



# VISION

VISIONARY INSIGHTS INTO THE STRATEGIC INQUESTS OF NATIONS

## SVI FORESIGHT

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AUGUST 2021

Compiled & Edited by:

Zafar Iqbal Yousafzai

**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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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 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 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-around 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

India has taken over the presidency of 'UNSC' (United Nations Security Council) from France. During the tenure of 2021-2022, this is India's first presidency as a non-permanent member of the UNSC. However, this could be quite worrisome for Pakistan as India would surely use this opportunity to propagate its own narrative on issues such as UN reform and terrorism. There is a need to carefully watch India's conduct and make sure that no move against Pakistan's national interest is successful. Pakistan hopes that India follows the norms and rules that govern the conduct of the presidency of the Security Council. In any case, Pakistan would be ready to present its written statement in response to India's false propaganda whether it's related to terrorism, security, or peacekeeping.

For many reasons, Afghanistan is important for China. One, Afghanistan is geographically vital for China as it connects China with Iran and The Persian Gulf, Central Asian states and is a potential route for the Chinese Belt and Road initiative. BRI cannot be successful until peace and stability in Afghanistan. Similarly, China is concerned about her security where the ETIM was conducting activities from across the border from Afghanistan. China has recently pledge \$31 million as humanitarian aid for Afghanistan which will help overcome the precarious economic situation under the Taliban regime.

Similarly, China and Pakistan shares a history of cordial relations, and surfaces the deep-rooted associations between the people, militaries' and the two states, and is often termed as 'All-round cooperation'. In the contemporary strategic environment, the relation between the two countries holds immense importance in the strategic regional stability. Both countries have high potential to grow together to meet the evolving geo-economics and geo-strategic challenges. The strategic relations between two countries are considered to be an enduring pledge and commitment towards each other, together with safeguarding each other's national interests. The promotion of each other's core policies and interdependency is the core of strategic relations between the two countries.

Cyber security is an essential element of state institutions in today's world. The three main components in the process of cyber security are; people, processes, and data and

information. Any policy to be made for securing cyberspace should address and cater to these three pillars. These three components not only need protection but these three components also make threats. Recently, in a step towards more secure national cyberspace, Pakistan's cabinet approved "national cyber security policy 2021," it was drafted by the ministry of information and technology, Pakistan. This particular policy document came on the surface and was approved in urgency after recent news on "Pegasus spyware" broke out internationally, where it was mentioned that the Prime Minister of Pakistan was one of the identified targets of this software. Other than that current government and state institutions have been continuously highlighting the disinformation campaign against Pakistan in cyberspace. Even international organizations and watchdogs for disinformation have launched reports which highlight the disinformation campaigns against Pakistan by India. It is high time that authorities realize that cyber security is emerging as a concerning issue for Pakistan's national security and reactionary and lethargic policy and lack of implantation of these policies and mentioned initiatives in them will compromise Pakistan's cyberspace in peace and wartime as well.

In the regional developments, the fall of Kabul was a shocking development for the world and the region. It was more than one year since the Doha deal was signed; however, there was no seriousness on the part of the Afghan government for the intra-Afghan talks. Similarly, the Trump administration and the Biden administration did not play its role to push the Ghani administration for a meaningful talk with the Taliban and reach on any agreement. Hence, the Taliban were forced to take Kabul by force.

The cooperation between Pakistan and Turkey goes back to history, and both have stood by each other out of the spirit of brotherhood. The economic and strategic joint ventures between the two countries boost defence and economic ties. The alliance making and cooperation with regional allies, like Turkey, will upsurge Pakistan's economy and international standing. Pakistan, considering the neighborhood, has to focus on the defence spending through defence trade ties, for boosting the state and regional security. The shifting global alliances and the continuous changing global geo-political order, the strong strategic-economic cooperation between Turkey and Pakistan add up in each other's errand.

Use of Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs), remotely piloted aircrafts or drones in wars and conflicts have added new dynamics to the warfare. These systems gain notoriety after their massive use by Obama Administration during War on Terror. Today utilization of drone technology is being used by not only states but non-state actors because of the low cost on the systems. It is not that all of these systems are low in cost, it is just they can be made and accessed in their basic form without spending huge amounts. But these systems are definitely low in cost in comparison to fighter jets, as a huge amount is spent on them and then training of pilots to use these fighter planes. India might consider using these smaller UAV systems because of its warmongering policy doctrines and RSS-driven leadership but the consequences will not be simpler along the LOC. Similarly, before the ceasefire on LOC Pakistan was continuously shooting down the Indian quad-copters it is time that Pakistan also develops anti-drone systems and deploys them along the LOC.

