



# VISION

VISIONARY INSIGHTS INTO THE STRATEGIC INQUESTS OF NATIONS

## SVI FORESIGHT

VOLUME 4, NUMBER 12  
DECEMBER 2018

Compiled & Edited by:  
S. Sadia Kazmi

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

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**STRATEGIC VISION**  
I N S T I T U T E

**Strategic Vision Institute (SVI)**

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## **Strategic Vision Institute (SVI)**

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

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

## **SVI Foresight**

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

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

December issue of the *SVI Foresight* presents its audience with the insightful analysis on significant national, regional and global developments. Articles included in this volume cover following topics: Nuclear Security Index 2018: A Critical Appraisal, Pakistan's Increasing Tilt Towards China, Dawn of Cruise Missiles And Deterrence Stability in South Asia, Fall Of Dhaka: Lessons Pakistan Should Never Forget, How 1971 War Brought Pakistan Closer to Nuclear Bomb, In Commemoration of 1971 Unfortunate Incident, Lessons from History for a New Pakistan, PTI's 100 Day and the CPEC, and Kartarpur Corridor: A Ray of Hope Amidst Despair?

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

## *Nuclear Security Index 2018: A Critical Appraisal*

*Beenish Altaf*

Although it was due in February 2018, the month of September marked the launch of the volume of 2018 Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI) index report following the subsequent volumes of 2012, 2014 and 2016 indexes. The report is a subject of unease, followed by heated and frenzied debates among the analysts of many countries, worldwide. The same has come into view this year, predominantly in South Asia, where debates over nuclear security remain litigious. Despite Pakistan's improved nuclear security and safety performance, the 2018 NTI index is not expected to be taken well in Islamabad.

In order to focus on security against the so-called loose nukes, an organization with the name of Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI) was established back in 2001. It calls itself as a non-profit and a non-partisan organization. The NTI was founded by a US Senator and a Georgia Democrat, Sam Nunn and CNN founder the broadcast executive, Ted Turner. The NTI and the Economic Intelligence Unit (EIU) collectively prepares NTI's index reports— a bi-annual report assessing nuclear theft and threat, globally. The report predominantly reviews and evaluates the existing gaps and relevant problems regarding the nuclear security.

Previously in 2012 and 2014, the first and second edition of the NTI index focused the theft ranking, i.e. the threat of theft of sensitive technology primarily nuclear related technology on country to country basis. The third edition of NTI nuclear materials security index 2016 introduced a framework of analyzing the threat of sabotage of nuclear material along with a focus on cyber security. Hitherto, in the contemporary 2018 NTI Index, a new section of cyber threat has been spotlighted by the report's compilers.

Overall trend in the 2018 Index could be probed in that the security of nuclear material and nuclear sites has improved in the majority of countries since 2012. Focusing in cyber-security section there are four more states that have established the "top score 5, totalling 13 countries". Erin Dumbacher, NTI Program Officer for Science and Technical Affairs said: "The Index shows that 15 countries are listed with a 0 rating, meaning that there has been little to no regulation put into place to provide cyber-security to nuclear energy and weapons infrastructure however, in 2016 the number of countries with a 0 rating was 19, so improvements are being made." The former Energy Secretary who is now co-chair and CEO of the think tank, alongside Nunn Ernest Moniz said that the "Cyber-attacks can facilitate the theft of nuclear materials or an act of sabotage that could result in catastrophic health consequences for the public."

Besides, the termination of the series of the four nuclear security summits since 2016, is taken as a problem of waning focus of the country towards the risk of nuclear theft and sabotage. Although, the nuclear security summits were not of much gain, they did instil trust and confidence which was gathered by the summit process that could be adversely affected by these biased index documents. The NTI index is often taken to re-establish the old divide and could even exhibit counterproductive for



nuclear security. Critically enough, according to the 2018 report, around 11-12 countries having civilian nuclear facilities are reported at an increased risk of nuclear theft and sabotage. The methodology of NTI metrics is often criticized by many scholars since the first launch of the index, back in 2012. It involves surveying several countries and scoring them on the base of the chances of nuclear theft and sabotage ranking. Ironically, the NTI index reckons that just because a country has an increased number of nuclear usable materials or nuclear stockpiles, its security risks increase. Paradoxically, the NTI should have addressed the security or the safety of nuclear related material instead of its quantity.

It is pertinent to confess that the analysts involved in state's scoring/ranking process are credible authorities on the subject matter however; political analysts have been critical of the procedure and have articulated concerns over the "control and leadership exercised on the project by known non-proliferation activists."

Besides the above mentioned loopholes, generally there is a perception in South Asia at large that the NTI Security Index is an anti-south Asian, Western non-proliferation document, due to its biased calculations on some accounts. South Asian nuclear countries; primarily India is against the nuclear threat index calculation mechanism because it feels that the Index is pursuing the Global threat Reduction Initiative (GTRI) agenda, which is an American initiative and it is methodologically faulty to presume that not joining the GTRI is bad for nuclear security. Since the NTI Index focuses only on the nuclear weapons material and ignores the radiological sources, it can be criticized to this escape as well.

