, agriculture, tourism and financial cooperation. It has attempted to formalize the future roadmap for industrial and economic collaboration involving special economic zones along the CPEC stretch in Pakistan and adopt a Long Term Plan (LTP) 2030. The main focus of the seventh JCC meeting remained on the special economic/industrial zones while the five joint working groups (JWGs) met earlier on the Nov 20, 2017 to remove any irritant in the projects pertaining to — Gwadar, energy, transport infrastructure, special economic zones. Pakistan's primary objective is to enhance its industrial capacity by assembling imported parts to local production of goods and encouraging China's enterprises to invest in Pakistani market to improve the energy efficient appliance industry.

Moreover, Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa in this meeting raised its preference for Rashakai industrial estate over Hattar in unequivocal terms, and China agreed to the provincial right of site selection for

industrial estates. Furthermore, since China's proposed financial structure regarding Diamer-Bhasha Dam was not approved by Pakistan yet, still it provides the two sides with an opportunity to generate a debate for the future development of this project. There was also an ample discussion on the railway projects, Gwadar International Airport, energy projects and industrial estates, already included in the CPEC with the focus on the implementation of the existing projects and the finalization of the feasibility reports. Under the road map, the Chinese side would start investing in the nine Special Economic Zones directly after JCC's clearance to avail benefits of tax exemption. The cabinet committee on the CPEC presided over by Prime Minister Shahid Khaqan Abbasi has already cleared the proposals for the new projects and nine SEZs. This will offer 15 to 20 year tax exemption to China in case investment is made before 2020.

In a nutshell, the chronological order of the seven JCC meetings shows that there are certain projects which Pakistan has been dedicatedly pursuing which include Diamer-Bhasha dam, the Main Line 1 (ML1 is considered as the logistic backbone of this corridor) up gradation of the Peshawar to Karachi railway line, the Karachi Circular Railway, and three road projects (which include KKH (remaining portion), D.I.Khan to Zhob and Khuzdar to Basima, Completing feasibility and other formalities of Gilgit—Shandur—Chitral—Chakdara, and Naukundi—Mashkhel—Panjgaur roads coincided with 7th JCC). The approval of the project ML1 is awaiting the cost estimates which would be generated within the coming three months. Federal Minister Ahsan Iqbal said that the Long Term Plan would be public on 18th December, 2017 which would further add the prospects for more inclusive research of this mega project. Simultaneously there are bright prospects to jack up the developments in various sectors which include agriculture and information technology. This demonstrates the success of this meeting and willingness of China to diversify its cooperation under the CPEC project. In this backdrop, the harmony between the provincial and federal governments is required. They should work enthusiastically for the inclusion of more projects under CPEC and complete the ongoing projects.

It can be hoped that the result would be productive and the project will be able to proceed. The continuity of the meetings of Joint Cooperation Committee since 2013 to Nov 2017 shows the evaluation and the progress of work on the ongoing projects under CPEC. 7th JCC has further deepened cooperation between the two countries under the framework of CPEC and would pave a clear way for Pakistan to enter the phase of Industrial Cooperation.

<http://southasiajournal.net/takeaways-from-the-7th-jcc-meeting-on-cpec/>

The Future of Pak-US Relations

Ubaid Ahmed

When it comes to bringing peace and stability to Afghanistan, nobody can assert whether Trump, the US military, India or Pakistan can do the job.

There is no doubt that a strategy is required for this but the one adopted by Trump can hardly be called the best. Ties between Pakistan and the US have been uneasy since Trump announced his new policy on Afghanistan and South Asia in August.

This was when he said that Pakistan “often gives safe havens to agents of chaos, violence and terror” and hinted that ties between the US and Pakistan were about to become very different.

US Defence Secretary James Mattis’ recent visit to Pakistan was the most recent in a series of high level interactions between the two sides which started following Trump’s August address. Mattis has rehashed the US’ incessant approach towards Pakistan to accomplish ‘more’ in its battle against terrorist groups working in Afghanistan’s South Eastern region, mainly the Haqqani network.

In spite of the fact that Mattis’ message reverberated Trump’s apprehensions on Pakistan, his tone was not as harsh as that of other American authorities. The silver lining was that Mattis made it clear that the objective of the talks was for the two countries to find ‘common ground’ in the fight against terrorism.

However, nobody needs a crystal ball to find out what Trump actually wants. It’s the same thing the Bush administration wanted and what the Obama administration wanted. His approach on Afghanistan however, is distinct from Bush or Obama’s, because he has begun to see Pakistan as a contributor to the elements that keep the US entangled in Afghanistan. In other words; Trump sees Pakistan as part of the problem. The question is, what is the future of these two strategic allies?

The answer is not clear. It seems that Islamabad will remain under pressure by the Trump administration to produce better results.

Meanwhile, the nature of the partnership will remain value-based and security driven. If things go completely downhill, the US may declare Pakistan a state-sponsor of terrorism. This could be followed by stripping Pakistan of its non NATO ally status. US Secretary of State Rex Tillerson has already cautioned Pakistan that its status as privileged military ally is vulnerable as long as it keeps ‘harbouring terrorists’. But the story doesn’t end here.

The Indianisation of US foreign policy may also increase tensions with Pakistan and China, because it is obvious that a more robust Indian role in the region will serve other US policy objectives. In any case, the Trump administration will continue to take unilateral actions because of its perception that Pakistan continues to use jihadis as strategic assets to counter Indian power in the region.

Keeping in mind the Raymond Davis, Salala and Abbottabad episodes, Pakistan ought to focus on 'jihadis' as a permanent threat. There is a dire need to shift from a security oriented approach to a non-traditional one. Pakistan also needs to modify its security policies.

To conclude, Pakistan walks a diplomatic tight rope amidst strained Pak-US relations and the tensions may escalate to unprecedented levels.

<https://dailytimes.com.pk/161064/future-pak-us-relations/>

Why Pakistan Needs FSD Capability

Beenish Altaf

Pakistan is pursuing Full Spectrum Deterrence (FSD) as part of its broader Credible Minimum Deterrence (CMD) philosophy. This is aimed at safeguarding against possible gaps in the country's deterrence capability. What it is not directed at is seeking parity with India on the nuclear front.

The National Command Authority, back in September 2013, gave full approval to the FSD. This is the civilian authority charged with overseeing research, development, production, use and security of the country's nuclear programme. The main function of the FSD remains as a responsive deterrent to India's Cold Start Doctrine, which may be best described as a limited war strategy designed to seize Pakistan's territory swiftly and without, in theory at least, risking a nuclear conflict. Thus FSD capability represents a range of options available to the decision-making bodies. And at its core is the development of nuclear capability aimed at bringing all Indian targets into Pakistan's striking range.

The net effect of this has been the taking off the table of full-scale conventional war. For this no longer a viable option for either side — given the conceptual reality of mutually assured destruction (MAD). Yet this doesn't mean that there is no threat of conflict. There is. Noticeably, India has adopted sub-conventional warfare to achieve regional supremacy; thereby plunging South Asia into a sort of Cold War era of its own. Thus we have seen New Delhi's hand in an ongoing proxy war along the Indo-Pak border areas. It is the same story when it comes to the western border with Afghanistan.

This focusing on sub-conventional warfare has allowed India to turn to the issue of terrorism to try and destabilise Pakistan. This, despite it being the former that is conducting continuous surgical strikes along the LoC; possibly in a bid to provoke Islamabad. Thus we may begin to see Cold Start in the following terms: a warmongering strategy whereby New Delhi directs conventional forces to perform holding attacks ahead of international intervention or else nuclear retaliation from Islamabad.

Thus this blueprint for proactive aggression, in reality, poses a far more dangerous threat to regional peace and security. It also undermines the Indian commitment to its policy of no-first use of nuclear weapons. For trying to incite the other side to strike first — is a violation of the aforementioned.

And it is one which threatens Pakistan's conventional asymmetric advantage.

Bluntly put, this country must begin preparing for the possibility of an Indian reversal of the no-first use; especially given that such hardliners as Manohar Parrikar, Ajit Davol and Sushma Sawraj are at the helm when it comes to dictating the country's future nuclear direction. Not only that, but such belligerence on the part of New Delhi gives the impression to the international community that the entire South Asia region is permanently shackled in conflict.

And this, combined with India's weaponry expansion as well as military enlargement, explains in real terms just how Pakistan came to actively move towards FSD. For how else is this country expected to respond to such threats at both at the tactical and counter-force level?