The aim of Pakistan's full spectrum deterrence policy also is to bring every Indian target within Pakistan's striking range. Gen Kidwai defined the three elements of FSD that included the possession of a full spectrum of nuclear weapons in all categories "operational, strategic and tactical" with complete coverage of India's landmass and outlying territories. As per the second element of the FSD, in order to deter the massive retaliation from the adversary, Pakistan must have enough numbers and appropriate weapons yield coverage. The third element is having the liberty to choose from the full spectrum of targets despite the ballistic missile defence and to include counterforce, battlefield, and counter-value targets. Hence, Pakistan has decided to fill the strategic gap in its force posture gradually by developing nuclear-tipped missiles in air, land, and sea and counter India's conventional superiority. The induction of Ghaznavi is very crucial as it brings several Indian targets within its range.

This volume of the *SVI Foresight* provides a very thought-provoking insight on diverse issues of India's UNSC presidency, China-Taliban engagement, China-Pakistan strategic ties, cyber security, fall of Kabul, Pakistan's missile system, and Pakistan's relations with Turkey regarding defense cooperation and drone system in South Asia.

It is hoped that readers will find a good blend of articles focusing on various aspects of the contemporary security discourse in South Asia. The *SVI Foresight* team invites and highly

encourages contributions from the security and strategic community in the 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 the *SVI Foresight* electronic journal. You can find us on [Facebook](#) and [Twitter](#) and can also access the [SVI website](#).

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## ***Pakistan to Remain Watchful As India Assume Presidency of UNSC***

***Sher Bano***

India has taken over the presidency of ‘UNSC’ (United Nations Security Council) from France. During the tenure of 2021-2022, this is India’s first presidency as a non-permanent member of the UNSC. However, this could be quite worrisome for Pakistan as India would surely use this opportunity to propagate its own narrative on issues such as UN reform and terrorism. Pakistan’s Ambassador at UN Mr. Munir Akram said that Pakistan would remain watchful and make sure that India during its presidency does not take any steps that are against the core interest of the country.

As per the tweet by Ambassador T.S Tirumurti (India’s permanent representative at the UN), during the month of August three high-level meetings would be organized by India on issues such as peacekeeping, counter-terrorism and security. The ‘program work’ of any country during its presidency is the most important element which shows its priorities. The ‘program work’ of India which includes a debate on critical issues such as maritime security and counter-terrorism is an attempt to needle its adversaries China and Pakistan. India would likely use the issue of terrorism to malign Pakistan’s image at such a forum especially during the briefing on counter-terrorism and would present itself as the victim of terrorism. It wouldn’t miss the chance to accuse Pakistan. Moreover, it would likely use the debate on maritime security against China by criticizing its role in the South China Sea.

Another critical issue is the timing of India taking over the presidency of the UNSC. Even though it is a coincidence but it had happened at the time when foreign forces are about to withdraw from Afghanistan and it would also be the second anniversary of India’s annexation of IOJK. Due to India’s presidency in the month of August, any efforts of Pakistan to seek discussion on the issue of annexation of Indian Occupied Jammu and Kashmir at the Security Council would be in vain as India will never allow it. During the past two years, the issue of Jammu and Kashmir has been discussed at the Security Council thrice. This tenure might give India a chance to propagate its false propaganda by pushing the bogus narrative that the situation in IOJK is normal. Moreover, by the end of the month of August, the withdrawal of the foreign forces from Afghanistan would be completed. In case of any important development in Afghanistan, the presidency of India could prove to be very critical. India had always been the spoiler of any efforts by Pakistan for reconciliation and maintaining peace in Afghanistan.

India might use its presidency to support its long-term campaign for the permanent membership of the UNSC. However, in any case Pakistan would make sure that India does not succeed in compromising its position in order to achieve permanent membership. Even in the year 2020 Pakistan strongly opposed India's demand for permanent membership, Ambassador Munir Akram stated that the world cannot have a fascist state like India as Security Council permanent member and it is only India's pipe dream. He assured that Pakistan also wants the UN reforms but does not want another member to be added to the list of five existing members.

However, Pakistan only seeks expansion in the list of non-permanent members from 10 to 20 or 21. Pakistan rejected India's proposal because adding more permanent seats would result in reducing opportunities for the wider UN membership representation. It would create new centers for privileges and there would be no equitable and expeditious decision-making in the Security Council. But India seems to be desperate to attain permanent membership and might insist on bringing reforms in UNSC. Pakistan would make sure to present clear evidence of India's state-sponsored terrorism in opposition to such reforms. Moreover, India is clearly violating the UNSC resolution by the illegal occupation of IOJK and suppressing the rights of innocent Kashmiris. Pakistan must highlight its ulterior motive of bringing demographic changes in IOJK by bringing settlers from outside. India has demonstrated continued aggression against Pakistan by violating the LoC and targeting innocent civilians. On the basis of this India does not even deserve to be a non-permanent member of the Security Council.

Hence there is a need to carefully watch India's conduct and make sure that no move against Pakistan's national interest is successful. Pakistan hopes that India follows the norms and rules that govern the conduct of the presidency of the Security Council. In any case, Pakistan would be ready to present its written statement in response to India's false propaganda whether it's related to terrorism, security, or peacekeeping.

