

SVI FORESIGHT

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Compiled by
S. Sadia Kazmi



STRATEGIC VISION
I N S T I T U T E

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Strategic Vision Institute
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Strategic Vision Institute (SVI)

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

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

SVI Foresight

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



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Editor's Note

The sixth volume of SVI Foresight for the month of December 2015 presents a set of explanatory and critical notes on policy analyses focusing on contemporary national and international security strategic and nuclear issues.

In one of the articles, the readers will be able to find an exclusive and insightful scrutiny of India's covert uranium enrichment project being carried out at Challakere. India's deliberate discretion towards this venture that is being supported by its Secretive agencies raises a lot of security concerns for Pakistan. Even though India never acknowledged this development publicly, it is more of an open secret now. As is claimed by India time and again that its nuclear program and strategic policies go far beyond the regional parameters, nonetheless India's conventional superiority and nuclear advancements are, and will always remain, a natural area of concern for Pakistan, even more so after the reports on India's "Nuclear City" have started doing the rounds. Linked to the same debate, another article specifically talks about the probable ascend in the arms and missile developments which has become quite persistent between India and Pakistan and carries huge regional and global consequences. There is no end in sight for this competition since the growing disparity and asymmetry in South Asia is only favorable to India while presents enormous challenges to Pakistan. Hence it needs to be understood by the International community that it is not the nuclear parity that Pakistan seeks to attain, rather Pakistan is being compelled to exhibit a reaction in response to an action initiated by India. Only a timely and effective response can help Pakistan ensure its own security and survival. With regards to development on India's inclusion into Nuclear Supplier Group (NSG), a very enlightening debate can be found in this volume. Some hope for Pakistan has arrived in the form of a developing understanding with China that if India is included in the group, China will make sure Pakistan is included as well in the light of merit based membership policy / criteria based approach. The article openly challenges NSG's credibility and questions the rationale for India's inclusion. Another article talks at length about the nuclear weapons capacity in South Asia and proves with the help of factual data and authentic resources that India's reactor grade plutonium stockpiles are much greater in number than that of Pakistan. India also has a huge potential to further increase these stockpiles since it is already working on "breeder" reactors. This article is specifically be helpful in developing a critical appreciation of the literally work by pro-Indian Western analysts; Toby Dalton and Michael Kreppon, and their biased and anti-Pakistan approach in their report titled "Nuclear Normal Pakistan".

Some other non-nuclear security issues have also been included in this volume. One article specifically sheds light on a very important matter with geopolitical significance i.e. TAPI

gas pipeline. The project recently witnessed some progress, where the leaders of Afghanistan, India and Pakistan met in Turkmenistan to unanimously approve the launching of much awaited gas pipeline. This development, although on one hand, promises to bring in benefits for all the countries party to this project but on the other hand its future is still enmeshed in ambiguity and skepticism. Indo-Pak security problems trust deficit, hostile past, and the lack of major commercial investors make the possibility of this project quite challenging. Nonetheless a strong will is required by the party states to turn this dream into a reality. Similarly, Pakistan unfortunately has become synonymous to terrorism and somehow any act of terrorism around the world ends up being linked to Pakistan. A detailed analysis and assessment of this subtle pattern can be found in one of the opinion articles which present a case in favor of Pakistan with special reference to shootings in California and how Pakistan is being implicated in the whole episode, despite the fact that such incidents are not new to the Western society, especially the United States. The Muslim couple involved in California incident even though possesses Pakistani citizenship, but lived almost all their lives in US and KSA. Hence their ideological and social affinities and inclination have got nothing to do with Pakistan. This is just another way of focusing on Pakistan's so called "terrorist sanctuaries" in an effort to press Pakistan to "do more". Even though Western disposition towards the whole matter had been highly biased and stereotypical against Pakistan, there is also a need for nationwide overhauling of mindset towards religious intolerance, which unfortunately is widespread in the country and usually becomes the basis for terrorism.

A scholastically enriching debate on issues related to climate change, Heart of Asia Conference, Bangkok dialogue and future of Indo-Pak relations etc. are also part of this volume. Overall a well balanced approach has been adopted to include themes related to traditional as well as nontraditional security subjects. It is being hoped that the readers will find this volume analytically captivating and it will be instrumental in adding to their knowledge and useful by the policy-making echelons.

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 improvement 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](#).

Syedah Sadia Kazmi
Senior Research Associate

Climate Change: A Case of Forgotten Priorities

S. Sadia Kazmi

Whether the Paris' Climate Conference delivers or not, the more pressing and immediate task for Pakistan is to set its priorities right.

Survivability and security of a country and its people against all sorts of existential threats, usually features at the top in the security calculus of any state. However looking at these threats only through the lens of "traditional dangers" such as war and invasion, limits the state's tendency to devise a comprehensive security mechanism. The ongoing Conference of the Parties (COP21) in Paris is the one last effort to direct world's attention to a much graver, imminent yet a non-traditional threat that is looming in the face of whole mankind. It is being termed as the "last chance for humanity" if the responsibility is not equally shared and an honest effort along with timely and effective measures are not taken.

Despite having been hit hard by the adverse affects of climate change, Pakistan is yet to fully wake up to the stark reality that the human life in this country is at a much greater risk because of unexpected spells of heat waves, recurrent floods, droughts and scarcity of rains on everyday basis than it is at the hands of possible threat of war, invasion or bombing. It is evident from the most disastrous floods of 2010, which alone displaced twenty million people, the risk of massive climate induced disasters. However the common awareness among people and government's response towards this issue is still largely ineffective. This claim is easily validated if one looks at the general disposition of present and past governments and their efforts towards the mitigation of this ever growing threat. It has been almost close to naught.

Yes, there is a National Climate Change Policy, but it took several years to take shape and finally came about in 2012, only to be shelved into the darkest forgotten crevice of a government building, partially owing to the regime change. Not only did the present government shamelessly fail to meet the UN deadline for the submission of INDC document on 1st October, the document itself had to face a lot of criticism and is regarded as a poorly drafted document with several loopholes mainly because it fails to clearly state Pakistan's financial and technological limitations and its ever growing vulnerabilities caused by climate change. Similarly the Appointment of Climate minister Mr. Zahid Hamid only a couple of weeks before the Climate Summit reflects upon the hurried and poor planning that went into the preparation of the conference. Furthermore a very brief speech by PM Nawaz Sahirf at COP21 did not help much or made the case any stronger.

