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MESSAGE OF PATRON

The depth of knowledge, maturity of thought and improvement in analytical skills are the core cardinals of National Security and War Course at Armed Forces War College (NDU). The year long intellectual and professional pursuit on national and international issues equip the future policy and strategy makers with conceptual clarity and analytical skills.

Intellectually honest, genuinely serious and thematically current, the package of ideas, words and images are the new edition of e-journal “Opinion”. The potpourri of articles on current national and international issues are prepared by the members of NSWC 2016. The selected articles are of general interest to a wide range of researchers, scholars and policy makers. We expect the journal to promote academic knowledge by inspiring discussions and information sharing with regards to comprehensive national security.

I would like to acknowledge the commitment and hard work of the entire team of OPINION on publication of its 6th edition. I hope the ideas shared would contribute towards creating awareness on the security matters and highlighting need to promote peace and stability.

Major General Muhammad Naeem Ashraf
Commandant
Armed Forces War College
National Defence University, Islamabad
We feel great pleasure in presenting the 6th edition of our AFWC “Opinion” e-journal, the first publication of this year’s annual issue. Deliberate efforts have been made by all concerned to maintain the high standard set forth by the University in bringing the well researched work by the panels of NSWC 2016 mainly comprising research work of individuals / panels on key issues.

For our new readers, OPINION journal is a publication of Pakistan’s premier institution National Defence University Islamabad. The magazine is a collection of selected researched work of the panels /individuals. The Journal is broadly divided into four sections i.e. Global / Regional issues, National Security, Military Strategy and Views of individual writers on contemporary issues. Starting with global issues like China’s initiative of One Belt One Road (OBOR) and its impact on global economy and security. Further it includes analysis of Middle East Crises. Regional Section adds three important topics on sub conventional warfare, Indian power potential and its quest for reconnecting to central Asia. CPEC a game changer for Pakistan economy and Pakistan information operations along with impact of climate change on Pakistan are three important national issues included in the journal.

I strongly believe that readers will feel a professional analytical approach and find new ideas in this edition as well. This edition will definitely be NDU's another leap for intellectual and professional development.

Chief Editor
Midhat Shahzad
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PART – I

Global / Regional Security

'New Silk Road' and 'Maritime Silk Road': Impact on Global Economic & Security Environment

Conflict in ME: Dimensions, Prospects and Way Forward

SCW - Case Study South Asia – Closure / End Dynamics (Case Study Pakistan & Sri Lanka with focus on lessons learnt in latter’s efforts while giving a closure)

Indian Power Potential and Rising Asymmetry vis-à-vis Pakistan

Indian Quest for Reconnecting to Central Asia via Land Route and its implications for Pakistan
THE NEW SILK ROAD AND MARITIME SILK ROAD – IMPACT ON ECONOMIC AND SECURITY ENVIRONMENT

Cdre Imran, Lt Col Kashif, Lt Col Tauqueer, Mr. Moin & Brig Gen Zahani

“The initiative of building a Silk Road Economic Belt and a 21st Century Maritime Silk Road (the Belt and Road Initiative) that China has launched, is a significant move to fully open up itself under the new conditions. This initiative also reflects China’s commitment to sharing development opportunities and outcomes with more countries. We will strengthen cooperation with countries along the land and maritime Silk Roads and realize the connectivity of roads, trade, finance, policies and our peoples, so as to jointly build an open platform for cooperation and create new impetus to achieve sustainable development in the related regions.”

President Xi Jinping, Address to Parliament of Pakistan
21st April, 2015

Abstract

The concept of Silk Route and Maritime Silk Road is not new as the ancient Silk Route and Road were established during Han Dynasty of China (200 BC). The One Belt – One Road (OBOR) is an economic driven initiative linking Asia, Europe and Africa through land and sea and has come at the dawn of changing global power dynamics. While, USA views it as a challenge to its global dominance, most of the world is willing to join it to accrue economic dividends. China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is a flagship project of OBOR and contains tremendous opportunities for Pakistan. The paper thus attempts to analyse the security and economic impact of OBOR and CPEC on the world at large and Pakistan respectively.

Introduction

The Old Silk Road was a major trading route between China and Europe some 2000 years ago between 3rd century BC and 15th century AD. Coinciding with the time when China was a dominant trade power, the ancient Silk Road connected countries promoting economic and cultural exchanges, facilitating dialogue among communities and contributed to integration of different civilizations. Moving into the 21st century, an era that is dominated by the success story of Chinese rising economic power, it was but natural to revive the old Silk Road and Maritime Silk Road concepts and repackage it in the form of ‘One Belt and One Road’, commonly known as OBOR. Corresponding well with President Xi’s dream of ‘great rejuvenation of the nation’, the ambitious initiative launched in 2013 is based on three drivers: (1) energy, (2) security, (3) markets. Like the ‘silken strands on a loom’, these drivers would weave together to create a fabric of interconnected transport corridors and port facilities to tap new energy resources, enhance trade, improve security, and explore new markets. The sheer enormity of OBOR venture has struck everyone’s interest across the globe. It is ambitious in its
outreach passing through 62 countries of three continents, encompassing a population of 4.4 billion people (more than 80 percent of the world’s population) with a collective GDP of $21 trillion (one-third of the world’s wealth). OBOR also comes at the dawn of changing global power dynamics, characterized by a rising China and a resurgent Russia. United States faces the prospects of China overtaking it as the world’s largest economy and appears worried to counter Chinese growing influence, whereas, Japan and India are also wary of Chinese stellar performance. Pakistan would also be a key beneficiary through China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), an important component of OBOR. Termed as a “Game Changer” for Pakistan, CPEC is not only the pivot of China-Pakistan politico-economic relations, but holds similar promise for the region and beyond. While the project offers enormous opportunities to Pakistan in the shape of economic prosperity, energy security, socio-economic uplift of general population and under-developed areas, it also poses some challenges. It is, therefore, imperative that the Government of Pakistan adopts prudent and far-sighted policies and strategies, based on broad national interests, to accrue maximum benefits for the country.

**Evolving Global Landscape**

The world today is in a flux. After almost three decades of dominance and control by a sole super power, it is now witnessing emergence of new centers of power and influence. There are now visible trends of emergence of a uni-multipolar world with a shift of economic center of gravity from west to east. New alliances and partnerships are being forged and a parallel international financial structure being established. Some major trends of the evolving global environment are given on the next two slides, which we will discuss separately. Shift to Geo-economics; with focus on geo-economics; the countries are projecting their power through influencing the global economy. Forces of globalization, quest for new markets and energy resources are driving this shift to geo-economics. The Bretton Woods International Financial System is also being challenged. Emergence of Uni-multipolar World; in the foreseeable future, US is likely to remain the most dominant military power in the world. However, US global role and influence as an economic power is being challenged by the rise of China. Economic and security interests are leading to new alliances like BRICS and SCO while the existing ones like EU and ASEAN are expanding and remain important player in a new world order. Chinese close alliance with a resurgent Russia also marks a significant development in the global power of balance equation.

Shifting of Economic Center of Gravity to Asia Pacific; China growing economic might is getting mightier as it becomes world’s biggest trading nation and the global center of production and supply chain. US have launched Trans Pacific Partnership to counter Chinese growing economic foot print in the region. Japan, South Korea, ASEAN nations and India, all are major and emerging economies of the Asia Pacific region thus making it the central hub of economic activity. Globalization; Investments in physical infrastructure and new advancements in information technology have improved connectivity, making it easier and faster for goods and information to travel across countries, regions and continents. The role of Multinationals and their capacities to influence state policies have also increased.
Rise of Regionalism; as world becomes more connected through trade and investment links, the economic interests of countries are knotted together thus giving rise to interdependency. In order to safeguard their economic and security interests, countries tend to flock together and form regional blocs. EU, NAFTA, ASEAN and SCO are examples of such regional approaches. Rising China; China’s stellar economic rise has been the breaking news of this century. A growth rate of nearly 10% for the last 30 years has been unprecedented from any world standards. By 2030, China is projected to overtake the US as the world’s largest economy. Chinese economy is already bigger than the rest of the BRICS countries combined. It has whooping 3.7 trillion dollars foreign exchange reserves as compared to America’s 112 billion dollars. China has surpassed US as the world’s largest trading nation with a total trade volume of over 4 trillion dollars. It has world’s largest ship building industry and world’s top 10 busiest container ports. It is world’s largest gold producer. To compete in this age of technology and innovation, a large number of initiatives have been launched to create “a nation of innovation”, and for the promotion of “soft infrastructure” like education, science and cutting-edge technologies. There is also a shift to high-end and quality production base.

China and the World; Chinese approach in developing its economic, trade and investments relations has been pragmatic and non-interventionist. Remaining neutral in many global political issues, it advocates diplomacy and negotiations. From the traditional power politics, it promotes a different approach based on a ‘shared destiny’, peace & cooperation, mutual learning &benefit, which are also the underlying themes of OBOR.4 China-USA; A Rising China is posing a challenge to US global power and influence. After remaining bogged down in the Middle East for many years, US under its Rebalancing Strategy is shifting focus to Asia Pacific. The US has also strengthened its military and other exchanges with Japan and India. In order to maintain its control over SLOCs to ensure freedom of navigation in global waters, it is planning to increase its naval assets in the Pacific as well. China and Russia; Chinese-Russian growing strategic relationship signifies a key trend in today’s global politics. A resurgent Russia under Putin has found an ideal partner in its eastern neighbor where the interests have converged to counter global US influence and to draw economic benefits. Massive connectivity and energy investments reinforce Chinese OBOR project. More importantly, the two countries have shared interest in a multi-polar world dispelling notions of any Cold War-like situation between the two regional giants through their economic partnership and close alliance in SCO. China and India; China and India have a trade volume of 70 billion dollars. India did not give a positive response to OBOR while rejecting CPEC. It also announced its own projects like Spice Route, Cotton Route and Project Mausam. The two countries have competing interests in Indian Ocean. India is also projected as a counterweight to China while China is also criticized for its so called Strings of Pearls policy to encircle India. China and EU; EU is China’s largest trading partner with over 600 billion dollars bilateral trade, and thus a crucial link in the building of ‘Road and Belt’. Chinese have penetrated deep into Europe by launching a new forum for cooperation with Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries, known as ‘16+1’.With interest in Eurozone stability, China has shown interest to participate in Brussels’ recently announced 353 billion dollars Investment Plan, which would likely to generate interest of many EU states which are reeling under the financial crisis. China and Central Asia; China has expanded and deepened its relations with
CARs. The vulnerability of Chinese energy and trade supplies from Malacca Strait also draws it closer to the Asian heartland where it has made massive investments in infrastructure and energy connectivity. China and Middle East; China has extended its economic interests far and wide in the Middle East, which has become an important bridge to connect China with Europe and Africa as part of OBOR. The energy security is the primary driver for Chinese deep interest in the region. Oil imports from Middle East accounts for over 50% of the total Chinese oil imports. The trade volume has increased from 100 billion dollars in 2009 to over 250 billion dollars in 2014. Chinese investments in Middle East also increased to 11 billion dollars in 2009. China and Africa; China’s engagement with Africa has substantially changed with heavy investments in building education, health, transport and power infrastructure, and setting up special economic zones. There is a large influx of Chinese workers spread all over Africa. China has surpassed the United States as Africa’s largest trading partner with a two-way trade worth $200 billion and its financial aid and investments exceed those of the World Bank. China and Pakistan; China and Pakistan enjoys close strategic partnership. This was evident during the recent landmark visit of Chinese President to Islamabad and launching of historic CPEC –the flagship project of OBOR. Pakistan’s selection to be a key partner in OBOR has raised Pakistan’s global profile and relevance.

Historical Perspective and OBOR

General; for many centuries the historic Silk Road was the most important land route connecting Europe and Asia. The Silk Road promoted exchange of knowledge & ideas, experience & beliefs, and as well as cultural interaction among different communities. These exchanges along wide network of communication and trade routes gave birth to the concept of globalization and interdependence. Ancient Silk Road: The Silk Road was formally established during the Han Dynasty (200 BCE) of China and linked three continents and three oceans. It extended over 6,437 kilometers and derived its name from the lucrative trade in Chinese silk.

Routes – Ancient Silk Road; The Silk Road mainly consisted of two routes; The Northern Route started from China, and traversed northwest through - Kazakhstan – Uzbekistan – Turkmenistan and to Mediterranean Sea. The Southern Route ran from China passed over the Hindu Kush Mountains into Afghanistan, rejoining the northern route near Turkmenistan. Besides main routes it had many connecting trade routes. Ancient Maritime Silk Road; Maritime route was stretched over 15,000 kilometers. The two most favoured courses followed by trade ships were those of; East China Sea Route, Starting from china extending towards Korean Peninsula and Japan. South China Sea Route, Starting from china extended across the Indian Ocean to Red Sea. The Decline of the Route; Tribal politics' and the presence of middle men along the route contributed in the decline of route. The demise of the Silk Road also owes much to the development of the silk route by sea. It was becoming rather easier and safer to transport goods by water rather than overland. The attitude of the later Chinese Ming and Qing dynasties (1500 to 1600 AD) dealt the final blow to the trade route.
Silk Road Economic Belt and the Maritime Silk Road

The vision of the Silk Road Economic Belt and the Maritime Silk Road was formally introduced by Chinese President Xi Jinping during his visits to Kazakhstan and Indonesia in 2013. The detailed contours of OBOR would be featured prominently in China’s 13th Five-Year Plan (2016-2020); The “Belt” is planned as a network of overland road and rail routes, oil and natural gas pipelines, and other infrastructure projects that would stretch from central China, through Central Asia, and ultimately reach as far as Moscow, Rotterdam, and Venice. The “Road” is the maritime equivalent, a network of planned ports and other coastal infrastructure projects that dot the map from Southeast Asia to East Africa and the northern Mediterranean Sea.

Vision; to revive the ancient Silk Road as a modern transit, trade, and economic corridor creating an economic zone that extends over one third the circumference of the earth. Establish and strengthen partnerships among the countries along the Belt and Road, set up all-dimensional, multi-tiered and composite connectivity networks, and realize diversified, independent, balanced and sustainable development in these countries.

Aim; The Belt and Road Initiative aims to promote the connectivity of Asian, European and African continents and their adjacent seas. Building high-speed railroads, roads and highways, energy transmission and distributions networks, and fiber optic networks.

Objectives: Domestic; There are important economic and geopolitical drivers of the initiative, though Beijing is likely more focused on the economic at present; Opening-up of in land provinces. Managing a difficult transition to a “new normal” of slower and more sustainable economic growth. Improving connectivity between its underdeveloped southern/western provinces and its richer coast. Improving China’s internal economic integration and competitiveness and spur more regionally balanced growth.

Regional and Global; Reinforcing trade and investments between China and its neighbours. Focus on improving diplomacy with neighboring states and more strategic use of economics as part of China’s overall diplomatic toolkit. Deepen regional economic integration, boost cross-border trade and financial flows between Eurasian countries and the outside world. Improve economic conditions of participating countries. Develop an alternative inland transport route for Chinese goods. Enhance policy coordination and promote greater financial integration. Expand cultural exchanges and people to people contacts.

Route; The Belt and Road connects the vibrant East Asia economies at one end and developed European economic bloc at the other end. On land, the Initiative will focus on jointly building by taking advantage of international transport routes, relying on core cities along the Belt and Road and using key economic industrial parks as cooperation platforms. The Belt will have the five routes; China – Mongolia - Russia corridor, anchored by the Trans-Siberian railway. China - Central Asia – Russia -
Europe (the Baltic). The New Eurasian Land Bridge, anchored by a set of railways running from central China to Europe via Kazakhstan, Russia and Belarus. China - Central Asia - West Asia - Europe passing through Iran and Turkey to reach Europe. China - Southeast Asia - South Asia - Indian Ocean. It consists of China – Pakistan Economic Corridor and China - Myanmar - Bangladesh - India Economic Corridor. The 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road is designed to go from China’s coast to Europe through the South China Sea, passing through Malacca Strait, and the Indian Ocean onwards to Mediterranean Sea while touching the African Coast. The Initiative will focus on jointly building smooth, secure and efficient maritime trade routes connecting major sea ports along the Belt and Road.

Since the launching of the OBOR, the Chinese government has been actively promoting the project through various initiatives and investments. Establishment of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, the Silk Road Fund and BRICS New Development Bank (NDB). The details of funds allocated by financial institutions are; AIIB (US $ 50 Billion), Silk Road Fund (US $ 40 Billion), New Dev Bank (BRICS Bank) (US $ 30 Billion), China Dev Bank (CDB) (US $ 16.3 Billion) and ASEAN Infrastructure Connectivity Fund (US $ 20 Billion. In addition, since the announcement of initiative China has invested US $120 Billion in various projects related to OBOR initiative.

Risks and Challenges; OBOR initiative despite its lot of promises, potential for economic prosperity and development could possibly face certain risks and challenges, some of which are enumerated as; US and its allies suspicions and anxiety about the OBOR initiative. Political instability in participating countries. Territorial disputes in South China Sea. Trans-border terrorism and internal conflict, particularly in Afghanistan and its fallout on OBOR projects. Limited capacity of the smaller countries to absorb and implement the vision. Least likely, but a possible strategic shock like war, economic meltdown and natural disaster.

Global economic and Security Impacts of OBOR

General: The vision of a new Silk Road stand as an enduring and very tangible expression of China’s political and economic clout in Asia and beyond. The OBOR project will have a number of global economic and security impacts which would be discussed in this part.

Global Economic Impacts

Improved Infrastructure and Benefits for Local Economies; Massive infrastructure development and diversification of routes planned as part of OBOR vision would generate wide-ranging economic activity establishing new industries, creating jobs and giving rise to a pool of skilled manpower to be used locally and abroad. Boost to Trade; New and alternate trade and communication infrastructure and networks would facilitate trade, shorten distances and travel time, strengthen trade linkages and would improve the capacity of domestic markets to trade more. Shifting of Global Economic Centre of Gravity; China is already the largest trading partner with over 120 countries. OBOR with enhanced physical linkages will further deepen commercial and trading ties
and shift the economic center of gravity towards Asia Pacific. Enhanced Chinese Influence Over World Economy; China has strong trade linkages with rest of the world. OBOR would further integrate China with other economies and increase mutual reliance. Thus, any slowdown of Chinese economy would likely have greater impact on global markets as was seen recently. Greater Role for Chinese ‘Yuan’; The US dollar is the dominant global currency since 1944. China, being the second largest economy, aims an international status for its currency “Yuan” as currently enjoyed by US dollar, Euro, Yen and Pound Sterling. It has done a series of currency swap deals with Russia, Brazil, Australia, UAE, Malaysia and as well as Pakistan, thus eliminating US dollar from bilateral trade transactions. Operationalization of OBOR would further deepen these trade ties thus helping Yuan’s integration with other currencies and elevating it as one of the international currency.

Reduced Dependence on Bretton Wood Systems; China aims to rewrite established western dominated international financial structure where it has little voice. The establishment of AIIB and Silk Road Fund are manifestation of this approach. After launching of OBOR, the China Development Bank has pledged an ambitious funding of US$ 890 Billion. These massive new funding arrangements available through Chinese banks and institutions would reduce monopoly of World Bank, IMF and ADB. Economic Interdependence Leading to Peace and Stability; there is a link between development and security. Mutual trade and investments would increase integration and connectivity amongst different regions and economies, increasing mutual stakes and interdependence, thus bringing stability leading to peace and harmony in interstate and intrastate relations. Challenges to Weaker Economies; Increased interdependence and Chinese influence may lead to flooding of local markets by low-priced Chinese goods threatening domestic businesses of countries which are unable to adjust to the new realities and compete due to lack of production base, cheap labor and raw materials. Investment Opportunities for Multi National Corporations; OBOR would provide increased opportunities to MNCs for investment in infrastructure projects, industries and allied services. Impact on Energy Rich CARs; OBOR would open new vistas for trade and economic cooperation for the energy rich Central Asian Republics by linking it to China in the east, Europe in the west and Middle East and Africa in the south. This would generate substantial economic activity, create opportunities for employment and thus would bring prosperity to the region. Impact on Under Developed Africa; Chinese substantial investments in different fields in Africa would improve the socio-economic development, living standards and peace &stability. The improved infrastructure and increased trade would create new opportunities for Africa. Impact on ASEAN; ASEAN is a major trading partner of China with bilateral trade of US$ 480 billion. OBOR would further deepen ASEAN trade linkages with other parts of the world. Impact on European Economic Interests; OBOR would provide a new impetus to the struggling European economies through Chinese investments in important infrastructure projects. It will also provide alternate and faster trading routes from Europe to Asia Pacific.

**Global Security Impacts**

China’s OBOR vision is likely to have some security impacts on the globe, and these are; China-US Competing Interests; As Chinese influence grows regionally and
globally as part of OBOR project and as US Rebalances to Asia Pacific, divergences of interests are likely between both countries. US would continue to enjoy pre-eminence through its military power; however, China may gain limited influence due to its deepening economic and trade ties. While there is little probability of a direct conflict, there remains a likelihood of heightened tensions and friction between the two powers.

Sino – Russia Relations: Impact on Balance of Power; OBOR will be a major game changer and facilitator in bringing China and Russia closer with converging interests. With growing partnership, they are likely to play a greater role in the new world order. China - India Competing Interests; India being suspicious of China’s increasing footprint in IOR has so far not responded positively to participate in OBOR, as it has its own historical claims over Indian Ocean. India is also being projected as a possible counter-weight to China. However, given Sino-Chinese trade ties, there is little likelihood of any direct conflict, yet tensions between the two countries may emerge as Chinese footprint in IOR increases. Competition for Natural Resources; The ever growing Chinese economy and economic development in various regions as a result of OBOR would increase demand for more resources. Thus there would be a competition for natural resources which may lead to conflicts. Security of SLOCs; Chinese dependence on uninterrupted trade through SLOCs is critical as overwhelming proportion of Chinese imports of oil and gas pass through major choke points. With establishment of Maritime Silk Road, presence and influence of PLA Navy would increase in Pacific and Indian Oceans; which would provide security to SLOCs. Also, after completion of OBOR, Chinese energy security is likely to improve. Enhanced Chinese Political Influence; The financial capacity of the Chinese government and its state institutions to finance various investment projects would increase its political influence and leverage in many regions like CAR, Africa, ASEAN, Europe etc; reducing US influence as one of the major power. Reducing Tensions with ASEAN; The disputes over some islands in the South China Sea have emotional underpinning and are ruining the environment and trust amongst all stakeholders. However, ASEAN economic interdependence and interconnectivity with China through OBOR leading to economic gains could help in easing out tensions on these territorial claims. Dilemma for Smaller Countries; The smaller countries in the South and East Asia face a dilemma in choosing sides amidst US-China and Indo-China competition in Asia-Pacific and IOR. Similar dilemma may be faced by CARs sometimes in future in a possible scenario of Sino-Russia divergences in the region. The smaller countries, therefore, may get involved in the conflict of two powers against their choice.

Challenges and Opportunities for Pakistan

The segment of OBOR passing through Pakistan named as China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), is an important link between the Belt and the Road. CPEC has strategic dimensions as it provides China with access to deep sea water port of Gwadar and thus an alternate route for its crucial oil imports from the Middle East and trade with Africa and Europe in the wake of any adversity, war or natural disaster within the Indian Ocean or eastwards. The project has both challenges and opportunities for Pakistan, which will be discussed hereunder.
Opportunities

Enhanced International Profile and Relevance; Selection of Pakistan to be part of CPEC, the flagship project of OBOR has raised Pakistan’s profile and relevance. Pakistan would realize its potential as the trade hub in the region serving as a link between western China, Middle East, Africa and Europe. It also has the potential to provide sea access to landlocked CARs. Increased flows of Foreign Direct Investment; Chinese pledge to invest $46 Billion as part of OBOR has already given a significant boost to the confidence of local and international investors in Pakistan’s economy. Its stock market has started to perform well, Moody has upgraded Pakistan’s sovereign credit ratings and Japan External Trade Organisation’s (JETRO) has affirmed Pakistan as the second most profitable market for Japanese companies and second potential investment growth economy in the world. The renowned British economist, Jims O Neil, has also predicted the emerging of Pakistan as the 18th global economy with US$ 3.3 trillion GDP by 2050. These positive projections of Pakistan’s economy would give confidence to foreign investors and lead to increased flows of FDIs. Economic Boost&Socio-Economic Uplift of Underdeveloped Areas; The OBOR project in Pakistan will include establishment of specialised economic zones, science and technology parks, infrastructure comprising roads, railways, dams, a port and other associated nodes throughout its route from Gilgit Baltistan to Gwadar Port. This will not only give boost to overall economy of the country but will also bring backward and remote parts of the country into the fold of active development through creation of new job opportunities, poverty reduction, improved living standards and creation of a pool of skilled labour force.

Peace and Stability; Terrorism breeds on poverty. The expected dividends of the OBOR project to be realized by the local populace in the form of economic prosperity, job creation and peace and stability, would automatically address the extremist ideologies and mindset in the country. Operationalisation of Gwadar Port; Gwadar Port is one of the key ports in the overall OBOR scheme, which will be a major transhipment hub in the region capable of generating enormous economic activity. The cluster of projects under OBOR will bring investment opportunities not only for the port but also for the region. This will make Gwadar a catalyst for development of Makran Coast and Balochistan in particular, and Pakistan in general. Strategic Maritime Cooperation; OBOR also offers Pakistan the opportunity of a strategic maritime cooperation with China, providing the much needed resources to this neglected sector. Chinese experience and expertise in maritime sector can help Pakistan in fields of shipbuilding industry, ports and shipping, tapping of resources from our EEZ and fishing industry. China as Strategic Balance in Indian Ocean; The current strategic environment in IOR is increasingly tilting in favour of India. The strategic intent behind US “Rebalance to Asia” policy and Indo-pacific alliances also appear to suggest a leading role for India in IOR. On the other hand, enhanced presence of PLA Navy in Indian Ocean has become imperative in the context of Maritime Silk Road Initiative, trade and energy security and counter piracy operations. For Pakistan, the enhanced presence of PLA Navy in the region will be an opportunity, which would provide strategic balance in an otherwise US-India dominated Indian Ocean. Bilateral Naval Cooperation; In current geo-strategic environment, China
figures out as the only reliable source for sensitive military technologies at affordable cost under favourable financial arrangements. The success of F-22P Frigate and Z9 EC helicopter projects and contract of 8 conventional submarines has provided impetus to Pakistan Navy to pursue its Force Goals and has provided a balance to Pakistan Navy Fleet. For China's Bilateral Naval Cooperation with Pakistan accrues strategic benefits. Pakistan's cooperation and support in terms of allowing PLA Navy space and logistics support to maintain presence in IOR will be vital for protection of Chinese maritime interests. Thus the mutually beneficial character of the relationship affords an opportunity to Pakistan to further enhance its Naval Cooperation with China which is very important for capacity building of Pakistan Navy.

Challenges

India – US Nexus: As Pakistan and China draw closer in a strategic partnership, the India and US nexus would strengthen further, which may be a source of serious concern for Pakistan. Sustained Economic Growth; Presently, Pakistan's economic outlook, although not so bright, is showing improvement. Its GDP growth is steady at 4.24%, yet it must grow at a minimum rate of 7% to achieve its economic requirements. Reaching and sustaining this growth target would be a challenge for Pakistan, failure to which may have negative impacts on timely completion of OBOR projects. Threats of Sabotage; For India, CPEC means that China will have the upper hand in the Arabian Sea as it will have the ability to control the Straits of Hormuz through Gwadar Port. Therefore, since the signing of CPEC's projects, India has been trying to sabotage its prospects through its proxies and intelligence operations. Indian Prime Minister Modi has openly voiced concerns over the CPEC being “unacceptable” which shows his desperation to halt the project. Therefore, India in its bid to sabotage CPEC, will make every effort to disrupt progress on the project. Opposition from other competing stakeholders cannot be ruled out. Governance Issues; Past record of Pakistan in handling of mega projects has not been so encouraging. However, any lapses in handling of this multi-billion dollar project may cause serious delays leading to Chinese frustrations and losing of interest in this project. Moreover, this project of national importance will have to be kept above parochial and vested interests maintaining transparency and merit. Slowdown of Local Industry; Despite the positive outlook of the CPEC, we also need to understand the potentially long run negative impact it may have on Pakistan’s industrial sector. If a pro-active approach is not adopted by Pakistan, there is a likelihood that cheaper Chinese goods would flood Pakistan’s markets more rapidly, which will potentially slow down or negatively affect the local industry.

Way Forward for Pakistan

Diplomatic and Political Support; Pakistan should extend wholehearted diplomatic and political support to OBOR at international and regional forums by highlighting its economic dimensions and projecting it as an important driver for change to fight extremist and terrorist forces. Balancing of Relations with US – China; Pakistan's relations with both China and USA are important in their own right. Our close and strategic partnership with China should not be at the expense of our important ties with USA, thus a balance in the two relations must be maintained. Engagement with
India; Pakistan and China should continue engagement with India for securing its possible support for OBOR. However, in case of any subversive activities against OBOR projects, a proactive diplomatic posture should be adopted in unison with China and the matter should be taken up at all international forums including United Nations. Peace and Stability in Pakistan; Prosperity of the country is directly linked to peace and stability. Operation Zarb e Azab must continue till last terrorist elements are rooted out from all parts of the country. Simultaneously, action against corrupt and abettors of terrorists must also continue to improve image of the country. Stability in Afghanistan; Pakistan should play its role to facilitate Afghan Peace Process through dialogue between Afghan Government and Taliban to bring stability in Afghanistan. This would in turn provide stability to own neighbouring provinces and the region as a whole; which in turn would facilitate implementation of OBOR Vision including realizing the dream of making Gwadar a major transshipment port of the region. Yuan as Forex Reserve Currency; As Yuan gains international status, Pakistan may consider keeping a portion of its Foreign Exchange Reserves in Yuan to diversify its Forex portfolio. Encourage Foreign Investment; Special efforts should be made by the government to attract and invite investors from developed countries and large MNCs to invest in Pakistan through special incentive packages. Security of Projects; It must be ensured that all projects are given fool proof security at all sites including ports. Moreover safety and security of all Chinese and other foreign and domestic workers must also be given top priority. Seamless coordination between all federal and provincial security and intelligence agencies should also be maintained to thwart any designs for sabotaging OBOR.

Conclusion

OBOR is an economic driven initiative linking Asia, Europe and Africa over land and sea, building new roads and railway networks, establishing new industries, creating new opportunities for increased trade and investments. It stated objectives aim for win-win situation for all stake holders through partnerships, joint development, mutual benefit and cooperation. This would also provide alternate energy and trade routes for ever growing energy needs of China. Successful realization of OBOR will help raising Chinese political profile and influence as it deepens its relations with countries across various regions through massive investments and trade links. No wonder that US, which are wary of the growing Chinese economic influence, is shifting focus on Asia Pacific region. India and Japan also remain anxious and a willing partner in strategies to contain China. For Pakistan “One Belt One Road” project with its key component CPEC provides a great opportunity for economic prosperity, alleviation of poverty and uplift of underdeveloped areas. We sincerely hope that our leadership and government machinery would rise to the occasion and formulate prudent policies to seize this historic opportunity while remaining vigilant in tackling possible challenges.
Endnotes

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4 Chinese President’s address to UN General Assembly on 20 September 15
5 ‘China and Middle East; More than Oil’ by Xiangming Chen
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8 Vision and Actions on Jointly Building Belt and Road, Issued by the National Development and Reform Commission (NRDC), Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Ministry of Commerce of the People’s Republic of China with State Council authorization - http://english.cri.cn/index.htm
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CONFLICT IN MIDDLE EAST; DIMENSIONS, PROSPECTS AND WAY FORWARD

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Abstract

Due to religious, political, economic, ethnic and geographic factors, Middle East holds a unique significance for the rest of the world. This region is in state of turmoil for a host of domestic, regional and international reasons. The ongoing conflicts – Yemen, Syria, campaign against Daesh – have undermined security in the Middle East. Iran’s likely emergence following the 5+1 nuclear deal (in July 2015), has impacted on the regional dynamics in many ways. The quest for supremacy by regional players like Saudi Arabia and Iran has worsened the ethnic and sectarian divide and provided space to extra-regional players to pursue their own interests. Turkey is reasserting its traditional role in the region. Israel appears to be the main beneficiary of this turmoil. The complex and evolving situation in the Middle East makes any prediction regarding its future difficult to make; however, it can be reasonably assumed that violence and instability are not likely to abate at least, in the short term. In view of its numerous linkages with the Middle East region, Pakistan cannot remain immune to developments in that region. However, its interests will be best served by eschewing aligning with any of the rival parties. Pakistan may therefore maintain a balance in relations with the GCC (particularly Saudi Arabia) and Iran, while at the same time seeking to promote understanding between them wherever possible.

