



VISION

VISIONARY INSIGHTS INTO THE STRATEGIC INQUESTS OF NATIONS

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Compiled & Edited by:

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Strategic Vision Institute
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STRATEGIC VISION
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Strategic Vision Institute (SVI)

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SVI Foresight

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

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Editor's Note

This e-volume brings for its readers an interesting anthology of short articles covering various contemporary strategic and security issues within the regional and global politics. The nuclear dynamics in South Asia always figure prominent for influencing the national and regional policies hence a major part of analyses in this issue has been dedicated to the nuclear debate. The discussion about Space weaponization, US-Pak equation, evolving US-Russia relations, the various facets of CPEC, and the engagement with the Muslim world, have also been highlighted in the articles included in this e-journal.

It has been witnessed that India conducted five missiles in a short period of only two months on the pretext of creating a credible minimum deterrence in South Asia. The impact of this needs to be evaluated on the over-all deterrence stability in the region. One particular article in this volume addresses this issue. It is argued that in the running year, so far, the world is more concerned about nuclear issues that the Trump administration is generating whether it is regarding fast growing capabilities of North Korea or infamous Nuclear Posture Review by the residing government in Capitol Hill. The focus of all nuclear issues around the globe is the US, which is of the view that its total inventory of 6800 nuclear warheads is not enough to deter North Korea whose total stock of nuclear weapon is not more than 2 dozen. It is rightly pointed out in the analysis that with all the limelight on the US, continuous and rapid nuclearization by South Asian dark horse is ignored completely. This may have provided India with an opportunity to sail freely in the ocean of arms buildup. India doesn't seem shy of taking advantage of deliberate ignorance of international community on arms race in South Asia. It is improving its nuclear arsenals inventory with rapid speed before Trump administration loses its charm of capturing wider attention. By giving hype to Trump administration's foolish ideas many international issues of significance are sidelined which requires a lot more attention and efforts for greater peace. One of the most important issues is arms race in South Asia and inability of conflicting parties to control it. This aspect has been effectively deliberated upon in this article.

Another short commentary talks about the effectiveness of Cold Start Doctrine in the presence of Tactical nuclear weapons. The analysis maintains that the whole idea of the Cold Start

Doctrine was to make use of the loophole in Pakistan's deterrence policies and indulge in limited warfare without pressing Pakistan's nuclear buttons. In this aspect tactical nuclear weapons have minimized the threat of this doctrine. The surprise element, the maneuvering tactic and the idea of poking the adversary but not giving it enough reason to poke back in an even bigger style has been negated. The article provides a good objective analysis of the situation and makes for an interesting read.

Missile development in South Asia is a continuous process. One of the articles provides an informative overview of the strategic assessment of year 2017 in this regard. It is believed that the South Asian action-reaction dynamics and complex strategic geometry force India and Pakistan to maintain qualitative and quantitative edge in strategic weapons. Both nuclear neighbours are tangled in traditional security competition enhancing their strategic force capabilities rapidly. India's pursuit of sophisticated technology and long-range ballistic missile development has not only made Pakistan more determined to acquire similar capabilities to counter Indian threat but also to ensure the credibility of its nuclear deterrence. It has been found out that the long history of military confrontation and the growing asymmetry and disparity in South Asia has accelerated the process of mastering the latest sophisticated conventional and nuclear technologies. Therefore, both South Asian nuclear states have developed enough nuclear capable warheads, bombers and ballistic and cruise missiles. The readers will find a useful roundup of missile development process by both India and Pakistan throughout 2017, with sufficient rationale and objectives behind these actions.

The month of March also witnessed a visit by the IEAE Director General Yukia Amano to Pakistan. This development actually brought positive reviews about Pakistan's nuclear safety and security standards. General Amano applauded the increased efforts in nuclear safety and security domain as the country works to triple its nuclear power capacity. He was highly impressed by the standards Pakistan is maintaining at various civilian nuclear facilities and installations as is evident from his statement, "Everywhere [I went] it was clear you [Pakistan] have the knowledge and the pool of people who are dedicated to do this job." One article included in this issue brings forth a timely reiteration of the high and sound safety and security

standards being maintained by Pakistan and argues that the western propaganda against Pakistan in this regard is completely unfounded.

Another article talks at length about the importance of Space and why Pakistan is yet lagging in utilizing this arena. It also identifies hurdles that Pakistan faces in its quest for reaching Space. It is believed that there are several contributing factors behind the inactive space program that Pakistan is running. One of the biggest technical shortcomings Pakistan is still facing in its space satellite program is the dearth of launching vehicle for space satellite. Recent telecommunication and digital satellite launched by Pakistan utilized China's assistance. So, the biggest shortcoming in a technical sphere is the absence of satellite launch vehicle. It has been further argued that Pakistan is a state with sufficient manpower but needs financial sources to build satellite launch vehicles. It is indeed a good read with several thought-provoking points for the readers.

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

5 Missile Tests in Two Months and India's Attempt to Create a Credible Minimum Deterrence in South Asia

Ahyousha Khan

In 2018, the world is more concerned about nuclear issues that the Trump administration is generating whether it is regarding fast growing capabilities of North Korea or infamous Nuclear Posture Review by residing government in Capitol Hill. The focus of all nuclear issues around the globe is the US, which is of the view that its total inventory of 6800 nuclear warheads is not enough to deter North Korea whose total stock of nuclear weapon is not more than 2 dozen.

With all the limelight on the US, continuous and rapid nuclearization by South Asian dark horse is ignored completely. May be this ignorance is a pathway provided to India, to sail freely in the ocean of arms buildup to seize every possible opportunity. India is also not shy of taking advantage of deliberate ignorance of international community on arms race in South Asia. It is improving its nuclear arsenals inventory with rapid speed before Trump administration loses its charm of capturing wider attention. By giving hype to Trump administration's foolish ideas many international issues of significance are sidelined which requires a lot more attention and efforts for greater peace. One of the most important issues is arms race in South Asia and inability of conflicting parties to control it.

Year 2018 is also not very different for South Asia's nuclear pattern, that started two months ago and so far, one side has tested 5 missiles including 4 nuclear capable missile tests and one anti-tank missile tests. This series of test was started by India with rather big explosion by testing its intercontinental ballistic missile Agni V. Agni V is a three-stage solid fueled missile with an estimated operational range of 5,500 to 5,800 km. it is capable of carrying 1,500 kilotons of nuclear payload and is declared as an Indian attempt to strive for credible minimum deterrence against China. Since 2012 it was the fifth time Agni V was tested; it was a developmental test to induct ICBM into operational service.

After the test of ICBM Agni V in January 2018, India tested three more nuclear capable missiles in the month of February. On 6th February 2018, Agni-I which is a short range ballistic missile was test fired by India's Strategic Force Command at annual training cycle to test the operational readiness of India's missile force. Range of Agni-I is 700 to 900 km and can be armed with 1000 kilograms of conventional or nuclear payload. After testing its long range and short-range missile systems India was not satisfied with the effect of these tests and went further ahead with some more display of its credible minimum deterrence. On the very next day of testing Agni-I, India test fired third nuclear capable ballistic missile of 2018. This time India's weapon of choice was surface to surface short range tactical ballistic missile with 350 km range which is single stage, liquid fuel missile capable of carrying 500-1000 kilogram of nuclear or conventional payload and is already in service since 2003.

Then on February 20, 2018 India again tested it's another nuclear capable ballistic missile Agni-II which is medium or intermediate range from Integrated Test Range on Abdul Kalam Island in Bay of Bengal. Agni-

It is a two stage, solid fueled with estimated range of 2000-3000 km which can carry conventional or nuclear warhead of 1000 kilogram. Agni-II is considered as a backbone of India's land based deterrent force. Thus, it is road, rail mobile and according to media reports entire trajectory of trial was tracked with sophisticated radars, telemetry observation stations and two naval ships located near impact point in the down range area of Bay of Bengal.

After tests of nuclear capable ballistic missiles ranging from ICBMs to short range, it was not enough and India went one step ahead in display of credibility of its nuclear arsenals and tested its third generation anti-tank guided missiles in desert condition against two tanks.