There is a need to realize that it is not just about making a speech at some high profile global event but is a continuous process which demands honesty, resolve and dedication. At the home front, the government needs to address this issue with sincerity, dedication and utmost seriousness. Only making national policies and not implementing them will not serve the purpose. Also instead of making manifestos centered on vote oriented projects such as motorway and metro and sanctioning coal based power plants, the government should be more eager to switch to alternative energy resources such as solar, wind, hydal and nuclear options. One doesn't need to be an expert to tell how air pollution from burning of fossil fuel used in automobiles and factory furnaces and kilns is causing huge health risks to one and all. The government should add incentives to the budgetary planning where rebates on custom duty for hybrid cars can be introduced. Efforts should be made to cut down on carbon gas emission and strict punitive measures should be taken against factory owners who dump their toxic wastes into open air or water bodies. Similarly deforestation should be discouraged, which is the largest cause of floods along with rise in atmospheric temperature, and more finances should be reserved for plantation and forestry. Otherwise one should not complain about rising temperatures and frequent heat waves hitting Karachi and other parts of the country. The recent scientific findings claim that Pakistan's glaciers in the North are at the higher risk of melting at much greater speed than elsewhere because of global warming. Hence there is a need to take solid and timely measures to prevent floods. Taking the population into confidence, securitizing them towards this threat and building up of dams and reservoirs can provide a climate resilient infrastructure that can help in averting future threat of floods.

Last but not the least, the common people should develop and inculcate sense of civic responsibility among themselves where simple every day habits such as switching off electric appliances when they are not in use, staying watchful of water and gas pipe leakages in streets and homes, regular checkups and maintenance of their automobiles not just for personal safety but also to minimize the emission of pollutants in the air can help to a great deal.

By not taking any concrete steps, the government is only aiding and abetting the threat of Climate change. A country like Pakistan which is most vulnerable to climate change cannot afford to be complacent about it anymore otherwise the stated goal of National Climate Change Policy "to ensure that climate change is mainstreamed in the economically and socially vulnerable sectors of the economy and to steer Pakistan towards climate resilient development", will only remain a farfetched idea.

<http://nation.com.pk/Columnist/s-sadia-kazmi>

Nuclear Weapons Capacity in South Asia

Beenish Altaf

In the report 'A Normal Nuclear Pakistan', the speculations that Pakistan may become the world's third largest nuclear weapon state acquiring a stockpile of nearly 350 warheads a decade from now is just based on assumptions rather than any factual details. India-Pakistan: (1) Weapon-Grade Plutonium Metric Tons (Separated) 0.54 0.15. (2) Reactor-Grade Plutonium Metric Tons (Separated) 4.7 (IPFM 2013) 11.5 (IPFM 2006) 0. (3) Highly Enriched Uranium Metric Tons 3.2 3.1. (4) Production Reactor MW thermal (MWt) 100+ 25+30= 255 50+50+50+50= 200. (5) 8 (220 MW) Heavy Water Power Reactors + 1 (500 MW) Breeder Reactor MW electric (MWe) 1760+550= 2310(1250 + 140 kg Pu-239/yr) 0. (6) Uranium Enrichment Separative Work Unit Capacity (SWU) 15-30000 (existing) 30-60000 (expanded) 15-45000. (7) Reprocessing Plants Net Capacity tons of Heavy Metal/year (tHM/yr) 350 70-140.

(Sources: IPFM Reports, SAV blog)

It is clearly depicted in the given comparative table that India's stockpile of fissile material is greater than that of Pakistan in case of uranium while there is a huge gap in case of plutonium stockpiles among both states — a very well know fact. It has also been reaffirmed by Toby Dalton while speaking in a workshop on Nuclear Security and Stability Dynamics in South Asia: Challenges and Opportunities, in Islamabad. Since India has a significant stockpile of reactor grade plutonium consequently it has enjoyed a historical advantage in plutonium production. Micheal Krepon does acknowledge that India also has an unsafeguarded nuclear power reactor under a very unwise provision of the India-US civil nuclear deal. These power plants could be used for bomb-making material, besides India is also working on "breeder" reactors, which could greatly increase their stocks of plutonium.

The CIRUS research reactor, at Trombay went critical on 10 July 1960, making it the second oldest reactor in India. 'The 40MWt unsafeguarded reactor was capable of producing about 9-10kg of weapons-grade plutonium annually. The reactor was built with Canadian assistance while the United States provided the initial supply of heavy water. India pledged to the United States to use the CIRUS reactor only for peaceful purposes. Likewise, a 1956 Indo-Canadian agreement prohibited the use of plutonium produced in the reactor for non-peaceful purposes. Despite these restrictions, the CIRUS reactor provided the plutonium for India's 1974 "peaceful nuclear explosions." Canada and the United States subsequently ended all nuclear cooperation with India, including Canadian fuel shipments. CIRUS was shutdown in September 1997 for refurbishment and is scheduled to resume operation in 2003.'

The Reaching Critical identifies the problem that the supply of US nuclear fuel to India, under the deal as it is currently structured, would allow India to divert more of its own uranium resources to significantly expand production of plutonium for nuclear weapons. The agreement does not call for any additional measures that would constrain India's fissile material or nuclear weapon production, does not call upon India's further development of nuclear weapons and ballistic missile capabilities and does not call upon India to sign or ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, which would prohibit India from resuming nuclear weapon testing.

Pakistan was confronted with a credible threat from India, which was pursuing "dangerous, provocative and irresponsible doctrines like Cold Start Doctrine and Proactive Strategy and whose conventional military build-up was Pakistan specific". It was absurd to ask Pakistan to revert from Full-Spectrum Deterrence to Strategic Deterrence. Similarly, it is totally illogical to ask and for that matter expect Pakistan will go for signing CTBT without signing India and the US itself.

