



STRATEGIC VISION
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VISION

VISIONARY INSIGHTS INTO THE STRATEGIC INQUESTS OF NATIONS

SVI FORESIGHT

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MARCH 2019

Compiled & Edited by:
S. Sadia Kazmi

Strategic Vision Institute
Islamabad

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I N S T I T U T E

Strategic Vision Institute (SVI)

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Strategic Vision Institute (SVI)

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

SVI Foresight

SVI Foresight is a monthly electronic journal. It has a multi-disciplinary perspective highlighting on the contemporary strategic and security studies. The 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

SVI-Foresight for the month of March is a mix of analytical contributions on an array of contemporary national security and strategic developments. The Pulwama and Balakot incidents kept the regional and global attention intact on the South Asian region. Crisp and to the point commentaries included in this volume of *SVI-Foresight* provide interesting analysis of the situation with special focus on the possibility of a war between two hostile nuclear neighbours; India and Pakistan. Another article aptly flourishes a debate on the deterrence factor and its relevance in the February-escalation between India and Pakistan. Readers may also find a unique perspective on the upcoming general election in India and Modi's probability of serving another term. China's tough choices and pragmatic approach vis-à-vis India and Pakistan has been brought into light by one of the contributing scholars. Another article talks about the current missile developments by India and implications for the regional stability. Another significant development during the month of March was the meeting between Pakistan and Russia for the consultative group on strategic stability. One of the writings included in this volume specifically look into various aspects of Pak-Russia relations and future prospects. Last but not the least, a distinctive insight has been provided in one of the articles on Pakistan Navy's contribution for the promotion of Education at the national scale.

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

Constitution Making in Pakistan and its Interruptions

Anjum Sarfraz

Constitution is the supreme law of the land from which all public authorities derive their power. It sets out the frame work for governance and exercise of power of the state institutions and relationship between them. At the time of independence an interim constitution was adopted by the Constituent Assembly which was modified version of India Act 1935. The Objective resolution which contained guide lines for framing the constitution was approved by the Constitution Assembly on 12 March 1948.

Emphasis was on principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice as enunciated by Islam. Prime Minister (PM), Liaquat Ali Khan headed the first Basic Principle Committee (BPC) formed the same day for framing the constitution. The committee submitted first report on 28 Sep 1950 which was not approved mainly because it gave equal representation to both wings although East wing had more population than West and Urdu as the state language. Second draft was presented on 22 Dec 1952 by PM, Khawaja Nazim ud Din (Liaquat Ali Khan had been assassinated on 15 Oct 1951). It proposed bicameral legislation, lower and upper houses to have equal representation (upper house 60 each and lower 200 each). This also came under criticism, because of equal seats of two wings, and Urdu as state language. Third draft was presented on 5 OCT 1953, by PM, Muhammad Ali Bogra, which is also known as Bogra formula. It compromised on disparity and proposed bicameral legislation. It proposed lower house on the basis of population total 300 seats (East Bengal 165, remaining 4 units of West Pak 135). Upper house of 52 seats, 10 each to 5 constituent units and 2 reserved for women. In the meantime a political development took place, provincial elections were held in East wing in March 1954. Muslim League secured only 10 seats (badly defeated).

The assembly passed a bill in Sep 1954 which made Governor General (GG) to act on the advice of the PM. It was also made mandatory for GG to appoint PM a member of assembly who enjoys the confidence of majority. GG, Ghulam Muhammad dissolved the assembly on 24 Oct 1954. The Supreme Court headed by Justice Muhammad Munir upheld the decision under the law of necessity. However, Justice Cornelius wrote note of dissent. New Elections were held on 21 June 1955, to elect 40 members each from both wings. PM, Chaudhry Muhammad Ali, took the task of constitution making. It was passed on 29 Feb 1956 to be effective from 23 March 1956. It was mainly based on government of India Act 1935, parliamentary form of government. The state was declared as Islamic Republic of Pakistan. It was unicameral legislation to be elected on the basis of parity between the two provinces. Just after about two years, President Iskander Mirza dissolved the assemblies, abrogated constitution and appointed Gen Ayub Khan C in C Army as Chief Martial Administrator (CMLA) on 7 Oct 1958.

Main reasons announced, were enhancement of corruption in society and constitution unworkable. On 17 Oct 1958 President Iskander Mirza resigned in favor of Gen Ayub Khan, later became President and CMLA. The Supreme Court headed by Justice Muhammad Munir again legitimized the Martial Law under the law of necessity and Justice Cornelius wrote the note of dissent as he did not agree

that coup could be legally justified. Gen Ayub Khan appointed Commission in Feb 60 to frame constitution which was promulgated on 8 June 1962. It had Presidential form of government, federation to have two units, East and West Pakistan. There were 40,000 Basic Democracy (BD) members to be elected from each wing. BD members were Electoral College for the elections of president, members of national and provincial assemblies. Most powers with center. It was a unitary form of government. This constitution did not last very long, because the President became autocratic and less provincial autonomy.

The agitation started against the President Ayub Khan in late 1968. He handed over powers to C-in-C Army, Gen Agha Muhammad Yahyakhani who proclaimed Martial Law on 25 March 1969. As per constitution the Speaker of national assembly should have been handed over powers. This Martial Law was declared usurper by the Supreme Court. Justice, Hamood ur Rehman had written in Asma Jilani case (PLD 1972 SC 139) that Gen Yahya Khan had no authority to abrogate constitution of 1962 and impose Martial law. This was the first time that abrogating the constitution was declared unlawful. However, no action was taken against any one. After the fall of Dhaka on 16 Dec 1971, East Pakistan became Bangladesh. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto became President and CMLA on 20 Dec 71 and continued till 15 April 1972 when the National Assembly adopted India Act of 1935 with amendments as an interim constitution. A committee of 25 members was formed to frame constitution and finally the National Assembly adopted constitution (commonly known as constitution of 73) with consensus on 11 April 1973.