Testing its nuclear arsenals to display the credibility of its nuclear deterrence to ward off the enemy is the right of every state. However, India's display of its nuclear capability in such massive and fast manner must not be compared to credible minimum deterrence. As on India's part testing all kinds of nuclear missiles and hurrying to operationalize them is the quest for credible deterrence rather than credible minimum deterrence. When India's former National Security Advisor, Shivshankar Menon mentioned in his book "Inside the Making of India's Foreign Policy" that India's nuclear doctrine is much flexible than it is given the credit for, was right. So, even after testing 5 missiles India is linking credible minimum deterrence to military ambitiousness and declaring that these threats are its lowest possible efforts in response to the two tier threat originating from China and Pakistan

Alarming in this regard is silence of international community that is preoccupied with issues Trump administration is causing to seek attention. Moreover, lack of interest by international spectators to resolve the issues in South Asia is triggering the arms race in the region. Another significant aspect of conflict resolution approach suggested by international scholars is the imposition of a lot of conditions on Pakistan which is not a sensible approach for attaining peace and stability as peace and stability are hardly acquired on the basis of discrimination.

https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2018/03/13/5-missile-test-in-two-months-indias-attempt-to-create-credible-minimum-deterrence-in-south-asia/#disqus_thread

Pakistan's Tight Rope Walk between Iran and Saudi Arabia

Nisar Ahmed

Pakistan's recent decision of sending a contingent of slightly above 1000 troops to Saudi Arabia apparently in violation of its own parliamentary resolution of 2015 on Yemen, reflects the country's tight rope walk between two main regional rivals i.e. Saudi Arabia and Iran and highlights the need to make arrangements for keeping the policy of neutrality intact when it comes to the disputes involving Muslim states in the Middle East.

From Pakistan's perspective, the significance of keeping neutrality can be gauged from the fact that Article 40 of the constitution of Pakistan obliges it to strengthen fraternal relations among Muslim countries. Thus, dividing the Muslim world or taking side in intra-Muslim disputes is tantamount to breach of Pakistan's constitution.

Apart from this, Pakistan's own sensitivity about the issue of sectarianism and the fragile sectarian harmony dictates that the country should tread the conflict ridden geopolitical landscape of Middle East with utmost caution lest it polarize Pakistan internally on sectarian lines.

Pakistan has long borne the brunt of sectarian agendas pursued by Saudi Arabia and neighboring Iran. The country's internal vulnerability stemming from sectarianism has been exploited by foreign powers and by non-state actors alike. According to the South Asia Terrorism Portal, Pakistan has witnessed more than 21,900 deaths in sectarian violence since 2003. Thus, any real or perceived tilt of Pakistan towards either of the two regional rivals runs the risk of alienating either of the two. Such an eventuality is not without cost and Pakistan's decision to avoid being drawn into the Yemen quagmire in 2015 was reflective of this realization.

Here arises a question that what are the potential reasons behind Pakistan's latest decision to finally send troops to Saudi Arabia?

Firstly, the recent decision to send troops to Saudi Arabia comes at a time when Saudi Arabia is miserably embroiled in a costly Yemen conflict without any noticeable military and political benefits. The kingdom's air campaign against Houthis has failed to achieve victory; on the contrary ground local Yemeni allies of Saudi Arabia and the UAE have turned the guns on each other, thus further complicating the conflict. The Houthis have, meanwhile, intensified missile attacks on Saudi targets, though most have been intercepted by the Saudi air defence systems before they could hit the targets.

Pakistan's insistence regarding the training and advisory role of its troops being sent to the Kingdom appears more logical in this context. Drawing on its own experience of dealing with irregular war in mountainous terrain, Pakistan military is well poised to provide training and advice on Yemen conflict.

Secondly, the Arab world's open courtship of rival India in recent times and growing pressure on Pakistan from the US over Afghanistan may have also necessitated some symbolic gestures favorable to Saudi Arabia.

However, apart from Saudi Arabia's regional challenges, the political infighting and drastic socio-political changes within the Kingdom also would have warranted some sort of help and Pakistan's additional troops might be employed to protect the monarchy from within.

Thus far, Pakistan seems to have steered rather successfully between Iran and Saudi Arabia apparently due to smart diplomacy. Pakistan's insistence that the decision to send troops is in line with preexistent security agreement of 1982 and thus troops will only be deployed within Saudi territory is no doubt reassuring but the timing and lack of transparency in decision making process has raised some eye brows.

It is telling that soon after the announcement of the decision the issue was hotly debated in the upper house of Pakistan's parliament with the Chairman senate Raza Rabbani expressing dissatisfaction over the details provided by Defence Minister Khurram Dastagir Khan.

In a nutshell, the mounting ideologically and geopolitically driven conflicts in the Middle East involving Muslim states necessitate Pakistan to reassess the utility of preexisting bilateral security and defence pacts with those countries with the aim of avoiding being sucked in to their bilateral conflicts. For, Pakistan cannot afford to fight others wars at a time when its own house needs to be set in order and its own borders need to be protected against the incursion and infiltration of terrorists. This is however not to imply that Pakistan remain indifferent about the developments in its Middle Eastern sphere of influence rather Pakistan should proactively play the role of a mediator and peace maker between the warring parties because such a strategy would surely go a long way in benefitting Pakistan. Contrarily, decisions driven by short term political and economic considerations will only cost a huge price for the country tomorrow.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2018/03/13/pakistans-tight-rope-walk-between-iran-and-saudi-arabia/>

Special Economic Zones and CPEC

Qura tul ain Hafeez

Economic Expansion, high prices and inflation are the issues on which one can talk for hours. The scarcity of resources, energy crises and lack of industrial modernization are the challenges which Pakistan has been facing for past many decades. Despite the advantages of geographical setting, the country could not sufficiently expand its economy until 20th century. However, the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) has brought with it various infrastructural, energy, and industrial projects that show smooth progress in these sectors. One of the most significant developments is the establishment of Special Economic Zones (SEZs) under the Long Term Plan (LTP) of CPEC. SEZ is a physically protected area with definite geographic boundaries under which the investors and the developers enjoy duty free benefits and streamlined procedures, set up by the government. After the successful completion of the Early Harvest Program (EHP), the governments of China and Pakistan aspire to complete the Long Term Plan (LTP) of CPEC. As a key route to success, the LTP has been divided into three phases and the work on the first phase has already started. SEZs are on the first priority list of the first Phase of LTP. While utilizing the strategic location of Pakistan and the rich resources, the SEZ will contribute a framework for Pakistan's domestic industries, and local economy.

The government has planned to establish nine Special Economic Zones (SEZs) in all the four provinces, federal areas and Gilgit-Baltistan under the framework of CPEC, which would be completed in a period of three years. Pakistan has conducted feasibilities of 5 SEZs which focuses only on the infrastructure. The three prioritized SEZs to be completed in the first phase of LTP are M3 Industrial City in Faisalabad, Punjab, Chinese SEZ Dhabeji, Sindh and Hattar SEZ in KP province. While the remaining six sites include Rashakai Economic Zone, M-1 Noshera, Bostan Industrial Zone District Pishin, Allama Iqbal Industrial City, Moqpondass SEZ in Gilgit-Baltistan, ICT Model Industrial Zone Islamabad, Development of Industrial Park on Pakistan Steel Mills Land at port Qasim near Karachi, Special Economic Zone at Mirpur AJK, Mohmand Marble city.

Although, there are general misunderstandings regarding the industrial ramifications of the SEZ's under CPEC due to large number of Chinese firms and the exemption in the tax rates offered to them. However, the LTP of CPEC shows that these SEZ's will offer the country with a great opportunity to accelerate industrialization because they are beneficial for all the international and domestic investors. So far in the history, SEZs have been the reason of economic boost in countries around the globe. Now this is a matter of concern that either these SEZs will make Pakistan a center of economic modernization and trade ventures or not. The economist and financial experts are optimistic about Pakistan's emergence as one of the fast growing and promising global economy.

While stepping towards the era of industrialization, Pakistan faces a number of issues that have so far refrain the industries to understand their growth potential. Some of the chief hindrances to investment in Pakistan include poor security; non-availability of infrastructure and power crises, rent-seeking regulators, and cumbersome tax administration, etc. among many others.

Likewise the entrepreneurs in Pakistan have certain reservation with the incentives proposed by the government and SEZs for the investors and enterprises including ten-year exemption from all taxes on imported capital goods and exemption from tax on income accruable from development and operations in SEZs for a period of ten years. Although these incentives will be beneficial for the foreign investors at large but at the same time it will provide Pakistani enterprises with the opportunity to collaborate with the Chinese firms and launch joint ventures of mutual interests and benefits. This will be further beneficial for the annual Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth of Pakistan. Moreover it will bring Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in the country thus generating the foreign revenue.

Subsequently it is significant to keep in mind that in Pakistan there are certain security and political factors due to which the SEZ's may face challenges. Hence forth to conquer these challenges provincial harmony among all the provinces and mutual consensus between the public sector and private sector is needed. SEZs under CPEC will be a life-time opportunity for Pakistani companies to work together with Chinese companies for the development of export-oriented manufacturing industries. Therefore, Pakistan should increase its products in the Chinese market and raise the ratio of its export while decreasing the trade deficit by lowering the imports.

<https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2018/03/14/special-economic-zones-and-cpec/>

US' Call for a Revamped Relationship

Ubaid Ahmed

'Trust, but verify' is an old Russian proverb that President Reagan liked to repeat often. Trump is neither the first president nor he is going to be the last to criticize Pakistan of deceit and threaten to cut off American assistance. Notwithstanding, the last six decades of the US support, the US has completely failed in cultivating an ally in Pakistan nor has it meaningfully changed the nature of its relationship with Pakistan, which can be best described as 'transactional'.

