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That Pakistan possesses the full spectrum of nuclear weapons in three categories: strategic, operational and tactical, with full range coverage of the large Indian land mass and its outlying territories; there is no place for India's strategic weapons to hide.

LT. GENERAL (R)

KHALID AHMED KIDWAI NI, HI, HI(M), AD NCA



BTTN SEMINAR

THE OBSTACLES IN PAKISTAN'S SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMICAL DEVELOPMENT



GLOBAL IMPLICATIONS OF UKRAINE WAR



INAUGURATION OF RFI NEW OFFICE & TV CHANNEL



CHAGI NUCLEAR TEST- NO HUMAN HEALTH ISSUE- BTTN RESEARCH PAPER



BRICKS MEMBERSHIP A GAME-CHANGER FOR SAUDI ARABIA'S ECONOMY?



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Editorial

GLOBAL IMPLICATIONS OF UKRAINE WAR

Ukraine has long played an important but sometimes overlooked role in the global security order. Today, the country is at the forefront of a renewed great power rivalry that many analysts say will dominate international relations for decades to come. Russia's invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 marked a dramatic escalation of the eight-year-old conflict that began with Russia's annexation of Crimea and marked a historic turning point for European security. Many observers see little prospect of a diplomatic solution in the coming months, recognizing instead the potential for a dangerous escalation that could include the use of a Russian nuclear weapon. Ukraine was a cornerstone of the Soviet Union, the main rival of the United States during the Cold War. After Russia, it was the second most populous and most powerful of the fifteen Soviet republics, home to much of the Union's agricultural production, defense industry, and military, including the Black Sea Fleet and part of the nuclear arsenal. Ukraine was so vital to the union that its decision to cut ties in 1991 proved to be a coup de grace for the ailing superpower. Ukraine became a battleground in 2014 when Russia annexed Crimea. Russia's occupation of Crimea was the first time since World War II that one European state had annexed the territory of another. More than fourteen thousand people died in the fighting in Donbas between 2014 and 2021, the bloodiest conflict in Europe since the Balkan wars of the 1990s. The hostilities marked a clear shift in the global security environment from a unipolar period of US dominance to one defined by renewed competition between great powers. In February 2022, Russia launched a large-scale invasion of Ukraine to overthrow the Western-oriented government of Volodymyr Zelensky. Russia has deep cultural, economic, and political ties with Ukraine, and Ukraine is in many ways central to Russia's identity and vision of itself in the world. Russia and Ukraine have strong family ties that go back centuries. Kyiv, Ukraine's capital, is sometimes referred to as the "mother of Russian cities," comparable in cultural influence to Moscow and St. Petersburg. It was in Kyiv that Christianity was transferred from Byzantium to the Slavic peoples in the eighth and ninth centuries. And it was Christianity that served as the anchor for Kievan Rus, the early Slavic state from which modern Russians, Ukrainians, and Belarusians are descended. According to that year's census, there were approximately eight million ethnic Russians living in Ukraine in 2001, mostly in the south and east. Moscow claimed the duty to protect these people as a pretext for its actions in Crimea and Donbas in 2014. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, many Russian politicians considered the divorce from Ukraine a historical mistake and a threat to Russia's position as a great power. Losing permanent control over Ukraine and letting it fall into the Western orbit would be seen by many as a major blow to Russia's international prestige. In 2022, Putin cast the escalating war with Ukraine as part of a broader fight against Western powers he says are intent on destroying Russia.

Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev transferred Crimea from Russia to Ukraine in 1954 to strengthen "fraternal ties between the Ukrainian and Russian peoples". However, since the fall of the union, many Russian nationalists in both Russia and Crimea have longed for the return of the peninsula. The city of Sevastopol is the home port for the Russian Black Sea Fleet, the dominant naval power in the region.

Russia has long been Ukraine's largest trading partner, although that connection has faded dramatically in recent years. China eventually overtook Russia in trade with Ukraine. Before invading Crimea, Russia hoped to draw Ukraine into its single market, the Eurasian Economic Union, which today includes Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan.

For decades, Moscow has relied on Ukrainian pipelines to pump gas to customers in Central and Eastern Europe, paying Kyiv billions of dollars a year in transit fees. The flow of Russian gas through Ukraine continued in early 2023 despite hostilities between the two countries, but volumes were reduced and pipelines remained severely compromised. Russia wanted to maintain its political influence in Ukraine and throughout the former Soviet Union, especially after its preferred candidate for the Ukrainian presidency in 2004, Viktor Yanukovich, lost to a reformist competitor in the popular Orange Revolution movement.

