



VISION

VISIONARY INSIGHTS INTO THE STRATEGIC INQUESTS OF NATIONS

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Compiled & Edited by:
S. Sadia Kazmi

Strategic Vision Institute
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Strategic Vision Institute (SVI)

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Strategic Vision Institute (SVI)

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

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Editor's Note

The month of September witnessed a more prominent shifting trend in the global and more specifically regional politics especially with the high profile visit of the US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo on his maiden visit to South Asia along with the US Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Joseph Dunford just a day before the Defence Day of Pakistan. Now whether this visit contributed towards lifting up of derailing relationship or not, has been looked into carefully in the analysis included in this e-volume. The readers will find an apt argumentation about the “love-hate story” of the US and Pakistan bi-lateral relations over a period of time. While the high level meetings discussed bi-lateral relations, peaceful settlement of Afghan issue, strengthening of military ties, and other matters of mutual interest, it is yet to be seen as to how both states would pursue their interests after this apparently hopeful encounter.

Another significant incident that makes the month of September special for the whole nation is the remembrance of Defence Day on 6th Sept every year, which not only marks the true spirit of national unity but is a commemoration of great sacrifices and resilience of our armed forces. This volume offers a few short articles deliberating upon the need to revive and cultivate same sense of unity and resilience in today's hard times, which was exhibited back in 1965. The authors rightly maintain that the fortification of Pakistan's defence capabilities is the need of the hour especially in the wake of India's obsession with acquiring advance missile technologies leading to arms race intentionally aimed at disturbing deterrence equilibrium in the region.

Other important issues that have been touched upon by authors in their analyses deal with second age of arms race in the Indian Ocean and India's Test of K-15 SRBM, strategic implications of India's Ballistic Missile Defence System, and CPEC as a platform for regional economic integration.

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

Indigenization: Reliable Way towards Invincible Self-Defence

Ahyousha Khan

Both arms procurement and build-up are used in negative connotations and are discouraged in international systems. But even than states build arms and if they cannot build them, they procure them. But, the question arises why states have to build-arms if these weapons are portraying negative image of a state or emptying its reserves. The reason to afore mentioned question can be many; one of them is security concerns and threat perception of a state. States from volatile regions with history of wars and conflicts with their neighboring states invest huge amounts on procurement and development of state of the art weaponry for their security.

In South Asia two historical arch rivals are involved in arms build-up. According to recent estimates India is world largest arms importer with share of 12% in the global arms import. On the other hand, according to recent estimates by SIPRI Pakistan is world 9th largest arms importer. Even though Pakistan's security concerns largely arises from India but decrease in expenditure on arms import is witnessed.

Pakistan is a small country, engulfed in many internal and external threats and also has limited budget allocated for defense in comparison to India's defense budget. Even though Pakistan is small state yet it has invested in very expensive and difficult to acquire nuclear technology to acquire invincible defense. So far, defense acquired on the all spectrums of conflicts has stopped war between Pakistan and India. However, with evolution and emergence of new threats, new technologies are in urgent need to be acquired by Pakistan. What is pertinent to mention here is that no state can acquire invincible defense without self-reliance and self-sufficiency.

Pakistan is not totally beginner in the production of weaponry. In 1951 Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan inaugurated the Pakistan Ordnance Factory for building the self-sufficiency in the nation that did not have the single military unit to produce weaponry at the time of Independence in 1947. Afterwards, in 1970, Pakistan defence production unit strived hard to maintain indigenization process in country despite international sanctions against Pakistan. In all this time indigenization was never totally stopped but few high end quality products are always imported.

Reason behind the import of jet fighter, submarines, ships, tanks and surveillance technology is the inadequate research and development, funds and access to raw materials. If emerging security concerns are analyzed properly one can identify few areas that are in dire need of self-sufficiency. To curb the cancer of terrorism that has damaged the society and economy of Pakistan, surveillance technology that includes drones and satellites must be built in Pakistan to monitor its western porous borders. Recently, Burraq (UAV) is made by Pakistan's National Engineering and Scientific Commission (NESCOM) and Air Force (PAF) to fulfill the growing security needs.

Sea is another arena where Pakistan must build its own submarines and ships that must include SSBNs and SSNs. Moreover, to build such kind of ships and submarines, it is necessary to enhance the

capabilities of existing ship yards and build new ship yards. At the moment Karachi Ship yard has the capacity 7881 tons ship lift and is producing state of the art navy vessels, tuggers and submarines (Augusta 90B class). But to build bigger submarines and ships with nuclear reactor Pakistan need to build ship yards with more sophisticated technology and capability of ship lift.

Importance of secure skies after incidents like 9/11 is not lost on any country. Pakistan's Air force most treasured possession in jet fighter is J-F17 Thunder, which is state of the art technology that is now assembled in Pakistan and will also be exported to other states. But it is high time that new generation of fighter planes must be acquired by Pakistan to ensure its security.

Indigenization in defense production is necessary not only for saving foreign reserves but also job production, rise of income level and increase in industrial and trade activities. Moreover, it is necessary that government should take steps to ensure the participation of private sector in defense production. However, quality must not be compromised.

Though Pakistan is located in volatile region and has to invest great amount on weapons but through self-sufficiency in defense production it can convert its crisis situation into blessing and strengthen its economy.

<https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2018/09/06/indigenization-reliable-way-towards-invincible-self-defense/>

In the Honor of Defence Day

Beenish Altaf

Principally 6th September is a significant day for all Pakistanis to commemorate the sacrifices of those who risked their lives for the integrity and sovereignty of the state and for the security of their countrymen back in 1965. It is a day whereby the citizens pay honor and homage to their defenders to show reverence to the guarantors of their freedom. Indeed it is a date that brings forth an expression of nationalist outlook and sentiments for the armed forces personals. Nevertheless, the defence day every year also merits a close scrutiny of the real facts and a critical analysis of the novel versions of the facts that have not been examined before. Therefore, it is the need of hour to pause for a while and reflect upon the realities, actualities and the contemporary history of Pakistan.

The month of September has always been given an exceptional importance in the history of Pakistan. It is primarily because of the excellent resistance and commendable fight the Pakistan armed forces put up against the Indian armed forces during the 1965 war which forced them to draw back and retreat. Therefore, the defence day of Pakistan is pre-dominantly in commemoration of the memories of valiant Pakistani soldiers who laid their lives protecting our homeland in the 1965 War against India. By and large, the day was continuously monitored by aerial means, naval and physical boundary's safety measures.

In the contemporary time the armed forces continue to stand firm in the face of security challenges aimed against the country. Fast forward to September 2001 and the terror attack on WTC in the US, saw Pakistan actively playing its part in routing terrorism at national, regional and global level being the front line ally of the US in its War on Terrorism (WoT). The unique solidarity shown by the political and military leadership for the total elimination of terrorism is a bright chapter in the national history of Pakistan. This made the enemies of Pakistan realize that this nation is fully united to effectively counter any threat to national security and survival.

Fundamentally, it was the disputed territory of Kashmir that became the flashpoint in 1965 and led to the Indo-Pakistan war later in the same year. Border skirmishes started in April, spiraled into a war as the Indian forces crossed the international border on 6th Sept 1965 and advanced towards Lahore. The without a formal declaration of war.

Indian forces launched a three-pronged offensive against Lahore, Sialkot and Rajasthan. There was a fierce tank battle on the plains of Punjab. That was the moment when the domestic India-Pakistan conflict transformed into an international conflict and raised to call the external power concerns.