In South Asia the above criteria does not fits-in appropriately, particularly in case of Pakistan. Due to the Indian conventional asymmetry, both states in one or the other way are involved in technological advances of their nuclear capabilities. Pakistan is too believed to have a fair number of nuclear related materials but it reportedly has taken considerable steps to secure it satisfactorily. "Consequently, there is a probability that a state's nuclear security measures are rigorous and more reliable than the sum of material held by a particular country. This is something that NTI's measurements could not address even after the launch of its fourth report.

On terms of the ranking for nuclear weapon usable material, in South Asia, Pakistan has been placed at the bottom of the global indices while India has been placed on the second last position. Nevertheless, Pakistan's quest for nuclear and missile technology in response to Indian developments has always been aimed at countering Indian offensive capabilities, especially missiles and nuclear weapons. To be fair it is pertinent for Pakistan to keep its diplomatic face active on all fronts.

Admittedly, it needs to be acknowledged that the index is a unique and a distinctive assessment of sensitive technologies with a focus on nuclear materials security conditions among the 176 countries. However, in order to recommend a way forward for the Nuclear Threat Index to become more plausible and authentic, three proposals can be worked on, including: building an effective global nuclear security system; improving state stewardship of nuclear material and facilities and lastly defensive strategies to defend against the risk of cyber-attack.

<https://dailytimes.com.pk/328622/nuclear-security-index-2018-a-critical-appraisal/>

## *Pakistan's Increasing Tilt Toward China*

*Waqas Jan*

In a recent interview with the Washington Post; Prime Minister Imran Khan was asked what kind of relationship he wanted from the US. He responded by pointing out Pakistan's long and storied relationship with China as an example of a successful and mutually beneficial relationship. He explained how Pakistan's relationship with China, unlike the US was not one-dimensional and built more on trade, respect and mutual cooperation. In doing so he in effect presented the underlying reasons why China is often termed as Pakistan's 'All-Weather' friend.

In fact, the very notion of China being an 'All-Weather' friend is borne in contrast out of the US's more fair-weather and sporadic approach to Pakistan. This approach has been evident in Pakistan's long-standing complaints of how after helping the US repel the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan, Pakistan was left to pick up the pieces as the US unilaterally withdrew from the region, leaving behind a devastating humanitarian and political crisis. The last two decades' war on terror for which Pakistan once again allied with the US is also following a similar blue-print, which the Prime Minister made clear was an example of history repeating itself. In defining his country's most recent reservations against the US, he made it clear that Pakistan would no longer serve as a hired gun for the US, and desired a more equitable relationship based on mutual respect.

Considering how Pak-US relations have deteriorated over the last few years, the Prime Minister's remarks come as little surprise to observers who have witnessed this uneasy partnership throughout its peaks and troughs. Yet, what's striking is the fact that this is perhaps the first time that a Pakistani head of state has directly presented its relations with China as the ideal blue-print for which to measure the long and troubled history of Pak-US relations.

In contrast, the official narrative ascribed to the Pak-China bilateral framework, has stood out amongst diplomatic and policy-making circles due to the broad poetic license that has more recently been attributed to it. The oft-quoted phrase of how Pak-China Friendship is 'higher than mountains, deeper than the ocean, stronger than steel and sweeter than honey', has been repeatedly used by officials representing the highest levels of government, from both countries to emphasize the far-reaching significance of their bilateral relations.

This includes their significance both within a more localized context, as well as a broader more regional context as evident in the \$62 billion China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). The corridor which promises an end to Pakistan's development woes focuses instead on fostering peace and stability through economic growth and development. This is as opposed to the more security and strategically driven approach of the US, which has seen the region become increasingly violent and militarized. It is based on this difference that CPEC has been widely hailed as a viable solution to the relative instability and insecurity that has for years characterized the South Asian region.



However, over the past few months, Pak-China relations have themselves undergone an uncharacteristic period of friction and uncertainty. Interestingly, one of the major reasons behind this friction has been none other than the newly elected Prime Minister himself. As part of his anti-corruption campaign rhetoric leading up to the elections, he had promised greater oversight and transparency with regard to Chinese investments under CPEC. This came at a time where growing trade and economic tensions between the US and China, had led to greater scrutiny and broad reservations against China's rising influence the world over. Calls to re-evaluate China's investments were echoed across countries such as Malaysia, Sri Lanka, Myanmar and Kenya; with allusions to unsustainable loans and China's 'Debt Trap Diplomacy' doing the rounds amidst key influencers and policy-makers across the globe. Pakistan's rising debt too was linked to CPEC projects by none other than the US secretary of State, who had ruled out the possibility of US loans being used to bail out Chinese bond-holders in Pakistan.

Prime Minister Imran Khan has since gone to great lengths to dispel such sentiments, as was evident in his official visit to Beijing last month. In all his statements, he has been careful in acknowledging the benefits of China's strategic partnership with Pakistan, and has lauded China's tremendous achievements in eradicating poverty; something that he wants to emulate as part of his own government's policies. His recent statements in the above-mentioned interview too, are based in part on these same reasons.