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<https://www.eurasiareview.com/10082021-pakistan-to-remain-watchful-as-india-assume-presidency-of-uns-c-oped/>

## *China-Taliban Engagement*

*Zafar Iqbal Yousafzai*

China is continuously hosting Taliban delegations since 2014. China sees the Taliban as an emerging force in Afghanistan that can serve their interests in case of better relations with them. China has been actively engaged in Afghanistan since the start of the new millennium though there is no Chinese military involvement in the country. China wants the Taliban to crackdown on the East Turkistan Islamic Movement in Afghanistan which is fueling the insurgency in Southern China.

This article looks into the recent China-Taliban engagement and will answer what interest China wants to pursue in Afghanistan under the Taliban and what kind of support the Taliban want to garner from China. For many reasons, Afghanistan is important for China. One, Afghanistan is geographically vital for China as it connects China with Iran and The Persian Gulf, Central Asian states and is a potential route for the Chinese Belt and Road initiative. BRI cannot be successful until peace and stability in Afghanistan. China is pushing both the Taliban and the Afghan government to follow a negotiated settlement. Besides China, other regional countries are also worried about the precarious security situation. China has been pressing the Taliban to make clear their policy about any militant infiltration in China.

Similarly, China is concerned about her security where the ETIM was conducting activities from across the border from Afghanistan. The Xinjiang insurgency has been a serious concern for China. The US invasion of Afghanistan was promising for China having the hope the US operation will eliminate the ETIM insurgents. However, China is still worried about the insurgents that can challenge China's security. Even in the 1990s, China decided to engage with the Taliban to curb the extremists coming to China from across the border. Moreover, China wants to boost its economic engagement in the country having huge minerals and natural resources. China is the largest investor in Afghanistan.

However, its two major projects: the Amu Darya oil project and the Aynak copper project have failed due to the security vacuum in the country. Developing a feasible infrastructure remains difficult in a volatile security situation. Likewise, China wants to extend its role in Afghanistan as a regional player and take a lead in bringing stability to Afghanistan. On the contrary, the Taliban wants China to support them politically and invest in Afghanistan. Taliban

has eyes on the future set up where they see their bigger role which has no realistic signs at the moment. However, they are keeping engagements with all regional powers and neighbors to have a cordial relationship. For the sake of good relations, the Taliban has been time and again reiterated their commitment that the Afghan soil will not be allowed to be used against any country. The Taliban in during their recent visit to China termed China a welcome friend and signaled they would not interfere in Beijing's internal affairs. It was clearly meaning they are not concerned with Xinjiang but rather their country Afghanistan which needs China's support and that can only be possible once the Afghan soil does not become a threat to Chinese security.

Alike, the Taliban needs international legitimacy although they have gained it to an extent after signing the Doha deal with the US, however, the Chinese support is quite crucial for them as China is in the opposition to the US. If the Taliban want international legitimacy, they would have to be serious about the negotiation process and reaching any peaceful settlement. The current Taliban swift advances are a serious concern for the regional countries. All the regional countries including China and Pakistan want a negotiated settlement rather than a takeover of Kabul which will have its own implications. Even if the Taliban take over Kabul by force, they won't be able to sustain their rule without the support of the international community.

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<http://southasiajournal.net/china-taliban-engagement/>

## ***Pakistan-China strategic ties for regional stability***

***Amber Afreen Abid\****

Standing together in safeguarding each other's national sovereignty, territorial integrity, and promoting peace and stability are the main interests of China and Pakistan. Both the countries shares a history of cordial relations, and surfaces the deep-rooted associations between the people, militaries' and the two states, and is often termed as 'All-round cooperation'. In the contemporary strategic environment, the relation between the two countries holds immense importance in the strategic regional stability. Both countries have high potential to grow together to meet the evolving geo-economics and geo-strategic challenges. The strategic relations between two countries are considered to be an enduring pledge and commitment towards each other, together with safeguarding each other's national interests. The promotion of each other's core policies and interdependency is the core of strategic relations between the two countries.

Pakistan holds strategic importance for China for numerous reasons. Pakistan has provided a platform for building a safe outlet to China, in this regard; the Gwadar Port holds immense importance for both countries. The long-term US presence in Afghanistan also was viewed with suspicion in China, as they consider it to be a cause of unrest in Xinjiang region. Thus, the role of Pakistan in countering threats from Afghanistan and building peace there is crucial for Pakistan, and China recognizes Pakistan's struggles in this respect. China, on the other hand, is a tried and true friend of Pakistan; and has helped Pakistan through various crises and supported Pakistan in countering its major rival-India.

Pakistan army recently celebrated the 94th anniversary of People's Liberation Army (PLA), at GHQ Rawalpindi. The officials of the Chinese embassy and from the tri-services of Pakistan Armed forces also participated in the event. Pakistan's Chief of Army Staff (COAS) General Qamar Javed Bajwa was the chief guest of the event, and commemorated the event by highlighting the deep-seated cordial relations between the two states. He mentioned that the two countries have stood together and have contributed towards safeguarding the collective interests; he furthermore, termed the relations between the People's Liberation Army (PLA) and Pakistan Army as brother in arms. Moreover, General Bajwa also praised the role of PLA's leadership in enhancing its role in nation-building, defence and security.