The above discussed reasons clearly illustrate Ukraine's importance for Russia and Ukraine's induction in NATO would serve as encirclement of Russia. As a result, Russia has resorted to war for its survival. Ukraine's government is supported by the Western powers against Russia and even NATO powers like Poland are providing military support to Ukraine. Comments of US Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Gen. Mark Milley about Russia's loss against Ukraine isn't encouraging. Any intervention from NATO or serious military aggression from Ukraine would force Russia to resort to usage of nuclear weapons quickly escalating the conflict on a global scale.

PAKISTAN

INAUGURATION OF RFI NEW OFFICE & TV CHANNEL

Lt. General (R) Khalid Ahmed Kidwai NI, HI, HI(M) inaugurated "Rabita Forum International' New Office and RFI TV channel on Tuesday, 16th May 2023.

On arrival of Lt. General (R) Khalid Ahmed Kidwai, Chairman Rabita Forum International received him and introduced the staff members of Rabita Forum International and took around the office, The Guest inaugurated the RFI digital Channel together with Ambassador (R) Qazi M. Khalilullah. He was briefed by Chairman Rabita Forum International about the past and present activities of RFI. He thanked the guest for his consistent support in establishing this office equipped with Print and Electronic Media. He also described the services RFI rendered to

SPD in the past and the services it is offering to CISSS and BTTN giving the coverage in the Monthly magazines INTERACTION, ZAVIAHE NIGAH AND THE RFI Youtube channel which has been fully operative since the inauguration. RFI TV digital channel has started its operation since long but officially since 16 May 2023.

Chairman RFI briefed that

1. Rabita Forum International was established earlier but officially on 05 May 2005. Since then it has organized:
 - i. 52 conferences on strategic, national, and international issues. High-level personalities participated and delivered lectures. The students of IR, MASS COMMUNICATION, and POLITICAL SCIENCE from various universities of Karachi were introduced to Strategic affairs. RFI has the pride to introduce strategic issues to the Urdu media of Karachi.
 - ii. The students of Karachi University, NED University, Bahria University, Federal Urdu University, PAF KIETS, Szabist, and IoBM participated in these conferences, seminars, and workshops. Out of these, some were trained in strategic affairs. To enhance our reach most of the seminars were conducted in Urdu while others were in English.
 - iii. Media campaign in favor of K2 and K3, ensuring that the students of universities in Karachi are not affected by the negative propaganda against these projects.
 - iv. Effectively presenting Pakistan's case on Fissile Material Cut off Treaty (FMCT) and countering its imposing requirement through a high-level conference in Islamabad
 - v. RFI INTENDS to organize one or two monthly seminars, webinars, conferences, or workshops. Through these activities, we intend to attract students, intelligentsia from Sindh, Balochistan, and from all over Pakistan.
 - a. Peaceful use of Nuclear Energy
 - b. All days of national importance
 - c. All issues of strategic affairs: NSG and all others

AD NCA lauded the efforts of RFI.

Souvenirs presented to the Chief Guest before he left the RFI office.

CHINA

JING-JIN-JI

THE CITY CLUSTER THAT AIMS TO BE THE NEXT PILOT ZONE FOR CHINA'S MODERNIZATION

The regional city cluster "Jing-Jin-Ji," with "Jing" referring to China's capital Beijing and the other two to the metropolis Tianjin and the neighboring Hebei Province, is the country's solution to "big city malaise." A key strategy initiated in 2014, the city cluster hopes to move non-capital functions out of Beijing to treat urban ills

such as traffic jams and pollution in the Chinese capital. Xiongan, the city in north China's Hebei Province, where President Xi Jinping paid a visit on Wednesday, plays a vital role in this strategy. The Chinese president also inspected Cangzhou and Shijiazhuang, both in Hebei Province, in the following two days. His tour not just went deep down into the wheat fields, but also covered a chip research institute of China Electronics Technology Group Corporation, where he learned about the local efforts in developing high-tech industries.