Taken together, the PM's statements thus present a clear and very public declaration that the Pakistani government is quite willingly choosing to side with China in the ongoing US-China economic rivalry. Unlike before where Pakistan had to carefully balance its strategic relationships between China and the US, China's grand overtures and the US's more inward focus on 'America First' have accelerated Pakistan's gradual tilt towards China. With the US-China rivalry currently seeming far from any sort of resolution, Pakistan's need to pick a side in favor of the other represents a clear indication of which side the government believes its long-term interests lie with.

<https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2018/12/12/pakistans-increasing-tilt-towards-china/>

## *Dawn of Cruise Missiles And Deterrence Stability in South Asia*

*Ahyousha Khan*

The 21st century offers a world where security and threats are interacting in a complex environment. Today we are part of a system where due to rapid technological change the lethality of weapon system is increasing in an increasingly ambiguous environment. States with nuclear weapons especially choose ambiguity for enhancing their national security vis-à-vis their enemies.

In human history there is no comparison with the lethality and destructiveness which the nuclear weapons are capable of inflicting. Hiroshima and Nagasaki are not only examples but lessons for the rest of the world about the power of destructiveness of nuclear weapons. Thus, these weapons must be handled with great cautions as their primary role in words of Bernard Brodie is to avert a war not fight a war. The ability of nuclear weapons to avert a war creates deterrence, which is the ability to dissuade an enemy to take any action because of the threat of massive retaliation if deterrence ever fails. Fortunately so far deterrence has not failed but to maintain it states have to ensure that they have the credible capability to use it against adversaries. To maintain deterrence credibility the states are in a continuous process of developing or changing their weaponry for instance after the development of Ballistic Missile Shields states are now developing cruise missiles which have the ability to penetrate the radars of missile shields.

In South Asia both nuclear powers India and Pakistan are developing cruise missile technology under the imperatives of their own national security and threat perceptions. Recently, India's Defence Acquisition Committee under the Defence Minister Nirmala Sitharaman gave approval to procure defence equipment worth Rs. 3,000 crores which also includes BrahMos Missiles for Indian Navy ships and Battle Tanks (Arjun). BrahMos is known as world's fastest supersonic cruise missile with the two stage propulsion system.

One stage is based on solid fuel propellant and second stage is based on liquid fuel propellant. India is capable of launching it from land, sea and air. Its fast speed and high accuracy makes it ideal medium for striking hardened military silos, installations, ships, submarines and air bases.

Thus, with its capability to carry nuclear warheads BrahMos is ideal counter force weaponry. So far, India has not officially accepted that BrahMos is tipped with nuclear warhead, when it will be used in submarines and ships which are causing ambiguity in already volatile South Asian strategic stability.

Other than BrahMos India also has subsonic cruise missile 'Nirbhay' which is long range and is under the process of development by Defence Research and Development Organization. It is also capable of carrying conventional and nuclear warheads. Moreover, it can be launched from multiple platforms.

In response to India's cruise missile program Pakistan also started its cruise missile program only to maintain deterrence. In the face of emerging new technologies in the region such as Ballistic Missile



Defence Shields of different types Pakistan has also developed its cruise missiles program with the capability to be launched from land and sea.

So far, Pakistan has two types of cruise missiles one is Ra'ad and second is Babur both missiles are subsonic cruise missiles. Sea variant of Babur-3 is especially made by Pakistan to extend its deterrence against threats originating from Indian Ocean due to Indian naval nuclearization.

Recently, Pakistan's navy tested ship launched cruise missile named 'Harbah' from PNS Himmat. After the recent deal between Russian and India on procurement of S-400 BMD, Pakistan will also go for the supersonic cruise missiles and MIRV (Multiple Independently Targetable Re-entry Vehicle).

Owing to unresolved disputes, border skirmishes, arms race and lack of mutual will to negotiate issues, probability of achieving strategic stability is nearly impossible. However, to avoid full scale war or limited conflict, reliance on deterrence stability is a necessity to avoid catastrophic effects of nuclear exchange in South Asia.

Moreover, current trajectories of bilateral relationship between India and Pakistan and resultant arms race show that missile technology will be further explored by both countries to achieve national security objectives. But there is a need for new CBMs which should be signed between both countries regarding exchange of information before test of cruise missiles as well. It is true that technological developments have the capacity to affect state of deterrence and cruise missile with hypersonic or supersonic speeds and ability to carry conventional and nuclear warheads are significant developments that can affect the deterrence stability.

Situation becomes more critical if states rely on ambiguity in such situation for instance BrahMos is nuclear capable and will be deployed on Indian Submarines and ships but Pakistan as adversary will not know that whether enemy ship or submarine possess strategic weapons and in case of clash, if such vessel gets attacked, under the parameters of its nuclear doctrine of 2003 India will retaliate massively.

Thus, in the light of new technological developments it is need of the hour that both states especially go for new nuclear CBMs to avoid any nuclear catastrophe and to maintain nuclear deterrence. As for South Asia, nuclear deterrence is not a myth but a reality which is keeping both nuclear powers at bay despite hitting the lows in bilateral relations because history is the witness that before establishment of deterrence both India and Pakistan have fought three full fledged wars in almost four decades.