The strong relations between states are based on reciprocal reverence and cooperation. The role of two countries is exemplary in reciprocally cooperating and standing by each other in the times of crisis, and has become even more important in the contemporary geo-strategic environment. China and Pakistan have conducted many joint Ventures, the combined military exercises and other goodwill visits. The two countries have many training exchanges programs for promoting each other's culture and mutual understanding between the states. On the top, the strong relations between the armies of the two states are the backbone of the relations. The strategic cooperation between the two states has a very strong impact on regional; and international stability.

The relationship between the two states has nurtured over the years, and the two strategic partners are now cooperating in almost every field. Moreover, it's the essence of the strong relations between two states, that the relationship is not based on cooperation against the third party. The cooperation between the two states has grown in the era of all the ruling parties, and

has always promoted the agenda of peace, stability and development, in both economic and strategic spheres. As the collaboration between the two states will grow further, it has the potential to attract many other international stakeholders to take part and invest in the joint ventures run by Pakistan and China. The trade and economic collaboration between the two countries is conjointly beneficial and also helps in enhancing the foreign relations with other countries, through various projects. Thus, creates a win-win situation at both ends.

The rapidly changing geo-strategic environment further augments the importance of relations between the two states. Regional peace is vital for the development of the people of a country. Thus, promoting friendly ties with neighbors enhances peace in the region, as well. The two states collaborate in the name of peace and harmony and for furthering regional prosperity. In the years to come, the regional prosperity between the two states will further grow which will bring stability in the region. China and Pakistan are two responsible countries, which are promoting global peace and stability.

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<https://www.eurasiareview.com/16082021-pakistan-china-strategic-ties-for-regional-stability-opened/>.

## ***Pakistan's National Cyber Security Policy 2021: What is achieved and what is yet to be achieved***

***Ahyosha Khan***

One of the simplest definitions of policy is that it is a deliberate or constructed set of guidelines or systems that can help an entity in achieving certain outcomes, so policy reflects ideas, intentions, and procedures and identifies the desired objectives. From nation-states to small organizations in a country each and every entity has one all-encompassing policy composed of complementing small sub-sets of policies to run, govern and achieve rational objectives.

The state devises different kinds of policies such as security policy, foreign policy, and economic policy, to protect its national interest in the international system. These policies complement each other and gear a nation and state toward a single objective. In this conflicting

and competing international system states first of all have to protect their boundaries, nationals, and sovereignty, these objectives are identified in the national security policies of states. In this century of digitalization when all components of national security have a virtual presence, one additional security concern for states is emerging in the form of cyber security threats. So, today many states have started work to secure their cyber security environment.

The first step in this regard for any state is the formulation of ‘national cyber security policy’. It is important to make policy first as it will establish the desired outcome, guidelines, procedures, and methods the state will have to adapt to secure its cyber security. The three main components in the process of cyber security are; people, processes, and data and information. Any policy to be made for securing cyberspace should address and cater to these three pillars. These three components not only need protection but these three components also make threats. Recently, in a step towards more secure national cyberspace, Pakistan’s cabinet approved “national cyber security policy 2021,” it was drafted by the ministry of information and technology, Pakistan.

This particular policy document came on the surface and was approved in urgency after recent news on “Pegasus spyware” broke out internationally, where it was mentioned that the Prime Minister of Pakistan was one of the identified targets of this software. Other than that current government and state institutions have been continuously highlighting the disinformation campaign against Pakistan in cyberspace. Even international organizations and watchdogs for disinformation have launched reports which highlight the disinformation campaigns against Pakistan by India. Pakistan also launched programs like “digital Pakistan”, which envisions aiding the digital transformation of Pakistani society for its growth and development. It is important to highlight these aspects because they show the dynamics of Pakistan’s cyberspace where the use of the internet and cyberspace among the population is increasing rapidly, as of today Pakistan despite being a developing county is on no. 4th in freelancing development industry but at the same time threats in this particular domain was always ignored.

Therefore, the approval of “cyber security policy 2021” by the cabinet is a positive development as it reflects the understanding of the dynamics of cyberspace and reflects the understanding and resolve to address the prevalent and emerging threats in this domain through different means (public awareness, institutional frameworks, international cooperation, etc).

Though Pakistan has passed many laws and regulations in the last few years for the protection of cyberspace but what is missing was the aim that what Pakistan wants to achieve in its cyberspace. National cyber security policy 2021 aims at forming a policy that will provide Pakistan with new institutional frameworks and governance to secure the “cyber eco-system” of Pakistan. Institutional frameworks to be established will include computer emergency response teams as well as security operation centers. The policy document envisions securing the entire cyberspace of Pakistan, which includes not only the public sector but the private sector and information and communication systems in the country as well.