'HIGH-QUALITY DEVELOPMENT'

Xi, general secretary of the Communist Party of China (CPC) Central Committee, spoke highly of the socio-economic achievement made by Hebei Province since the 19th CPC National Congress, urging the province to keep sticking to the prominent task of high-quality development. He made the remarks on Friday at a symposium regarding the "coordinated regional development" of the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei region. In his tour to the chip research institute in Shijiazhuang, Xi learned about the research and development of the institute, urging more efforts in cutting-edge scientific sectors. The institute has been doing research on semiconductors since 1956, creating more than 60 nation-leading products. The president said he hopes to see Hebei continue advancing innovation-driven development and make new breakthroughs in "green transformation."

JING-JIN-JI'S 'COORDINATED REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT'

Xi said at the symposium that the development strategy of "Jing-Jin-Ji" coincides with the need of China's high-quality development in the new era and an effective path to the construction of the Chinese modernization. Over the nine years since the strategy of "Jing-Jin-Ji" was initiated, fruitful results have been made in the key fields of industrial upgrading, traffic management and environmental protection, bringing the region's total GDP to 10 trillion yuan (\$1.44 trillion) in 2022, up 1.8 times compared with the figure in 2013. As a further boost to the development of Hebei, the country announced the establishment of the Xiongan New Area in 2017, which lies about 100 km southwest of Beijing and spans three counties in Hebei. During Wednesday's inspection tour of Xiongan, Xi stressed that the development of the Xiongan New Area has entered a phase when the same importance must be attached to both its large-scale construction and its purpose to relieve Beijing of functions non-essential to its role as the national capital. Currently, China's centrally-administered state-owned enterprises (SOEs) have set up more than 140 subsidiaries and branches in the area. Over 3,000 enterprises registered in Xiongan have a background of investment from Beijing.

'TALENTS HUB'

"Xiongan is a young city with great potential," said Zhao Can, an employee of Hebei Xiongan Urban Construction Co. Ltd. The former Beijing resident has decided to settle down in Xiongan with his wife. Zhao is among the hundreds of thousands of young talents attracted to the area for its favorable policies, friendly public services and "green" living environment. At the symposium, Xi urged the advancement of "high-level talents hub" for the city cluster, calling for its model

role in realizing technology self-reliance. The president also stressed the importance of a more thorough and high-level push for employment in the region. He expressed hope that the city cluster would reach new heights in the coordinated development of the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei region, becoming a pioneer and example in the pursuit of Chinese modernization. Chinese President Xi Jinping inspects a chip research institute of China Electronics Technology Group Corporation in Shijiazhuang, capital of north China's Hebei Province.

MIDDLE EAST

BRICS MEMBERSHIP

A GAME-CHANGER FOR SAUDI ARABIA'S ECONOMY?

HUSSAIN SHAHID

As Saudi Arabia prepares to potentially join the BRICS, there is much to consider in terms of the impact on the country's economy. While some may view this as a simple geopolitical move, it could have significant economic implications for the region and the world as a whole. First and foremost, it is important to understand the economic power of the BRICS nations. Together, Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa represent 40% of the world population and 25% of global GDP. If Saudi Arabia were to join this group, it would not only significantly increase the size and influence of the bloc, but also provide the country with access to a powerful network of economic partners. One potential benefit of Saudi Arabia joining BRICS is increased trade opportunities. With its strong oil and natural gas resources, Saudi Arabia could become a key player in the energy trade within the bloc, which already dominates global oil and gas consumption with a 30% and 22% of the world share respectively. Additionally, as a member of BRICS, Saudi Arabia would have the opportunity to diversify its trade relationships beyond its traditional partners in the West, potentially leading to new markets and increased economic stability. As the world's largest exporter of oil, Saudi Arabia's alignment with the BRICS nations would reshape the geopolitics of energy and potentially challenge the dominance of Western oil markets. With the BRICS countries collectively representing a substantial share of global oil consumption, the addition of Saudi Arabia would consolidate the bloc's position as a major player in the energy market. This strategic partnership could lead to enhanced energy cooperation, joint ventures in oil exploration and production, and the establishment of alternative energy trading mechanisms, ultimately fostering greater energy security and resilience for all member states. Another economic benefit of joining BRICS is increased investment opportunities. The bloc has already established the "New Development Bank" with a capital of \$100 billion to rival the International Monetary Fund, and Saudi Arabia's inclusion would add significant resources to this effort. The recent Bond yield by NDB was 5.1% which is astonishing 100 basis points higher than the likes of the World Bank. Additionally,

the country's strategic location and industrial growth could make it an attractive destination for foreign investment within the bloc.