<https://www.eurasiareview.com/16122018-dawn-of-cruise-missiles-and-deterrence-stability-in-south-asia-oped/>



## *Fall of Dhaka: Lessons Pakistan Should Never Forget*

*Ahyousha Khan*

In 1971, nearly five decades ago Pakistan lost its eastern part after civil war; loss of that part is one of the biggest tragedies in the history of this country. Pakistan not only loss its geography but also its face that how political, economic and ethnic grievances, if not solved timely could divide a nation which was founded on the base of ideology. It brings us to the point that ideologies do play important role in bringing people together to form a nation but they cannot act as binding factor if political, lingual and cultural liberties are not respected by the all segments of the nation.

Fall of Dhaka endorsed the proverb that “you cannot always create a situation but can always exploit one”, when India took a benefit of the worsening situation in eastern border and not only send its forces but also provide finances and arms to the gorillas. Resultantly, the internal conflict took the situation of civil war in Eastern Pakistan and full fledged war between Indian and Pakistan.

In 1971, other external powers from whom intervention was expected to stop the war never intervened to stop the war as result Pakistan had to rely on itself. This act of external powers like US and China reveals that there are no permanent friends and enemies in international system but only permanent interests. So, to protect one’s own interests and sovereignty only reliable ally is one’s self. This lesson learned by Pakistan in 1971 war was duly endorsed by the India’s 1974 nuclear test, which brought Pakistan closer to the decision of nuclearization for its security vis-à-vis India.

Most important lessons from 1971 for Pakistan lies with the internal situation of country actors like only played their part in exploiting the situation but not in creating the situation. Today Pakistan has secured itself against Indian aggression and has also learned that if internal situation ever goes South it will be exploited by India. Moreover, Pakistan knows that Indian intelligence agencies are playing their part in supporting the banned military outfits in Pakistan; its example is arrest of Kulboshen Yadev, serving officer of Indian Navy from Baluchistan. Who later on excepted that RAW is supporting and funding Baluch Liberation Army. But the question here arises why parties like BLA come into being? Its first answer could be that because there are always anti-state element within the state. But, another reason could be the grievances which are not addressed by the governments and resultantly armed movements are started to solve these grievances.

However, need of the hour is that elected governments should work more towards the political rights of the neglected parts of country which are continuously demanding these rights. At the moment, different segments in society are demanding the separate provinces for themselves because their issues are not streamlined in larger provinces. One such example is demand of Seraiki province by the people of South Punjab, which should be readily accepted. Not only the demand of Seraiki Province but of other provinces as well. Moreover, we should have learned from the fall of Dhaka and have taken the measures to included Gilgit-Baltistan into national streamline as this is the demand of the people of that area. So, that their issues and voice could reach into the parliament through their elected representatives.

Another alarming factor is the rise of ethnicity in the country. One cannot deny the role of ethnicity in bringing the 1971 upon Pakistan. now, after 48 years of 1971 Pakistan is still divided into ethnic conflicts and different ethnic minorities are targeted inn different part of the country. The positive aspects are that ethnicity is not supported by any government but its mere existence in state is alarming and should be controlled.

These issues which Pakistan is facing should be addressed properly and resolved as we have learned from 1971 that they have the potential to become national security threats and can even lead to the disintegration of the country. It is also the responsibility of governments to cater political and economic rights of its citizens as it promotes national integration and put county on the path of prosperity.

<https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2018/12/17/fall-of-dhaka-lessons-pakistan-should-never-forget/>



## ***How 1971 War Brought Pakistan Closer to Nuclear Bomb***

### ***Qura tul Ain Hafeez***

Ever since its independence Pakistan is a neighbor of shrewd enemy who always tried nothing better than to undo and divide Pakistan into pieces like what it did in the war of 1971. So it was necessary for Pakistan to acquire a security mechanism that can balance the power equation in the region. It's pertinent to flash back in the history to answer the question that why after the war of 1971 it was necessary for Pakistan to acquire nuclear weapon. It was not the first time when India entered into to direct full-fledged war with Pakistan in 1971. At the time of independence there were almost 650 princely states in subcontinent that were ruled by princes. These states were given the option by the British Government to either adjoin with India or Pakistan. Based on the religious line the Majority of the population of Kashmir, Junagarh and Hyderabad Dakan decided to adjoin with Pakistan however India maintained its hostility and once again propagated with the Hindu Raja's (the ruler of states) and included them in India. Only it was Kashmir which was divided into Indian occupied and Azad Jamu Kashmir as a result of Indo-Pak War of 1948.

Continuing in its conspiracy against Pakistan India waged a war once again in 1965. It did not stop here played its role in giving Pakistan a huge loss in 1971. In the history of Pakistan the Indo-Pak war of 1971 has marked perhaps the darkest memory. It was the time when Pakistan was already weak and trying to overcome the suffering of 1965. Moreover, the internal political instabilities due to the economic, political rights of the people of East Pakistan. Various ethnic and lingual differences were contributing to destabilize the central command. India who was already for the moment just jumped in the scenario. It further fueled the burning conflict the make the situation worse. Furthermore in all this scenario Bengali population was an easy prey for Indian propaganda because they were already being exploited economically and politically. Thus the political clashes between the eastern and the western side of Pakistan turned into ethnolinguistic civil war. The Indian government supported muktibahini and fed them with the arms and weapons eventually declaring war against Pakistan. This shredded Pakistan into two pieces. Pakistan lost its eastern half-1,600km (990 miles) of India as a result Bangladesh emerged as a new country in south Asia's map.