Main features are, parliamentary form of government, president head of state and PM head of govt. It has bicameral legislation, lower house to have seats as per population and upper house equal seats of the 4 federating units. According to this constitution, the federal government shall have control and command of the Armed Forces and supreme command of Armed Forces shall vest in the President. The President shall on the advice of the PM appoint, Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee (CJSC), and services chiefs. The Armed forces shall, under the directions of the Federal Government defend Pakistan against external aggression or threat of war, and, subject to law, act in aid of civil power when called upon to do so. This constitution was also abrogated/ held in abeyance twice once on 5 July 1977 by Gen Zia ul Haq and on 12 October 1999 by Gen Musharraf. In both cases the decisions of Army chiefs were not only legalized by the Supreme Court, but also the Military Rulers were authorized to amend the constitution.

Gen Zia amended the constitution, besides other clauses included 58-2b which gave discretionary powers to the President to sack the government and dissolve the assemblies. It is pertinent to mention that in parliamentary form of government president is head of state and has only his secretariat and no cabinet to advise. Applying this clause Gen Zia dismissed the government of PM, Muhammad Khan Junejo (23 Mar 85- 29 May 88). Using same clause President Ghulam Ishaque Khan in the first tenure of Benazir Bhutto (2 Dec 88- 5 Aug 90) and later President Farooq Leghari in her second tenure (19 Oct 93-4 Nov 96) terminated her governments. President Ghulam Ishaque Khan sacked the first government of PM, Nawaz Sharif (6 Nov 90-17 Jul 93) and his second government (17 Feb 97-11 Oct 99) ended by coup of Gen Musharraf. The country had remained politically unstable as long as clause 58-2b was part of constitution. It was finally removed through 18th amendment on 8 April 2010. The 71 years history of Pakistan is full of constitutional turmoils.

The country has been governed by 4 constitutions (twice India Act 1935, 1956 & 1962), 4 times military rule and 3 times elected governments were dismissed under clause 58-2b and now 1973 is in vogue. It is pertinent to mention that India got independence with Pakistan in 1947, had adopted constitution on 19 November 1949 to come into force on 26 January 1950. It has never been abrogated or held in abeyance. We have made a lot of experiments to frame constitution and to run the government. Infact country has been mostly governed by hit and trials. Need of the hour is a politically stable government, with strong and independent pillars of the state, judiciary, legislation, and administration. All institutions of the country are required to be strengthened to work strictly in accordance with the constitution, rules, regulations and the oath taken by various authorities.

<https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2019/03/10/constitution-making-in-pakistan-and-its-interruptions/>

Pakistan Navy's Promotion of Education

Anjum Sarfraz

Pakistan Navy (PN) is substantially contributing for promotion of education in Pakistan especially in coastal areas. PN establishments are spread over in Karachi, Islamabad and Lahore, in addition to coastal areas. Personnel in uniform, specially, officers are transferred to different formations / stations / bases for courses, training and to gain experience of staff and command appointments in a period of 2-3 years. The transferred personnel have to look for schools/ colleges/ universities for admission of their children. A lot of precious time was wasted in this hassle. In some cases, when studies of their children were affected, they had to lose one academic year in the process. In early eighties, PN decided to have its academic institutions established to facilitate officers and lower ranks to provide quality education to their children. However, not only the naval wards are being given admission, children of the other two sister services and civilians meeting the criteria are also accommodated. In this way, lots of children are getting quality education at competitive rates.

Moreover, a lot of people from civil sector are being given jobs as lecturers, teachers and in administration. It is pertinent to mention that unlike educational institutes in the private sector, PN is not being run merely to earn profit. These have also been established in remote and underdeveloped areas of the country where ever naval station is located unlike the corporate sector which have institutions in big cities from where they can earn more profit. At Karachi, PN has Bahria College (BC) NORE-1 at MT Khan Road, BC at Karsaz and in Islamabad at Naval Complex E 8 and at Anchorage Islamabad. Bahria College Lahore had started functioning in Sep 2012 at Walton. BCs are mostly located in the residential areas of naval personnel. Total strength of students in Bahria Colleges is 13720, out of this about 45% are from private sector. A total 1024 is teaching staff, largely civilians have been provided with jobs. Supporting staff employed is 398. The principal in some cases are officers in uniform or retired officials, having requisite qualification and experience. In this way, a lot of people have been given jobs in addition to providing quality education at competitive rates.

There are seven Bahria Model Schools at Karachi and one in Islamabad which are located in the sailors residential estates to provide quality education. Presently, about 17500 students get education from these schools.

Special people are an integral part of the society since they are comparatively less blessed. Hence, they need more care and attention. In order to alleviate their sufferings and bring them into mainstream, PN has established three, Special Children Schools (SCS) at Karachi and Islamabad. The SCS at Karachi in Karsaz was established in 1993 and shifted to specially constructed building for this purpose in 2005. Present strength of children is 274 and 40 teachers are imparting instructions up to Higher Secondary School (HSSC). The SCS at Mauripur was established in 1999 and it has 90 students and 16 teaching staff. The SCS at Islamabad was established in 1995. It is functioning in a purpose-built structure at Naval Complex E 8. Presently, it has 180 students and 24 teaching faculty. Level of education is Secondary School (SSC). PN is looking after the educational aspects of about 544 special children out of this 48 % are civilians. The teaching and supporting staff are mostly from private sector.

To impart higher education, Bahria University was established in 2001 at Shangrila Road Naval Complex E8. It is an autonomous body to work under the auspices of Naval Headquarters (NHQ). Its chancellor is the President of Pakistan and the pro-chancellor is the Chief of the Naval Staff (CNS). The constituent units are at Islamabad, Karachi and Lahore campuses. It also has Medical and Dental College, Institute of Professional Psychology, and National Institute of Maritime Affairs (NIMA) at Islamabad and National Centre for Maritime Policy Research (NCMPR) at Karachi. Total strength of students in constituent units is about 15000 and 76% are civilians. Faculty strength is 770 including 150 PhDs, and remaining are MPhil/MS. The admin staff is 800 who are mostly civilians or retired personnel. The university is providing quality educations in engineering, computer science, social sciences, law, medical & dental, psychology and maritime disciplines. Degrees are recognised by the Higher Education Commission (HEC), Pakistan Engineering Council (PEC) and Pakistan Medical and Dental Council (PMDC).

It also has affiliation with renowned universities abroad. The university offers programs in undergraduate, post graduate and doctoral studies. Its ranking is amongst the top ten university of Pakistan in “general category” assessed by HEC.

