



# VISION

VISIONARY INSIGHTS INTO THE STRATEGIC INQUESTS OF NATIONS

## SVI FORESIGHT

VOLUME 5, NUMBER 2

FEBRUARY 2019

Compiled & Edited by:

S. Sadia Kazmi

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

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

**Strategic Vision Institute (SVI)**

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

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

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

## **SVI Foresight**

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

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## *Editor's Note*

Month of February saw the two South Asian nuclear neighbours at the brink of a war. The region garnered special global attention where the whole world witnessed the unfolding of events with a worry. SVI research scholars have specifically come up with their own understanding and analysis of the whole situation and provided some useful insight through their short commentaries. In this issue of *SVI-Foresight* the readers are going to find an informative scoop on the Pulwama incident and its aftermath. The month of February has also been important for Pakistan as it conducted Aman Naval Exercises which surely have been instrumental in effectively establishing and communicating its deterrent capabilities. This electronic issue offers a scholastic take on the Aman Naval Exercises as well.

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

## *The Importance of Political Process*

### *Anjum Sarfraz*

Pakistan got its independence under the dynamic leadership of Quaid e Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and his devoted comrades through a political process.

The credit goes to All India Muslim League (AIML) which was established as a political party in December 1906 at Dhaka during the annual session of Muhammadan Educational Conference which was attended by 3000 delegates. The meeting was presided over by Nawab Viqar ul Mulk. Nawab Salim Ullah Khan presented a proposal to establish a political party to provide a platform to Muslims of the subcontinent to safeguard and fight for their political rights and interests. The Quaid was a member of Indian National Congress (INC) which had been functioning since December 1885 with the main objective to put forward demands of Indian nationals before the British government. He joined AIML in 1913 and became President in 1916. Demands of the Muslims were forwarded to the British government through the AIML platform like more posts in the government offices for Muslims, breaks for Jumah prayers in the offices, separate electorate etc. In the twenty fifth annual session of AMILat Allahabad on December 29, 1930, Iqbal gave the idea and concept of Muslims as a separate nation. He said, nation is distinguished from the other on the basis of religion, customs and traditions. He did not support the Western concept of religion as private affair. Iqbal explained that Islam is a way of life and thus Muslims are a separate nation. He advanced the idea that for peace and tranquility in the Subcontinent, Muslims should have a separate state. This continuous political struggle led to the March 23, 1940 Resolution, which became the landmark for the creation of this country. The annual session of AIML was held from 22-24 March at Minto Park Lahore. On the first day, the Quaid addressed the session and said that Hindus and Muslims follow two different religions, philosophies, social customs and literature and this made them two distinct nations.

Based on these ideas, AK Fazal -ul- Haq, then Chief Minister of Bengal moved resolution which was seconded by Maulana Zafar Ali Khan from Punjab and other prominent leaders from NWFP, Baluchistan and Sindh. It states: "No constitutional plan would be workable or acceptable to the Muslims unless geographical contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary. That the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in majority as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute independent states in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign". It further reads, "That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in the units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, and administrative and other rights of the minorities, with their consultation." It repudiated the concept of a United India. It was made part of constitution of AIML in 1941 and in 1946, the AIML, decided to go for one state for Muslims. First Governor General was Quaid i

Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan as the Prime Minister. India Act of 1935 with amendments was adopted by the constituent assembly as an interim constitution.

The Objective Resolution which gives the guide lines for framing the constitution was presented by Liaquat Ali Khan and adopted by the assembly on 12 Feb 1948. Salient features are, federal System of Government, principles of democracy, equality, freedom and social justice as laid down by Islam shall be fully observed. The sovereignty of the state will be established through the elected representative of the people. The rights and interests of the minorities to freely profess and practice their religion will be protected. Judiciary will be independent. It was preamble of constitution of 1956, 1962 and 1973, and made part of constitution in vogue as Article 2A by Zia ul Haq in 1985. The Quaid has emphasized these points in his addresses at various occasions. In his address to Staff College Quetta on 14 June 1948, he said that, “the defense forces are the most vital of all Pakistan services and correspondingly a very heavy responsibility and burden lies on your shoulders. One thing , I am persuaded to say this because during my talks with one or two very high ranking officers I discovered that they do not know the implications of the oath taken by the troops of Pakistan. Of course, an oath is only a form; what are more important is the true spirit and the heart’. He read out the Oath administered to Armed forces and emphasized faithfulness to constitution and the oath taken.