Moreover, a policy document points out that the policy document does not want Pakistan just to have a secured but “resilient cyber system and network”. Resilience is an important component because it enables the systems to perform even in case of attack while absorbing the attack. The guiding principle of current cyber security policy is to “protect the people” at the same time increase the growth and prosperity of the nation. Other than that attack on Pakistan’s cyber-space will be considered as a Category-I and Category-II level threat and will be responded to accordingly. This was a much-needed and demanded policy document in Pakistan. It showed what Pakistan wants to achieve in its cyber security, how it will achieve its objectives, but there are certain important points which this policy document missed, as these points are not something new that are coming out as a result.

But, they are the aspects that already exist and have compromised Pakistan’s cyberspace. As in the document “central entity” term was used for the organization responsible for implementing the policy drafts, but which entity will be that is not given in the whole draft and how long will it take to formulate such an entity. It is important to discuss these institutional frameworks because previously in a “national cyber-security policy of 2018-2023” the command force structure composed of civil and military was proposed but the actual implementation was not seen, and even this subsequent document of policy does not talk about it. Moreover, as people have rights in the physical world they have rights in the virtual world that needs to be protected by the government, or what would be the policy orientation of government towards such laws are not clearly written or defined in this policy document.

National Scholars studying cyber security have also highlighted that policy document does not address the concepts like “privacy by design” and no-legacy” and also fails to



acknowledge that cyber security is not just the issue of the ministry of information and the Ministry of foreign affairs include a broader set of ministries. It is high time that authorities realize that cyber security is emerging as a concerning issue for Pakistan's national security and reactionary and lethargic policy and lack of implantation of these policies and mentioned initiatives in them will compromise Pakistan's cyberspace in peace and wartime as well.

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<http://southasiajournal.net/pakistans-national-cyber-security-policy-2021-what-is-achieved-and-what-is-yet-to-achieved/>

## ***Who is responsible for the fall of Kabul***

*Zafar Iqbal Yousafzai*

The Taliban's swift return to power shocked the world; bringing humiliation for Washington and Ghani administration. Questions about such a quick collapse of the Afghan forces keep boggling minds everywhere. The world wondered why Washington and Kabul did not do anything to handle the situation—both on the ground and table. This article seeks to answer who is responsible for the fall of Kabul.

Any conflict at the end of the day ends with a resolution. And any resolution is not possible without any compromise. The same happened in Afghanistan after a long period of two decades. During these two decades, hundreds of thousands of lives were lost in addition to over two trillion dollars by the US. When the Doha Agreement was charted out in 2020, the US agreed to be lenient and accepted many demands of the Taliban. The same deal could have been charted out immediately after the 9/11 attacks to avoid human and treasury loss. This is because the Taliban, after their fall, were eager to join the new set-up. However, the US did not allow them.

It was the end of 2001. Hamid Karzai had met a Taliban delegation in Shah Wali Kot district outside Kandahar. Taliban had agreed to surrender control of Kabul if general amnesty is given to the Taliban. Karzai laid the condition that Mullah Umar will renounce terrorism which was accepted and an agreement was reached known as Shah Wali Kot Agreement. As per the agreement, the Taliban would lay weapons and go home with dignity. However, the next day, the US Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld called Karzai to step back from the agreement and

do not extend amnesty to the Taliban. This was the point that not only prolonged the US war in Afghanistan for twenty years but also ended it in humiliation.

Nevertheless, the Obama administration in 2009 started the peace process with the Taliban to help settle the issue by negotiation to end the conflict. The complex peace process took eleven years to reach any settlement and the Doha Agreement was signed in February 2020. However, two parties in the Afghan conflict doomed the peace process that compelled the Taliban to take over Kabul. First, the Afghan issue did not solve with the signing of the Doha Agreement and another wave of controversy got started when the former president Ashraf Ghani, on the next day of the agreement, announced that he will not release the Taliban prisoners even though it was a part of the agreement. However, Ashraf Ghani's radical attitude and vested interests to prolong his own rule doomed the Afghan peace process.

When Washington was negotiating a deal with the Taliban, they had taken Ashraf Ghani on board and Khalilzad used to frequently visit Kabul. Only the Afghan government was not a part of the negotiations on the Taliban's demand who were calling it a puppet government. The first round of the intra-Afghan talks was held on September 12, 2020, which did not bear the desired results. Ghani and his aides were waiting for the US elections. They thought that if Biden wins, he will draw back from the Doha Agreement similar to what Donald Trump did in Iran's nuclear deal case. However, that did not happen. Ghani was just passing his time while not caring for any sort of settlement in which his rule gets compromised.

The second major point that doomed the peace process was the US ambivalent Afghan policy. Firstly, President Trump and then President Biden could not formulate a wise policy that could save Kabul from falling into the hands of the Taliban. President Trump, although signed the deal with the Taliban but did not put enough pressure on Ashraf Ghani to show seriousness in the intra-Afghan talks which could have had led Afghanistan to a negotiated settlement. Trump had ten months to convince Ghani to reach a deal with the Taliban but he could not do so. Similarly, when Biden came to power, he took too much time to formulate a strategy for Afghanistan that could end with a peaceful settlement on one hand and a venerable withdrawal of the US on the other. Biden, too, during his six, seven months did not compel Ghani to engage in a meaningful dialogue with the Taliban. If the fall of Kabul has humiliated the US at a global level, it has also showcased how hollow were the US policies for Afghanistan. Hence, the US

ambivalent policy and the Ghani administration's drive for its vested interests led to the fall of Kabul.