The answer is that it needs to cover all levels of risk. This is why Pakistan refers to its nukes as Weapons of Peace; meaning that these reduce the threat and probability of all-out war. Moreover, it must be recognised that strategic stability in South Asia does not exclusively hinge on Islamabad and New Delhi — it also involves both China and the US as external regional players.

Adviser to the National Command Authority, Lt Gen (rtd) Khalid Ahmed Kidwani, has highlighted the salient features of the Pakistan's FSD policy. At the beginning of this month, he put it like this: "it envisages possession of a full range of nuclear weapons that could reach every part of India, having enough yield and numbers to deter rival from its policy of massive retaliation and having liberty of picking targets including counter-value, counter-force and battlefield".

Meanwhile, India's increasing efforts to secure membership to all the export control cartels — especially its recent admission into the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) as well as talk of it entering into the Wassenaar Arrangement (WA) — could very well disturb the strategic balance in the region. While potentially triggering an arms competition in the Indian Ocean, too. Therefore, reassurance of Pakistan's Full Spectrum Deterrence is non-negotiable; while simultaneously observing Indian nuclear 'political rhetoric' regarding the introduction of new and advanced technologies, and sophisticated nukes.

<https://dailytimes.com.pk/161124/pakistan-needs-fsd-capability/>

Dynamics of Nuclear Escalation in South Asia

Asma Khalid

In the past few decades, development in conventional and nuclear spheres have rapidly transformed the security scenario of the South Asian region. Deterrence is considered the key element to maintain stability and peace in the region. However, various 'technical' and 'non-technical' elements play a central role in determining the conventional and nuclear deterrence to achieve the aims of limited and total war strategies.

The technical elements comprise of conventional and nuclear force posture, military capabilities, strategies and operational defence postures. Whereas the non-technical elements include geography and demography. Both, technical and non-technical elements play a crucial role in determining the 'rungs of nuclear escalation ladder' of South Asia.

Multiple factors perform a significant role in shaping the deterrence properties and strategic dynamics of South Asia. Primarily 'three rungs to the nuclear escalation ladder' have increased the risk of escalation in the region. Firstly, for India and Pakistan, the existence of conventional asymmetries, security dilemma, conventional and strategic arms race, defence production gap, nuclear offensive and defensive capabilities, absence of arms control measures and threat reduction measures has increased the threat of conflict escalation or initiating conflict among regional powers; secondly, the existence of complex triangular relation among China-India-Pakistan poses a serious challenge to the security calculations of region; thirdly, the engagement of Great Powers in the region for the pursuit of their own global strategic objectives has disturbed the security calculus of South Asia.

Since the beginning, India has adopted a multi-dimensional tactic to bully Pakistan. Cease-fire violations by Indian forces have collapsed the peace talks between both states. India's military officials justify the violation of the ceasefire agreement but maintain that Pakistan helps terrorists infiltrating into Indian Territory. Therefore, On September 29, 2016, Indian officials claimed that their troops conducted surgical strikes in Azad Kashmir against the suspected militants, as these militants were preparing to carry out attacks on major cities of India. Such rhetorical claims and tactics of India's political and strategic elites proves their failure to understand the significance of a regional strategic equation. Such false claims and undermining of Pakistan's conventional and nuclear capabilities shows that Indian military and political elites are strategically irresponsible and immature.

Consequently, the disturbed Balance of Power (BOP) in the region is proportional to India's conventional and strategic force developments. Such developments have led to the increase in the arms race in the region. In order to pursue its global and regional ambitions such as covering the gap with China and superiority over Pakistan, India has increased its nuclear and missile development program. Additionally, India's increasing military budget and military modernisation of three forces characterised by the Cold Start Doctrine (CSD), loopholes in nuclear Doctrine, and Missile proliferation and Ballistic Missile Defence system (BMD) is viewed as a threat for Pakistan and for the other regional states as well.

India is pursuing offensive force posture to achieve its regional and global ambitions without realising that the evolving nuclear trends and India's ignorant and irresponsible strategic manoeuvres may quicken the pace up to the nuclear escalation ladder.

For the moment, the shift in the US strategy in South Asia; demonstrates that India is chosen and preferred strategic ally of the US to safeguard its interest in Asia. The formation of the new Foreign Policy of the US towards India to enhance Indo-US bilateral ties has led to the formulation of new strategic poles in the region; one in the Indo-US nexus and the second is China-Pakistan's strategic bond. Such a strategic dyad has added more complex dimensions to the power politics of South Asia.

In response to India's multi-dimensional strategies to bully Pakistan and destabilising maniac obsession with military superiority, Pakistan has opted for a counter measure strategy of 'maintaining nuclear deterrence' by enhancing its conventional and nuclear military capabilities.

For instance, Pakistan developed the low-yield, battle field weapon NASR, to counter India's pro-active strategy of Cold Start Doctrine (CSD). Pakistan's surface to surface ballistic missile; Ababeel (MIRV) is a significant contribution in the defence arrangements of Pakistan to neutralise the Indian BMD system. Development of NASR and Ababeel aims at maintaining the deterrence stability and prevent conflict escalation.

Therefore, crises in South Asia have not yet reached the conventional and nuclear escalation ladder because the India's reckless Cold Start Doctrine and nuclear option was addressed by Pakistan's wise efforts at maintaining credible deterrence. In this regard, full spectrum deterrence is a viable strategy, which Pakistan has adopted. It implies preventing nuclear conflict escalation. In effect, Pakistan must enhance its nuclear deterrence requirements in response to Indian nuclear developments and advancements.

<https://dailytimes.com.pk/161113/dynamics-nuclear-escalation-south-asia/>

Trump's Jerusalem Move Scuttles Middle East Peace Process

Nisar Ahmed

US President Donald Trump is notorious for taking widely infamous and clearly dangerous policy decisions driven by ego-centrism and parochialism, the latest addition being the illegal move to recognize Jerusalem as capital of Israel. This reveals his utter ignorance of a complex and sensitive issue that is embroiled in politics and religion.

The decision that has already set off protests and clashes threatens to undermine the ongoing and any upcoming initiatives for peace in the volatile and turbulent Middle East. The blatant disregard for international law, UN resolutions and violation of rights of the oppressed nations by head of a powerful country like the US will only embolden extremist and terrorist groups and incapacitate those who are fighting them.

Jerusalem is held sacred by Jews and Muslims alike on religious grounds and lay claims to is the key to any peace settlement between Israel and Palestine. The roots of the current Israel-Palestine issue can be traced back to the British control of the region from 1917 to 1948, when driven by Zionist vision of an Israeli state; Jews migrated to Palestine from across the globe. In 1947, the UN came up with a partition plan that provided for two-state solution: One Arab and One Jewish while Jerusalem was to be governed by an international regime.

The plan could not be implemented as a result of subsequent wars, particularly the 1967 Arab-Israel war, which resulted in Israel's occupation of Jerusalem. It is worth mentioning here that majority of the international community is in agreement that the 1967 occupation of Jerusalem by Israel is illegal. Due to this fact, no state recognizes Jerusalem as Israel's capital pending a final settlement of the issue by the UN.

Thus, by defying international community and upending decades-long policy in favor of Israel, the US has not only pressed the button to a potential Middle East catastrophe but also risks losing the status of a credible and fair broker, that is fast waning. Worst enough, this may alienate long time US allies like Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Iraq etc. and seriously undermines the fragile coalition against Islamic State group. The statements by leaders of the Muslim world condemning and lamenting US policy shift portend growing fissures in cooperation.

Such an eventuality is the last thing Middle East affords at the time when it desperately needs concerted, sincere and well-calculated steps to get rid of the myriad of crippling challenges like terrorism, civil wars, internally displaced people, refugees, humanitarian crisis etc. But unfortunately, US continues to be the bad guy and peace spoiler.

International community along with the UN has denounced the decision and expressed grave concern over the diminishing prospects of peace and stability in the Middle East but Donald Trump remains unmoved. Turkey, which is the second largest country second only to the US in terms of troops

in NATO has similarly threatened to cut off diplomatic ties with Israel after Trump's policy shift. Turkey is already having a rough sail with the US over the issue of Kurdish forces and extradition of Fethullah Gulen.