Consequently due to such a huge loss Pakistan suffered a lot economically as well as politically. In the very same era while Pakistan was not strong enough and suffering from the wounds of 1971 war India launched it's so called "peaceful nuclear test" in 1974. Indian nuclear tests create a security dilemma for Pakistan and a further hampered the security situation for Pakistan. In South Asia the geostrategic environment has always been very complex volatile and vulnerable it was quite difficult for Pakistan to assure its survival and national security interests without nuclear technology. In order to secure its vital foreign policy, territorial integrity and to maintain deterrence against its enemy (hostile India) Pakistan started its efforts to acquire Nuclear weapon and in 1998 did successful nuclear tests.



Currently if Pakistan did not have acquired a nuclear technology India must have done the same on the western border i.e. Baluchistan what it has done earlier in East Pakistan. Although it is very much involved in watering the seeds of the terrorist activities in Baluchistan.

Today it has been 48 years still India is engaged in fermenting trouble in Pakistan through its proxies like BLA and TTP. Kulbushan Yadave an Indian spy caught by Pakistan Intelligence is an example of Indian propaganda which shows that. India continues to kept propagating against Pakistan which is causing various internal security threats including the biggest one i.e. terrorism. Moreover the recent attack on the Chinese consulate in Karachi on 23 November, 2018 by BLA is one of another Example of Indian conspiracy by feeding the terrorist groups in Pakistan. However it's now difficult for India to lodged a full fledged war against Pakistan like past because now Pakistan has acquired nuclear technology and war against Pakistan means mutual destruction for India as well. This time purpose behind India's vested activities is to distract the unity all across the country by targeting all those developmental and economic projects which are being established under the umbrella of CPEC.

Now Pakistan has learned security lessons from East Pakistan. It is aware of India's motivations and its presence in Afghanistan and Iran. Pakistan is now moving for good diplomatic relations and friendly regime in Afghanistan so we can be friends with them. Pakistan is one of the top countries who are fighting against terrorism and extremism. Now Pakistan is the world's 7th atomic power. Its army is one of the most efficient army of the world and it knows how to defend its countries against the enemies like India.

<https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2018/12/17/how-1971-war-brought-pakistan-closer-to-nuclear-bomb/>

## *In Commemoration of 1971 Unfortunate Incident*

### *Beenish Altaf*

In 1971, Pakistan as a nation suffered the most terrible shock in its entire history. We lost one wing of our country due to reasons that are well known but yet not very well understood. In December 1971, East-Pakistan became the independent state of Bangladesh as a result of a movement of Bengali Separatism. The movement for Bengali separatism did not develop overnight. It had its roots in the history of Pakistan.

However, the sad incident of separation of East Pakistan is a foremost foundation of deliberations or debates predominantly the excuse to initiate military act on March 25, 1971. Decades after the earth-shattering events of Fall of Dhaka that talks involving Sheikh Mujib, Yahya Khan, and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to discover a way out of standoff over Awami League's six points failed, the verdict to start on "an operation search light" in order to restore the writ of the state established to be counter-productive that lead to the division of Pakistan on December 16, 1971.

Some of the fundamental questions about this tragedy continue to agitate the minds of the intellectuals as to whether the break-up of Pakistan was due to the failure of the political leadership, the political ambitions of the top brass of the army or an international conspiracy.

Since the start, the relationships between both parts of Pakistan were unfortunately not very welcoming. They were tricky and complex at the same time. However, if one talks about the conflicting areas among both could be narrated: "the language issue, differences regarding constitution making, and economic centralism. Immediately after independence, Pakistan's two wings were set apart by one thousand miles of enemy territory. Both air and maritime contact could be blockaded by India at anytime. Geographical separation was the base for other differences i.e., racial identity, language, habits of life and culture. Hailing from different strata of society, the leaders and administrators from East and West Pakistan had conflicting ideas and aspirations and they could not understand properly each other's problems."

Post 1971 war, it was a general perception everywhere in the world, especially India viewed particularly that Pakistan caused a reduction in its size due to the 1971 war. It was also considered at that point in time that Pakistan would remain sandwiched between its two powerful neighbors'; Iran on west and India on east. It would not be able to maintain a standing armed forces to transform the equation. "The military defeat did not come up because there was some organized resistance in East Pakistan but mainly because of the Indian attack. When nine million refugees crossed over to the Indian side, the Indians thought they had a legitimate reason to attack."

Pakistan's acquisition of its full spectrum nuclear deterrence signaled it completely obvious and understandable that a critical war or nuclear attack against Pakistan is not at all any viable option for India however, India, driven by its foolish aspiration of hegemonic designs and others by their strategic contemplations in the region, kept on destabilizing Pakistan in more than one way.