Bahria University Medical and Dental College is functioning at Karachi since 2009. It offers MBBS, BDS, MPhil, Doctor of Physical Therapy, BS (Nursing) and BS (Medical Lab Technology). Present strength of students is 997, and teaching faculty is about 300. Faculty is mostly civilians qualified from abroad and distinguished universities of Pakistan.

PN is whole heartedly supporting the government to promote education in coastal areas especially for Baloch people. Cadet College at Ormara has been established to provide modern educational facilities to the Baloch youth. The pioneer batch of 58 cadets started education in April 2013. It included 25 Baloch Naval cadets who had got free education facilities including expenses of boarding and lodging which were borne by PN. Most of them meeting the requirements have joined PN as commissioned officers. Presently, annual intake is 60. Fifty percent seats are reserved for Baloch students who are being provided free education. They are encouraged to join navy and other the two sister services. PN has also established a Bahria Model School at Ormara in 2004. Presently 700 Baloch students and 155 naval wards are getting quality education at subsidised rates. Pick and drop facilities are being provided to local faculty and staff. A model school was established in Gwadar in Mar 2010. Presently it has classes from Montessori to class X and students are 417, mostly Baloch. This school will be soon shifted to purpose-built structure and upgraded to college.

PN has a station at coastal town Jiwani. A model school has been established in 2012 to provide quality education to children of locals. Presently, students enrolled are 165, almost all students and staff is local. PN has also established a Bahria Model School at Naval Air Station located in Turbat in August 2015. Students enrolled are 230. In order to provide good quality education to poor deserving children of the coastal areas, CNS adopt a child scheme has been introduced from the year 2012. Naval officers adopt a child and bear the expenses of education of these poor students. Till date, 144 students are getting free education in PN schools in coastal areas. In addition, PN has reserved seats for Baloch students in its institutions at Karachi. There is one reserved seat, for MBA, BBA, MBBS and BDS. Tuition fee and allied charges are free. Similarly, two seats have been reserved in Cadet College Petaro for Baloch students. Ten

Baloch students of coastal area are selected ever year to provide free education (tuition fee, boarding and lodging) from class VIII to SSC in Bahria Model Schools at Karachi. Presently 15 students are getting this benefit.

In short, PN is providing quality education at subsidised rates to its wards and civilians especially those residing in coastal areas where there were hardly any education facilities.

<https://dailytimes.com.pk/364080/pakistan-navys-promotion-of-education/>

The Theatrics of Conflict

Roasen Taj Raisani

If war had a new front, it will ultimately be in the arena of information technology. This is one of the oft-repeated statements that can be heard in the corridors of policy initiatives. Truly the burgeoning advances in information technology, media and mass politicisation have opened up new possibilities of conducting conflict; however, the most important aspect of any new conflict will rest on the ability of this technology to present any such conflict with a touch of theatrics.

The current crisis between Pakistan and India can be cited as the primary example in this type of war. The hounding of Indian media and the gall of Indian celebrities on social media depicted the tendency of these actors to highlight their garrulousness. The impact of social media with its perceptions of top trends and viral videos also cements the facts that any new conflict will have another extension, a certain theatrical quality.

Propaganda has long been cited as a tool of warfare and an extension of conflict. In history this was first started by the Nazi regime and their vehement usage of movies. The German extremism was shaped in shared experience of its audience and portrayed the negativities of others. The alien nature of other Forces and the supremacy of the Aryan ideology were cornerstones of the characters of the new 'hero' of Germany. The promotions and premieres of these movies were the main pillars of the German propaganda machinery. This built the use of movies as a tool for achieving national interest.

The parameters of conflict in current times have taken on a certain theatricality that did not exist before. In new conflicts, it has become pertinent to involve people and common masses for an aim that has military connotations. Although military arm-wrestling has been often taken as an instrument for political gains. Social media has involved every person of a locale into war-fighting mode. This has become possible only because of the amount of emotional charge and dramatic flavour that any conflict transpires in the inhabitants of a region. It was a central theme in movies in Hollywood during the war on terror, which increased and defined the bias against Muslims and Islamophobia. It is currently employed by Bollywood in its war dramas, too. The only problem is that India is a much populous and overly emotional country. It may become a problem that in the quest for drama, a mishap would happen that will make living in the region a nightmare.

Propaganda fails in two aspects in current environments of conflict. One is that propaganda is primarily used as a preparatory tool for conflict. It enhances and focuses on the measures that incite or aggrandise emotions before the start of any conflict whereas a thespian undertone to any conflict can be produced at any time of the crisis. The second of these aspects is the immature sensibilities of the masses that are based on raw emotions and which can be easily manipulated. Propaganda as a tool only aims to create fervour and support but this form of mass projection of any singular strand of thought yields very strong results which portray the debauchery and brutality of human side. This desensitises the masses to destroy all those things which are otherwise deemed sacrosanct.

Contemporary times involve not only the traditional media but also the social media apparatuses offering greater connectivity and greater access to information; this also presents an overwhelming opportunity to shape any narrative and any generality through the use of new modes of media. A staggering amount of new technologies belie the very nature of truth. In any situation of conflict, such lies may mould and shape a truth that easily suits a set narrative. The danger is that if any such truth will promote an extremist narrative or a hawkish fervour, there will be a larger margin for mistake or miscalculation that can produce disastrous results for not just a region but whole of the world.

<https://tribune.com.pk/story/1928736/6-the-theatrics-of-conflict/>

India and Pakistan on the Brink of War

Syeda Saiqa Bukhari

Pulwama incident believing Pakistani involvement in it, give an excuse to India to initiate aggressive actions against Pakistan without investigating the incident. After Incident, India launches airstrikes on Pakistan on February 26, violated LoC but failed to fulfill their mission due to quick response by Pakistan Air Force (PAF). India did not expect quick retaliatory reaction from Pakistani side which make them nervous and hastily released their payload, near Balakot and escaped. Balakot which is situated in Pakistani administered Kashmir, 190 km away from Islamabad, and 4 to 5 km from LoC. This type of violation from Indian side on LoC was happened for the first time after Shimla agreement in 1972. This incident escalates the tensions between two historical rival and nuclear powers India and Pakistan.