It is unfortunate that four Martial laws have been imposed in Pakistan against the constitution and directives of the Quaid. Except the martial law of Yahya Khan, all other have been declared as lawful by the Supreme Court (SC). On the other hand in the decisions of Zia ul Haq and Musharraf the SC even authorised the dictators to amend the Constitution. This is an authority which even the SC did not have. Both the 1965 and 1971 wars were fought while the country was under military rule. In 1965 while executing Operation Gibraltar, the desired objectives could not be achieved and a ceasefire was accepted. According to the Tashkent declaration, troops had to be withdrawn to the positions they were in prior to start of the operation. This became a significant factor in the downfall of Ayub Khan. Soon after assuming power as President and Chief Martial Law Administrator on March 25, 1969, Yahya Khan announced that elections will be held on the basis of “one man one vote”. However, the former East Pakistan got 162 and West Pakistan 138 National Assembly seats. Considering the populations of both sectors, this was a clear violation of Yahya’s earlier statement. In the 1970 elections, the National Awami Party of Sheikh Mujeeb ur Rehman got 161 seats from the Eastern Wing. Meanwhile, the Pakistan People’s Party (PPP) of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto got 81 seats from the West and not a single one from East Pakistan. In this scenario, a political process was the need of the hour. A seasoned, realistic and intelligent politician at the helms of affairs would have opted for a political solution instead of military action. It would have saved the country from a humiliating defeat followed by surrender and more than 90,000 people becoming prisoners of war and losing a 5000 square kilometer area in the West wing.

We should learn from this shameful history. Had the political process continued and elections held as scheduled, the people would have had some semblance of political awareness by now. The requirement at this point of time is to strengthen our institutions.

<https://dailytimes.com.pk/349971/the-importance-of-political-process/>

## *Pakistan Navy and the Exercise Aman 2019*

### *Anjum Sarfraz*

The Indian Ocean is the third largest oceanic divisions of the world, covering about 20 percent of the water on the Earth's surface. It provides major sea routes connecting the Middle East, Africa, and East Asia with Europe and North and South America. It carries heavy traffic of petroleum and petroleum products from the oil fields of the Persian Gulf and Indonesia. Large reserves of hydrocarbons are being tapped in the offshore areas of Saudi Arabia, Iran, India, and Western Australia. An estimated 40 percent of the world's offshore oil production comes from the Indian Ocean. The sea lanes in the Indian Ocean are considered among the most strategically important in the world with more than 80 percent of the world's seaborne trade transits coming through the Indian Ocean and its vital choke points. About 40 percent passes through the Strait of Hormuz, 35 percent through the Strait of Malacca and eight percent through the Bab el-Man dab.

Pakistan, especially the Gwadar port occupies strategic location overlooking the Strait of Hormuz and the North Arabian Sea. All of oil imports and 95 percent of Pakistani trade takes place through the sea because it is the cheapest mode of transportation. The China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) will further increase the cargo handling at Gwadar. Therefore Pakistan is one of the important stake holders in the Indian Ocean security frame work, whether it is piracy, maritime terrorist activities, gun running, human or narco trafficking. Admiral Z. M. Abbasi, Chief of the Naval Staff (CNS) in his address to the last commissioning officers parade has said that, "Pakistan Navy on its part is maintaining a robust security posture along the Pakistan coast and in the regional seas to deter nefarious elements from illicit activities in the maritime domain."The Institution of Regional Maritime Security Patrols (RMSP) in the Indian Ocean region in line with UN Convection on Law of the Sea was also announced by the CNS. The Pakistan Navy (PN) has been actively participating in the Combine Task Forces 150 and 151 in the larger interest of international community and regional maritime security. The PN has provided assistance at the high seas to the vessels in distress, seized contraband band shipment and humanitarian assistance to the regional countries on several occasions. In addition PN participates in other international forums such as the Indian Ocean Naval Symposium and Western Pacific Naval Symposium .Besides, conducts bilateral and multilateral exercises with regional and extra regional countries. To strengthen the friendly relations naval ships and submarines visit friendly countries on flag showing missions.

To promote peace and harmony in the Indian Ocean region, PN had launched an initiative in 2007 in the shape of Multinational exercise "AMAN-07' literally meaning "Peace". It was held in March 2007 in which 28 countries participated with ships aircraft or observers. A total fourteen ships, from China, USA, UK, France, Italy, Malaysia, Australia and Bangladesh participated. In addition Special Operation Forces (SOF) and Explosive Ordnance Disposal (EOD) teams from Turkey and Bangladesh also took part. Moreover 21 countries sent their observers. All the participating navies had the common objective of ensuring peace and freedom in maritime arena to provide safe and un interrupted flow of