A quid-pro-quo relationship between the two has never been established with regards to the assistance they both offered to each other. In truth, United States has never really trusted Pakistan.

In his new Afghan strategy, President Trump said that the US has been paying Pakistan 'billions of billions of dollars at the same time they are housing the very terrorists that we are fighting for' but the mantra should be put to a halt. Likewise, the US must be conveyed boldly to stop continuing its false claims that Pakistan shelters the 'agents of chaos' and be reminded that friends don't put each other on notices.

Similarly, statements and avowals that India now is a strongest ally to the US, disturbs Pakistan, chiefly because of the irony at Trump administration's part which only sees the glittering Indian market but pay no heed to the growing Indian cease fire violations across the LoC and the atrocities India commits against the unarmed civilians of the Indian held Kashmir.

The recent visits and statements however by the senior US officials and Trump's aides reflect the US call for a new relationship between the US and Pakistan, which once used to be close allies in the US led 'Global War on Terror'.

Pakistan's foreign policy makers at this point in time must be mindful of the fact that the US is a major trading partner and should adhere to a relationship more than 'transactional'. Moreover, the risks and fears at the US part of 'rampant destabilisation and civil war in Afghanistan' increments further the region already devoid of trust. For, nobody actually knows whether the US will stay or eventually leave Afghanistan.

The Afghan war has now become a war of logistics, in words of Sun Tzu 'the line between order and disorder lies in logistics', Pakistani supply lines thus provide Islamabad with a leverage in absence of shorter, cheaper and acceptable alternative routes. Given these circumstances, Pakistan should make best use of the US call towards a more robust bilateral relationship.

The move for a 'new relationship' and improved ties began last week with senior Trump aide's visit to Islamabad to hold talks with Pakistani leaders. Earlier also the impressions that Pakistan and the US were on a collision course were dispelled by a top US general. Likewise, US department's acting Assistant Secretary for South and Central Asia Alice Wells asserted that the US was not thinking of

cutting its ties rather assured that the US still cogitate Pakistan indispensable to the resolve in Afghanistan.

The aforesaid developments clearly indicate that the strained US-Pakistan relations would improve soon and that the suspension in the military aid is also not permanent.

To conclude, achieving long term stability and defeating the insurgency in the region will be difficult without Pakistan's support and assistance.

<https://dailytimes.com.pk/214889/us-call-for-a-revamped-relationship/>

Effectiveness of Cold Start Doctrine in the Presence Of Tactical Nuclear Weapon

Uzge Amer Saleem

The most used and discussed term in the context of India's Cold Start Doctrine (CSD) is Tactical Nuclear Weapons, specifically in terms of "counter" to the CSD. In a nutshell, the Pakistanis love it while the Indians hate it. They both have their reasons.

A country that topped off its usual US \$40 billion defense budget to a whopping US \$55 billion with possibilities of adding a further US \$100 billion in the future, would definitely not like to see a Tactical Nuclear Weapon shatter its master plan. CSD for conventional military operations was basically designed as a maneuvering tactic to hit and run without giving the adversary a reason enough to respond with a nuclear attack. Now with the development of battlefield nuclear weapons or TNW's the nuclear threshold has been brought down by Pakistan. The development means that even a short and quick attack can be countered by a nuclear weapon without indulging into a full-fledged nuclear warfare. This to some extent shatters the credibility of CSD.

There are always different ways to look at a situation. Some argue that the development of short range ballistic missiles upsets the stability of the region. The counter argument for this is that the TNW's do not upset the strategic stability of the region rather it restores deterrence prospects for Pakistan which were somehow challenged by the development of CSD. Deterrence is the best shot we have at regional strategic stability. Due to the developments of CSD or as the Indians like to call it a proactive doctrine, the stability has been threatened since Pakistan has felt vulnerable to an attack or limited warfare. It is the right of every state to take suitable steps for their national security and NASR is doing just that. As stated by General (Retired) Mahmud Ali Durrani, "deterrence of all forms of external aggression through an effective combination of conventional and strategic forces." This clarifies the fact that the adversary may make a conventional attack but the response from Pakistan's side may come in any form, conventional or nuclear. The TNW's have been declared the country's extension of its conventional deterrent capabilities. It would be safe to say that these weapons are designed to facilitate the conventional weapons in a limited war. There are three levels of the broad deterrence of Pakistan as described by Air Commodore Adil Sultan. These are tactical, operational and strategic level. Tactical Nuclear Weapons deal with limited intrusions. Operational level deals with a military offensive of considerable size whereas at the strategic level an all-out war is handled.

The development of Tactical Nuclear Weapons leads to two important aspects: the shift by Pakistan to a full spectrum deterrence; and the lowering of the nuclear threshold. Both are in direct response to the Cold Start Doctrine and both can have devastating impacts on the proactive military doctrine of India. As opposed to the popular narrative of Full Spectrum Deterrence (FSD) being a full out blow to the strategic stability, it is merely a way to stabilize the expansionist adversary from any

provocative ambitions. As for the lowering of the nuclear threshold it is purely for defensive purposes. The development of TNW's equips Pakistan for a defensive attack rather than an offensive one.

Coming towards the second part of the question, how effective is the CSD after the development of tactical nuclear weapons? The whole idea of the Cold Start Doctrine was to make use of the loophole in Pakistan's deterrence policies and indulge in limited warfare without pressing Pakistan's nuclear buttons. In this aspect tactical nuclear weapons have minimized the threat of this doctrine. The surprise element, the maneuvering tactic and the idea of poking the adversary but not giving it enough reason to poke back in an even bigger style has been negated. India's previous military doctrine, Sunderji Doctrine, included the strike corps. The Cold Start Doctrine on the other hand has evolved the strike corps into integrated battle groups (IBG). The amounts of tanks provided to IBG's is less than those provided to the strike corps. Now, it will take only 37, 15kt weapons or 57, 8kt weapons to destroy the Indian IBG. This right here is exactly the reason why Indians have been so actively opposing the Tactical Nuclear Weapons on every international forum. Ever since 2004 India has carved out this military doctrine and put all their faith into it. Now with 37 TNW's the great strategy can be reduced to ashes.

From Pakistan's perspective, tactical nuclear weapons are a major achievement. They are the final strand in the completion of deterrence and also an efficient defense mechanism. It might not have been Pakistan's first choice since the country is well aware of the cost of war and the damages it incurs, however, the expansionist plans coming from the other side of the border have justifiably forced Pakistan into resorting to such purely defensive measure.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2018/03/15/effectiveness-of-cold-start-doctrine-in-the-presence-of-tactical-nuclear-weapons/>

Missile Development in South Asia: Strategic Assessment of 2017

Asma Khalid

The South Asia action-reaction dynamics and complex strategic geometry force India and Pakistan to maintain qualitative and quantitative edge in strategic weapons. Both nuclear neighbours are tangled in traditional security competition — enhancing their strategic force capabilities rapidly. India's pursuit of sophisticated technology and long-range ballistic missile development has not only made Pakistan more determined to acquire similar capabilities to counter Indian threat but also to ensure the credibility of its nuclear deterrence.

A long history of military confrontation and the growing asymmetry and disparity in South Asia has accelerated the process of mastering the latest sophisticated conventional and nuclear technologies. Therefore, both South Asian nuclear states have developed enough nuclear capable warheads, bombers and ballistic and cruise missiles.

In 2017, significant developments in the nuclear geometry of South Asia have been witnessed. The acquisition of sophisticated nuclear technologies, missile testing, the introduction of the new delivery system and improved payload, ranges, accuracy and reliability of missile programmes indicate the shifting nuclear policy and trends in South Asia. India's weapons build-up and modernisation spree underscore its shifting nuclear doctrine and force posture. This change is in line with India's ambitious and hegemonic designs that it has started to pursue vigorously ever since its strategic partnership agreement with the US ostensibly to counter and curtail Chinese influence in the region and beyond. Thus, there is not an iota of doubt that India has increasingly moved towards the adoption of offensive strategies which is clearly reflected by its frequent tests of sophisticated nuclear weapons and technologies. The fact that India conducted 17 missile tests in the year 2017 speaks volumes of its destabilising behaviour. And unfortunately, the US and much of the international community continue to turn a blind eye to these developments at their own peril.

While both Pakistan and India test-fired short-range ballistic missiles (SRBM), medium-range ballistic missiles (MRBM) and submarine-launched cruise missiles (SLCM), India took the lead vis-à-vis Pakistan by exclusively testing sub-sonic and supersonic cruise missiles from multiple platforms. Of particular concern to Pakistan and neighbouring countries of India, are its tests of the submarine-launched K-4, the air-launched Brah Mos, and Nirbhay missiles which reflect the operationalisation of India's nuclear triad and ambitions of strengthening BMD. The most notable strategic development is the launch of NS Arighat on 19 November 2017. NS Arighat is the second Arihant-class submarine.