'The seventeen-day war witnessed the largest tank battles since World War II, causing thousands of casualties to both sides, but remained militarily inconclusive. Pakistan withstood the invasion of its territory by an enemy four times its size, and in doing so the whole nation stood up to the challenge with an iron resolve.' The US suspended military supplies to both sides during the Indo-Pak War. Both the Soviet Union and the United States took a united stand to curtail the conflict within the

boundaries of the Sub-continent from escalating into a global conflict. China threatened to intervene and offered military support to Pakistan. It was to keep China away from this conflict that both the Soviet Union and the United States pressured the UN to arrange for an immediate ceasefire. The main diplomatic effort to stop the fighting was conducted under the backing of the United Nations and a ceasefire came into effect on September 23, 1965.

Pakistan forces were strategically sound enough and stood as a concrete wall before the enemy during the confrontation. Today the political and military leadership is fully aware of the conspiracy and tactics of the enemy and vow to protect the security and solidarity of the country at every cost along with ensuring elevation of national honor and prestige.

Pakistan keeps facing new threats and challenges such as terrorism, criminal acts or other strategic threats all fueled by other states especially India having stakes in the instability of the country. Even the Kashmir issue remains to be a constant bone of contention between the two countries. Till the Kashmiri people are granted their inalienable right to self-determination, thereby removing the core cause of conflict, durable peace will continue to elude South Asia.

Last but not the least, the Pakistan nation collectively should pray for the safety and solidarity of Pakistan and also that God gives us the strength, courage and determination, to protect and safeguard at all costs, the freedom and honor of our homeland.

<https://nation.com.pk/06-Sep-2018/in-the-honour-of-defence-day>

Pakistan's Defence Day: Why Nuclear Weapon Capability Was Inevitable?

Asma Khalid

Six September is known as Defense Day (Youm-e-Difa) of Pakistan. It is celebrated every year with full devotion to give tribute to the martyrs who sacrificed their lives for the defense of Pakistan during second war between India and Pakistan in 1965. Though on 6 September 1965, Pakistan's forces played a vital role in nation's defense but at the same time, the war has fundamentally changed the strategic thinking and security landscape of region. To understand the emerging strategic landscape of South Asia, it is necessary to study bilateral relations of India and Pakistan.

Relations between these two major powers of South Asia have remained hostile since independence. Historical disputes, contested boundaries, and disturbed balance of power forced India and Pakistan to search for counterweights through improved relations with other major powers of the world. Consequently, India's more offensive policies and its objective to acquire "status of hegemonic power" in South Asia has consistently undermined Pakistan's efforts to maintain "Balance of Power" and "peace" in the region. The enduring rivalry between India and Pakistan has developed a "classic insecurity trap" in the military preparations of both states. India's initiation of nuclear weapon program in 1960 and its expanding capabilities as potential proliferator added nuclear dimension to Pakistan's security calculations in early 1960. The turning point came in the mid-1960s after India acquired a research reactor (1960) and built a reprocessing plant in 1964. Same year, in response to China's nuclear test, an intensive debate initiated in Indian Parliament and public circle for "nuclear bomb".

Paradoxically, the 1965 war triggered the new demand in India for Nuclear bomb. Homi Babha's statement was carefully noted by officials in Pakistan in which he claimed that "India could build a nuclear weapon within twelve and eighteen months". India's quest of nuclear capability and war of 1965 played vital role in making Pakistan realize that the state has to diversify its security measures and relying only on conventional capability is not sufficient to maintain state's security. Therefore, Pakistan's security concerns acquired nuclear dimension. The war of 1971 appears to have additional stimulus for Pakistan's decision makers to favor the pursuit of a nuclear weapon capability option for Pakistan. In the wake of 1971 war, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto gave a decisive flip to country's nuclear program. In 1972, PM Zulfikar Ali Bhutto stated that, "We (Pakistan) will eat grass, even go hungry, but we will get one of our own (Atom bomb).... We have no other choice". Furthermore, Pakistan's need for nuclear weapon capability was impelled by multiple factors including wars of 1965 and 1971 between India and Pakistan; inadequate conventional capabilities to counter India's threats and India's first nuclear weapon test in 1974. Hence, Pakistan detonated its nuclear weapon on 28 May 1998 in response to India's second series of nuclear weapon test on 11 and 13 May, 1998.

These factors show that Pakistan did not initiate the nuclearization of South Asia; actually India's adversarial nature, offensive mindset of its policymakers and its inability to accept the existence of

Pakistan as independent state continue to be the major hurdles in the way of establishing peaceful cooperative relations on the basis of equality. Pakistan's nuclear weapon capability has played central role in countering any kind of external aggression through operational preparedness of the strategic forces. Though nuclear weapon capability has prevented the war between India and Pakistan by maintaining deterrence equilibrium but on this defense day it is inevitable to understand that 'Defense' is not limited to direct military clashes or borders security. Now defense of the state has much more meaning, obligations and complexities. Therefore, Pakistan should formulate a pragmatic policy that can counter 'cruel and protracted tactics' employed by the country's adversaries to undermine its security from within. One effective tool could be the art of fourth or fifth generation warfare, more commonly known as 5GW which is more decentralized, fluid and is strategically calculated to engage the enemy on all fronts. As Sun Tzu stated, "supreme excellence consists in breaking the enemy's resistance without fighting".

<https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2018/09/07/pakistans-defense-day-why-nuclear-weapon-capability-was-inevitable/>

The Pot Calls Out the Kettle: The US' Most Recent Denouncement of China

Waqas Jan

As many an observer of International Politics may have noted, it is not uncommon for Nation States to take steps that can only be described as something out of the 'Theatre of the Absurd.' While President Donald Trump's entire tenure may as well be qualified as such, the US's most recent denouncement of China plumbs the depths of irony with nothing short of full theatricality.

Based on widespread allegations of human rights abuses being carried out by the Chinese government in the Xinjian autonomous region; the US, while globally highlighting the situation, is considering imposing sanctions on a number of Chinese government officials. These include senior party members and key administrative officials that are alleged as leading the Chinese government's heavy-handed crackdown against Uighur militants in the largely Muslim populated Xinjiang region. This comes amidst reports that US lawmakers are urging the State Department to charge these officials for human rights abuses under the Global Magnitsky Act, similar to the recent sanctions imposed on Turkish ministers as part of the Gülen-Brunson affair. This comes on the heels of an escalating trade war between the US and China which in itself is widely considered as being part of a broader US policy aimed at containing China.

Beyond the rubric of escalating tensions between the US and China however, this talk of imposing the above-mentioned sanctions merits closer attention. This is because the US is practically accusing China of running a surveillance state in the name of counter-terrorism, replete with unlawful detention centers and torture. Not to mention, the allegations of Islamophobia and the curbing of religious freedoms against a key minority group comprising of 22 million Chinese Muslims.

Unless the ghosts of Guantanamo, Abu-Ghuraib and Bagram have all miraculously been expunged off of the collective conscience of US policy-makers, it makes no sense whatsoever for the US to claim the moral high-ground with respect to Human rights abuses. Especially human rights abuses in the form of state sanctioned imprisonment and torture that is carried out in the name of counter-terrorism. It's almost as if the apparent irony and double standards, instead of being lost on US policy makers, is being celebrated and thrown back in the face of rivals such as China.

This comes at a time when it is becoming increasingly difficult for the US government to hold any credibility with regard to the values it has claimed to champion. These values were once underlined by the widespread acceptance of cultural diversity and respect for basic human dignity, free from any discrimination based on race, religion, creed or ethnicity. Instead what we see now are highly exclusionary policies being imposed by the US, both at the domestic and international levels. These include stricter immigration laws, cutbacks in financial aid and the end of various climate, trade and defense agreements as part of a general withdrawal from past commitments and alliances.