Under the deal India has pledged only to accept safeguards over civilian nuclear facilities of its choosing. This could allow India to exclude nuclear facilities and fuel for nuclear weapons from international safeguards. In addition, the safeguards would only apply to facilities and material manufactured once the deal is accepted—they will not cover the fissile material produced by India since its nuclear program began in 1948.

The factsheet by Reaching Critical Will Org., India already has about 500 kilograms of weapons grade plutonium, sufficient for roughly 100 nuclear warheads. It also has a stock of about 11.5 tons of reactor grade plutonium produced in the spent fuel of its power reactors. Under the terms of the deal, this stock of plutonium, too, would be kept out of safeguards.

Likewise the criteria for working out fissile materials weapons producing capabilities are not the same for India and Pakistan. The authors had taken into account the potential capability of Pakistan's stockpiles while declaring it to be the fastest growing in the world, but in case of India they consider the actual production of warheads currently being produced instead of following uniform criteria in both cases. These proposals apparently seem to be presented from India's security perspective if not presented on behalf of India. Meaning thereby, it is in order to maximize Indian strategic dominance in the region.

<http://pakobserver.net/detailnews.asp?id=282356>

Regional Dimensions of Security

Nasurullah Brohi

The recent Heart of Asia Conference/Istanbul Process was an attempt to bridge the existing gap between Asian partners and stakeholders with the greater objectivity of attainment of regional peace and development goals. Together with its 14 members, 17 supporting countries and 11 regional and international organisations, the Istanbul Process has become a unique framework, which demands sincere and productive cooperation for a stable, flourishing Afghanistan in particular and regional prosperity in general.

The Heart of Asia/Istanbul Process is a structured arrangement initiated through the procedures of holding a sequence of conferences held in Istanbul in 2011, in Kabul in 2012, in Almaty in 2013, in Beijing in 2014, in Islamabad in 2015 and India, which will host the process for the year 2016. Having particular focus on mutual efforts and cooperation for the development of Afghanistan, the Heart of Asia stresses to strive for the exploration of a variety of result-oriented opportunities necessary for closer ties for mutual benefit through bilateral trade, economic cooperation, energy, education, regional infrastructure development projects and a collective response to counter the common threats of counterterrorism, counter-narcotics, and disaster management issues.

The focal point of the Heart of Asia Conference was the replication of the longing to endorse regional development and enhanced bilateral trade interactions, mutual economic gains and to address the security challenges, all of which are essential for a progressive and productive environment, which in turn will enhance the quality of life of the region's people and bring tremendous employment opportunities for all of them.

For curbing the menace of terrorism all the regional countries have to cooperate with one another, which means intelligence sharing and a willingness to hold frequent dialogue and negotiations. The greater role of Pakistan for national, regional and international security through the many sacrifices it has made in men and honour has been evident in the military operation called Zarb-e-Azb. The National Action Plan (NAP) reflects a zero tolerance policy that will not allow extremism to flourish in Pakistan. These are the unflinching vows to eliminate the roots of terrorism once and for all but the civilian government needs to own NAP and make it a priority manifesto. Too much time has elapsed and not enough has been done on this front.

For once, the current political and military leaderships in Pakistan are on the same page realising the fact that economic development is closely associated with peace and stability in the country as well as in the region. Given, the landlocked position of Afghanistan and other Central Asian countries, Pakistan has an important geopolitical position through which it intends to present an exceptional trade

opportunity for Afghanistan and the Central Asian countries under the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) project.

Pakistan is committed to playing its role in the Afghan reconciliation process for durable peace in the region and realises the importance of its association with China, and understands that the US is instrumental in achieving these goals. The split in Taliban ranks triggered after the death of Mullah Omer shattered the process of peace talks between the Afghan government and the Taliban but, through the constant efforts of the US, China, Turkey, Saudi Arabia and particularly Pakistan, the possible resumption of the peace process and consequent stability are still a ray of hope for the enduring peace goals of Afghanistan. Furthermore, the dream of durable peace can only be achieved through concrete steps to curb the flow of money generated through drug-trafficking and organised crime. The Afghan leadership under the unity government is also striving for the development of a mechanism of regional cooperation to thwart the means and resources that enable the penetration of terrorists into society and believes in the need of a joint process aimed at the elimination of terrorism and extremism.

The most important issue remains the question on how initiatives like the Heart of Asia/Istanbul Process and their associated desired development goals can be achieved through meaningful negotiation between regional states in order to settle their core issues and long lasting disputes. Particular focus is needed for Afghanistan. All the developed nations must stand for industrial development, better education and employment within and abroad, social and political coherence particularly through international scholarships, foreign exposure of the Afghan youth, better training and equipment facilitation of the Afghan National Army and, of course, peace talks must be expedited.

The sovereignty and the national integrity of Afghanistan are the only guarantee of regional peace and development, therefore regional countries and the international community must strive through collective efforts and continue its support Afghanistan so that a politically, economically and militarily stable Afghanistan is made possible, not the kind of Afghanistan that has become a liability for other regional countries.

<http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/19-Dec-2015/regional-dimensions-of-security>

No Trust but Interests: Bangkok Dialogue and Way Forward for Indo-Pak Relations

Shahzadi Tooba Hussain Syed

The Paris conference on climate change may not significantly resolve the issue of global warming, but it has greatly helped Pakistan and India to once again initiate the course of amicable bilateral ties. The ice-breaking meeting between Prime Minister Sharif and his counterpart Narendra Modi in Paris on the sideline of the climate change summit was facilitated by the UK. The national security advisers of Pakistan and India later met in Bangkok to follow up on the discussions between the two prime ministers and to convey to each other their concerns.

The advantage of the neutral venue (Bangkok) helped end the deadlock in ties to some extent. The inclusion of references to terrorism as well as Jammu and Kashmir presumably satisfied both sides. In real terms, however, the reference to “tranquility along the LoC” was of perhaps more immediate relevance. Pakistani negotiators did not insist on meeting leaders of Hurriyat Conference from Kashmir before or after the talks but the issue of Kashmir has been made a part of the comprehensive dialogue between India and Pakistan. The two sides quietly discussed terrorism and other security related issues.