If it were not enough for India's defence purposes, India has been pursuing advanced technologies for its nuclear-armed missiles. To this end, India's testing from canister-based launch systems, which generally require the nuclear warheads to be mated to the missile at all times, jeopardises the delicate strategic stability and deterrence stability in South Asia. Nevertheless, Pakistan has been trying hard to avoid being drawn in the costly arms race by relying on the doctrine of Minimum Credible Deterrence. On its part, Pakistan has tested its newly-developed Babur-III (SLCM) and the

Ababeel (MIRV), which have multiple independently-targetable re-entry vehicle (MIRV) capabilities. It is said that Ababeel (MIRV) will facilitate Pakistan to sustain the credibility of its deterrence strategy and neutralise the Indian BMD system due to its ability to deliver multiple warheads.

Moreover, India aims to extend the range of conventional and nuclear precision strike systems and inducting platforms to execute pre-emptive first strikes, such as the integration of the Brah Mos with Su-30 MKI fighter-bombers to further enhance India's strategic force capabilities. The Indian pursuit of Ballistic Missile Capabilities and BMD system has complicated the security calculations of regional states. Nevertheless, given India's shift towards offensive or warfighting strategies, Pakistan's strategic restraint are concerned as India's offensive force posture has potential to destabilised strategic stability. It is imperative for Pakistan to take effective measures to counter the volatility instigated by Indian Ballistic Missile tests- such as Agni-II and Agni-V.

In response to the most recent test of Agni V, regional states have also shown their concerns such as Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesperson stated that "preserving the strategic balance and stability in South Asia is conducive to peace and prosperity of regional countries." This represents that India's ballistic missile developments demonstrate a significant shift in deterrence postures of regional states. It is viewed that introduction of new delivery systems, and extended ranges of Ballistic and cruise missiles developments will have a spillover effect on its neighbouring states thus triggering and consolidating a new missile race in the region which is comprised of three nuclear weapon states: China, India and Pakistan.

However, the most significant developments in South Asia in the year2017 were: first, the finalisation of 'Nuclear Triad' by both India and Pakistan; second, development of Second Strike Capability; and third, India's admission into Wassenaar Arrangement and Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR). India's admission to Wassenaar Arrangement (WA) soon after its admission into MTCR shows that India is being rapidly incorporated among the nuclear weapon states. The continued growth of India's missile inventory and military modernisation of its conventional and nuclear forces pose an unprecedented complication for Pakistan's security and regional stability. Many strategic experts agree that the security environment in South Asia is complex as India's robust modernisation and enlargement of its conventional and nuclear forces are challenging for Pakistan. In this regard, Pakistan believes that its pursuit of sophisticated nuclear capabilities and missile programme appears to be a logical response to counter Indian aggression by maintaining credible minimum deterrence.

<https://dailytimes.com.pk/215298/south-asias-missile-development/>

Nuclear Posture Review: A Critical Assessment (Competition Re-Energized among the Great Powers)

Beenish Altaf

The Nuclear Posture Review is a process that determines the role of nuclear weapons in the US security strategy for the future arena. This review is basically to analyze and assess that the US nuclear policies are secure and its deterrence works effectively to counter the threats emanating in the 21st century. There were three review postures of the United States, a brief account of which is discussed below.

Function of Nuclear Posture Reviews

The focal and major role of nuclear posture review is to assess the threat environment, outline nuclear deterrence policy and strategy for the next 5 to 10 years, simultaneously line up the country's nuclear forces accordingly. Since the end of Cold War, each US administration has introduced its own nuclear posture reviews; however, the course of action and the scale of reviews were diverse in all three cases.

2002 Nuclear Posture Review

The first nuclear posture review of 2002 was undertaken by the United States Department of Defense. The 2002 Nuclear Posture Review also included components requiring the "Pentagon to draft contingency plans for the use of nuclear weapons against at least seven countries, naming not only Russia and the "axis of evil"—Iraq, Iran, and North Korea but also China, Libya and Syria."

2010 Nuclear Posture Review

Then, it was the 2010 Nuclear Posture Review. This was conducted by the Then President Barack Obama. Since President Obama quite notably outlined a vision of a world without nuclear weapons in his speech at Prague, Czech Republic in 2009, expectations were quite high due to the stated fact. It showed a dominating shift from the previous nuclear posture review as it introduced the concept of 'nuclear zero'. However, his nuclear review was hoped, by the observers to make concrete steps toward this goal. The finished 2010 policy abandoned development of any new nuclear weapons, for example, the bunker-busters that were proposed by the Bush administration. It also for the very first time rules out any sort of nuclear attack against the non nuclear weapon states (that are in compliance with the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty). Ironically, this statute pointedly eliminates Iran and North Korea.

As part of the implementation of the 2010 Nuclear Posture Review, the US Government reviewed its nuclear deterrence requirements and nuclear plans to ensure that they are aligned to address threats of that time. Likewise, Rose Gottemoeller, US Acting Undersecretary of State for Arms Control and International Security, said in June 2012 that "the United States was considering what forces the United States needed to maintain for strategic stability and deterrence, including extended

deterrence and assurance to US Allies and partners. Based on this analysis the United States would develop proposals for potential further reductions in its nuclear stockpile.”

However, presently the case is quite opposite to that of 2010 nuclear posture review. Let us briefly examine the shifts of 2018 nuclear posture review in the light of the previous one.

2018 Nuclear Posture Review

The US current administration has recently publicized its new nuclear policy. It has been released by the Pentagon in January 2018. However, paradoxically narrating, the very initial reactions on the recently released 2018 nuclear posture review were quite a mix by both the national and international academicians and policy makers. Rebecca Hersman, Deputy Assistant Defense Secretary for countering weapons of mass destruction during the Obama administration and now ensconced at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, delves into some of the reactions, which suggests that the review opens the door to nuclear “war fighting,” or closes it; raises the nuclear threshold, yet lowers it; continues some Obama administration policies and programs, or departs from them dramatically; goes too far in portraying a confrontational approach to Russia and China, yet does not go far enough. It’s fundamentally different from the Obama administration’s nuclear policy, but it is also largely the same.

It is a hard-hitting, sort of mix assessment of foreign threats and the US capabilities. James Mattis, Secretary of Defense, has in fact, suggested several tweaks to account for the emerging threats to the US, and likewise avowed the central elements of this nuclear posture. This review supposedly describes “the world as it is, not as we wish it to be” and calls for an expansion of America’s nuclear arsenal to confront the evolving capabilities of other nuclear powers.

Strangely enough, this document justifies its call for modernized nuclear weapons, by emphasizing more on its adversaries namely China, Russia, and North Korea, which the US considers, are designing and developing new nuclear weapons (more specifically, it was the Pentagon’s concern over Russia’s nuclear buildup in recent years). There is also a proposal to redeploy nuclear-armed, sea-launched cruise missiles (SLCMs) by Secretary Mattis,’ which is a move to pressurizing Russia.

All the same, the major and prevalent capability shift in the 2018 nuclear posture review is the move to develop low-yield nuclear weapons in the form of a new SLCM. It has been justified by narrating that “the United States will enhance the flexibility and range of its tailored deterrence options.... Expanding flexible US nuclear options now, to include low-yield options, is important for the preservation of credible deterrence against regional aggression. It will raise the nuclear threshold and help ensure that potential adversaries perceive no possible advantage in limited nuclear escalation, making nuclear employment less likely.”

However, it could be taken in terms that the US is intended to indulge in a nuclear war-fighting scenario. It does recognize that the deterrence is dynamic, so in order to ensure a credible and effective deterrence, the US has shifted to next steps of developing advance technologies.

Nuclear Posture Review on Hegemonic Design

The 2018 nuclear posture review reflects Washington's intention to use US nuclear weapons as a hegemonic tool once again. This could be taken critically in terms of the President's Trumps intellect, since it is a big policy shift of the century. The warning of Andrew C. Weber, an Assistant Defense Secretary, should be taken into account here, who is quoted as saying, "almost everything about this radical new policy will blur the line between nuclear and conventional." If adopted, he said, the new policy "will make nuclear war a lot more likely." It would be applicable to refer to the experiences from the past, that the miscalculation has brought the precipice of war, as with the Cuban missile crisis, or actual war, as with the events that led up to World War I.

The hegemonic aspiration of the US is reflected and may perhaps be seen lucidly in the central conclusion of the broader National Defense Strategy that was released just a month back, in January 2018 and stated: the US must recognize the reality of a return to great power competition and posture itself accordingly.

Conclusion

Analytically, main difference between the previous and the recent posture reviews is not of the alarming and more terrifying policies etched instead the difference is contextual, particularly in terms of the tone and emphasis from the two presidents. Ironically, the former 2010 nuclear posture review was a manifestation of the President Obama's broader vision that observes the world without nuclear weapons. At that span of time, the US was more of the view that the peace and security of a world could be ensured without nuclear weapons. However, the notion that a world without nuclear weapons is possible, and safer than one with them, is a romanticized interpretation of international relations.