Their mutual cooperation on terrorism and Middle East peace initiatives can potentially fall apart as Trump's decision threatens to inflame Middle East. Moreover, it may further force Turkey to join Iran-Russia alliance on Syria and other regional issues, to the chagrin of the US and western allies.

Yet another problem being exacerbated by Trump's flawed approach to the Middle East is the revival and resurgence of religious hard-liners and extremist forces. This will overshadow the much needed moderate and democratic voices seeking peace and stability in the region.

With a little stretch of imagination and connecting dots, one can foresee deterioration of the US relations with countries beyond the Middle East. An important country at hand is Pakistan, whose cooperation in the war against terrorism in the Pak-Afghan border region is inevitable. Even European countries are increasingly irritated by Trump's policies. Be it agreement on climate change, Iran nuclear deal, or now Jerusalem, the countries have all expressed dismay and condemnation, a bad omen for US leadership of the world.

In conclusion, Trump's apparently impulsive decisions close the doors of negotiations and diplomacy and open the floodgates to hell.

<https://www.eurasiareview.com/18122017-trumps-jerusalem-move-scuttles-middle-east-peace-process-oped/>

SCO Summit and Pakistan's Representation

Baber Ali

16th meeting of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation's (SCO) Council of the Heads of Government (CHG) was held from November 30th, 2017 to December 1st, 2017 at Sochi, Russia. Since Pakistan and India were accepted as full member of SCO in its 17th summit held in June 2017, this is the first meeting of the SCO member-states' heads of government in which Pakistan is participating as a full member-state. The meeting was intended to focus on the strategy, prospects, and the priorities of SCO's developmental cooperation.

In this auspicious meeting, Prime Minister of Pakistan Shahid Khaqan Abbasi participated as a head of government and made a remarkable speech. Addressing the summit, Abbasi emphasised on the peaceful political settlement of issues while assuring that Pakistan is determined to contribute to SCO's mandate. He maintained that Pakistan is fully committed to eliminate all kinds of terrorism and pointed out that terrorism cannot be identified with any specific religion, country or nationality. He added that the future of SCO depends on deep multilateral relations, enhancing communication and connectivity through various means.

During his comprehensive speech, PM Abbasi not only covered various spheres of the SCO's objectives but also elevated the position of Pakistan by expounding the future direction. Taking into account the whole mandate of SCO, he showed Pakistan's resolve to make significant contributions to the mandate. Above all, terrorism, which is considered an imminent threat by all states alike and damaged Pakistan the most, was also abhorred and discouraged to be identified with any specific religion, country or nationality. Indirectly, he repudiated the association of terrorism with any country.

Pakistan's commitment can also be gauged by the fact that Abbasi proposed various areas to enhance the multi-lateral ties. He proposed to harmonise the laws for the movement of merchandise. He further asked for the removal of tariff and non-tariff barriers. It will possibly enhance the trade corporation among SCO member-states. While adopting the economic approach and talking about the region, Abbasi asserted that creating synergies between Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and regional stability through available means and investing more in fields of sports, medicine, and education is imperative to regional prosperity. This approach implicitly indicates that Pakistan's regional policies are not just security-centric but are rather all inclusive with special economic orientation, since economic prosperity is the key to solve the problems of people who are suffering from inadequacies.

The PM comprehensively outlined Pakistan's commitment to the SCO's objectives which are to make joint efforts to ensure peace and stability in the region; strengthen neighbourliness among its member states and promote cooperation in different areas including politics, trade, economy, culture, research, technology, tourism and environmental protection. Furthermore, fighting terrorism and extremism with its sincere interest for regional peace, stability, and development is also considered primary goals of the SCO. Through its objectives, the SCO hopes to build mutual trust, equality, respect

for cultural diversity, and good-neighbourly relations aiming to promote effective cooperation in security, economic, social and trade-related areas.

Moreover, SCO can provide Pakistan with opportunities in both the geo-economic and the geo-strategic spheres with the Central Asian Region. The fact cannot be ignored that the Central Asia supplies around 11 per cent of oil and energy to the world. Pakistan's involvement in the SCO provides it with an opportunity to satisfy its energy requirements through regional cooperation with Central Asian member-states. Pakistan's pending energy projects like Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) pipeline, IPI (Iran-Pakistan-India) pipeline, and Central Asia-South Asia (CASA)-1000 electricity transmission projects, which are not completed so far, can get a considerable push through the SCO.

Analysing Pakistan's vigorous representation by its head of state, a fair conclusion can be drawn that the prime minister of Pakistan, via his speech at the SCO summit, paved the way for the much needed push for the ongoing projects by showing Pakistan's commitments and devotion to SCO's regionalism. Positive outcome can be expected after the CHG's meeting and Pakistan's vital representation. Undoubtedly, SCO can ensure peace and stability in the region by making joint efforts. Pakistan is looking forward to lead such efforts. Pakistan is also committed to implementing all the proposals which were mentioned by Mr Abbasi to serve the multilateralism and goals of SCO. It also seems that Pakistan wishes to advance itself in the club by utilising the given proposals of cooperation in different realms that can potentially serve the region in terms of peace, prosperity and economic development.

<https://dailytimes.com.pk/163218/sco-summit-pakistans-representation/>

Quadrilateral Bloc: Threatening China's Regional Dominance

Anum Malik

Undoubtedly, 'Co. Gang States' Australia, India, Japan and the United States of America are trying to buffer the rising power of China. This could be a good scheme for those who engaged in this struggle but their circumstances seem to be more in danger than in favor for each of them.

Debate should be initiated with a brief preface about the group of four harmonious democracies who met in Manila on the sidelines of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and East Asia Summits on 12th November to discuss regional and global cooperation.

The meeting was the first since the "Quadrilateral Security Dialogue" was first mooted by Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe in 2007. Wary of their relations with China, India and Australia hesitated to take part initially.

Recently the Quad meeting again made China circumspect with regards to its strategic security. Chinese foreign ministry warned against countries politicizing cooperation in the region. So that, on 13th November in response of recent meeting of four countries' officials, US, Australia, Japan and India, Chinese foreign ministry spokesman Geng Shuang said that '*The regional cooperation should neither be politicized nor exclusionary*'.

Actually this meet-up highlighted the deep suspicion and turbulence among China's neighbors over Chinese President Xi Jinping's ambitions for regional dominance. It also clearly underscored growing regional competition between Beijing and Washington.

The meeting comes with the United States' emphasis to shift the strategic focus, while Donald Trump using the term 'Indo-Pacific' in order to categorize the region during his first trip to Asia. It could be assertively said that this term indicates United States' diplomatic approach towards security commitment of Asia's border region.

In their meeting, on the eve of the leaders' summit of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the four countries agreed to extend the cooperation towards a "free, open, prosperous and inclusive Indo-Pacific Region". The meeting, known as the "Quad", did not release a joint statement and the US officials have denied the move as if it were not aimed at containing China. However, Beijing warned last week that any maneuvers towards a security grouping should not target or damage a "third party's interest".

It leads toward a thought provoking question: Is 'Indo-Pacific' containment ploy or a new label for region beyond China's backyard?

In Donald Trump's meeting with Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi on the sidelines of ASEAN, he not only discussed regional security but also pledged to boost bilateral trade and security ties.

According to the newspaper *'The Hindu'*, Modi told Trump that the Indo-US ties were becoming broader and deeper. *"You too can feel that India-US ties can work together beyond the interest of India, for the future of Asia and for the welfare of the humanity in the world,"* the Indian Prime Minister was quoted as making this statement. In a separate meeting with ASEAN leaders, Trump called for closer ties with Southeast Asia and urged ASEAN leaders not to become *"satellites"* to anyone, referring to a veiled caution against China's growing clout in the region.

"We want our partners in the region to be strong, independent, and prosperous, in control of their own destinies, and satellites to no one," Trump said.

By drawing the logical implications, the Quad meeting was not a coincidence or serendipity. Trump appeared keen to promote his Indo-Pacific concept as the keystone of his Asian strategy and worked hard to strengthen ties with its allies and partners, including India and Vietnam to counter-balance China. Jinan University's Southeast Asian affairs specialist Zhang Mingliang also claimed that *"The Quad was largely an expected response from the four countries to Beijing's growing military and economic influence"*.