Saudi Arabia's access to China and India, two of the world's largest markets, would facilitate increased exports and economic partnerships. Leveraging the technological innovation and manufacturing capabilities of BRICS members, particularly China, would accelerate Saudi Arabia's growth in these sectors. The tourism industry, fueled by Saudi Arabia's rich cultural heritage and natural resources, would also benefit from BRICS membership, attracting more visitors and generating employment opportunities. In terms of cultural compatibility, Saudi Arabia aligns well with the BRICS nations, sharing conservative social, cultural, and religious values. This provides a foundation for stronger relationships and cooperation within the bloc. Additionally, the country's historical trade connections with China and India further strengthen its ties to BRICS, fostering people-to-people interactions and cultural exchanges. However, joining BRICS also presents potential risks and challenges. One such challenge is the potential for increased geopolitical competition between the West and the Eastern power bloc led by BRICS. As the global economy becomes increasingly divided, Saudi Arabia could play a pivotal role to decrease the rifts between the blocs as a common friend. Overall, Saudi Arabia's potential inclusion in BRICS presents a win-win opportunity for Saudi Arabia as it will accelerate the economic diversification and development of the nation and reduce its dependence on Western blocs. Saudi Arabia's recent decision to strengthen the relationship with Iran, brokered by China is the sign of tectonic shifts in the Middle East which hopefully followed by joining the BRICS which will bring peace and prosperity in the region and beyond.

BTTN SEMINAR

THE OBSTACLES IN PAKISTAN'S SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMICAL DEVELOPMENT

ON 8TH MAY 2023 HELD AT BUISTEMS UNIVERSITY, QUETTA, BALOCHISTAN

S NO. TOPIC

SPEAKERS

1. "Obstacles in Socio-Economic and Political Development of Pakistan way Forward Brig (R) Agha Ahmad Gul
2. Obstacles in Socio-Economic and Political Development of Pakistan Pakistan system of Governance - Evaluation and the way forward Ambassador (R) Qazi M. Khalilullah
3. Concluding remarks - Obstacles in

**OBSTACLES IN SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF PAKISTAN
WAY FORWARD**

BRIG (R) AGHA AHMAD GUL BTTN, QUETTA

OPENING ADDRESS

Honourable Owais Ahmed Ghani, former Governor of Bln and KP, Lt Gen Khalid Ahmed Kidwai, Advisor National Command Authority, Excellences' Vice Chancellors, Distinguished Speakers and Guest, Ladies and Gentlemen and my Dear Students,

1. On behalf of BTTN and on my behalf, I welcome you all to this Seminar. I owe special thanks to those who have come from distant places. And those who are participating as Speakers and Chairs of the Panels. Thank you very much.
2. Our most important participants today are the students; they are the future of Pakistan. Please listen to the talks, these are addressing very critical subjects on which depends Pakistan's future, your future.
3. In August last year, Pakistan crossed 75 Years of its life and celebrated the Diamond Jubilee. It was inevitable to look for Diamonds. While looking out for Diamonds, one found small islands of Diamonds in a sea of otherwise Black Carbon.
4. Here and there centers of excellence and achievements are visible, here and there honest people with total commitment to Pakistan certainly shines. But the great mass of darkness is also looming overshadowing our Diamond Jubilee.
5. Where have we gone wrong? What should be the Way Forward? This Seminar is focused at seeking answers to these two questions. And our distinguished Speakers shall share their ideas and suggestions with us.
6. Constitution lays down the Road Map. Inevitably one tends to take stock of the Constitution. Allow me to briefly share the history of our Constitution.
7. Our 1st Constitution was formulated after 8 Years of Independence, and adopted on 23 March 1958. The reason for this inordinate delay was our fragmented political fabric. The people who had never been close to each other were sitting together to formulate a Political Code of Conduct to live together. In 8 Years we had 6 Prime Ministers. The C-in-C General Muhammad Ayub Khan who became the C-in-C in 1951 was also made the Defence Minister in 1954, where he witnessed firsthand the political instability in the Cabinet and the Constituent Assembly.
8. The Constitution of March 1956 based on One Unit and East West Pakistan's parity, also did not bring about stability. On 6 October 1958, Abdul Hakeem the Speaker of the East Pakistan Assembly was attacked by Opposition and killed during the Session in Dacca.