This issue is not just restricted to the US either. Many have watched with pointed horror as political discourse across large swathes of Europe has coalesced around denouncing the very values which these countries once prided themselves on. Values that were once centered on championing human rights, welfare, social inclusivity and diversity have been replaced by the politics of fear and exclusion. This is evident in the broad shift in socio-political discourse on race, religion and ethnicity across the 'Developed West' where the threats of terrorism and cultural assimilation have given rise to rampant xenophobia.

The much discussed 'Rise of Islamophobia in the West' for instance provides a salient example of how divisive politics based on these themes have influenced domestic policies regarding immigration, law enforcement and state welfare. Be it the United States of Donald Trump, the United Kingdom of Theresa May, the France being envisioned by Marine Le Pen, or Angela Merkel's Germany holding on to the last vestiges of Europe's Post-War unity; the West has never in recent memory appeared so divided along such pervasive fault lines.

It is by keeping this context in mind that China's response to the above allegations can be better framed within this discussion. Particularly with respect to combating Radical Islamic extremism, China has gone to great lengths to distinguish its approach from the West's. It has emphasized its use of training and education as a means of warding off extremism, focusing instead on societal integration and economic development. Instead of an exclusionary or discriminatory approach, China's end goal can be better understood as fostering greater integration and unity while maintaining diversity. Its vision for greater regional integration under its massive Belt & Road Initiative is aimed at directly these aspects, in effect promoting greater connectivity at the regional and international levels, across a diverse set of people and cultures.

Thus, while China may still be far from serving as a model of freedom and openness, its recent actions with respect to the BRI still place it far above the United States in terms of promoting international peace and development. There is no denying the fact that Islamophobia, rooted in terrorist threats from Radical Islamists, continues to make the lives of millions of Muslims around the world increasingly difficult. However, for the US to accuse China of fanning such sentiments is at its best an attempt at misdirecting global focus away from its own heavy-handedness in the Middle East. And at its worst, an attempt at fanning anti-Chinese sentiments amongst those same Radical Islamists, which the US itself has played a key role in unleashing on the world.

Considering the fact that all of this is directed under the garb of protecting Human Rights, there is little if any recourse left than to simply consider this, as merely one of the many absurdities of our times.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2018/09/18/the-pot-calls-out-the-kettle-the-uss-most-recent-denouncement-of-china/>

Afghanistan: A Global Game of Musical Chairs

Hareem Aqdas

Afghanistan's history is replete with wars and other violent conflicts. Throughout its long and turbulent history, Afghanistan has looked more like a tribal confederacy than a cohesive nation-state. Afghanistan's emerging outlook remains uncertain due to competing interests of the stakeholders and internal political dynamics. The land locked country is facing a complex internal situation with serious ramifications for the region in general and its neighbours in particular. Ongoing peace process and efforts to create reconciliation amongst various factions are critical challenges meriting well thought out response by the key players, through intelligent scenario forecasting and response initiation.

It is rather an unfortunate fact that the war torn Afghanistan has been an area used by multiple global players for their self interests. Already dysfunctional governments, interest of multiple internal and external groups, dwelling of various terrorist organizations and the inclusion of multiple countries in the state of affairs have resulted in painting a bleak outlook of the country. From the Soviet defeat in the eighties to the War on Terror today, it is the U.S. who has over two decades made Afghanistan what it is today.

Certain global players have exploited the country for their own interests, and it seems that Afghanistan is a game of musical chairs, with the players contesting for influence, leaving and coming into the affairs of the country turn by turn, whenever possible. In the current scenario, finally after 17 years the US has decided to quit Afghanistan while initiating a peace process within the country. They wish to hold peace talks with the Afghan Taliban and conclude their war on terror. One round of talks has already occurred, and with the US exiting, a change has been seen in Kabul's fate. Emerging stated and unstated interests following the US exit of some regional players are as follows:

China has drastically increased its influence in Afghanistan. They will reportedly train Afghan troops for deployment in the Wakhan Corridor, which links the Afghan province of Badakshan with western China. It is also considering Afghanistan's request for combat aircrafts. These are the latest developments in the growing military relationship. Beijing has granted \$70 million in military aid to Kabul over the past three years. China has also held meetings with Afghan Taliban representatives over the past year, and was rumoured (alongside Pakistan) to have brokered and guaranteed the Eid-ul Fitr ceasefire. China's role in Afghanistan is focused on exploiting economic opportunities rather than getting entangled in a deteriorating social or security environment.

China has stated that it believes that only an inclusive reconciliation process that is "Afghan-led and Afghan-owned" can provide the ultimate solution to the Afghanistan issue. China wishes to forge strategic and cooperative partnership with Afghanistan, curtail the spread of extremism into Chinese territory and engage Afghanistan on the Road and Belt Initiative and the revival of Silk Road. They also need a stable and peaceful Afghanistan for regional stability and economic integration, along with large

scale investments to explore untapped mineral resources within the country and keep a check on extremist elements.

The main interest is the protection of Chinese interests vis-a-vis US. China has already acquired a 30 years' lease for the Aynak Copper mines, and is interested to secure further rights to mine precious metals and earth. They will also assist Pakistan in an effort to contain India's growing influence in Afghanistan, as well as end the long lasting US hegemony in Kabul and the South Asian region.

Then comes Russia, which is a resurgent power, and is averse to any potential trouble or challenges emanating from its immediate neighbourhood. At present, Russia's interests in Afghanistan include curtailing the growing influence of non-state actors in Afghanistan, such as ISIS and its spread into Russian territories, reducing the inflow of narcotics into Russia and establishing a stable Afghanistan as a buffer between the Greater Middle East and Central Asia. They also want to pursue President Vladimir Putin's expansionist ideas to restore Russia's position as a geopolitical player and counter or limit US presence in the region.

India also has a strategy for Afghanistan that is mainly driven by Chanakya Kautilya's philosophy of "your neighbour is your natural enemy and the neighbour's neighbour is your friend". With the Taliban ousted and pro Indian government installed in Kabul, India is pursuing a forward looking policy and perceives its interests not only in terms of the rivalry with Pakistan but also in the regional context. Indian interests in Afghanistan are centred on exercising a greater role in Afghanistan as a key regional player, influencing political, social, economic and military developments in the country to prevent issues between the Taliban Afghan Government, as well as to capture potential Afghan market for export of cheaper Indian goods.

India also want to isolate and destabilize Pakistan by creating a two front war. They also want to secure transit corridors that connect the oil and gas rich Central and West Asian regions through Iran, as well as play a key role in CARs, exploit international anti-terrorism sentiments to its advantage, limit China in gaining access to the entire mineral and energy resources in Central Asia and Afghanistan and to exploit Afghan untapped energy and mineral resources and utilize those for their own economic gains. As far as Pakistan is concerned, their primary interest is to have a peaceful and stable Afghanistan with an inclusive government in Kabul giving due share and power to all factions of society. They also want to reduce Indian influence and counter TTP / BLA and anti-government militants seeking refuge in Afghanistan, along with greater trade opportunities with CARs, optimizing benefits of CPEC, repatriation for over 1.7 million registered and equal number of un-registered Afghan refugees, deterioration in law and order and elaborate border security mechanisms to control terrorism, drug trafficking and trans-national smuggling through Afghanistan.

Afghanistan is perceived as an area of competing global players for their interests, and in this environment a peace process and rebuilding efforts seem pointless. As stated earlier, the country has become a game of musical chairs, with every global power trying to take the seat of power for their own self interest, while Afghanistan itself struggles for sovereignty, stability and peace.