Again on February 27, India aircraft Mig 21 crossed LoC, which was shoot down by PAF as a defensive response. This was a rational response to an interruption by India into Pakistan airspace. The Mig-21 Bison fighter is highly upgraded version aircraft but the loss of Mig-21 showed Indian aging military technology. Furthermore, Pakistan captured one of Indian pilot Abhinandan Varthaman, later released as a peace gesture proved that Pakistan is a responsible nuclear weapon state. But India on the other hand did not behave as responsible state and continue its aggression on LoC. Indeed, such ongoing military clashes between India and Pakistan will further intensify the crisis.

Modi's government wants to use Pakistani card to win the support of people in upcoming general elections. Consequently, Indian political leaders are trying to escalate the tensions between India and Pakistan as high as possible, while Pakistani leadership acts rationally to deescalate the tension. Pakistan as a sensible state always prefers peaceful solution of crisis through dialogue rather than war. Pakistan released Indian pilot, showing intension not to escalate the conflict but Indian side is averse to appreciate it. Indian aggression towards Pakistan not only limited to the aerial violation of the LoC but on March 4, Indian submarine tried to enter Pakistani water which was successfully thwarted by Pakistan naval force. Quick and timely action from Pakistan Naval side shows that Pakistan is not only capable to defend its motherland from Indian land and air force but from naval side as well.

Instead of restraining the conflict, India aggressive leader Modi further escalating of tension for increasing his popularity and to cover his 8.9 billion dollar corruption in Rafale fighter planes deal with France. It is due to the internal interest of Modi, which pushed both the state on brink of war. There is a clear cut division within India, one group is in favor of crisis escalation and other is in favor of de-escalation. Indian government behavior, clarify to international community that India who consider itself as a democratic state is actually a crisis enhancer state.

Recent move from India to returns key diplomat to Pakistan was a positive step, aimed at easing tensions between two nuclear hostile states. But on the same time, India is in process to enhance its capability by signing intergovernmental agreement with Russia for a 10 years lease of a Russian nuclear powered attack submarine and also tested indigenously developed Pinaka guided rocket system. These developments in the time of crisis situation did not support the Indian desire for de-escalation of the

conflict. Contrary, Pakistan always acts rationally to resolve the crisis but Indian leaders always give more preference to their personal gains rather than mutual gains. India claim to operationalize its offensive military doctrine Cod Start, spending huge budget on it military and world largest arms buyer according to SIPRI report but use of Mig-21 aircraft against Pakistan clears the picture that India did not have the capacity to practically utilize its advanced technology on time. It will take more time to launch swift military actions against Pakistan. This ongoing tension also clarifies that Pakistan nuclear weapons effectively deterring India to cross International border. Though the Pakistani leadership is trying to avoid war, yet the defence forces are on high alert to meet any misadventure from Indian side. International community also trying and force both the sides to deescalate the tension and resolve their issues peacefully.

<https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2019/03/15/india-and-pakistan-on-the-brink-of-war/>

Managing Pakistan-Russia Relations

Harris Bilal Malik

Since the end of the Cold War, geostrategic trends in the region have paved the way for Pakistan and Russia to enhance their bilateral relations but unfortunately a very little has been materialised for many years. The changing dynamics of international politics and the strategic landscape of the region in contemporary era have provided an opportunity for both countries to come close. The 12th meeting of Pakistan-Russia Consultative Group was held on March 2, 2018 in which both countries agreed upon the need to enhance the bilateral relations based on politico-economic and defence cooperation.

Pakistan's geostrategic location is an element due to which the country has significance in contemporary global environment. A new chapter of economic cooperation in the region has been realized i.e. the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) with one of its component China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and operationalisation of Gwadar port is foreseen as a future hub of the maritime trade routes. China has openness regarding inclusion of regional countries in CPEC including Russia. The corridor once operationalized will facilitate the regional trade activities, providing an opportunity to Russia to integrate economically. The bilateral trade has reached to a level of \$660 million in current financial year and it is expected to extend up to \$750-800 million by the end of year. Under energy cooperation both countries have signed an inter-corporate agreement of a gas pipeline project worth US \$10 Billion on February 6, 2019 in Islamabad. The Build-Own-Operate-Transfer (BOOT) based North-South gas pipeline project connecting Karachi to Lahore will help Pakistan to meet the future energy needs. The pipeline will further enhance the energy cooperation between the two countries.

The defence cooperation between the countries have seen a gradual uplifting since 2014, when both countries agreed to enhance the ties during Russian Defence Minister General Sergei Shoigu's visit to Pakistan. Initially it was supposed that Pakistan will purchase 20 Mi-35 combat helicopters but the deal ended up with just 4 in number due to financial constraints. In June 2015, the then army chief General Raheel Sharif and subsequently in April 2018, General Qamar Javed Bajwa the current army chief of Pakistan have visited Russia for prospects of enhancing defence ties. As an outcome of these visits in August 2018 both countries have signed a 'Defence Cooperation Agreement' under which Pakistani troops will be provided training in Russian military institutions. Russia and Pakistan also agreed to conduct joint military exercises the 'Druzhba' (friendship) Annual Drills series under which Druzhba-I 2016 was held in Pakistan, Druzhba-II 2017 was held in Russia and Druzhba-III 2018 again in Pakistan. In February 2019, Russia also participated Pakistan Navy's international exercise 'Aman 2019' based on theme 'together for peace'. The Russian participation in these exercises implies the prospects of enhancement of maritime cooperation in future.

In the context of regional security and stability, Pakistan and Russia share some common interests vis-à-vis the Afghan endgame. On February 4, 2019 Russia hosted 'Afghan Peace Talks' between the Taliban delegate and the members of Afghan opposition including former president Hamid Karzai. Prior to that on November 9, 2018 Russia also hosted talks between Taliban and the Afghan Peace Council.

Though the Afghans consider Russia as an aggressor state, based on the history of invasion, but Russia has come out with new aspirations reasserting itself in the settlement of Afghan dispute. In December 2018, during Foreign Minister Shah Mahmood Qureshi's visit to Russia both countries have acknowledged each other's efforts and agreed to facilitate such talks in future.