trade. The exercises at sea were aimed to enhance tactical proficiency, develop common tactics and techniques to counter asymmetric threats. This was also the first time the Chinese Navy participated in such an International event. After successfully achieving the desired objectives, Pakistan Navy decided to make it a biennial event. Since 2007 five Amman exercises have been conducted. The sixth will be conducted from 8 to 12 Feb 19. The objectives are, projecting positive image of Pakistan as a country contributing towards regional peace and stability, display united resolve against terrorism and crimes in maritime domain, develop collation building and multi-layer security cooperation to promote a safe and sustainable maritime environment, enhance tactical interoperability between regional and extra regional navies there by acting as a bridge between the regions and last but not the least validating response, tactics , techniques and procedures to counter nontraditional threats in maritime domain. The logo is “Together for Peace”. About 40 Navies will be participating including, extra regional like, USA, UK, Russian Federation, China and Italy. During the harbor phase, three days International Maritime Conference will be organized by National Center for Maritime Policy Research (NCMPR) which is the constituent unit of National Institute of Maritime Affairs (NIMA) Islamabad. The topic is “Global Geopolitics in Transition; Rethinking Maritime Dynamics in the Indian Ocean”. About fourteen eminent scholars, expert in the maritime field from USA, Canada, UK, China, Russian Federation, Republic of Maldives, Sri Lanka, Romania, Turkey, Iran and Denmark in addition to erudite scholars from Pakistan will read their papers and interact with the learned audience from Pakistan and the delegates of visiting Navies. Recommendations of the conference will be disseminated to the concerned government departments.

The mega exercise organised by Pakistan substantiates the abundant confidence in PN by the extra regional and regional navies, and improved security environments in Pakistan. It also specifies that Pakistan enjoys a very respectable status in the comity of nations.

<https://dailytimes.com.pk/352824/pakistan-navy-and-the-exercise-aman-2019/>

## *The Nasr missile and stability in South Asia*

*Saiqa Bukhari*

Pakistan successfully tested its short range surface to surface ballistic missile 'Nasr' on January 24, 28 and 31 as part of a Army Strategic Forces Command training exercise. The exercise included quad salvo on January 24 and single shots on January 28 and 31. Quad salvo means that the four missiles were fired together from an AR1A/A100-E Multiple Launch Rocket System (MLRS) to enhance the operational efficiency of Army Strategic force Command. While single shots means one missile was fired from the vehicle. These exercises were meant to test the system's inflight maneuverability, including end flight maneuverability. Nasr has shoot and scoot attributes which mean that the system is capable of firing and moving away quickly to avoid counter targeting, which would contribute to the weapon's survivability. The speed and low apogee of the Hatf-IX missile would make it difficult to intercept by the India's existing Ballistic Missile Defence system and could defeat the S-400 air defence system.

Though the hostility between India and Pakistan continues, nuclear weapons have brought stability to a great extent. As India decided to take the nuclear weapons route, Pakistan followed because it was only through nuclear weapons that Pakistan could successfully neutralize India's conventional superiority.

The competition between India and Pakistan in South Asia has been characterised by an action-reaction spiral. Pakistan took the nuclear route in order to create a balance against militarily superior India. In 2004, India adopted an aggressive military doctrine, Pakistan responded by developing the Short Range Ballistic Missile Nasr which further strengthened the existing deterrence equation of the region.

The purpose of the development of Nasr is defensive because Pakistan would use it to secure its border from Indian conventional aggression. Pakistan's Short Range Ballistic Missile Nasr has been criticised by the international community, which believes that it would intensify the arms race in South Asia. However, Pakistan only developed Nasr to overcome the growing threats from India. The Cold Start Doctrine (CSD) forces Pakistan to increase its dependence on its nuclear arsenal. General Bipin acknowledged CSD in 2017, which was followed by Pakistan's Nasr test. Before official acknowledgement of CSD, Pakistan did not conduct any training tests on Nasr. Pakistan inducted the Nasr missile into its strategic arsenal in 2017 and its first training launch was held in July 2017 after the official acknowledgment of CSD from the Indian side.

Pakistan has no desire to indulge in an expensive arms race, and is only reacting to those Indian developments which are threatening its sovereignty. This weapon system has augmented Pakistan's Full Spectrum Deterrence in line with Credible Minimum Deterrence, which means that Pakistan would deter conventional forces (India) by employing nuclear deterrence. Pakistan adopted assertive command and control system on Nasr which means it is centrally controlled which minimises the chances of accidental or unauthorised use.

The latest series of Nasr training tests were a response to a statement made by General Bipin on January 10. He had announced that the Indian military would be launching war games next month to test 'structures geared towards sudden and swift offensives into enemy territory by Integrated Battle Groups (IBGs). These new structures will be "validated" in military exercises on the ground in May 2019. IBGs are central to India's offensive military doctrine, which involves initiating rapid military offence from multiple fronts by exploiting the element of surprise and leaving Pakistan with neither the time to respond nor the defensive resources to stop those multiple attacks. Nasr tests are in response to this Indian military announcement as Pakistan solely developed this Short Range Ballistic Missile system to deter India from initiating a conventional conflict. The recent Nasr tests have frightened Indian commanders because of its capability to defeat all Indian existing Ballistic Missile Defence systems and S-400 air defence systems.