9. On 7 October 1958 the President Iskandar Mirza abrogated the Constitution, declaring Martial Law and appointed General Ayub Khan as the Chief Martial Law Administrator. On 27 October with the resignation of the president, General Ayub Khan assumed the presidency also.
10. President Ayub Khan gave a new Constitution in 1962. It was based on Presidential form of government with indirect election for the president and National and Provincial Assemblies. This lasted till 1969. The political instability again forced him to resign and General Yahya became the Chief Martial Law Administrator as well as the president.
11. General Yahya abolished One Unit, removed the Parity between East and West Pakistan, reverted back to the provinces prior to 1956, and merged Quetta and Kalat Divisions creating province of Balochistan. The 1970 Election created such irreconcilable differences that East and West Pakistan separated in the after math of rebellion and India's attack.
12. In 1973 Mr. Bhutto ushered in the new Constitution, which was Federal Parliamentary form of government with full powers vested with the PM. In July 1977, 14th Amendment mandated dismissal of Members on Floor Crossing. However, instability post-1977 election made General Zia overthrew Bhutto and he became the 3rd Martial Law Administrator. After a mix of controlled-democracy for 3 years, he dismissed the Assemblies and announced new elections. But before the elections, he died in an air crash in August 1988 and once again Democratic governments emerged in 1989.
13. 1989 to 1999, there was a kind of Political Musical Chair between the two parties PPP and PMLN, whose leaders kept swapping Prime Minister Ships, and the Political Instability continued. On 12 October 1999, General Pervez Musharraf through a Coup d'état clamped Martial Law, I am sure you know the background.
14. He was allowed by the Supreme Court to not only rule for 3 Years but even alter the Constitution. He balanced the Constitution giving powers to the president. After he allowed elections and the government was formed, the PPP led government tried to impeach him, when he resigned on 8 August 2008.
15. Two years later, on 8 April 2010, the new House unanimously passed the 18th Amendment to the Constitution. It made the Constitution again a Parliamentary Democracy, transferring full powers to the Prime Minister once again.
16. It also gave self-governing, legislative and financial autonomy to the provinces, empowering the Chief Ministers, removed all the subjects from the Concurrent List and handed over to the provinces subjects of Education, Health, Climate Change, Labour n Manpower, Population Welfare etc.
17. This is a short story of our experience of playing football with the Constitution. The political instability is again thriving, adversely influencing all other elements of national power, in particular the Economy.

18. Our present Constitution has made Pakistan a Confederation, while it has removed vital Checks and Balances on the Executive. The social-contract is in tatters with growing poverty. The political workers as well as journalists are being jailed on political considerations and one has even been killed. Our Governing Tool, the Constitution, is demanding direction again, asking, indeed shouting, "Where do we go from here?"
19. The political instability is grossly increasing poverty and also widening the distance between Haves and Have-nots. The life style of the Haves on the Tax Payers money is far above the standard which should be followed by this dirt-poor country's executives and the privileged. A Bureaucratic isolation is visibly growing. The society appears to be run by a neo-colonial mindset.
20. Corruption has become the order of the day. Public Servants behave like colonial masters, not public servants. Accountability is badly required if we need to integrate as a nation.
21. Poverty, hunger and disease, are spreading. It ought to be reduced, or else we are heading towards worsening crime state, under-nourished mothers and new born babies. Statistically, 46% of children in Pakistan are stunted, not only in bodies but brains also.
22. Pakistan inherited the four federating Units after partition. Punjab was and is the biggest province. With over 11 Crore population, it is nearly half of Pakistan. The rest of 12 Crore Pakistanis are divided amongst 3 provinces and 3 Territories of Islamabad, AJK and GB. This has created a serious imbalance. This needs to be addressed, not only for balanced governance, but also for National Integration.
23. Pakistan's Economic Crisis is perhaps the most serious issue. Our last year's budget was scary. Against the Gross Federal Revenue of 9.004 tr. the Budget Deficit was Rs.3.79tr. Today, Pakistan is in breach of all fiscal targets. IMF estimates our GDP Growth for this year to be 0.5%.
24. The reasons behind this Economic state are 5; Political Instability, Growth of Population, Neo-Colonial living - far beyond our means, Growing Poverty and Corruption. These attributes are self-destruct approaches, if not addressed, they will lead Pakistan to very serious security threats.
25. National security is not only military oriented; it very much has non-military dimensions also. Both demand strong economy. Poor economy will shrink both the Strategic Reserves and Logistic Stamina forcing defeat on even the most motivated Military System and Nation. National Security will be compromised unless our Economy is strong and self-sufficient.
26. Pakistan is located in a Geopolitical Crush-Zone. Major Power have competing demands. Our national Policy has to manage it without compromising on our Vital Interests.
27. And finally, we ought to comprehend the Global Climate Change, its Impact on Pakistan and how to manage it.