The largest contribution from the Bangkok meet is that it has helped India and Pakistan avoid media spotlight. It is no gainsaying that with its constant coverage of Indo-Pak meetings, the media not only increases pressure on the interlocutors but also puts unnecessarily focus on tangible gains from such meetings. Furthermore, prior secrecy and the post-meeting public statement helped achieve several things: they prevented hawks on either side from scuttling the meeting; presumably allowed both sides to talk about substantive issues instead of indulging in rhetoric for domestic political consumption; and established a precedent for further meetings.

Several other factors had also contributed to India’s softened stance towards Pakistan. These included international pressure mainly, exerted by the US and UK to establish peace amongst the hostile neighbors. Both India and Pakistan were under tremendous pressure from United States of America and other world powers to resume talks because they favored dialogue. Discussions in Bangkok helped bring down political temperatures especially after Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif’s UN speech, and the handing of terrorism-related dossiers to UN representatives. International media had increasingly begun to highlight incidences of violence based on political and social disharmony within India. The fact is that Indian aspirations for global status could not be realized if its relations with its neighbors were strained.

Where Pakistan faced criticism for not acting against terrorist groups operating out of its soil, India also failed to bring about a significant improvement in the situation in Indian Occupied Kashmir. Bangkok, in a way, provided them a way out of a pressure-cooker situation.

Notwithstanding all its public posturing, even China would not want India to oppose its 2000-mile-long China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) which aims at connecting China and Pakistan through railways, roads, pipelines and other development projects. The corridor will pass through Gilgit-Baltistan, Azad Jammu Kashmir (AJK), Baluchistan in Pakistan and Xinjiang in China, three extremely volatile regions where the potential for fomenting unrest is tremendous.

On the domestic front, Prime Minister Narendra Modi's image was being tarnished by right-wing intolerance. The lack of an economic turnaround in India, together with a defeat in Bihar, had likely compelled a rethink on the limits of extremist posturing. It was also clear that regional energy and economic cooperation on mega-projects will not mature without improving relations with Pakistan.

There was now a realization in both countries that the advantages of economic and political cooperation far outweighed those of continued confrontation and hostility. Peaceful coexistence would open up expanded avenues for trade and commerce, and bring about increased connectivity within South Asia and beyond to Central Asia. For instance, New Delhi wishes to move forward on bilateral trade which has remained much below its potential.

The two countries, according to Indian High Commission in Islamabad, did business worth \$ 2.35 billion in the financial year ended on March 31. The World Bank hopes that easing travel restrictions and reduction in tariffs could increase the bilateral trade between New Delhi and Islamabad to \$ 12 billion (over five times more than the current). The obvious immediate winners are the cement and sugar industries, both of which Pakistan has a surplus of and India a shortage of, and which can be transported at low-cost across the border. India has a growing agriculture and automobile industry, which Pakistan needs. Pakistan wants to learn India's ICT skills, and India can leverage Pakistan's textile manufacturing expertise and global market reach. India also seeks transit arrangements with Pakistan for on-road trade with Afghanistan via Wagah border near Amritsar. Each nation is losing 30% to 35% in revenue by routing trade through third countries.

Another keenness for comprehensive dialogue is the fact that Indian Vice President Hamid Ansari will soon be travelling to Turkmenistan for the launch of construction of TAPI (Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India) pipeline for natural gas. The 1800 km-long pipeline, which is expected to be completed by 2018 end, has been hanging fire for 25 years.

For India and the Western powers, Pakistan's handling of the Mumbai trial would be crucial. It is in Pakistan's own national interest to bring the Mumbai trial to a close. India would similarly have to expedite the prosecution of those involved in the Samjohata Express bombing. Recent positive developments have contributed to reducing tensions and stabilizing the situation on the LoC.



An old truth stands validated: without a strong and bold leadership, the India-Pakistan relationship will forever remain hostage to old suspicions and hostilities. The road to bilateral reconciliation will be a long and treacherous one. But perhaps economic compulsions will overtake political ones.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2015/12/20/no-trust-but-interests-bangkok-dialogue-and-way-forward-for-indo-pak-relations/>

Indian Nuclear City: “Open Secret”

Maimuna Ashraf

A while back, Foreign Policy Magazine reported that “two Indian secretive agencies were behind a project at Challakere, located in India’s Southern Karnataka state, that experts say will be the subcontinent’s largest military-run complex of nuclear centrifuges, atomic-research laboratories, and weapons- and aircraft-testing facilities when it’s completed, probably sometime in 2017. Among the project’s aims: to expand the government’s nuclear research, to produce fuel for India’s nuclear reactors, and to help power the country’s fleet of new submarines.” The news is not new, the work on the project was initiated in 2012 and since then many analysts revealed that India is embarking on a convert uranium enrichment project aimed at producing thermonuclear weapons.

Previously, IHS Jane’s revealed that the uranium enrichment facility at the Indian Rare Metals Plant is able to produce about twice as much weapons-grade uranium as New Delhi will need to fuel its nuclear powered ballistic missile submarines in the future. Matthew Clements, editor of *IHS Jane’s Intelligence Review* said, “Taking into account all the enriched uranium likely to be needed by the Indian nuclear submarine fleet, there is likely to be a significant excess.” He further opined that one potential use of this would be for the development of thermonuclear weapons. Consequently, increasing the explosive force of those in its existing nuclear arsenal, India’s close neighbors, China and Pakistan, would see this move as a provocation: Experts say they might respond by ratcheting up their own nuclear firepower.

India has not overtly acknowledged such reports. However, it is argued that New Delhi has never published a detailed account of its nuclear arsenal, which it first developed in 1974, and there has been little public notice outside India about the construction at Challakere and its strategic implications. The government has said little about it and made no public promises about how the highly enriched uranium to be produced there will be used. As a military facility, it is also not open to international inspection. Albeit satellite photos of that facility from 2014 have revealed the existence of a new nuclear enrichment complex that is already feeding India’s weapons program and, some Western analysts maintain, laying the groundwork for a more ambitious hydrogen bomb project.