The recent military escalation between Pakistan and India has shocked the international community. There has been a very reluctant and delayed response from the international community especially from the great powers like Russia. Once Pakistan retaliated in response to Indian aggression and captured an Indian pilot after shooting down two jets on 27th February, at that time international community feared further escalation. Realizing the sensitivity of the situation, on February 28, 2019 Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov offered mediation role, though it was a late offer but welcomed by Pakistan's Foreign Minister Shah Mahmood Qureshi.

Pakistan-Russia bilateral relations in the current geostrategic environment still require a long way to go but the 'ice-breaking' has started. There are opportunities for both countries to enhance economic cooperation by increasing the bilateral trade and materializing gas pipelines project. At political and diplomatic front both countries have developed a set of understanding on regional security issues i.e. Afghan issue in context of presence of ISIS there. In defence sector the 'defence cooperation agreement' is a good initiative but they need to further engage with each other in the form of technology sharing and joint military ventures to convert the existing ties into a 'Strategic Partnership' in future. Both countries should reach more frequently to each other in all domains to expand the bilateral relations.

<https://dailytimes.com.pk/366074/managing-pakistan-russia-relations/>

China's Diplomatic Tightrope Amidst Rising Indo-Pak Tensions

Waqas Jan

Since the dramatic rise in Indo-Pak tensions earlier this month, the entire South Asian region has once again been propelled on to the international forefront amidst fears of all-out nuclear war. Even though these tensions have receded significantly over the last couple of weeks, they had earlier reached near an unprecedented tipping point with both countries prepped to launch a series of ballistic missiles at each other following one of the modern age's first aerial dogfights. As the specter for further military engagements is replaced by concerted efforts at diplomacy, the ongoing situation offers a unique look at the varying roles being played by one of the region's primary stakeholders, namely China.

This is evident from recent reports that have revealed the important role that was played by diplomats from China, Saudi Arabia and the US in bringing both India and Pakistan back from the brink of all-out war. China's role however demands closer inspection especially considering how it is widely expected to take on a more prominent leadership role based in part on the US withdrawal from global affairs, as well as in part on its own rise as a major power.

Despite China's clear and long-standing history of close cooperation with Pakistan, China has repeatedly avowed playing a more neutral role amidst the rising tensions between both India and Pakistan. In official statements given by Foreign Minister Wang Yi, as well as Foreign Office Spokesman Lu Kang both during and after the recent crisis, China repeatedly called for restraint and dialogue presenting itself as a willing and able mediator. It showed itself as willing to play a more stabilizing role in the region through a more normative approach to conflict resolution. This stands in contrast to a perhaps more unilateral approach steeped in (super) power politics that would otherwise aim to redraw the region's strategic fault lines.

Even with regard to the divisive issue of Kashmir, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs has espoused a more conciliatory approach emphasizing the need for economic development and poverty alleviation as issues that should be addressed collectively. This is especially evident in the case of the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and its overarching Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) where Beijing has repeatedly emphasized the inclusivity of this initiative. Citing how the BRI can serve as a platform for enhancing Indo-Pak Cooperation, China's offered solution has been directed towards meeting the infrastructure requirements of both countries at a broader regional level.

However, China's so called neutrality has been vociferously brought into question by India especially as a result of China's most recent diplomatic maneuvers at the UN. This is because China has for the third time blocked a UNSC resolution aimed at blacklisting JeM leader Masood Azhar under the 1267 sanctions committee. Accused by India as being the mastermind behind the Pulwama attacks, India along with France, the UK and the US have repeatedly pushed for blacklisting Azhar subjecting him to a travel ban, arms embargo and asset freeze.

In contrast, China's position on the issue has been to implement a technical hold on the decision calling for a more responsible solution to the issue based on greater dialogue and consultations. This has been widely perceived in India as not only favoring Pakistan at India's expense, but also as an implicit justification of Pakistan's support of cross-border terrorism within Indian occupied Kashmir.

Despite China's claims to the contrary, these actions have led China to face growing diplomatic pressure as it finds itself increasingly unable to justify its position; especially in light of its own internal concerns with regard to terrorism such as in the Xinjiang Autonomous Region. Furthermore, Chinese policy towards India is still built on close trade ties, with China still being India's second largest trade partner. Recent calls within India to ban Chinese goods bears witness to this fact which China is well cognizant of.

Hence, with regard to China's self-avowed desire to remain neutral amidst the Indo-Pak rivalry, the onus does perhaps lie on China to reduce its inclinations towards Pakistan to some degree in favor India. However, considering India's own ambiguity and uncertainty with regard to its role as an emerging power, India has itself offered little room or incentive by way of addressing the rise of China. India's obsession and deep seeded insecurity with respect to Pakistan has instead greatly limited its ability to form a clear and forward-looking policy for the wider region. As evident in the recent rise in tensions following Pulwama, the Indian approach can only be characterized as being more reactive than proactive in nature, lacking any hint of direction or vision it might have for the South Asian region. Therefore, the fact remains that even though China has been looking to adopt a more neutral position between India and Pakistan, India's own uncertainty, lack of political will, and its incessant obsession with Pakistan has done little with regard to its attempt of serving as an emerging power within the region. Hence, while China may be unwilling to alter the regional status-quo based on its actions and policy towards South Asia, it is the uncertainty and lack of a clear direction from India that has allowed bilateral ties between Pakistan and China to have a profound regional impact even beyond South Asia.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2019/03/18/chinas-diplomatic-tightrope-amidst-rising-indo-pak-tensions/>

Charter of Democracy and Political stability

Anjum Sarfraz

The political stability for the progress of a country needs no emphasis. With frequent changes in the government policies relating to finance, foreign affairs, security, interior, education etc. are reformed. These seriously affect the business community, foreign investors, farmers, industrialists, importers and exporters, education pursuers and even those running the small industries. The political history of Pakistan has remained in turmoil since independence. In a short span of 71 years, it has been ruled 4 times by the military rulers and 4 times the elected governments who were sacked under article 58-2b of the constitution by incumbent Presidents. In a diminutive period of about 11 years (1988-99) leaders of each of the two parties, PPP and PML (N) have ruled this country twice. Benazir Bhutto's first rule was from December 2, 1988 to August 6, 1990 and second from October 19, 1993 to November 5, 1996. Nawaz Sharif's first government was from November 6, 1990 to April 18 1993 and second from February 17, 1997 to October 12, 1999. Not a single time did either of them complete their tenure of five years.