Introduction

The Middle East region lies at the crossroads of three continents: Africa, Asia and Europe. It is the cradle of human civilization and home to three great monotheistic religions, Islam, Christianity and Judaism. Due to its abundant strategic and economic value, the Middle East has remained the focus of world attention throughout history. ‘Middle East’ as the geo-political and strategic concept was first used by American strategist, Alfred Mahan in 1901. There is however, no consensus over what constitutes the Middle East region. It commonly refers to the area stretching from Iran in the East to Morocco in the West and from Turkey in the north to Yemen in the south. This region is in a state of flux. Imprudently drawn state borders, unsettled disputes like Palestine, ethno-religious divisions, domestic issues or as commonly called Arab Spring etc. have heightened interstate and intrastate rivalries which have spun out of control. Foreign interventions like US invasion of Iraq compounded the situation resulting in a highly volatile situation. The recent Iran Nuclear deal with the potential to bring new alignments in the region has wide-ranging implications for the Middle East. A new trend of radicalization has manifested itself in the emergence of violent non-state actors like
Daesh. The chaos in the Middle East region points to a break-down in the existing order and the potential for spillover of this instability to our region.

**Middle East in Context**

Where is ME; Although, the term Middle East emerged during the Cold War era, there is no consensus definition of Middle East; In ancient Greek times, ‘East’ was used for Egypt which at that time was an eminent power. Middle East is the geo-political and strategic concept first used by American strategist, Alfred Mahan in 1901, in an article published in the London quarterly magazine "National Review". Later on, the term was used by Churchill when he created the Department of Middle East in 1921 to oversee the affairs of Palestine, Jordan and Iraq. In 1957, the Eisenhower Doctrine was proposed to provide American military and economic aid to nations in "The general area of the Middle East". According to United Nations Population Division, the Middle East is defined as area comprising Bahrain, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Oman, Palestine, Qatar, KSA, Syria, Turkey United Arab Emirates (UAE) and Yemen.

Strategic Significance of Middle East; Region’s significance stems from; Energy resources containing more than 2/3 of world’s oil and 1/3 of its natural gas. Middle East is source of huge investments in their economies, offers trade opportunities and is a lucrative arms market. Security interests of important global players as evident by presence of their military bases. The security situation in the Middle East has a direct bearing on adjacent regions including Europe. The pronounced religious dimension of the region has special significance for their followers around the globe.

Diverse Political Mosaic; Democracy has not been a feature in political history of the Middle East. Some Middle Eastern states have elected governments, and parliament, such as Iran, Turkey, Syria, Egypt and Iraq. Some states are authoritarian constitutional monarchies (Jordan, Morocco, Kuwait and Bahrain) or absolutist monarchies (KSA, Oman, Qatar and UAE). Ethno-Sectarian Mosaic; The Middle East is home to numerous ethnic and religious / sectarian groups. Prominent amongst them are Arabs, Azeris, Kurds, Berbers, Druze, Jews, Iranians, Turks, Maronites and Coptic etc. These are spread across state borders e.g. Kurds are based in Turkey, Syria, Iraq and Iran. They retain their distinct identities.

Dismal Social and Economic Indicators of the Region; Socio-economic indicators of the Middle East as indicated in United Nations Human Development Index depict a dismal situation; GDP $ 1.6 trillion, 50 % of the population lives under $ 2 per day. High absolute poverty; 30 % for Lebanon, 59.5 % for Yemen, and 41% for Egypt. High rate of unemployment (26 % for Saudi Arabia). Gender Imbalance Index, ranks towards bottom of global ranking. 4.3 % of GDP is spent on health compared to 10.1 % of world average. Education spending is 3.4 % of GDP against world average of 5 %. Population growth rate is 2 % as against world average of 1.1 %. “Perception of Individual Well Being as Percentage of Satisfaction” is 60 against world average of 66. “Trust in National Governments as Percentage of Satisfaction” is 43% against world average of 48%.
Conspiracy Theories; Some conspiracy theories in popular perception associated with the region are; Greater Israel (Zionist Theory); Though Zionism is more than a century old, an Israeli journalist Oded Yinon for the first time proposed in 1982 the idea of Greater Israel. Blood Borders; In June 2006, Colonel Ralph Peters of US Army proposed redrawing the borders of Middle East on the basis of bloodlines.

Current Upheaval; The complexity of current regional conflict is underscored by significant phenomenon of; Greater Middle East Initiative; Following US invasion of Iraq, Bush Administration proposed in 2004 the idea of Greater Middle East Initiative to introduce democracy, adherence to human rights and promotion of education in the region. The idea did not make much headway. Arab Spring; Started in 2011 from Tunisia and engulfed most of Middle East. Euphoria quickly gave way to despair.

Major Take Aways

Energy resources of the region will continue to impact the security calculus of Middle East in days to come. From Yinon’s Plan to Greater Middle East; there seems to be a constant US - Israeli effort to transform Middle East towards their objectives. The Arab Spring changed to Arab Winters when non state actors, sectarian / ethnic groups hijacked the process partly with external support.

Interests and Roles of Key Players

Global Players; After Arab uprisings, the geopolitical considerations of major countries inside and outside the region appear to remain within the familiar parameters of security, stability and economic interests, as opposed to those of democracy and reform. US Interests; President Obama elaborated US interests in Middle East in May 2013 and these have appeared in the same manner in National Security Strategy issued in February 2015. US strategy in the region can be traced within these interests. Israel’s Security and Pursuing Arab – Israel Peace; American concern and support for Israel’s security is not likely to diminish even in case of US stated policy of Rebalancing to Asia – Pacific. In pursuing Arab – Israeli peace, American support for ‘Two State Solution’ is currently stalled due to Israeli opposition and will remain subject to outcome of next Presidential elections scheduled in November 2016. Securing the Free Flow of Oil and Commerce; US interest in the region’s oil has declined in the last four years but still far from over despite security issues associated with Daesh. US will have continuing interests in the Gulf, as any disruption of the global oil supply will have important economic implications. As regards commerce of the region, Iran is emerging as the next destination for developed economies to forge ties. US firms currently, await outcome of Congress deliberations over Iran agreement.

Combating Terrorism and Extremism; Counter-terrorism efforts, initially restricted to targeted operations, including drone strikes, target lists, Special Forces since the launch of the campaign against Daesh in August 2014 expanded to include airstrikes, ground troops in advisory roles and training of rebels to fight the Syrian Army. Though US failure in Iraq had made it vulnerable with regards to its security policy in the region, however, recently the US diplomacy has successfully raised a
coalition involving diverse nations to fight Daesh. Turkey also joined the fight in July this year, despite its concerns against continuity of Syrian Regime. Stopping the Spread of WMDs; Iran’s nuclear deal in July has provided lot of strategic space to the US to rethink its future engagement with Middle East. The deal concluded through successful diplomacy bars Iran from developing nuclear weapon for the next fifteen years and compels it to subject its nuclear installations to IAEA inspections.

Safeguarding Security of the Region; Security and economic interests of US and its allies in Middle East are too intertwined with the region and will not allow it to leave behind so many regional issues. Still, US would want to reduce its imprint in the region in near to midterm provided it is able to allay the fears of its GCC allies and Israel against a resurgent Iran in a post nuclear deal scenario. US has concluded arms deals worth $24 billion with GCC along with offer of the Ballistic Missile Shield to protect them from any misadventure from Iran. Russian entry in Syria to the detriment of US interests and its signing of $21 billion arms deal with Iran has added a new challenge for the US in regional security calculus.

Russia; Russia has several geo political interests in Middle East and a number of these are conflicting with the US; one of the important geo political interests is to prevent what Russia sees as American and European efforts to deprive Moscow of its allies. Its support to Syrian Regime and safeguarding its Mediterranean access through Tartus Port in Syria has come in the same backdrop. To prevent the rise of radical forces which Moscow fears, if they grow strong enough, will not only engulf the Middle East and reduce Russian influence, but also spread into the Muslim regions of Russia. Air campaign against Daesh and Al Nusra Front in Syria are to be seen in this backdrop. Another Russian geopolitical interest in the Middle East derives from its strong dependence on oil and gas export revenue and its desire to keep these prices stable. Yet, another relates to Moscow’s exports of arms to wealthy Middle East countries. In the changing geo-political situation, Russia expects to further improve its arms sale.

European Union; EU’s interest lies in stable and well-governed states in the Middle East, regional security cooperation and non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The EU also has economic interests in the region. It depends on the region for a significant share of its energy needs. EU has high stakes in pacifying the energy rich region. It is part of the Middle East ‘Quartet’ alongside Russia, US and UN for the ‘Middle East Peace Process’. EU spends nearly a fifth of its external aid in the southern Mediterranean.

China; Geopolitical interests of Middle East to China are determined in terms of investment, economic relations and natural resource supplies. In this backdrop, the Middle East is unique for China with regards to primacy placed on its oil supplies. The preservation of access to these means that China is a cautious player in Middle Eastern political and security affairs, a caution reinforced by the complexity of domestic politics within the region. Its default position is to aim for neutrality. In pragmatic pursuit of economic interests in the Middle East, China’s policies in the region aim to maintain ‘stability’ over revolutionary upheavals currently taking place.
Interests of Regional Players

KSA; KSA claims the Arab leadership in the Middle East due to its religious and economic clout. Its foreign policy is driven by two factors: External security and energy security. Its regional policy is marred by rivalry with Iran about which it has two concerns: one is sectarian and second is economic which has been exacerbated after the nuclear deal and prospects of Iran’s emerging economic linkages with the West and elsewhere in Eurasia. Saudi actions in Egypt, Syria and Yemen can be seen within the context of countering Iranian influence. Containing threats to the political status quo has been a major interest which is driving Saudi policy both at home and abroad. Saudi support to Bahrain in the uprising is a case in point.

Iran; Iran’s key geo political interests in Middle East are; Security related to include, rivalry with KSA for regional supremacy, seeking isolation and destruction of Israel, support to regional allies cut across sectarian lines like Syria and Iraq, fighting Daesh in Iraq and Syria. Economic related to include, energy based regional economic integration with India, CARs and EU.

Turkey; Turkey’s major security interests in the region are, seeking removal of Syrian Government, eliminating VNSAs across its borders, keeping its own Kurdish backyard quiet in wake of regional separatism spearheaded by Iraqi Kurds and attain regional leadership role.

Israel; Israel has its core interests in its own stability. The mutually reinforcing notions of geopolitical vulnerability and regional isolation are crucial to understanding Israel’s realist foreign and security policy – which in turn is based on self-reliance, hard-power and placing the attainment of security above all alternative ends. Current upheaval in the region has provided respite to Israel with regards to Palestinian Issue and particularly the ‘Two State’ solution.

India; Indian strategic interests in the region are related to energy, expatriates, trade and competing with China. India imports 70% of its oil and significant amount of gas from the Persian Gulf. GCC is a major export destination of Indian goods. While the Indians are developing strong ties with the Arab world, they also enjoy a strategic partnership with Israel and so far they are able to balance these ties quite well.

Major Take Aways

Middle East remains vital to US interests both politically and economically, therefore US is likely to remain engaged in the region in the near future (3 – 5 years) due to emerging realities. It will be confronted to do a great deal of balancing in foreign policy between Iran, KSA and Israel as the major regional players. Russian opposition to US security strategy in Middle East and its support to the Syrian regime will exacerbate global rivalry between the two giants. US will not leave any stone unturned in creating more impediments for Russia in European part of the Eurasian region which is boiling with conflicts. Iran’s nuclear deal has altered the regional security and economic paradigm in its favour and has provided leverage in the regional affairs. Together with
this, chaos surrounding KSA from its engagement in Yemen and Syria has hurt its ability to act as the pillar of US policy in the region. Due to overt Russian support to Syrian Regime, prospects of a negotiated settlement to the future of Syrian Government seems to be taking shape. Russia is duly supported by Iran in these efforts.

**Conflict Dynamics**

Prevalent Security Environment: Yemen Crisis; Turmoil continues to rage in one of the most impoverished societies in the region in which tribal loyalties remain foremost. Saudi Arabia and Iran are pursuing competing interests in the crisis. An Arab coalition led by Saudi Arabia is fighting in support of President Mahdi against the opposition primarily comprising Houthis tribes and soldiers loyal to former President Ali Abdullah Saleh. This has opened up space for VNSAs. Syrian Crisis; The civil war continues to rage since 2011. More than 200,000 individuals are feared killed and around 3 million displaced as refugees in Middle East and Europe. Additionally, there are 6.5 million IDPs. Numerous terrorist groups are fighting in Syria to dislodge President Assad. Large deaths and the humanitarian crisis have attracted world attention. Besides Turkey a NATO member country, Syria borders Jordan and Israel, two staunch US allies who may have to face the spillover of the war. US officials fear that the war in Syria, which attracted thousands of fighters from Europe and the US, poses a long-term threat to Western interests.5 Iraq; Iraq is no stranger to war with Iran in 1980s, the first Gulf War in the early 1990s and the US led invasion in 2003. The state remains under turmoil, divided on sectarian lines and battling Daesh to whom it has lost large areas. In August 2015, intense aerial campaign was commenced by international coalition against militants in Iraq as well as Syria. Libya; Fall of Gaddafi’s administration has created a worst-case scenarios. Militias comprising local, tribal, regional or criminal have plagued Libya since NATO’s intervention, have recently lined up into two warring factions. Libya now has two governments, both with their own Prime Minister, parliament and army. Southern part of the country has become a haven for terrorists and the Northern coast a center of migrant trafficking. Egypt, Algeria and Tunisia have all closed their borders with Libya.

**Regional Rivalries (Competing Struggles)**

Iran – KSA; Iran and KSA have always aspired to leadership of Muslim world. Iran regards KSA complicit in US regional policies while Saudi Arabia on the other hand, harbours deep distrust of Iran stemming from the 1979 revolution. Iran – Turkey; In order to maintain its influence in former territories of the Ottoman Empire, Turkey may have to look for other partners to counter balance the influence of a resurgent Iran. Iran and Turkey have a common enemy in Daesh in Syria and Iraq but have not found a way to harmonize their policies. KSA – Qatar; While remaining on same side of the strategic equation, the rivalries are also simmering among the GCC States particularly between KSA and Qatar whose policies diverge regarding support to factions within Syrian Opposition and Muslim Brotherhood. These rivalries are perpetuated and fanned by extra-regional players particularly USA.
Sectarian Conflicts; An ancient sectarian divide fanned by external players, is fueling a resurgence of conflicts in the Middle East. Growing sectarian clashes have also sparked a revival of transnational Jihadi networks that pose a threat which transcends the region. Civil Wars; Civil war in Syria and Iraq is threatening to redraw the map of the Middle East. Success of Iraqi Kurds against Daesh has ramification for Iraqi nationhood. Reassertion of sectarian and ethnic identities is increasingly posing an existential challenge to the regional states. Kurdish Issue; the Kurdish resistance to Daesh attacks has once again turned international attention on the issue of Kurds.

Daesh Phenomenon; Daesh’s proclamation of a so-called caliphate portends a new and more brutal face of “terror in the name of religion” and seems to have already marginalized Al Qaeda. Its support by outside players remains murky. Daesh is already in possession of large chunks of oil rich territory in Iraq and Syria. It is reportedly earning $3 Million revenue daily through selling oil in black market. Separatism; The geography of the region as well as ethnic and sectarian fault lines have come into play, which is resulting in separatist movements. Most of the separation-inclined regions are now well-integrated into the economies of the parent states and the separatist movements may fade away if the issues of misrule and family rule is resolved in favor of democratic governments.

Radicalization of the Region; Sectarian and ethnic fault lines have been exploited by regional and extra-regional players to fuel unprecedented levels of militancy against fellow citizens. Water Issues in ME; Conflict and instability in the Middle East is fueled by narrow and dwindling land and water resources. These conditions will worsen as demographic growth, urbanization, and climate change take their toll. With 6% of the world’s population, region has only 1% of global renewable water resources. Middle East Paradoxes; KSA and US have been supporting Daesh but at the same time and have formed coalition to eliminate it. Turkey is part of coalition fighting Daesh but at the same time purchases oil from its controlled fields worth around US $ 3 million every day. Daesh claims to be champion of Muslims, yet Israel is out of its focus. Regional monarchies have ruled for decades but remain vulnerable. Most of the Middle Eastern states are wealthy, yet have sizeable population living below poverty line.

Key Findings and Future Prospects

After the strategic scan, the analysis carried through PEST reveals; Current drivers of change in Middle East include proxy wars on behalf of KSA and Iran in Yemen, Syria and Iraq and the Kurdish struggle for nationhood, besides the role of external players. Syria is practically fragmented into three parts with areas held by Syrian Government, Daesh and Syrian Kurds. The situation remains volatile even after direct Russian intervention. It is in the interest of the region that external and regional powers do not undermine unity of Iraq and Syria. Instability in the region due to Daesh is likely to persist in short to medium term. However, its long term survival will be contingent upon host of factors like direct or indirect support from external powers, relation with tribes and policies of the regional countries. With continuing turmoil, the challenges of massive population displacement will strain the capacity and will of regional states to handle it. Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan will remain especially vulnerable in this regard. Pakistan is not central to the evolving situation in Middle East.
However, it remains important to Pakistan for psycho-social, religious and economic reasons. With mutation in the nature of conflict, changing interests of major powers and regional countries, new challenges may emerge. Power shift towards increasingly informed and demanding youth continues and could provoke another cycle of unrest. Violent Non-State Actors (VNSAs) in Syria, Yemen, Iraq and Libya with different faces (nationalistic, sectarian etc) will complicate the security environment. It also has deep impact on economic environment. Increased sense of vulnerability of ruling elites will translate into enhanced spending on repressive methods and lethal military hardware. The traditional Arab social and tribal order is eroding and militancy and sectarianism are its new manifestations. Repressive measures to check growth of civil society will ultimately weaken the states and national cohesion. Role of external players in fueling sectarian and ethnic divides is likely to continue influencing internal dissent. Without a dramatic transformation in geo-politico-economic environment, regional alliances will continue to be formed along sectarian lines. Security of energy supplies and stability of oil prices will remain a point of convergence for international players.

Major Drivers; US and Russian interventions, Emergence of Daesh, Sectarian / ethnic fault lines and conflicts, Iran – KSA/GCC rivalry, Significantly shaken Regional Order, US-Iran Nuclear Deal, Deteriorating security environment in Iraq, Syria and Yemen, Geo-economics and Unresolved Palestinian Issue.

Future Prospects; It is extremely challenging to visualize the region’s future prospects due to complex and evolving situation. Ethno-sectarian tensions, political and socio-economic dynamics may take many years to play out.

Simmering Middle East (Short Term); Due to the impact of above mentioned drivers, conflict in the Middle East will continue to simmer; Middle East national and political order will remain under strain. Civil wars in the context of exploited sectarian and ethnic fault lines will keep the region instable. In dealing with regional actors, external players will find it challenging to balance their security interests. Turkey: In view of its overriding interest in Syria and Iraq, it will remain in the forefront for vis-à-
vis developments in this regard. It will however need US political and military clout to achieve its objectives. Iran – KSA regional rivalry may continue within manageable limits. Israel – Palestine conflict will continue to linger due to unstinting support US support to Israel. Radicalization and support for Daesh will continue to challenge the security milieu in the region. As state power is challenged throughout the region, VNSAs will find the space to operate unless restrained through military action. The clashes are likely to be sponsored by regional or extra regional forces.

Reconciliation (Long Term); Though it is least likely scenario in the short term, it cannot be ruled out in the long term; Iran-US political rapprochement lays the groundwork for a new phase of economic development in the region. Iran-KSA cold war like situation in the region diffuses and Iran-Israel and KSA-Israel engagement commences. Relations between other regional powers as Turkey, Israel and Egypt also see an upward trend; there is genuine progress towards the resolution of Palestinian issue. Terrorism is brought under control and is no longer a potent threat. An economic revival in the region takes place which leads to socio-economic development of the masses.

Way Forward; Implications for Pakistan and Policy Guidelines

Global; given the deep strategic interests and influence of external powers in the Middle East, they will need to be engaged in a way that promotes peace and development. Suggestions are: US; Effectiveness of US in the region will partly depend upon its ability to help resolve Palestine issue. Similarly, if it is to increase influence among the ordinary people, promoting values like democracy, human rights, rule of law etc. must rank higher in US policy calculus than support to chosen regimes/rulers. In case of Syria, only an even-handed US approach and backing to a negotiated solution without preconditions will serve the cause of peace in the region. US counter terrorism interests especially regarding Daesh converge with the regional countries; it needs to work in concert with them to counter it. Russia; Russia is the only outside power which can keep US dominance in the region under check and can provide a counter-balance to the regional states. Russia can play a helpful role in the Syrian conflict by using its influence with President Asad and Iran for a negotiated and balanced solution. EU; It lacks military muscle but given its interest in smooth flow of oil, economic interests, promotion of human rights etc, it can contribute financially to back any consensus that may be reached for resolution of simmering problems e.g. Palestinian issue, Syria and Yemen. This will also stem the flow of refugees to Europe. China; In view of China’s stress on geo-economics rather than geopolitics, no baggage of past imperial interventions or heavy-handed military footprint, it is in an advantageous position to play a positive role in the region. The international community may encourage it to play a more active role. UN; notwithstanding its presently limited role, the involvement of UN in conflict resolution lends it legitimacy. Therefore, UN bodies like the Security Council, UNHCR, etc. may be utilized to arrive at negotiated solutions backed with humanitarian assistance.

Regional: KSA; The prestige and status enjoyed by KSA in the Muslim world is unique. It must take a lead role in pan-Islamic consensus towards issues like Palestine.
It also needs to work with the other regional powers, Turkey and Iran to resolve regional disputes like Syria and Yemen. Iran; Iran along with KSA need to downgrade the sectarian dimension in their foreign and security policies. Iran must reassure its Arab neighbours regarding its nuclear programme which is contributing to an arms race in the region. Turkey; As the immediate neighbour of Syria and home to a large number of refugees, Turkey must support a negotiated settlement for Syria and undertake specific steps to counter the spread of Daesh.

**Implications for Pakistan**

Some important implications for Pakistan in security, diplomatic and economic realm are; Daesh appears keen to spread its tentacles in South and Central Asia at a time when Pakistan’s own campaign against terrorism is underway. It would therefore, require effective counter-measures by Pakistan domestically and a coordinated approach with Middle Eastern states and Afghanistan to thwart the ambitions of Daesh. KSA, Iran and Turkey have contradictory objectives. As a close friend of the three countries, Pakistan will be confronted with demands to take sides (Syria, Yemen). Our decisions would not be without cost (domestic sectarian strife, oil, exports, remittances and job prospects for large Pakistani Diaspora in the region). A resurgent Iran in the backdrop of nuclear deal offers opportunities as well as challenges for Pakistan. This would include a nuanced policy towards the region.

**Policy Guidelines for Pakistan**

Developments in the Middle East have a direct impact on Pakistan especially in the domestic sphere. While our role cannot be central to regional dynamics of the Middle East, we can nevertheless, take steps to protect our interests and promote the welfare of our people. Being mindful of religious sentiments of our people and our principled position on various foreign policy issues, an approach informed purely by national interests will best serve the long-term interests of Pakistan. Such a balanced, comprehensive and dynamic approach may encompass the following elements to yield maximum dividends; Israel - Palestinian Conflict; Pakistan’s principled position of diplomatic and political support to the Palestinian cause must continue. This approach will also enjoy domestic support within Pakistan as well as among Muslims internationally. Greater even-handedness evident in Pakistan’s recent dealing with the region (Yemen, Syria) is the correct approach and must be sustained. Pakistan need to strike a balance especially in our relations with Iran and KSA. Pakistan can also act as a bridge-builder in this context. There is a growing consensus to counter extremist groups like the Daesh. Pakistan must wholeheartedly support political, diplomatic and security-related steps in this regard. It may be supported in the domestic realm by ensuring non-involvement of Pakistani nationals and groups in the conflicts of Middle East and close monitoring of the flow of funds to prevent their use in the context of terrorism. The improvement in Pakistan’s domestic security situation following operation Zarb-e-Azb needs to be properly leveraged. This will help to address negative perceptions about Pakistan. It could promote investment from the Middle East. Pakistan must not fritter away opportunities afforded by removal of sanctions on Iran e.g. revival of trade, IP gas pipeline project, import of Iranian electricity, check
smuggling and control narcotics flow. Keeping Balochistan peaceful will promote the upcoming CPEC. Pakistan could be a pragmatic route for China-Iran trade as well. The current situation in the Middle East also has domestic ramifications for Pakistan. Steps identified in the National Action Plan must be implemented. At the same time, Pakistan also need to address the frustrations of the society through improved governance, justice and service-delivery, as unhappy people are natural fodder for radicalization and terrorism. There is a need to explain our policies to the Pakistani people better by fashioning an appropriate narrative.

Conclusion

Middle East is a strategically important and energy-rich region that is fraught with conflicts. Due to domestic factors, role of VNSAs and interests of regional and global players the situation will remain in a state of flux in the short term. However, through an inclusive approach by regional states and responsible role of external players the situation can be turned around in the interest of peace stability and prosperity of the region. For Pakistan, Middle East has always been an important region which offers both complex challenges and as well as unique opportunities. By pursuing a balanced, comprehensive and vibrant regional policy for Middle East we can promote our interests. There is a need to adopt a domestic policy that complements our foreign policy towards the Middle East region.

Endnotes

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Abstract

South Asian is a deeply polarized region with bitter strife on ethnic, linguistic, religious and sectarian lines. In addition, conditions such as poverty, social inequality and exclusion generate a wide spread grievance of deprivation, often resulting into emergence of terrorist acts and organizations. Therefore, the issue to Sub-Conventional warfare in neither new nor uncommon to the region. For last over three decades, and especially after the events of 9/11, Pakistan’s forced involvement in conflict ridden Afghanistan, coupled with our oblivious domestic policies, has pushed Pakistan towards lawlessness and militancy. Phenomena like religious extremism, terrorism and sub-nationalism took roots in the society, initially to the detriment to the rule of law and subsequently to challenge writ of the state. However, the resolve of Civil-Military leadership and the success of Operation Zarb e Azab have provided a ray of hope to finish this menace. Taking lead from successful Sri Lankan COIN story, this paper studies the issue, analyses the current strategy and recommends way forward for successful elimination of SCW from Pakistan.

Dynamics of South Asia: South Asia is a term used to represent the southern region of the Asian continent, which comprises the SAARC countries. The terms "Indian subcontinent" and "South Asia" are sometimes used interchangeably. The current territories of Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka form the countries of South Asia, with deviating definitions that Mauritius, and the Tibet Autonomous Region are included as well. South Asia covers about 4.4 million km², which is 10% of the Asian continent. South Asia is a multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic and multi-religious society. Overall, it accounts for 25% of the world’s population. As per Millennium Development Goals; 40% of the population is illiterate and HDI shows that all countries less Sri Lanka fall after 100 out of 187 countries.

South Asia has had more than its share of crises and wars. Six out of eight south Asian countries have confronted or presently confronting insurgency. The current hot spots are India, Afghanistan and Pakistan whereas Nepal, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka have also faced insurgency in different times.

Afghanistan

insurgencies. The ISAF forces peaked up to 140,000 by 2010 and suffered 3502 casualties during 14 years of war. Reportedly 92,000 civilians were killed in direct conflict whereas 360,000 civilians died due to indirect causes. End Dynamics; A Bilateral Security Agreement was signed between the US and Afghanistan in Dec 2014. 13000 troops including 10,000 US forces have been stationed in order to train, advise and assist Afghan Army. ANSF are estimated around 180,000. Afghan Government has variable degree of control over its territory. Kunduz has strategic importance being gateway to Tajikistan and recent set back to Afghan government speaks about the plight of ANDF (500 Taliban vs 7000 Afghan Force). It has also helped Mullah Akhtar Mansur to cement his legitimacy as new Ameer.

India

India is a multi-religious, multi-language, multi castes, multi tribes and multi ethnic country. Its web-like societies and unfinished partition agendas naturally generate a sense of divisive tendencies among the population. India’s experience in COIN operations extends to the major areas; Jammu and Kashmir since 1947. Naxalites States since 1967 (commonly called as Red Corridor). Northeastern States since 1956 (commonly known as Seven Sisters).

The Kashmiri freedom movement (labeled as insurgency by India) has its origin in the partition of British India in 1947. The Muslim majority princely state was ruled by a Hindu ruler who acceded to India against the wishes of the majority. UN intervened but India has so far refused to implement its resolutions. Frustration and anger of the denial of right of self-determination is the major cause of trouble in Indian Occupied Kashmir; India has deployed 600,000 - 700,000 security forces in IOK and as per the latest report of AI; 100,000 people have been killed so far. Human Rights violations are on under AFSPA under which security forces can arrest a person for two years. A visible decline in causalities during last 25 years is shown with the help of this graph. You may notice that it happened just after 9/11 due to a well thought out plan and is now proving to be a temporary phase. Actual story is explained; In 2002, a letter alleged to OBL surfaced which was addressed to American people that Al Qaida is fighting in Kashmir and had established a special wing for this purpose. A US team comprising Spec Air Svc and Delta Force personnel was sent into IOK to hunt OBL. Later, it was proved that neither OBL was hiding in the Valley nor AQ had any footprints in IOK. The freedom movement was maligned as terrorism and India came out as a sole beneficiary. Currently the dispute continues to fuel deep animosity. Modi’s government’s aggressive intention to scrap article 370 and violence across LoC is under world’s focus. Despite media blackout, unrest and killings have resurged in IOK and Pakistani flags were unfurled no of times. BJP is also demanding to ban beef in the state.

Other than Kashmir major insurgencies in various Indian regions are a) Naxalite States (Red Corridor) a group of far left Communists, supportive of Maoist political sentiments. Insurgency in central India took birth due to ideology, deprivation of the people and influence of neighbouring states. The Maoists now have influence over 92,000 sq km which is 1/3rd of Indian Territory. Their estimated
strength is between 10,000–25,000. b) Northeastern States (Seven Sisters); Being peripheral states, there exists a psychological distance of the people from the mainstream. The degree of inaccessibility, strength of separate social identity / ethnic aspiration and influence of neighbouring countries resulted propensity of these areas for insurgency. In both Northeastern states and Red Corridor, Indian approach was mainly based on the lessons learnt from the COIN experience of Malaya. India followed the strategy of an iron fist in a velvet glove, adopting an aggressive military approach towards hard-core insurgents and a humane face towards the local population. The concept of Unified Command was implemented to synergize the counter terrorism efforts and protracted operations were launched. In exterior maneuver, India was successful in convincing China, Bangladesh and Bhutan to stop support to the insurgent groups. 2,000 miles long border with Bangladesh was also sealed by constructing a fence. The Armed forces were given special powers under the Armed Forces Special Powers Act and the states were permitted to raise Special Forces to quell the insurgescies. Dialogue and propaganda were used from the position of strength. A comprehensive surrender package has been announced by the govt for rebels; Immediate Relief (Rs 5000/), Rehabilitation package (Rs 400,000/), Land for irrigation with loan (1.5 Acres) and Withdrawal of criminal cases and no harassment by police. In Red Corridor, West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh have claimed to manage the ongoing insurgescies whereas efforts in other states with reasonable thrust are continuing. The insurgency in the Northeast States has lost its momentum less the state of Assam where large scale operations continue to be launched by the Army. Insurgency is simmering in Meghalaya, Manipur and Tripura.