Deterrence is often in the minds of the adversary. As long as Indian leaders continue to be deterred by Nasr, it will continue to be effective.

<https://dailytimes.com.pk/354641/the-nasr-missile-and-stability-in-south-asia/>

## *The Indo-Pak Conundrum: Victims to their Own Narratives*

### *Waqas Jan*

As tensions between nuclear armed India and Pakistan once again escalate in the wake of the devastating attack on Indian paramilitary personnel in Pulwama, one can't help but bemoan the Sisyphean manner in which both countries seem locked in extolling the same narratives over and again. This applies not only to those aiming to broker some semblance of peace between the two age-old rivals, but also those capitalizing on the ensuing discord and enmity for their own benefit. There seems as a result an inescapable script which both the Indian and Pakistani sides seem condemned to follow.

For those unaware of the above reference, it is perhaps better to give a brief account of Sisyphus in order to understand its relevance to Indo-Pak ties. Sisyphus of Ancient Greek legend was condemned by the Gods to rolling a giant boulder up-hill only to watch it roll back down, repeating the task infinitely. This punishment, meted out to Sisyphus against his hubris has since often come to denote the futility of human action, in a harsh and unforgiving world. This idea has since been presented by many artists and thinkers in relation to mankind's own search for the very meaning of existence.

In the near timeless case of India and Pakistan, Sisyphus's punishing task which he is doomed to carry out eternally, bears a striking resemblance to the futility faced by statesmen and policy-makers from both sides in reaching an agreement over Kashmir. Their inability to break free from the decades old vitriol and bad blood, and to resort to the same threats of war and retaliation have come to characterize the narrative underlying Indo-Pak ties following every major Kashmir linked attack that has taken place in India. The Pathankot and Uri attacks from two years back, the Gurdaspur attack from 2015, the 2008 Mumbai attacks as well as the 2001 attacks on the Indian Parliament in New Delhi have all served to crystallize the animosity between both countries.

All and any efforts made towards even just normalizing relations have been as a result instantly derailed. It's as if the recent strides made at the ground-breaking ceremony of the Katarpur corridor, the designation of Most Favored Nation (MFN) status with regard to trade, and the decades of people to people ties built around cultural and cricket diplomacy by countless artists, writers, poets musicians and professional athletes from both sides of the border; has all been rendered meaningless in just a matter of days following Pulwama.

It is extremely unfortunate that based on these dynamics, the very idea of brokering a sustainable and lasting peace between the two countries has itself reached mythic proportions. This gap has further widened based on the willful construction of a nationalist identity and narrative that is directly premised on the politics of 'otherness' both within and across the borders dividing India and Pakistan.

In the case of India, this aspect of otherness has reached an unprecedented scale with the rise of far right nationalist discourse premised on the principles of the BJP led Hindutva movement. In direct

tension with the secular foundations of Indian democracy, many have attributed India's descent into a religious inspired nationalism as a worrying precursor to regional instability. As the ruling BJP government comes to increasingly resort to the politics of otherness as part of its bid for re-elections, many have accused it of willfully spurring anti-Pakistan sentiments in an attempt at uniting a diverse and divisive electorate against a singular common enemy.

Prime Minister Imran Khan, in his recently televised official statement on Pulwama, addressed this very issue and directly attributed it to the reason behind the bellicose rhetoric being espoused by Indian leaders. In the same speech he also reiterated Pakistan's resolve to retaliate and defend itself should tensions escalate to the point of military conflict.

This entire diplomatic exchange represents thus the same narrative that both sides have remained locked in as a result of Kashmir. The BJP led government in India, constrained by its inability to move beyond pandering to its core electorate, seems perhaps more unable than unwilling to break free from its own set narrative. On the other side, Pakistan's position has more or less been characterized as being dominated by its influential military to which its foreign policy on India has widely been accused of being held hostage from its civilian government. Both narratives are in turn deeply ingrained in the above discussed politics of otherness, to which both sides seem condemned to repeating over and over again.

However, if one was to go back to Prime Minister Khan's inaugural speech from September last year, he has repeatedly claimed that both the Pakistani government and its military are on the same page with respect to its regional interests and foreign policy. Even in his statement on Pulwama, he offered in clear terms Pakistan's commitment to working with India against terrorism across the region. He has clearly indicated that he is willing to move beyond these set narratives and work towards attaining the much illusive peace between the two countries. Whether Imran Khan is successful in bridging this ever growing divide between the two countries remains to be seen. However, the fact that he has willfully acknowledged and taken up this Sisyphean task for what it is, presents some hope for those worryingly looking at the war clouds looming over the South Asian region once again.