28. I have briefly introduced the major challenges which are facing Pakistan today. I now request our Distinguished Speakers to enlighten us by sharing their views with us to manage these issues.
-

**OBSTACLES IN SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF PAKISTAN
PAKISTAN'S SYSTEM OF GOVERNANCE - EVALUATION AND THE WAY FORWARD**

AMBASSADOR (R) QAZI M. KHALILULLAH

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR IN CISSS

SESSION I

Chair Opening Remarks (Ambassador Qazi M. Khalilullah (R), Executive Director
Center for International Strategic Studies Sindh)

Brig Agha Ahmad Gul, Consultant BTTN

Dr. Zafar Khan, Executive Director BTTN

Distinguished Speakers

Dear Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen

Asalamu Alaikum

It is a matter of honour and pleasure for me to Chair the first session of the Seminar.
Thank you for the invitation.

In his comprehensive and insightful opening address, Brig Agha Ahmad Gul (R),
inter alia, underscored the Fault Lines of Pakistan's System of Governance. I will
therefore refrain from relisting them. They have also been identified in the very
well drafted Concept Paper prepared by BTTN for this Seminar.

Let me therefore mention a few areas where Pakistan has done well and
successfully dealt with serious challenges, including existential threats.

Every Pakistani is proud of our Strategic Program which has guaranteed our
national security. We have successfully used nuclear and space technologies for
sustainable socio-economic development. We have effectively dealt with the
menace of terrorism at very heavy human and material costs. Our cooperation
with the international community in combating terrorism is recognized globally.
Although terrorism has resurfaced recently, it is a small fraction of what we
experienced when foreign forces were in Afghanistan.

However, Pakistan's preset political, economic and financial predicament is a
cause of serious concern to everyone. Political instability despite 75 years of
existence and experimentation with different economic models by democratic
governments and undemocratic regimes have brought us to the edge of a
precipice.

Both political stability and economic prosperity can be achieved if political
parties of Pakistan, rising above their party interests, agree on a long-term Good
Governance Charter through dialogue. Although it is easier said than done, let
me talk about key elements of such a Charter and make some suggestions about
their contents.

(1) VISION AND CORE VALUES

These could include:

(i) Governing the country in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution; (ii) According priority to national interests over personal and party interests; (iii) Upholding human dignity (need to do away with the thana culture); (iv) Becoming a law-abiding nation. It is pertinent to mention here that in a 2021 report of the World Justice Project Rule of Law Index, Pakistan was at 130th position out of 139 nations in adherence to the rule of law, 124th in civil justice system and 108th in criminal justice system;

(ii) Ensuring speedy and fair justice for all and across-the-board accountability. Let me recall here that during WWII, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill was informed that bombing by German Air Force had caused "death and destruction" and almost all economic activity had collapsed in the country.

Churchill observed that if the courts were functioning and judges were attending courts, nothing could go wrong. The people of Pakistan need that kind of confidence in our judiciary;

(iii) Introducing a social contract on the basis of the state and citizens fulfilling their respective obligations. Let me recall here that in his inaugural address, US President John F. Kennedy said, "Ask not what your country can do for you- Ask what you can do for your country"; and

(iv) Holding free and fair elections and respecting mandate given by the people of Pakistan.

(2) ECONOMIC STABILITY AND DEVELOPMENT

This element could focus on:

i. Getting out of the debt trap by ensuring that imports in any fiscal year do not exceed an agreed percentage of total export earnings, remittances and anticipated financial inflows in foreign exchange.