Though, no two different sub-conventional conflict environment be equated to find a similar remedy, careful study of early experience will give an insight of the character and dynamics of the problem itself. Socio-economic deprivation and marginalization from mainstream in Northeastern States of India is one of the main causes of insurgency. To quell such insurgescies, governments must adopt attractive approaches like India did in the shape of providing surrender packages (money, job & land). The people of an isolated area feel more insecure as compared to the developed part of a state, therefore whenever a demographic tilt like Bengali migrations to Tripura and Meghalaya states is envisaged, likelihood of reaction is pronounced. There is no substitute of political dialogue to resolve insurgescy like situations but creation of favourable environment for the talks is a must to accrue desired benefits on own terms. Indian talks with Maoist rebels are a case in point. Capability to fight an insurgescy demands greater stamina and will power like India stationed its village guards for 5 years in some of the states in order to win local villagers’ confidence. Media creates strong perceptions; therefore a proper information management plan must accompany each effort. Exterior maneuver is equally important as Bhutan, Bangladesh and China were convinced by India to cut insurgescy’s camps and support bases. Indigenous freedom movements like Kashmir based on just and ideological cause cannot be quelled with force.
Srilanka

Of late, Sri Lanka has emerged from the trauma of civil war that had devastated the island for nearly three decades. On May 19, 2009 Sri Lanka’s civil war terminated when the government’s armed forces militarily defeated the separatist terrorist group ‘Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam’ (LTTE), thus regaining the total control of the country. Taking its roots from ancient times, contemporary conflict surfaced during the British colonial period, where colonial rulers applied divide and rule formula to separate the two main ethnic groups of the country, the Sinhalese and Tamils. After the independence (1948), the majority Sinhalese asserted their new democratically derived power in retaliation to the denied opportunities during the colonial era. Sri Lanka is a culturally diverse country with 74% Sinhalese, 18% Tamils including Indian Tamils, 7% Muslims, and 1% others. Main religions in the country are Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam and Christianity. One of the biggest mistakes ever done in the history of Sri Lanka was declaring Sinhalese as the national language. Parochial politics, bad governance and short sighted policies adopted by the political leaders on both sides fueled the conflict. India, aiming to be the regional power did not like Sri Lankan pro western economic and foreign policies and acted against it.

Tamil youth following the separatism ideology of traditional Tamil political leaders, commenced forming radical groups against the government of Sri Lanka. LTTE’s rise is widely attributed to the initial backing it received from RAW. Reportedly, 32 camps were set up all over India, in late 70s, to train these militants and approx 3363 Tamil insurgents were given military training. During1980s, Sri Lanka witnessed the greatest ever threat to its sovereignty in the form of worse terrorism by LTTE. Let us watch a video clip to understand the havoc of LTTE and the invincible challenge for the government of Sri Lanka.

Sri Lankan Counter Insurgency Operation

For the first time, a Minister of National Security was appointed and a Joint Operation Command and the National Intelligence Bureau came in to force. In 1987, the Indo-Lanka Accord was signed leading to induction of the Indian Peacekeeping Force (IPKF) to the North of Sri Lanka. After more than two years of unsuccessful operations and significant losses the IPKF withdrew, but intense war continued. In 2002, there was a Ceasefire Agreement with the LTTE under mediation of Norway. During the ceasefire period, the LTTE managed to strengthen its offensive capabilities significantly. Sri Lankan armed forces also up-graded their operations and changed their tactics to put LTTE on defensive role. In 2006, LTTE threatened to create humanitarian crisis by closing the Sluice Gate of vital water storage in Eastern Sri Lanka. The crisis affected thousands of households, and even affected national food security. The Government intervened, but was met with large-scale attacks by the LTTE. This led to the widening of the military campaign into the Humanitarian Operation that ultimately freed Sri Lanka from terrorism by May 2009.

After the war there were number of pressing concerns that had to be dealt with urgently. Accommodating and ensuring the welfare of nearly 300,000 IDPs.
Undertaking demining and reconstruction of infrastructure. Rehabilitation and reintegration of nearly 12,000 ex-LTTE cadres. After meeting these challenges, the Government turned its attention to the restoration of normalcy. Significant developments in this process include; Restoration of the civil administration in affected areas. Military presence in war torn areas was minimized. Military was primarily employed to address immediate and development needs of the population. During transition, military had to perform some of the duties of the civil administration. The post-war period saw significant shifts in the modus operandi of the Armed Forces, taking an indirect nation building role for long term stability. Later, the responsibility for maintenance of law and order was handed over to the Police with increased number of police stations and recruitment of more Tamil speaking Police personnel. Emergency Regulations that had been in place for many decades were repealed. Civilian properties that had been used by state forces or captured by LTTE during the war were returned to the rightful owners. Restrictions that had to be in place during the war for security purposes were removed. Most of war detainees were released into rehabilitation. Few of hard-core cadres remained in detention centers for lawful prosecution.

Pakistan

The image of exotic Asian land of Pakistan has increasingly given way to drier phenomena surrounding political dynamics, intolerance, extremism and terrorism. Coupled with expeditious national policy initiatives and host of threat enablers and multipliers, rise of terrorism during last decade constitutes principle internal security threat to Pakistan. During recent years, Pakistan has been identified as one of the six countries that qualify to be in the category of “war”, The Global Peace Index (GPI) positions Pakistan among the ten least peaceful countries in the world with approximately 58,907 casualties. On the canvas, Rugged mountainous FATA region remained most volatile conflict zone in Pakistan. Lush green valleys of Swat witnessed blood intense militancy in 2007-08. Pakistan’s largest city and financial capital contributing 65% of total national revenue badly suffered. Baluchistan, Pakistan’s largest province, has witnessed a protracted turmoil. Rest of the Pakistan has also suffered from sectarianism and religious extremism.

Since independence, Baluchistan has remained disturbed due to perceived and real sense of alienation, inequitable distribution of economic resources, inadequate provincial autonomy, lack of effective participation in the affairs of the State and machination of few Sardars. The province has witnessed 4 x insurgencies till recent years, however, Kinetic operations alone could not address the root causes. Recent wave of insurgency erupted after the death of Nawab Akber Bugti in a military action in 2006. However, terrorists’ incidents reveal that internal security environment in Balochistan has changed radically and besides traditional Baloch centric insurgencies, sectarian strife and the presence of local and transnational terrorist outfits are contributing to an increasingly complex and deteriorating security landscape. India’s proxies while using Afghanistan as a pedestal for all sorts of centrifugal activities, Iran’s vested interests and USA strategic concerns about growing Chinese involvement have worsened the situation manifolds. End Dynamics, since 2008, various positive actions of government, both in
kinetic and non-kinetic domains, while adopting reconciliation, deterrence and development strategy have resulted into relative peace and surrender of several insurgents.

Ethno-linguistic fault lines, social injustice, regional disparities, criminalization of politics and proven Indian proxies are the main driver for violence in Karachi. Karachi suffered peak casualties in 1992, followed by a military operation for temporarily reduction in violence. Turmoil persisted in Karachi due to bad governance and ethno political turf battles resulting in target killings, kidnappings for ransom and extortions. Afghan and Pakistani Taliban also have foot prints in the city with their involvement in attacks on security personnel and political or sectarian rivals. In September 2013, Pakistan Rangers with special policing authorities was deployed in Karachi to maintain deteriorated law and order situation. Political commitment and an inclusive approach have resulted in improvement of law and order in the city and revival of business. Jihadi culture in FATA can be traced back to Soviet Afghan war (1979–88), the Mujahideen were indoctrinated and trained for jihad. The socio-political factors like arbitrary governance, social deprivation, drug-smuggling, Afghan refugees, religious exploitation and interplay of power politics at the international level, have had their share in spreading militancy in FATA.

While exploiting the existing socio-economic disparities, the militant organizations used religion as an instrument and terror as tactics. The misconstrued concept of Jihad and corrupted vision of Islam was used to redefine the ideological bases of the masses.; Between 2001 and 2015, the Pakistan military conducted 6 major and approx 2000 minor operations in FATA. By one assessment, Pakistani troops’ level has ranged roughly between 55,000 and 185,000 from 2001 to 2015. As a result of successful military operation and socio-economic uplift of the area, there is a semblance of peace and TDPs have started to return. De-radicalization and reintegration efforts and in hand.

Exploitation of existing judicial void, poor governance, short sighted political interests and legacy of a popular demand for Shariat e Muhammadiwasa was exploited by the terrorists in Swat. In 2001, the Mullah Fazlullah (Mullah Radio) developed nexus with TTP and established his self-styled rule in Swat valley. Pakistan Army conducted Operation Rah-e-Haq and Operation Rah-e-Rast to disrupt the supply lines and command and control structure of the militia and established the writ of the government – First ever successful culmination of militancy in Pakistan. Peace has returned to Swat and transfer of administration and security to civilian offices is in progress.

Principle cause of internal strife in Pakistan lies in the core issues of socio-political inequalities, economic disparities, social injustice, political expediencies and poor governance. Inability to address root causes can only add insult to the injury. Deliberate radicalization of Pakistani society during Afghan war particularly in FATA damaged the very fiber of our society; giving rise to polarization on religious and sectarian lines. External influence to exploit existing fault lines in Balochistan and Karachi has incurred heavy economic cost. Piecemeal approach and political
expediencies in dealing with complexly interlinked hot spots may prove counterproductive. We have learnt through hard way and are all poised to capitalize on the past experiences for a decisive drive against terrorism. With our decade long struggle against terrorism not being able to accrue desired results, last couple of years witnessed a transformation in our response mechanism. Promulgation of Pakistan’s maiden “National Internal Security Policy”, complemented by “Operation Zarb-e-Azb” and “National Action Plan” marked the high point in our drive against terrorism in Pakistan.

First step in our final drive against terror was in the shape of “National Counter Terrorism Authority (NACTA)”. Notified in Mar 2013, NACTA is an independent body directly responsible to the Prime Minister. The authority became a focal national body mandated, beside other tasks, to prepare comprehensive national counter terrorism and counter extremism strategies. However, NACTA could hardly come on ground without making any significant progress.

National Internal Security Policy (NISP) issued in Feb 2014, the policy for the first time gave out national strategic vision and framework for a comprehensive counter terrorism campaign in Pakistan. Vision is to create a safe environment where life, property, civil liberties and socio-economic rights of the citizens are protected and the people of Pakistan are able to live and prosper in harmony, freedom, respect and dignity as enshrined in the Constitution of Pakistan. The policy hinges on two principle components a) Comprehensive Response Plan (CRP); the soft component highlights primacy of the political process and is focused on winning over public trust and confidence to combat extremism and terrorism. b) Composite Deterrence Plan (CDP); the hard component complements the existing internal security apparatus.

Strategic Framework includes three elements; Dialogue with all stakeholders, Isolation of terrorists from their support systems and Enhancing deterrence and capacity of the security apparatus. Pursuant to the strategic framework, Tehreek e Taliban Pakistan was engaged in dialogue, despite strong opposition from sections of the society. However, the dialogue ran into stalemate as Taliban leveraged their position of strength rather than the government. Routine terrorist incidents, by splinter groups also continued till the fateful attack on Karachi Airport in mid-2014.

Airport attack became the trigger for the biggest kinetic operation since 2001, to flush out remaining safe havens of national and transnational terrorists. Operation Zarb-e-Azb, unlike previous military operations was conceived as a concept to create enabling environment for other elements of national power to gain primacy and function to eliminate causes of the problem. The operation did create immediate effects in sub-conventional warfare conflict zone with its visible indirect effects in rest of the country. Salient features of the operation are; Strategic Framework (Deter – Dialogue and Develop). “All elements of national power, particularly political, socio-economic and military be effectively articulated within national and international context to eliminate the menace of terrorism”. Operational Framework (Clear – Hold – Build and Transfer). “Proactively pursue the end objective of elimination of terrorism and deny use of own territory as sanctuary for operations within Pakistan or across Pak-Afghan
border through effective articulation of military means so as to create conditions wherein political and socio-economic means gain primacy for comprehensive achievement of the objective”. Army Concept of Engagement; Military means must be politically driven. Use of min essential force to achieve well defined objectives. Reduce own and exploit terrorists’ vulnerabilities. Convergence of military and political components. Conduct Intelligence Based Operations. Operation Zarb-e-Azb made unprecedented progress and denied last foothold to the terrorists in North Waziristan. Today, over 90% FATA is under the control of government forces; rest of the area has a contested control with penny pockets of resistance. Dislodged from their safe havens, few of the terrorists managed to slip into settled areas and struck with all their might in their worst ever attack against innocent children of APS, Peshawar.

National Action Plan

Catastrophe of APS attack in December 2014 left the state with no other option than to mobilize all the elements of national power to seek closure of insurgency in the country. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif addressed the nation and made it loud and clear “A line has been drawn. On one side are coward terrorists and on the other side stands the whole nation”. A 20 points agenda was announced for immediate implementation. Let us see how it is charting the course.

Implementation Mechanism; A high powered National Counter Terrorism Council has been formed. Details are; Prime Minister (Chairman), Interior Minister, Information Minister, Representatives of Pakistan Army, ISI, IB, FIA, Any Federal, Provincial co-opted member, National Coordinator NACTA (Secretary). NACTA is the secretariat of the council, works directly under the Prime Minister. Provincial Apex Committees to monitor the progress. 15 x Sub-committees established to deal with different subjects.

Progress Made on National Action Plan

Implementation of Death Sentences; Over 8000 x Death sentences were pending execution. At least 233 executions have been made so far. However, many of these executions were not related to terrorism. Special Military Courts, 21st Amendment Bill has setup Military Courts for two years. Progress is slow as only few capital punishments awarded so far remained suspended for four months pending decision by the Supreme Court of Pakistan. Not to Allow Militant Outfits / Armed Gangs to Operate, Successful Intelligence Based Operations have largely isolated terrorist networks from their support base. Isolated terrorist acts by splinter groups, mostly foreign aided, will however continue to flash on radar screen. Strengthening of NACTA, The progress is slow. NACTA is short on funds besides suffering from an inadequate intelligence sharing and legal limbo. Action against Promotion of Hatred, Extremism and Intolerance; Public statements by religious and political figures are under tight scrutiny. Freezing of Funding Sources of Terrorist Outfits; State Bank of Pakistan and Ministry of Interior has been mobilized to track and freeze funding sources of terrorism. Not to Allow Defunct Outfits to Operate Under Other Names; The progress is far from being satisfactory. Proscribed outfits manage to operate under new names and under the guise
of humanitarian organizations. Ban on Glorification of Terrorists / Terrorist Organizations, Print and electronic media has been positively engaged to isolate this cult. Yet, Jihadists’ informal media / publications continue to glorify their struggle against the infidels and their abettors. Measures against Promoting Terrorism through Social Media, Regulation or control of social media may not be possible.

Dismantling of Terrorists’ Communication Network, Pakistan Telecommunication Authority has successfully launched the world largest drive for verification of cellular phone SIMs. However, much more needs to be done to dismantle terrorists’ communication network. Establishment of Dedicated Counter Terrorism Force, New force component is in slowly taking shape. Structure and employment concept of the new outfit is going to be the biggest challenge. Actions against Elements Spreading Sectarianism, Several clerics, from different sects, have been convicted on the charge of spreading sectarianism. End to Religious Extremism and Protection of Minorities, Religious leadership is committed to counter extremism in the society. However, cases of socio-political marginalization of minorities and misuse of blasphemy laws are occasionally reported. Registration and Regulation of Religious Seminaries, Broad consensus has been developed for Madrassa reforms, which is being dovetailed with broader education sector reforms. Lawmaking is in progress for registration and audit of accounts by the seminaries. Not to Allow Extremism in any Part of the Country, Religious, sectarian, ethnic and political extremism is on decline due to intelligent application of soft and hard power. Administrative Reforms in FATA, Repatriation of TDPs, Successful military operations coupled with massive reconstruction and rehabilitation effort have created space for much awaited reforms in FATA. Return of TDPs has also commenced. Taking Karachi Operation to its Logical End, Pakistan Rangers is leading a successful operation in Karachi. Law and order situation has visibly improved and business is booming. Empowerment of Baluchistan Government for Political Reconciliation, Political reconciliation and unconditional surrender by annoyed tribal leaders is gaining momentum in Baluchistan. Policy to Deal with the Issue of Afghan Refugees, Government of Pakistan remains committed to the principle of voluntary repatriation of Afghan refugees. Repatriation process calls for creating conditions conducive for their sustainable reintegration in Afghanistan. Reforms in Criminal Courts System, Number of proposals is under consideration with the Ministry of Law, yet no visible progress has so far been made.

Inadequacies of the Final Drive against Terrorism in Pakistan

With the progress on National Action Plan with varying degree of success, the nation can ill afford to lose this campaign. Though, state of peace and stability has shown marked improvement, and we appear to have taken a positive trajectory, we need to take a critical view of the inadequacies of our ongoing response so as to affect a favourable closure to the menace of terrorism in Pakistan. Establishment of NACTA is a positive development, but the authority lacks requisite infrastructure, adequate funding and clear mandate. National Internal Security Policy suggests the strategic vision and the framework however, no National Internal Security Strategy has been formulated to guide subsequent plan of action. Strategic framework is inadequate in its scope as it mainly deals with Anti-Terrorism rather than Counter-Terrorism. Root causes of
extremism and terrorism in our society have not been addressed. Though National Action Plan addresses all our internal security concerns, but it appears to be hastily drafted mix of actions and processes. It neither suggests any mechanism nor the timelines. Civil - military coordination appears to be inadequate vis-à-vis the challenge confronted. “Whole of the Nation” approach has not yet been applied truly. Various state organs and elements of national power appear to follow independent agenda, while civil society has not been fully mobilized. Operation Zarb-e-Azb has created the desired effects but politico-economic prong does not appear to be fully matured to regain primacy.

End Dynamics of SCW in Pakistan

National Internal Security Strategy (NISS) -2015; after having seen the progress and problems attached to our ongoing drive against terrorism, the panel has suggested a wholesome “National Internal Security Strategy”. Primarily, the strategy draws aspiration from NISP-2014, yet other considerations are; Different strands of NISP-2014, NAP and Vision 2025 have been incorporated in NISS, with few additional measures. Endeavour has been made to harmonize various isolated initiatives by different stakeholders. Institutionalized mechanism has been suggested for an intimate coordination between political and military leadership. Immediate actions and time consuming processes have been segregated with practicable timeline. An all-inclusive National Internal Security Strategy has been suggested to synergize all elements of national power and effort of all state organs fueled by political ownership and public support.

Strategic Framework; Enhancing deterrence and capacity of internal security apparatus. Dialogue with all stakeholders, from the position of strength. Isolation of terrorists from their support systems. Diminish the causes of intolerance, extremism and terrorism in the society. Structural reforms for devolution of power and service delivery at grass root level. Social mobilization to realize “Whole of the Nation Approach”. Proactive exterior maneuver to create favourable Internal Security environment.

Horizon Scan – End Dynamics of Terrorism in Pakistan; Taking into account emerging external and internal environment, and responsiveness of suggested NISS-2015, the panel has taken a Horizon Scan for the end dynamics of SCW in Pakistan, so as to look back into history of the future, and tread the right course. Rule of law and economic growth being the drivers of change, successful implementation of NISS-2015 and timely operationalization of CPEC is likely to create conditions for an optimal realization of “Pakistan Vision - 2025”. Scenario building of Pakistan in 2025 suggests; By the year 2025, Pakistan is likely to emerge as a relatively stable state with sustainable economic growth curve. Curse of terrorism will be brought to manageable limits and dividends of economic growth will start to trickle down at grass root level.

Visualized Timeline for Implementation of NISS -2015; the panel has visualized three overlapping phases for implementation of NISS-2015; Short Term Phase (1-2 years), It will be “Anti-Terrorism” dominated. Immediate symptomatic treatment will
be done by variety of stakeholders. “Counter-Terrorism” prong of will also start to take shape. Medium Term Phase (1-5 years), it will be “Counter-Terrorism” dominated, while selective application of “Anti-Terrorism” will continue. This phase will build the confidence of people in the capacity of the state to defeat the militants. Long Term Phase (1-10 years), this phase will mature in long term to create sustained peace and consolidate earlier accomplishments.

**Short Term Phase (1-2 years);** Actions initiated by the armed forces along with other LEAs, for elimination of armed militia in FATA, Baluchistan and Karachi, will be vigorously pursued to create immediate effects. Effects based operations, planned on the basis of credible intelligence, will continue to be carried out by highly trained teams ex Counter Terrorism Department of Police and Special Operations Wings of CAF. Military Courts established through 21st Constitutional Amendment will be optimally utilized to handle difficult cases. Necessary judicial reforms will be introduced, within sunset clause period, to address existing anomalies. Terror financing will be severed through intensive intelligence expertise backed up by an extensive legal framework. Terrorists’ communication network will be dismantled through stringent regulation in multiple fields of communication, including social media. Glorification of jihadies/jihadi organizations will be strictly checked, especially from mosque. PEMRA and PAPRA will harness informal media. Strict regulation against sensational graffiti on road sides. Sectarianism will be tamed down to non violent disagreement, for subsequent elimination in the longer run. Potential sectarian fault line in Gilgit-Baltistan will be proactively addressed. National de-radicalization and re-integration programme will be launched for the terrorists’ foot soldiers / mercenaries. Potential of NADRA and NARA will be optimized to facilitate LEAs in elimination of crime, deny its nexus with terrorism and ensure strict monitoring of Afghan refugees.

**Medium Term Phase (1-5 years);** A carefully crafted counter narrative, while taking the religious leadership and civil society in confidence will isolate the terrorists from their moral and financial base. The counter narrative may also be suitably grouped with national integration narrative to make a super narrative. Religious seminars will be incorporated in the mainstream education system, with a comprehensive revision of both the syllabi and interoperability of both the systems. Protection of minorities will be ensured. Socio-political exploitation of these entities and misuse of Blasphemy Laws will strictly be checked. A peaceful Karachi is absolutely necessary for economic revival of Pakistan. Lawlessness and street crime in Karachi will be progressively brought to normal to create business friendly environment. Reconciliation process in Baluchistan will be incentivized through rapid infrastructure development and fast track economic activity. Administrative and constitutional reforms will be introduced in FATA to bring peace to the war torn region. Political administration will immediately resume control of their areas, whereas armed forces will progressively thin out, less small garrisons necessary to be retained at key locations. Cottage industry, live stock and goods transport business in bordering areas will be incentivized to curtail dependency on war economy.
Long Term Phase (1-10 Years)

Policy Domain; Proactive Diplomacy, Ministry of Foreign affairs will play a significant role in creating a favourable internal security environment. Enhanced diplomatic space created by return of peace and early effects of CPEC will be leveraged to improve relations with the western neighbours while remaining positively engaged with India. New Administrative Units, Broad national consensus will be created for division of provinces into small administrative units, including integration of FATA and Gigit-Baltistan into mainstream. Human Resource Management, Human security will be enhanced and human resource potential will be harnessed. Economic Revival, Benefits of peace and stability will be reaped in the field of economic growth. Initiatives like CPEC, TAPI, IP and CASA 1000 will be pursued vigorously to attract Foreign Direct Investment, especially for revival of state owned enterprise.

Structural Reforms; Civil Service Reforms, Civil service will be reformed into a performance oriented professional bureaucracy. Federal Public Service Commission (FPSC) and its provincial equivalents will be strengthened for quality intake, which coupled with competition based training and performance based progression will enhance the efficiency of government machinery. Police Reforms, Police reforms will strengthen its lower tier to address social injustice, whereas officer cadre will be made accountable for any lapses in law and order. Police will be de-politicized and cleansed to remove criminal elements. Criminal Justice System Reforms, All the components of criminal justice system i.e prosecution, judiciary, investigation and prison will be strengthened and improved for timely dispensation of justice. E-governance, E-governance based on NADRA database will bring in much desired efficiency and transparency in the business of government for the benefit of people. Education Sector Reforms, Rigorous revision of the education sector, together with Madrassa reforms, is extremely important for addressing the root causes of intolerance, extremism, sectarianism and terrorism in the society. Reforms in education sector will mobilize the youth potential for national building.

Social Mobilization: Foster Civil Society; Growing educated middle class will be encouraged to play a proactive role in setting public priorities and assume watchdog role for government functions. Value Based Society, We need to go back to the basics to realize our destiny. A progressive Muslim society based on the Islamic values of righteousness, virtue, tolerance and social justice will be promoted.

Conclusion

There is no denying the fact that we as a nation have finally agreed on giving the final blow to the menace of terrorism. However, we must not forget that the cancer of terrorism is deep rooted which will take due course of time in its remedy. The unprecedented success of our ongoing response strategy notwithstanding, “Whole of the Nation” approach calls for the commitment of civil society and character of entire nation.
Endnotes

1 Human Development Index Report 2013
2 ibid
3 http://icasualties.org/OEF/Index.aspx
4 Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs
5 Cost of War by Brown University (war-related death, injury and displacement in Afghanistan and Pakistan 2001-14)
7 Amnesty International Report - 2015
8 Uppsala Conflict Data Programme
9 Global Peace Index - 2015
10 Watson Institute for International Studies
11 National Internal Security Policy of Pakistan
12 ibid
13 National Action Plan – Govt of Pakistan
14 NACTA Act 2013
15 Human Rights Commission of Pakistan
INDIAN POWER POTENTIAL AND RISING ASYMMETRY
VIS-À-VIS PAKISTAN

Lt Col Irfan Shakeel, Lt Col Yasir Nawaz, Lt Col Majid,
Mr. Tanvir Butt & Gp Capt Alhaji

Abstract

Since the turn of the century, India is enhancing her military and nuclear potential at an unprecedented pace, thereby, accentuating the existing asymmetry vis-à-vis Pakistan. Indian convergence of interests with the West in general and USA in particular has not only boosted her economic prowess but more importantly, it has provided her access to state-of-the-art technologies in military domain, like Ballistic Missile Defence, drones, nuclear technologies, space and cyber technologies etcetera along with Indo-US Civil Nuclear Agreement. Coupled with infrastructure development and forward leaning logistics, India has grossly improved her airlift capabilities and is now capable of establishing an air corridor for Eastern Command forces. With her military potential primarily arrayed against Pakistan, India endeavors to entice Pakistan in an arms’ race to economically cripple us. Pakistan’s commitment against terrorism has not only costed us dearly in terms of blood and treasure but is also a major catalyst in hampering our economic growth, thereby, curtailing our options for addressing the ever-widening conventional and nuclear asymmetry, which is adversely impacting our national security calculus. This article focuses on the emerging trajectory of Indian power potential vis-à-vis her global and regional aspirations and its implications for Pakistan before discussing the possible response options.

Introduction

Entering the 21st century with dreams of a shining India, confident with steadily growing GDP and her leaders pumping nation’s blood with promises of a future where India would lead the world, India still struggles in the face of challenges that are of momentous proportions. With more than half of its population living far below the poverty line, inadequate health infrastructures for disadvantaged rural dwellers, corruption almost accepted as a way of life and crime deep rooted in the social fabric, Indian leaders continue to spend billions of dollars on modernizing their military might while Indian media projects an unrealistic and false image which only exists in the Bollywood. Indian Prime Minister Modi’s assertion of Indian prehistoric scientific glory and dramatization of political events has earned him a unique title on Google.

Indian GDP growth during first decade of 21st century under PM Manmohan Singh was though impressive but lack of governance and institutional reforms, inability of infrastructure development to cope with growth and recession of 2011 resulted in decline of GDP to a lowest in the decade (4.5%) when Mr. Manmohan left office. Prime Minister Modi though is shuttling around the world projecting India as a global investment destination, west largely sees India unreformed and restrictive with World Bank showing India at 142 ranks in the world ease of doing business index.
Due to its geostrategic location, geographic size, population and relevance, India has accumulated considerable power, which by virtue of its size, is viewed as asymmetric when seen in regional context. More than anyone else, this affects Pakistan’s national security mosaic, hence need for an objective assessment of Indian power potential vis-à-vis Pakistan. Purpose of this seminar is, therefore, two fold; firstly making an objective and quantitative assessment of tangible as well as intangible elements that constitute power potential of India and secondly to analyze asymmetry vis-à-vis Pakistan to suggest a way forward.

**Strategic Appraisal**

Global environment is in a state of flux as global power center and the economic engine is shifting from the West to the East. Established world order is, therefore, under transition wherein China though claiming to be part of status quo, is actually seen as a revisionist power. Major conclusions from strategic appraisal are; Global. Review of the global situation is at Annexure A, while major conclusions are: World is transiting from uni-polarity to uni-multi polarity with USA retaining position of “Principal Security Player”. Russian re-emergence as an influential player and Sino-Russian collaboration is likely to contribute towards global rebalancing. China is likely to become the leading economic power in midterm; recent efforts towards establishing its global power projection will materialize in mid to long term. Indo Pacific will witness future geopolitical and geo-economic competition, raising stakes for regional alliances. VNSAs would continue to cause instability in strategically important regions; varying global coalitions with vested interests would thus continue to emerge. MNCs and NGOs will continue to affect future policy and strategy making domains in an increasingly interconnected world.

The regional overview is at Annexure A while major conclusions from the regional environment are; Prime Minister Modi has embarked on an aggressive diplomatic outreach backed by enhanced military diplomacy; ability to sustain this remains questionable. Increasing Indo-US convergence in Indo Pacific is directly influencing the strategic equation in South Asia. Possibility of Sino Indian conflict is less likely in short to midterm; Indian force development thus adds to complex threat scenarios for Pakistan. Instability in Afghanistan is likely to persist in short to midterm; though suits India’s strategic objectives vis-à-vis Pakistan but has negative effects on its economic interests in the region. Recent rapprochement has revitalized Iran’s regional role while affording India further space to pursue her economic and strategic interests. Indian growing relations with Gulf States in the wake of space provided by Pakistan’s response to Yemen crisis is posing a challenge for Pakistan’s traditional support base. Pakistan’s internal fault lines provided India space to pursue an indirect strategy for achieving her strategic objectives; India would continue to exacerbate these fissures in future as well. India’s anti-Pakistan terrorism centric narrative would continue to be propagated; its acceptance in the west is though likely to gradually wane due to Pakistan’s successes against terrorism.

Indian Domestic Environment – Conclusions; A detailed PEST analysis of Indian domestic environment identified few important conclusions; Dogmatic and corrupt political structures lack the ability to take strategic decisions; likely to persist in mid to long term. Post 2011 recession Indian economy though reviving is still marred by structural issues and lack of reforms thus impinging negatively on Indian
aspirations and Vision 2020. Indian domestic sentiment is unlikely to afford political space for resolution of core issues with Pakistan, however, Indo-Pak trade relations remain in India’s favour. Paradox of soft image projected by Indian media, Bollywood and IPL in contrast to rise of Hindu extremism manifested through programs like ‘forced conversions’ and ‘ban on beef’ is likely to create a conflicting perception. Heavy reliance on imported hydrocarbons and lack of indigenous solutions is likely to impact India’s energy matrix in short to midterm.

Promising Developments in Pakistan; Pakistan today has come a long way where it was falsely projected to be an epicenter of terrorism to a country which, through its unwavering resolve is close to defeating this menace. Therefore, while determining asymmetry of its power potential with India, let us have a look at some of the important recent developments; Successes achieved in Operation Zarb e Azb are manifested through prevailing peace and are also globally acknowledged, which indicate strong convergence with global concern against terrorism. Political awareness will improve governance, enabling Pakistan to embark on the path of growth thus enhancing its geopolitical influence. Improved Internal Security situation is likely to be the harbinger of peace encouraging FDI and raising global stakes in peaceful and prosperous Pakistan. Convergence of geo-economic interests with China particularly CPEC would further integrate the economy in global economic order thus enhancing leverages to safeguard our interests.

Assessing Power Potential of India

Most scholars focus on power as strength or capacity that provides the “ability to influence behavior of other states in accordance with one’s own objectives”.¹ State power can be conceived at three levels: resources or capabilities, or power-in-being; how power is converted through national process; and power in outcomes”.² Classical scholars have traditionally linked national power with military capacity of a nation but modern theorists contend that “national power is contextual as it can only be evaluated in terms of all elements of power in relation to another player.”³ Assessment of national power potential of a country as huge and diverse as India is not a simple task. Panel studied different models and adopted the Chinese concept of Comprehensive National Power (CNP), which encompasses a wide range of factors. In order to make objective assessment of Indian Power Potential, 65 tangible as well as intangible elements of national power have been quantified through fol construct;

\[
\text{CNP} = (E + M + G + \text{IS} + \text{HC} + \text{ST} + \text{KI} + \text{GEO}) \times \text{NWL}
\]

The process through which CNP has been worked out included following steps; Value of each factor, like economy was derived from multiple sub factors. Data for sub factor was obtained from World Development Indicators. Data was converted into index to arrive at quantifiable value. Index values were further multiplied with standard weightages as under to calculate CNP.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial</th>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Weightage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>Economy</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>Military</td>
<td>0.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>Governance</td>
<td>0.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>Internal Security and Social Harmony</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td>Human Resource Development</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>Science and Technology</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>Knowledge and Information</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h.</td>
<td>Geography and Natural Resource</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Assessment of CNP; since power potential is a relative term, assessment of Indian power potential in isolation will be misleading. Indian Power potential has therefore been compared with China and Pakistan, which in addition to enabling clearer understanding of asymmetry, will reflect true Indian power position in the region as well. Sole purpose of including China in this comparison is to contextualize the Indian power potential. Interrelationship of Factors Contributing to CNP; A detailed examination of the factors would indicate relative significance and dependency. Geography and natural resources form the integral source component for feeding the economy. Geography will also impact security and therefore determine the military factor and to an extent also internal security. Economy will generate resources for the military, internal security, human capital, knowledge and information as well as science and technology. These factors in turn will support the economy, thus security will ensure uninterrupted economic growth, human capital will provide skilled manpower to run the economy while knowledge and information and science and technology will contribute to economic growth and development. Governance is a factor which will have intrinsic relationship with all other factors as effective exercising of authority would contribute to the economy, security, building of knowledge and information as well as science and technology skills and infrastructure. Well skilled and informed manpower on the other hand would provide an impetus to governance. It is therefore apparent that a sum total of all these factors will represent the CNP of a nation.