<https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2019/02/23/the-indo-pak-conundrum-victims-to-their-own-narratives/>

## ***Pulwama Incident: Impact on India-Pakistan Relations***

***Saiqa Bukhari***

On February 14, 2019, a deadly bombing attack happened in Pulwama district, in Indian occupied Kashmir, where 40 Central Reserve Police Force (CPRF) personnel were killed, which grabbed the attention of national and international media. This attack took place when a car rammed a bus carrying CRPF soldiers. A militant group Jaish-e-Mohammed claimed the responsibility of the attack. Adil Ahmad a member of JeM, a local Kashmiri, was identified as the attacker.

Pulwama incident raised tensions between the historical rival India and Pakistan, which have fought two major wars, limited conflicts, and Pakistan faced cross border shelling by India along the Line of Control. Historical enmity between two states always cast dark shadow on regional environment in view of peace, security and economic cooperation. Soon after Pulwama incident, India abruptly accused Pakistan for having involved in the attack, which denied by Pakistani officials.

Pakistan responds rationally, offer full cooperation in any investigation in Pulwama attack. Pakistan further said that if evidence find against anyone from Pakistan, will take all necessary actions. Pakistan also warned that it will retaliate if New Delhi takes military action. Pakistani Prime Minister Imran Khan said India should 'stop blaming Pakistan without any evidence' and urged Indian authorities to share any 'actionable intelligence'. These statements from Pakistan clearly shows that Pakistan is a responsible and peace loving state, who want to resolve issues on table rather than on battlefield.

But contrary, India not only accused Pakistan but also moved to impose trade restrictions and revoked the MFN status to Pakistan. In order to put pressure on Pakistan, India further said that it will build dams to reduce the flow of water to Pakistan.

DG ISPR Major General Asif Ghafoor said that an incident like Pulwama happens only when there is something important going to happen. He further said that whenever there is an important event in Pakistan or when Pakistan is more stable, some sort of incident is staged in India or Indian Occupied Kashmir. India just wanted to create Pakistan image as a terrorist sponsoring state as Saudi Crown Prince Visit was scheduled after two days of Pulwama incident.

No doubt, India enjoys conventional superiority. India would like to keep its escalation supremacy because it has the conventional capability that is the one reason behind New Delhi claim of initiating a limited military conflict. Last month, India Army Chief General Bipin Rawat stated that Indian military is going to launch war games to test the validated of Integrated Battle Groups (IBGs). IBGs are the center of Indian offensive military doctrine Cold Start. After the acknowledgement of CSD in 2017, it was the first time India shows willingness to prepare them for future warfare through exercises. But initiating a war either limited or total against a declared nuclear weapons states is a flawed strategy. Secondly, general elections are expected to be held in April and May, through this incident, aggressive stance towards Pakistan can be used as an effective tool to win the favor of people during elections.

Furthermore, after BJP government, India adopted more aggressive policies against Pakistan. The ruling Modi government is keen to play the Pakistani card to win the majority in upcoming general elections.

Pakistan always thinks and responds rationally; which discourage Indian leadership from considering war as an option in a nuclear South Asia. Presently, chances of limited war between two states are very low because Pakistan TNWs successfully deterring India from starting an aggression against Pakistan. But intimidation of any conflict either limited or total will lead towards nuclear holocaust.

<http://southasiajournal.net/pulwama-incident-impact-on-india-pakistan-relations/>

## *A Saudi Arabian Pivot to Asia?*

### *Waqas Jan*

As Saudi Arabia's Crown Prince, Mohammad bin Salman (MbS) wraps up his week-long tour of Pakistan, India and China, many have been left contemplating the implications of his travels in light of the region's evolving geo-politics. For Western observers, MbS's attempts at shoring up Saudi Arabia's alliances with these states are being seen as an attempt at shifting Riyadh's focus eastwards as an alternative to his ties to the West. This 'pivot to Asia' has been further characterized as the result of MbS being snubbed and sidelined by Western powers as part of the condemnation and fallout resulting from the death of dissident journalist Jamal Khashoggi. As evident from his interactions (or lack thereof) with world leaders at the G20 Summit held in Buenos Aires last November, the more immediate objective of this visit appears as an attempt to disassociate the crown prince from the personal ignominy he faced at the summit.

However, looking beyond the timing and contextual background of MbS's current standing in the West, there exist a broad range of long-term objectives which Riyadh appears to be working towards within the ambit of the crown prince's 'Vision 2030.' While Western media outlets have termed this tour as MbS's attempts at bolstering and re-affirming his relevance as the Middle East's premier strongman, the Crown Prince's statements otherwise suggest a clear acknowledgment of the shifting strategic and economic dynamics of Asia vis-à-vis the rest of the world.