This may be codified into a law. It is pertinent to mention here that, in the US, the ruling Administration requires Congressional approval for enhancing country's debt ceiling;

ii. Investing, on priority, in emerging technologies that hold the promise of enhancing foreign exchange earnings and reducing import bill; and

iii. Investing in new nuclear power plants to reduce fuel import bill. In terms of production cost, nuclear energy is the cheapest after hydroelectric power. In terms of fuel cost, it is the cheapest.

It is estimated that Artificial Intelligence (AI) could contribute more than 20 trillion dollars to the global economy by 2030. Pakistan has so far taken only small steps in this direction. In 2018, Government of Pakistan provided seed money of Rs 1.1 billion to start a 3-year project on AI, under the supervision of Higher Education Commission (HEC).

Nine AI labs in six public sector universities have been established under this funding in NUST, Comsats Institute of Information Technology University, NED University Karachi, University of Engineering and Technology Peshawar, University of Engineering and Technology Lahore and University of Punjab.

Pakistan has over 600,000 IT professionals, 17,000 software companies providing services to over 120 countries, and earned US\$3 billion from IT exports last year. However, the number of companies and startups providing services and developing products in the AI space is relatively small. To bridge the industry-academia gap and motivate the youth to pursue research and education in AI, we must train some of our existing 600,000 IT professionals in AI and create more centers like the National Centre of Artificial Intelligence (NCAI), located on the main campus of NUST, Islamabad. It has become a leading hub of innovation and scientific research in AI in Pakistan.

In short, we need to invest heavily in emerging technologies and establish dedicated universities and training centers at both federal and provincial levels on priority. This could be achieved as part of the 10-year roadmap for accelerated adoption of AI in Pakistan being developed by the 15-Member National Task Force on AI recently established by the Government of Pakistan.

(3) PUBLIC SERVICE

This element must include measures to: (i) Restore trust of people in public service; (ii) Eradicate corruption; (iii) Provide free of cost quality education and health services; (iv) Improve infrastructure and transportation services; (v) Improve security situation and eliminate crime including street crime, (vi) Ensure effective and fair administration; (vii) Ensure transparency, accessibility and accountability at all levels; and (viii) Promote merit-based induction.

(4) MONITORING MECHANISM

Before saying anything about monitoring mechanism, let me quote well-known American science fiction writer Ramez Naam, who had this to say on good governance: "We have seen over time that countries that have the best economic growth are those that have good governance, and good governance comes from freedom of communication. It comes from ending corruption. It comes from a populace that can go online and say, 'this politician is corrupt, this administrator, or this public official is corrupt.'"

Obviously, it is not easy to apply Ramez Naam's definition of good governance in Pakistan, for obvious reasons. So, what is the solution?

The use of AI in monitoring mechanisms can offer a solution. It is certainly possible to develop algorithms to evaluate the performance of public servants, politicians, judges etc. on the basis of their job respective job description and performance parameters. Let machines say what human beings cannot in Pakistan, that this politician or public official is corrupt. AI can also be used to evaluate how funds given to elected representatives for development schemes in their respective constituencies are spent.

Thank you!

CONCLUDING REMARKS

OBSTACLES IN SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF PAKISTAN WAY FORWARD