On the other hand, if viewed the 2018 nuclear posture review critically, the unhinged intentions of the Trump Administration is quite vivid in it. It would be more pertinent to narrate here that his outlook actually guides the current US nuclear weapons posture, which modernize the US nuclear deterrence in a way that calls for the need of developing new nukes. It is a document that tried to build a consensus in the US on the needs for the 21st century nuclear arsenal.

The perils of the Trump administration's nuclear policy indicates that it can escort only to advanced and more sophisticated risks of nuclear calamities, with global instability and proliferation of even more weapons of mass destruction. Nevertheless, the 2018 posture review arrives in the time of global tensions and rising strategic competitions, raising questions about how the policies will be interpreted by its allies and adversaries alike. Eventually, time will acquaint the answers.

<http://www.melangemagazine.biz/march-2018/#page/21>

Trends in Global Arms Transfer: Viewpoint from the Sub-Continent

Asma Kahlid

Over the past several years, India's unprecedented military modernization goals have worsened the security environment of South Asia. India's increasing defense spending and its quest for acquiring sophisticated weapon systems and technologies have threatened the regional peace and stability. India is directing a huge scale modernization of its military mainly in six key areas, i.e., land, air, sea, nuclear, outer-space and cyberspace with the aim to acquire the status of a global player through military means. Moreover, the US assistance has played a significant role in fulfilling India's objective of military modernization. The positive trajectory of Indo-US nexus and growing Indo-US trade in defense sector has left the South Asian countries in a state of security consciousness.

According to the latest annual study by the global watchdog on arms sales, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), India is the largest arms importer in the world, accounting for 12 percent of the global sales. According to 2018 report published by SIPRI, since the last five years, India is the world's largest importer of major arms, and its imports have increased by at least 24 percent during the last five years. US, Russia, Israel, Europe, and South Korea are the major arms suppliers to India. India is trying to shift the focus of its bilateral relations with these states from the buyer-seller model to the transfer and co-production of technology, which will further boost the objective of "Make in India initiative." The adopted "Make in India initiative" in its defense policy was introduced in the year 2014 with the primary aim of making India 'a global manufacturing hub' which in turn will encourage both the multinational and domestic companies to manufacture defense products within the country. Such integration would then be a major game changer for India. From the past decade, India has greatly worked on revamping and modernization of its military infrastructure. SIPRI 2018 Report demonstrates that India's obsession with achieving technological development and seeking qualitative superiority is increasing day by day. If the parallel trends of record defense spending and growth in the domestic defense industrial base continue, India will quickly become a key player in the global defense market.

On the other hand, SIPRI Report of 2018 further states that Pakistan is the 9th largest arms importer in the world and 36 percent decrease in its arms imports has been witnessed during the last five years, despite the internal conflicts and cross-border tension with its historic rival India. In this regard, the question arises that despite major external and internal security threats why has there been a decrease in the import of weapons by Pakistan? According to the analysts, possible reasons for decreased arms imports are: first, the positive trajectory of Indo-US nexus and Islamabad's deteriorating relationship with Washington; Second, Pakistan's domestic financial constraints.

Therefore, the latest estimates of global arms imports present that India's technological development and modernization in conventional and nuclear spheres can undermine the delicate conventional parity and deterrence equilibrium between India and Pakistan. Amidst all the looming

actions, the recent upsurge in India's defense budget by 7.81% percent appears quite dubious; as it has now reached up to \$43.4 billion. Whereas, the increased convergence of interests between the United States and India specifically in the strategic sector makes the neighboring countries apprehensive of their growing defense procurements; this continuous trend of military modernization threatens to disturb the existing regional balance.

Proactive strategies, renewed defense settlements, and the conventional military build-up enable Pakistan to take countermeasures while balancing the strategic equilibrium at the same time; for Islamabad, it is right to track Indian defense spending closely, the reason being India remains regarding its military capabilities, the key threat to Pakistan's security.

To conclude, India is by and by the world's largest buyer of conventional weapons, with an upwards 100 billion dollars anticipated, that would be spent on modernizing defense forces following the coming decade. Consequently, India has developed military doctrine, sophisticated missile program, submarine fleet and military hardware. India is trying to destabilize the region and create an environment conducive to limited wage war. In this regard, it is imperative for Pakistan to maintain delicate conventional military balance without indulging in an arms race to ensure its security.

<http://southasiajournal.net/trends-in-global-arms-transfer-viewpoint-from-the-sub-continent/>

Pakistan's Nuclear Safety and Security Standards

Beenish Altaf

Pakistan has very recently conveyed to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) its intention to subscribe to the 'Guidance on the Import and Export of Radioactive Sources'. This was in the end of Feb 2018 after which the IAEA Director General Yukiya Amano came to Pakistan and applauded efforts by the country to increase its nuclear safety and security as the country works to triple its nuclear power capacity. He was in Pakistan from 12-14 March 2018. He was highly impressed by the standards Pakistan is maintaining at various civilian nuclear facilities and installations. He said, "Everywhere [I went] it was clear you [Pakistan] have the knowledge and the pool of people who are dedicated to do this job."

Pakistan has always been a responsible member of the IAEA. In his recent visit the IAEA chief also published a four-year project launched this year to help bring together the key institutions in Pakistan to work more closely on the safe, reliable and sustainable operation of nuclear power plants. Pakistan has adopted legislation Export Control on Goods, Technologies, Materials and Equipment related to Nuclear and Biological Weapons and Their Delivery Systems Act, 2004. This Act has a stringent mechanism to criminalize and prosecute the individuals and the non-state actors involved in the illicit transfer of technologies.

In addition to that the Pakistan Nuclear Regulatory Authority (PNRA) was established in compliance with the best practices around the world, for the safety and security of sensitive nuclear material. It is the focal point for international conventions concerning nuclear safety; physical protection of nuclear materials; and early notification and assistance in case of nuclear or radiological emergencies. As such, it assists the Government of Pakistan in execution of its obligations under these conventions. Under the SPD, a Security Division has been established with more than 10,000 trained people for its safety and security. It has also installed a Personal Reliability Program, which is an important asset for the physical protection of the nuclear weapons. Such a system would reduce the possibility of an insider threat.

Pakistan has undoubtedly taken a number of significant steps to improve its nuclear security over the past decade, which includes its effective functioning with the US to equip its ports with scanners to detect radiological material. Similarly it has projected certain legal bindings on it by executing several bilateral and multilateral agreements at national and international level. The ratification of Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material (CPPNM), is one among the major commitment in this regard.

The CPPNM, the only legally binding international undertaking in the area of physical protection of nuclear material, entered into force in 1987. It focuses on the physical protection of nuclear material used for peaceful purposes during international transport. However, the CPPNM doesn't cover the physical protection of nuclear material in peaceful domestic use, storage or transport — or the physical protection of nuclear facilities. In 2005, the States Parties to the Convention adopted the Amendment to broaden its scope. "The 2005 Amendment obliges countries to protect nuclear facilities, as well as

nuclear material in domestic use, storage and transport. It provides for more international cooperation on locating and recovering stolen or smuggled nuclear material”.

In the fourth and final Nuclear Security Summit (NSS) of 2016 the practical efforts of Pakistan were acknowledged to ensure the safety and security of its nuclear facilities. Pakistan has also highlighted in this summit, its nuclear material’s safety and security record and demanded to put an end to the discriminatory Nuclear Supplier Group restraints on nuclear equipment and technology transfers to Pakistan. Syed Tariq Fatemi, who previously served as a Special Assistant to the Prime Minister of Pakistan on Foreign Affairs, categorically stated once: “Pakistan has strong credentials to become a member of the Nuclear Suppliers Group and other multilateral export control regimes, on non-discriminatory basis.” It is because; it maintains a safe, secure and effective nuclear program.

Pakistan’s politico-military command in the existing altering strategic environment is firm to work for nuclear safety and nuclear security in a coherent manner that would positively ensure the peaceful and non-violent use of nuclear material. DG Amano was also taken to the under-construction K-II and K-III nuclear plants and it was reassuring that he acknowledged Pakistan’s need for more energy and maintained that Pakistan is committed to nuclear security at all levels and most importantly is cooperating with the IAEA.

<https://nation.com.pk/21-Mar-2018/pakistan-s-nuclear-safety-and-security-standards>

Hurdles in Pakistan's Quest for Reaching Space

Ahyousha Khan

Space exploration is an expensive national objective for the state to pursue. Also, if a state is a developing country facing much pressing traditional and non-traditional threats, space exploration tends to end up an optional objective.

Every state has a right to prioritize whichever national objective it wants to achieve first. When it has issues like poverty, corruption, unemployment, and terrorism, etc. at hand, aiming for space becomes a herculean task. Same happened in case of Pakistan.