**CNP - The Tangible Factors**

Economy; Since China, India and Pakistan have huge differences in terms of their population, selection of absolute variables to compare their power would fail to reflect effects of economic growth on population. Sub factors for economy have therefore been calculated on basis of per capita income and percentage of GDP. Economic index of these countries has been derived from 8 sub factors. Important sub factors include GDP per capita, gross savings, trade, industrial sector and Forex reserves et cetera. While China has a clear edge over India, difference between India and Pakistan is due to Pakistan’s low GDP, limited gross saving, insufficient Industrial Sector contribution and low forex reserves. In overall comparison, India though enjoys numerical advantage in economy factor but its effects are marginalized when seen in the context of its requirements. Pakistan’s economy is also projected to continue growing in short to midterm. The existing difference or asymmetry in economies of both countries is thus likely to persist in short to midterm.
Factors | China | India | Pakistan
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Data</th>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Data</th>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Data</th>
<th>Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Per Capita GDP (US $ million)</td>
<td>7589</td>
<td>5.14</td>
<td>1499</td>
<td>0.89</td>
<td>1513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remittance % of GDP</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>0.72</td>
<td>3.40</td>
<td>7.93</td>
<td>6.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gross Savings % of GDP</td>
<td>51.30</td>
<td>82.99</td>
<td>31.80</td>
<td>42.53</td>
<td>21.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchandise Trade % of GDP</td>
<td>41.50</td>
<td>5.92</td>
<td>37.60</td>
<td>4.85</td>
<td>29.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GCF as % of GDP</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>82.35</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>49.02</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial Sector % of GDP</td>
<td>42.60</td>
<td>55.99</td>
<td>30.10</td>
<td>35.47</td>
<td>21.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Debt as % of GDP</td>
<td>31.70</td>
<td>13.66</td>
<td>49.60</td>
<td>7.67</td>
<td>50.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Res as months of Imports</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>31.58</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>43.34</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>22.49</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 - Economy Basic Data and Index

Economy Index Comparison

Military; Anti-Pakistan and security centric mindset, hegemonic ambitions and Hindu extremist ideology propel India to invest more in defence sector. Indian defense spending has been growing at an average of 6.3 per cent per year for last decade. Government of Narendra Modi announced further 8 per cent hike, raising 2015–2016 military budget to US $40.4 billion. Pakistan with a smaller score on CNP index has also resolved to maintain conventional deterrence even in face of economic adversity. Given perpetual rivalry and security centric mindsets, both countries would continue to spend heavily on defence, irrespective of their economic growth. With India continuing to spend more on defence each year, asymmetry in conventional domain is likely to increase considerably in midterm and significantly in long term.
Goverance; Due to its communist regime, world development indicators based in the West rank China negatively in governance index, hence it scores less on CNP index. In India, however, lack of voice and accountability, deep rooted corruption, and lack of trust in the government are seen as major governance issues. Situation in Pakistan is also not much different, though political and social awareness has set the direction right, yet asymmetry in governance would continue to persist in short to midterm.
Table 4 - Governance Basic Index

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>China Data</th>
<th>China Index</th>
<th>India Data</th>
<th>India Index</th>
<th>Pakistan Data</th>
<th>Pakistan Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voice and Accountability</td>
<td>-1.58</td>
<td>15.57</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td>65.89</td>
<td>-0.65</td>
<td>39.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Stability</td>
<td>-0.55</td>
<td>42.68</td>
<td>-1.19</td>
<td>30.24</td>
<td>-1.55</td>
<td>23.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Effectiveness</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
<td>49.78</td>
<td>-0.19</td>
<td>46.11</td>
<td>-0.80</td>
<td>32.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regulatory Quality</td>
<td>-0.31</td>
<td>49.37</td>
<td>-0.47</td>
<td>45.66</td>
<td>-0.71</td>
<td>40.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rule of Law</td>
<td>-0.46</td>
<td>45.05</td>
<td>-0.10</td>
<td>53.14</td>
<td>-0.88</td>
<td>35.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control of Corruption</td>
<td>-0.35</td>
<td>31.21</td>
<td>-0.56</td>
<td>26.10</td>
<td>-0.93</td>
<td>16.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust in National Government</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>84.51</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>69.01</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>25.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>45.45</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>48.02</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>30.33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Governance Index Comparison

Internal Security and Social Harmony; A range of sub factors has been considered for this factor. India with better ratings on global terrorism index with lesser percentage of global terrorism related deaths and better human development, scores high on CNP index. Since data for this factor has been taken from Global terrorism and world development indicators based on 2013-14, Pakistan has scored very low on this index. Pakistan, however, has better performance on indicators like persons below poverty line, life satisfaction index and perception about community bondage. Given internal fissures, communal disharmony, secessionist movements and deficiencies of civilian LEAs, India is likely to remain entangled in internal strife for mid to long term, while Pakistan, backed by politico-military resolve and national will is likely to eradicate this evil in short to midterm, hence present asymmetry is likely to reduce in short to midterm.
IS and Social Harmony Index Comparison

Human Resource Development; The asymmetry between India and Pakistan is mainly due to large Indian population and availability of huge labour force as well as better expenditure on education and health. Both India and Pakistan have huge populations with large youth bulges, which would demand dedicated resources for HRD, a reality which both countries acknowledge and would continue to invest in this sector. Resources available to each country as percentage of GDP compared with population and other more pressing development needs would, however, allow equitable resource allocation hence HRD position in both countries would remain the same, hence existing asymmetry is likely to persist in short to midterm.
### Table 6 - Human Capital Basic Index

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors</th>
<th>China</th>
<th>India</th>
<th>Pakistan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population Size (million)</td>
<td>1364</td>
<td>1267</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economically Active Population</td>
<td>67.90</td>
<td>52.80</td>
<td>51.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour Force (million)</td>
<td>793</td>
<td>481</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment 15 years and older</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>9.80</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP Percent Spent Education</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>3.85</td>
<td>2.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literacy</td>
<td>95.1</td>
<td>62.8</td>
<td>54.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Tertiary School Population</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>93.29</td>
<td>49.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean Years of Schooling</td>
<td>7.50</td>
<td>4.40</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life Expectancy at birth</td>
<td>75.35</td>
<td>66.46</td>
<td>66.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Expenditure % of GDP</td>
<td>5.57</td>
<td>3.97</td>
<td>2.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>56.93</td>
<td>34.44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**HRD Index Comparison**

Science and Technology; India, lacks considerably in R&D, innovation and indigenization, hence scores less on this important index. Pakistan’s performance in Science and Technology also suffered as requisite attention could not be given to development of this important sector due to volatile internal security situation over previous decade. Realizing its importance, both countries are likely to focus on science and technology development but due to lack of indigenous R&D, existing asymmetry is likely to persist in short to midterm.
Factors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors</th>
<th>China</th>
<th>India</th>
<th>Pakistan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Expenditure on R&amp;D, % of GDP</td>
<td>1.7 66.67</td>
<td>0.8 29.17</td>
<td>0.5 16.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R&amp;D Researchers per million</td>
<td>1020 17.12</td>
<td>160 2.6</td>
<td>149 2.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patents to date total</td>
<td>36440 0.67</td>
<td>14450 0.26</td>
<td>88 0.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Tech Exports</td>
<td>560.05 100</td>
<td>16.6 2.96</td>
<td>0.348 0.047</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Innovation Index</td>
<td>46.6 65.06</td>
<td>33.7 40.31</td>
<td>24 37.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>- 51.10</td>
<td>- 12.57</td>
<td>- 8.77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7 - Science & Technology Basic Index

Knowledge and Information; Both countries have an overall inadequate knowledge and information base. Although, a large number of population has access to computers, cell phones and broadband internet but their use is mostly restricted to entertainment and connectivity and true potential of IT revolution is still untapped. Both countries would continue investment in this sector to keep pace with world and would likely benefit from knowledge and information revolution. Current asymmetry is therefore, likely to persist in short to midterm.
Knowledge and Information Index Comparison

Geography and Natural Resources: Difference between India and Pakistan is mainly due to their physical size manifested through land mass, availability of arable land, EEZ and availability of water. Pakistan is also blessed with water, arable land and huge natural resources, like Thar Coal, Shale gas, Rickodek and Sandak which are not being utilized to their full potential. Unless Pakistan starts to vigorously utilize its resources, current asymmetry is likely to persist in short to midterm.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors</th>
<th>China Data</th>
<th>China Index</th>
<th>India Data</th>
<th>India Index</th>
<th>Pakistan Data</th>
<th>Pakistan Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Land Mass (km²)</td>
<td>959661</td>
<td>54.52</td>
<td>3287263</td>
<td>16.27</td>
<td>796095</td>
<td>1.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arable Land (Hectares)</td>
<td>105920000</td>
<td>67.81</td>
<td>156200000</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>21185000</td>
<td>13.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size of EEZ</td>
<td>877019</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>2305143</td>
<td>19.77</td>
<td>290000</td>
<td>1.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water Per Capita c/m³</td>
<td>414.6</td>
<td>65.63</td>
<td>644.1</td>
<td>32.15</td>
<td>1037</td>
<td>25.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>22.86</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>8.57</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>2.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity Production (kwhr/person/year)</td>
<td>1780.5</td>
<td>10.76</td>
<td>480.5</td>
<td>2.21</td>
<td>456.2</td>
<td>2.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil Production (barrels)</td>
<td>4372000</td>
<td>41.15</td>
<td>897500</td>
<td>8.22</td>
<td>60000</td>
<td>0.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron Ore (million tons)</td>
<td>30200</td>
<td>39.73</td>
<td>13300</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>0.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>38.69</td>
<td></td>
<td>25.58</td>
<td></td>
<td>5.96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 9 - Geo & NR Basic Index

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor (Weightage)</th>
<th>China</th>
<th>India</th>
<th>Pakistan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economy (0.25)</td>
<td>43.34</td>
<td>10.83</td>
<td>13.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military (0.15)</td>
<td>43.71</td>
<td>6.55</td>
<td>14.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governance (0.15)</td>
<td>45.45</td>
<td>6.82</td>
<td>13.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IS and Social Harmony (0.1)</td>
<td>14.03</td>
<td>1.40</td>
<td>0.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Capital (0.1)</td>
<td>56.93</td>
<td>5.69</td>
<td>19.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science and Technology (0.1)</td>
<td>51.10</td>
<td>5.11</td>
<td>8.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge and Information</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geo &amp; Natural Resources (0.05)</td>
<td>38.64</td>
<td>1.93</td>
<td>5.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>43.57</td>
<td>14.93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10 – CNP Tangible Factors

CNP - Intangible Factors; Intangible factors have been assessed on the basis of prevailing and emerging trends. National Will and Leadership; Pakistan enjoys positive asymmetry while exhibiting national will, which has been reflected by our unflinching resolve against terrorism and unprecedented national cohesion in the face of natural calamities. Both countries have similar quality of political leadership. Pakistan therefore is at an advantageous position as far as national will is concerned, however, near parity in leadership likely to persist in short to midterm. Foreign Policy and Diplomacy; on diplomatic front, asymmetry would continue to favour India but given emerging positive trajectory of Pakistan, this gap is not likely to
widen. Assessing the Intangibles; The intangible factors have been allotted different weightage according to their effect. Such quantification is carried out by Indians while they calculate their National Security Index as well as by the Chinese while calculating their CNP. China leads the way in all three intangible factors while Pakistan has a clear advantage in national will as well as Leadership but gives ground to India in foreign policy and diplomacy. The cumulative assessed impacts of these factors are.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial</th>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>China</th>
<th>India</th>
<th>Pakistan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>National Will</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>Leadership</td>
<td>0.035</td>
<td>0.005</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>Foreign Policy and Diplomacy</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.030</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>0.115</td>
<td>0.045</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Index</td>
<td>0.039</td>
<td>0.015</td>
<td>0.017</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 11 – CNP Intangible Factors**

Final CNP Index; The final CNP index can be arrived by adding the value of tangibles as well as intangibles as under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial</th>
<th>Index</th>
<th>China</th>
<th>India</th>
<th>Pakistan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>CNP Index Tangible</td>
<td>43.57</td>
<td>25.45</td>
<td>14.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>Effect of Intangible</td>
<td>1.70</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>Final Weightage</td>
<td>45.27</td>
<td>25.83</td>
<td>15.18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 12 – Final CNP**

- Economy
- Military
- Governance
- IS and Social Harmony
- Human Capital
- Science and Technology
- Knowledge and Information
- Geo & Natural Resources
- National Will and Leadership
- Foreign Policy and Diplomacy
Final CNP Index Comparison

Conclusions from Comparison of Power Potentials; A clear asymmetry exists between India and Pakistan and is evident from calculations for all factors of CNP. The asymmetry in economy would persist but gap is not likely to increase in short term as both economies are projected to continue growing. In the mid to long term, however, the asymmetry is likely to increase as larger economic credentials of India would allow her leverages for developing internally and projecting influence externally. With India continuing to invest massively in defence, asymmetry in conventional defence capability would accentuate in long term, especially with acquisition of force multipliers and blue water navy components. Communal disharmony and fissiparous tendencies would continue to be a drag on India while more cohesive Pakistan emerging through current transformation is expected to have internal security and social harmony asymmetry reduced in its favour. On diplomatic front, asymmetry would continue to favour India but given Pakistan’s promising future trends, this gap is not likely to widen in short to midterm. For all other determinants of national power, existing asymmetry is likely to persist in short to mid-term.

Analyzing Impact of Asymmetry

Future Projection of Asymmetry; Basing on these conclusions drawn from the construct of asymmetry between India and Pakistan, there is a need to project into the future as to how this asymmetry would evolve. Assumptions for such projection are; As Indian economy is projected to grow at 6 – 7 % annually in the short to midterm, power potential of India in all likelihood would also continue to grow. Future predictions by Goldman Sachs and other global financial observers also see Indian economy growing. There are however, no likely indicators of Indian economy going into recession in short to midterm. Pakistan’s economy is also likely to continue its growth trajectory in short to midterm. In view of improvement in law and order situation, completion of flagship projects of CPEC and likely increased FDI, sharp decline or recession in short to midterm for Pakistan would not be likely. In view of these assumptions, future possibilities are.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possibilities</th>
<th>Power Potential</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most Likely</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less Likely</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Least Likely</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not likely</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Emerging CNP Scenarios for India; India is likely to continue growing in short to midterm, therefore, the power potential as well as influence, is also likely to grow. Three possible sub scenarios in the most likely quadrant are; Trend Based CNP Sub Scenario; in this sub scenario, CNP stagnates at same level as 2015 i.e, at 25 - 27. In this sub scenario, power potential and influence is likely to increase marginally. Indian aspirations of achieving regional status are likely to remain unfulfilled. China is likely to become more assertive but due to its stagnated growth India is not likely
to act as counterweight to China. Economically, India will follow same growth trend with periodic ups and downs as it may not be able to sustain economic reforms. India is likely to continue facing poverty, internal strife and communal disharmony undermining its secular image. Notwithstanding settlement of border disputes with other neighbours bowing to Indian hegemony; India is likely to refuse settlement of Kashmir as per UN resolutions. Thriving on extremist ideology and anti-Pakistan sentiment, India will continue to wage proxy wars through Afghanistan, create unrest in Balochistan and sabotage CPEC. Its relations with Pakistan are not likely to normalize in short to midterm. Augmented CNP Sub Scenario; In this sub scenario, Indian CNP is augmented to 30-32. In this sub scenario, Indian influence is likely to be augmented due to considerable increase in its power potential. Indian aspirations of becoming a global power may accrue credence, however; its status will continue to be that of a regional player. Bolstered by its augmented power, it may become increasingly antagonistic towards its neighbours seeking conflict resolution on its own terms. Economically, India may have greater leverages to develop internally and project hard power externally. Its relations with Pakistan are likely to further deteriorate rendering resolution of core issues extremely difficult. Hyper CNP Sub Scenario; in this sub scenario, CNP rises exponentially to 42-45 through transformational changes. Indian power potential and influence will increase exponentially. It will emerge as a global player challenging Chinese dominance. Likely to make great strides in science and technology, India will have greater ability to project its hard and soft power. Relations with Pakistan will be highly asymmetric. Leading Sub Scenario and Implications for Pakistan; In view of trends highlighted earlier, Indian economy is projected to grow moderately, hence its power potential is also not likely to alter radically. It is therefore likely that neither an augmented nor a hyper CNP scenario may materialize in foreseeable future. India is hence likely to fall in trend based CNP sub scenario in short, mid and long term. Implications of this scenario for Pakistan are; Diplomatic; Indian soft power projection and influence at international forums will curtail Pakistan’s space for diplomatic maneuver. Continued diplomatic offensive to marginalize Pakistan on the pretext of ‘cross border terrorism’. Undermining SAARC to form regional alliances like IBBN and BIMSTEC to isolate Pakistan. Strategically engaging GCC countries, to impinge upon much needed economic and political support to Pakistan. Strengthen relations with Iran exploiting an economic corridor through Iran-Afghanistan-CARs to undermine Pakistan’s geo strategic location. Continue de-stabilizing Pakistan through its influence in Afghanistan. Internal Dynamics; Pursue indirect strategy to destabilize and weaken Pakistan; Accentuating vulnerabilities in Balochistan, FATA and Karachi through use of proxies. Exploiting sectarian fault lines to create unrest. Undermining Two Nation Theory to weaken our national foundation by tarnishing ideological moorings through cultural invasion. Aggressive use of IO to subvert and weaken national resolve and create disillusionment. Driving wedge between the nation and armed forces by casting aspersions on civil – military relations and defaming security establishment. Military; Despite prevailing nuclear deterrence, accentuated conventional asymmetry may lead India to a strategic miscalculation. Continue to accuse Pakistan of supporting cross border terrorism in IOK, marginalize freedom struggle and coerce Pakistan to accept status quo. Keeping LOC / working boundary unstable concurrently resonating threats from Western border and exploiting Pakistan’s internal fault lines forcing a triple stretch on armed forces. Possible realization of Blue Water Navy status in long term would have serious implications on maritime security in Indian Ocean Region. Conventional asymmetry will embolden India to further strangle Pakistan’s water resources. Economic;
Emphasize delinking trade including East West corridor from bilateral security issues. Oppose CPEC and other mega projects while resorting to sabotage preventing Pakistan from accruing economic benefits. Accuse Pakistan of money laundering and terrorist financing at international forums to economically isolate it. Undermine Pakistan’s export potential by exploiting patent regimes and marginalizing Pakistan in regional trade. Monopolise labour market in GCC countries to seriously affect home remittances of Pakistan.

**Way Forward**

Entangled in regional disputes and internal fissures, the forces pulling India downwards are greater than those pushing it upwards. India is tactically engaged in territorial disputes with neighbours including Pakistan and lacks the astuteness of a big power to resolve bilateral issues. Pakistan has received the major brunt of Indian hegemonic designs but for last 7 decades has not only refused to bow but successfully challenged Akhand Bharat mind set. This perpetual conflict has locked both countries into a competition resulting in asymmetry. India’s position in emerging world order and economic growth has resulted in a misperception that the prevailing asymmetry is also accentuating exponentially. This asymmetry is not likely to accentuate except in conventional military domain. The interplay of evolving environment and Indian power potential warrants an all-encompassing response based on an inside – out approach. Pakistan must reduce asymmetry through introspective corrections of our internal schisms or the proverbial “We need to put our own house in order” while concurrently implementing a national strategy hinged on a well-crafted blend of foreign policy and Full Spectrum Deterrence capability in order to safeguard our national security, maintain strategic stability and deter any kind of aggression from India.

**Inside Approach**

Important measures to address issues affecting Pakistan internally are; National Pride; Promote nationalism by instituting clear national vision supported by sustained political commitment by following measures; Re-kindle an atmosphere of hope and revive national spirit by marginalizing socio-ethnic, linguistic, provincial and sectarian fault lines with an aim to render them completely irrelevant. Integrate media for building national morale, strengthening national will and grooming the future leadership. Develop and promote super narrative to garner national cohesion and resolve not only against the adversities but also to promote national values. Celebrate national days and events with fervor to reinvigorate the national spirit. Governance; Important measures suggested are; Check and control corruption through strengthening institutions of restraint. Ensure merit, transparency and accountability. Implement political reforms with focus on electoral process. Reform bureaucracy through comprehensive transformation aimed at quality recruitment, training and career progression. Reform criminal justice system for timely dispensation of justice to the people. Strengthening and de-politicization of state institutions which must be led by the national leadership. Internal Stability; Capitalizing on the consensus developed in the aftermath of APS Peshawar incident, vigorously pursue implementation of National Action Plan with focus on; Operationalization of NACTA to enhance interagency coordination and capacity building of civil LEAs. Coordinated action against terrorists, their sympathizers, financiers and abettors through comprehensive investigation, prosecution, witness
protection and conviction by the Courts. Mainstreaming FATA including socio-economic and political reforms while taking ongoing operations in Karachi to logical conclusion. Discourage media from glorifying terrorists and sub nationalists. Launch media assisted de-weaponisation campaign. Economy; Being the most important element of power, measures to improve the economic profile of country are; Timely completion of China Pakistan Economic Corridor and vision 2025 through effective implementation and monitoring mechanism. Increase revenue collection by federal and provincial governments through broadening tax base, reforming tax collection institutions and eliminating tax exemptions culture. Inclusive growth of industrial and agricultural sectors for increased contribution to GDP and large scale employment. Overcome energy crisis by exploring indigenous resources including Thar Coal and hydro power potential and pursuing projects like TAPI, IPI and CASA 1000 to achieve sustainable development. Focus on Small and Medium Enterprises for employment opportunities and expansion of exports and remittances. Human Resource Development, Measure suggested are; Requisite focus on education by enhancing expenditure on education to at least 3-4% of GDP. Curriculum review and standardization throughout the country. Enhance technical and vocational training scope to increase skilled labour force. Focus on development of Science and Technology, R&D and higher education sectors. Implement Madrassa reforms and integrate its graduates into mainstream.

Outside Approach

Foreign Policy; Enhance Pakistan’s global relevance through pursuance of aggressive diplomatic policy, forging sustained relations built on mutual interest and contributing towards peaceful external environment. Measures suggested are; Global and Regional Context; Embark upon an aggressive perception management campaign to promote Pakistan’s soft image. Enhance diplomatic space through alliances and participation in regional / global institutions and blocks. Nurture relations with USA while promoting trust in immediate neighbourhood as well as regional matters. Strengthen strategic partnership with China through enhanced integration and cooperation on economic, security and defence issues. Continue forging friendly and good-neighbourly relationship with Afghanistan promoting reconciliation. Strengthen strategic relationship with Iran built on mutual trust and sustained partnership in economic and security domains. Enhance security, trade and development relations with Russia to diversify foreign policy options. While maintaining policy of non-intervention in internal affairs of Middle Eastern countries and neutrality in conflicts between Islamic countries, enhance strong and durable friendly relations in Gulf region. Concerning India; Garner international support for resumption of dialogue with India, without preconditions and with full national dignity. Without compromising on core issues, continue seeking conflict resolution as corner stone of our policy towards India and avoid hostilities. Intensify efforts to proactively utilize UN / multilateral systems to expose Indian proxies, ceasefire violations and human rights violations in IOK and Pakistan. Defence and Security; Most vital aspect, where the accentuating asymmetry prompts a wholesome and well thought out response. Measures suggested are; Coherent articulation of full spectrum deterrence in line with credible minimum nuclear deterrence to offset Indian design of dominance, coercion and war. Implement force optimization through modernization within economic constraints – agile force with better technology and enhanced firepower. Avoid arms race with India. Reduce stress on armed forces by mitigating internal vulnerabilities.
Conclusion; India is one of the largest countries in the world and has the wherewithal to rise. Past seven decades have seen considerable progress on that road and India has come a long way from being an impoverished, underdeveloped third world country to a nation aspiring greatness. Economic growth, military might and global relevance are factors that create the Indian dream but social deprivation, abject poverty, internal conflicts and corruption are nightmares that keep India awake. After studying the construct of Indian Power Potential, Panel is of the opinion that India will continue to experience ebbs and tides in its growth cycle as it always did in the past, hence by year 2030, India will continue to be a relevant but marginal player and possibility of outpacing China to become regional power is remote. Its asymmetry with Pakistan will also continue the same trajectory and is not expected to rise except in conventional military capability domain and diplomacy, which would warrant detailed response as suggested.

AN UNCERTAIN GLORY
(India and Its Contradictions)

“Those who dream about India becoming an economic superpower, even with its huge proportion of undernourished children, lack of systematic health care, extremely deficient school education, and half of its homes without toilets, have to reconsider not only the reach of their understanding of the mutual relationship between growth and development, but also their appreciation of the demands of social justice”

Amartya Sen and Jean Dreze

Endnotes

Abstract

Economy is the strongest factor driving modern nation states. Among other elements, it is propelled by trade and commerce which are heavily dependent on access to international markets. Pakistan is situated at the cross road where south, central, east and west Asia have a confluence. With two giant neighbors like India and China whose economies are being projected as challenges to US, Japan and EU, Pakistan has an intricate challenge to surmount which are both threat as well as an opportunity. Out of estimated 600 billion, 20 - 25% of Indian trade would be affected through land route and the most realistic route to CA (Central Asia) is through Pakistan. It’s now up to us whether we attain a scavenger’s role for meager benefits or use this opportunity to gain national level economic and diplomatic leverages. The purpose of this study is to analyze the options available to India to reconnect to Central Asian States (CAS) for trade and find out the implications for Pakistan if the access is granted to India through Pakistan. What are the land routes criss-crossing Pakistan? What are Indian options to connect to Central Asia? How can Pakistan benefit from the web of the routes for trade through its territory? Are we in a position to assert our stance and compel India to resolve long outstanding issues? If so, then what should be our strategy to achieve our national objectives? The importance of regional economic interdependence is obvious due ease of connectivity by multiple means. This fact although understood but difficult to implement in Indo-Pak scenario due multiple factors. The willingness of both countries to cooperate would let the region out of poverty and many other social evils as well.

Introduction

Central Asia (CA) is the core region of the Asian continent and stretches from the Caspian Sea in the west to China in the east and from Afghanistan in the south to Russia in the north. CA is comparatively less populated but geographically, vulnerable to extremism and terrorist activities. The vast area, scarce population and abundant resources (Fig.1 & 2)\(^1\) demands a very careful approach in dealing with the ever energy hungry world. Central Asian Republics, individually and collectively, moved to forge “multi-vector” links with states in the region and outside while maintaining their traditional ties to Russia. Russian ally India with population of around 1.1 billion is the world’s second most populous country and ranks fifth in the world in terms of primary energy consumption, accounting for about 3.5 per cent of the world’s commercial energy demand.\(^2\) With a GDP growth rate of around 8%, India is currently one of the fastest growing economies of the world. The future levels and patterns of energy use (Fig.4)\(^3\) in India therefore have important implications. Involving CA states is a smart solution considering its location that is close enough. In addition, these are developing
countries that have potential for considerable resources and require cooperation in exploration. India has been making all out efforts to persuade Pakistan for utilizing the most beneficial/preferable land route to CA via Pakistan.

Pakistan would have to weigh economic versus security concerns and take a viable decision to allow India or otherwise the use of land route through its soil to CA. In fact, Pakistan’s foreign policy, since its very inception, has been conditioned by two interrelated factors, i.e., the fear of India and an urge to seek a strategic balance with India. Pakistan has always tried to project itself as the only country that can stand up to India in the region. International players like US, China and Russia are equally involved in the region to continue to exert their influence in any energy related deal for their interests in the outcome of the “new great game”.

Central Asia

Central Asian States consists of Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. It covers an area of approximately 4,000,000 square kilometers; its population is about 55 million people. Russian withdrawal from CAS gave rise to host of security problems without any security manager to look after that. The region had to grapple with domestic insurgencies, cross border terrorism, growth of militant Islam, drugs and gun running, etc. these problems coupled with poor governance issues made the region fertile for outside intervention in form of big power revelries.4

### Economic Data CA Republics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Area (Sq Km)</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Density / Sq km</th>
<th>GDP %</th>
<th>Indian Trade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kazakhstan</td>
<td>2,727,300</td>
<td>15,408,161</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>$74 M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyrgyzstan</td>
<td>199,900</td>
<td>5,346,111</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>$22 M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tajikistan</td>
<td>143,100</td>
<td>6,727,377</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>$21 M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkmenistan</td>
<td>22,100,843</td>
<td>4,977,386</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>$53 M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uzbekistan</td>
<td>447,400</td>
<td>26,900,365</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>$79 M</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure.1 (http://www.slideshare.net/IPPAI/access-to-central-asian-energy-resources-for-asian-consumers, assessed 28 Dec, 2014)
CA Resources

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Petroleum (1000 Bar/Day)</th>
<th>Gas (Billion Cu Ft)</th>
<th>Coal (Million ST)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kazakhstan</td>
<td>811</td>
<td>314.3</td>
<td>82.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyrgyzstan</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tajikistan</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkmenistan</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>1642</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uzbekistan</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1109</strong></td>
<td><strong>3950</strong></td>
<td><strong>86</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2 (http://www.slideshare.net/IPPAI/access-to-central-asian-energy-resources-for-asian-consumers, assessed 28 Dec, 2014)
The Geopolitical Framework

Today, the phrase “New Great Game” is used to describe modern geopolitics in CA and the competition between various extra regional and regional powers for influence, power, hegemony and profits in CA. The region has world’s biggest reserves of untapped fossil fuels, estimates range from 50 to 110 billion barrels of oil, and from 170 to 463 trillion cubic feet of natural gas (Fig. 5). Engagement of CA is essential to Indian economic security to fulfill the future energy requirements. America is interested in various oil and gas export routes. The map of various pipelines and their capacity is given in (Fig. 3). High-level delegations of major powers visit the region frequently to discuss the issue. US favor TAPI for economic dependency of regional powers on each other, minimizing the chances of conflicts and maximizing the cooperation as well. It would fulfill the future energy demands of India and Pakistan both at much cheaper rate enhancing the economic activities in the region. Russia is cautious by the U.S. presence in Afghanistan and its interest in CA States. That is why Russia prefer Iran-Pakistan-India pipeline (IPI) over TAPI and has offered to finance the projects. Pakistan due to its links with both, central and south Asia, assumes great significance in the whole scenario. Its importance can enhance manifold, would it successfully play a bridge state role through mutually beneficial trade and by providing easy access to these landlocked states.
The relations between India and Pakistan have been volatile with respect to most issues. Trade between India and Pakistan is at the moment a paltry $2.7 billion, not counting the shipments routed through Dubai, but the two governments are targeting to raise the volume to $6 billion a year. Businessmen think it can hit $10 billion if the restrictions are lifted. Indo-Iranian trade has been growing steadily with bilateral trade reaching around US$12.896 billion. With the development of Chabahar port and the 200
kilometer North-South Corridor (Fig.6)\textsuperscript{8} linking Uzbekistan, Afghanistan, Iran, and India, the future trade in this area is potentially destined to grow but at a higher cost along with more time due longer sea and land routes. Figure.6: North-South Corridor

Implications of North / South Route\textsuperscript{9}

India is mostly dependent upon oil from gulf but is deeply interested in exploring the energy reserves of CAS. Apart from the availability of alternate energy source the CAS are likely to be potential market for Indian heavy machinery, tea and pharmaceutical products as well. The North / South route provide alternate to Indian trade with CAS but at higher cost as compare to the route through Pakistan. The availability of route through Pakistan is largely dependent upon the relation between India and Pakistan which keeps fluctuating from bad to worst and hardly get normalized for very brief periods at times. The future energy compulsions and economic demands of India are likely to determine the fate of these routes.