His focus has thus not only been on consolidating and re-affirming past relationships such as with Pakistan, but also on laying the foundations of key trade and economic partnerships with India and China. In the case of the latter two, these partnerships are understandably based on the growing energy needs of two of the world's fastest growing economies. This in turn bears both economic and strategic implications, especially considering how both China and India are also two of the largest importers of oil from the Kingdom's arch-rival, Iran.

Hence, out of the key agreements signed during the Crown Prince's tour, the most salient investments that stand out are the ones aimed at developing long-standing partnerships around the three countries' expanding energy sectors. In China, this entails the \$10 billion refinery and petrochemical complex to be developed jointly by Saudi Aramco and Norinco in the Chinese city of Panjin. In India, there is the \$44 billion refinery being built in Ratnagiri, Maharashtra in which Saudi Aramco holds a joint 50% stake with the Abu Dhabi National Oil Company. And in Pakistan there is the \$10 billion oil refinery planned for Gwadar, a key component of the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI).

All of these investments represent Saudi Arabia's attempts at building more long-term economic ties in line with the growing energy needs of these countries. The scale of these investments, along with the crown prince's own statements given during this tour mark the stark reality that it is Asia rather than the West that is to serve as an increasingly important market for the Middle East's energy supplies in the years to come. Even in the case of Pakistan, whose economic capacity for large investments pales in



comparison to the economies of China and India, the Saudi Crown Prince was unequivocal in stating that Saudi investments in Pakistan were representative of his firm belief that Pakistan is to play an increasingly important role in the region's future.

This role is likely to emanate directly from the key geo-economic and geo-strategic position Pakistan holds as part of China's Belt and Road Initiative. Hence, out of all the investments in energy outlined above, the recently announced Saudi investment in Gwadar holds immense significance within the region's broader strategic and economic dynamics. It is in effect a clear indication of Saudi Arabia's willingness to play a more prominent role within the BRI framework set by President Xi Jinping,

This however does come with its own set of implications for China. On the one hand, China is actively looking for external investors and sources of funding to help shoulder the risks and liabilities being incurred by BRI projects. On the other hand, China's ties with Iran both within and outside the BRI framework, would require it to carefully balance its relationship between both countries. China's willingness to engage with Saudi Arabia under the ambit of the BRI is also likely to be determined by the extent to which Riyadh is willing to do business beyond its attempts at isolating Iran. This would in turn also be determined by the extent to which Saudi Arabia's long and historic ties with the US play into its equation with respect to both China and Iran.

At present, both Saudi Arabia and the US are equally aligned on the issue of Iran. As US sponsored sanctions against the import of Iranian oil begin to gradually take effect, for Saudi Arabia there in lie the benefits of economically isolating Iran while filling the resulting supply gap with Saudi crude. Based on these dynamics however, even though India may be more amenable to US pressures on curbing its imports of Iranian oil, China remains a completely different story.

<https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2019/02/27/a-saudi-arabian-pivot-to-asia/>

## ***Pakistan: A Preferred Global Investment Destination***

***S. Sadia Kazmi***

Pakistan today has become the most preferred destination for investment. Despite the weak economic indicators which touched the lowest point in past few months, the forecast of return on investment have hinted on promising figures for both domestic and international investors. The situation is said to be becoming increasingly “low risk – high return”. As per the latest figures the GDP of Pakistan has reached US \$312.6 billion. At the moment China is the biggest investor with US \$19 billion already been invested as part of CPEC projects. The figure is further going to go up to US \$62 billion including the construction of Special Economic Zones. As per the various economic analysts the time is ideal for investors to come to Pakistan and explore opportunities in various sectors. It is largely because of the new Special Economic Zones under China-Pakistan Economic Corridor with complete tax exemptions to the investors. This in itself serves as a great incentive for the industrialists and international companies.

This prospect is not only lucrative for the investors but the FDI helps the local economy by essentially bridging the trade deficit. Right now several countries are keenly looking at the rapid developments under CPEC especially the development of SEZs. Whether they formally be part of CPEC or not is yet to be seen but the inclination to bring in investment is there. This is evident from the recent visit by the Saudi Crown Prince Mohammad bin Slaman who signed investment deals worth more than US \$20 billion during his recent visit to Pakistan. Kingdom of Saudi Arab definitely feels its money being invested in the safe destination with the expectation of good returns. US \$10 million will be invested for refinery and petrochemicals complex in Gwadar. It is also expected this this refinery will be functional within the span of less than 2 years. And in next three to five years this facility will be in a position to produce 250,000 barrels refined oil products. This in turn entails huge savings for Pakistan. At the moment Pakistan is annually spending US \$ 2billion importing these products. Saudi companies are also expressing the desire to invest in Pakistan’s renewable energy sector. ACWA Power is keen to bring in around US \$4 billion investment and recognizes huge opportunities for production of cheap energy to fulfill the growing local demand. Simultaneously Pakistan has offered tax incentive packages. The latest example is that of Abu Dhabi which has been given a tax incentive package to establish oil refinery in Hub. It is expected that when completed it will have the production capacity of 10,000 barrels per day.