Steve Tsang, director of the SOAS (School of Oriental & African Studies) China Institute in London, also said: *"India, Australia and Japan each had their reasons for wanting the Quad to mean something, especially considering the declining power of the US under Trump."* Moreover, *"For all the silliness of Trump, China's neighbors remain wary of China's increasing might and intentions, especially as Xi Jinping tried to restate China's "historical" place or dominance in the region",* he claimed.

Anyhow, by calculating the aftermath of 'Quad-Nexus', it can be postulated that the Quad will drive Russia and China closer together. While Russian President Vladimir Putin will see the Quad as another example of the US attempting to maintain its unipolar world dominance and will feel for China, Moscow is wary of the growing power of China and the Central Asian tentacles of its "Belt and Road Initiative", Beijing's plan to grow global trade.

For the United States of America, there are two aims to be fulfilled in this way. One, other states in Quad bloc will be seen as welcome supporters to maintain its constant dominance over the seas. Two, satisfy its own point to provoke an eventual conflict to satisfy its own sense of importance.

What are the fruits for Australia? Not much. About 30 percent of Australian exports go to China, with Japan and South Korea accounting for only 20 percent. China wants to dominate the South China Sea so that it can keep importing from resource-rich countries such as Australia. One other factor is also there, Canberra's participation in the Quad would encourage India to take part.

India aims to be a main player in Central Asian affairs and seems to counter the belt and road strategy. This Central Asian ambition is largely impractical and unnecessary as any Central Asian

resource can be accessed elsewhere. Importantly, the only way for India to gain such access is via Iran, particularly through the Chabahar port. Participation in the Quad would mean that India is spreading itself too thin, and needlessly provoking China by influencing its vital maritime security interests in a similar way as it is attempting to do in Central Asia. It would be deliberately damaging for both India and Australia. To sum-up, it can be argued that the outcome of like-minded 'Quad-Union' may reshape the regional geopolitical landscape in the long run. However if this nexus seeks to stop China from gaining power, then it will be just their futile attempt.

<http://moderndiplomacy.eu/2017/12/21/quadrilateral-bloc-threatening-chinas-regional-dominance/>

India's Admission into the WA and its Impact on New Delhi's NSG Bid

Beenish Altaf

India, very recently received happy news of getting admission into another export control cartel. The Plenary meeting of the Wassenaar Arrangement (WA) held on 6 — 7 December 2017 in Vienna, Austria. The plenary decided to admit India formally into its group after which it will become the arrangement's 42nd participating state. The necessary procedural arrangements for India's admission will be completed by next year. Subsequently, India is now member of the two of four export control regimes, other being Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR).

The Wassenaar Arrangement is one among the three other multilateral export control regimes that works on the concerns related to the export controls for conventional arms, dual-use goods and technologies. It was basically established to contribute to regional and international security and stability by promoting transparency along with greater responsibility in transfers of conventional arms, dual-use goods and technologies. This way it can prevent destabilizing accumulations in future. The member states, through their national policies seek to ensure that the transfer of these items do not contribute to the development or enhancement of military capabilities that have the probability to undermine the overall goals of the export control cartel. However, in case of India, it would be hard to anticipate if it would limit the use for civil purposes only.

V. Sudarshan narrates the cause of India's ambition of joining Wassenaar Arrangement, in his article titled Why is Wassenaar Arrangement important to India? He said that it is, to bring security and stability by fostering transparent practices in the process of transfer of arms, transfer of materials, and technologies that can be used to make nuclear weapons with a view to prevent any undesirable build-up of such capabilities. Whereas, in reality, if one examines Indian behavior after joining a similar kind of arrangement, called MTCR in 2016, India immediately decided to extend the range of its Brahmos supersonic cruise missiles beyond the current 300 km, which is a joint venture of India and Russia. The MTCR actually works to restrict the proliferation of missiles, complete rocket systems, unmanned air vehicles, and related technology for those systems capable of carrying a 500 kilogram payload at least 300 kilometres, as well as systems intended for the delivery of weapons of mass destruction (WMD). Initially the MTCR membership meant at aiming mutual benefits in the furtherance of international non-proliferation objectives. Sardonicly, it proved to be incorrect owing to the Indian behavior after getting into the MTCR. Therefore, it can be deduced that even after joining the Wassenaar Arrangement, India would not practice the security and stability of its dual-use items in a transparent manner especially when the traces of its illegal trafficking is on record. It would be pertinent to mention here that few of India's reactors are still unsafeguarded that are kept out of transparency, deliberately, for aiding fuel to its military capabilities.

While granting India's membership to the arrangement, Russia had expressed its optimism as Deputy Foreign Minister Sergey Ryabkov called it, an example and reflection of Russia's unwavering support to India's membership to international nuclear control regimes. Besides Russia, the US and France also played key roles in ensuring India's membership to Wassenaar Arrangement. China on the other hand, has denounced the significance of India's entry into the export control cartel i.e. Wassenaar Arrangement. Similarly on many forums, Chinese diplomats were vocal that it might not necessarily pave the way for New Delhi's admission into the NSG as the elite nuclear group may have a different criterion.

Since India's civil nuclear deal with the US, France and Russia, it has been continuously trying to get into the export control regimes such as the NSG, the MTCR, the Australia Group and the Wassenaar Arrangement. By entering into such cartels India can regulate the conventional, nuclear, biological and chemicals weapons and technologies. However, the trend of assistances to India, set-in largely by the US, though for its own interest, has and will further overwhelm India with uranium reserves. Since India's nuclear program is largely plutonium based, its uranium reserves are apparently shown to be low for civil nuclear usage, and are actually low for military usage.

However, though India managed the membership of two export control regimes but it is not a criterion to be taken-up by the international community that India's entry into the export control regime could enhance its credentials in the field of non-proliferation despite not being a signatory to the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). Nor the membership could be expected to build-up any case for India's entry into the Nuclear Suppliers Group which currently is stalled mainly due to China.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2017/12/26/indias-admission-wa-impact-new-delhis-nsg-bid/>

Maritime Security in the Indian Ocean and Implications for Pakistan

Qura tul ain Hafeez

The swing in the geopolitical powers from Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean provoke the economies of East Asia, EU, United States (US), China, India, Australia and Japan to turn towards the great maritime region –Indian Ocean Region (IOR). The IOR is a major sea route which connects the Middle East, Africa, and East Asia with Europe and America. The high economic growth of littoral states of Indian Ocean compels them to secure their energy needs in order to continue their purchasing power. This has implications for the sea line of communication of the Indian Ocean especially for the littoral states of the Indian Ocean.

Pakistan shares a 990 kilometers long coast line located at the heart of the Arabian Sea and is among the major littoral states of Indian Ocean region (IOR). It has a bulk of marine economic resources in its Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ). Its Western coast adjacent with the Gulf makes it strategically substantial by providing shortest sea route to the landlocked Central Asian Republics (CAR's), Afghanistan and Western province of China. Due to China's One Belt One Road (OBOR) initiative and China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, the Indian Ocean assumes even more significance for Pakistan.

In the current power dynamic, China's OBOR initiative and its presences in IOR and South China Sea (SCS) gave momentum to the US' Pivot to rebalance China. This situation has also catalyzed India's objective of being the sole administrator of Indian Ocean's maritime front yard. States like India, US and China are placing greater reliance on the deployment of fleet missile submarines and Submarine Launched Ballistic Missiles (SLBMs). The US had established its naval base in the IOR at Diego Garcia to protect the US vital interests in the region. Although militarization and nuclearization of the IOR by major powers is leading the debate regarding the regional affairs but there are several others concerning matters that required immediate attention from the littoral states of Indian Ocean region?

Although conventional threats have accumulated larger attention of national security policy makers but one cannot ignore the importance of nonconventional threats. Question here pops up in mind that what kind of non-conventional threats are faced by Pakistan in Maritime sector. The answer to that is obvious: terrorism, piracy-armed robbery, drug-narco-trade, human trafficking and transportation of illegal migrants, and illegal, unreported and unregulated fishing and marine pollution.

Maritime security is important for Pakistan because almost 97 % of Pakistan's trade is carried out through the port of Karachi, Muhammad Bin Qasim, Gawadar, Pasni, Jiwani, Gadani and Ormara. Long stretched coastline and significant harbors provide Pakistan with a location that is ideal for sea-borne trade and commercial activities carried out mostly in foreign ships. Pakistan's role in international navigation, the EEZ and Gwadar port are highly significant for the country's economic development.