India

Indo Russian historical ties paves the way of strong relations with newly emerged CAS, which were the centre of concerns for most of the regional and international players for strategic and economic gains. India is likely to remain committed to CAS for future economic and strategic gains.\textsuperscript{10} Any progress in relation with CAS is deeply rooted with the stability and security concerns of the region in general and CAS in particular. VNSAs in and around Afghanistan are the major source of concern for the whole world in general and the region in particular which is likely to have greater impact on the future of the region’s economic and geostrategic outlook. India needs to play a balanced role in the overall situation for the betterment of the region and its own
interest as well. The competing interests of the great powers have to be weighed and given due importance for stability in the region and avoid chaos. “India’s engagement in CA has been transformed under different official frameworks of “extended neighborhood”, “immediate and strategic neighborhood” and “look north policy”.

Establishment of military bases in CAS since 2002 near the border of Afghanistan indicates the level of strategic cooperation and interest of India and has connotation for Pakistan’s security concerns especially under the prevailing environment of trouble from the western border of Pakistan with likely Indian involvement. India would have to rethink their strategy in the region to gain the access to CAS energy resources for its future needs that are going to be increased 95% by 2030. India is currently the largest regional donor to Afghanistan spending over $2 billion in reconciliation since 2001.

It has opened seven Consulates in Afghanistan and has signed a strategic partnership agreement with Afghanistan aimed at strengthening economic and security ties. These activities have greatly amplified Pakistan’s fear of encroachment by India. Creating unrest in FATA and Baluchistan is part of the Indian design of sub conventional war against Pakistan. The current global environment suggests that US is likely to tilt more towards India to look after her interests in the region. India is likely to remain neutral as far as relation with Russia and US are concerned with requisite links for own interests with US. India seems potential counter balance to china in the eyes of US but is likely to focus on her own economic progress more instead of becoming a US puppet. Pakistan’s role in GSAVE is likely to force international players to rethink their position to give Pakistan its due share in the regional economic and strategic milieu. Moreover the access to CAS for India is mostly dependent upon the stability of Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Trade within Regional Countries

The Indian trade with CAS is just about $500 million due difficulty in direct connectivity despite various policy options of India regarding CAS to cooperate in the fields of political, economic and cultural domains. Number of dialogues held with these states indicates the level of interest by the Indian government and business community in particular. While addressing the SCO Summit held in June 2012, India’s External Affairs Minister, S.M. Krishna said that India always valued “the fact that most SCO member countries are our neighbors, or belong to our extended neighborhood, with a strong historical and cultural legacy of centuries binding us together”.

A glance at the combined performance of the South Asian countries reveal that for a population of about 1.65 billion, they have a GDP of about 2.27 trillion US dollars and a per capita income of about 1299 US dollars, which is marginally above the figures for sub-Saharan Africa, which is about 1255 US dollars. The average poverty ratio, defined very liberally by most of the countries, remains above 22 percent (Fig 13&14). The external debt situation for most countries remains quite worrisome. Due to rising inflation the food security situation has turned for the worse in most of the countries in the region with huge number of people below the poverty line. Due to low level of regional trade and commerce, they are unable to pool their resources together to meet these challenges in a cooperative fashion. There are so many economic complementarities that they tend to overlook in their desire for unilateral response to such adverse situation. Sometimes, in times of crises, they are compelled to cooperate briefly but lose the strand soon after
they overcome the crises. Presently the Indian trade with regional countries especially Central Asian States is limited but likely to expand with the opening of the land route through Pakistan.

China and Russia are fully capitalizing the potential of CAS due their proximity with these states but India is likely to be dependent on Pakistan and Afghanistan for this lucrative opportunity to fulfill her needs of energy and economic progress so dearly desired. The time is running out to claim her share of the pie. The Indian relation and bilateral trade with central Asian states and Pakistan is briefly discussed in subsequent paragraphs.

![Graph showing world regional trade](image1.png)

**Figure 13.** World Regional Trade

![Graph showing SA poverty](image2.png)

**Figure 14.** SA Poverty
India – Pakistan Trade

Besides accelerating their own trade Pakistan and India have the potential to expand the regional trade exponentially within short span of time. Both can link CA and Europe in the North West and South Asia and Far East in the south east by establishing East-West corridor. The two could achieve bilateral trade of $12 billion within five years if the restrictions are minimized in a pragmatic manner by both the countries. The connectivity has enhanced the trade volumes of European, ASEAN and North American countries. The amount of share in regional trade of various regions of the world is good example for understanding the linkage (Fig.13). SAFTA may be considered an area of high hopes in order to enhance bilateral and regional trade. Present Indo Pak trade volume is touching US $2.5bn.¹⁶

Regional / American interests

Russia, China, and US want to have an influence in the region, but in their own ways in order to better look after their individual interests. China has already established foothold for its energy concerns and exploitations for marketing her goods. General Liu Yazoo of the People’s Liberation Army has described CA as “the thickest piece of cake given to the modern Chinese by the heavens”.¹⁷ After the disintegration of Soviet Union the Chinese trade has increased 100 times to reach $46 billion in 2013.¹⁸ China is “certainly going to change the infrastructure-economic-trade landscape in the region,” says Joshua Kucera, a freelance journalist. China is only promoting economic interests in CAS instead of political influence at present.¹⁹ Her only anxiety is the Taliban gaining power in Afghanistan; however it provides development aid to the country supporting construction of hospitals and schools as well as other reconstruction projects. US want to utilize CAS for maintaining the desired environment in the region around these states by manipulating the flow of energy and trade among various countries of the region. She would like to have reasonable control to exploit her interests.
around the region that is not stable at present. US presence in Afghanistan also demands effective influence in the CAS to obtain desired degree of freedom and at the same time curtailing others options if so desired to promote her interests in the region.\footnote{20} Cost of Afghanistan war is beginning to significantly hurt the U.S. economy. Spending on the war has increased from $4.4 billion to $6.7 billion per month.

**Search for Energy Routes and Economic Links**

Well being of people of any country is largely dependent upon the availability of energy resources and their regular supplies for sustaining desirable economic growth especially so for countries with enormous demographic potential. Indian demographic explosion is forcing India to search for alternate energy resources against the fast depleting local potential. After China India is the most energy hungry country in the world. China has already made tremendous progress by laying gas pipe lines from CAS to China, whereas India is still finding it difficult to make any meaningful contact with CAS for the said purpose due regional instability in general and relations with Pakistan in particular. Indian efforts to forge better relations with the CAS are the reason for its tremendous energy requirements in future. India will have to depend on China or Pakistan to connect to CA for its energy concerns. India has planned two routes, east-west route and north-south route in case of non-availability of route through Pakistan. The north-south route is via Chabahar port of Iran. Iran and India consider Chabahar would counter Chinese planning at Gwadar port and extend economic influence in CA and Europe. Both India and Iran are in agreement with Afghanistan to provide preferential treatment to both Indian and Iranian goods to CA and Europe via Afghanistan. The Indian government has completed 215 km road at $750 million in 2009 from Zaranj to Delaran, providing easy transportability from Chabahar to Afghanistan. Both parties are skeptical of each other intentions regarding development at Gwadar and Chabahar due geostrategic impact in case of conflict and liberty of action and curtailment at the same time. Although the north-south route (sea & land) with full facilities is yet to be materialized but is likely to be expensive and time consuming as compare to the land route through Pakistan.

China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) would link Gwadar with China (Fig.17). Chinese idea of Asian highway and U.S. idea of new Silk Road are gaining gradual acceptance. It appears that both sides are looking to connect the remote part of Asia to generate economic activities for various reasons. The North-South route would be alternate to East-West route along with other purposes to fulfill (Fig.18). However the changing US tilt towards India and Iran is likely to make the situation hazy for some time, but ultimately the cheaper solution is through Pakistan land route and not via Iran for India. By finalizing the nuclear deal with US and west Iran is trying to finish international isolation along with creating space for geo-strategic and geo-economics concerns at global as well as regional level.
The expansion of region-wide commerce across CA will have major geopolitical consequences. First, by fostering economic progress and social stability within Afghanistan and CA it will help remove once and for all what both China and Russia perceive as a major security threat of dominance of U.S. in the region. CA will be able to choose whether to export its cotton, oil, gas, and manufactured goods through Russia or through the South, and will choose the cheapest alternative or mix of alternatives. Firms like Russia’s state-controlled Gazprom may still play a role, but they will do so as competitors and not as monopolists. New routes to the South will also open vast new prospects for trade and contact with South and Southeast Asia, and open the CA to
investment from India and beyond. These links will go far towards balancing the complex political pressures to which Afghanistan and the countries of CA are currently subjected to. The regional trade benefits by developing 52 various potential corridors to link CA to sea ports in Iran and Pakistan were studied. Majority of these roads would link to Pakistani ports (Fig.19&20).\textsuperscript{21}

160% was the calculated increase in the regional trade where as 113% was the increase in combined transit trade. Apart from this the export and import among the participating countries would enhance considerably as well. The total growth was estimated to be $5.9 billion with 5% GDP growth annually. The participating countries would enjoy enhanced employment of 1.8 million jobs at combined nominal investment of less than $5 billion for the entire region. Considering the unemployment in the region CA and participating countries would benefit the most.
Figure 22, New Delhi - Dushanbe (CA) (1844km, 24 hrs)

Figure 23, New Delhi - Mumbai Route (1451Km, 20hrs)
Figure 24, Mumbai – Kandahar (1568 km, 20 hrs)

Figure 25, Amritsar - Kabul (900km, 10hrs)
800km over sea (02x Days) + 2830 km (Chabahar-Dushanbe) Route 95 and M-37 Consumes 36 Hours (1.5 Days) = 3.5 Days

After a quick glance at the routes, it is obvious that shortest to CA is through Pakistan via Afghanistan and if that is denied India would have to follow the longer and expensive Iranian route via sea and land, but India cannot use this route given its fluctuating tense relations with Pakistan. The corridor via Pakistan would enable India to reach out to CA at a cheaper rate and much quicker. Pakistan would have to make additional infrastructure and administrative investments to facilitate the activity. The condition of the roads and flow of traffic would have to be regulated for security and safety concerns. Last but not the least any trade or flow of energy from the region would be largely dependent upon the security situation in Afghanistan as well. Economic security has become a matter of national security; hence the trade activity of the route through Pakistan would bring in tremendous benefits for Pakistan economically, enhancing national security as well.
Cost benefit analysis of routes

It is obvious from the figure 27 above that route via Pakistan would cost US$ < 1 per Km, whereas the route via Iran would cost US$ > 2 per Km. Apart from cost the route through Pakistan would also be efficient with respect to time saving, since time is money as well. Additional time and effort would be saved due lesser loading and unloading required while following the route via sea. The above cost benefit analysis is compiled with the help of various freight companies’ agents.

Pakistan

Pakistan’s geography has been its greatest benefit. Pakistan is located at a junction which has great political, economic and strategic potential. The political and internal unrest in Pakistan and Afghanistan have been the hurdle in engaging CA positively despite willingness of all who came in power in both the countries. The competing interests of the regional and global powers also compromised the Pakistani efforts to enhance the relations with CAS. “The presence of US and NATO forces in the region has implications for inter-state relations particularly US-Russia ties. Two factors most likely to sway the foreign policy of the CARs are potential economic benefits and getting rid of the extremist elements linked to the Taliban and Al Qaeda”. Pakistan did improved its image by siding US in GWOT and offered facilitation in trade and security.
to CAS in order to gain some foothold in these states to counterbalance Indian influence there, especially so after 9/11. CAS provides multiple opportunities to Pakistan in terms of trade and energy resources to name a few, CASA 1000 and TAPI and raw material/manufactured goods trading opportunities.\(^{24}\) The nature of bilateral relations with these states is evident by frequent visits of high-level officials to Pakistan but the main hurdle is the uncertain situation in Afghanistan. The abundant resources of CAS provide cheaper energy alternate. The prospects of trade and tourism with these states are also the areas of cooperation for promoting the regional and bilateral ties. Despite ambiguous situation in Afghanistan Pakistan is still interested to keep CAS engaged for future prospects as and when the situation normalized. Pakistan strategic interest is to see the establishment of a peaceful, stable and friendly government in Afghanistan. Pakistan always reiterated its desire that any peaceful solution to Afghanistan problem should not destabilize Pakistan. Commonality of interest between India and Pakistan demands better understanding of each other to fully exploit the regional trade potential. At the same time both should not be exploited by any third party due vested interests.

**Economic Implication**

Pakistan would be a hub of economic activity or roundabout for trade in the region by providing links in the form of ports, pipelines and land routes to facilitate at the domestic, regional and even at the global level. Apart from the economic benefits, it would also act as much needed perception management tool at all level. The MOU between Afghanistan, Iran and India would facilitate India in gaining links with these countries and CAS. However, the cost of economic activity through Iran and Afghanistan would again force India to pursue for the only viable and cheaper route through Pakistan. However, If the route is denied then India would still continue with their economic activity at comparatively higher cost through Iran. Pakistan on the other hand would not only lose revenue through trade and transit fee but would suffer diplomatically too by not generating goodwill amongst CARs. By denying or not allowing Pakistani land for transit, India would gain tremendous support from CA countries, Iran and the world community at large. India would also gain diplomatically for her stance on Kashmir, Siachin issues and the effort for a permanent seat in United Nation. Additionally, engaging India would provide added advantage in recovering the Pakistan economy with lesser effort by liberalizing the trade deals, as well as “economic reform agenda program with the IMF”\(^{25}\) that emphasizes trade ties with India.

**Security Implications**

The major threat to Pakistan’s sovereignty is from the eastern side by India. Indian military presence in Tajikistan, Afghanistan and her defense cooperation with CA States has great security implications for Pakistan. Pakistan could face a threat from the western and northwestern borders also. In case the region remains unstable, the threat of terrorism and refugee crises would continue to haunt Pakistan’s future in any case.\(^{26}\) Thus Pakistan has to walk a very tight rope and do the balancing act to safeguard its interests in the region. Indian involvement in Baluchistan and FATA needs to be manipulated wisely in our own interests while talking trade through Pakistan. More Indian involvement in Pakistan economically is likely to improve the security
apprehensions not only on our eastern border but on the western front too. However to achieve this, Pakistan will have to ensure fool proof security arrangements for transition of containers and the personal. Ensure no unwanted goods or personal are off loaded en route. Reliable system to be implemented for entry and exit, Sealing containers, surveillance and surprise checks to ensure no unlawful activities. Tracking system may be introduced to track the vehicles from entry to exit. However if the route is denied, then Pakistan is likely to have security issues due covert activities in various part of the country by anti state actors supported by foreign elements and would be difficult for Pakistan to have continuous surveillance on her borders. The current energy crisis of Pakistan may ultimately lead to compromise on national security issues as well if not handled timely by prudent planning. Allowing India the route would pave the way of security and progress in the economy as well to meet the future needs and survive honorably. TAPI with $2 billion and power projects of worth $500 million are being reconsidered to expand the options among the regional countries in general and Pakistan in particular to fulfill its energy demands.

Political Implication

Pakistan seeks close political relation with CA; however, due to growing Indian influence in CA, ongoing war on terror, political instability and continuous security issues have degraded Pakistan’s position in the region. Though Pakistan is gaining success in the WOT on politico-military ground and would help in creating better relations with CA. Pakistan is losing her strategic depth due to Indian influence in CA and Afghanistan.\(^{27}\) Indian covert support to the militants in FATA has created a great unrest both in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Also Indian support in developing road infrastructure in Afghanistan to support the Afghan and CA trade via Iranian port (Chabahar) is an effort to look for an alternate to Pakistani denial of the land route to CA for India. Provision of land route would stabilize the politico-economic situation as well. Pakistan needs to involve India for concrete confidence building measure (CBM). Gas Pipe line and trade for India through Pakistan would reduce the chances of future conflict also due to common interests. Any progress in trade would improve the link with china as well. Discussion, visits, understanding each other stance and the policy of give and take is the way forward.\(^{28}\) We shall find ways to end the present deadlock with India amicably in order to normalize the relation and proceed further for better future of our next generations. Although many Indians wants tougher stance towards Pakistan from Indian government especially the nationalist Modi led newly elected one but would be a wrong notion to diffuse the already heated relationship between the historically arch rivals like India and Pakistan. Despite sudden up and down warmth in relation, especially since Modi took over the leadership of India, the things seems to be improving gradually and all Indians needs to view this optimistically for change of heart in the Pakistani mindset for betterment of the region in general and India Pakistan in particular for durable peace process at least if not eternal peace that might be the outcome of such consideration on the part of both the countries and region as well”.\(^{29}\)

The current Indian government needs to consider the prevailing situation of GSAVE seriously instead of reacting to various events on ad-hoc basis that is likely to strengthen the scheme of terrorists. Both the government must not play in the hands of
the non state actors or any other suspicious force to fall in to the trap of avenging each other on public demand, rather act rationally in the betterment of the region ensuring safety, security and better future prospects for the people of the region aspiring for honorable living.

**Conclusion**

Historical animosity and hatred have been hindering the relationship strength between India and Pakistan along with CAS to some extent due cold war memories. The new great game is being played in the region; both India and Pakistan should play their part wisely for the betterment of their people. CA, the future source of energy to the world is likely to be of interest to the world in general and the regional players in particular. With resurgent Russia and US the great game is resetting to control the CA. India wants transit rights and interested in TAPI. India has made new routes with collaboration of Iran to access CA. The Indian influence in Afghanistan must not be at tangent to Pakistan interests in order to pave the way forward for ensuring the availability of the most desirous and efficient route for future economic needs that would facilitate the Indian progress as regional and ultimately global power. The status of global / regional power would be more easily achievable by enhancing cooperation rather than confrontation.30 The historical misunderstandings and culture of grievance in the region is holding the cooperation at bay but the modern realities and examples in the world are likely to convince the two countries to cooperate. The nuclear overhang would enhance the chances of cooperation instead of confrontation due its horrifying impact in case of escalated violence. Due to number of age old events of diplomatic exercises to diffuse the tension, it’s quite likely that two would be able to find some solution in near future as the status quo cannot be maintained for long due demographic explosion demanding compulsion of economic progress at much faster pace forcing the regional countries to cooperate for sustaining peace, stability and future needs of the people.31 The likely democratic stability in Pakistan with positive change of heart in the military is the ideal timing for Indian political leadership to strengthen bilateral relations to go beyond routine diplomacy to capitalize on economic potential of the region including Pakistan and CAS for the much needed benefit of India alone as she would benefit the most.

**Recommendations**

Keeping in mind the advantages / disadvantages and implication / repercussions, following are recommended for the betterment of the region in general and Pakistan in particular. Pakistan should engage India diplomatically, while gaining confidence of own people, and evolve measures for confidence building between the two states by enhancing people to people contact with a forward looking policy. Pakistan must use regional and international forums in order to develop trust to enhance economic and political cooperation by sharing the confidence of the friendly countries. Security and safety of trade route be ensured by formulating SOP’s agreeable to all stake holders. Pakistan must ensure all safeguards in place regarding security concerns and diplomatic compulsions in order to gain strength from the route in the long run. Foregone in view Pakistan must allow trade to transit through its land for regional stability, better
relation and economic gains by both the neighbors providing peaceful coexistence to the people of the subcontinent.

Endnotes

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PART – II National Security Issues

- CPEC: Prospects, Opportunities and Challenges
- Information Operations (IO) in Pakistan, Challenges and Way Forward
- Climate change and its Impact on Pakistan (Including HAARP)
CHINA PAKISTAN ECONOMIC CORRIDOR (CPEC):
PROSPECTS, OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES

Dr. Imtiaz, Brig Salman, Lt Col Kamal, Lt Col Shamraiz & Col Al Hinai

Abstract

CPEC is a project which is called with several names and references by different stake holders. For example, it is a “Game Changer” in Pakistan, “A Flagship Project of OBOR Initiative” for Chinese and sceptically “String of Pearls Strategy” for Americans. While China and Pakistan consider it of great economic dividend for the region, India and American nexus view it as a direct threat to their interests. Even, inside Pakistan there lies many ambiguities about its details and several doubts about its success. Which route will be developed first, how much Chinese investment will arrive, which sector will be benefitted more, who will control the incoming investment etc. Looking at our unimpressive history of governance another question arises regarding our capacity to benefit from this opportunity. Security is another huge challenge to the success of project. The turmoil in Afghanistan, fragile writ of government if Baluchistan and FATA again raises genuine doubts about the safety of project. India has kept no secrets in declaring its opposition to the project so, it will fully exploit fault lines in Pakistan to sabotage the project with USA backing it covertly. Besides these challenges, the benefits are so huge that Pakistan and China are progressing on the project with full thrust. This article attempts to highlight all aspects related to CPEC and analyses it dispassionately to offer some valuable recommendations in the end.

Introduction

The Silk Road, stretching across deserts, grasslands, and mountains, linked the royal dynasties of China with Europe for many centuries. To expand their power and influence deep into Asia, the Chinese made much use of the thoroughfares. Today, China is undertaking a huge project, One Belt, One Road (OBOR), to re-create those ancient trade routes and the political and economic clout that came with them.

CPEC is a mega regional project and a component of “One Belt, One Road (OBOR)” initiative by China. With a total Chinese investment of US $ 46 billion, this huge infrastructure project is intended to join Western China with Gwadar Port through a road and rail network, comprising eastern, western and central routes. It is planned to be completed in 15 years involving projects of energy, road and rail infrastructure, Special Economic Zones (SEZs), and development of Gwadar Port. Highlighting the significance of this Corridor, Chinese Prime Minister Li Keqiang stated “We hope to create a giant economic corridor that would not only enhance China’s strategic significance but would also help in restoring peace and stability to Asia”. CPEC is a project of regional connectivity that would link China with Afghanistan, Iran, Central Asia, Middle East, African Continent and the Arabian Sea. This is significant for Pakistan as it would pass through its entire North - South length which carries huge prospects and opportunities. CPEC is a comprehensive project of regional connectivity in line with the Vision 2025 of the Government which was approved with consensus of all provincial governments. The size of ‘investment’
under CPEC will equal the cumulative gross FDI inflows into Pakistan since 1970 and it can be a game changer for the people of Pakistan. The succeeding parts will attempt to crystallize the prospects, opportunities and challenges that Pakistan faces in implementation of CPEC before offering recommendations.

**Concept, History and Plan of CPEC**

CPEC Concept: CPEC is flagship project of Chinese OBOR initiative that aims at transforming geographic contiguity into an economic opportunity by connecting Western China with Gwadar through a corridor based on roads, railways and energy pipelines while enhancing economic potential of China and Pakistan.

Historical Context: Bilateral trade and commercial links between the two countries were established in January 1963, when both signed the first bilateral long term trade agreement. Both countries signed Free Trade Agreement (FTA) on 24 November 2006. Gwadar Port, opened for operations in 2007, was transferred to China’s state-owned China Overseas Ports Holding in February 2013. The idea of linking Gwadar with China was initially given by President Pervaiz Musharraf in 2006; however, no substantial head could be made. CPEC was proposed by Chinese Premier Li Keqiang during his visit to Pakistan in May 2013, resulting in establishment of CPEC Secretariat in Islamabad on 27 August 2013. In April 2014, during visit to China, Pakistan Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif discussed further plans of the project with Chinese Premier Li Kequiang. In November 2014, Chinese government announced to finance Chinese companies to build energy and infrastructure related projects worth US $ 45.6 billion in Pakistan as part of CPEC followed by signing of the agreement on 20 April 2015.

Components of CPEC: CPEC envisions establishment and construction of following planned components in Pakistan; Energy sector (coal, hydel, wind, solar, LNG and transmission). Transport Infrastructure (road, railway, aviation). Gwadar Port (Gwadar City and allied component development). Industrial cooperation (Gwadar Free Zone and other industrial parks in Pakistan). Other planned facilities development (construction of portion of Karachi-Lahore Motorway, laying of optical fibre line, Orange Line Metro Project, Lahore).

Phases and Timeline: Completion of CPEC is spread over a 15 years plan comprising four phases are; Early harvest projects completion by 2018. Short term projects completion by 2020. Mid-term projects completion by 2025. Long term projects completion by 2030.

Financial Outlay: Financial outlay for planned components of CPEC are as under:-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ser</th>
<th>CPEC Component</th>
<th>Cost (US $ Bn)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>Energy Sector Projects</td>
<td>33.793</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>Transport Infrastructure</td>
<td>7.190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>Gwadar Port related projects</td>
<td>0.622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>Other projects</td>
<td>4.044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td>Total cost of CPEC projects</td>
<td>45.629</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Energy Sector Projects: CPEC envisions construction and operationalization of Energy project worth US $ 33.793 Bn thus injecting 17045 MW of electricity in the National Grid.1 Energy Sector projects are planned as under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ser</th>
<th>Projects</th>
<th>Capacity (MW)</th>
<th>Cost (US $ Bn)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>Priority Projects</td>
<td>10400</td>
<td>15.506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>Actively Promoted</td>
<td>6645</td>
<td>18.287</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Priority Projects; Total 15 energy early harvest projects are as under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ser</th>
<th>Type of Project</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>MW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>Coal</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>Hydel</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>Wind</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>Solar</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10400</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Actively Promoted Projects; Total 8 mid-term energy projects are as under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ser</th>
<th>Type of Project</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>MW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>Coal</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>Hydel</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>Wind</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>Transmission Line from Mitiari to Faisalabad and Lahore</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6645</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Infrastructure Development. Infrastructure development projects worth US $ 11.324 Bn,2 envision construction, expansion and reconstruction of existing and new roads, railways lines and allied facilities. Routes: CPEC is planned around three major routes; Northern Route, which is common to all routes is runs from Khunjrab to Havlian. Western Route - from Havelian to Gwadar via Peshawar Dera Ismail Khan and Quetta. Central Route. from Havelian to Gwadar via Mianwali, Dera Ghazi Khan, Rato Dero and Khuzdar. Eastern Route from Havelian to Gwadar via motorway, Sukhar, Rato Dero and Khuzdar.

Railways Infrastructure Development; Expansion and reconstruction of existing main line from Karachi to Peshawar (1680 kms, US & 3.65 Bn). Orange Line Metro Project of Lahore (26.1 kms, US & 1.6 Bn). And Havelian Dry Port (US $ 44 Mn). In long term, CPEC also envisages construction of 3 new railway lines, namely; From Havelian to Khunjrab, From Sukhar to Gwadar and from Karachi to Gwadar.

Other Infrastructure Development project included in CPEC are; Raikot - Islamabad Highway (437 kms, US & 3.5 Bn), Multan-Sukkur Section of Karachi - Lahore Motorway (392 kms, US & 2.4 Bn) and Cross Border Optical Fiber Cable (820 kms, US & 44 Mn).
Gwadar Port (Gwadar City and Allied Component Development); Salient aspects for establishment of Gwadar as a future hub of industrial activities in Pakistan are; The Free Zone area of Gwadar shall be custom-free within 30 Kilometers from Zero Point. 20 years exemption from Corporate Income Tax, Stamp Duties on loans acquired, Sales Tax and local taxes. 40 years exemption in import duties and sales tax on all imports for material / equipment required for construction of Free Zone. Provision of common infrastructure and commercial buildings, warehouses, distribution and logistics centres, processing and manufacturing industries. Summary of Gwadar Port projects being undertaken under CPEC are:-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ser</th>
<th>Projects</th>
<th>Cost (US $ M)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>Eastbay Expressway (19 Kms)</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>Gwadar International Airport</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>Construction of Breakwaters</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>Dredging of berthing areas &amp; channels</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>Infrastructure for Free Zone &amp; EPZs port related industries</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>Necessary Facilities of Fresh Water Treatment and Supply</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>Hospital at Gwadar</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>Technical and Vocational Institute at Gwadar</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>622</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Industrial Cooperation: Board of Investment, in consultation with all stakeholders and Provincial Governments, keeping in view the nodes of CPEC (provincial capitals), identified 26 sites from Khunjrab to Gwadar for establishment of SEZs. 26 potential SEZs are planned; Gilgit Baltistan-1, KPK-6, Punjab-7, Sindh-6 and Balochistan-6.

Present Position: National Economic Council has approved current fiscal year’s federally funded development program, which includes 33 CPEC-related projects and Rs. 94.08 billion³ has been allocated in the current year PSDP for the execution of these projects. Distribution is; Road sector - Rs. 56.9 Bn, Energy sector - Rs. 8.3Bn, Port and shipping - Rs. 2.7 Bn, Railways - Rs. 1.0Bn, Other CPEC projects - Rs. 26.2 Bn and Total - Rs. 94.08 Bn.

**Coordination and Supervision of CPEC**

Project Delivery Unit: A project delivery unit has been established in Prime Minister Office to ensure that all components of CPEC are executed as per planned timeline. CPEC Secretariat: To expedite implementation of the project, CPEC Secretariat has been set-up in Ministry of Planning, Development & Reform. Specifically, the Secretariat will; Facilitate, coordinate, monitor and evaluate the program and projects under line ministries. Provide a much-needed platform for multi-sector coordination and a consultative, ‘informed’ approach to trade and
transport reforms and policy formulation. Enhance capacity and provide policy and governance advice to support Government of Pakistan’s transport and energy infrastructure modernization agenda in the context of regional connectivity. Enable the related Ministries to use innovative modes of implementing and financing projects and tap modern sources of financing. Provide secretarial services for procurement of sector specialists for each sector (railways, roads, ports, power and trade projects and the required technical experts).

**Joint Cooperation Committee (JCC)**

To expedite, facilitate and oversee designing, development and implementation of the projects within CPEC, both China and Pakistan have constituted Joint Cooperation Committee (JCC) at Ministerial level and Joint Working Groups (JWGs) on transport, Energy, Gwadar and Planning. All plans and projects of CPEC are discussed in the JWGs and then recommendations are made to JCC to finalize the plans. JCC is co-chaired by Vice Chairman NRDC, China and Minister for Planning and Development, Pakistan. Existing arrangement of JWGs is:-

Security; A comprehensive security mechanism, incorporating all stakeholders including Army, federal and provincial LEAs and other relevant agencies, has been configured to ensure fool proof security of Chinese staff employed on projects under CPEC. Security apparatus has been configured; National Level, provision of security is a subject of the provincial government, however, National Crisis Management Cell is responsible for provision of security to the foreigners at national level through National Foreigner Security Cell, which works in coordination / consultation with Provincial and District Foreigner Security Cells. Provincial Level, the provinces have constituted Special Protection Units (SPU) for protection of foreigners; Punjab; A SPU comprising 1000 personnel already exists, whereas, an additional police force of approximately 5000 recruits is undergoing training for the purpose. Sind, Balochistan and Khyber Pukhtunkhwa (KPK); Sind has a SPU comprising 500 personnel while other provinces are also raising respective SPUs for their provinces.

Special Security Division: This has been raised for CPEC; Raised, in 2015. Commander, Major General ex Pakistan Army. Troops, 3 Composite Brigades with 3 Infantry Battalions each and 6 Civil Armed Forces Wings (CAF). Strength, Approximately 15,000 troops. Task, Provide, coordinate and monitor security of Chinese on government sponsored CPEC projects. Monitor and advise other LEAs including private businesses in coordination with NCMC and Ministry of Interior.
Security Coordination: A Joint Working Group (JWG) on security coordination has been established at federal level, which will also work in tandem with provincial and district level monitoring committees. Federal Security JWG has following organization:

1. Chairman - GOC SSD
2. Representatives
   - Ministry of Foreign Affairs
   - Ministry of Interior
   - NACTA
   - FIA
   - Immigration Department
   - Additional Secretary, Ministry of Law

Control and Reporting Mechanism

3. Security apparatus will work under Article 245 of constitution of Pakistan and ATA 1997 (Amended).
4. Will have intelligence sharing mechanism with all intelligence agencies of the country including NADRA interface.
5. Will be assisted by all departments.
CPEC OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES

Strategic Context: Over the past several decades, Pakistan’s strategic environment has been marked by super power rivalry, foreign interventions, intra-regional conflicts, unresolved political disputes and rising tide of extremism and terrorism. However, with the growing emphasis on geo-economics, regional connectivity and economic interdependence Pakistan has emerged as an important conduit for economic potential of Central Asia, South Asia, South West Asia and China. China’s growing emphasis on ‘win-win cooperation’ through regional connectivity, announcement of OBOR initiative and establishment of Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) have attracted many countries to benefit from the tremendous economic opportunities offered by these initiatives. CPEC being a part of OBOR initiative also offers many opportunities to Pakistan and other countries in the region. However, the implementation of this project poses numerous external and internal challenges to Pakistan which will have to be tackled to derive maximum benefits from this Corridor.