The party in opposition used to create circumstances for the ruling party to make the governance problematic. Even extra-constitutional powers have been requested to sort out political issues. Arbitration by General Abdul Waheed Kakar, the COAS from January 12, 1993 to January 12, 1996 between President Ghulam Ishaque Khan and PM Nawaz Sharif with the tacit consensus of PPP leader Benazir Bhutto in April 1993 that both should step down and fresh elections are to be held is a relevant event. The coup of General Musharraf was initially welcomed by PPP, considering that he promised to hold elections in a short time and hand over power to elected representatives. However, military rule was prolonged, obviously with the support of some political leaders. Benazir Bhutto opted for self-exile in the late nineties to avoid facing the courts. Nawaz Sharif was sent to exile to Saudi Arabia by Musharraf in December 2000. The leaders of PPP and PML-N, probably realising their mistake of not respecting the mandate of each other, met in London in May 2006 to sign the Charter of Democracy (CoD).

This document has 36 articles. The agreement merits consideration because it has been prepared by the leaders of the two parties who have experience of ruling the country twice. The most significant aspect is "We will respect the electoral mandate of representative governments that accepts the due role of the opposition and declares neither shall undermine each other through extra-constitutional ways. We shall not join a military regime or any military-sponsored government. No party shall solicit the support of the military to come into power or to dislodge a democratic government". Important contents of this agreement have been incorporated in the constitution as eighteenth amendment.

Some of these are removal of article 58-2b, the main source of political de-stability, appointments of governors, and Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee (CJCSC) and services chiefs by the President at the advice of the PM. No judge shall take oath under any Provisional Constitutional Order or any other oath that is contradictory to the exact language of the original oath prescribed in the Constitution of 1973. Northern Areas shall be developed by giving it a special status and further empowering the Northern Areas Legislative Council to provide people of this area access to justice and human rights.

There shall be a neutral caretaker government to hold free, fair, and transparent elections. The members of the said government and their immediate relatives shall not contest elections. FATA shall be included in the NWFP province in consultation with the people of the area. There are few other articles of this charter which have not yet been deliberated like, the efficacy of the higher defence and security structure, created two decades ago, will be reviewed. The Joint Services Command structure will be strengthened and made more effective and headed in rotation among the three services by law. The political wings of all intelligence agencies will be disbanded. A commission shall be formed to examine and identify the causes of and fix responsibility and make recommendations in the light thereof for incidences such as Kargil. Regarding the remaining points, it is proposed that office of the CJCS needs to be strengthened and the appointment needs to be rotated amongst the other two sister services. Presently there is hardly any significant role being played by this office.

Over a period it has become a coordinating workplace. Regarding political wing in the intelligence set ups, it is observed that these are concentrating on these aspects at the cost other prime tasks. The recent judgment of the Supreme Court about Faiza Abad Dharna is relevant. Formation of commission to find facts about Kargil episode is also important. We may learn lessons from the mistakes committed by various authorities and take remedial measures for future. It is relevant to mention that the government has not released the Hamoodur Rehman commission report even after 47 years. Usually the documents are de classified by the government after 25-30 years so that citizens know where concerned authorities went wrong and not to commit same mistakes again.

The Charter of democracy which was signed in 2006 between the two major parties of that time has played a positive role in providing political stability thereafter. After elections of 2008 both the parties (PPP and PMLN) have completed their prescribed tenure of 5 years by respecting the mandate of the other and following the code of conduct that opposition party will not approach extra-constitutional bodies for political matters like before. It is pertinent to mention that perception prevails that PTI had the support of the establishment to win the recent elections held in July 2018. To dispel this impression and for future, it is suggested that PTI take initiative to convince all major parties to sign an agreement stipulating the code of conduct similar to the Charter of democracy. It will certainly improve the image of the party and augment the political stability in the country.

<https://dailytimes.com.pk/367780/charter-of-democracy-and-political-stability/>

Narendra Modi, Again?

Roasen Taj Raisani

India is termed as the largest democracy in the world. It continues to hold its biggest exercise in democratic traditions by conducting elections every five years. This is the election year in India. These elections are important because they will predict the trajectory of Indian politics, diplomacy and foreign policy in the future. The last five years have witnessed the politics of Narendra Modi and this has been rather disconcerting for Pakistan. The reasons lie in the brand of politics and the techniques that Modi and his party have employed in these five years.

The primary impression about this being an election based on the performance and validity of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) is masked by the concomitant vehemence projected and bashing done against Pakistan. In fact, beset with domestic issues ranging from woes of farmers to mismanagement in multi-million dollar deals, the popularity of Modi had slumped significantly until the hostilities erupted with Pakistan. The evidence of the fact lies in numerous analyses offered before and after the crisis. As discussions carry on about the militancy of nationalism in India and mob frenzy trumping the validity of participatory politics in India, the prospect of another Modi victory holds grave consequences for Pakistan.

Foremost of these issues remains the entrenched vision of Modi in defining the escalatory tone of his politics. Narendra Modi has shown his desire to approach Pakistan, not with a conciliatory stance but rather an effrontery designed to bolster his support in his home base. This has paid well for him in earlier elections. The results of this election will determine if it becomes his regular gambit for elections.

The military adventurism garbed in his political narrative increases the costs for both sides. While the crisis in February demonstrated the unpredictability of Indian action, it also puts a burden on Pakistan's tactical nuclear weapons. An ace in the crisis escalation ladder which counters the conventional ability becomes very limited in face of airstrikes. As airstrikes are becoming an integral part of Indian doctrine of conflict vis-à-vis Pakistan, there is the possibility that the nuclear threshold and red lines that Pakistan has stated may become bleaker. This is a very dangerous situation because if Modi wins and completes another five-year term, a similar clash may erupt during the commencement of this premiership. That will be very debilitating and disastrous.