China successfully tested a thermonuclear weapon in 1967, while India’s scientists claimed to have detonated a thermonuclear weapon in 1998. According to former Australian nonproliferation chief John Carlson, “India is one of just three countries that continue to produce fissile materials for nuclear weapons. The enlargement of India’s thermonuclear program would position the country alongside the United Kingdom, the United States, Russia, Israel, France, and China, which already have significant stockpiles of such weapons.”

Robert Kelley, who served as the director of the Iraq Action Team at the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) told after analyzing the available satellite imagery, as well as studying open source material on both sites that India is pursuing a larger thermonuclear arsenal. Its development, he warned, “will inevitably usher in a new nuclear arms race” in a volatile region. He concluded that at the second site, the government could install up to 1,050 of these new hyper-efficient machines, which, together with about 700 older centrifuges, could complete 42,000 SWUs a year — enough, he said, to make roughly 403 pounds of weapons-grade uranium. A new hydrogen bomb, with an explosive force exceeding 100,000 tons of TNT, requires only between roughly 9 and 15 pounds of enriched uranium

India presently has just one indigenous vessel, the *INS Arihant*. Conversely, both states are said to be developing their naval nuclear forces. India, the world’s largest weapon importer, has recently approved \$16 billion for nuclear powered submarines and naval warships. Reportedly, India plans for developing more than 160 ship navy, 3 aircraft carriers and more than 40 warships and submarines that includes anti-submarines corvettes and stealth destroyers. India is one of the three Asian countries to maintain aircraft carriers. On other hand Pakistan has lately approved a proposal to purchase eight diesel-electric submarines. However viewing India’s naval ambitions, Pakistan will look to neutralize developments with India and it may prove an initiative for having permanent sea-based deterrent equipped with submarine launched variant of cruise missile.

The Indian nuclear establishment says that “It’s not Pakistan we are looking at most of the time. Beijing has long managed a thermonuclear program, and so this is one of many options India should push forward with and where China took it, several decades before us, with the hydrogen bomb, India has to follow.” Nonetheless, India’s conventional superiority and nuclear advancements strongly influence Pakistan’s threat perceptions and nuclear strategies, resultantly boosting the region’s nuclear developments. This recent revelation will critically hoist the danger of accelerated nuclear developments in South Asia, because even if India is developing thermonuclear weapons to neutralize its development with China, still it can be used against Pakistan. To ensure an effective deterrence, Pakistan will be bound to uphold its developments with India

<http://www.eurasiareview.com/29122015-indian-nuclear-city-open-secret-oped/>

Russia-Turkey Relations: Moving Towards Tension or Truce?

Nasurullah Brohi

The Cold War styled insulation erupted once again after Turkey allegedly shot down a Russian jet violating its airspace and brusquely after the incident, the NATO's emergency meeting with the result to stand with their ally further aggravated the situation. This is the first time over last 50-years that any NATO member shot a Russian warplane and moreover; any possible parallel reprisal by the Russian side pushing Ankara to seek assistance from allies would ultimately further aggravate the situation and provoke the chances of conflict between the Russia and NATO.

The crisis between Russia and Turkey has also created a serious strategic and political breakthrough as both powers and their respective allies are operating on the same grounds, though divided on President Assad's rule, but however, both sides' operations target the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) in Syria. Besides few common objectives, there is a wide range of diversity of interests in the region, particularly, the fight against the ISIL is a commonly shared goal for many, but the powers like Turkey and its NATO allies who do not want to see Bashar-Al-Assad in the regime, whereas, Russia and Iran enthusiastically pursue the path to support the President Assad's regime through steps to completely cut-down the flow of resources and the penetration of rebels from Syria to any other neighbouring state.

The striking turnaround in relations between the two countries who once prodained each other close partners shared common strategic and economic interests despite their different stances over the Basher-al-Assad regime nonetheless, the shoot down of the Russian jet has seriously affected the relationship. Russia on its part is committed to investigate and respond the Turkish allegations of violating its territories and trying to recover the black box data whose 13 chips out of 16 were badly destroyed. The recent controversial developments march towards the escalation of a threat to arise a conflict between the NATO and Russia. Russia will deploy long-range air defence missile system to target any possible threat to Russian warplanes in the future.

The conflict between the two states would also bring disastrous consequences for the regional and international peace as both the sides deeply engage in the fight against the ISIL but divided on the issue of President Assad's regime would consequently transform from a war against ISIL into a war between the states that engaged in the restoration of peace by following their respective modes and models and would definitely, undermine the international peace efforts for Syria. In the aftermath of the jet shot down, many strategic analysts believed this would demoralize the Russian efforts for supporting the president Basher-Al-Assad's regime, but after the Paris terror attacks, the French president François Hollande's emphasize for the enhanced cooperation with Russia against the Islamic

State has been a reason to bridge the gap between the Moscow and the NATO for achieving a common goal.

Previously, Russia and the Turkey had been in good friendly terms, but the incident now has created bitterness in the relationship. Russia has imposed serious trade sanctions on its Black Sea neighbour along with the ban on the package holidays that has been a reason of gradual decline in the tourism of the two countries and Russia has also asked its citizen to avoid visiting Turkey as they would risk serious threats there. The Russia's embargo of industrial and agriculture goods from Turkey and the suspension of the natural gas supply will further worsen the situation. To overcome the trade difficulties, Turkey is engaged in exploring a variety of other options through its regional partners like Qatar, Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan.

Historically, both the countries have fought 12 times since the 16th century, but ultimately, the conflicts were settled down through the negotiations and peace pacts which brought the two countries very close to each other that both often considered each other as close partners and virtual allies. In the ongoing apprehension two sides must realize the significance of diplomatic and political options. The charismatic leaders of the both countries need to demonstrate their effective skills and the leader's wisdom to ease the tension by avoiding further indulgence in the controversies and aggravating the situation by showing an attitude of compromise and concession based on the principle of mutual respect and creating confidence building measures in order to safeguard the regional peace and collectively fight against the menace of the terrorism.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2015/12/29/russia-turkey-relations-moving-towards-tension-or-truce/>

Recent Hunt for NSG Membership

Beenish Altaf

Even though the rumors of the so-called cooperation among the US and Pakistan regarding the civil nuclear deal is now no more on the front however as far as the nuclear cooperation is concerned, it is still on the forefronts. Despite of all the allegations on Pakistan over its enhanced nuclear development capabilities and likewise the pre-conditions from the west or more precisely from pro-Indian analysts in pursuit of NSG membership, Pakistan has not and will not accept such discriminatory attitudes. Such conditions are not acceptable for Pakistan unless the proposed initiatives taken by India.