Opportunities

Opportunities for Pakistan: Energy Sector Development; in supply of electricity, Pakistan ranks 133 out of 142 countries. According to future energy projections, current gap of 6000 MWs between supply and demand will increase to 8000 MWs by year 2018. CPEC will plug this gap by producing 10,400 MWs by December 2017 and another 6,645 MWs thereafter. In existing primary energy mix of Pakistan, the share of coal is only 6%, while that of thermal sources (oil and gas) is 81%. Heavy reliance on thermal sources is causing a loss to foreign exchange for import of oil besides depleting our natural gas reserves. CPEC will improve energy mix by producing 13,005 MWs electricity from coal, 1,000 MWs from solar and 350 MWs from wind. The share of coal will increase to 48%. In the long term, generation of electricity from coal and hydropower projects and reduced reliance on thermal sources will bring down the price of electricity, making it affordable for consumers and industry.

![Exhibit 1.2 - Primary Energy Mix (FY 2013)](image)
Infrastructure Development; In terms of overall infrastructure, Pakistan ranks 119 out of 142 countries in Global Competitiveness Index and World Economic Forum has identified the inadequacy of infrastructure as the most problematic factor for doing business in Pakistan. CPEC is expected to benefit Pakistan hugely. Road Network; Pakistan’s existing road density is 0.32 kilometer per square kilometers, which government wants to double by year 2025. CPEC will add 829 kilometers of roads in existing network and contribute in realizing this vision. As of now, Main Highway N-5, which connects Karachi with Peshawar via Lahore, carries over 55% of traffic. On completion of CPEC, three parallel road networks will distribute traffic load, improve connectivity and sustain huge traffic flows. Development of north-south road network will also enhance the prospects of east-west routes to connect South Asia with Central Asia, which will enable Pakistan to benefit from transit fees. Railways; With 7,791 kilometers of railway track and 8 inland dry ports, Pakistan Railways has only 10% share of passenger traffic and 4% of freight. However, upgradation / reconstruction of ML-1 will help in overcoming excessive delays mainly resulting from poor infrastructure. Construction of Havelian Dry Port will enhance the capacity of freight handling. In the medium to long term, construction of Gwadar-Karachi (700 kilometers), Gwadar-Sukkur (1048 kilometers) and Havelian-Khunjrab (652 kilometers) railway tracks will help in developing a separate freight corridor. Gwadar Port; Bulk of Pakistan’s imports and exports are handled through Karachi and Port Qasim. Cargo handling load has increased three times in last one decade but Pakistan’s container port traffic (1.93 million 20 feet equivalent units) is still very low in the region. Operationalization of Gwadar Port will create new opportunities. Development of port infrastructure will increase container handling capacity and earn huge revenues. Cluster of projects will transform Gwadar into a leading port city and attract foreign investments into planned SEZs at Gwadar. Gwadar Port will become a catalyst for development of Makran Coast and unlock its potential for tourism and development of fisheries industry. Gwadar Port has the prospects of becoming a future economic and energy hub if IP and TAPI are extended to Gwadar. Port will also enhance regional trade between South Asia and Central Asia. Transit trade fees, foreign exchange inflows from regional trade and tourism would bring prosperity to Balochistan and help in addressing provincial grievances. Due to its close proximity to Sea Lines of Communications (SLOCs) originating from Persian Gulf and Strait of Hormuz, Gwadar as an operational Sea Port, will provide strategic leverage to Pakistan vis-à-vis other countries in the region.

Industrial Growth; Industrial sector contributes 20.30% in Pakistan’s GDP. However, it has been badly hit by energy shortages in the last one decade. CPEC can potentially revitalize the industrial sector. Electricity-intensive industries of textile, leather, rubber and plastic will start operating at maximum capacity when energy shortfall has been met in year 2018. Investment in road infrastructure and increase in flow of Chinese goods to and from Pakistan will benefit Pakistan’s trucking sector and related small industries. Railroad infrastructure will connect 100 existing and 26 new SEZs to own urban areas and Chinese market. 26 SEZs planned to be developed along CPEC routes will open up previously unconnected regions of Pakistan and help in development of mining, food processing, energy, livestock and agri-based industries. Foreign Investment; On completion of CPEC, improved energy situation and enhanced economic activity will attract investors from all over the world. A recent Moody’s report also suggests that CPEC would be a “credit positive” for Pakistan and will provide much needed foreign investment. Labour Market;
CPEC related infrastructure development projects and SEZs will create thousands of jobs for the youth. Increased demand of labour for SEZs will result in vocational skill development and improvement in human resource. National Integration; CPEC, centered on four provincial nodes (provincial capitals) and three North to South alignments connecting every province, will potentially addresses concerns of provincial politics. Agreement on alignments of Corridor is in itself a strong indicator of national unity and integration. Increased economic activity will help in socio-economic uplift of less-developed regions like FATA, KPK, AJK, Gilgit Baltistan, South Punjab, Thar and Baluchistan. Defence and Security; In the long term, CPEC will make China a real stakeholder in Pakistan’s stability and security. Enhanced defence and security cooperation between Pakistan and China will address the issue of strategic imbalance in South Asia and help in dealing with non-traditional security threats.

Opportunities for China

CPEC offers opportunities to China are; direct access to energy supplies from North Africa and the Middle East, which has immense geo-political advantages as it reduces China’s vulnerability from its growing dependence on shipped fuels especially through the Malacca Straits. It will bring transportation costs significantly down to one-third of the current levels. Even if China were to use CPEC only for 50% of its oil imports, it will save around US $ 6 million every day, almost US $ 2 billion every year. China will also gain by saving on its containerized traffic costs as half of Chinese exports are destined to Western China. CPEC will help in development of China’s Western provinces, which is critically important to reduce simmering ethnic tensions and extremism in Western China. Gain from growing Eastern orientation of Russia and emerging cooperation between Russia and China. Benefit from Iran’s future integration with international community, a process that has already begun. Especially linking of Iran Pakistan Gas Pipeline with Gwadar and subsequent export of Iranian gas to China has huge prospects.

Opportunities for Regional Countries; CPEC has the potential to become a game-changer for the prosperity of entire region. Central Asia; CPEC provides an alternative energy route to Central Asian States (CAS). Extension of proposed Turkemistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) pipeline to Gwadar enhances the prospects of export of Central Asian gas to other countries in the region. Connectivity of Central Asia with Gwadar also offers them the opportunities for regional trade and integration. South Asia; The economic corridor will play a crucial role in regional integration of 'Greater South Asia', which includes China, Iran, Afghanistan, and stretches all the way to Myanmar. Success of CPEC will demonstrate Chinese commitment towards other connectivity projects and convey a message to other South Asian countries such as Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Nepal to derive maximum benefits from Chinese OBOR initiative. Iran; Iran has responded positively over the proposal to link IP pipeline with China. Iranian integration will help in creating regional stability. Afghanistan; The country’s oil, gas, and mineral resources, if explored and exploited, can trigger an economic boom which will then require sea routes, for which access through Gwadar will become an imperative.
Challenges

External Challenges: United States, US have not reacted to CPEC publically. However, in the recent past, US expressed its apprehensions that China was attempting to enhance its strategic influence in Indian Ocean Region (IOR) by following a ‘String of Pearls’ strategy, which also included access to Gwadar Port. Therefore, US concerns about Chinese influence in IOR and US strategic partnership with India can become a potential challenge for CPEC. Afghanistan, Success of CPEC is linked to stability in Afghanistan, which is not likely to materialize without convergence among multiple stakeholders at global and regional levels. Iran, Despite Iranian willingness to participate in CPEC, Iran will strive to develop Chabahar Port as a competitor to Gwadar by possibly seeking help from India. Credibility of Chinese Companies, There are strong apprehensions about success rate and quality of Chinese investments. This is evident from delay in Neelum-Jehlum Hydropower Project and Nandipur Power Project.

Internal Challenges: Domestic, Lack of apolitical approach by the government can create inordinate delays. Legal anomaly related to integration of Gilgit Baltistan can lead to another controversy. Economic Aspects, Success of SEZs is linked with progress in other areas, which are; Timely establishment of SEZs, Improvement in condition of domestic economy, Availability of markets for exports and Protection of industry against influx of cheap Chinese goods in local market would leave a negative impact on domestic production and might render domestic industries uncompetitive especially automobile, steel and textile industries.

Internal Security: Region-wise vulnerabilities include; Balochistan, Baloch sub-nationalists pose the key threat in Gwadar and the coastal belt. TTP and sectarian militants have minimum presence in this region, however, Baloch sub-nationalists can carry out low intensity attacks targeting the CPEC-linked installations and infrastructure and workers besides attempts at kidnappings. Sind, The level of threat is medium in Karachi and very low in interior parts of Sindh. With the presence of large numbers of militant, sectarian extremists and criminal elements in Karachi, there is a probability of attacks on engineers and workers of the CPEC-related projects and also security personnel deployed to provide security to the project sites and workers. Incidents of kidnapping cannot be ruled out in Interior Sind. Punjab, Criminals and members of banned organisations taking refuge in remote areas of Southern Punjab can target CPEC related projects. KPK, Threat to CPEC in this region is low because Hazara Division of KPK is relatively more secure and safe from militancy. However, supporters of Taliban from Mansehra can pose a security threat to workers and engineers associated with the CPEC.

Administrative and Capacity Issues: The ultimate success of CPEC will depend on government’s ability to put up an effective mechanism for execution of this project. Some of the shortcomings include; Absence of an institutional mechanism for implementation of CPEC and effective public-private-sector entities. Absence of legal framework, custom policies and trade regulations between Pakistan and China for facilitation of business community. Considering the prevailing inefficiency in Pakistan Railways, mere up-gradation of Karachi-Lahore Railway Route would not bring any substantial benefit for CPEC unless efficiency in management and quality of human resource is improved.
Environmental Factors; Karakorum Highway (KKH) is susceptible to natural calamities like quakes and slides. Massive landslide that led to creation of Attabad Lake in January 2010 and submergence of a portion KKH is a relevant example. Khunjerab Pass remains closed from November to May each year due to heavy snow.

Analysis and Conclusions

Analysis

Political: Global, The ongoing confrontation between China and US is likely to negatively impact CPEC, wherein US and its regional allies may attempt to reverse the Chinese gains. Given the opportunities of CPEC, US would help in materialization of CPEC. Increased cooperation between China and US for implementation of CPEC can potentially ease out the tensions resulting from US rebalance to Asia policy and strategic partnership with India.

Regional: India, Indian problems are complicated by lack of regional integration and East-West connectivity and India considers Pakistan as a threat to its interests in the region and beyond. Strategic partnership between Pakistan and China further enhances Indian security concerns. India has following specific concerns about CPEC; It will affect India’s long cherished dream of regional economic supremacy and hegemony. CPEC will afford Pakistan a key position in regional trade without having acceded to Indian regional hegemony. Development of road and railway infrastructure can facilitate Pakistan in resource mobilization. Afghanistan, CPEC will entice Afghanistan for improved relations with Pakistan leading to greater economic integration and interdependence. However, long term economic cooperation is linked to stability in Afghanistan and elimination of Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) leadership which continues to operate from Afghanistan. Iran, Iran’s support to CPEC bodes well for Pakistan as it will enhance mutual interdependence and bring stability to the region. Domestic, internal stability is crucial to execute CPEC and derive its term benefits. Without internal stability, continuous provision of security would dilute the economic benefits of CPEC. Commitment of Leadership, Political leadership of both China and Pakistan is on one grid to make CPEC a success. Statement of Chinese Prime Minister “We hope to create a giant economic corridor that would not only enhance China's strategic significance but would also help in restoring peace and stability to Asia” bears testimony to this fact. Public Support and Political Ownership, CPEC is not a standalone project. Under the 7th pillar of Pakistan Vision 2025, Pakistan government has planned to modernize transport, infrastructure and regional connectivity. Other stakeholders including non-governmental organizations, media, researchers and academicians also support this project and term it a game changer. Comprehensive Maritime Security, Gwadar Port will attract intense traffic flow which would necessitate comprehensive maritime security measures. This would require capacity building of the existing naval assets, maritime security agency and naval marines’ elements deployed at Gwadar.

Economic

Economic Outlook of Pakistan; Present situation of the economy and future outlook are important to execute the CPEC. The economy has stabilized in recent years and there is an upward trend in GDP growth. Recently concluded fiscal year
growth is recorded at 4.24\(^7\) which is highest during last seven years. Future outlook is encouraging as it is planned to achieve above 7 percent growth over the medium term due to positive impact of CPEC. Funding Arrangements; The greatest strength of CPEC is the capacity and willingness of Chinese Government to fund this project. Besides, the Government of Pakistan in current year’s PSDP, included 33 CPEC related projects and Rupees 94.08 billion have been allocated for execution of these projects. Positive Impact of Energy Projects; In a study carried out by Asian Development Bank in 2013 on effect of energy shortages on economic activity in Pakistan it was revealed that Pakistan suffered losses of 2 % of GDP each year\(^8\). It is worked out that Pakistan suffered a loss of Rupees 478 billion in FY 2014-15. By pursuing energy initiatives under CPEC this loss per annum will be overcome. Employment Opportunities; It is worked out that the initiatives of energy and transport sectors under CPEC will generate additional employment opportunities due to which the overall employment opportunities in the country will increase and unemployment percentage will decline overtime. Infrastructural Base; CPEC is not being initiated in a vacuum. Rather, it capitalizes on a sizable infrastructure of railroad and ports already present in Pakistan. CPEC will further enhance the trade potential of existing infrastructure. Negative Impact of Additional Loans; Pakistan’s external debt stands at approximately US $ 51 billion. An addition of US $12 billion due to CPEC will increase this to US $ 63 billion, which is 24% increase in the existing level. This amount has to be returned and will cause additional strain on the annual budget due to debt servicing.

Social

Organizational Strength; Synergy between PM office and PMU on monitoring and implementation of projects holds key to success of CPEC. Local Labour; Experience of Chashma III and IV projects suggests that Chinese do not follow the contractual agreements. In these projects twenty percent labour force was agreed to be from Pakistan but it was not implemented. The share of local labour in the projects should be determined from the outset and made legally binding for Chinese to follow in letter and spirit.

Technological

Technological Base and Vibrant Human Resource; Pakistan has developed sufficient technology level in the construction and housing industry. Public sector construction giants like FWO are already dovetailed in development of this corridor, have sufficient trained and qualified young workers to deal with technical matters in all relevant fields like civil and construction engineering, communications, IT etc. Inadequacy of Transmission Lines; Inadequate transmission and distribution capacity may neutralize the effect of additional 17045 MW of electricity. Ambitious Timelines; Completion timelines of Suki Kinari and Karot hydro-electric projects given in early harvest phase are very ambitious and need to be reassessed.

Environmental Issues

We need to seriously look at the potential negative impact of CPEC to identify the measures to cope with potential damages to fragile ecosystems, particularly in Pakistan’s north, which is home to approximately 5,000 glaciers and dozens of rivers that feed the Indus River, a lifeline to the country’s agro-based economy.
Legal: Under CPEC, Chinese IPPs are investing and will earn profits; however, National Electric and Power Regulatory Authority (NEPRA) will have to regulate tariff rates on sustainable grounds. For facilitation of business community, border management authority and a congenial legal framework, custom policies and regulations between Pakistan and China are required to be framed. Current capacities and attitudes are insufficient. The present judicial system does not possess a mechanism to resolve commercial disputes on fast track basis.

Salient Conclusions

Political: Having a positive engagement with both China and US, Pakistan will be able to play the role of a balancer between the two countries. Long term success of CPEC is not possible without stability in Afghanistan. Internal stability and maritime security are crucial for implementation and sustainability of CPEC. Commitment of political leadership of both countries and wider public support is positive indicator, however, it will have to be supplemented with requisite administrative capacities and continuation on policies. Economic; Future economic outlook, adequate funding arrangements of CPEC, positive impact of energy projects, existence of support infrastructure and a vibrant private sector bode well for implementation of CPEC. However, protection of domestic industry, provision of funds for transmission lines and a suitable debt retirement strategy would be necessary for long term success of CPEC. Social; Effective monitoring and implementation mechanism as well as appropriate contractual agreements for employment of local labour would be necessary. Technological; Inefficiency of state institutions like Railways, inadequate transmission lines, absence of survey of Central Route and unrealistic timelines of some projects can offset the long term benefits of CPEC. Environmental; Concerns related to environmental degradation will have to be addressed for sustainability energy projects. Legal; Provision of a legal framework and strengthening of judicial system are crucial for Chinese investments and business friendly environment.

Recommendations

Recommendations are proffered for timely completion of CPEC and to derive maximum benefits from this project are; Political Domain; Representative of provincial governments should be included in Joint Working Groups to address any provincial apprehensions. Government should create a consensus for early integration of Gilgit Baltistan into the Federation. This would require active participation of Council of Common Interests, movement of a resolution in Legislative Assembly of Gilgit Baltistan and a constitutional amendment by the central government. Diplomatic Domain; Constructive engagement with US to highlight the benefits of regional connectivity and economic development for the region especially for stability in Afghanistan. Seeking US investments in some SEZs may be a positive step in this regard. Using SCO forum, pursue integration of India into a cooperative regional economic framework. Continuation of constructive engagement with Afghanistan for political reconciliation through Afghan-led and Afghan-owned process. Proactive engagement with Iran to restart work on Iran Pakistan gas pipeline when economic sanctions on Iran are lifted. Concurrently support the proposal for extension of this pipeline to China.
Economic Domain

Energy Sector: Timeline of Project, Planning Commission should create an effective mechanism for timely completion of energy projects because delay in implementation will result in over running of cost and success of SEZs also depends on timely availability of energy. Employment for Locals; Government should provide a clear policy to Chinese Companies with focus on two aspects. Firstly, 50% of total workforce should be employed from Pakistan. It would increase our indigenous skill. Secondly, construction work should be carried out on 24 hours on shift basis for maximum employment of labour. Transmission Capacity and Distribution System; Along with generation of power, we also need to consider the transmission capacity and the distribution system to carry power supply to the end users. NTDC and Discos need to take necessary steps. Efficient Energy Technology; Contract with Chinese Companies should include a clause that after 10-15 years they would replace existing plants with better emission control plants available in the market.

SEZs: Constitution of JWG, Joint Working Group for SEZs needs to be formulated by Planning Commission at the earliest to initiate planning and progress on establishment of SEZs. Horizontal Coordination, While planning for establishment of SEZs, BOI should carryout horizontal coordination with JWG of other CPEC components for effective execution and sustainability of these projects. Skill Development, Apart from skill development programmes by NAVTEC, SEZs should have their integral training centres for availability of skilled labour from local community.

Supporting Economic Aspects: Debt Management Strategy, Ministry of Finance should devise a workable and comprehensive strategy for debt management including fresh loans of 11.8 billion dollars in a manner that a suitable balance is maintained in debt retirement and provision of funds for development works. Coordination between Fiscal and Monetary Policy, Monetary and fiscal policies may be executed with better co-ordination to achieve the planned target of 6-7% economic growth over the medium term to provide sufficient economic resources for execution of mega projects like CPEC. Enabling Business Environment, A new legal regime may be introduced including special laws for business disputes resolution. This should be supplemented by establishment of new Commercial Courts for quick settlement of commercial cases. Moreover, BOI should ensure implementation of investment policy with the co-ordination of all stakeholders, to minimize cost of doing business and improve business environment. Monitoring and Evaluation, Maximum benefits may be reaped by strict monitoring of the implementing of project activities. The executing authorities should share financial and physical progress on all component of CPEC with all stakeholders on monthly basis. Export Strategy, Ministry of Commerce needs to take necessary steps to boost exports, which is essential for uplift of the economy and for converting CPEC into a game changer. Security Domain, A comprehensive maritime security plan may be formulated for provision of security to Gwadar Port and its related operations. Maritime Security Agency and Pakistan Navy should build their capacities including the increase in the strength of Pakistan Navy Marines.
Conclusion

CPEC is a comprehensive package of cooperative initiatives and projects encompassing regional connectivity, energy cooperation and industrial development which will result in thousands of new ventures and millions of jobs in the country. Through CPEC, China will also expand its trade and transport links. Gwadar Port will be built as a leading one in the region to serve as a gateway for CPEC. Final Word “It is our faith that when the wheel will start moving on CPEC, growth and prosperity will follow”.

Endnotes

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INFORMATION OPERATIONS (IO) IN PAKISTAN CHALLENGES AND WAY FORWARD

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Abstract

In today's information dominated environment, Information Operations are vital to National Security. Pakistan is enmeshed in war on terror for more than a decade since 2004. This paper analyses current Information Environment and related IO at the National level in the back drop of IO in support of Operation Zarb-e-Azb to identify the challenges and way forward at National level for domination of Information Environment.

Introduction

Information operations are related to whole spectrum of Information systems that affect perception and behavior of general public and decision makers. The study will identify the domination of information operations in contemporary environment as well as foreseeable future. The information environment will be further deliberated in terms of global and regional threats. After having understood the environment, the study will determine Pakistan's preparedness and response to identified threat. An analysis of efficacy of response and the challenges to information domination will be ascertained before suggesting a way forward.

Definitions

Information Operations; IO constitute Integrated employment of Information Related Capabilities (IRCs) in concert with other lines of operation to influence, disrupt, corrupt, or usurp the decision making of adversaries and potential adversaries while protecting our own. Information Warfare (IW); IW comprises of IRCs employed during conduct of combat operations. Information Environment (IE); Aggregate of individuals, organizations and systems that collect, process, disseminate or act on information. The actors include leaders, decision makers, individuals and organizations. IE rests in physical, informational and cognitive domains. Information Superiority (IS); Operational advantage derived from the ability to collect, process, and disseminate an uninterrupted flow of information while exploiting or denying an adversary’s ability to do the same.

IO Capabilities

Basic IO Capabilities include; Computer Network Operations (CNO), Electronic Warfare (EW), Psychological Operations (PSYOP), Operational Security (OPSEC) and Military Deception (MILDECP). Supporting IO Capabilities include; Information Assurance (IA), Physical Security, Physical Destruction, Counter Intelligence (CI) and Counter Deception. Information Related Capabilities (IRCs) include; Strategic

**Spectrum of Information Environment (IE)**

Global Information Environment (GIE); GIE includes all individuals, organizations, or systems, most of which are outside the control of the military or national command authorities that collect, process, and disseminate information to national and international audiences.

Regional Information Environment (RIE); RIE comprises information infrastructures of the region that link individuals, groups and nations into a comprehensive network within the region.

National Information Environment (NIE); It is the calculus of national information systems, actors including individual groups and national media.

Military Information Environment (MIE); MIE consists of military and non-military friendly and adversary information systems and organizations that support enable or influence a specific military operation.

**Defensive and Offensive IO**

Defensive IO; Integration and coordination of policies and procedures, operations, personnel and technology to protect and defend friendly information and information systems.6

Offensive IO; Employment of offensive tools such as EW, Public Affairs, Psychological Operations and CNO Offensive IO effects include destroy, disrupt, degrade, deny, deceive, exploit and influence6 the adversary.

**Cyber Operations (CO) and Strategic Communication**

Cyber Operations (CO); these are defined as “Actions to penetrate computers or networks for the purpose of causing damage, disruptions or stealing information”.7 Cyber operations has its weapons e.g. computer viruses, logic bombs, malwares and Trojans. CO Threat Sources / Hostile Elements; Hackers, Insiders, NSAs (including VNSAs), Foreign IO Activities and Information Fratricide. Strategic Communication; It constitutes government’s focused efforts to understand and engage key audiences in order to create, strengthen or preserve conditions favourable for the advancement of
national interests, policies and objectives through the use of coordinated programs, plans, themes, messages and products synchronized with the actions of all EoNP.8

Global / Regional Information Environment & Threat

The phenomenon of globalization is largely attributed to advancements in connectivity mediums. The current IE provides level playing field to the nation states, non-state actors and individuals; enables strategic outcomes with minimal information infrastructure. Perceptions are main targets in today’s world.

Negative Perception of Pakistan; Do more mantra’, possible spill of nukes into the hands of terrorists, branding indigenous Kashmiri freedom fighters as Pakistan sponsored terrorists and safe havens for global terrorist networks are the narratives which have been making rounds across the world in last one and a half decade. Spreading Pessimism; Western media presents a bleak view of Pakistan’s economy, law and order and governance. Pakistan’s Armed forces and its intelligence agencies are the primary targets of international media. Pakistan as a Failing State; Websites of international newspapers, blogs and social networking sites continue to project Pakistan as a failing state and breeding ground for terrorists.

Regional Informational Threat – Indian IO Capabilities; the regional threat primarily emanates from India. By virtue of her fastest growing IT industry in the world coupled with military related strides in IT based applications, India is in a position to leverage the power of informational instrument to her strategic advantage. Possible Indian target scan; Will of the people of Pakistan (PSYOP), Civil economic and communication system, Defence related sites, stock markets, banking and telecommunication systems and government web sites and information systems, Operational Command and Control System (OCCS), Military microwave radio systems and EW and surveillance systems, target acquisition and tracking systems.

India’s IO Capabilities

Fast Growing IT Industry; India has one of the leading software industries in the World; with addition of more than 100,000 IT experts annually. Establishment of Training Institutions; Indian government has established number of IT training institutions throughout the country e.g. Microsoft School for Software Technology, IBM School of Computing and Indian Institute of IT. Indian Influence on US IT Industry; Indian individuals occupy key slots in the US Silicon Valley and corporate sector. Cyber Warfare (CW); Indian Cyber War capabilities mainly emanate from her potential in launching Hacker warfare. EW Capability; India has developed a formidable Electronic Warfare capability.

Indian Media; Media & Entertainment industry was worth US$ 17.0 billion in 2014; expected to reach US$ 32.7 billion by 2018. India is the third largest television market with 168 million networks and US$ 7.9 billion in revenue. One of the largest broadcasting industries in the world with approximately 800 satellite television channels, 242 FM channels and more than 100 radio networks.
Cultural Warfare; The hostile media themes of these networks affect socio-cultural invasion and PSYOPs. Indian cultural reach through its media and film industry encompasses South Asia, ASEAN, Middle East, US and UK. They have made ingress into Pakistani channels projecting Indian cultural values.

Media Themes; Our ideological foundations are being targeted through following themes are; Undermine Two Nations Theory, Project Pakistani society as an intolerant/extremist society and Create fissures in Pakistani society.

Integration of India’s National IO Capabilities with Armed Forces. IT Task Force has been set up in collaboration between Armed Forces and IT industry. Tri Services Defence Intelligence Agency (DIA) to coordinate intelligence. Defence Information Warfare Agency (DIWA) up to counter adversary’s propaganda. National Technical Research Organization (NTRO) under RAW, for providing technical and electronic intelligence to Intelligence Bureau and Defence Intelligence Agencies.

IE in Pakistan & Response

National IE (NIE); Information Audience Strata; This picture depicts the information audience of Pakistan on the lines of rural and urban divide, their characteristics and respective information means available. Other important strands of audience include leadership, civil society, academia, sectarian and ethnic gamut. Mushrooming of electronic media in last decade (approximately 175 channels).

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<th>Category</th>
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| Rural (38 %) | • Ssemi Litorate / llitorate  
• Religious Leaning  
• Simple people  
• Poor people  
• Easy prey to propaganda | Radio, State owned TV Channel, Satellite TV Channels Mosque Imam |
| Urban (62 %) | • Literate / Semi Literate  
• Moderate approach to religion  
• Middle / Affluent Class  
• More aware – More access to information  
• Exposed to foreign media | Cable Networks, Satellite TV Channels, Internet, Social Media, Newspaper, Satellite communication Mosque Imam |

Private media; Salient characteristics are resistant to regulation and driven by commercial interests being less considerate to state interests. Talk show anchors are susceptible to exploitation by vested interests. There is ingress of foreign content including that of India. Explosion of channels representing specific shades of religious thoughts. Cross media ownership results in monopolies which masks transparency. Access to electronic media has affected reduction in newspaper reading. Over 31 million internet users with social networking as prime activity. Information systems both public and private are vulnerable to cyber offensive. Lack of awareness about current IO threats is pervasive.
Own IO Potential

National Level; Various ministries and organizations (including Armed Forces) are working on IO. However, these efforts are not synthesized due to absence of any central coordinating agency. The picture shows different organizations working on IO in their respective disciplines. The role of different ministries are; Ministry of Information Technology & Telecommunication (MoIT&T); It is the focal ministry for planning and coordination of IT and telecommunication programs, projects and human resource development. It includes Pakistan Software Export Board, Electronic Government Directorate, National Cyber Warfare Center, Cyber or Computer Emergency Response Team, Center of Excellence, Website Blocking Committee and Cyber Security Committee. Ministry of Information and Broadcasting (MoI&B); It exercises control over state owned media. Moreover, PEMRA (the regulating authority for private media) works under this ministry. Ministry of Information; Committees and wings in the ministry deal with IO; Media Coverage Committee, External Public Wing, Cyber Wing and Press Information Department.

Armed Forces Level; IO Directorate has been established under the Joint Intelligence and IO Branch at JSHQ. Joint IO concept paper is being prepared. All three services have taken significant strides in IO capabilities and have their exclusive IO set ups. Other stake holders like ISI and ISPR are working on IO in their own spheres.

IO in Support of SCW

VNSAs’ IO Strategy- Reverse IO Paradigm; the picture shows the difference between conventional and VNSAs’ IO paradigm. Terrorists attempt to create strategic effects through tactical actions by targeting minds of the people; thus building intended perception. IO by VNSAs in Pakistan; Miscreants use various IO tools effectively. Mullah Fazlullah, (founder of TTP Swat Chapter) top TTP leader, was known by the name of Mullah FM. Terrorists float videos to propagate their message. Moreover, leaflets, use of mosque’s loud speakers, face to face communication are, though primitive yet very effective means. Terrorist websites and use of social media have great appeal for the intended audience. Electronic media unwittingly plays their IO campaign through excessive coverage. Terrorists’ IO strategy follows well conceived narratives to demonize government and law enforcement agencies. Some terrorists’ IO narratives are; Brand Armed Forces of Pakistan as infidels thus justifying Jihad against them. Exploit Pusthun Wali Cultural code which supports asylum and vengeance against any intruders including Armed Forces of Pakistan. Religious sentiments are leveraged citing damage to mosques and madrassas due to Armed Forces’ actions. Equating US invasion of Afghanistan and Pakistan’s Armed Forces entering tribal areas.
Response to VSNAs’ IO Campaign; Of late, Pakistan Army has marginalized terrorists’ IO. A network of FM radio channels has been established from Dir to western parts of Balochistan. These radio channels promote state stance on various issues. These channels have been effective in Operations Rah-e-Nijat and Zarb-e-Azab. Transmitters for these FM stations are used for intercepting terrorists’ radio communication also; providing useful intelligence. Pakistan uses UAVs for reconnaissance and targeting known terrorist hide outs. ISPR portrays the true face of miscreants and precious sacrifices of Armed Forces. Armed Forces’ narratives IO are; Islamic identity of state of Pakistan. Promoting tolerance, religious / sectarian harmony, negating the so called ‘infidel’ theme that This is Pakistan’s war not American agenda and that Armed Forces are part and parcel of State of Pakistan.

Analysis of IO in Support of SCW; Peculiar environment of FATA is conducive for terrorists’ propaganda in the absence of virtual state control, culture and religious leaning of populace. US Drone strikes vindicate terrorists’ narratives. Tacit support of politico / extremist religious parties and violent sectarian organizations build perception in favour of terrorists. Miscreants continuously affect IE through regular well planned and skillfully executed terrorist actions supported by IOs; mitigating Armed Forces’ notion of victory in public perception. Their outreach to electronic media and internet connects them with intended audience. Pakistan’s success in Operation Zarb-e-Azab is owing to dissemination of a strategic narrative that unified the nation prior to and during the operation. A re-invigorated national media policy achieved a fair degree of success in marginalizing terrorists’ IO campaign, however, lot needs to be done yet.