Nevertheless, while analyzing critically, we can rightly conclude that the events that led to the separation of East Pakistan were a series of misunderstandings and mishaps which were cleverly and cunningly manipulated and exploited by a hostile neighbor. Why did it happen and what would have stopped it are the questions still whirling in the minds of the people of Pakistan. We cannot undo what has already happened in the past. However, we should learn lessons from our history and avoid committing mistakes like we did in the past. The present situation in Pakistan is not much different from that which led to the separation of East Pakistan. Ironically, sensitive matters should be dealt with prudence, tolerance, and large-heartedness to avoid another tragedy like the one we experienced in 1971.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2018/12/17/in-commemoration-of-1971-unfortunate-incident/>



## *Lessons from History for a New Pakistan*

### *Waqas Jan*

As Prime Minister Imran Khan's newly elected government pushes forward his vision of a 'Naya (New) Pakistan', it is important that the lessons learnt from the country's troubled past also be kept mind. These include lessons learnt not only from the sub-continent's colonial past, but also from the series of events that inevitably led to the East Pakistan debacle. While much has been written on the country's struggle for independence from colonial rule, there exists a glaring lack of honest introspection into the events that led to the secession of East Pakistan. As 16<sup>th</sup> December, the date of Pakistan's surrender of its Eastern Wing quietly passes by, it is worth revisiting why this ignominy has been more or less self-censored as part of the country's national discourse.

As many scholars have noted over the last few decades, Pakistan's history has itself become a site of contestation amongst various commentators. The very idea of an official narrative, with all its discursive underpinnings is one that has been argued against consistently by some of the country's leading scholars. These arguments have themselves become enshrined in much lauded works such as K.K Aziz's seminal 'The Murder of History' or for instance Ayesha Jalal's 'The Sole Spokesman'. With an emphasis on deconstructing the country's dominant historical narrative, a common theme running throughout these works is the call for greater introspection from which to perceive and contextualize the present. By taking a step back and laying bare the many myths that have been propagated as part of Pakistan's culture and identity, it is important that the lessons learnt from our troubled past are employed in the present, lest we remain doomed of repeating the same mistakes over and again.

Applying this approach to the history of East Pakistan, the consensual narrative that is widely presented revolves around how it was Indian interference that primarily led to the secession of a key territory comprising of 55% of the country's overall population. It attributes India's long-standing animosity towards Pakistan as the primary cause for the creation of Bangladesh. Hence, in the vast majority of history text-books being taught in schools throughout Pakistan, the emphasis has largely been on how India served as the architect of this traumatic and psychological setback to Pakistan, severing the close historical, cultural, and religious ties that had once bound East Pakistan together with its Western wing.

What this narrative completely ignores however is the decades of neglect, mismanagement and systemic marginalization of East Pakistan's population at the hands of the dominant status quo in Pakistan's Western wing. Politically under-represented, economically marginalized and even culturally ostracized, one wonders what recourse was left to these citizens who had merely traded colonial subjugation under the British, for second-class citizenship within a newly independent Pakistan. While India did play a dominant military role in the 1972 conflict which eventually led to the creation of Bangladesh; laying the blame entirely on Indian interference is ignoring the decades of policies and systemic marginalization for which the then governments of Pakistan are largely to blame. Not to

mention the unprecedented violence which the Pakistani military resorted to in its last ditch efforts at maintaining its control over the Eastern Wing.

It is no surprise that based on the prevailing politics of the South Asian region, this narrative which emphasizes Indian interference has been further reinforced over the last seven decades' animosity between India and Pakistan. In fact, drawing on the steady deterioration of Indo-Pak ties, it remains hostage to the prevailing accusations of cross-border terrorism and state-sponsored unrest currently being leveled by both countries against one another. Pakistan for instance has repeatedly pointed out that India has long been fomenting unrest in Balochistan and its adjoining tribal areas, in effect waging a proxy war along the same lines as it did in former East Pakistan. There exists credible evidence linking certain militant groups operating within these areas directly with the Indian state and military.

However, owing to the heavily securitized nature of Pakistan–India relations, such claims and activities have over the years sadly become accepted as the norm rather than the exception. This 'normalization' has in turn allowed previous Pakistani governments to easily attribute widespread underdevelopment and the lack of security within the country to the nefarious 'external hand' of foreign powers.

Hence, while there is a certain truth to the considerable extent to which India's nefarious designs have impacted the country's progress and development, this should not be used as an excuse for the Pakistani government's own lack of policy and proper governance. This holds especially true for some of Pakistan's most marginalized regions.

There is no denying that there has for instance existed a very real historic marginalization of the people of Balochistan as well as the tribal areas to the North. There exists even today a glaring lack of infrastructure development as well as a severe dearth of basic public goods such as education and healthcare. While these factors alone may not warrant a full-fledged secessionist movement, they do create certain conditions to be exploited by the state's adversaries.

If the prevailing narrative regarding East Pakistan is taken as an example, there is still perhaps a long way to go before the Pakistani state fully accepts and takes ownership of its own shortcomings with regard to its development focus. If Pakistan is to better insulate these troubled areas from external influences, what's required is an honest and deep introspection on how to truly re-prioritize the country's economic development and governance agenda. If not, then history shows that there is unlikely to be anything *Naya* (New) in the newly elected government's vision for Pakistan.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2018/12/19/lessons-from-history-for-a-new-pakistan/>



## *PTI's 100 Days and the CPEC*

### *Qura tul Ain Hafeez*

Presently the talk of the town is the 100 days agenda which the PTI gave a month before the general election 2018. Recently a couple of days back on 25th of November the first 100 days of Imran Khan's Prime Minister ship have got completed. The top priority of this agenda is poverty elevation and elimination of corruption for the economic uplift. It is pertinent to mention here that when we say the economic uplift then we can't ignore CPEC because it is one of the chief contributing factors in poverty elevation, and to lower down the power crises. So here is the point to ponder that what are the outcomes of the PTI's CPEC vision as far as the CPEC in these first 100 days are concerned.