On the dilemma of Pakistan's induction in the NSG club, Pakistan need not to fear much, after the latest pledge from its ever green friend China. Recently during the visit of a high-level delegation to Beijing headed by President Mamnoon Hussain, China assured that if India is allowed to get the membership of the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) it will go all out to ensure that Pakistan also joins the group. 'The issue was discussed at length and Pakistan highlighted its point of view saying that it has equal right to join the group for fulfilling its requirement for peaceful use of nuclear technology. Islamabad took the plea that if it is deprived of the NSG membership and New Delhi is allowed to join it then it will be discrimination and lead to creating an imbalance in the region. China, being member of the group and holding the veto power, assured Pakistan that it will take all measures so that it also becomes the member of the NSG, and that if India is allowed to join NSG and Pakistan is deprived of the membership of the group, Beijing will veto the move to block Indian entry.'

The NSG chairman has recently visited New Delhi and held meeting with the Indian Foreign Minister Sushma Swaraj as part of a diplomatic effort to build a consensus to admit India into the group in its annual meeting next June 2015. NSG was in fact, a body set-up specifically to restrict the diversion of nuclear material from civilian trade to military purposes. The clandestine diversion of nuclear material and equipment for the so-called Indian Peaceful Explosion of 1974 was the prime reason behind the creation of NSG, since 40 years. It is an open secret that the illicit act of breach its international agreements with Canada, i.e., diverted plutonium from the Candian-Indian Reactor, US (CIRUS) reactor provided solely for peaceful purpose, instigated South Asia region for another regional nuclear arms race.

Although, the group is not a formal organization and its guidelines are not bindings, but still, its members are expected to incorporate the guidelines into their national export control laws. Ironically, it does not mean that any country specific diversion or waiver would become legal under the guidelines of NSG.

Indubitably, in order to step forward and improve the global non-proliferation goals, putting in new members in NSG would be an encouraging and constructive option. Along with, it would be equally

vital to uphold the efficacy and effectiveness of NSG. Therefore, the expansion should be carried out on non-discriminatory bases — by taking-on the Criteria Based Approach. The meeting of June 26-27 in Buenos Aires called for discussion on the NSG's relationship with India. In this regard, on June 22, 2014 in Argentina, India has ratified its Additional Protocol with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to expand oversight over its civilian nuclear program. This protocol was approved back in 2009 that paved the way for NSG to grant India-specific waiver for it to have commercial relations with other countries in the civilian atomic field. In effect, the waiver was necessary as India, despite being a nuclear-armed state, is not a signatory to the NPT thus does not qualify for nuclear trade. But even then, the US labeled this ratified protocol as another important step in bringing India into the international non-proliferation mainstream.

On the other hand, if the West merely to gain their economic benefits from the Asia's third-largest economy- India, and slots for New Delhi in the NSG club then there would be a disaster for NSG's credibility particularly given the irony of accumulating a member whose action was the very impetus for the organization's establishment.

For India, NSG membership could [may] boost its international standing as a responsible atomic power and also give it greater influence on issues related to global nuclear trade as many countries are already in line with similar kind of deals as of 2008. However, the country would be the only member of the body that has not signed up to the NPT; signaling an open discriminatory act towards Pakistan. Since, the NSG decisions as taken on consensus, firstly China has reaffirmed it not going to happen, but if it happens then India would always stand against any civil trade with Pakistan. Resultantly, would lead to regional nuclear arms race as India is and would remain out of NPT and would neither sign CTBT or FMCT, nor go for the Nuclear Weapons Free Zone. It would be pertinent to say in this wake that west's recent demands to sign CTBT, FMCT; restrain from FSD etc all is a joke without asking the country who actually was the first player in this regional race.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2015/12/30/recent-hunt-for-nsg-membership/>

Why Missile after Missile?

Maimuna Ashraf

The growing disparity and asymmetry in South Asia is favorable to India, yet challenging for Pakistan. Purportedly, India's rising nuclear and conventional ambitions have enforced Pakistan to build up its nuclear capabilities to ensure the credibility of its nuclear deterrence. Previously, India's doctrinal transformation and ballistic missile defense capabilities, which are rapidly maturing, have indulged Pakistan in miniaturization of warheads. Lately the sea-based nuclear developments and evolving prospects of India building the top secret thermonuclear weapons, that could upgrade India as a nuclear power and unsettle Pakistan, will coerce Pakistan to maintain full spectrum credible minimum deterrence capability to deter all form of aggression.

Last month, India tested Agni-IV, nuclear-capable ballistic missile with a strike range of 4,000 km. The missile is undergoing developmental trials and is said to provide deterrence against China. While couple of weeks after this test, India successfully test-fired the Short Range Nuclear Capable Ballistic Missile (SRBM), dubbed 'Dhanush', which has the strike range of 350 km and is capable of carrying the payload of 1,000 kg. Reportedly it can also hit for 750 km with payload capacity of 250 kg. Dhanush, due to its specification and application is seen as an important naval development against Pakistan, aside the India's Airhant nuclear powered submarine. This naval variant of surface-to-surface missile Prithvi III has undergone multiple testing since 2012. Dhanush, with a liquid propellant, is an anti-ship weapon, designed to destroy both sea and shore-based targets. The Air Force version of the Prithvi has a range of 250km and it is mainly used to destroy the enemy's Air Force assets like air bases.