<https://dailytimes.com.pk/806644/who-is-responsible-for-the-fall-of-kabul/>.

## ***Pakistan-Turkey Strategic Economic Cooperation***

***Amber Afreen Abid***

The cooperation and alliance-making have always been the core principle of state's strategies. The states converge and diverge according to their benefits and rivalry. The cooperation between Pakistan and Turkey goes back to history, and both have stood by each other out of the spirit of brotherhood. Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Mustafa Kamal Ataturk also shared joint views on the intersection of Islam and promotion of Muslim brotherhood. Today, both the countries have always been at each other's forefront in times of conflict and crisis, and have supported each other at international level. The relationship between Pakistan and Turkey has increased immensely under the leadership of PM Imran Khan.

Turkey has always stood by Pakistan in all the chief events in history, from standing by Pakistan against Indian violence in Kashmir, and raising voice at United Nation General Assembly, to supporting in the financial issues and FATF. Turkey has always been the key ally of Pakistan in whatsoever the situation befalls. Pakistan, on the other hand also stood by Turkey in its conflicts with the neighboring countries, and has always extended full support to Turkey.

The two countries are close at cultural and public level as well, and admire each other people and culture to a greater extent. The cooperation between the two states further goes on to the economic and strategic level as well. Both the countries have done many Joint Ventures, in order to promote economic and strategic cooperation, for enhancing stability in the region. The establishment of Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD), the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) for boosting the economic ties between the two states; the two countries have also signed Strategic Economic Framework in February 2021, which entails a broad spectrum of science and technology, education, tourism, health and defence. The Pakistan-Turkey Free Trade Agreement is also in the pipeline. Furthermore, Pakistan –Turkey Military Consultative Group (MCG), the Turco-Pak Treaty are indications of strong military alliance between Turkey and Pakistan. This was further enhanced when President Erdogan came into

power. The Pakistan-Turkey High Level Military Dialogue (HLMD) was developed between the two states in December 2020, aimed at promoting defence ties between the two countries. It opened a new era of joint defence production, training and cooperation between the two states.

The two states have also conducted Joint Military exercises as well, entailing “Ataturk-XI”, conducted earlier this year with Turkey, with the primary focus on counter-terrorism operations; the naval exercise “Aman 2021” which was conducted with 45 countries including Turkey, for enhancing military skills; the “Anatolian-Eagle 2021” with the aim to enhance the interoperability between the participating forces, was conducted in Turkey, in which the Air forces of other countries also joined, and helped in enhancing the true potential of one’s military aircraft.

The MILGEM-class corvette, named PNS Babur, is the first corvette ship built by Turkey for Pakistan. It was launched from a shipyard in Istanbul and the ceremony was attended by President of Pakistan, Dr. Arif Alvi as well. It will boost Pakistan’s capabilities in maintaining peace in the Indian Ocean. It will be delivered in 2023, whereas three more vessels will be handed over in 2025, out of which two will be manufactured in Pakistan, in a deal that inculcates the technology transfer. Moreover, the Turkish Aerospace Industry has also inked a contract with Pakistan’s National Engineering and Science Commission (NESCOM) to produce the components of TAI’s Anka Medium-Altitude Long Endurance (MALE) combat drone. The Anka MALE UAV system can stay up in the air for almost 24 hours, and can carry a payload of 550 pounds. It can perform in all weather, day and night ISR Missions, communication relays and tracking of fixed and stationary targets, signals intelligence (SIGINT). Such Joint Ventures boost the defence and economic ties between the two countries.

The cooperation in defence industry is evident in the trade relations between the two states. Pakistan plays a pivotal role in enhancing peace and stability in South Asia, Turkey in this regard is endeavors to assist Pakistan in order to overcome the hurdles in achieving peace. Recognizing the defence and economic needs are essential in achieving the national foreign policy agenda. The alliance making and cooperation with regional allies, like Turkey, will boost Pakistan’s economy and international standing as well. Pakistan, considering the neighborhood, has to focus on the defence spending through defence trade ties, for boosting the state and regional security. The shifting global alliances and the continuous changing global geo-political

order, the strong strategic-economic cooperation between Turkey and Pakistan add up in each other's errand.

<https://www.eurasiareview.com/26082021-pakistan-turkey-strategic-economic-cooperation-oped/>

## ***Drone Systems in South Asia: Current Trends and Implications***

***Ahyosha Khan***

Use of Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs), remotely piloted aircrafts or drones in wars and conflicts have added new dynamics to the warfare. These systems gain notoriety after their massive use by Obama Administration during War on Terror. Due to their ISR, striking and loitering capabilities these systems became an attractive commodity for militaries all over the world. Rather than totally changing the face of the warfare this system added a new dynamic to the warfare where now the life of the soldier is protected; correct intelligence can be collected and surveillance of the adversary became possible during peace and wartime situation. Thus, situational awareness of the employer of the drone technology increases significantly manifolds without jeopardizing sacrificing or a single soldier.