Previously Prime minister Imran Khan in his first speech as a Prime Minister termed CPEC as a way to upgrade the economically strained nation out of poverty. It was said that it is a paramount and an ideal project through which Pakistani people will enjoy the economic benefits. The PTI Government stressed that the new government under the supervision of Prim Minister Imran khan would surely utilize the advantage of this economic opportunity for the development and betterment of Pakistan. However some of the critics in the start of the new political governance said that the new government will not continue the CPEC project on the previous terms and conditions and it will re assure all projects as there is lack of transparency in CPEC. More over critics like Michael Kugelman were of the view that China would be more comfortable with the Sharif's government instead of Imran's because the former government has not raised any concerns related to the transparency of financial plans and agreed on broader terms of the CPEC on a whole.

There is no reality in all such statements because the PTI governments take CPEC as an opportunity which can raise the prospects of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and attract the investors across the border and region as well. It will add foreign reserve into Pakistan's economy. CPEC is also a way to pull approximately 700 unemployed people out of the dark shadows of poverty. PM Imran Khan's Successful visit to China is an example the PTI is taking CPEC as an important constituent of Pakistan Foreign policy and in upgrading the economy. The outcome of PTI's achievement in perusing the CPEC policies is not limited to the deepening of the relations between the two countries. It expanded the strategic communication between the two countries. A strategic dialogue mechanism has also been planned so that the cooperation on various issues of mutual concerns could be coordinated in well mannered.

CPEC is not limited to the Economy it also promote cultural and social convergence of two civilizations. The two states agreed to institute the social and lively hood working groups in order to promote the Construction of CPEC. Moreover special focus was cooperation in the fields of economy and development of Special (SEZs), trade and finance for achieving extraordinary economic growth and to encourage exports. Along with this 15 agreements were signed in various other fields including science and technology, agriculture, humanities, etc.

Considering all the plans of President Imran Khan and First 100 Days agenda of economic development and elevation of corruption as far as CPEC is concerned one can infer that although CPEC is a best opportunity under current circumstances to cope with economic challenges however it needs more transparency. There should be innovation of ideas to start new industries for economic growth and industrialization because we should not putt all the eggs in one basket. Currently Pakistan's biggest issue is difficult economic situation which requires not only a corruption free Pakistan rather a Pakistan which explore and utilizes it full resources and potential for economic rise. Now it's important to observe that what new strategies the government will adopts to get best out of this CPEC Opportunity for the sake of nations vital interests.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2018/12/28/ptis-100-day-and-the-cpec/>



## *Kartarpur Corridor: A Ray of Hope Amidst Despair?*

*S. Sadia Kazmi*

The bilateral relations between India and Pakistan have undergone mostly downs than the ups since partition in 1947. Since the recent past in 2016 the relations reflect a bleak picture with regards to any initiative for talks and prospects for developing common grounds for peace and development. India quite vociferously blames Pakistan for the current state of almost non-existent bilateral relations, alleging it responsible for the 2016 terrorist attacks on an Indian Army camp in Uri of Jammu and Kashmir. It was this particular incident in September that year which India used as a pretext for severing any active bilateral/diplomatic relations with Pakistan and also announced to boycott the long due SAARC summit.

In such a prevailing state of affairs the Kartarpur initiative indeed comes as a ray of hope for the people on two sides of the border. Pakistan's magnanimous gesture not just for the Sikh brothers but also to give regional peace a chance has to be commended. The new government in Pakistan under the premiership of Imran Khan has taken a step that was never before witnessed in the history of bilateral relations. This also shows eagerness on part of Pakistan to somehow mend relations with India and go for working diplomatic relations, something that India needs to realize too and ought to show some relaxation in its stern behavior. In a complete contrast to how it should have been, India actually showed a lukewarm response to the PM Imran Khan's invitation to External Affairs Minister Sushma Swaraj, who thanked but refused to accept the invite to travel to Kartarpur for the stone laying ceremony, mentioning prior commitments and election campaigns as the prime reason. At the same time, she had been vocal about not to see Kartarpur kind of initiatives as ice-breakers and instead urged that terrorism remains to be biggest unresolved issue without addressing which no hope for peaceful or working relations should be cultivated. It is ironic that while India refuses to budge from this official position, it also doesn't like to sit together to address this mutual issue of concern which is not just unique to India. Terrorism is a global phenomenon, and no one can deny that Pakistan has been putting up the greatest and longest fight against this menace since long. It also appears that sticking to anti-Pakistan slogans and assuming hard position against Pakistan is taken as a key to victory in the upcoming general elections in India. Hence one can assume that unless the election in April next year, no serious chances for talks or change in Indian behavior could be expected.