However, a question arises that in the age of globalization, telecommunication and information technology is it plausible for a state to achieve its national objectives without investing in space technology? Space technology is becoming an essential as dependency on modern technology is increasing. Developing state cannot stand with developed nations of the world without investing in space technology. Space satellites are becoming a necessary technology not only to ensure state's progress in information technology, but they are vital for military interests of the state as well. Space satellites are dual-use technologies that are equally effective for military usage. These satellites enable the states in intelligence gathering, navigation and military communication, high-resolution imagery and most importantly in developing early warning systems. With the help of early warning systems, states could detect the flight paths of incoming ballistic and cruise missile from an enemy as well.

Though Pakistan is a developing state, it never shied away from pursuing ambitious technological pursuits. Pakistan's space program "Space and Upper Atmosphere Research Commission (SUPARCO)" established in 1961, is an example that as nation importance of space exploration is not lost on the state. Pakistan was the first country among its regional neighbors to pursue a space program. However, these glittering generalities are part of the past that Pakistan witnessed regarding space satellites. Currently, Pakistan is lagging in the space program. In this day and age, Pakistan has yet to launch remote sensing satellite in space which is essential in monitoring, recording change and intelligence gathering as well.

Contrary to Pakistan its neighbor India which initiated its space program eight years later is now a record holder of sending more than 100 commercial and national satellites in one go. Furthermore, India has so far launched more than 100 satellites and establishes its network of satellites not only for commercial purposes but military purposes as well. At the moment, India is using its 13 satellites for military purposes including Cartosat 1 and 2, Risat 1 and 2 and GSAT-7 or INSAT-4F for intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance over enemy areas.

The fact that India is also a developing country where the population is increasing, and resources are becoming scarce by the day, is thought compelling. It is evident that by being mindful of military and economic benefits of space exploration, India never gave up on its progress in the arena of space technology. A significant contribution to India's space program came from the development of strategic

ties with the US and consequently its accession to MTCR and Wassenaar Arrangement. It's beyond any reasonable doubt that India's space program achieved its glorious heights after making strategic ties with the US.

International support received by India is one of the significant reasons behind the robust success of its space program, but the same is not the reason behind slow pace of Pakistan's space program.

There are several contributing factors behind inactive space program that Pakistan is running. One of the biggest technical shortcomings Pakistan is still facing in its space satellite program is the dearth of launching vehicle for space satellite. The satellite launch vehicle enables a state to enter its payload into an outer orbit from earth's surface through the help of carrier rocket. Recent telecommunication and digital satellite launched by Pakistan utilized China's assistance. So, the biggest shortcoming in a technical sphere is the absence of satellite launch vehicle. Pakistan is a state with sufficient manpower but needs financial sources to build satellite launch vehicles.

To reserve finances for a space program, it is essential that government builds state narrative on the importance of space exploration as satellites are not only essential for military purposes but is also a growing industry. In a time where a superpower is governing international system through the help of information technology and globalization has massive effects on state affairs, space satellites are becoming economic opportunity to be seized. So far in South Asia, the only country which is tapping space in India and thus seizing all the economic benefits along with military benefits. Economic benefits of the space exploration are undeniable; states providing launch facilities to the host space satellites earn huge revenue for providing the launch facilities. At the moment, India is an only South Asian regional player who is hosting commercial satellite and is even providing services to companies like Google.

Another concerning matter is smart spending of the budget when it comes to technological innovation. This concern should be considered as the need of the hour for Pakistan. Lamentably, it is evident from the political history of Pakistan that the leadership in its particular residency was more concerned with spending on items that helped their political cause rather than for the matters of national interest.

Therefore, along with economic resources, public support and technical innovations to develop a space program at its full potential are mandatory. A democratic government should show staunch political resolve in favor of space exploration. This will not only enable Pakistan to have an eye in the sky, but it can put money in state reserves by providing commercial services to international/national actors and take the nation to great technological highlights. Moreover, such initiatives are essential for making Pakistan self-sufficient state and will endorse the political resolve to alleviate unemployment by creating jobs in the new avenues for the generations to come.

<http://southasiajournal.net/hurdles-in-pakistans-quest-for-reaching-space/>

CPEC: a Viable Step towards the Blue Economy

S. Sadia Kazmi

Pakistan, owing to its location sits at a naturally advantageous position, which many other countries of the world do not intrinsically enjoy. One such advantage is that Pakistan has its own sea towards the South which enhances its importance for having maritime borders. The excess to sea provides Pakistan with an immense potential to ship bigger volumes of cargo in less time and enhance its trade activity and be part of the globalized economy. There is no denying the fact that coastlines have always played a crucial role in cultivating a vibrant economic and trade culture for the states. Most of the economic centers of the world are located near the seas. While there is a complete understanding of this aspect among the policy makers in both China and Pakistan, yet the maritime sector of Pakistan needs much needed attention to develop and start delivering on its promised potential. Keeping this very dimension in mind, the Gwadar port occupies the central position in the CPEC project.

The vast coastline of Pakistan naturally offers the option of deep sea water ports which means a much bigger volume of ship could be stationed along the coastline. This in turn directly have positive implication for the trade volume that could be undertaken. In this regard Port Qasim and Gwadar Port could be utilized to their maximum potential. However, first there is a need to plan a right strategy to exploit this option positively, as these coastlines between the two ports are still quite underdeveloped with insufficient human resource equipped with the relevant skills. Only then the maritime sustainability could be ensured. Not just that but the full potential and success of the CPEC project will only be gauged through the development in all the sectors of the states. Taking example from China, the Maritime Silk Route figures prominently in its Belt and Road Initiative. One can see that China's state-owned companies are vigorously busy in developing its network along the maritime route.

The idea behind this commitment comes from President Xi's vision which talks about upholding the existing international maritime order with openness, cooperation and inclusive development to improve the investment environment and achieve market-based operations and multi-stakeholder participation in the maritime sector. It is believed that this vision specifically promotes the development of a blue economy, ocean-based prosperity, maritime security, innovative growth, and collaborative governance. These ideals are a linchpin for the maritime sector development of any state. Pakistan also needs to learn from this. While the CPEC project banks mostly upon the smooth functioning of the ports yet the maritime sector of Pakistan requires proper policy guidance. There needs to pay a major attention to securing and developing sea routes. As Pakistan's trade, economic and technological indicators are showing a hopeful picture, largely owing to the CPEC project, it is equally important to tap the economic potential of the maritime sector. This should be formally given space and accommodated within the LTP under CPEC. Pakistan will be able to open for itself the global gateways with increased interconnectivity and boost in maritime trade. This could ultimately serve as a huge catalyst for an overall growth of the state.

Some work is already underway though such as the completion of the first phase of the Gwadar Port; the regular shipping service by the China Ocean Shipping Company (Cosco) from Gwadar; and the decision to develop Keti Bandar Port in Sindh under CPEC, heralds a new beginning for our stagnant maritime sector. In addition to this, according to some officially quoted figures, development of the maritime sector will help boost socioeconomic benefits for Pakistan by creating employment opportunities. Pakistan's maritime sector has the potential to create between 500,000 and 1,000,000 jobs, if it is comprehensively developed and made operational at optimum capacity. No doubt the development of maritime sector is not an easy task nor is there a shortcut to it. Nonetheless, a timely, comprehensive and a wide ranging policy development implemented with a certain consistency will bear fruitful results.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2018/03/25/cpec-a-viable-step-towards-the-blue-economy/>

The Friend in Court

Ubaid Ahmed

Objective reality must be measured by its own size and not by the size of its shadow. Indeed, the People's Republic of China has been an all-weather friend of Pakistan. Let us all honour and respect this friendship by being discerning and reasonable and not by forcing superfluous weights and strains on the friendship.

A broader and sharp decline in Pakistan-US relations could prompt the US endeavouring to impact China's association with Pakistan. Beijing already has a wide-ranging and troublesome schema with the US, with areas of conflict running from the South China Sea to the Korean Peninsula. Having its activities in Pakistan come under the US scrutiny would also be unwelcome.

As the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) gains steam, it is significant not to conflate what Pakistan procures from China with what it acquires from the US. The two states give imperative help to Pakistan, yet in various ways.

As the continued advances on CPEC attest, it stays genuine that China is extending and likewise expanding its general financial and security support to Pakistan. Be that as it may, the questions of Beijing's limits have dependably been a vital one. It is frequently twiggled in military terms: regardless of whether in 1971 or 1999, China has shown little or no eagerness to swing in on Pakistan's side amid emergencies of its own making. Its help has concentrated on furnishing Pakistan with the abilities that it needs, not going about as a military ally. These limits have also been evidenced in the political or diplomatic sphere, for example, China's unmistakable ensign in the aftermath of the Mumbai attacks that it would not ensure Pakistani activists at the UN, and financially, where China has been considerably quicker to see Pakistan go to the IMF than to give its own bailouts.