<https://dailytimes.com.pk/300844/afghanistan-a-global-game-of-musical-chairs/>

Defence Day and Current Challenges to Pakistan

Sonia Naz

Every year on 6th September Pakistan celebrates its “Defense Day” by paying respect to those martyrs who gave their lives in the war of 1965 to save the country from enemy i.e. India. This is the most important event in the national history of Pakistan which led to the eventual defeat of India on all accounts with an excellent display of defense from Pakistan. Today Pakistan faces the traditional and non-traditional security threats that have secured deep roots in the economic, political, social, as well as the military fabric of national sphere. This merits immediate and dedicated attention because these issues have been posing serious challenges to the stability and security of the country.

In the context of traditional security and realignment of regional partnerships, one can observe that the US is improving its ties with India to counter China’s rise in South Asia and beyond. This raises concerns within the official circles of Pakistan especially in the wake of exemptions and preferential treatment India has been extended to by the US and the West. For instance President Obama gave India the status of major defense partner while Donald Trump administration recently granted the Strategic Trade Authorization-1 (STA-1) status to India, which doesn’t come without destabilizing tendencies for the South Asian region. This is so especially because now India can import sensitive defense related technology without any license. Additionally, the US and India are not only cooperating in the realm of sensitive technology and military trade but India is also enhancing its capabilities in the space domain with cooperation of the US over the last few decades. It is trying to improve its naval nuclear capabilities to subjugate China and Pakistan. It is important for Pakistan to think how it can maintain deterrence against its enemy at present as well as in the future. India is improving its military, naval and space capabilities under the superpower friendship umbrella which favors India on every platform.

Recently, the US Defense Department withheld the CSF reimbursement worth US \$300m to Pakistan. The US resorted to this measure due to alleged inaction by Pakistan against terrorist elements. All of these factors combined with rigid behavior of the US has compelled Pakistan to look for alternative options in the international community specifically in order to improve its strategic capabilities. Russia and China are two significant actors in this regard. Every year, Pakistan recalls the memory of September 6th 1965 as “Defense Day”, which gives the lesson of sacrifice for the safety and security of the motherland. Pakistan celebrates 6th September with this spirit and determination that it would defeat all security problems and threats practically by improving its strategic and economic position.

Unfortunately, Pakistan is not only faced by grave traditional threats, there are also a number of non-traditional threats which have greatly affected its economic growth, social sector, and political stability. Population explosion is a serious challenge having multiple implications. The ensuing water and food scarcity, poverty, unemployment, etc. are only some of the problems while the list is endless. Pakistan is one of those states which are moving from a water stressed state to water scarce country according to the World Bank. Due to the lack of water resources, the farmers are shifting their

cultivation from water intensive crops like sugarcane, cotton, wheat and rice to low water intensive crops which is generating food scarcity and disturbing the food market. Notwithstanding all these problems Pakistani nation should remind itself that it has been tested on many occasions, whether on an account of aggression by extremist elements, it has always emerged more determined by following in the spirit of Quaid's golden words of Faith, Unity and Discipline. In the same spirit, Defense Day demands from Pakistan and its people that they renew their pledge to act selflessly and sacrifice whatever it demands, for a better and brighter future. It recaps the courage, integrity and steadfastness that defined the Pakistani state in the face of armed aggression in 1965 by a much larger adversary. It was the day when the entire Pakistani nation stood together to defeat an opponent, now they should be also united to counter all these problems which is necessary for the survival of Pakistan.

<https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2018/09/26/defense-day-and-current-challenges-to-pakistan/>

Pompeo's Visit, Panacea for Derailing Pak-US Relations or Old Wine in a New Bottle?

Fateh Najeeb

The very basic and age-old concept of no permanent friends and foes in international politics seems to be still persistent specifically in the case of Pak-US relations. Since the start of formal bi-lateral relations between both countries back in the early years of creation of Pakistan, the Pakistani officials preferred US over USSR and right after that became a close ally of the United States joining SEATO and CENTO during 50s and 60s. But mutual mistrust kept on escalating at the same time. The US, despite being a close ally of Pakistan did not support Pakistan in war of 1965 against arch rival India. The same dodge Pakistan had to bear in 1971 debacle supported by Indian assistance when despite promises the US fleet could not move further from Indian Ocean to save territorial integrity of its ally i.e. Pakistan. Recently, nuclear orientation of South Asia, Indian hegemonic designs supported by the US, skepticism against Pakistan's role in 'War on Terror', and duality in dealing with Pakistan have collectively left negative impact on the bilateral relations.

Arrival of Secretary of State Mike Pompeo on his maiden visit along with the US Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Joseph Dunford just a day before the Defence Day of Pakistan is an important step to lift the derailing relationship. But one must not forget the history of the US betrayal in crucial situations, such as embargoes of 1965 on Pakistan after the war. Many lessons are to be drawn from this long term 'love-hate story' of Pakistan and the US. Although, current diplomatic mission of the US apparently has arrived with good intentions of reviving relations in the backdrop of quite a harsh announcement of withholding reimbursement amount US \$300 million as part of Coalition Support Fund, which is yet to be resolved.. On the other hand, the very next day in India, there have been a display of exceptional warmth with sky high promises and affirmations of indispensable partnership on almost every important bi-lateral, regional and international issue. On 5th September, Secretary of State Pompeo along with other crew members met the Prime Minister Imran Khan, foreign minister and COAS of Pakistan to discuss present state of bi-lateral relations, peaceful settlement of Afghan issue, strengthening of military ties, and other matters of mutual interest.

The news briefings of Pompeo and company about the meetings with Pakistani officials show a good and hopeful start with the newly elected government signifying the realization for mutual understanding and frequent interactions at top level to resolve rifts in bi-lateral relations. Similarly, Pakistan's Foreign Minister Shah Mehmood Qureshi has also expressed hopes of revival of relations. Intentions seem to be good but skepticism still prevails viewing the traditional pragmatic pathways of the US policies. There are speculations that this visit is just to remind Pakistan of its US centered responsibilities i.e. to eradicate terrorist safe heaven, facilitate Afghan peace process and harmonize bi-lateral and regional agenda but let's not forget these are also the core foreign policy issues of Pakistan itself. Much depends on how both states pursue their interests after this encounter. Will it be a mere diplomatic showoff, desperate longing or thoughtfully devised practical strategy to commence

thoroughly? Sincere efforts based on realistic approach are pre-requisite for any kind of advantageous output.

Nothing yields results in international politics if there is absolute gain for one state and absolute failure for the other. For any diplomatic process to achieve high ranks, all concerned stake holders at least have something to cheer for. The US squad has shown satisfactory intentions. Similarly, Pakistan has given them full confidence to cooperate in all pertaining issues including talks with Taliban, expediting Afghan peace process, Terrorism combating efforts and economic concerns. But analysts should also consider the US mission's activities and commitments in India because Indo-US growing cordiality has left Pakistan with much to concentrate considering geo-political and geo-strategic climate of South Asia. Pakistan celebrates 6th September's historic defense of its territory against Indian aggression; therefore, any kind of regional development regarding India will affect its geo-strategic muscles simultaneously.

Empirical statistics provide detailed account of economic and military advantages that Pakistan has enjoyed in times of smooth relationship with the US though they are very few. At the same, the rotten relations also bring forth the sufferings of Pakistan under US embargoes imposed time and again hampering Pakistan to prosper on its own prescribed terms and conditions. Wars with India, nuclear explosions and a few 'war on terror' phases faced certain setbacks caused by the US illogical demands. On the contrary, countering Russian invasion of 1979 with the help of the US and early years of 21st century after 9/11 brought significant positive economic and defense related cooperation and the US aid. The real disputes have always been ignited with the US relationship with India and situations in Afghanistan. The US officials visit is appreciable to break the ice in bi-lateral relations. Equally commendable is Pakistan's civil-military one-page agenda showing great responsibility of preserving national interest. Suspicions may arise at times but the solid urge to move forward than mere talks is the key to achieve positivity in the bi-lateral relations. With the days passing by, revival of Coalition Support Fund and removal from FATF list will solidify Pak-US relations otherwise the outcomes of this tour will only be like old wine in a new bottle not a panacea for derailed bi-lateral relations.