Nonetheless, all this scenario cannot just take away the positives that the Kartarpur initiative has brought for Pakistan and India and for the region. The foundation stone on Indian side was laid by the Indian Vice President M. Venkaiah Naidu and Punjab Chief Minister Amarinder Singh on 26<sup>th</sup> November 2018 and the groundbreaking ceremony on the Pakistani side took place on 28<sup>th</sup> November. Indian delegation comprised of Minister for Food Harsimrat Kaur Badal and Minister for Housing Hardeep S. Puri, led by Navjot Singh Sindhu Minister for Tourism, Cultural Affairs, and Museum of the State of Punjab, arrived in Lahore through Wagah Border for the ground-breaking ceremony of Kartarpur Corridor. Navjot Singh Sindhu in his previous visit to Pakistan in August expressed gratitude toward the plan of opening Kartarpur Corridor shared by Pakistan COAS Qamar Javed Bajwa. The

respective parts of the corridor will be constructed by the two countries on their side till the border area. Pakistan will have to do the construction from the Indian border to the Gurdwara Darbar Sahib in Kartarpur to make the regular travel of the pilgrims to their most revered destination possible by mid next year. Similarly, India will construct the other portion starting from Dera Baba Nanak in Gurdaspur up to the border.

The development to facilitate easy passage to the Sikh pilgrims to the historic Gurdwara Darbar Sahib in Pakistan from Dera Baba Nanak in Gurdaspur has been appreciated world over. Kartarpur lies in the Narowal district in Punjab province of Pakistan in the area known as Shakargarh. The place holds special reverence for the Sikh community across the globe as it is believed that the founder of Sikhism, Guru Nanak Dev, spent eighteen years of his life at this place till his death in 1539. Perched on the banks of river Ravi, it is only 3-4 kilometers away from the border. This milestone development will provide a chance for visa-free travel of Indian Sikh pilgrims and is expected to be completed in six months well in time before the 550<sup>th</sup> birth anniversary of Guru Nanak next year. While this step has the support of all Pakistani nation, one also needs to bear in mind that the crossing/immigration procedures will have to be very carefully worked out with check points installed at the required places keeping in mind the inevitable security concerns since the traffic coming from India would have to be let in through carefully scrutinized process primarily to facilitate the pilgrims.

The proposal for visa-free entry by Pakistan is yet another attempt at normalizing relations with India. In an interview with BBC Urdu, Pakistan Information Minister Fawad Chaudhry said “a system was being developed for Sikhs” to facilitate their visit to the gurudwara. “Pakistan will soon open the border at Kartarpur for Sikh pilgrims and the pilgrims will be able to visit Gurdwara Darbar Sahib Kartarpur without visas,”. “A road will be constructed for the pilgrims to enter. They will then have to purchase a ticket to go back.”

Prime Minister Imran Khan expressed the similar sentiments and stressed on giving peace a chance. He stated “We want civilized relationship. Kashmir is the only problem. Are not we capable of solving a dispute? We need will to resolve the issue,”. “Think about the potential we have. I want good relationship with India. If we open our borders and start trade, poverty would decline,”. “What other options do we have other than friendship,”. He reiterated if India takes one step towards friendship Pakistan will take two steps.”

While the Indian government and the Indian Minister for External Affairs (EAM) remain skeptical and voice mostly pessimistic prospects for peace, the visiting Indian delegation responded positively. Harsimrat Kaur expressed pleasure on the occasion and said “this is historic day for our nation. Desire of millions of Sikhs around the world have been fulfilled today,”. He called the initiative peace corridor which he said could become basis for the new start between Pakistan and India. Similarly, Navjot Singh Sidhu while speaking at the ceremony commended Prime Minister Imran Khan for the initiative and reiterated that religion should not be looked at from the prism of politics and terrorism. He instead suggested that Pakistani and Indian government should move forward. “The seed that Imran Khan sowed three months ago has become a tree now and me and 120 million Sikhs could not be happier. I want to thank the Pakistani Prime Minister and officials,”. “Kartarpur Corridor will prove to be



a path of peace and instead of 60 years, happiness can come in six months through it. This corridor will be the reason that borders between both the countries open,” Sidhu added.

While so much positive sentiments are being expressed and great optimism is visible in the context of this historic development, one can also not ignore the fact that the 20<sup>th</sup> SAARC summit scheduled for December 2018 in Pakistan couldn't take place because of Indian boycott of any engagement with Pakistan. The regional summit hasn't taken place since the 18<sup>th</sup> SAARC Summit in Kathmandu in 2014. Indian Minister for External Affairs Sushma Swaraj said that India will not be attending the SAARC summit being organised in Islamabad, Pakistan. “Unless and until Pakistan stops terrorist activities in India there will be no dialogue and we will not participate in SAARC,” said Swaraj in a press conference organised in Hyderabad, India. One wonders as to where would such hard position by India, lead the bilateral relations. The only intent behind this seems to be lack of will to resolve the frictional points through negotiations and on purpose wasting any chances for peace. Nonetheless, one can stay hopeful of Kartarpur Corridor that stands as a conspicuous development with a potential to resume negotiating channels between the two sides and may be in the long run broker some form of workable peace between the two.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2018/12/31/kartarpur-corridor-a-ray-of-hope-amidst-despair/>