Today utilization of drone technology is being used by not only states but non-state actors because of the low cost on the systems. It is not that all of these systems are low in cost, it is just they can be made and accessed in their basic form without spending huge amounts. But these systems are definitely low in cost in comparison to fighter jets, as a huge amount is spent on them and then training of pilots to use these fighter planes.

According to estimates drones just cost 3% of what a fighter jet would cost and also the strikes carried out by the drones have limited blast zones than a strike carried through fighter jet. Therefore, according to the Center for the Study of Drone's report on Drone Database today 95 countries in the world have active drone inventories, where these states are operating more than 171 types of UAVs, which means that this number of utilization of drones by different has increased by 58%. It is estimated that the drone market will increase from \$ 5.6 billion to \$ 14 billion annually during this decade.

Today the types and varieties of drones range from regular highly sophisticated drone systems to kamikaze-style drones, which are not only utilized by states but also non-state actors. Other than the use of drones by the US, utilization of drones in Nagorno-Karabakh conflict displayed that how vital a role drone system can play. Military strategist all around the world agrees that the utilization of drones by Azerbaijan during the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict against Armenian forces have opened a new chapter in modern warfare and declared this the “second drone age”.

In the case of South Asia, introduction and familiarization with drone technology happened as a consequence of US drone strikes, which gained a lot of negativity for strikes as well because of the violation of air-space, sovereignty, and civilian deaths. But, in recent years for South Asia and specifically Pakistan-India, drone technology is gaining momentum in national security. Both countries are working to acquire or built these systems and have tried to use these systems (quad-copters) along the border. In the year 2020 till the month of June, Pakistan’s army shot down the 8th Indian spy drone. These actions from Indian side were violations of established airspace SoPs between both countries. It reflects that the opposite side is ready to utilize a certain degree of drone technology along LOC and take a certain degree of risk. Does this mean that both countries could use bigger or more sophisticated drone technology against each other is the question that arises in this situation? In terms of capabilities both India and Pakistan have sophisticated drone technology. In the case of Pakistan, it first acknowledged that it possesses the drone technology in 2015 by declaring its indigenously developed Burraq UAV, which is also equipped with laser guider air to ground missile.

Other than that Pakistan also have indigenously developed GIDS Shahpar, which is a medium altitude and medium endurance, Falco is another drone which is being operated by Pakistan’s Air force and this list also includes ScanEagle, Uqab, Wing Loong 1 and Luna. Pakistan is also working to develop and acquire medium altitude and long endurance drones (MALE), recently Pakistan inked a contract with the Turkish Aerospace Industry to produce TAI’s MALE combat drone. Other than these developments, Jane reported that Pakistan also received 4 Cai Hong MALE drones from China.

In South Asia, India is also developing and procuring many sophisticated UAVs as well as anti-drone systems. Recently India is in process of purchasing 30 MQ-9B predator drones

from the US, India also inducted 2 Sea Guardian drones from the US, and India is also in process of acquiring Heron surveillance UAV from Israel. Other these future procurements, India's current drone inventory comprises of UAVs build by Israel, which are Spylite, Harop, Searcher Mk1, Searcher Mk2, and Heron 1. As far as indigenous development of drones is concerned India's DRDO is developing Rustom-2 ISR drone. Indian policy circles are also interested in the pursuit of smaller armed drones operating as a swarm, which will be low in cost and can overwhelm the adversary.

Though, Pakistan has ingeniously developed more drones than India and is effectively utilizing them, India has started working in anti-drones technology. Recently at the start of this year, India used combat-armed drone swarms comprised of 74 kamikaze swarm drones, which autonomously identified its target and attacked it. India also announced that its BSF (border security force) has an anti-drone system capable of identifying and targeting a single or more than one drone within 10 seconds from a distance. In anti-drone systems, India is also working on electronic jamming systems to track and neutralize the drone systems of adversaries.

These developments reflect that both countries are working towards modernizing their drone fleets. To answer the question that whether both will be able to use these sophisticated systems against each other, other than mentioning the technological prowess of both countries it is also important to note the doctrinal and policy intents of both countries. In recent years, India has continuously exhibited the tendencies to exploit the levels below the nuclear threshold in form of its so-called doctrine of "surgical strike". But, in all these attempts India was not able to attain any success and in its most recent even has to bear loss of fighter air crafts, helicopters, and one of the pilots was captured by Pakistan.