Challenges for Pakistan

Challenges to conduct of IO in three dimensions

Physical; Computer hardware; Computer hardware are susceptible to data exploitation. Computer hardware needs to be screened prior to induction. Computer Software; All software including operating systems have vulnerabilities as proven by their frequent updates. Windows open source alternatives like Linux offer better control. Computer Applications; Computer and mobile applications are prone to cyber attacks. Over 90 % paid applications are hacked including Android System. Local applications similar to Chinese model offer better security. Chinese have Baidu instead of Google, Chinese facebook, Youtube and other applications. Information Dimension; Timely information sharing is vital to information domination. Information processing forms the bedrock that sustains IO. Pakistan’s success in Operation Zarb-e-Azab is attributable to concurrent IO prior to and during the operation. Cognitive Vulnerability; Lack of awareness makes Pakistan more vulnerable to IO threats. Terrorists leverage the religious sentiments of Jihad due to religious leaning of the public. Hostile propaganda themes undermine the will of people of Pakistan. This necessitates effective stratcom to counter negative perception building of the country. Different age groups are informed differently. Social media is vital to target the minds of Youth.
Conceptual Challenges at National Level

Battle of Ideas; 21st century battle space is info-sphere and cyberspace. Al Qaeda, Daesh and Taliban propaganda wings have fairly polished productions with multiple subtitles. Indian cultural onslaught is spreading propaganda themes that undermine our social and ideological values. Indian handling of minorities & oppression also need to be highlighted through available IO means. Comprehensive proactive national super narrative can address the vulnerability of our population in such an environment.

Challenges at National Level

Organizational Challenges / Lack of Central Coordinating Body at National Level; Numerous departments are working on IO with no lateral coordination. Need for inter-departmental synergy and coherence for effective IO. Central body along with a think tank can realize the true potential of IO.

Functional Challenges at National Level; Existing IO setups require streamlining the organizational set up so that there is clear demarcation of responsibilities.

Cyber Operations (CO); CO pose credible threat to vital national assets. In terms of offensive CO, watershed event was use of first CYBER WEAPON Stuxnet by US in 2010 that was targeted at Iran’s nuclear program. Security of CRITICAL NATIONAL ASSETS is therefore vital to national security.

Credibility of Media / News channels; State channels / Private channels are not credible as they remain in hurry of breaking news. Reliance on foreign channels for reliable news. In such a situation, media reforms and effective self regulation can lead to more credibility.

Dependence on Foreign Satellite; Pakistan lacks significant presence in space with only PAKSAT 1 working at the moment. In peace commercial interest may not hamper Pakistan’s dependence on foreign satellite. However, Indigenous satellite will be vital to Information Superiority during peace and war.

Legislative Framework; Lastly we need to be aware that legal framework is necessary to counter cyber crime. Lack of cyber laws is adversely affecting comprehensive national security due to extensively vulnerabilities.
Way Forward

Organizational Plane

National Information Operations Authority (NIOA); It is suggested to be established under Cabinet Division to synergize all IO capabilities with mandate; Integrate the existing IOs related capabilities working in isolation, in various government departments and armed forces. Formulate IO policy weaving all EoNP; monitor and coordinate its implementation and create IO awareness. Ensure screening of hardware and software induction for government use. Synchronize IOs with stratcom for transforming the vision of political leadership into policy framework. Formulate set of rules and regulations driving information and electronics based activities. Steer national IO effort for desired effects in line with national interest.

Inter and Intra Armed Forces IO Synthesis; The Armed Forces to formulate comprehensive joint and services IO doctrines and policies under the JSHQ. The coordination mechanism as shown to be made more efficient in line with the policy framework by the National IO Authority. Capacity Building; Spatial information domain to be further explored. Integration of IT industry, HRD and research and development to keep pace with advancement in technology.

Functional Plane

Promote Public Awareness; The importance of information domain and its exploitation by states and NSAs (including VNSAs) to be brought home to masses through an awareness campaign. Ensuring Cyber Security; We need to create a pool of cyber experts and absorb them in civil and military departments. Information security specialists to be inducted in government departments. Prevention of Electronics Crimes Bill 2015 needs to be made an Act of Parliament at a fast pace. Engaging Media; The concept, importance and implications of IO to be communicated to media house owners, anchors and media persons to check on anti state propaganda themes and sensititize the need to promote national values, harness national cohesion, dispel hostile despondency themes against state/armed forces/government and propagate national ideology. Perception Management; Perception management to be dealt at regional and national levels. Diplomatic channels to put across national narrative. At regional level, specific themes to be developed and used to counter the attacks by the adversary. At national level, Strategic communication to promote super narrative to include all available IO means including social media for wider acceptance. There is need to promote culture, arts, tourism and entertainment industry particularly film, theatre and music. This will marginalize the effects of Indian cultural invasion.
Conclusion

Information Operations are of tremendous importance in the contemporary world. The Information Environment exposes Pakistan to multi dimensional threats. Pakistan possesses limited IO capability, which needs to be synergized. Lack of cohesion, coordination and capacity are the prime issues which need to be addressed at the National level to remain dominant in today’s information environment.

Annexure A

Contemporary IO Models

US IO Model; The development of IO as a major military doctrine in USG can be traced back in early 1980s. With the demise of the Soviet Union and other experiences gained by US forces, US realized the importance of information. To this end, Joint Chiefs of Staff worked on a new strategy on the use of information as a war-fighting tool. Joint Publication 3-13, Joint Doctrine for Information Operations was released on 9 October 1998 by DoD to disseminate the doctrinal principles of conducting IO. The US Air Force, Army and Navy also established similar structures. National Defence University (NDU) created a School of IW and Strategy in 1994. In 1996, the course was replaced by short duration courses to wider audience that till 2003. Another joint course known as Joint IW Staff & Operations Course (JIWSOC) on IW is also run at NDU’s Joint Forces Staff College (formerly the Armed Forces Staff College in Norfolk, Virginia).

US Strategic Command (USSTRATCOM); USSTRATCOM, set up in October 2002, is one of nine US unified commands under DoD. It is the command and control of US Strategic Forces, military space operations, information operations and strategic intelligence assessment. Its mission is “Establish and provide full spectrum global strike, coordinated space and information operations capabilities to meet both deterrent and decisive national security objectives.”
US CYBERCOM Organization

In May 2010, Pentagon set up US Cyber Command (USCYBERCOM), headed by General Keith B. Alexander, Director of National Security Agency (NSA), to defend American military networks and attack other countries’ systems.

National Security Agency (NSA); It is an intelligence organization, responsible for global monitoring, collection, and processing of information and data for foreign intelligence and counterintelligence purposes – a discipline known as signals intelligence (SIGINT). NSA is concurrently charged with protection of U.S. government communications and information systems against penetration and network warfare.

UK Model: UK Armed Forces have a joint IO doctrine, Joint Warfare Publication 3-80 titled “Information Operations” published in June 2002. Salient aspects of their IO doctrine are; IO are defined as “Coordinated actions undertaken to influence an adversary or potential adversary in support of political and military objectives by undermining his will, cohesion and decision making ability, through affecting his information, information based processes and systems while protecting one’s own decision-makers and decision-making processes”. IO are planned and conducted within overall framework of information campaign outlined by the government’s policy.

Cabinet Office duly assisted by Cross-Government Working Group (CGIG) provides strategic direction and objectives for information campaign, based on national objectives. Ministry of Defence (MoD) plans and directs military activity in two parts: Media Operations and Information Operations (IOs) within an overall Information Campaign. The coordination is done through Defence Crisis Management Organization (DCMO). At the operational level, JTF (Joint Theatre Force Command) is responsible for IO; Joint Commander provides direction within the context of the information campaign. Defence Intelligence Staff (DIS) carries out analysis to support the conduct of military operations including IO. The direction for military contribution to government activity is issued in Chief of Defence Staff (CDS) Directive. IO as an annex to this directive contains information campaign objectives, themes along with Master Information Campaign Messages. Based on CDS directive and DIS input Contingency Planning Team at PJHQ carries out military strategy estimate and refines Master Information Campaign Plan. EU has set up ENISA (European Union Agency for
Network and Information Security) which is headed by Prof. Udo Helmbrecht and there are now further plans to significantly expand ENISA’s capabilities.

UK has also set up a cyber-security and "operations center" based in Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ). GCHQ is a British intelligence and security organization responsible for providing signals intelligence (SIGINT) and information assurance to the British government and armed forces. GCHQ operates under the formal direction of the Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC) alongside the Security Service (MI5), the Secret Intelligence Service (MI6) and Defence Intelligence (DI). GCHQ is the responsibility of the UK Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, but it is not a part of the Foreign Office and its Director ranks as a Permanent Secretary. Sigint missions comprise mathematics and cryptanalysis, IT and computer systems, linguistics and translation, and the intelligence analysis unit. Enterprise consists of applied research and emerging technologies, corporate knowledge and information systems, commercial supplier relationships, and biometrics. Corporate management is enterprise resource planning, human resources, internal audit, and architecture.

Endnotes

5 Leigh Armistead, Information Operations (Virginia: Brassey’s, Inc., 2004), 66.
6 ibid, 112.
9 Survey by Express Tribune- 2014.
10 US Naval Post Graduate School California Article by Norman Emery and Rob Earl on ‘Terrorist Approach to Information Operations’.
CLIMATE CHANGE AND ITS IMPACT ON PAKISTAN (INCLUDING HAARP)

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Abstract

Throughout its long history, Climate has changed in the past as well but in the last century, another factor has emerged which has influenced the climate: “Human Activities”. Rapid increase in earth’s average surface temperature has affected weather patterns and is becoming a serious threat for humanity itself in a number of domains. Nevertheless, developed world, despite being the major contributor to climate change, is least affected, while countries of the developed world, with meager contributions towards climate change, are in the list of most vulnerable countries. To further complicate the issue, developing world lacks necessary resources, both financially and in technical terms, to do their bit and the developed world is unwilling to even fulfill their agreed-to commitments. Pakistan is among the ten most vulnerable countries adversely affected by climate change. However, the common awareness among people and government’s response towards this issue of national survivability and security is still largely ineffective. The only way to deal with these momentous threats and challenges is through an integrated ‘whole of government’ approach focused on accomplishing the stated goals of National Climate Change Policy.

Introduction

Climate change has emerged to be one of important aspect for the survival of humanity. Despite existence of different schools of thoughts, major world players are now convinced about the impacts of climate change on whole spectrum of human life including security. The poverty and lack of resources of developing countries puts them at a greater risk of victimization in comparison to developed nations having capacity to adapt. However, an effective and universal solution to address the challenge has so far proved elusive. It entails an increase in climatic variability, extreme events and shocks; thus a cause of concern for humanity; leading to a dilemma for world economies to remain watchful of the factors leading to climate change, while continuing to strive for economic growth.

Definitions and Theories

Climate is the average course or condition of weather at a place usually over a prolonged period. It has five components to include: atmosphere, hydrosphere, cryosphere, land surface and biosphere. Climate change is a natural phenomenon which has significant and permanent effects on weather patterns over periods. According to the United Nation’s Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC- 1992), Climate Change is defined as, “A change of climate that is attributed directly or indirectly to human activity that alters the composition of the global atmosphere, and that is in addition to natural climate variability over comparable time periods”. The
earth’s climate has been unpredictable; however, with the emergence of phenomenon of Greenhouse gases (GHGs,) climate change has become more vulnerable. As per findings of the Inter-Governmental Panel on Climate Change 5th Assessment Report (IPCC-AR5), the average global temperature has increased by 0.6°C and is expected to rise further by 1.0°C to 4.0°C by the end of this century. As a result, there will be considerable climatic changes in average temperatures and precipitation patterns, resulting into increased intensity of extreme climate events.

Global Perspective

Global climate change is considered as “the greatest challenge to the world”. The findings of IPCC has confirmed that there is a considerable increase in global temperature and the associated changes in precipitation, melting of glaciers and sea level rise is expected to have considerable influences on various socio-economic sectors and national security.

Global Impact of Climate Change Effects

- IPCC 5th assessment report released in 2014 indicates that global average temperature is rising slowly but persistently with 2014 as the warmest year. There has been a rise of 0.6°C and expected to touch 4°C by end century.
- Satellite data shows decrease of about 10% in the extent of snow cover since the late 1960. 95% of the world glaciers are retreating, including Himalayan, which has projected loss of 29% by 2035. This will alter the world’s ecological system, raise sea levels by several meters and inundate coastal areas.
- Climate change patterns also relate to precipitation, which is evident in varying rainfall frequency and intensity, thereby, heightening the risks of floods. Precipitation has increased 0.5% to 1% per decade.
- Tide gauge data shows that global mean sea level rose between 0.17 and 0.21 meters during the period from 1901 to 2010. Rising sea levels would be disastrous for coastal areas.
- Drought and desertification risks 110 countries; for every 2°C rise in temperature, the drop in agricultural productivity is about 10 %.
- Recent major natural disasters associated to extreme weather include:-
  - 2003 European heat wave killing 70,000.
  - 2004 Eastern India and Bangladesh flood - 3,076 casualties.
  - 2008 Afghanistan Blizzard - 926 casualties.
  - 2010 Russian heat wave - 56,000 casualties.
  - 2015 Pakistani heat wave - 2,500 casualties.

Global Security at Risk

Recently, International Climate Change Taskforce concluded, “If average global temperatures increase more than 2°C which will likely to occur in a matter of decades and if we continue with the business as usual – the world will reach the point of no return”.

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Climate change will fuel existing conflicts over depleting resources. Hence, climate change is best thought of as an aggravating factor in places where some of the characteristic ingredients for conflict already exist.

Reductions by several percent of world gross domestic product (GDP) have been predicted due to climate related costs. It has been estimated that dealing with climate change could cost the world economy up to 20% of global GDP per year. It is also projected that landmass will experience major variations during this century. Due to increase in sea level and submergence of large areas may lead to territorial loss.

Climate change is affecting the livelihood of people leading to forced migrations. By 2050, there will be phenomenal increase in environmental migrants due to climate change.

Overview of Protocols and Regimes

Montreal agreement was signed in 1987 with primary focus on reduction of the ozone depleting agents. Climate change effort was launched for the first time at the “Earth Summit” in 1992 with the signing of the UNFCCC as a first step to a safer future. The UNFCCC now has 195 parties with prime focus on stabilizing GHG concentrations to prevent unsafe/hazardous anthropogenic meddling with the system. In 1995, identifying that this intended goal was insufficient and may not be met. Kyoto Protocol was signed in 1997 with the aim to bind goals for developed nations. Subsequently, eight major international conferences/summits on the climate change have already been held including World Climate Summit 2015, held at Paris in December 2015.

Stance of Major World Players on Climate Change

Where there is a consensus by all developed and developing countries that climate change needs to be addressed at all levels, position on emission / reduction of GHGs is varied due to various factors that arise primarily from their linkage with global economy. Some of these factors include; implications for a nation-state’s economy, industrialization of the developing world, lack of modern energy technologies with developing countries and blaming the developed world for the climate change crisis. Generally, major players have taken varied positions on emission control, environmental protection, sustainable development and sharing of responsibility. Major Powers seem reluctant due to which the global conventions, frameworks, policies and initiatives have been inadequately implemented to a major extent. Salient features of few stand points are as under:-

- United States of America signed the Kyoto Protocol when it was first adopted in Japan in 1997, however, refused to ratify it unless developing countries such as China and India also agreed on legally-binding emissions target.
- China has pledged to cut emissions from industrial growth, but has linked her response with developed countries.
- EU has assured to cut emissions 20% below 1990 levels if other developed nations follow suit to collectively achieve an 80% emissions reduction by 2050.
Global Response

The primary focus of climate effort remains on the reduction in GHGs emissions. Mainly these emissions are attributed to relatively small number of developed countries with 70 and 90% of the world’s population and gross domestic product (GDP), respectively. These countries are responsible for approximately 85% of GHG emissions. However, overall response of many developed countries did not remain positive as they have failed to meet Kyoto Protocol goals. Climate change related goals have recently been modified and approved as UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) – 2030 on 27 September 2015.

Global Trends - 2025

Owing to population growth, 36 countries including Pakistan with about 1.4 billion of populace are projected to become cropland or freshwater scarce by 2025. To address the shortage of energy and use of water for agriculture, the projects like hydroelectric power stations and canals on major rivers will cause serious concerns to downstream countries. As per the estimates of World Bank, 50% increase in the demand for food is also projected by 2030. This is likely to widen the divide between developed and developing countries, resulting into divisive political and religious extremism. Few implications are as under:-

- Climate change is likely to generate severe disruptions with ever-widening consequences for global security. Climate change will further exaggerate already existing social and political tensions or can lead to new ones.
- Politicization of the science of global warming results in clouding of the reality of the problem. Different protocols and regimes will have serious repercussions for developing countries vis-à-vis developed countries, thereby, increasing the potential of division amongst them.
- Climate change could intensify environmental problems and if coping strategies are unsuccessful, the likelihood of effects may extend beyond the global imagination.
- The related global conventions, frameworks, policies and initiatives have been inadequately implemented to a major extent due to varied positions and interests.

Regional and National Perspective

South Asia is about 4.4 million square kilometer in size, 11% of the Asian continent and 3.3% of the land surface with 1.5 billion population. The effects of climate change are likely to result in huge economic, social, and environmental damage to South Asian countries, affecting their growth and poverty reduction efforts. 5th IPCC predicts that;  
- Warming is likely to be above the global mean.
- Climatic changes will have serious implications on river flows, natural hazards, water supplies, hydropower infrastructure and agriculture.
- Increased natural disasters and considerable reduction in crop yield.
Impact on Vulnerable Sectors

- The agriculture is one of the most vulnerable sectors to the effects of climate change with a potential to pose a serious threat to food security.
- The overall rise in Global sea level is projected to be from 0.2 to 0.8 meter by the next century. One meter rise based on smallest predictive model would cause widespread inundation in coastal areas which will affect about 95 million people.
- Climate change will result into higher demand for energy due to higher requirements for heating and cooling. By 2050, the highest gap between energy demand and energy supply due to climate change is estimated to range from 4.2% in Sri Lanka to 31.8% in Nepal.
- Due to changes in intensity of rainfall, the region as a whole will experience water deficit, particularly in South Asia where water deficit will be roughly 300 billion cubic meters (m$^3$) and 400 billion m$^3$ by 2030 and 2050, respectively.
- Under business as usual scenario, the Maldives and Nepal will be the hardest hit with projected GDP losses of 12.6% and 9.9% by next century.

National Perspective

Pakistan owing to its peculiar geography is highly impacted by any change in climate making it one of the most vulnerable countries. Though the smallest contributors to the problem of climate change and can thus be termed as one of the worst victims of “climate injustice”. At present, Pakistan contributes 0.8% of the total global GHG emission and ranks 135th globally.

Climate Change and its effects on Pakistan

- The time series data of area-weighted annual mean temperatures highlighted a warming trend with increase in temperature at the rate of 0.06$^\circ$C per decade in Pakistan.
- Average annual precipitation has increased in Pakistan by 25%.
- The sea level along the coast has been rising at 1.2 mm/year and is projected to continue due to thermal expansion and continuing glacial melt.
- Glaciers in the Himalaya are receding and it is likely that they will decrease significantly by the year 2050.
- The most vulnerable sectors to climate change are:-
  - Water resources and agriculture.
  - Energy.
  - Coastal areas and Marine ecosystems
  - Human health.

Policy Response - Climate Change

Foreseeing the vulnerabilities of Pakistan to catastrophes of climate change, Task Force of Climate Change submitted a report in 2010 that provided initial assessment of the issues. The report became the basis for subsequent response by the government in shape of National Climate Change Policy in 2012. This policy led to broader framework
concerning ways to adapt to impacts of climate changing. However, with 18th constitutional amendment, subject of climate change has been transferred from Federal to Provincial domain which has created void between policy and its implementation due to obvious ground realities like; absence of institutional and human resource capacities both at Federal and Provincial level, inadequate Research and Development (R&D) facilities and capacities of disaster management authorities.

Implications on Pakistan’s National Security

An overwhelming majority of professionals and organizations related to earth sciences have concluded that there are sufficient reasons to believe that climate change is a real phenomenon with serious implications. There may be a school of thought still denying this judgment of science, but none can deny the distressing impact of increased frequency and intensity of climate extremes. Climate change may not be direct reason for a violent conflict; however, it acts as a “multiplier”. In next couple of decades, Pakistan may confront the prospects of food shortages, water crisis and catastrophic flooding. This would have direct and indirect implication on our national security besides raising the prospects of employing military to deal with the effects of violent storms, droughts, mass migrations, pandemics etc.

- As per an estimate by Government of Pakistan, climate change has the potential to cost the economy up to 14 billion USD annually due to natural disasters and losses.\(^\text{18}\)
- Climate change for Pakistan will mean change in the social and political environment, on which the security of individuals and communities rests. Human security issues will further lead to worsening of unemployment, crimes, health, and other social malaise.
- According to the latest statistics available, over 40 million people in Pakistan lack access to water for basic sanitation.\(^\text{19}\) The government expenditure has exceeded one billion USD to fight various health related threats and will keep escalating with the projected climatic changes.
- Droughts, rising sea level and melting glaciers affect the populace and force them to migrate to other regions. The growing pressures over cities because of rural to urban migrations and inter-provincial migrations of people could itself weaken the internal cohesion and undermine security.
- Poverty leading to forced migrations, higher un-employment rate, lack of energy, extreme weather events etc will contribute to adverse law and order situations and will create conditions which are ripe for extremists and terrorists.

Water Security

Snow/glacier-melt and monsoon rains form the basis of water resources of Pakistan. However, both being sensitive to climate change pose a serious challenge. Water security has its direct relation with the food and energy security which impacts overall economy of the country.

- Under increasing population, Pakistan became a water-stressed country at the turn of the century and is on the course to become a water-scarce country with per capita availability less than 1000 m\(^3\)/y by 2035.\(^\text{20}\)
Pakistan’s water storage capacity is decreasing due to silting. This would impact overall availability of water which in turn would affect the production of the hydro-electric energy and crop productivity.

According to International Center for Integrated Mountain Development (ICIMOD) glacier inventory published in 2005, 52 potentially dangerous lakes were identified in Pakistani Himalayas-Karakorum-Hindukush mountain ranges.²¹ Chitral floods of 2015 are the case in point.

Agriculture and Livestock Security

The climate change will have direct implications on crop productivity and livestock and will indirectly impact the food security of the country. The duration of crop growth cycle is related to temperature; an increase in temperature will speed up crop growth and shorten the duration between sowing and harvesting. Resultantly, it will lead to reduced productivity of crops and livestock creating crisis in milk and poultry supplies pushing prices beyond the reach of average Pakistanis.

Energy security

The current electricity demand of around 22,000 megawatts (estimate of 2015) is likely to increase up to 162,000 megawatts by the year 2030 whereas; Pakistan is already facing shortage of electricity by 6000 – 8000 megawatts.²²

Implications on Military / Defence

Melting of glaciers will have a significant impact on our defenses in Northern areas. The incident of Gayari is a grim reminder wherein a massive slide wiped out a complete Battalion Headquarter with 140 Shahadats. The impact of climate change will have to be considered as one of the factor for operations.

Loss of water in river systems is likely to reduce their obstacle value. This may also affect the traditional concept of river corridors. Indian water regulation capability could further aggravate the situation. Because of climate change, water becoming precious commodity may become a tool of coercion leading to a military conflict.

In the absence of a dedicated force structure to manage disasters, military is always the first rescue force in Pakistan. As predicted, the frequency of climate disasters is likely to increase by 60%, and so will be the military’s employment.

Climate Manipulation by HAARP

High Altitude Active Auroral Research Programme (HAARP) was introduced in 1993 and completed in 2007 as a joint collaboration of United States Air Force, United States Navy, University of Alaska and Defense Advanced Research projects agency is focused on study of upper atmosphere, solar physics and radio science. However, the question arises whether the HAARP is a scientific endeavor aimed at studying the properties and behavior of the earth’s ionosphere? Or is it a tool to manipulate ionosphere properties for creating geophysical disturbances to induce disasters and...
controlling minds? In last 6 to 8 years, there have been immense speculations and anxiety within the scientific circles to lend credence to some of the important recent disasters on scientific basis. In this backdrop, HAARP project is being questioned for triggering catastrophes. According to Canadian Professor Michel Chossudovsky, the world’s climate can be modified through new generation of "non-lethal weapons." He opines that super powers have developed abilities to influence the climate by selective destabilization of agricultural and ecological systems through HAARP. Doctor Rosalie Bertell asserts that US military scientists are devising ways and means to enhancing storms and diverting vapor rivers in the atmosphere to produce targeted droughts or floods.

As its application remains undetectable thus far, so following questions still remain to be answered:

- Is HAARP limited to pure scientific research?
- Can HAARP manipulate weather changes?
- Is HAARP capable of triggering earthquakes?
- Is HAARP also involved in covert ventures such as missile defence shield and identification of subterranean environment?

Conclusions

- Extreme climate events will result into unprecedented losses in shape of destruction impacting already fragile economy.
- Climate change will further aggravate the water situation in Pakistan.
- Regular extreme weather events have serious socio economic implications. Availability of food to meet the requirements of growing population will pose a serious challenge.
- Due to climatic change, events such as sea intrusion or extreme weather, migrations will pose serious management issues in addition to unemployment. With increase in climate related risks, proactive approach with resilience through prevention and preparedness, rather than relief and response will be the hallmark.
- Stated objectives of HAARP are apparently benign; however, its potential and suspected functions are wide ranging and have far reaching implications.

Way Forward

Pakistan’s vulnerability is manifold and potential climate change hazards may translate into serious implications on every aspect of human life. Unless addressed, these are likely to assume monstrous proportions, with adverse impacts on national security and wellbeing of people of Pakistan. National Climate Change Policy and Framework lays down laudable policy objectives, however, institutional, financial and infrastructural capacities are extremely inadequate. The requisite political will seems to be amiss, as there are hardly any visible actions to mainstream climate change in the relevant sectors. There is also a lack of coordination on the issue, amongst the Federal and Provincial governments (environment being a provincial subject after the 18th
The subject was devolved without taking into account the capacity of the provinces. The threats posed by climate change raise major survival concerns for Pakistan owing to adverse effects on water, food and energy security. Pakistan remains vulnerable to extreme events, whereas the capacity and state of preparedness of disaster management institutions remains a big question mark. Moreover, awareness about the severity and enormousness of the problem is lacking. Certain steps for better future of Pakistan are proffered ensuing paragraphs.

**Policy Level**

- Climate change be included in Part II of the Federal legislative list through a constitutional amendment. This will bring it on the agenda of the Council of Common Interests, which is a constitutional body and will ensure ownership of provinces.
- Sufficient resources need to be allocated for human resource development and strengthening institutional capacity of relevant stakeholders.
- In order to increase forest cover, strict punitive action against illegal logging and deforestation along with aggressive campaigns for tree plantation are required.
- It is recommended to enhance regional cooperation through different forums available at regional level and bilateral initiatives to develop a unified response. It is also important for all countries to adopt policies for implementation of the decisions concerning environment by incorporating international commitment into domestic laws.
- The government should pursue the matter of getting a due share from the adaptation fund being exclusively dedicated for funding of concrete adaptation activities in developing countries.
- Commission studies to analyze the phenomenon of HAARP in order to be in a position to pre-empt its adverse effects.

**Water Security**

- Water storage capacity be enhanced considerably by constructing dams.
- Efficient irrigation techniques, like sprinklers, drip irrigation and laser lining be adopted. Local rainwater harvesting be promoted and potential of hill torrents be exploited.

**Agriculture and Livestock**

- An agriculture policy, which caters for bringing climate change resilience into Pakistan’s agriculture be formulated and implemented.
- Development of a risk management system through crop insurance, development and provision of quality seeds coupled with awareness programmes for farmers.
- Water and land productivity should be enhanced by introducing new seeds and other innovative practices. There is a dire need to enhance the capacity of existing R&D institutions and assign them the task of developing innovative techniques and methods for adaptation.
Defence Implications

- Develop integrated hazard mitigation strategies and mechanisms for efficient disaster relief management. Improved mitigation measures and actions be developed along with the role and responsibilities of concerned to execute and manage their responsibilities.
- Natural disasters early warning system be strengthened. It should be ensured that all new infrastructures are climate resilient and measures should be taken to enhance the resilience of existing infrastructure.

Energy Security

Efforts be made for development of alternate energy resources such as solar, windmills etc. Focus be laid on energy conservation and efficiency in order to ensure optimal utilization of existing energy resources.

Human Security

- Assess the country’s vulnerability to identify most vulnerable populations and regions to vector borne diseases. All new plans related to health must have requisite budget and training facilities for the staff, particularly, focused on climate change related health hazard requirements.
- Sensitize concerned departments and plan awareness campaign to inform the general public of climate change related health hazards.
- Availability of clean drinking water in disaster afflicted areas by developing mobile water purification plants.
- Strengthen disease monitoring and early warning systems for effective response.

Conclusion

Climate change is a serious and demanding challenge to national and international security. It is not restricted to a particular community or a country rather endangers the Globe. Therefore, a joint effort and contribution by all may yield desirable results to avert its adverse effects. Pakistan alone cannot address the issue; a collective global and regional approach with sincerity of individual states is required. At home, whole of a Nation approach to adapt and mitigate the effects of climate change is obligatory.
Endnotes

2. Joseph L Bast, “Seven Theories of Climate Change”, President, the Heart Land Institute.
4. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
21. Glaciers and Glacial Lakes under changing Climate in Pakistan, Pakistan Meteorological Department.
PART – III Military Strategy

Origin, objectives and strategy of Cold War: Relevance to Contemporary World and prospects of moving towards Colder War
ORIGIN, OBJECTIVES AND STRATEGY OF COLD WAR: RELEVANCE TO CONTEMPORARY WORLD AND PROSPECTS OF MOVING TOWARDS COLDER WAR

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Abstract

Twentieth century was perhaps the most innovative period in the recorded history of warfare with four distinct models for “continuation of politics through other means” to its credit. The emergence of second generation trench warfare during World War I appeared to have constrained the concept of ‘total war’ but the advent of Blitzkrieg perfected this concept with atomic bomb as its ultimate weapon. Nevertheless, destructive power of nuclear weapons heralded the emergence of indirect warfare – the Cold War – a concept hitherto unknown to mankind. Almost half a century down the line, sudden demise of Cold War was a watershed event, which was both unprecedented and unpredicted. Just when the ensuing concept of globalization appeared to have made warfare extinct, came 9/11 - which was more divisive for mankind than any other event in the recorded human history. Although warfare transformed significantly in its aftermath but direct confrontation between nuclear powers still remained a distinct possibility; prompting critics to draw its relevance with the twentieth century concept of ‘Cold War.’

An incisive analysis of these generations of warfare reveal that for its emergence, each new generation required significant changes in the political, economic, social and technological structures of the society and conforming to Edward Luttwark’s observation that, “conspicuously successful military-technical developments tend to galvanize equally successful countermeasures,” character of war has historically remained in a flux – a trajectory it is likely to follow. On the same analogy, an attempt has been made to analyse the Cold War to determine its relevance to the contemporary world while determining the prospects of moving towards Colder War.

Introduction

War is a complex phenomenon with a constant nature and an ever evolving character. As Sun Tzu has prophetically remarked, “And as water has no constant form there are in war no constant conditions”.1 Machiavelli associated this evolution with the revolutionary developments that take place in the social and political spheres.2 The study of various generations of warfare leads us to the fact that development of each new generation of war was evolutionary rather than revolutionary3 and on the same analogy, it can be safely said that Cold War evolved in response to the destructive potential of nuclear weapons and while it is a prevalent phenomenon, it is by no means a perpetual one as future evolutions are bound to transform it. The term “Cold War” was coined by George Orwell in describing the impact of the atom bomb on world politics in October 1945. “We may be heading not for general breakdown but for an epoch as horribly stable as the slave empires of antiquity. The Soviet Union was a state which was at once unconquerable and in a
permanent state of ‘Cold War’ with its neighbours’. The Cold War did not, of course, burst suddenly onto an entirely harmonious world. Some historians date the origins of the Cold War to the Russian revolution of 1917, while most focus on events between 1945 and 1950. As Stalin had remarked, “our main enemy is America. But the basic thrust must not be delivered against America itself”. USA had also harboured pre-Cold War hostilities. Gar Alperovitz in his book, Atomic Diplomacy, has argued that as President Truman knew Japan was defeated, his real motive to use atomic weapons was to coerce Moscow in pursuit of post-war American interests in Europe and Asia. On the other hand, Realist theorists see the conflict as an inevitable power struggle between a conventional land power trying to extend its dominions and an insular maritime power trying to prevent the dominant continental power from gaining hegemony over the Eurasian continental landmass.