<https://www.nepal24hours.com/pompeos-visit-panacea-for-derailing-pak-us-relations-or-old-wine-in-new-bottle/>

China's Role in 1965 Indo-Pak War

Qura tul Ain Hafeez

China is one of the most reliable partners of Pakistan throughout the establishment of their diplomatic relations since 1951. It has been a trustworthy companion in providing Pakistan with the military assistance, economic advancement, financially viable means (the recent CPEC is a clear example) and supporting Pakistan in volatile and unpredictable regional security circumstance. One of the examples of this unparalleled friendship is China's incomparable support to Pakistan in the Indo-Pakistan war of 1965. The skirmishes which were being carried out from April 1965 up till September culminated into a full fledged war when on 6 September 1965 Indian forces attacked Pakistan in a surprise move without any inducement.

Causing thousands of casualties and human loss the war observed the biggest usage of armored vehicles and the battle tanks since World War II. The neighboring friends and countries that supported Pakistan included Iran, Turkey, and Saudi Arabia more specifically China which viewed the short term war not much favorable for Pakistan. China had some reservations vis-a-vis the Soviet sponsored declaration (later signed as Tashkent declaration). Eventually After seven days the United Nations intervened and declared a ceasefire which brought an end to the hostilities between the two. However, China particularly played an important role in supporting Pakistan in this crucial time while naming Indian act as a "naked aggression". China at that time exerted pressure to force the belligerent state i.e. India, for a ceasefire.

With this China served frequent warnings to India "that it must bear responsibility for all the consequences of its criminal and extended aggression". Considering India's aggressive action China issued a strong ultimatum to India to avoid the usage of Sino-Indian border as a vantage point for military installation within three days or face the grave consequences arising thereon. China also strengthened its defense and heightened its alertness along its border at Doklam and Sikkim. For sure such warnings were definitely to serve Pakistan's interests and to divert India's attention from crossing the Line of Control (LoC).

These ultimatums stopped India from escalating further was followed by the western opposition for Pakistan. Instead of broadening prerequisite help to Pakistan as a strategic ally of the Cold War defence pacts i.e. SEATO and CENTO, the United States rather obligated arms embargo on Pakistan and gave free hand to India. Despite sanctions China supported Pakistan as much as it could. The support was friendly yet cautious. The major reason for China in avoiding to intervene in the 1965 Indo-Pak war directly was the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and the US-Soviet-Indian complicity in opposition to China. Later China facilitated Pakistan financially to compensate for Pakistan's war losses by offering US\$ 60 million in 1965 and military equipment including tanks and aircraft. Eventually China's support to Pakistan in 1965 Indo-Pak war further consolidated Pakistan China relations.

It also supported Pakistan in 1971 war with India. China is now one of the biggest investors in Pakistan as the great China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is one such example. With the passage of

time China-Pakistan relations become sweeter than honey and higher than Himalayas. China has always perceived Pakistan as an important ally which could provide it the much required geostrategic linkages and route access to the Middle East and Persian Gulf. It is also a source for bridging the relations in the Islamic world. China at number of times acknowledged Pakistan's friendship saying "China can give up gold but not its friendship with Pakistan"- President Hu Jintao.

<https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2018/09/27/chinas-role-in-1965-indo-pak-war/>

Speak Softly and Carry A Big Stick

Waqas Jan

With the 73rd United Nations General Assembly currently underway, tension in South Asia once again seems to be building up to yet another verbal battle between the delegations from Pakistan and India. As the Pakistani Foreign Minister and his Indian counter-part both arrive in New York, the mood between both sides remains sour owing to the recent cancellation of the proposed meeting that was to be held between the two on the sidelines of this summit. Thus instead of talks, the age-old issues surrounding Kashmir, terrorism and cross border violations are once again expected to take centre stage in both Ministers' speeches to the General Assembly.

However, it is worth noting that despite the appearance of escalating tensions, Pakistan is in a much better position diplomatically in light of the recent steps taken by key officials in India. These include the Indian Army Chief's sudden sabre-rattling over the weekend, coupled with the confusion and inconsistency in the contradictory statements issued by the Indian Foreign Office. The case of the latter arises from the fact that Pakistan's offer for a bilateral meeting on the sidelines of the UNGA was at first accepted by India. It was then suddenly rescinded within a day, along with a strongly worded statement that not only questioned Pakistan's motives, but accused it of harbouring 'Evil Intentions' from which the 'true face of its Prime Minister was revealed.' Even in the long history of Pak – India tensions, the wording of this official statement marks a fresh departure from established diplomatic norms between the two countries. It harks back to the rhetoric employed by the hard-line Irani regime against the Bush led US Administration. Or the kind of statements made by the North Korean leadership as part of its carefully crafted narrative of defiance and belligerence to the world status quo. Both present examples of where international sentiment went against such fiery rhetoric as opposed to supporting it.

Coming from India however, the statements made by its army chief as well as its external affairs spokesperson appear at best as an over-reaction. At their worst, they come off as a grave miscalculation that has in fact played right into the narrative being posited by Pakistan. This narrative is linked directly to the unabashed and hard-line approach taken by the Modi government, in placating its vast political base of far right nationalists. Pakistan has long accused the Indian government of pushing forth an anti-Muslim and anti-Pakistan agenda, harking back to the days of Mr Modi's stint as the Chief Minister of Gujarat. The rise of religious intolerance and widespread political divisiveness in India are often cited as a direct result of Mr Modi's inability to promote peace and diversity within the region. Based on the above, the recent cancellation of talks between the two countries' Foreign Ministers is thus widely perceived to have been carried out within this same context. Especially with the Indian elections looming just ahead, many have pointed out that escalating tensions against Pakistan would greatly help in diverting the Indian electorate's attention away from domestic issues. Channelling such anti-Pakistan sentiments, the incumbent government can thus position itself as the only credible deterrent to the bogeyman that Pakistan is being made out to be; In effect, uniting a fractured and divisive polity against an age-old historic enemy. Considering how India has often accused Pakistan's foreign policy of being made hostage to Civil-Military tensions and more or less defined by hawkish

generals; it is extremely ironic to see how India's own foreign policy is here being made hostage to local communal and political tensions amongst its own populace. While Mr Modi may perhaps achieve some semblance of a political victory domestically, one wonders whether it is worth India losing its credibility as a key regional power internationally.

Based on this scenario Pakistan here has a unique opportunity in claiming the moral as well as diplomatic high ground by merely exercising restraint. Instead of playing into the bellicose rhetoric and being goaded in to a tactical misadventure, Pakistan should continue to push for talks emphasizing the need for peace and restraint. This should be done in spite of the inherent weaknesses on display within the Indian government and military. Therefore, drawing on the century old dictum espoused by visionary US President, Theodore Roosevelt, Pakistan would do well to "Speak softly and carry a Big Stick," in response to the increasingly bellicose rhetoric being espoused by India. While much has been made of the 'Big Stick' in the form of nuclear deterrence on the international stage, it is the diplomatic finesse required in 'Speaking Softly' that is to give Pakistan the edge within the current debates unfolding at the UNGA.