It is also expected that the upcoming visit of Turkish President to Pakistan in next month will bring more FDI into Pakistan. Turkish Consul General in Pakistan Tolga Ucak shared that the Turkish president is expected to make a formal investment-related announcement during his visit. Turkey will also extend its cooperation in the defence sector in addition to bilateral trade and technology transfer. The Turkish government is very interested in China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and is already discussing its participation in projects with Pakistani authorities. Turkish companies’ investments in Pakistan currently stand at US\$ 900 million. There are still various areas for Turkish investors to explore in the vibrant and potential sectors of tourism, information technology, food processing, agro-based products, dairy development, hotel industry and resorts development. Both countries are willing to enhance bilateral trade to US \$3 billion.

UAE is yet another candidate expressing interest for investment in Pakistan. UAE companies are also investing heavily in Pakistan, especially in telecom, refinery and ports, among others. Total investment from the UAE at the moment is US \$3 to US \$4 billion. Also the bilateral trade between the two countries reached US \$8.6 billion (Dh31.59 billion) for the financial year 2017-18 compared to US \$6.2 billion in the previous financial year (2016-17). There were US \$7.2 billion worth of exports from the UAE to Pakistan mostly consisting oil and petrochemicals while exports from Pakistan touched US \$1.5 billion for 2017-18. Pakistan main strength is its huge domestic market with cheap workforce, High GDP growth, and lucrative investment policies. In view of these officials in Pakistan are quite hopeful and believe that given the conducive environment in Pakistan at the moment, there is a hope to secure up to US \$50 billion foreign investment over the period of three to five years. As is also expressed by the Minister for power who maintains that Pakistan offers an opportunity of US \$60 billion investment in power sector alone. Such an investment will be collectively used for power generation and upgradation of power transmission. Hence one feels justified in believing that Pakistan is fast becoming a global investment destination.

<http://foreignpolicynews.org/2019/02/28/pakistan-a-preferred-global-investment-destination/>

## ***Kashmir Merits Immediate Attention***

***S. Sadia Kazmi***

Kashmir once again has emerged as a nuclear flashpoint between India and Pakistan. But war is not an option. Ignoring the issue is also not the solution. The only solution is to give due attention and urgently address the core problem between India and Pakistan, which is none other than the Kashmir issue. The current war-like situation between India and Pakistan is reflective of this very fact. It also shows India's tendency to blame Pakistan in any event of tragedy befalling India. The same happened this time as well. Soon after the Pulwama incident there started an immediate and ever-growing war hysteria on the Indian side blaming Pakistan for the deaths of 40 Indian soldiers, conveniently ignoring the most basic by most of the Indian leadership and public alike that the attack was carried out by a local Kashmiri who couldn't have possibly brought such huge amount of explosives across the border from Pakistan. This is further reinforced by the statement from Indian military commander Lt. Gen. D. S. Hooda who believes that "It is not possible to bring such massive amounts of explosives by infiltrating the border," and that "the material may have been taken from stashes of explosives" which are there for the purpose of broadening the Jammu highway. Hence, without any evidence jumping to a sudden conclusion and blaming Pakistan for this, coupled with aggressive threats doesn't make any sense nor reflects sanely on the Indian side.

Pakistan on its part maintained a more approachable and balanced posture as is evident from PM Imran Khan's two speeches. In his first address he welcomed India to provide an "actionable intelligence" with evidence that Pakistan's soil was used in this event or is involved in anyway. However, this offer was out rightly rejected by the Indian PM Narendra Modi. Instead India continued to issue war mongering rhetoric. Simultaneously PM Imran Khan was quite clear that Pakistan's offer for negotiation and action against the perpetrators should not be taken as Pakistan's weakness because if there is a need for counteraction, "Pakistan will not think but retaliate". There shouldn't have been any doubts in India's mind that Pakistan was bent upon trying all possible means to give peace a chance and avoid any untoward incident. But India as always stuck to its stubborn stance engulfing the whole region into a state of mass panic. Ideally the focus should have been on the people of Kashmir who have since long been under oppressive Indian rule. This is the very reason that Kashmiris are standing up for their rights in a purely indigenous struggle.

Now the two have been on the loggerhead. There have been violation of LOC by IAF, downing of Indian jets and an injured Indian pilot in Pakistan's custody. It is so unfortunate that only after the situation went to this extreme do we now see a statement coming from Sushma Swaraj asking for help from international community to de-escalate the situation.