More recently, the events like placing Pakistan in the terrorist financing watch list of the Financial Action Task Force (FATF), an international money laundering watchdog, shows that China is not likely to offer its unmitigated support to Pakistan. There were reports that India consulted with China and persuaded the latter to haul out its support for Pakistan. Apparently, China's choice ought to be taken as a reasonable impression of its disappointment with Pakistan as opposed to being seen as a political weight from some other state. It is also noteworthy that China has always preferred to deal with the latter's policy on terrorism behind the closed doors but now has begun to use regional and international public forums to indicate its seriousness to the Pakistani authorities.

Moreover, in September last year, amid BRICS summit, which was hosted by China, a number of militant groups allegedly based in Pakistan were declared a regional security threat. The message coming out of Beijing as of now is quite clear that if Pakistan continues to stick its policy of 'inaction', it ought to 'do more' and will face not only significant isolation but also very strong opposition from China. On the off chance that Islamabad takes after an approach that isn't in accordance with Beijing's economic or security interests, it ought not to expect China's exhaustive support at any forum.

China stands ready to deepen its support to Pakistan further and help open new avenues. But can a strategic partnership with China be a substitute for Pakistan's ties with the US?

To answer this question, one needs to copiously comprehend that the US troops are stationed in Pakistan's neighbourhood, Afghanistan. US military bases are spread across the region, and Trump is also willing to lend more support to Pakistan's arch-rival India. Given these circumstances, Pakistan's foreign office ought to be mindful of its initiatives and must also bear in mind that though China is helping Pakistan in many areas yet it cannot replace the US.

In a nutshell, the leverage that Pakistan used to exercise hitherto over both China and the US regarding 'jihadists' in the region has now become archaic. 'Beijing can now force its strict conditions on Pakistan in terms of economic and security matters'.

<https://dailytimes.com.pk/219531/the-friend-in-court/>

The FATF, USA, and Pakistan: Implications and Consequences

Uzge Amer Saleem

The love and hate relationship between Pakistan and United States of America has become old news now however certain events keep spicing up the dynamics between the two states. Tracking it back to the Cold War era where Pakistan was the closest ally to the War on terror where Pakistan had no other choice but to be the closest ally. What added to the situation was USA's growing interests in India, and thus we had ourselves a hot mess with India becoming the most favorite strategic partner and Pakistan just being left in the middle of nowhere.

The most recent blow to this relationship came when America, under the trump administration managed to get a second round of vote to put Pakistan on the FATF greylist. It is interesting that they were not able to do so in the first formal voting session where Saudi Arabia and China were not in favor of it but in the second round that came soon after, Saudi Arabia joined the American camp in exchange for full membership of FATF and China opted out of voting. Turkey, however, was the only state left supporting Pakistan.

The fact that America was so eager to get this decision sanctioned has everything to do with Trump's foreign policy towards South Asia and particularly Pakistan. We may have until June before we formally make the greylist but fiddling in the international arena has already begun to prove Pakistan to be an unstable state which is not fit to safeguard their nukes. This is all just a part of building a greater narrative against Pakistan so that Trump's idea of isolating Pakistan can be achieved. The man who asks us to "do more" is not satisfied, and by the looks of it, he never will be. Putting us on the grey list is just an initial move, and FATF is the first instrument used for it. The greater agenda is to isolate Pakistan which is the only justification for this grey move. One does not know why but the international community is just not ready to believe that Pakistan is a responsible state when it comes to fighting terrorism and that we take all necessary steps to ensure the cut down of terrorism at least from our part of the world. This might be the work of some hostile neighbors who do not want a prosperous Pakistan and more importantly a peaceful region. America's changing strategic alliance in the region is a clear sign of this.

Let's look at things objectively and focus on Pakistan being added to the list. Trump has already cut down \$2 billion' worth of aid to Pakistan, and once we are added to the list, we will suffer further economically as we might be losing out on Foreign Direct Investment. By pressurizing us financially, the Trump administration believes they can squeeze out some favors which they like to believe is their right.

It is an old tactic that unfortunately works on weaker states. However, the great power needs to do better than that. They need to realize that Pakistan is a third world state surrounded by hostilities, practically and virtually. Just because we don't make our moves according to them does not mean our moves are not in line with the international parameters of nuclear security and all other aspects of security addressed by the FATF. Under these circumstances serving such blows to us puts us in an even weaker state to take counter-terrorism measures.

The image of Pakistan as an irresponsible state is just a below the belt move which the Americans are determined to pursue. We have proven before, and we can prove again that despite all odds being against us we are one of the few nations since to the idea of eradicating terrorism because we have faced it on our soil first hand. Pakistan is already going above and beyond its capacity to ensure that terrorism, organized crime, money laundering and other such activities can be cut down from their roots but for this, we cannot suffer from the economic and diplomatic blows which the FATF grey list can bring to us. If America wants us to “do more” they will have to be patient about it and trust the fact that we know how to handle the situations on our soil and matters that affect our national security directly. They cannot just expect one thing and also expect it to be done on their terms.

<http://southasiajournal.net/the-fatf-usa-and-pakistan-implications-and-consequences/>

Pakistan-Russia: Growing Convergence of Interests

Nisar Ahmed

The fast changing geopolitical realities in global politics, underpinned by the resurgence of China and Russia and the waning hegemony of the US have paved the way for a new form of alliance structure in the region. Russia and Pakistan, once Cold War era antagonists, seem to have realised the need to benefit from this opportunity, especially when both the states see eye to eye on various regional issues—like the protracted Afghanistan conflict, threat of Islamic State (IS), and economic integration, to name some major converging points.

The thaw in Pakistan-Russia relations comes on the heels of deterioration in Pakistan-US ties, concerning the issue of Afghanistan and growing estrangement between Russia and India. India is turning its back to Russia in the wake of its much touted strategic partnership with the US and prioritising the US, Israel and western countries in procuring high-tech defence products leaves Russia with a sense of betrayal at a time when it direly needs Asian markets, in the wake of western sanctions and low oil prices.

Defence and military cooperation form an important domain where Pakistan and Russia have achieved great strides after the later lifted the self-imposed arms embargo on Pakistan in 2014, paving the way for a military cooperation agreement which included “exchanging information on politico-military issues, strengthening collaboration in defence and counter-terrorism sectors, sharing similar views on developments in Afghanistan and doing business with each other”. The joint anti-terrorism military exercise named DRUZBHA (Friendship) 2017 was yet another step in growing military-to-military cooperation, indicating a steady growth in bilateral relations between the two countries.

It goes without saying that the bilateral relationship is not predominantly driven by short term and parochial interests, as some may tend to think. The fact of the matter is that broader and shared vision for peace, stability and economic prosperity on the basis of inclusive and multilateral approach is providing the impetus for the strengthening of ties.

Pakistan’s recalibration of foreign and security policy: giving economic development a weight equal to geopolitics and Russian pivot to Asia policy are a testament to this.

There are even talks of Russia’s keen interests to participate in building energy and transportation corridors from Central Asia to Pakistan through Afghanistan’s Wakhan corridor — thereby linking it with the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). Reported negotiations on energy deals worth \$10 billion speak volumes of overlapping economic interests.

Reportedly, first proposed by Russian diplomat Igor Morgulov, Moscow and Beijing have agreed to ‘pair’ their One Belt, One Road project and the Eurasian Economic Union. For Pakistan, such an eventuality would open new avenues of economic opportunities and help diversify its partnerships in the region; needless to say when India painstakingly pursues a policy of isolation against Pakistan.

However, both the states, including China, believe that realization of these objectives depend to a large extent on regional peace and stability, particularly in Afghanistan and CARs and that in turn depends on the US role. There is no denying the fact that both have grown weary of perceived US inaction against IS or tacit role in providing it a sanctuary in Afghanistan. Thus, both consider a long term US military presence in Afghanistan detrimental for peace and their strategic interests. Of particular concern to Russia is the growing footprint of Islamic State under the nose of US in northern Afghanistan.

This assessment drives Russia so far as to mull over providing the Afghan Taliban with military assistance to counter the Islamic State, which has of late mounted its deadliest attacks in the country. Ultimately, both Pakistan and Russia want a politically negotiated settlement to the Afghan conflict with a broad-based, sustainable government, including the Afghan Taliban.

In conclusion, the current trend of frequent high level engagement between Pakistan and Russia is promising. However, the two countries need to expedite efforts for translating the shared sentiments and vision into pragmatic policy objectives.

In this regard, the decision to establish Anti-Terror Military Cooperation Commission is a step in the right direction.

Most importantly, for the burgeoning relation to sustain any geopolitical shocks emanating from the actions and policies of Indo-US nexus, the two countries should expand the sphere of engagements in all spheres — including defence, economy, energy, education and people to people contact. In nutshell, it's for Pakistan and Russia to seize this golden opportunity and cement their ties lest this opportunity fade in the fog of geopolitical shifts.