<https://pakobserver.net/speak-softly-and-carry-a-big-stick/>

South Asia: You Can Change Friends but not Neighbors

Fateh Najeeb

The former Indian Prime Minister (Late) Atal Behari Vajpai once pointed out the importance of relations with neighbors as undeniable as the caption of this piece of writing indicates. Geographical proximity plays a vital role in foreign policy formulation of states. Internal atmosphere of South Asian region has never left any country of this region unaffected during crucial circumstances overwhelming this part of the world. The significance of good relations with immediate neighbors is crucial for any state to be able to coexist peacefully and contribute towards regional prosperity.

Being in highly volatile South Asian region, Pakistan seems to have apprehended rightly this critical notion. Few days ago, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan Shah Mehmood Qureshi made his maiden foreign visit to Afghanistan to improve bi-lateral relations. This visit is very important to improve ever fluctuating Pak-Afghan relations. At the same, this juncture has highlighted some common grounds for revitalizing relationship. The need for peaceful neighborhood, trade and economic activity and trust mongering measures in geostrategic environment of South Asia has opened a ray of hope to counter mutual menace of terrorism, combined work for economic prosperity and to improve living conditions of general masses living on both side of Durand Line.

Afghanistan has suffered heavy damages ever since the Soviet Invasion of 1979. Since then, different kinds of conflicts have been prevalent on the Afghan soil. Pakistan has also been under spillover effect of situations in Afghanistan. Brutal 'war on terror', terrorist's sanctuaries and strategic game plans of big powers collectively left devastating foot prints in this region. Simultaneously, Pakistan has also been in trouble because of ever-growing Indian influence in Afghanistan. Developments on Pakistan's Western and Eastern borders have diverted its focus towards tackling multiple anticipated threats simultaneously. So, the need for improvement in relationship with Afghanistan has always been very critical for Pakistan to secure its regional interests and territorial integrity coupled with solidarity.

The commitments made by both sides to improve diplomatic, security and economic relations have opened new horizons of cooperation. Years long trust deficit seems to be vanishing very soon and goodwill gestures are apparent. Most importantly, the Indo-Afghan transit trade through Pakistan has also come in the focus. Analysts have started predicting plus points of such a remarkable political expansion. Likewise, the statement of the US ambassador John Bass in an interview to newspaper 'India's Economic Times' about opening of trade route through Pakistan is a clear indication of positive hopes in hostile environment of South Asia. Improvement in Indo-Pak relationship is equally important for the peace and progress of this part of the world. Although, new political leadership in Pakistan after taking office has offered India direct dialogue to discuss all controversial bi-lateral issues to reach a peaceful settlement but Indian stubbornness via dismissing foreign ministers meeting in UNGA and threatening language of Indian army chief is proving to be a hurdle in the way of a slight glimpse of hope that emerged recently.

Sooner or later, India must realize the need for durable peace process to ensure security and improvement of depleting living standards of the general masses in both countries. Heavy expenditures on arsenal accumulating is paying nothing except obstruction and sense of insecurity. South Asia is the least internally integrated region of the world in terms of economic and trade activities. This is a serious issue which needs to be addressed accordingly. Afghanistan can be the catalyst in playing a role of bridge between India and Pakistan. It could refuse to be part of any proxies in future to avoid further devastation and dependence. The Afghan President's invitation to the Prime Minister of Pakistan for a visit is a very good gesture of moving forward in response to Qureshi's visit. Peace is the dire need for all South Asian countries for which concrete steps are a pre-requisite. Certain CBMs must be followed by recent enthusiastic statements including lifting of trade barriers, improving people to people contacts and harmony in dealing with regional conflicts. Above all, mutual consensus must be reached at to wipe off the shadows of tussle and mistrust.

One act of kindness enkindles another, the positive approach to discuss the prevalent issues and mutual respect for each other's interests can do a lot. Afghanistan and Pakistan are deeply knotted in cultural, religious and ethnic bonds historically. The only impediment seems to be the will to resolve long standing trust deficit. Time has come to realize the significance of improved relations with neighbors both for Pakistan and Afghanistan. India on the other hand, being part of all controversies and a major stake holder in this region has to play a responsible role to diminish all dark clouds howling over this region. Blame game and turning a deaf ear to the echoes of peace will never be appreciated anymore. Last but not the least, there is a need for realization on part of all South Asian players that nothing is impossible in ever changing global political scenarios, and peace should be given a chance.

<https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2018/09/27/south-asia-you-can-change-friends-but-not-neighbors/>

Indo-US Communications Compatibility and Security Agreement: Implications for Pakistan

Sonia Naz

The Communications Compatibility and Security Agreement (COMCASA) was signed after the US Defence Secretary James Mattis and Secretary of State Mike Pompeo met the Indian Foreign and Defence Ministers Sushma Swaraj and Nirmala Sitharaman respectively on September 6, to protect the military communication. According to the US, it is a foundational agreement and a major step forward because it permits the US to transport its sensitive and high-tech equipment such as armed surveillance drones to India. It also binds both states into a military alliance. Generally, the US signs these types of agreements with NATO allies. In 2016, the then US President Obama gave the status of “Major Defence Partner,” to India and on 30 July, 2018 Trump government gave the status of Strategic Trade Authorization-1 (STA-1) to India.

There are multiple reasons which are driving the US towards India. First, according to senior experts, India’s defence market is attractive for the US and it wants to seize the entire Indian market. With the US \$15 billion of arms deal in the past decade, India emerged as the second largest arms importer from the US. Second, the US wants more a vigorous trade partnership with India, to counter Indo-Russia trade volume. Third, through these surveillance drones the US wants to monitor China in the Indian Ocean. While China and India have more than US \$100 billion trade and China would like to believe that it does not face any threat from India, the growing cooperation between India and the US proves otherwise. This cooperation is boosting the Indian Military Industrial Complex while enhancing its military and nuclear capabilities at the same time.

While the Indo-US partnership is growing rapidly, Pak-US relations are simultaneously deteriorating. On the other hand, Russia also feels wary of the emerging cooperation between India and the US. This is one of the reasons, bringing Pakistan and Russia closer as both states provide each other with the best alternative options. Islamabad purchased high tech Mi-35m helicopters from Russia and is also interested in purchasing more fighter jets from Russia.

Indian experts believe that COMCASA would reduce the chances of US reservations against India buying S-400 surface-to-air missile systems from Russia. While, the US is not particularly comfortable with India’s military purchases from Russia, this issue was not discussed in the recent meeting. However, Pompeo told the reporters that the US would not punish India for its proposed purchase. India is looking forward to purchasing Patriot-3 PAC from the US and it is quite evident that combining both US and Russian technologies would disturb the stability of the South Asian region.

Hence, Indo-US military cooperation will increase the arms race in the region, especially disturbing the delicate equilibrium between Pakistan and India. Nevertheless, Pakistan is not protesting unlike India against any deal between the US and New Delhi. For example, Larry Pressler states in his

book “Neighbours in Arms” that when the US Defence Department was approving a sale of eight F-16 to Pakistan in 2016, India started protesting against it. India’s leaders also projected that these jets would be used against them. Pakistan is not complaining but the growing strategic partnership between India and the US is pushing it towards Russia and China.

The US is supporting India on every platform; recently, Washington stated that it would advocate for Indian membership of the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) despite China’s veto. On the other hand Russia has expressed desire to enhance, trade of military equipment with Pakistan. Nonetheless, Russia is cautiously warming up to Pakistan. Lastly, it is to be realised by both India and the US, that their partnership would not only increase the arms race between two rivals destabilising the region, but would also make them move away from their traditional allies. Consequently, Pakistan should think about new strategic partnerships with Russia to avoid any imminent risks.