It is also somewhat surprising to see a delayed response from the international community especially by the US when the chances of escalation have been and still are quite high. It is unimaginable how the US could let it go on without any active and urgent intervention soon after the first confirmed

news of Indian Air Force crossing the LOC and violating Pakistan's air space in an act of aggression. This shows that while the US led West keeps on trumpeting its unfounded and purely hypothetical concerns about the likelihood of nuclear exchange between two South Asian nuclear powers, they don't really understand the real dynamics of escalation of the conflict in the South Asian setting. It looks like they are oblivious to the fact that how soon even a limited conflict could spiral out of control without the third party intervention. It is especially true in an environment where the hostile sentiments on both sides of the border are too high to allow for any bilateral diplomatic channel to open through. Hence, it wouldn't be an exaggeration to infer that the West in fact is convinced on the deterrent potential of the nuclear weapons; a principle which forms the basis of Pakistan's defensive nuclear policy. Nonetheless, it is by no means to suggest that the delayed intervention is justified, instead the situation shouldn't have been taken lightly and quick and urgent measure to diffuse the smallest conflict should have been put into place.

India, a so called biggest democracy of the world completely failed to show any sanity with its war mongering and belligerent disposition adopted by the political leadership. For whatever have been the vested interest of the ruling political party in the wake of upcoming elections, the act of aggression initiated by India purely based on assumption negates the very premise of the "democratic peace theory"; The international proponents of democratic peace theory need to understand that "India – a so called democracy" is actually a "wolf in the garb of sheep" more inclined to employing aggression to achieve the political objectives instead of giving peaceful alternatives a chance. Not for the sake of comparison but Pakistan on the other hand showed the most balanced and mature behavior throughout. Pakistan's offer for negotiation and joint investigative efforts in Pulwama incident was misread by India as weakness which brought the region to the brink of war. In such a scenario a calculated and precise retaliation from Pakistan was the only justified response. As the DG ISPR Maj Gen. Asif Ghafoor mentioned in a press conference that "despite having the credibility and the support of the public, Pakistan moved with extreme caution and exercised restraint – without violating the airspace, it conveyed to the Indian side that Pakistan possesses the capability and the will". This is how the seasoned and mature democracies act.

Media also has to undergo self-accountability. It totally failed to act responsibly especially in the current era of hybrid warfare where the cost of glamorizing the war or its prospects should be understood. Again, the Indian media had been overemphasizing the need for an all out attack on Pakistan soon after the Pulwama incident. It didn't even bother demanding the Indian leadership to at least furnish some verifiable proof of Pakistan's involvement. Instead it was integral in inciting aggression and putting pressure on the leadership which was already disposed to pushing up the escalation ladder. It is also important to highlight the general moral of Indian Army over the years. There have been 400 incidences of suicides by Indian soldiers, 500 cases where a soldier has shot a senior officer, and almost 1000 soldiers reported to have deserted the army under the poor conditions and treatment meted out to them by their own senior officials and government. India should drop its anti-Pakistan obsession which now has crossed all the sane limits. It is high time that along with the political leadership, the Indian media should also stop glorifying war and stop issuing fake news.

In all of this one shouldn't forget that the underlying core issue between India and Pakistan is Kashmir and requires immediate, serious and dedicated deliberation from both sides. It is the people of Kashmir who have been facing the most abominable human crisis and suppression at the hands of Indian Occupation Forces for more than six decades now. Again, if India is obstinate enough to not talk about it without addressing the issue of "terrorism", the International community needs to convince India to change this mindset. All other issues between India and Pakistan are the off shoots of Kashmir issue. If the core problem is left unattended, no effort in any other domain would sustain. Even though Pakistan is willing to cooperate with India against terrorism. India needs to realize that Kashmir is not just a problem between India and Pakistan, but the very people of Kashmir are the real stakeholders. The real stakeholder is now standing up in protest and rebellion against the Indian occupation forces in a purely indigenous struggle in retaliation to Indian brutalities. So, blaming Pakistan for inciting violence in Kashmir against India holds no water. The very brutalities have earned India a rebellion in Kashmiri youth, which it has no idea how to deal with other than further alienating them by using force.

This very argument is reinforced by the statements from Farooq Abdullah who keeps on warning India and insists on the need for talk or lose Kashmir. He has been vocal in mentioning that it is ridiculous to blame Pakistan for Indian failures in Kashmir. It is in fact Indian atrocities which have created a condition where India is swiftly losing good will (if there was any) among the Kashmiris. In the current situation there should be no doubt in anybody's mind that Pakistan wants peace. The same should be realized by India. War is not a solution to the lingering problems. The only solution is through diplomatic channel, negotiation or even third part mediation if in case the efforts fall host to hardened positions and stalemate. Kashmir should be immediately put at the forefront of any peace talks, be it on the bilateral level or at the international forum. Kashmir cannot afford no more putting off.

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