However, the rise of non-conditional threats near the maritime boundaries of Pakistan hinders its economic and security interests. Ignoring the consequences will deliberately place Pakistan in the

disadvantageous position with land-locked states, to which Pakistan wants to provide a gateway to Indian Ocean. Unless or until these sub-conventional and non-traditional threats are rectified Pakistan would not be able to achieve a comprehensive national security.

Therefore, it is essential to stabilize the economy for acquiring defence modernization that is essential to deal with non-traditional threats. In addition, Pakistan needs to focus on naval empowerment, for securing its sea lane, international merchandise and maritime interests in IOR.

Last but not the least, the continuously deteriorating threats of terrorism have transnational apprehension for Pakistan's diplomatic interests in IOR. The possible attacks by radical militant factions on sea ports and coastlines in further addition to weaponization, drugs smuggling and human trafficking could hamper the transnational trade activities at coastal areas of Pakistan.

These prevailing maritime security threats are not only marginalizing Pakistan's national security and sovereignty but other littoral states of IOR as well. This essentially requires collective cooperation and comprehensive maritime security strategy that is commonly advantageous for national and regional interests. The international ships and ports facilities securing global Maritime standards provide the guidelines for the security and safety of ports and sea lines. Under the procedures and rules of these guidelines a joint intelligence system and security plan can be introduced. It should be focusing on customs, maritime security agency, police, immigration, piracy, and narcotics control etc.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2017/12/26/maritime-security-indian-ocean-options-pakistan/>

CPEC: Pakistan's Quest for Energy Security

Asia Maqsood

Sufficient supply of energy is central to industry, transport, infrastructure, information technology, agriculture and households. Besides, economic growth and higher standard of living is based on the reliable supply of energy. Pakistan is facing an energy crisis for the last few years where the demand and supply shortfall of 8000MW in May 2011, resulted in severe aftermath for the nation. China's proposed investment of approximately 33.45 billion in the energy sector under the CPEC mega project, serves as a ray of hope for Pakistan.

According to Pakistan's Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA), Pakistan has faced a shortfall of 5000MW in June 2016 with more than eight hours of load shedding especially in rural areas of the country. The current power demand has reached to 21,200 MW (2016) while the production of power was a mere 16,548 MW. Now the energy generation capacity has been increased to 22,797 MW while the demand has simultaneously reached to 17000 MW

This trend indicates that the energy requirement of the country will reach up to 45000 MW by 2030. When the first Joint Cooperation Committee (JCC) took place in 2013, Pakistan expressed its concern to give priority to the energy projects so as to address the energy crises. Out of 17 early harvest projects, there were 11 energy projects. The year 2017 has witnessed the successful operationalization of Sahiwal coal-fired power project, which is expected to add 1320 MW of electricity to the national grid.

The Bin Qasim coal-fired plant has jointly been developed by the world-class Chinese company; Power China and Al Mirqab Capital of Qatar. The project was the largest one with state-of-art technology under CPEC to generate 1,360 MW when the second unit will start generation by February next year. The project was completed (unit-1) in 30 months, becoming a role model for other power investors.

All along, with the completion of the first phase of the Bin Qasim coal-fired plant of 660 MW at Karachi on 29th November 2017, Prime Minister Shahid Khaqan Abbasi declared that the country will soon overcome the problem of load-shedding. Year 2017 has witnessed seventy percent completion of two infrastructure projects; KKH Phase II (Havelian- Thakot Section) 120 km, Karachi-Lahore Motorway (Sukkur-Multan Section) 392 km.

Work on other projects is going at a steady pace while the spine of CPEC; Railway Line ML-1's complete feasibility report has been compiled. An efficient and fast transportation network is vital for the economic development.

There are 21 energy projects that would generate approximately 16,400 MW gradually. It is pertinent to discuss here that the timeframe of their completion will be dynamic according to the circumstances, but China's energy plans in the flagship project of CPEC ensures full prospects for

Pakistan's economic development by overcoming the energy shortage. The diversification of existing energy resources with the exploration of new resources under CPEC would be a substantial step toward attaining sustainable power development.

Once completed, the energy projects under CPEC would also help Pakistan to get consistent and cost-effective energy supplies which serve as a backbone for the modern economies and military. Hence, energy reserves are considered as strategic reserves because energy security uplifts the country's stature in international politics, opening up new vistas for foreign direct investment and attracting the international investors.

Eventually this would increase the country's revenue and GDP. Pakistan has both renewable and indigenous resources of energy and requires their utilization efficiently. In this context CPEC is assuredly assisting Pakistan through its investment in the energy sector. It is important to discuss here that according to the availability of energy through these projects, Pakistan would be in a better position to pursue its defence and foreign policy.

According to World Bank Report, Pakistan's GDP is 5.2 percent in 2017 and expected to continue to grow at 5.5 percent in the Fiscal Year 2018. Besides this, political stability and a favorable environment are required for the targeted goals. In a nutshell, the success of all projects would bring transformational changes not just for Pakistan but for the region as well. This will not only address the growing energy demands of the industrial sector of Pakistan but will also assist the other projects along the CPEC routes.

<https://www.globalvillagespace.com/cpec-pakistans-quest-for-energy-security/>

Defiance of Nuclear Deterrence and Indian Space Militarization

Ahyousha Khan

For South Asian Nuclear Deterrence, the year 2017 was quite arduous owing to the unending arms race in the region between two bellicose nuclear neighbors. If we look at the arms race trajectory of South Asia, first it was only limited to terrestrial bases but in recent years it has spread across the Indian Ocean Region as well. Now, after seizing Land and Sea with its military power, the new arena for militarization chosen by India is the “Outer Space”.

Indian Space program is flourishing by leaps and bounds. In the beginning of this year India launched 104 satellites in one go and made a world record of launching most satellites in single mission. Space satellite named PSLV-C37 had Cartosat-2 series and 103 co-passenger satellites with total weight of 650 kg. Moreover, out of 104 satellites 101 were foreign satellites. Indian Cartosat-2 satellite is capable of providing high resolution, scene specific, spot imagery. It is dual use technology and can be used for keeping an eye on Pakistan.

Indian Space Program is at nascent stages and so far it has launched 92 spacecraft missions including 64 launch missions, 9 student satellites and 2 re-entry missions. In addition to that Indian Department of Indian Space has also launched 209 foreign satellites. These developments in space program indicate Indian inclination for going beyond the limits of the sky. For achieving its objectives in outer space, India is pursuing relations with the West. This very cooperation has formed the basis of its access into major export cartels. So far, India has successfully managed entry in to two major export cartels; one is Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) and second is Wassenaar Arrangement (WA). Entry into these two export control regimes would open gates of massive opportunities for Indian Space Program as they deal with sensitive space and satellite technologies.

Many would say that space technology is a necessary evil and a logical step by India. But, situation becomes critical in absence of confidence building measures and dialogues which gives rise to miscalculations and misunderstandings. In the context of South Asian region, India having the aim to be a global power is totally dismissive about the security dilemma that its continuous militarization is creating.

To avoid security dilemma Pakistan is working efficiently to uphold its nuclear deterrence in face of Indian ambitiousness. Nonetheless, exploration of Outer Space by India with dual use technologies is a desperate attempt to find a way around nuclear deterrence.

Trends of arms race in South Asia explicitly show that both India and Pakistan analyzed each other's military power on the basis of their capabilities not intentions. Rationality demands from state that it should analyze its opponent's capabilities rather than intentions because intention is a variable that can change within seconds.

Therefore, it is important for Pakistan to analyze Indian space capabilities carefully and develop its own space satellites as well. Achieving indigenously in space, satellite and surveillance capabilities is necessary for Pakistan to maintain credibility of its deterrence especially in crisis situation.

Another important aspect of Space militarization by India is its negative implications for Nuclear Deterrence in South Asia. It is nuclear deterrence due to which both India and Pakistan are not waging an all-out war against each other. But, with space militarization India would be able to locate Pakistan's strategic assets in case of crisis deployment and with precision achieved through its satellite could attack first.

Moreover, Pakistan's reliance on nuclear tipped cruise missile placed on diesel powered submarine for its second strike capability could attract Indian attack from space. So far, Indian space technology would allow it to monitor movements of Pakistan navy submarines and military installations. But, with the pace India is weaponizing space, soon it will be deploying precision guiding munitions in space to use them against Pakistan. Therefore, militarization of space by India is consequential for nuclear deterrence as it instigates the "use it or lose it" option of pre-emptive strike.