So, on this back-drop drones provide a lucrative opportunity to India to use a drone. But, if India is to use the drone against Pakistan, it might use the small low-cost armed drone, which will definitely raise the risk of war between both states as it will be a violation of Pakistan's air space. As drones blur, the lines between peace and war, high risk or low risk and political or ethical, India might consider using these smaller UAV systems because of its warmongering policy doctrines and RSS-driven leadership but the consequences will not be simpler and it will have serious consequence along the LOC. Moreover, before the ceasefire on LOC Pakistan was

continuously shooting down the Indian quad-copters it is time that Pakistan also develops anti-drone systems and deploys them along the LOC.

<https://www.eurasiareview.com/27082021-drone-systems-in-south-asia-current-trends-and-implications-oped/>

## ***Pakistan's Successful Training Launch of Ballistic Missile Ghaznavi***

***Sher Bano***

On 12th August 2021 Pakistan successfully conducted the training launch of short-range nuclear-capable ballistic missile 'Ghaznavi (Hatf 3)'. As per the statement by the ISPR, the purpose of the training launch was to ensure 'ASFC' (Army Strategic Forces Command) operational readiness and in order to re-validate the technical parameters of the weapon system. The Commander ASFC Lt. Gen Muhammad Ali along with senior officers from ASFC, Strategic Plans Division, and engineers and scientists of strategic organizations also witnessed the launch of the ballistic missile. ISPR further stated that the Ghaznavi consists of a proper 'terminal guidance system'. The ASFC troops have been conducting various training launches in recent years to check the operating and handling of this complex weapon system. The missile was tested in both night and day modes because ASFC highly relies on it as it brings various Indian military bases and cantonments within its range.

The range of Ghaznavi is 300km and has been derivative of China's short-range ballistic missile DF-11. Originally Pakistan started developing Ghaznavi in 1987 but later on terminated this program after the induction of Chinese missiles M-11 'DF-11' in (the) 1990s. They were later named as Ghaznavi missile. The first test was conducted by Pakistan in May 2002 and it became fully operational in 2004. Visually, the missile resembles DF-11 with 0.8m diameter, 8.5 m length and 4,650 kg in weight. It has the capability of carrying a single warhead weighing 700kg to 290-300km of range. The missile is solid propelled, single-stage and is launched by wheeled four-axle "TEL" (Transporter Erector Launcher). It can load various nuclear payloads, conventional unitary and submunition. The Nuclear equipped variant of the missile consists of a single 5 to 12 Kt warhead. Estimated accuracy of 250m 'CEP' (Circular Error Probable) is provided by the inertial guidance system of Ghaznavi.



Pakistan has been fully focused on improving and developing its short-range ballistic missiles in order to deter the conventional superiority of India. Moreover, Pakistan is not really concerned with India's development of long-range ballistic missiles e.g., Agni -5 because firing them at Pakistan with reduced ranges will not prove to be cost-effective. Furthermore, Pakistan does not need longer-range ballistic missiles because our primary target is India. With Pakistan's current missile inventory it can easily reach any target within India. Hence Pakistan mainly focuses on the development of two types of missiles e.g. cruise missiles and ballistic missiles despite India's development of longer range systems.

The aim of Pakistan's full spectrum deterrence policy also is to bring every Indian target within Pakistan's striking range. Gen Kidwai defined the three elements of FSD that included the possession of a full spectrum of nuclear weapons in all categories "operational, strategic and tactical" with complete coverage of India's landmass and outlying territories. As per the second element of the FSD, in order to deter the massive retaliation from the adversary, Pakistan must have enough numbers and appropriate weapons yield coverage. The third element is having the liberty to choose from the full spectrum of targets despite the ballistic missile defence and to include counterforce, battlefield, and counter-value targets. Hence, Pakistan has decided to fill the strategic gap in its force posture gradually by developing nuclear-tipped missiles in air, land, and sea and counter India's conventional superiority. The induction of Ghaznavi is very crucial as it brings several Indian targets within its range.

The successful training test of Ghaznavi further strengthens Pakistan's defense strategy that is to rapidly evolve the missiles arsenals in order to offset the conventional military advantages of India. With the development of medium and short-range ballistic missiles along with its cruise missile capability, Pakistan can successfully target any point in India. Moreover, it is also speculated to consist of MIRV "Multiple Independent Reentry Vehicle" a capability that has become very significant after looking at India's counterforce aspirations against Pakistan. It has become quite evident that India has shifted its posture towards counterforce nuclear doctrine. Moreover, with India's advanced air defense system and induction of the Russian S-400, Pakistan needs to maintain significant countermeasure. Hence in this regard MIRV capability and accuracy of short range ballistic missile Ghaznavi could prove to be a reliable platform that can be used to penetrate through the air defense shield of India.

The development of short, tactical, and medium range missiles that are aimed at deterring any Indian aggression has also reduced the space for low intensity and limited war. It is in the other words is ensuring the deterrence equilibrium in South Asia. Since Pakistan's nuclear doctrine and its nuclear capability are aimed to secure the sovereignty of the state, the up-gradation and development of nuclear warhead delivery systems are also necessary to preserve its nuclear deterrence equation.

<https://www.eurasiareview.com/27082021-pakistans-successful-training-launch-of-ballistic-missile-ghaznavi-oped/>.