<https://dailytimes.com.pk/303506/indo-us-communications-compatibility-and-security-agreement-implications-for-pakistan/>

Second Age of Arms Race in Indian Ocean and India's Test of K-15 SRBM

Ahyousha Khan

In late August 2018, according to Indian defense officials, local and international media sources three short range ballistic missiles were fired from INS Arihant for the first time. Before that India never exhibited the capacity of INS Arihant. Indian newspaper stated that all three-short range K-15 missiles followed their trajectory with high accuracy from the 20-meter-deepsubmerged position about 10 km off the coast of Vizagwith close to zero circular error probability.

K-15 is a short range ballistic missile, which before 2018 was last tested in November 2015. K-15 Sagarika is solid fueled two stage sea launched ballistic missile that can carry payload of about 1000 kg and weighs almost 10 tons. K-15 missile was fired from India's most treasured and closely guarded secret INS Arihant, which is the first of five SSBNs (Submersible Ship Ballistic Missile Nuclear).

Arihant also made it to the international news and local Indian media during Doklam crisis when news broke out that the SSBN is decommissioned because the hatch was left open in the submarine that caused serious damages to it. The news of hatch was took up by India's national newspapers maintaining that as INS Arihant is based on Russian design with nuclear reactor sealed in a double hull, hence under normal circumstances water could just not enter into the submarine, also because of the warning systems. However the question still remains that if the water entered into the SSBN due to opened hatch, why did the warning systems fail and why are the sailors and officers of the Indian navy not properly trained to handle nuclear armed, nuclear powered submarines?

Such incidents raise serious alarm as they challenge the mechanisms and measures that ensure safety and security of nuclear materials and facilities.

India has always claimed that command and control of its nuclear weapons and arsenals is in the hands of its civilian leadership. But this one incident reveals that reality is otherwise. Even when the civilian leadership enquired whether Arihant could be used against China, they were told that second strike capability would not work as INS Arihant was decommissioned. This revelation explicitly challenges the notion well appraised around the globe that India's nuclear program is under the control of civilian leadership because reality is contrary to it.

Significant aspect with second strike capability and sea based nuclear weapons is that they cannot be kept in de-mated form till the last moment and hence are mostly in cannisterized form. Two factors which are considered as the requisites for handling cannisterized weapons are professional expertise and safe launching pad. Indian Navy yet has to master these requisites for safety and security of nuclear weapons in the sea.

Moreover, states must adopt pragmatic approach in the command and control of nuclear assets in sea because it is difficult to exercise complete civilian control on nuclear submarine which has to

remain submerged in sea for at least 6 months. Thus, although civilian control of nuclear assets looks more promising but is not pragmatic and realistic when it comes to handling sea based weapons and assets. Hence, in the light of afore mentioned reasons clarity in command and control systems would ensure stability in an arena where miscalculation and ambiguity is highly likely.

Another significant aspect in this development is not the test of K-15 itself but the classical action-reaction chain, which is becoming more of a syndrome in case of South Asia. India being larger state with better economy to spend on its defense, mostly initiates technological developments, which are countered by Pakistan to maintain deterrence equilibrium. But, this time India tested its sea launched short range ballistic missile from submerged platform after Pakistan announced second successful test of Babur-3 (SLCM) from submerged platform through horizontal launch.

Indian test of SRBMs is not considered as threat by international media and analysts because they cannot reach Islamabad with the range of 700-750 km. However, purpose of nuclear weapons is to create terror, which these small range naval ballistic missiles have the capacity to create in the Indian Ocean. Moreover, these tests will enable India to develop and successfully test the intermediate and long-range sea launched ballistic missile from submerged platforms, thus igniting the arms race in Indian Ocean.

In all this fiasco of nuclearizing the Indian Ocean littoral to South Asia, it is high time that both parties realize that there is no end to this arms race. One after another technology is coming and one after another arena is militarized and nuclearized to have an escalation dominance, which is eliminating the chances of stability for South Asia. Arms build-up according to the security needs is right of every state but larger goal must be to acquire stability in the region, which largely depends upon the will to not use the common goods for bolstering military capabilities. It is time where both countries must realize that not every sphere should be turned into conflict and CBMs should be signed for the arenas like sea, glaciers, cyber and outer space to contain the arms race from spreading into zones which are beneficial for all human kind.

<https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2018/09/28/second-age-of-arms-race-in-indian-ocean-and-indias-test-of-k-15-srbm/>

International Day against Nuclear Testing

Beenish Altaf

Ever since the first nuclear testing on 16 July 1945, two thousand plus nuclear weapons tests have taken place up till now. The so called international instrument responsible for putting an end to all forms of nuclear weapons testing is the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) that is yet to enter into force. Paradoxically, if the treaty still holds no ground to stand for its agenda point, then the need to allocate a day for banning nuclear testing would be of no implications.

On 2 December 2009, the 64th session of the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) declared 29th August, an international day against nuclear tests by unanimously adopting resolution 64/35. The resolution calls for increasing awareness and education “about the effects of nuclear weapon test explosions or any other nuclear explosions and the need for their cessation as one of the means of achieving the goal of a nuclear weapon free world.” The nuclear testing has markedly had catastrophic consequences for the environment, humans and all kind of life forms.

The resolution was initiated by the Republic of Kazakhstan, together with a large number of sponsors and cosponsors with a view to commemorating the closure of the Semipalatinsk Nuclear Test site on 29 August 1991. The day is meant to animate the United Nations’ member states, youth networks, academic institutions, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, and the media to enlighten, educate, instruct and promote the inevitability of banning nuclear weapon tests.

The UN Secretary General Antonio Guterres launched his new disarmament agenda titled as “Securing our Common Future,” on 24 May 2018. Despite the fact that the document does not hold any substantial step towards disarmament agenda however the secretary general has eagerly assumed that the norm against testing is an example of a measure that serves both disarmament and non-proliferation objectives. If the CTBT would have worked, it might constraint the development of new types of advanced nuclear weapons that would resultantly halt the growing arms race around both ends of the globe. Regrettably it does not serve as a powerful normative barrier against the states that might seek to build up, construct, manufacture and consequently acquire nuclear weapons in violation of their non-proliferation commitments.

On the account of CTBT, for the past few years, there has been a repeated effort to prohibit the testing of nuclear weapons. But the treaty still remains in a state of limbo. A deadlock exists because Article XIV of the CTBT makes the ratification by 44 states with commercial or research nuclear reactors a necessary requirement for the treaty to become legally binding. Out of those 44 particular states, Pakistan, North Korea, China, Israel, Iran, India, Egypt and the US have yet to ratify the treaty.

The delay in the non-ratification of the treaty requires an understanding of the fact that the CTBT is a political issue and not a technical one. Even on the floor of the US Senate, partisan-cum-personal rivalries played an important role in undermining the treaty. It would not be wrong to argue that the rejection of the CTBT was a classic case of the failure of the executive branch in conducting its

foreign policy. In 1999, the Clinton administration was bogged down in a number of domestic political issues and the CTBT was left to the mercy of the chaotic politics of the Congress.

Summing-up on ideal terms, the international day against nuclear testing should primarily be taken as a chance to reflect on this danger and ensure some serious efforts to stop the race of nuclear testing and such type of all devastating weapons especially from the P-5 states. Owing to the fact that the 51st session of the CTBT's preparatory committee is being held in September (2018), the US should take the platform and the day as an opportunity to take substantial actions. It should urge other countries to make the CTBT a reality by ensuring no nuclear weapons testing in future. But it is also a fact that when the US itself is not taking any significant step in this regard, how it can force any other state to abide by the CTBT unless it gets into force.

Last but not the least, the day is being celebrated for more than a decade now; it is time to recognize some sort of progress in this regard by the super powers first and foremost. However, realistically narrating the international strategic community is not serious enough towards its self constructed disarmament and the non-proliferation measures.