What is the alternative? The Congress has remained dormant in its policy regarding Pakistan. Rahul Gandhi has been weak in professing any alternative possibility for Pakistan, focusing on the stereotypical notions and vested standards of the Indian political psyche. In the times of escalation and confrontation, there was no alternative position that challenged the megalomania of his opponents. This will seriously undermine any efforts in the future as being too late.

Kashmir remains an intractable issue in the relationship of both states. While Modi has used it as a placard for furthering his political and electoral agenda, the causes and reasons for grievances go further down. As an issue that raises sensibilities and divides opinions, Kashmir will remain a puzzle. The change is that while before Kashmir was highlighted as a humanitarian issue by Pakistan, it has been turned by

Modi as not a place that requires a solution but a region that gives him political mileage. It is also being used as a tool to wage war with Pakistan, hence limiting the prospects of any solution. This will remain the most pointed and poignant of the relationship between the two countries.

India needs to find a better alternative or Pakistan needs to make best use of the divide by adopting a proactive strategy to challenging times. Whatever the outcome, the future needs serious thinking from both sides.

<https://tribune.com.pk/story/1935836/6-narendra-modi-again/>

Chinese Flags over Europe?

Waqas Jan

As President Xi Jinping wraps up his week-long tour of Europe, his first overseas visit of the year, he seems to have left a growing sense of unease amidst both EU and US policymakers with regards to their pre-existing stance on China. While the US is still locked in an increasingly complex trade row with China, the EU just prior to President Xi Jinping's meeting with its top leaders had designated China as a strategic rival. This was underlined particularly by French President Emmanuel Macron who while lauding Europe's re-awakening to changing global dynamics called for a united re-assessment of the EU's stance on China, which in effect is also its biggest trade partner.

However, President Macron's calls for a united stance on China were brought into question during President Xi Jinping's stop-over in Rome, where despite warnings from the US, Italy officially joined China's Belt & Road Initiative (BRI) as the first G7 country to do so. During the visit both countries signed 29 agreements amounting to about \$31.8 billion, spanning Italy's energy, ship-building and maritime transport sectors. With a particular emphasis on enhancing maritime trade links, these agreements also included two port management deals for the Ports of Trieste (at the Northern opening of the Adriatic Sea) and Genoa (Italy's largest Shipping port). As part of the BRI's 21st Century Maritime Silk Road, both these ports add to the increasingly growing network of ports around the Mediterranean region where Chinese companies now own a major stake. These include for instance the Greek port of Piraeus, the Port of Istanbul in Turkey and Port Said in Egypt all of which serve as key transit points for shipping lines through the vital Suez canal as well as the Black Sea region.

These same ports also form vital nodes within the overall Belt and Road Initiative which has been repeatedly played down by the US as being nothing more than a 'Vanity Project'. However, the fact that Italy was under pressure from both the US and the EU to not provide such inroads to Chinese State Owned Enterprises over fears of debt and the loss of sovereignty bear witness to a much larger issue. As one of the founding members of the EU and as the third largest Eurozone economy, Italy's decision to thus officially become a part of the BRI stands in somewhat muted contrast to the show of unity by French President Emmanuel Macron, German Chancellor Angela Merkel, and EU Commission Chief Jean Claude Juncker all of whom met President Xi Jinping at a joint meeting held in Paris.

It was also at this meeting where the EU Commission President in representing a united front clarified its labeling of China as a Strategic Rival, terming the label as a compliment as opposed to a threat. A similar stance was also taken by Chancellor Merkel who went ahead and stated that many countries in the EU were still open to joining the Belt and Road Initiative. These statements which were made in Paris on Tuesday represented a softening of the rhetoric employed by these same leaders the previous Friday, where Mr. Juncker termed China as a competitor, partner and rival after a summit with EU leaders held in Brussels.

Hence, while there is little doubt at the moment over the extent to which China has the EU's combined attention, the prevailing uncertainty and fears of disunity amongst EU Countries is currently on

full display with regard to their policy on China. This prevailing uncertainty is further exacerbated by the ongoing Brexit crisis, as well as the US's withdrawal from its role as a global leader based on its 'America First' policy. Therefore, while China's far-reaching influence as a major investor and trade partner is undeniable, what's highly of interest is the fact that China is able to use this influence to challenge not only the very unity of the EU but the entire concept of the 'West' as a homogenous bloc.

Specifically within the context of the ongoing US-China trade war, and its related disputes over intellectual property rights and the standardization of next generation systems (such as the deployment of a standardized 5G telecommunications network), President Xi Jinping's Europe visit has made it clear that going forward, European leaders may have to carefully balance their relations between an uncertain US to the West and a rising China in the East. What's more, these broad ranging effects of china's rise as a geo-economic power, onto long-held geo-strategic fault lines are based on the hard realities of trade, investment and a rapidly changing international financial system. These in conjunction with China's emphasis of securing its long-term growth objectives are directly aimed at redefining the thresholds between the world's developed and under-developed economies. By tying its own long-term growth to a broad based approach to global economic growth, China's vision and bid for a more prominent role as a global leader is currently on full display across Europe.

<https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2019/03/30/chinese-flags-over-europe/>

Indian Current Developments and Strategic Stability

Syeda Saiqa Bukhari

South Asian region is the home of instability and insecurity because of historical enmity between India and Pakistan. India and Pakistan fought three major wars and involved in limited clashes. Nuclear weapons brought strategic stability in the region but India as an aggressor states always try to initiate military offense under nuclear threshold. Pulwama incident happened on February 14, brought both the states at the brink of war. India soon after incident started blaming Pakistan for being involved in it. Indian aircraft violated Pakistan air space, which intensified the situation in South Asia region. Pakistan respond rationally and dropped down two Indian aircrafts and captured one Indian pilot, which was later released to show the world that Pakistan is a peace loving country who always wants to resolve issues through dialogue. On the one hand Pakistan wants to deescalate the tensions but on the other hand Indian leadership trying to escalate it further to achieve political goals. International community also tried to convince both states for de-escalation of tension.

Despite naval advancement, Indian submarine was detected and successfully thwarted by Pakistan naval force on March 4, when it tried to enter into Pakistani water. Soon after this incident, India and Russia signed a deal to give Russian nuclear powered submarine Akula-II class submarine to India on lease for ten years. This agreement shows that India is significantly improving its naval power to create hegemony on Indian Ocean Region. It is very controversial that on the one hand international community wants to resolve the ongoing crisis between India and Pakistan but at the same time they are signing defence deal with India.