It is Indian actions that are triggering arms race in South Asia. With its ambitions to be a global power, India is amassing every kind of military technology available to rise above the logic of nuclear deterrence that forbids both sides to attack. India desires exception from any kind of limits placed on it by the notions of nuclear deterrence. It is infuriating for India that relatively small state like Pakistan is becoming a hurdle in its first step towards being a global power

Lastly, both countries need to resume dialogues and confidence building measures to not use every new technology as arena for arms race and confrontation. Moreover, it is necessary that both countries should not take their animosity in outer space and sign mutual agreements to keep space free of weapons for the sake of generations to come.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2017/12/26/defiance-nuclear-deterrence-indian-space-militarization/>

Israel-Palestine Issue: Role of the United Nations

Nisar Ahmed Khan

The declared objective of establishing the United Nations Organization was to prevent wars and conflicts among states. However, the achievement of this noble objective has proved to be a daunting challenge. The number of wars fought since the establishment of the organization in 1945 and the ongoing conflicts around the world, particularly in the conflict ridden Middle East today, beg explanation as what it is that impedes the UN initiatives for peace and stability. One major reason that accounts for this failure is of course the non-democratic structure of the Security Council which provides the five permanent members with veto-power. The US having veto power in the Security Council has always employed it in favor of Israel and to the consternation of Palestine.

Historically, the role of the UN with regards to the Israel-Palestine conflict has not been very encouraging as far as the achievement of peace is concern. The UN has not only failed to allay the genuine grievances of the Palestinians but has also remained miserably impotent to prevent Israeli atrocities against them. This can partly be attributed to the influence that the US holds being a veto power and a major contributor of the UN and its various agencies.

This point should also be noted that from the beginning, once Israel was created and on its way to stability leading to instability of whole region, the UN was largely excluded from the politics of the issue. UN peacekeepers were stationed on the Israeli-Egyptian front but the UN was kept away from political decisions. Simultaneously, the UN Refugee Works Agency which was established to provide for the refugees until such time as they would return home, there was little involvement of the UN as a viable institution in political decision-making.

Moreover, the US has never shied away from bilateralizing the Israel-Palestine conflict by trying to sidelining the UN. For instance the UN could not implement its resolutions that include the provision of two state solutions and prevention of illegal Israeli settlements in Palestine.

Fast forward to today, the General Assembly gathered to vote on a draft resolution which was aimed at reversing Trump's decision on Jerusalem. All the members except US that vetoed the resolution, voted against Trump's illegal decision to recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital.

Predictably, the draft resolution was vetoed by the United States in the 15-member UN Security Council to the chagrin of the oppressed and persecuted Palestinians.

Trump's illegal and potentially devastating decision to reverse long time US policy on Jerusalem has been widely criticized and condemned

Undoubtedly, it generated an outrage from Palestinians, the Arab world and concerns among the US' western allies. This decision may have multiple and fatal repercussions across the world with prospects of peace in the region becoming a distant dream.

The fact and difference must be noted that the remaining 14 Security Council members voted in favor of the Egyptian-drafted resolution, which articulated deep regret at recent decisions concerning the status of Jerusalem. The resolution did not specifically mention the United States or Trump administration but only focused on the status of Jerusalem.

Under a 1950 resolution, a special session or emergency session can be called by the General Assembly for the consideration of a matter viewing to making suitable recommendations to members for collective measures if the Security Council fails to act. Despite having various options and gateways, the US failed to act in appropriate way to sort out the prolonged matter of Israel-Palestine conflict.

UN mandate comes under the question when it simply states on the part of US that the resolution was vetoed in the Security Council in defence of US sovereignty. The UN needs to play its due role in the Middle East peace process. The UN must understand the intrinsic nature of conflict. Resolution proposed in the UN for conflict resolution underscores that it might play a decisive role to convince the US and concerned parties for amicable and acceptable solution.

In a nut shell, if the UN continues to remain passive on these kinds of issues across the world including Israel-Palestine conflict, it may lose its credibility. UN is considered to be the only platform available to developing and, perhaps, developed countries to get their international issues resolved. Considering all these facts with different aspects, the UN must play an active role in resolving the Palestine issue for the resumption of peace in international landscape particularly in the Middle East and to reinvigorate its status as the only and effective international platform for all issues so that peace may last.

It is equally important for all the states to respect the mandate of the UN and comply with its resolutions for the sake of peace and harmony in the world.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2017/12/26/israel-palestine-issue-role-united-nations/>

SCO's Anti-terrorism Efforts and Future Prospects

Baber Ali

Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) adheres to the principle of openness and does not intend to direct its actions against any sovereign state. With actively and consistently pursuing dialogue, diplomatic exchanges and cooperation, it strictly observes all the principles inscribed in the United Nations' Charter such as equality and sovereignty of states, non-intervention in their domestic affairs, respect for territorial integrity, non-aggression, peaceful settlement of disputes, no use of force. It also abides by the generally and universally recognized norms of international law, aimed at maintaining peace, ensuring security, shielding national sovereignty and valuing the right to constructing one's path forward for political, socio-economic and cultural development. The whole structure of SCO is designed to craft multi-lateral partnerships to support sovereign members in coordinating strategies and approaches to solving unrelenting international issues and meeting regional needs. It also provides an opportunity for member-states to focus their efforts on common goals in accordance with amicable principles of voluntary cooperation and equitable distribution of responsibilities. SCO strongly believes in the utility of diplomacy for conflict resolution. It strives to play its continuous role in support of an even more prominent coordinating role for the United Nations in international affairs, with special emphasis upon further development of close cooperation with the world organizations.

The common response of SCO to the rapidly growing threat of extremism is the SCO Convention on Countering Extremism. This convention was adopted in June 2017 at the Summit in Astana. SCO Convention on Countering Extremism is aimed at advancing security, increasing effective cooperation between authorities and improving the legal framework in this sphere. This document strengthened the international legal framework for countering multiple emerging challenges and threats along with the Shanghai Convention on Combating Terrorism, Separatism and Extremism, as well as core United Nations instruments, such as the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy and relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions. SCO has considerably contributed in several special initiatives launched under the auspices of the United Nations in order to enhance the international cooperation in combating common challenges and threats to security. In this regard, a high-level special event titled "The United Nations and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization: Jointly Countering Challenges and Threats" was held in November 2016 in New York. Another event titled "The United Nations and Shanghai Cooperation Organization in the Fight against Drugs: Common Threats and Joint Actions", was held in March 2017 in Vienna with the collaboration of United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime.

In this regard, SCO is focusing to further develop its core permanent body—the Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure (RATS). The authorities of SCO member states under RATS managed to prevent 21 terrorist attacks in the planning stages, prevented 650 crimes of terrorist and extremist nature, and neutralized 442 terrorist training camps under RATS coordination. More than 2,800 members of illicit armed groups, their accomplices, and persons suspected in criminal activity were arrested. Most importantly, 215 people associated with terrorist or extremist organizations were extradited, with many

sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Furthermore, 180 suspects were placed on wanted lists, 600 undercover bases with weaponry were revealed, and more than 3,250 improvised explosive devices were confiscated, along with 10,000 weapons, approximately 450,000 pieces of ammunition, and more than 52 tons of explosives.

This point is noteworthy that SCO is not a military alliance. However, its front-line struggle against terrorist threats demands that it should further develop and enhance mechanisms aimed at complete eradication of terrorist activities. Therefore, SCO is determined to continue its scheduled anti-terrorist efforts. It is also aiming to strengthen its collaboration in countering radical propaganda and public justification of terrorism, separatism and extremism in mass media and the information space, structuring upon the Agreement on Cooperation in Ensuring International Information Security between SCO Member States. SCO, with the collaboration of UN, can further make effective efforts to combat common challenges and threats to security. Both international organizations can mutually draw the framework in order to ensure the comprehensive security by countering terrorism, cyber-terrorism, separatism, extremism, transnational organized crime, and illicit drug trafficking, as well as reinforcing international information security and emergency response.