<https://www.eurasiareview.com/29092018-international-day-against-nuclear-testing-a-critical-review-oped/>

CPEC: A Platform for Regional Economic Integration

Qura tul Ain Hafeez

As a crown jewel of China's Belt and Road initiative (BRI), China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) holds immense promise for regional integration as it could bring various economic opportunities at large for every country that will join the project. Taking into account the strategic and economic benefits of CPEC, it is equally important to both China and Pakistan. It can pave the way to promote regional and cross regional economic and trade integration among various neighboring countries to, China and Pakistan. It will provide China's access to the Middle East and Africa via Pakistan's western province-Baluchistan. The Gwadar port will enable China to step into the Indian Ocean; moreover it will also provide Pakistan an opportunity to link with the Central Asian land locked states. In return, China will help Pakistan triumph over its energy crises alongside stabilizing its depleting economy.

This very factor attracts other neighboring countries to join in and be part of the CPEC project. Recently in a statement, Pakistan's information Minister Fawad Chaudhry stated that 'Saudi Arabia will be joining CPEC as the third strategic partner'. This is surely an important achievement for Pakistan. Saudi Arabia's investment in Pakistan will generate income for the national economy. It will bring in more business and further accelerate the economic development.

Saudi Arabia is among those countries who are interested keenly in becoming a part of CPEC. Saudi Arabia's inclusion in CPEC will primarily provide a chance to relate its economy with China. This will eventually lead Saudi Arabia in targeting its 2030 vision which focuses on the Saudi plan to reduce Saudi Arabia's dependence on oil, diversify its economy, and develop public service sectors such as health, education, infrastructure, recreation and tourism. Eventually CPEC will lessen Saudi Arabia's dependency on its oil generated revenues thus providing alternate revenue generation options in energy sector and power plants. As Saudi Arabia has planned in its vision 2030 to utilise its strategic location for global economic activities thus CPEC is the best possible option. It will allow the Saudis to set a larger trade pattern and even better position in world trade traffic. Furthermore it will be advantageous for China as well. Every year China spends billions of dollars on importing oil to meet its oil consumption. Saudi Arabia as a party to CPEC will provide China with a better quality of crude oil for its imports as its economy is highly dependent on the trade activities.

Additionally, this CPEC triad (Pakistan-China-Saudi Arabia) is not only beneficial for economic integration, but will also help in mitigating Arab rivalries. Pakistan can play an important role to patch up the long-running cracks in Saudi Arabia-Iranian relations. In this regard Islamabad could be supportive in bringing Saudi Arabia closer to their conventional competitors Iran and Qatar. It is pertinent to mention here that both Iran and Qatar have friendly relations with Pakistan and have expressed their willingness to join CPEC. This will be an important foreign policy move on Pakistan's behalf and an achievement for CPEC as an economic platform.

Eventually the CPEC could act as a driving factor to foster regional trade and economic integration between Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Afghanistan, Central Asia, Africa, and Europe as well.

The CPEC may even be helpful in improving the frigid political environment presently prevailing amongst these states in the near future. In order to smoothen the trade activities across the region Pakistan has a vision to improve its infrastructure network. Under CPEC US\$ 10 billion have been allocated for infrastructural development. This would revitalize Pakistan's communication and infrastructure which was on its last leg before CPEC. With such advancements Pakistan will be in a better position to transfer goods from Middle East, China, and across the region globally. Although, presently CPEC seems to be a two-pronged proposal between China and Pakistan, with Saudi Arabia's joining the project, there is a possibility of it turning into a multilateral project.

<https://dailytimes.com.pk/303833/cpec-a-platform-for-regional-economic-integration/>

India's Ballistic Missile Defence System: Strategic Implications

Asma Khalid

Strategic stability in South Asia has remained fragile due to multiple factors. Three common threats to Strategic Stability in South Asia have been recognized as crisis instabilities, arms race and escalatory dangers between two nuclear adversaries India and Pakistan. Security experts have analyzed that emergence of security tri-lemmas (among China-India-Pakistan) also pose a serious challenge to South Asia's strategic stability as well as to the deterrence equilibrium. The development of advanced conventional and nuclear weapons system with high level of readiness and precision strike capabilities, and supersonic and hypersonic missiles with the capability to destroy adversary's strategic weapon system are highly destabilizing for the region.

Both South Asian nuclear adversaries are introducing several offensive and defensive weapons and are engaged in improving the ranges and technological sophistication of their arsenals. However, India is modernizing its missile system naturally creating uneasiness for Pakistan. The successful launch of its nuclear-capable Intermediate-Range Ballistic Missile (IRBM) Agni-IV and Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM) Agni-V has worsened the regional security situation. India is also working on its Ballistic Missile Defence (BMD) System and has been pursuing it since 1990s. India-US nuclear agreement of 2005 was the major milestone for India to fulfill its aspiration as the nuclear deal allowed the US to provide nuclear related facilities that India would not only use for peaceful purposes but also to fulfill its nuclear strategy goals of operationalization of a nuclear triad; and successful induction of a BMD system.

Although India is working on its BMD system, it has not yet deployed it. BMD system is yet to be tested in integrated mode by using low-altitude and high-altitude Advanced Air Defense interceptor missiles. However, it has conducted several successful tests of its missile defence system in a separate mode. Additionally, India is in the process to strengthen its missile defence shield. India's rationale for the BMD is based on multiple factors including security, prestige, power projection and to fulfill its geostrategic and geopolitical goals in region. With the successful induction of its BMD system, India will be the fifth country to have operationalized BMD-system.

Implications of India's BMD for?

The Induction of Ballistic Missile Defence System (BMDS) in South Asia will destabilize the strategic stability of the region for the following significant reasons: First, operationalization of BMD system will neutralize Pakistan's ballistic missile capability; second, it encourage the state to launch first strike; third, it will increase the security dilemma and encourage the arms race because operationalization and induction of BMD system will force Pakistan to make quantitative and qualitative improvements in its missile inventories to ensure its security.

Pakistan's Response

Induction of BMD system in South Asia will force Pakistan to increase the readiness, precision strike capability, increase the ranges and payloads of its missile system, and thus escalate the arms race

and increase the fragility of strategic stability among the countries that depend on nuclear deterrence to maintain peace. Therefore to counter India's vulnerability to Pakistan's nuclear weapons, the only way is to quantitative and qualitative increase in Pakistan's strategic weapons. And it is significant to note that Pakistan is not seeking parity with India but only maintaining the balance of power. In this regard Pakistan's MIRV capable Ababeel and Babur-3 are viewed as logical responses to ensure strategic stability. Ababeel is surface-to-surface ballistic missile capable of delivering multiple warheads using Multiple Independently Targetable Reentry Vehicle (MIRV) technology. This is enough evidence that Pakistan possesses the ability to maintain the credibility of its strategy of nuclear deterrence against the ballistic missile defences due to its ability to deliver multiple warheads. In addition to MIRV, Pakistan also achieved second strike capability with the successful test of Babur-III. It is a nuclear-capable SLCM proficient to evade the radars and defence systems of adversary. Therefore SLCM and MIRV capable Ababeel are logical additions that have the ability to neutralize Indian BMD system.

In light of above facts it can be inferred that due to changing regional security scenario, induction of sophisticated weapons and unresolved disputes, the peace in South Asian security environment has remained fragile. India's BMD has the ability to disturb the deterrence equilibrium. Therefore only policy option for Pakistan is quantitative and qualitative improvements in its nuclear weapons and missile program to maintain strategic stability and ensure the credibility of its nuclear deterrence. Thus, Pakistan is not seeking parity with India but only maintaining the balance of power to maintain peace and stability in region.

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