Furthermore, India developed Anti-Tank Guided Missiles (ATGM) known as Nag. ATGM Nag is part of Indian Integrated Guided Missile Development Program (IGMDP). The Nag missile is third generation Anti-Tank Guided Missile \ which works on 'fire and forget' principle. Nag has the capability to target tank at different ranges and in different timings. Its operational range is 500m to 4km in land version and 7 to 10km in air. Thirdly India indigenously developed Pinaka guided rocket system which has the range of 40km which will be further enhanced up to 75km till 2020. Pinaka guided rocket system will further enhanced the artillery capability to make precision hits.

Indian military and naval advancement at this time when tension is high between India and Pakistan is a challenging situation for the existing strategic stability of South Asia. India adopted offensive military doctrine in 2004 which is specifically designed for Pakistan. Pakistan in response developed TNWs which are effectively deterring India from initiation of offensive military actions. Though presently India is not in position to launch quick and surprise offense against Pakistan but these new developments can affect the existing stability of South Asian Region and further intensify the ongoing tension between India and Pakistan. In order to resolve the issues between two states, international community should play unbiased and effective role to maintain existing strategic stability in South Asia.

<http://southasiajournal.net/indian-current-developments-and-strategic-stability%EF%BB%BF/>

The Deterrence Factor in the February 2019 Escalation

Harris Bilal Malik

Ever since the recent military escalation between the nuclear powers of South Asia i.e. Pakistan and India, an ongoing debate at the domestic and international level can be witnessed about the deterrence factor and its applicability in such a critical situation. The situation begs the question as to whether the nuclear deterrence between the two countries had failed during this crisis situation. Or has it been instrumental in preventing further escalation and eventually an all-out nuclear war? In wake of Pulwama incident in Indian Occupied Kashmir (IOK) on 14th February 2019, India started blaming Pakistan for sponsoring the attack. As expected, after the incident India started threatening Pakistan for surgical strikes in form of a limited war. On 19th February 2019 Prime Minister Imran Khan offered India to have a joint investigation if India could provide any solid or actionable intelligence evidence of Pakistan's involvement in the attacks, which India failed to provide. He also stated that Pakistan will ensure its territorial sovereignty at any cost and Pakistan will not just think of retaliation but will retaliate.

On 26th February 2019 in the darkness of night India violated Line of Control (LoC) by sending jet planes. Pakistan Air Force (PAF) which was on high alert chased them immediately and compelled them to go back. The Indian jets released their payload in a forest of Jabba in Hazara region of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) Pakistan while escaping. The 3-4 minutes violation of Pakistani airspace by Indian Air Force (IAF) was a challenge to the country's sovereignty which Pakistan had to respond to. The military official spokesperson Major General Asif Ghafoor said that now Pakistan will respond at the time and place of its choice, and that India should wait for the surprise. On the very next day i.e. 27th of February 2019, Pakistan retaliated by using its Air force, targeting military installations accurately across the Line of Control in Indian Occupied Kashmir (IOK). In response to this target engagement, IAF strike back and during a dog fight PAF shot down two Indian jets and captured IAF pilot Wing Commander Abhinandan Varthaman alive. After this retaliation from Pakistan, international community which was reluctant to respond on Indian aggression feared further escalation that could eventually lead to an all-out nuclear war.

Coming back to the relevance of deterrence in the whole situation, broadly speaking, deterrence refers to a strategic policy adopted by states under which one state tries to dissuade (by employing the threat of use of nuclear weapons) the adversary by taking any aggressive action. In simple words it is a mutual threat of destruction via nuclear weapons. In the South Asian context nuclear deterrence has been operational between Pakistan and India in critical situations like the 2001-02 military standoff and post-2008 Mumbai attacks, because of which the situation was kept from escalating further. In the February 2019 situation India breached Pakistan's sovereignty by violating airspace and was compelled to go back by PAF. But the question which occurred during this entire episode was the applicability of nuclear deterrence. The airspace violation by India is a conventional form of war fare which was conventionally responded by Pakistan the very next day and evidence was shown to the world. The international media questioned India about the evidence of the 'claimed' surgical strike, which India failed to provide at any operational or strategic level.

After the successful strike back from Pakistan which the country has reserved the right to do so, it was feared that the situation will further escalate politically, militarily and might turn into a nuclear war. At that stage the existence of deterrence worked out from Pakistan's perspective and from the international perspective. India was humiliated with Pakistan's retaliation and the questions were raised all around the world including India about the credibility of surgical strike. After the shooting down of two Indian jets by PAF and arrest of Wing Commander Abhinandan international community feared that India will go for a limited war against Pakistan under its 'Cold Start Doctrine' (CSD). Pakistan's tactical nuclear 'NASR' having shortest range of 60-70 kilometers proved to be a deterrent in that scenario which Pakistan re-tested on 31st January 2019 successfully. India and the international community had an understanding that any further escalation may lead to a nuclear exchange because Pakistan will be left with no choice but to use its tactical nuclear weapons.

Pakistan's India centric deterrence trajectory over the years has evolved from 'minimum credible deterrence' to 'full spectrum deterrence' because of Indian ambitions to find a ground for conventional war. This posture provides deterrence against all forms of aggression (from India) with the combination of conventional forces and nuclear capabilities. In February 2019 episode India's conventional capabilities were met by Pakistan's conventional capabilities thus formulating an 'appropriate response'. The deterrence factor remained applicable in the whole situation even without using the nuclear weapons.

The recent standoff between Pakistan and India is one of the worst crises; it could have resulted into an all-out nuclear war. The possession of nuclear weapons by Pakistan prevented it to further escalate otherwise conventionally India has edge in terms of quantity of military hardware. Pakistan's full-spectrum deterrence assured the perception of 'massive retaliation' in Indian politico-security hierarchy. The Indian conventional misadventure is conventionally retaliated by Pakistan and proved to be politico-military success. The nuclear capability of Pakistan is a 'weapon of deterrence' and a 'political choice' as well.

<https://dailytimes.com.pk/371519/the-deterrence-factor-in-the-february-2019-escalation/>