<http://russiancouncil.ru/en/blogs/baber-ali-bhatti/scos-antiterrorism-efforts-and-future-prospects/>

India's Nuclear Strategy: A Shift to Counterforce

Asma Khalid

South Asian security landscape tends to comprise of belligerence, increasing arms race, potential changes in nuclear strategies or doctrines, and absence of nuclear risk reduction measures. These factors have urged the security strategists to analyze the risks of 'shifting strategic logic' and 'growing military capabilities' of India. Recent debates on South Asian security strategy revolves around Indian nuclear policy and has garnered much attention of the global community. India's nuclear policy can be discussed in the light of emerging twin pillars of 'pre-emptive nuclear strike' and 'strategic ambiguity'.

The debate gained impetus after India's renowned strategist Vipin Narang's address at the Carnegie International Nuclear Policy Conference held in March 2017 in Washington, DC. While citing the book by India's strategist; B.S. Nagal and India's Former National Security Adviser Shivshankar Menon, he stated that "increasing evidence that India will not allow Pakistan to go first. And that India's opening salvo may not be conventional strikes trying to pick off just Nasr batteries in the theater, but a full 'comprehensive counterforce strike' that attempts to completely disarm Pakistan of its nuclear weapons so that India does not have to engage in iterative tit-for-tat exchanges and expose its own cities to nuclear destruction".

Such statements indicate that new trends are emerging in India's nuclear strategy as it is moving towards a 'first-use' or even a 'first-strike nuclear strategy'. India's nuclear doctrine is based on the 'strategic ambiguity', therefore it has been anticipated that India is shifting its nuclear strategy towards 'counterforce targets' rather than 'counter value targets'. The second emerging trend is that India is moving towards the strategy of "First Use" or "Preemptive strike" from the "No-First Use strategy".

In this context, an equally important issue that needs to be explored is how credible are the Indian claims of shifting its nuclear strategy? Many analysts have maintained that "counter force strike" is not possible in existing scenario, for India has to achieve substantial numerical superiority over Pakistan. However, one cannot ignore an important factor that India's massive military buildup gives clear message that it is working on indigenous intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance capabilities along with enhancing its defence co-operation with the United States, Russia, Japan, Israel and other global arms importers. Moreover, in this regard another important development is that India also got the membership of Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR). Membership of nuclear cartel will naturally add to India's Space and Missile Programs.

Subsequently another aspect that arises in Pakistan's strategic calculations is if India's shift to counterforce or first-use strategy is surprising for Pakistan? It is not the first time that India's 'No-First Use' has become the topic of controversy. So, it's neither surprising for Pakistan nor to the regional security planners.

'No First Use' means that state won't use nuclear weapon capability during a conflict and will relay on its conventional capabilities during a conflict. India's current developments: Ballistic Missile

Defence System (BMD) and Submarine launched ballistic Missile has the ability to destabilize deterrence. These military buildups of India have forced Pakistan to acquire Second Strike Capability to ensure its surveillance and credible deterrence. Additionally, in order to implement 'pre-emptive nuclear strike', India has to increase its nuclear stockpiles as well as high level of readiness, accuracy to increase response to impose splendid strike.

Such dynamics will bring multiple implications for South Asian stability: First, to implement 'counter force strategy' instead of 'counter value' will demand India to increase its nuclear stockpiles which will enhance vertical proliferation leading the arms race on positive trajectory in region; Secondly, it will reduce the probabilities of Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) and establishment of strategic arms control regime in the region; Thirdly, on the regional security contours, India's hint of shifting nuclear strategy will set off serious implications on deterrence stability leading towards the dangerous crisis instability.

However, India's vague nuclear strategy, hints of doctrinal shift to 'First Use' from 'No-First Use' is raising the strategic ambiguities. These dynamics will stimulate the 'use them or lose them' dilemma as well as destabilize the deterrence posture of the region. Under such scenario, Pakistan needs to take numerous measures to enhance its nuclear deterrence: First, Pakistan should maintain assured second-strike capability; secondly, development of offensive and defensive cyber-warfare capabilities and anti-ballistic missile systems can demonstrate assured deterrence stability and peace. South Asia demands a pragmatic approach of conflict prevention and parallel processing of bi-lateral disputes through initiating sustainable channels of communication. To conclude, it is imperative that nuclear doctrines should be transparent to avoided miscalculations. Viable strategy in this regard would be the development of nuclear risk reduction measures.

<http://southasiajournal.net/indias-nuclear-strategy-a-shift-to-counterforce/>

Strained Pak-US Ties: All is Not Lost

Ubaid Ahmad

Pakistan has always desired and wanted sustainable peace, stability, and prosperity in the region. For that reason, it stayed pragmatic about the peace talks and chiefly the Afghan peace process for peace in Pakistan is bound to the peace and stability in Afghanistan. In any case, amid this consistent struggle Pakistan was always denied in its efforts by the US; left alone and had been under constant diplomatic and military pressure.

Now, the very question that arises here is that what is the central objective of the US in its association with Pakistan? Secretly, and openly, the mantra remains precisely the same, 'do more.' For instance, the objective for Trump-like Obama's initial Afghanistan surge is to force Taliban into peace talks and to push them for a negotiated settlement. Moreover, very much like his predecessors, Trump also doesn't want to be ensnared into a money pit for more nation building thence seeking greater Indian role in the region and chiefly in Afghanistan.

Be that as it may that Pakistan may not coordinate with the US to the extent the latter demands. Leaving aside the fact that whether some of these demands qualify Pakistan's greater interests or not, Pakistan has reliably exhibited that it wants stable ties with the US. To carelessly risk two-sided collaboration by constantly repeating the 'do more' mantra or debilitating to give India a greater role in Afghanistan, is to disregard that the US needs Pakistan to help set up peace in the region in the long haul. Thus, there is a dire need for the US to recognize Pakistan's efforts in the War against terrorism. The US must also stop scapegoating Pakistan for its failures if and merely if it wants a stable Afghanistan in particular and the South Asian region in general. Pakistan stood firm with the world in the Global War on Terror (GWOT), and if today Pakistan faces the menace of terrorism, it's only because Pakistan sided with the world. The US must also acknowledge the sacrifices Pakistan made; for Pakistan has lost more than 60,000 precious lives so far post 9/11.

US allegations on Pakistan for providing 'safe havens' to the 'agents of chaos' is utterly baseless, for if Pakistan were to support the Jihadists, it should not have been a victim itself. Similarly, things would have been much more different, if the Taliban were made to contest the first elections back in 2004. Pakistan thus has proved itself morally correct ever since the USSR invasion to the events leading 9/11. Notwithstanding, it must also be kept in mind by the US officials and the State Department that, any US action demonstrating selective treatment will result in the introduction of more radicalization and contribute to further destabilization of the region. Moreover, in a broader spectrum the same New Afghan policy by the Trump should be made the hallmark in countering terrorism collectively, but unfortunately, the region is yet devoid of mutual trust.

Pakistan however, is prepared to work with the United States to adequately deal with the long porous border between Pakistan and Afghanistan, for it needs to be strategically aligned for any policy to bring some fruit. Moreover, the whole conflict is required to be re-orientated thus seeking enduring closure to the conflict as it is now quite evident that the existing strategies are not working in this

regard. Similarly, the US needs to understand that in any event where India is all the more effectively included, its hold will increment in Afghanistan, making a more noteworthy risk for Pakistan. How at that point will Pakistan be able to collaborate with the US in this protracted war?

Thus, to conclude in the words of US Defense Secretary James Mattis, both Pakistan and the US need to find the common grounds to fight this war together. However, Trump administration needs to comprehend that building pressure on Pakistan won't prompt a quick resolution to the conflict but will further exacerbate the situation.

<http://southasiajournal.net/strained-pak-us-ties-all-is-not-lost/>

CPEC Long Term Plan (LTP): An Analysis

Sadia Kazmi

The much awaited CPEC Long Term Plan (LTP) was unveiled by the Minister of Planning, Development, and Reform Ahsan Iqbal on 18th December 2017. This brings the year to a magnificent end with regards to progress and development on the CPEC project. One can see that despite all the efforts at creating negativity and controversy against CPEC by the anti-CPEC actors, there has been a steady and substantial progress on this flagship project of China's BRI initiative. This also means that CPEC is moving toward its final goal. Over all the projects included under CPEC were divided into two phases. The early phase called Early Harvest Program and the Long Term Plan. Early harvest program was initiated in 2015 and several projects under that program have now been completed in a short time of 32 months while some are expected to be completed in the next year. On the other hand, the recently revealed LTP is further divided into three phases covering the time period of 2017-2030. The plan that was approved by the 7th Joint Cooperation Committee (JCC) on 21st November 2017 in Islamabad was made public in a 26-page document. It identifies the short-term projects which will be completed by 2020, the medium term projects expected to be completed by 2025, and the long term projects which will finish around the completion date of the CPEC project i.e. 2030. It will not be an exaggeration to say that this planning shows an undying commitment of the government and the people of both sides.