Conversely, Pakistan announced the creation of its Naval Strategic Force Command in 2012 and hinted an impression that Pakistan possesses the sea based nuclear deterrence. Many experts agree with the speculations that Pakistan's sea-based deterrent is most likely the submarine launched variant of Babur-Hatf7 cruise missile, however the inferences are yet to be officially confirmed. Evidently, India's conventional superiority and nuclear advancements strongly influence Pakistan's threat perceptions and nuclear strategies; resultantly boosting the region's nuclear developments. Consequently, the Indian developments related to sea-based/naval nuclear warheads, are shaping naval nuclear regime in South Asia. Analysts agree that the evolving naval nuclear dynamics in South Asia would start a new ballistic missiles competition in the region. Eventually, in the face of an exponential increase in India's nuclear naval capabilities, it will become necessary for Pakistan to complete the third leg of nuclear triad, comprised of sea based capabilities. To diversify the naval options available to counter India's Dhanush akin missiles, Pakistan is suggested to develop the naval variant of SRBM Hatf II, which has a range of 180-200 km. The naval variants of ballistic missiles will demonstrate the accuracy, efficacy and readiness of navy's weapon systems and credibility of deterrence at sea.

While India tested both missiles in November, Pakistan also tested its two surface-to-surface ballistic missiles in next month, December. Lately, Pakistan tested Shaheen-III and Shaheen-IA with the strike range 2,750 km and 900 km respectively. Both tests were aimed at revalidating designs and technical parameters of the missile's system. Pakistan tested Shaheen-III first time early this year. The successful test launch of Shaheen-III Surface to Surface Ballistic Missile (SSBM) has been viewed as an appropriate, requisite and well-timed response to India's sophisticated and intensive ballistic missile and anti-missile developments. While India is testing its Prithvi and Agni series of missiles, the development of Shaheen-III is being considered a response much evident and essential to ensure that Islamabad has the capabilities to counter the intimidating advancement. The missile is an updated version of Shaheen I and Shaheen-II, the maximum range of the earlier versions of Shaheen missiles was of about 2,500 km. This Medium Range Ballistic Missile (MRBM) is a solid fuelled missile and is currently the longest-range missile in Pakistan. The nuclear establishment in Pakistan stated the development "yet another historic milestone" towards reinforcement and maintenance of Pakistan's deterrence capability.

Pakistan currently has three tiers of ballistic missiles ranging from Battlefield Short Range Ballistic Missiles (BSRBMs) to Short Range Ballistic Missiles (SRBMs) and Medium Range Ballistic Missiles (MRBMs). Nasr (Hatf IX) BSRBM was designed to counter India's Cold start and limited war strategy, which has the quick reactionary shoot-and-scoot technology. While the Nasr serves the purpose of battlefield deterrent, the Abdali (Hatf-II) BSRBM fulfills the role of traditional short-range strategic deterrent. The cornerstones of Pakistan's deterrent arsenal are Ghauri II (Hatf VA), Shaheen II (Hatf VI) and Shaheen III MRBMs, with ability to strike any strategic target in India. The ballistic missile system developments of Islamabad is focused to respond to Delhi's advancements which serves the purpose to ensure counter strike capability, maintains credible deterrence, readiness and robustness of Pakistan which reduces the threat of India's conventional limited war.

Deterrence, as precisely termed, is "*the exploitation of a threat without implementing it, or exploiting the existence of weapons without activating them*". Consequently, nuclear weapons are essentially supposed to be the weapons of peace and not war. It is extensively believed that the existence of nuclear weapons restrained Pakistan and India to wage another war after 1971. However, experts argue that the Indian arrogance to exploit conventional supremacy and regional hegemonic aspirations are evident from assorted course of actions.

Resultantly, Pakistani nuclear establishment proclaims that the developing regional dynamics inflict Pakistan to convert credible minimum deterrence into full spectrum credible minimum deterrence. While India is developing its short range ballistic missiles, inter-continental ballistic missiles and anti-missile program, Pakistan is focusing on its short-range and medium-range ballistic missiles with improved payloads, range, and reliability. The previous versions of Shaheen could not reach India's eastern front but latest launch test has ended this limitation and consequently, the launch of Shaheen III is of prominent significance because it consolidates Pakistan's strategic deterrence in evolving regional scenario.



The continuing race between Pakistan and India is of grave regional concern. Yet evidently, Islamabad is not seeking a nuclear parity with New Delhi but is compelled to exhibit a reaction in response to an action, as seen in recent exhibition of missile tests. Nonetheless, a timely successful response shows operational preparedness and strategic capabilities to safeguard security.

<http://epaper.pakobserver.net/201512/31/comments-1.php>

Terrorism: Why is Pakistan a Convenient Suspect?

S. Sadia Kazmi

The recent rise in the anti-Islamic sentiments specifically in the West warrants a dose scrutiny of the pattern that is subtly taking shape in which almost every other “terrorist” turns out to be a “Muslim” and is somehow ultimately found to have links with Pakistan. Most investigations are even substantiated with facts claiming that the offenders have been born, trained or at least been given safe havens in Pakistan. Particularly on the backdrop of San Bernardino shootings in California, Pakistan has once again emerged as a country that is nurturing as well as propagating terrorist elements. Even though there still is a lot of ambiguity surrounding the investigation reports and controversial evidences but the question remains as to why Pakistan so easily gets zeroed-in for the terror crimes.

Incidents of erratic shootings by locals are not a new happening by any means for the Americans. Such occurrences have been reported to be taking place in schools and public places since long but never have been termed as an act of terrorism. Usually the culprits are dedared to be the victims of either some social pressure or psychological impediments, causing them to act in a violent manner. It surely makes one wonder then why if a similar pattern has been replicated with slight change in the personal profile of perpetrators in term of their nationality and ethnicity, the whole treatment meted out to the case is altogether different. In the case of Bernardino shootings, Western media was too quick to jump to the condusion that not only was it an act of terrorism, but that the terrorists had been directly in touch with the ISIS. However this prodamation was later refuted by the Western media itself and was replaced by another version which daims that the act of terrorism was carried out by a Muslim couple with Pakistani nationality and although the did not have any linkages with ISIS, they were nonetheless inspired by the same ideology.