<https://dailytimes.com.pk/220467/pakistan-russia-growing-convergence-of-interests/>

CPEC: An Environment Friendly Project

Qura tul ain Hafeez

Poverty and health always go side by side. It's very obvious that the poor will always try to adapt the cheap means of to fulfill its needs. He will use those resources which are easily available to him and same is the case with Pakistan. China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) has perhaps become the most talked about event in Pakistan and has been deemed as an economic anthem of the country far it is a toll for boosting the economy keeping in lines the international consensus on Climate Change. CPEC appears to be an absolute development and Environment friendly package in energy sector and will be a boon for Pakistan's crippling economy. It envisages various road, railway, energy, infrastructure and industrial projects.

Substantially, in order to meet the energy crises Pakistan has stated various energy projects and coal power plants are one of them. In Sindh the CPEC is starting additional energy projects compared to any other province of Pakistan. Coal power plants in the area of Thar are being constructed. Thar-I coal power plant with 6600 MW and Thar-II coal power plant (consists of two power plants each of 330MW) will be using the indigenously produced coal through local coal mines. According to an estimate these local coal mines will be providing 3.8 million tons of coal on yearly basis. Port Qasim coal power plant is another coal based power plant constructed in Sindh worth of \$2billion.

Moreover in Sahiwal coal power project of 1320MW is to be built as well along with the project of a coal mine of \$589 million. A 330 MW of coal plant will also be launched in Punjab Salt Range and in Baluchistan at Hub and Gwadar; coal power plants of 660 MW and 300MW will be constructed respectively, to meet the energy demands

However due to such a huge investment for the energy projects, a major concern is the possible impact on environment sustainability and climate change. It is being argued that it will introduce a new set of problems because the coal power plants are considered to be one of the major contributors to greenhouse gases, which cause global warming.

This is also being said that these projects ignore the aspect of an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA). Although Pakistan is responsible for a mere 0.43% of global greenhouse gas emissions, but it is among the world's 10-most vulnerable countries to climate change. Moreover it can cause significant damage to the eco tourism and glaciers, which are diminishing due to expanded infrastructure. The wild life of the region could also be affected with changing natural landscapes. These are some of the impacts which should not be taken lightly.

Poverty has direct relation with environmental degradation and climate change because people use the cheap resources. However CPEC is not just about the energy generation projects but the concerned authorities have also considered the best means to considerably reduce the environmental damage. It has been formally agreed that one should not completely take for granted the impact of carbon foot print on the echo system.

Unfortunately, coal use has attracted a lot of criticism due to its environmental impact. Analysis shows that Pakistan's energy mix contain a minimum share of coal is and it will remain less despite the investment in new coal fired power plants. It is pertinent to note that the developed economies like USA, Germany, Poland, etc are still at the forefront in carbon foot print then Pakistan. Furthermore, for Pakistan, it is important to overcome the problem of energy crisis and invest in renewable energy.

Both China and Pakistan are well conscious of the fact that these harmful externalities which this lignite coal possesses should not be ignored and decided to offset the impact by focusing more on renewable energy projects. It is explicitly explained in the Long Term Plan (LTP) that renewable energy sector will be the major area of investment in future. The Federal Minister for Power Division, Sardar Awais Ahmed Khan Leghari has proposed to establish a renewable energy institute in the country which is a good step for controlling the carbon foot prints. It also promises to bridge the energy gap by constructing numerous hydro, solar, wind power and Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) projects to reduce the green house emission.

Augmenting the share of renewable energy in power projects would also address the gaping disparity between the Pakistan and global leaders in the realm. In order to sustain the energy need and keeping in mind the climate effects the CPEC energy projects not only engage in generating power from coal but focus on other renewable sources of energy such as hydroelectric power for which Pakistan has a huge potential. For this a hydro power plant Suki Kinari with total capacity 870MW worth US \$1802 Million to be constructed in Mansehra district of KPK. On 10th of January, 2016 construction of another hydropower plant famously known as "Karot Hydropower Plant" was on track.

This US \$1420 Million power plant will be finished by the year 2020 and will be able to produce 720 MW of power from river Jhelum. Only these hydropower projects altogether will produce 7190 MW of electricity.

Similarly the CPEC places solar and wind energy projects on the forefront to avoid the green house emission effect as they not only produce cheap electricity but are also better for the environment and are more sustainable in the long run. In the idea is to come up with the best possible options to fulfill the requirement of energy. Quaid-e-Azam Solar Park in Bahawalpur (US \$1302 Million) is a 1,000 MW. solar energy generating plant whose first phase was completed by the year 2015 and the second phase will be completed by the end of year 2016. The commercial operation date (COD) of 300 MW was attained in August 2016.

To further overcome the coal emissions wind power plant at Jhimpir is constructed. It is producing 50 MW of electricity by wind power and another plant of 100 MW is likely to produce electricity through wind power with a cost of US \$250 million through the CPEC.

Moreover it is pertinent to mention here that Pakistan has planned some LNG energy projects planned to be carried out as part of the CPEC project. Among the LNG projects under CPEC, a 711KM long gas pipe line isto be built which will provide 1 billion cubic feet of LNG per day. The total cost of this project will be \$2.5 billion. Along with reducing the carbon emission this project will not only supply gas to Pakistan but China will also get benefit from this project for its trade activities.

This is a known fact that China has adapted strict measures and it has developed a network of 1500 air quality monitoring stations in over 900 cities to control air pollution. Likewise to further make CPEC an environment friendly Pakistan and China can jointly collaborate on green house trading mechanism, this will offset environmental cost of carbon emission in Pakistan. However, it has also been stated in the LTP of CPEC, that China will also help Pakistan excel in the production of renewable energy related technologies. One can hope that, under global scrutiny, and for all that it promises in Paris agreement Pakistan is firmly committed to the purposes and objectives of the Climate Convention thus Making CPEC and environment friendly project.

<https://www.eurasiareview.com/29032018-cpec-an-environment-friendly-project-oped/>

CPEC, Economic Stability, Pakistan and the US

S. Sadia Kazmi

The robust economic dimension to the China-Pakistan relations is something that wasn't as central to the ties before, even though the diplomatic and military cooperation was always there. CPEC is the manifestation of this growing economic cooperation between the two with its total worth being around US \$ 62 billion. This massive investment by Chinese in Pakistan is the maximum that the latter has ever received in the history from any other state. This large sum of money coming in, promises to uplift the local economic situation in Pakistan in addition to bringing socio-political advantages in terms of stability and development. Another dimension to it is the regional and global image augmentation as an emerging economy. Pakistan, owing to its strategic position at the crossroads of various regions, holds great importance not just within South Asia or for China but also for the US. The Afghan Policy of the US is bound to be incomplete without employing the services and resources of Pakistan.

A stable and economically viable Pakistan hence is in the interest of the US. Not just that but the continued efforts against the global terrorism have been made successful only because of the immense sacrifices and genuine efforts of Pakistan in the US War on Terrorism (WoT). So, the stability of Pakistan is directly linked with the stability of the region, stability of the Muslim world and to the world free from the menace of terrorism. An economically attractive Pakistan as investment destination will be a good market for not just the Chinese but for the Americans and other states too. Hence, this project should not be seen as a threat by the US or India, instead as a source of regional and global stability along with being a potential market provider to the world. The interests should be seen as converging instead of in clash with each other. It is not to forget that the state security is essentially hinged to the economic stability. Hence, it is not wrong to say that with the economic stability of Pakistan, hinges the regional development and security interests too.

Geopolitically as well, it has implications for the adjacent regions including the Central and West Asia. Sharing border with China, Afghanistan, India and Iran makes Pakistan an important entity for these states. Hence even though the CPEC is a bilateral project but not just Pakistan is a stakeholder in this project but these countries are as well. Second most populous Muslim world and a nuclear power in the region, makes Pakistan's relevance unavoidable even for those who don't let any chance go by to isolate Pakistan for their own vested strategic interests i.e. India. However, this also merits attention to certain challenges which continue to plague the socio-political landscape of the country. Some are internally driven while others are externally cultivated. The careful examination and evaluation of these factors as potential hiccups in the way smooth implementation of the CPEC project is very important. Terrorism, political upheavals, extremism etc. are the most pressing issues coupled with the weak economy.

The international community needs to understand that Pakistan as a potential market economy will be a source of less worry and hence should mutually support this initiative by China in making Pakistan economically strong and a secure state. US definitely will have to reevaluate its policy options

with Pakistan. The awful phase Pak-US relations at present need to be readdressed on the basis of needs, requirements and vulnerabilities of each state. An economically stable Pakistan will not be a “challenge” for the US as was tagged as one by the Trump administration in the strategy for Afghanistan and South Asia. By supporting and encouraging the CPEC, the US will not only facilitate the economic and development options for Pakistan but will also find business opportunities within Pakistan. Ultimately all could be the beneficiary in this mega economic project.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2018/03/30/cpec-economic-stability-pakistan-and-the-us/>