The seven areas envisaged within the LTP are reflective of the fact that LTP has a much larger scope and caters to the areas beyond power generation and road construction. These seven areas include the focus on connectivity, energy generation, trade and industrial parks, agricultural development and poverty alleviation, tourism (with a special focus on maritime tourism across the Ketu Bander-Karachi-Sonmiani-Ormara, Jhal Jhao, Gwadar, Gadani, and Jiwani routes), cooperation in areas concerning human lives, and non-governmental exchanges and financial cooperation. A closer look at these areas makes one realize that they are not only aimed at a multidimensional progress of Pakistan but that LTP is very much complementary to the 2020 vision of Pakistan which strives to create a vision to build better future for the country. Just like LTP, it talks about developing energy infrastructure, improving human development and social services, especially in health and education sector improving internal security situation, strengthening state institutions and establishing the rule of law. Hence there is a remarkable compatibility between the CPEC and Pakistan Vision 2020.

Another aspect of LTP is its inclusivity. Although it took some time to make it public and to reach a final agreement on it, the time spent was worth invested. It is so because the final document was made after extensive consultations with all the provinces, federal ministers and their respective technical groups. This only makes the document ever more credible and pragmatic. Furthermore, its accessibility to the common public and media points to the transparency and honest intention of the policy makers from both sides. The document is open to public for scrutiny and to evaluate it from all the aspects. The purpose should not just be to criticize the initiative but to also embrace it with the motive to suggest positive and productive inputs. Unless the project is seen and owned at the national

level, it will remain vulnerable to the anti-propagandist lobby which is bent upon sabotaging the process and creating controversies.

One important point in the document reveals that the Chinese currency RMB will be used for the transactions under the CPEC. This is not to say that this currency will be used in Gwadar as was being proposed by China earlier. Negotiations on this point is also one of the reasons for the LTP to take longer to sign. Nonetheless, China conceding to Pakistan's concern only enhances further trust between the two countries. It proves that the CPEC project is not a tool for China to dictate Pakistan but an equation that would provide both countries to have mutually fruitful and beneficial outcome. The transactional decision will surely help Pakistan to have less reliance over the US dollar. Both China and Pakistan are working towards strengthening financial cooperation between Free Trade Zones and explore the formation of a RMB backflow mechanism.

Since connectivity continues to occupy the center stage, LTP is focusing on integrated transport system which includes development of Kashgar-Islamabad, Peshawar-Islamabad-Karachi, D.I. Khan-Hakla, Sukkur-Gwadar port and D.I. Khan-Quetta-Sohrab-Gwadar road infrastructure. Along with that the information technology and energy sector development also remain to be the main areas of focus in LTP. All in all, this carefully drafted document makes one believe that the CPEC will eventually turn Pakistan into a global financial and trade hub. The ultimate aim of the CPEC can be summed up in the statement by the Minister Ahsan Iqbal that "CPEC will greatly speed up the industrialization and urbanization process in Pakistan and help it grow into a highly inclusive, globally competitive and prosperous country capable of providing high quality life to its citizens".

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2017/12/31/cpec-long-term-plan-ltp-analysis/>

Progress on Chabahar: Should it Worry China and Pakistan?

Sadia Kazmi

Lately China's BRI has been able to attract India's and US' attention where the former has been more anxiously concerned about China's expected strategic control of the Sea lanes through its flagship project of CPEC with Pakistan. It is believed that Pakistan with the help of Chinese support will be able to deny India's access to important strategic sea lanes for international trade, causing it huge economic damage in the process. In order to counter alleged China-Pakistan nexus, India has been trying alternative options to reach Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia, while at the same time it is expecting a more effective role by the US in somehow helping India establish its hegemony in the region. Within this context, Chabahar port has been touted as an effective counter strategy by Indian policy makers. On 3rd December 2017, the Iranian President Hassan Rouhani marked the inauguration of newly built extension of Chabahar port which is being built by the Indian financial support. The US \$340 million project was constructed by a Revolutionary Guard-affiliated company, Khatam al-Anbia, the largest Iranian contractor of government construction projects. Last year India committed around US \$ 500 million for the construction and development of this port in Iran which is located on the Gulf of Oman only 85 km from the Gwadar port in Baluchistan, Pakistan. India also plans to invest in the rail and road infrastructure development within Iran, specifically so that once the cargo reaches the port, it could be carried through road and rail links to Afghanistan and onward to Central Asia. Iran expects to receive US \$ 400 million of steel rails to Tehran. Two countries have planned joint ventures for fertilizer plants. There is a planned 500 km railway link which will connect Chabahar to Zahedan in Iran i.e. India's connectivity to the rest of Iran. Not only does the landlocked Afghanistan stand to gain from this trade arrangement but India itself will be able to engage with resource rich Central Asian states, that too through bypassing Pakistan. India also seeks to bring progress on the international North South Transport Corridor of which both India and Iran are signatories along with Russia. So all in all Chabahar port opens ship, road and rail routes for the transfer of goods between India, Iran, Afghanistan, Azerbaijan and Russia. Chabahar also has Iranian Navy and Air force bases along with international airport which enhances the significance of the port. Hence, one gets to hear recurrent claims by Indian leadership and strategy planners regarding Chabahar port being the "neutralizing" factor against China-Pakistan strategic nexus in the region. Further progress on Chabahar port includes the trilateral transit and trade agreement between India, Iran and Afghanistan, which was discussed during the inauguration but yet has to be ratified. Nonetheless the three countries reiterated their commitment to the early operationalization of the port.

However, despite all these facts, there are certain realities that cannot be ignored. The very fact that the Pakistan's Minister for Maritime Affairs Mir Hasil Khan Bizenjo travelled by road from Gwadar to Chabahar to attend the inauguration ceremony shows that Pakistan whole heartedly welcomes this development and genuinely takes Chabahar as the sister port of Gwadar port as has been claimed by Pakistan at several occasions. This claim of Pakistan holds water as this region has a huge potential to become a global financial hub in which case having one port might not be sufficient. This is where

Chabahar can complement the deep-sea Gwadar port and mutually reap the benefits through regional connectivity.

At the same time, President Rouhani's statement during the inauguration ceremony sends out a clear message to all and sundry that Chabahar is not to hamper the efforts for regional connectivity either by China or any other state but to further contribute to this very cause. This is quite evident from his statement where he categorically mentioned that "we should go after the positive competition...we welcome other ports in the region...we welcome Gwadar's development" and that "the port will bring more engagement and unity among regional countries".

Hence, one can deduce that Pakistan does not really need to be concerned about Gwadar port being overshadowed or ending up ensnared into some kind of competition vis-à-vis Chabahar. Even though India's presence in the South is a natural worry for Pakistan but the reassurances by Iranian leadership can be relied upon. This is important because Iran is expected to play a wise role in this whole arrangement where it should not let China's and Pakistan's economic interests be sabotaged by India's self-imposed insecurities. Iran realizes that CPEC is the need of time and has shown inclination to join it too. Staying out of CPEC or being involved in anti-CPEC lobby will only harm its own strategic and economic interests. Hence, it is hoped that while Iran may welcome Indian investment and its growing economic footprint inside Iran, it should not allow Chabahar to turn into a den of Indian spies who could easily cross over into Pakistan through Iran. This is one aspect that Iran has to stay mindful of.

Pakistan on its part wholeheartedly agrees with China and welcomes all countries including India to be part of the CPEC. Pakistan also understands Iran's need to remerge and reestablish its relevance at regional and global level after long spell of US' sanctions, therefore, India's initiative is commendable in that regard. However, India must also understand that CPEC is not aimed against any particular country. It is a flagship project of a much bigger economic initiative of China i.e. BRI, which intends to bring immense economic uplift for the Asian state and prospects for regional and extra-regional connectivity between South, Central, West Asia, Africa and Europe. Hence working against CPEC or making counterstrategies will only serve limited interest for a short run. This shift in policy thinking is the only way that could ensure a win-win for all the regional states collectively.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2017/12/31/progress-chabahar-worry-china-pakistan/>