Here it is also noteworthy that Saudi Arabia, where Tashfeen Malik practically lived all her life, is not even being considered for its possible role in terms of her religious indoctrination and in turning her into a hardliner, if she was one at all. The investigations are focusing more on the brief time period she spent in Pakistan to pursue her studies and the Madrassah she attended here during her stay. Not just that but the she is being looked into in more detail than her husband just because she did spend some time in Pakistan. Once again Pakistan and its “terrorist sanctuaries” are being highlighted and underscored. This is quite understandable as the West wouldn’t want to place blame on its oil-rich close ally and allow any kind of undue friction in their relationship. At the same time this approach can effectively be used to put further pressure on Pakistan to “do more” in terms of curbing terrorist networks and extremist elements in and outside the country. Nonetheless it does put a big question mark on the credibility and sincerity of the West itself and its efforts to fight terrorism where it is

deliberately resorting to pick and chose its area of operation instead of adopting a comprehensive and even handed policy.

Having said that, one cannot deny that there are certain indicators which provide the West with an opportunity to look at Pakistan with suspicion. For instance, religious intolerance is widespread in Pakistan and for some reason was allowed to prevail and grow unnoticed for quite a long time. This menace has now penetrated so deep into the social fabric of society that rooting it out has become almost close to impossible. Despite various counter measures like operation Zarb e Azb, which even though had been quite successful, the real challenge still remains i.e. to change the mindset of the people.

Only recently a huge protest was witnessed in Lahore against the arrest of a shopkeeper who was spreading hatred against a minority Ahmadi community. The hundreds of people who came out on the roads in his support are not terrorists, but common individuals with hate mongering personalities and mindsets which is reflected collectively at a national level. It is an unfortunate fact that this distorted manifestation of religion where minorities are openly being harassed and victimized is being considered an acceptable behavior and no religious leader has issued any fatwa against such virulent acts.

When a society itself has no qualms about coming across as intolerant and extremist then one really cannot blame outsiders for showing Pakistan in a negative light or dragging it in as a prime suspect in terrorist incident. Despite the invigoration of NAP, the will to over ride the writ of the state is quite strong.

Unfortunately the state has a poor track record of dealing with such matters. Unless and until a firm stance is taken on this issue, Pakistan will stay vulnerable to bad propoganda. This hate mongering itself becomes the basis for terrorism. There is a need to bring about change in the thinking of the individuals, which can be done by revising curriculum in educational institutes. Along with an operation that involves a clean sweep against terrorist elements there is a need to inculcate important moral values such as respect, love and tolerance for every human being irrespective of their caste, creed and ethnicity. Hatred against other communities should be condemned at every level and stopped and banned by force without discrimination. Last but not the least, the writ of the state should prevail.

<http://www.eurasiareview.com/31122015-terroris-m-why-is-pakistan-a-convenient-suspect-oped/>

TAPI: A Geopolitical Binding

Shahzadi Tooba Hussain Syed

Leaders from Afghanistan, India and Pakistan, converged in the ancient city of Mary, 311 km from the capital Ashgabat, to launch the 1,814km Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) pipeline, named after the countries it is designed to cross.

TAPI will carry gas from Turkmenistan's Galkynysh field having 16 trillion cubic feet of gas reserves. From the field, the pipeline will run to Herat and Kandahar province in Afghanistan, before entering Pakistan. In Pakistan, it will reach Multan via Quetta before ending at Fazilka (Punjab) in India.

Uncertainty hangs over this challenging TAPI project, however, with both security and the lack of a major commercial investor stymieing optimism. Major Western energy firms have appeared to back away from the project just because of the deteriorated security situations. Whereas the optimists consider it a reasonable way to forge economic links among major regional actors. They presume that a bolstered regional economy will foster security.

Besides security, the lack of clarity on financing is a concern. Turkmen Gaz is slated to lead the TAPI consortium, in which Afghan Gas Enterprise, Inter State Gas Systems (Pakistan) and GAIL (India) are shareholders. None of these companies, however, have the capacity to fund a project of this magnitude, which, if completed, will be one of the world's biggest pipelines. Asian Development Bank did initial feasible studies and several international companies, including Mobil, Chevron, Total SA, Exxon, had shown interest. But they later backed out as Ashgabat does not allow foreign companies to invest in their gas fields, another reason after security concerns. The apparent deadlock over Turkmenistan's terms for financing the pipeline's construction seems to have been resolved owing to the Turkmen government's new determination to diversify the markets for its natural gas. With the drastic reduction and imminent cessation of Russian imports of natural gas from Turkmenistan, China has become Turkmenistan's sole export market. While welcoming economic cooperation with China, Ashgabat has been working assiduously to avoid undue economic dependence on Beijing and therefore has been motivated to make key concessions for the construction of the TAPI pipeline. By creating the first significant overland link with India, the TAPI pipeline project will not only diversify Turkmenistan's gas exports – it will permanently alter the pattern of Central Asian connectivity.

The strategic significance of the project is huge. Once completed, TAPI can become a game changer in regional geopolitics and regional economic integration. Due to significant transit revenues, it also has the potential to smoothen the 'Decade of Transformation' (1915-2014) for Afghanistan. India is also getting benefit to reassert itself and counter China's "one road, one belt policy". Due to China's slowdown and the cut down of Russian gas purchases, the market dynamics of the Central Asian gas market are changing significantly. Turkmenistan exports gas to China, Russia and Iran. Both Russia and

Iran have reduced their imports as they want to increase their own output. This made China the sole export market for Turkmen gas. These factors might have pushed Turkmenistan to develop alternatives. And South Asia could be a winner in this changing geo-economics. If the project is completed successfully, it could bring together India's 'Connect Central Asia' policy and China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) of the Chinese 'One Belt One Road' project. Strategically this 'new silk route' is a win-win project for all the stake holders.

This challenging project demonstrated the countries' political will. Beyond the issue of securing the pipeline, regional politics, in particular Indo-Pak tension, could impact the final outcome. Now a strong geopolitical will is required among the countries involved to make this dream a reality.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2015/12/31/tapi-a-geopolitical-binding/>