**Origin, Objectives and Strategy of Cold War**

US Policy of Containment: The onset of Cold War in Europe reflected failure to implement the principles agreed at the wartime conferences of Yalta and Potsdam. In the West, there was a growing feeling that Soviet policy towards Eastern Europe was guided not by historic concern with security but by ideological expansion and in May 1946, Soviets were forced to withdraw from Iran on UN intervention. A month later, in June 1946, US presented Baruch Plan, which demanded strict inspection of atomic energy installations of UN member states, however, this move was strongly rejected by the Soviet Union. To counter the threat of Soviet expansion, which was augmented by the “Long Telegram” of US ambassador to Moscow, George Kennan and Churchill’s famous “Iron Curtain” speech, Truman administration adopted the policy of containment. The first manifestation of containment policy was US assistance to Greece and Turkey in 1949 to defeat communist forces.

Economic Domain: In the economic domain, on 5 June 1947 US Secretary of State, George C Marshall, announced massive economic aid for all of Europe in his famous Marshall Plan. The Soviets and other Eastern European communist regimes refused aid but when it appeared that Czechoslovakia might accept it, the Soviets installed a Czech Stalinist regime on 25 February 1948. Soviets then initiated their own economic assistance plan, titled the Molotov Plan, which was an attempt to bind the countries of Eastern Europe into a single economic area.

Creation of North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and Warsaw Pact: Challenging the containment policy, Soviets blockaded West Berlin on 22 June 1948. In response, Western Powers formed NATO and invoking Article 51 of the UN Charter, member states pledged that an attack against one was an attack against all. Realizing the gravity of the situation, Soviets lifted the blockade on 12 May 1949 but accelerated efforts to develop an atomic bomb, which they successfully detonated on 23 September 1949, thereby attaining balance of power in the atomic domain. On 1 October 1949, the thirty years long Chinese civil war ended in victory for the communists under Mao Zedong. Considering the situation ripe for a favourable decision, North Korea invaded South Korea on 25 Jun 1950. In accordance with the containment policy, US took advantage of the Soviet boycott of UNSC, over UN failure to recognized Mao’s communist regime, to intervene militarily under the aegis of the UN. In October 1950, Chinese involvement led to a war lasting three years before pre-war borders were restored on 27 July 1953. Bolstered by the Korean
victory and following Stalin’s death on 5 March 1953 Truman’s successor, Dwight D Eisenhower, declared that to win the Cold War, it would be necessary to roll back the Soviets in the Eastern and Central Europe. Likewise, on 12 January 1954, he announced the policy of rollback or liberation as an alternative to containment and complemented it with the nuclear policy of ‘massive retaliation.’ The first major step in this direction was NATO’s approval of West German rearmament and integration of its forces in NATO. As a response, on 14 May 1955, Warsaw Pact was created to lend legitimacy to Soviet domination of Eastern Europe. With it, the Soviets successfully crushed the Hungarian and Polish anti-communism revolts of 1956.18 This Soviet intervention coincided with an attack on Egypt by Britain, France and Israel, precipitated by Colonel Nasser’s seizure of the Suez Canal19 to prevent Soviet penetration in the Middle East. In response to Suez Canal crisis, on 1 January 1957 USA extended its policy of containment to the Middle East. On 10 November 1958, Soviet Union decided to end NATO rights to Berlin and US President pledged to use armed convoys to keep the corridors to Berlin open.

Kennedy’s Policy of Flexible Response: Re-evaluation of US containment policy under Kennedy led to the strategy of Flexible Response,20 which was designed to expand available means for countering communism. Cuban Missile Crisis and Vietnam War: Then in January 1959, Soviets made an unexpected gain in the Western Hemisphere, when Fidel Castro deposed Cuban dictator, Batista and in April 1961, US sponsored invasion of Cuba by Cuban émigrés failed at the Bay of Pigs. This encouraged the Soviets to action and in October 1962, US discovered the secret deployment of Soviet nuclear missiles in Cuba.21 This was the most dangerous moment of the Cold War.22 Soviets agreed their removal after Kennedy pledged that US would not forcibly remove Castro from power. With this deal, Soviets had secured a base of operations in the Western Hemisphere.23 Soviet successes mounted pressure on Kennedy to respond and he did so with an attempt to suppress communism in South Vietnam through US military advisers. The ensuing Vietnam War reached its high point with the Tet Offensive of February 1968. Three months later, on 10 May 1968, US agreed to negotiate with North Vietnam and Vietnam War was to be the last exercise of containment. Unable to carve a politico-military victory, US under Nixon and Kissinger established détente24 with Soviet Union and China and last US troops withdrew from Vietnam on 23 March 1973. In the same year, the Arab-Israel War brought the Cold War to a crisis point. A UNSC sponsored ceasefire went into effect on 27 October 1973 ending the war and yet another superpower crisis.25

Détente: At the end of his term, President Richard Nixon (1969-1974) attempted to halt the decline in US power through a policy of détente with the Soviet Union that included arms control, an opening to China and a reliance on regional allies in the Third World. Failure of Détente: The overthrow of the Shah of Iran in 1979 resulted in loss of an important Western ally although the ensuing Islamic government was hostile to both superpowers.26 In the same year, Soviets invaded Afghanistan and Carter had to declare that US would use force if necessary to prevent the Soviet Union from becoming the dominant power in the Persian Gulf. The Carter Doctrine effectively put an end to nearly a decade of accommodation with the Soviet Union27 and initiated the Second Cold War.
The Final Phase - Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev: In 1980, Ronald Reagan was elected the President of US and he followed a more confrontational approach with the Soviets.\textsuperscript{28} Reagan escalated the Cold War, continued to aid the Afghan resistance fighters, overtly combatted communism in El Salvador\textsuperscript{29} and Grenada,\textsuperscript{30} labelled Soviet Union as an ‘evil empire,’ enticed her in an economically unsustainable arm’s race through the launch of deceptive ‘Strategic Defence Initiative’ (popularly called the ‘Star Wars’) in 1983, deployed US intermediate nuclear forces (INF) in Europe on 23 November 1983 and initiated synergistic exterior manoeuvre in 1985 to strangulate Soviet oil based economy by convincing Saudi Arabia to increase oil production that resulted in the reduction of oil prices to one third. In March 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev came to power. Confronting intractable economic problems at home Gorbachev announced unilateral troop withdrawal from Eastern Europe on 7 December 1988 and initiated sweeping domestic reforms to revitalize the faltering Soviet economy and restore faith in the Soviet political system. \textit{Perestroika} (restructuring) and \textit{glasnost} (openness) were designed to enable Gorbachev to eliminate his domestic political rivals and centralize power under his authority. Without Soviet support, local communist leaders were easily ousted throughout Eastern Europe by the end of 1989 and destruction of Berlin Wall led to German reunification. Outside Europe, Soviets withdrew from Afghanistan on 15 February 1989. In August 1991, Russian Republic President Boris Yeltsin led a popular uprising in defiance of communism and on 25 December 1991, Soviet Union disintegrated bringing a formal end to the Cold War.\textsuperscript{31}

\textbf{Analysis of Cold War}

Cold War impacted all actors of international system and all spheres of human activity with varying intensity in an unprecedented manner and magnitude for continuous forty-six years from 1945 to 1991. The subject is so vast and diversified that it will take volumes for its analysis. However, this paper will attempt to answer some of the most intriguing questions associated with Cold War.

Why Did the Allies Take Divergent Courses Immediately After World War II to Lay the Foundations of a Bipolar World?: Mindful of the numerous invasions of Russia from the west throughout history, Stalin sought to create a buffer zone of subservient East European countries, most of which the Red Army had occupied in the course of World War II. In his eagerness to consolidate Russian influence over these countries, Stalin pursued aggressive policies which provoked strong Western reaction and US worked to contain Soviet Union. Stalin and his successors were convinced that the legitimacy of their rule depended on validating Marxist-Leninist predictions of world revolution. The beginning of the nuclear standoff in Europe, between the United States and the Soviet Union, made it apparent that fomenting revolution in the industrialized, democratic states of the West was either impossible or too dangerous. As a result, Soviets turned their efforts towards exporting revolution to less developed countries. They tended to view all anti-Western movement throughout Latin America, Asia, Africa, and the Middle East through the single lens of Lenin’s theory of imperialism and characterized them all in anti-imperialist terms. US involvement in the third world was more complex as she viewed many of the regimes as anti-American because revolutionary leaders, inspired by Communist philosophy and weary of years of oppression at the hands of capitalist, democratic powers, were often attracted to the Soviet economic model. In consequence, the United States found itself in the uncomfortable position of
opposing nationalist revolutions in order to contain the spread of communism. Consequently, both superpowers remained engaged in expanding their sphere of influence while curtailing that of the other through multiple measures; proxy wars being the most preferred and widely applied mean.

What Was the Prime Cause of Soviet Collapse? This remained the most important question of the 20th century because hardly anybody had predicted such a development. Even few believed it could ever happen peacefully. Both contenders sought political, military, diplomatic, technological and psychological means to unhinge the other but what actually achieved victory was the economic prong of Professor Burnham’s “all sided political warfare”. How did it happen? Control of international commerce yields enormous power and is perhaps an imperative for any superpower. While Britain retained economic pre-eminence through colonies and world’s reserve currency status of British pound; USA attained it through Bretton Woods Agreement in July 1944, which made dollar the world’s reserve currency and US government promised to convert all dollars to gold at $ 35 per ounce. Soon this anchorage of exchange rates to a dollar-gold standard became unsustainable and USA realized that in twentieth century the access to and control of the energy sources is by far the most important way to control international commerce. These sources include natural gas and uranium but the one that matter the most is oil. So in 1971, President Nixon convinced Saudis to make oil sales in US Dollars only and to invest their surplus oil proceeds in US Treasuries. In 1974 Saudi Arabia signed the deal and by 1975, all OPEC members had embraced the petrodollar system. For Soviets, oil was the economic lifeline and it was the US manipulation of oil prices through petrodollar system which brought Soviet Union to its knees. President Reagan leveraged the petrodollar system to increase oil production and cause an oil price crash in 1986 to US $ 30.67 per barrel, which was US $ 104.44 per barrel in 1980. This fall in world oil and later natural gas prices seriously raised Soviet indebtedness, which was further exacerbated by Afghan War and Gorbachev’s weak leadership. The resultant Soviet disintegration was perhaps the most apt example of Sun Tzu’s ‘acme of skill’ and ‘supreme excellence’ leading to a miraculous ‘victory without war,’ where economy was in the lead role and all other factors relegated to a mere auxiliary status.

Despite Being Militarily and Technologically at Par With USA, Why Did Soviet Union Fail To Prevail? In May 1945, George Kennan wrote from US Embassy in Moscow, “by the time the war in the Far East is over, Russia will find herself, for the first time in her history, without a single great power rival on the Eurasian landmass”. As for Russia, she was convinced of having saved Europe from yet another hegemon (Adolf Hitler) after Napoleon and Stalin therefore considered that West should pay the debt by allowing Russia to expand domination to East-Central Europe. This was not acceptable to USA. USA on the contrary had not only emerged victorious out of World War II but unlike the other allied partners; she had emerged economically, militarily and technologically stronger, while being the only country in possession of a war-tested atomic capability. Consequently, any Soviet demand for domination was unacceptable to the US. The essential difference between the Soviet and the Western view of military application during the Cold War was the Russian belief that offense is the best form of defence, both in nuclear and conventional domains. Resultantly, Soviet economic development focused on the requirements of a growing military-industrial complex and by 1980s, Soviet Union was simultaneously a global superpower and a third world country. This imbalance of
Soviet power – a military superpower but an economic dwarf in comparison with the West – is essential in understanding the country's various motivations for economic, political and social reforms during the *perestroika* years. The Afghan War and continuously lowering energy prices finally crippled the Superpower – not in military but in economic terms.

How Did USA Manage to Overtake Soviet Union as the Principal Source of Knowledge Creation? Soviets followed the ‘Iron Curtain’ concept in education as well and kept this field in virtual isolation. The quality of higher education suffered because admission policies preferred entrants from the proletarian class over those of bourgeois backgrounds, regardless of the applicants’ qualifications. By 1980, the percentage of secondary school graduates admitted to universities had dropped to only two-thirds of the 1960 figure and these students hailed from superior cultural background of elite families, who had the power to influence the admission procedures. Resultantly, despite leads in such fields as metallurgy and thermonuclear fusion, Soviet science lagged behind that of the West, hampered in part by the slow development of computer technology. On the contrary, West had the language advantage as British colonialism had significantly contributed in spread of English around the world. So, it was easy for USA to adopt a culture of absorbing bright students from around the world that developed into a culture of knowledge creation. Application of this knowledge propelled the West ahead of the rest in almost all fields of human activity and contributed to the final collapse of the Soviet giant.

What was the Role of Leadership Factor during the Cold War? US leadership came through a well-established democratic procedure after intense intra and inter party competition. Soviet leadership came through personal likings and contacts, where general public did not play any part. US Presidents could serve for a maximum of eight years, which mitigated monotonous policies and induced innovation in policy making process. On the contrary, Soviet Presidents were for lifetime and age factor did induce stagnation in policy formulation. Age and health of US Presidents was a factor considered in their selection which was not there in Soviet Union and within three crucial years from 1982 to 1985, three Soviet Presidents died of medical issues.

**Relevance of Cold War to Contemporary World**

Definition of Cold War; It is a phenomenon between two or more nuclear rivals who undermine and support indirect conflict against the other's interests below the overhang of direct conventional warfare in order to mitigate the risk of nuclear war. Relevance of Cold War; In line with this definition, the phenomenon of Cold War is relevant to the contemporary world. Both Russia and China are in a new Cold War with the US and all three are striving for positions of relative advantage. World Order; The end of Cold War was a watershed event, transforming bipolarity into uni-polarity with USA as the sole superpower. US global dominance had an underlying economic character, where liberal democracy and free trade were considered important norms, as has been articulated in the National Security Strategy, that "*the more the democracy and political and economic liberalization take hold in the world, the safer our nation is likely to be*". Likewise, globalization led to the evolution of post-Westphalian world order, where state and non-state actors within shared global space are operating, thus challenging the traditional
concept of statehood. The manipulation of geopolitical and geo-economic domains during this period was of significance.

**The Divergent World Views**

USA: In the aftermath of Cold War, USA endeavoured to integrate the potential challengers in a variety of partnerships against common challenges and this ‘big idea’ was enunciated on 29 January 1991 by George W Bush (Senior) in his State of the Union Address; *What is at stake is more than one small country; it is a big idea: a New World Order, where diverse nations are drawn together in common cause to achieve the universal aspirations of mankind -- peace and security, freedom and the rule of law. Such is a world worthy of our struggle and worthy of our children’s future.* While this ‘big idea’ or New World Order was still in its implementation phase, there came 9/11 terrorist attacks, which broke the safety track record of forty plus years of Cold War where the homelands of the US or Soviet Union were never attacked. The psychological impact of 9/11 prompted USA to declare a Global War on Terror, where President George W Bush adopted a unilateral approach of pre-emption, stating that, ‘you are either with us or with the terrorists.’ US led invasion of Afghanistan and then intervention in Iraq were seen as part of preventive wars and a new imperialism of America.


Russia: After the disintegration of Soviet Union, Russia emerged as the legal successor, inheriting the former Soviet Union’s permanent membership of UN Security Council. West initially supported Russian efforts to move towards democracy and free market and Russia also remained indifferent or supportive of US engagements until NATO’s involvement in Kosovo, when President Boris Yeltsin stated that, "Russia is deeply upset by NATO's military action against sovereign Yugoslavia, which is nothing more than open aggression". However, this was not enough for domestic public and President Boris Yeltsin was replaced by President Vladimir Putin for not defending the Russian interests. 9/11 provided Russia the opportunity to align with USA in Global War on Terror and eliminate Chechen rebels. Finally, in 2003 – 2004, NATO’s expansion to Baltic and Balkan regions coupled with colour revolutions (Rose and Orange Revolutions) on western border rang alarm bells for Russia as NATO absorbed the buffer zone and reached the Russian western borders. So during the 2008 Russo-Georgian War, Russia recognized the breakaway provinces of South Ossetia and Abkhazia of Georgia as independent states.

China: During the intervening period, China emerged as an economic power on the world stage and started expanding her regional and global cooperation with a focus on securing resource supplies. China’s economic rise and modernization of her military were perceived as a threat by US to her global status. China, however, adroitly avoided overt rivalry with the US and instead engaged her by soft prong while simultaneously working on collaboration with Russia. Russo-Chinese Collaboration; After the Cold War, Russia and China made major shifts in their bilateral policies for political and economic reasons. Starting in 1995, both countries have made substantial progress in their bilateral relations to include resolution of
border disputes, cooperation in energy sector and collaboration in nuclear, missile and submarine technologies and production. Consequently, both countries signed the Friendship Pact in 2001, and in the same year, Shanghai-5 was renamed as Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO).

Analysis of the Re-emergence of a Cold War: While there are many Cold War similarities between the old Cold War and our modern day rivalry/conflict between China, Russia and the US; the current confrontation has diversified and exists in more domains. The pertinent geopolitical and geo-economic interactions between these countries from 2008 to 2015 are; Syrian Conflict: President Putin’s deployment of significant military forces and collaboration with Iran, Iraq and Syria surprised the world and directly challenged the ongoing approach of the US and its coalition in the region where the US and other regional countries were working to overthrow Assad. While more was needed in the Middle East to undermine the existence of Daesh, Russia’s resurgence in the region recreates an environment of geopolitical competition between these two world powers that resembles the Cold War. Ukraine: Russia successfully annexed Crimea with the clandestine employment of Russian military advisors in Ukraine and still provides military support to ethnic Russian separatists. Russia’s ability to influence the environment within Ukraine and successfully annex Crimea was because of their innate understanding of three key constituents i.e. the Russian speaking majority in Crimea, the Ukrainian government and the international community, specifically NATO and the EU. South China Sea: China’s development and creation of islands in the South China Sea and conflicts with multiple territorial claim disputes in the region have created military tension. Numerous countries have requested international support to adjudicate the dispute in accordance with international norms. The US Navy has patrolled military vessels in the South China Sea as part of its Freedom of Navigation mission, which has sparked protests from China.

Economic Wars: In the post-cold war era, as Russian economy was on the decline, the economies of her European and Chinese neighbours were flourishing. Russia, likewise, moved towards capitalist form of economic management and in 1998, Russia joined G-8. In this era, quest for securing resources was the dominant factor to shape world politics. US invasion of Afghanistan placed her at the door of oil and gas rich Central Asian Republics. Similarly, in case of Iraq, the significance of ensuring that US had secure access to the nation’s oil reserves cannot be discounted as a motivation. Until November 2000, no OPEC country had violated the US dollar pricing rule for oil. In late 2000, France, Germany and a few other EU members joined Saddam in defying the petrodollar process: they bought the oil and Iraq bought the food; for euros and not for dollars. Over the next six months, several other countries hinted at interest in non-US-dollar oil trading, including Russia, Indonesia and Venezuela. At about the same time, Iran was exploring its own exit from the petrodollar system. In March 2003, American forces invaded Iraq even without UNSC authorization and without those who were involved in non-US-dollar oil trading (France and Germany). Iraq once again lost and barely two months later, the new Iraqi government announced that oil would once again be sold for dollars only. Oil Price Wars: Saudi Arabia’s production of oil outside of the Gulf state oil cartel and US Congress’s recent lifting of the oil export ban in the recent budget resolution indicate that the US and the Saudis are interested in keeping oil prices down across the globe. For Russia, oil still remains the economic lifeline, which Putin is determined to protect. Cyber Operations: The recent Office of Personnel
Management cyber breach and the historical cyber-theft of technology and trade secrets from US companies by elements in China contribute to the ongoing rivalry between the two countries. US Army Cyber Command has announced the formation of a military unit specifically organized, trained and equipped to conduct cyber operations as a deterrence measure in order to reduce cyber-theft and attacks against the US.

**Prospects of Moving towards Colder War**

Are We Moving Towards Colder War? “Yes,” we are already into a ‘Colder War,’ which is likely to follow the same trajectory of intensity till the time changes taking place in the political, economic, social and technical structure of society render the very phenomenon of ‘Cold War’ irrelevant or obsolete. The word ‘colder’ is a comparative of ‘cold,’ meaning thereby that Cold War of 21st century can only be declared ‘colder’ in comparison with previous Cold War of 20th century. So from here on, the term ‘Cold War’ will denote the 20th century struggle between USA and former Soviet Union, while the contemporary struggle between USA, Russia and China will be referred to as ‘Colder War.’ Comparison of these wars will be made in the domains like; Geo-Economic Domain: During the Cold War, it was the economic strangulation that significantly contributed to the collapse of Soviet Union and since then geo-economics has gained primacy over geo-politics. In the Colder War, China is on the path of becoming the economic superpower and US realization of this fact is perhaps the necessity and urgency behind the policy of ‘Rebalance to Asia Pacific.’ US economic prowess has its underpinnings in the fact that roughly 70% of US economy is comprised of consumer spending. China, too, has decided to transition from an export-led to a consumer-driven economy in its quest for complete autonomy from outside forces like the US. When juxtaposed against Chinese population in the backdrop of her ‘Two Child Policy,’ US may not be able to retain her global economic stature in mid to long term. Furthermore, in November 2015, Chinese Yuan (Renminbi) was approved for Special Drawing Rights with effect from 1 October 2016. Simultaneously, south-south cooperation is also on the rise, challenging the Western control of International Financial Institutions with initiatives like New Development Bank of BRICS and Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) sponsored by China. What emerges from this discussion is that in the geo-economic domain, Colder War will no longer be a one-sided affair as was the case with Cold War and projections indicate more intensity, greater complexity and pronounced effects of competition in this domain. Geopolitical Domain: State system during the Cold War was based on Westphalian model of state-sovereignty, where the state or government had the rightful entitlement to supreme, unqualified and exclusive political and legal authority. Consequently, both USA and USSR had to operate within the confines of Westphalian Constitution of world politics. However, after the Cold War, state-sovereignty was transformed by forces of globalization and today it is increasingly understood as the shared exercise of public power and authority between national, regional and global authorities. This has led to the enhanced role and influence of Non-State and Violent Non-State Actors, transnational business and criminal organizations, sub-nationalists and foreign supported dissident groups in state affairs. Colder War antagonists today leverage the innovative interplay of these additional elements in pursuit of their respective interests. Military Domain: In geo-politics, major conflicts repeat themselves. When a single war does not resolve an underlying geopolitical issue, it is refought until the issue is finally settled. At the very least, even without another war,
tension and confrontation are ongoing. Like the Napoleonic Wars and the two World Wars, Cold War also failed to settle the Russian issue and a united and independent Russia survived.\textsuperscript{61} Although proxy wars were fought far away but still Europe remained the epicentre of Cold War. Beginning in 1990s, NATO expanded into much of Eastern Europe, including the Baltic States and Poland, to secure Europe by transforming Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine into a buffer zone with Russia. Paradoxically, it not only intensified the Colder War but also brought this war to Europe itself with multiple flash points. During the Cold War, the distance from Saint Petersburg to NATO’s frontline was more than a thousand miles. Today, it is only about seventy miles and this was the prime cause of Russian annexation of Crimea. If Belarus and Ukraine join NATO, Russia will be in mortal danger.\textsuperscript{62} To make it further colder, on 2 December 2015, NATO offered alliance to Montenegro, which Russia called an “openly confrontational step, fraught with further destabilizing consequences for the Euro-Atlantic security system.” For Russia it is a riposte to Crimea’s admission to Russian Federation. Middle East and South China Sea are the other contested areas for Colder War. These proxy wars have the potential of spiralling out of control as Syria stands out to be the first country where forces of both Russia and West are operating simultaneously and has already resulted in the downing of a Russian warplane by a NATO member.

Technological Domain: Space Warfare; Contemporary competition in space is likely to be both intense and multifarious. George Friedman even predicts a steady deployment of troops in space.\textsuperscript{63} Likewise, Europe, as well as China, Japan and India, are spending handsomely on manned programs that challenge the US hegemony in this domain. Chief among these rivals is China and unlike the former Soviet Union, China is not a finance starved country. Weapon Technology; Weapon technology of 20\textsuperscript{th} century has undergone a revolution in the knowledge age of 21\textsuperscript{st} century. Technologies of 21\textsuperscript{st} century include Nanotechnology, Ballistic Missile Defence Shield, Directed Energy Weapons (DEW), High Frequency Active Auroral Research Program (HAARP), anti-satellite weapons, combat robots, unmanned combat aerial vehicles / drones, precision guided munitions and the list goes on, which has considerably added to the intensity and lethality of this war. Information Warfare; Information Technology has revolutionized warfare in an unprecedented manner. This is further augmented by cyber warfare, which can now be waged by individuals, groups and states and is considered to be the fifth space of warfare after land, sea, air and space. The Colder War has already witnessed numerous applications of this prong and both China and USA are endeavouring for a rules-based cyber space. Role of United Nations (UN); During the previous Cold War, both camps preferred to operate within international norms and principles enunciated in the UN Charter. However, after the Soviet disintegration, West applied various terms like pre-emptive self-defence, coalition of the willing, establishment of no-fly zones etcetera to enhance its global reach and flexibility. West also has an increasing desire to incorporate clauses like Responsibility to Protect (R2P), Protection of Civilians, lawfare etcetera in UN Charter and use them as intervention tools but both Russia and China are against any such amendment. Consequently, effectiveness of UN is diminishing, which has made the Colder War complex, diversified and prone to risks.

**Indo-Pak Rivalry and Recommendations for Pakistan**

After overt South Asian nuclearization in 1998, the perennial rivalry between Pakistan and India has transformed into yet another form of Cold with certain
fundamental similarities coupled with glaring dissimilarities with the Cold War between USA and former Soviet Union. Similarities with the Cold War: Both Pakistan and India are nuclear rivals with ideological differences and divergent world views. Nuclear capability ensures strategic stability at the higher end of conflict spectrum while accentuating propensity for proxy wars. Resembling the Cold War era, Pakistan is addressing the conventional asymmetry through development of Low Yield Weapons. Like the Cold War era, India endeavours to entice Pakistan into an arms’ race.

Dissimilarities with the Cold War: Cold War between Pakistan and India is not on a global but a regional scale and is itself influenced by the contemporary Colder War. Both USA and Soviet Union were permanent members of UN Security Council, which provided them considerable flexibility in their options along with substantial security as well. This is not the case with Pakistan and India. Unlike the old Cold War, the three nuclear states in Asia are geographically contiguous and two have decades’ old territorial disputes with the third along with a history of conflicts. Conflicts in sub-conventional domain between Pakistan and India are restricted to their respective territorial boundaries instead of being contested in proxy states. Pakistan and India have fought three wars over territorial disputes, whereas USA and former Soviet Union had never fought directly with one another in their entire history. Both USA and Soviet Union were heading the leading security organizations of their time i.e. NATO and WARSAW pact respectively, while this is not the case with Pakistan and India.

Recommendations for Pakistan: Certain recommendations for Pakistan are; Economic Domain; this remains the most important prong for successful conduct of Cold War. In this regard, Pakistan should endeavour to create an enabling environment for inclusive and sustainable economic growth with special emphasis on timely completion of China Pakistan Economic Corridor Project. Indian demand of trade and transit should be linked with resolution of outstanding disputes as any such venture with a ten times bigger and hostile economy is bound to take its toll. Foreign Policy Domain; Maintain balanced relations with USA, China and Russia. In this regard, India is the most pertinent example as they have repeatedly demonstrated successful balancing of opposite poles, like USA, Russia and China; Middle East and Iran; Arab world and Israel; China and ASEAN etcetera. Superior exterior manoeuvre augmented by effective strategic communication to dissuade any misadventure by India while displaying resolve, responsibility and confidence of a nuclear power. Project Kashmir as the nuclear flashpoint while politically, diplomatically and morally supporting Kashmir Freedom Movement from the perspective of unfinished agenda of partition. Nuclear Domain; Ensure maintenance of full spectrum deterrence within the overall ambit of ‘credible minimum nuclear deterrence’. Acquisition of assured second strike capability coupled with modernization and diversification of delivery means. Efforts should also be made to develop an appropriate bilateral ‘crisis control mechanism’ with India, while linking Indian membership of Nuclear Suppliers’ Group with own entry - in collaboration with other members of this group. Conventional Domain; Nuclear weapons under centralized command and control are relatively less credible than those interfaced with conventional forces. So in conventional domain, nuclear weapons with armed forces will not only bestow greater credibility to our nuclear deterrent and render its chances of being left out of battle remote; but more importantly, it will positively influence the employment and development strategies of our conventional forces. As
Bernard Brodie correctly asserted, “it is nonsense to hold that a force trained and equipped to fight conventionally – even though it has some essentially unusable nuclear weapons behind it, makes a better deterrent than one of comparable size trained and equipped to fight from the beginning with nuclear weapons designed exclusively for tactical use.” Sub-conventional Domain; In sub-conventional domain, response lies in good governance, rule of law and ‘whole of nation’ approach while simultaneously addressing socio-economic, ethno-sectarian and civil-military cleavages. Technological Domain; In view of financial crisis, challenge for Pakistan lies in optimally leveraging full spectrum strategic deterrence to avoid an arms’ race with India while simultaneously investing in selective acquisition and indigenous development, especially in space, information and cyber warfare capabilities. Internal and Human Security; Pakistan needs to calibrate defence and foreign policies with the requirements of internal and human security at priority.

**Conclusion**

Wisdom wins wars by applying knowledge, insight and experience to reach sound decisions and judgements. Vision is its essential ingredient, which gleans in the future to predict the character of war and this leap is, in fact, through the study of the past, as Confucius has remarked, “study the past if you would define the future.” This study of the past indicates that Cold War is not an ever-lasting phenomenon. Political, economic, social and technological changes taking place around us will, one day, make it irrelevant and obsolete. Our security and our survival, therefore, has its underpinnings in correctly identifying and staying abreast with the future challenges.

**Endnotes**

8. Franklin D Margiotta, Brassey’s Encyclopaedia of Military History and Biography, 1994, pp. 198.
9. At Yalta Conference (4 – 12 February 1945) the big three, i.e. Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin, reached accords calling for democratically elected governments in Eastern Europe.
10. At Potsdam Conference (15 July – 1 August 1945), the Western Allies clashed with the Soviet Union over adherence to the Yalta Agreement on democratic elections in Eastern Europe; however, they failed to arrive at a final agreement regarding the political future of the divided continent.
12. Career diplomat George F Kennan defined containment in an article titled, “Sources of Soviet Conduct.” While stationed in Moscow as Minister Councillor, he responded to a State Department request for his views on Russia with an 8,000-word memorandum, the “Long Telegram” (12 February 1946), which warned that accommodation with the Soviets was doomed to failure.
13. Two weeks after the Long Telegram, Churchill delivered his famous “Iron Curtain” speech at Fulton, Missouri, calling on the US to assume a dominant role in checking Soviet expansion.
In International Relations, détente is considered to be the first step towards normalization of relations between rival states, which is followed by rapprochement and then entente.

USA overtly provided military and economic aid for El Salvador in its struggle against Marxist-Leninist insurgents.

USA invaded the Caribbean island of Grenada to topple its Marxist-Leninist regime (25 – 30 October 1983).

In 1953, New York University philosophy professor James Burnham expressed in 'Containment or Liberation?' that provocative actions challenging Soviet prestige were imperative and could be achieved through 'all sided political warfare,' which he explained as the use of varied political, psychological, military and economic means to exert pressure on weaknesses within the Soviet empire. Political Warfare as advocated by Burnham came directly from Lenin's emendation of military theorist Karl von Clausewitz: peace is the continuation of warfare by other means.
Rose Revolution was a change of power in Georgia in November 2003, which took place after widespread protests over the disputed parliamentary elections. As a result, President Eduard Shevardnadze was forced to resign on November 23, 2003.

Orange Revolution was a series of protests and political events that took place in Ukraine from late November 2004 to January 2005, in the immediate aftermath of the run-off vote of the 2004 Ukrainian presidential election which was claimed to be marred by massive corruption, voter intimidation and direct electoral fraud.


The Treaty of Good-Neighbourliness and Friendly Cooperation between the People's Republic of China and the Russian Federation (FCT) is a twenty-year strategic treaty that was signed by the leaders of the two international powers, Jiang Zemin and Vladimir Putin, on 16 July, 2001.

SCO is a Eurasian political, economic and military organisation which was founded in 2001 in Shanghai by the leaders of China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan. These countries, except for Uzbekistan had been members of the Shanghai Five, founded in 1996; after the inclusion of Uzbekistan in 2001, the members renamed the organisation. On July 10, 2015, the SCO decided to admit India and Pakistan as full members, and they are expected to join by 2016.


ibid, pp. 24.


Robert Legvold, Managing the New Cold War, What Moscow and Washington Can Learn From the Last One, Foreign Affairs, July / August 2014 issue.

ibid, pp. 216.