LT. GENERAL (R) KHALID AHMED KIDWAI NI, HI, HI(M) AD NCA

1. Honourable Governor Baluchistan Janab Malik Abdul Wali Kakar Sahib, distinguished speakers at today's Seminar, Consultant Baluchistan Think Tank Network Brig Agha Ahmed Gul, Executive Director Baluchistan Think Tank Network Dr Zafar Khan, ladies and gentlemen. Assalam Alaikum.
2. It gives me great pleasure indeed to speak at the end of this important Seminar organized brilliantly by BTTN by way of an Epilogue. At the outset I would like to first offer my sincere compliments to team BTTN for taking the initiative of getting us all together to discuss and debate serious interlinked national issues that lie at the heart of the well-being, progress, prosperity and security of the people of Pakistan.
3. The broader topic of the Seminar, that is, "Obstacles in Socio-Economic and Political Development of Pakistan - A Way Forward" was very appropriately split into two sessions with three sub- topics in each session. The subject matter within each of the six sub-topics was vital and needed to be discussed and debated in order to seek a way forward. I am very happy to note that each topic and each session was done full justice by the eminent speakers as well as the participants. The talks by the speakers and the discussions that followed were intellectually stimulating and the views expressed were thought provoking. I would like to express my deep gratitude to the distinguished speakers, each one of whom is well regarded as subject specialist on the subjects that they spoke on. We stand better educated on the rich variety of issues that were debated.
4. In my opinion today's proceedings, at the very grass roots level, at a personal level, touch each one of us as individuals, as members of communities and societies in our respective urban or rural areas, and at a macro level at all three tiers of government: local bodies, provincial and federal. All issues that were covered today agitate our minds in personal discussions whether at formal forums or in the drawing rooms.
5. The inequities, imbalances, injustices, and near absence of good governance at each of these levels of government cast their shadows over our everyday lives. Even though we have learnt to live with these inequities and injustices, and trudge along in life bearing the burden that lies heavy on our people and societies, especially on the disadvantaged segments, the fact of the matter is that these issues lie at the core of Pakistan's multi-faceted political, social and economic problems. These cry out for amicable and urgent resolution through practical solutions, not just in theory and debate, but on ground in a manner that the people of Pakistan can sense and feel a positive change in their lives. 75 years have gone by and the state has much to answer to its individual citizens, as indeed the individual citizen has much to answer to the state. It is this two way give and

take contract, a social contract, which suffers from considerable dysfunctionality in Pakistan.

6. BTTN chose the six topics for this Seminar and frankly it is difficult for me to single out any one of these topics which might be less important than the other. Each topic is important, each needs attention and cries for resolution and solution so as to make Pakistan a happier place for its citizens. Due to time constraints however I have picked two topics to comment upon.
7. Topic-1 related to the fundamental compact that we as individuals make with the state and vice versa. In this context, I would very briefly highlight two events from past history and two events from our relatively modern history to illustrate the point. All four events are relevant to Pakistan and its people.
8. First, the theory or concept of Social Contract which I have mentioned, was espoused by the Frenchman Jean-Jacques Rousseau which led in 1789 to the tectonic events of the French Revolution. The French Revolution eventually turned out to become the mother of modern democracies across Europe, North America and some Third World countries. The Social Contract, which in essence espouses a give and take contract of mutual obligations between the individual and the state, continues to be the basis of modern equitable, just and democratic societies. However, while seeking virtue in democracy as a way of life, when it came to the application of the principles of democracy in societies like Pakistan, we have fallen well short of its objectives to the extreme detriment of our people. Pakistan's social contract between the state and the individual citizen remains considerably unhinged.
9. Second, twelve centuries before Rousseau and the French Revolution, between the years 610 AD and 632 AD, our very own Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) gave us Muslims in a short span of 22 years our very own concept of a social contract, a complete way of life, through our religion Islam, the Holy Quran and the Hadith. Islam was a revolution in history of far greater impact and compact than any man-made revolution; it changed history and way of life across continents forever. Little wonder that eminent western scholars have rated Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) as the most influential individual who shaped history and way of life. But then again, when it came to the application of the principles of Islam in societies like Pakistan, we once again have fallen well short to the detriment of our people. The social contract between the state of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the individual citizen remains considerably unhinged on this account too.
10. Third, the Muslims of British-governed India under the leadership of the great Quaid-e-Azam, demanded in 1940 a separate homeland for the Muslims of Hindustan. The demand culminated in the creation of Pakistan in 1947. Pakistan as a Utopian state of our dreams was expected to deliver to the individual not only political freedom from the slavery of the British and the

Hindu as an outcome of the Two-Nation theory in terms of practicing his faith freely but was also expected to deliver and attend to the individual's essential worldly needs. Well, 75 years later, we can sit in judgment today as in this Seminar, and try and make a report card as to how much, or how well, or how little, has the state of Pakistan succeeded in delivering to its citizens the essentials of a give and take contract of mutual obligations. And also a step further, a report card of how much, or how well, or how little, have we as individuals succeeded in fulfilling our obligations towards the state. An honest, balanced and objective report card will probably show successes and failures on the part of both the state and the individuals.

11. Fourth, the Constitution of Pakistan was enacted late but enacted nevertheless in 1973 through consensus of the entire spectrum of political thought across the four Provinces. That Constitution survives today 50 years to the dot, which in itself is a miracle of sorts, and even though it has gone through a number of amendments as most living documents do go through, the individual Pakistani still looks up and waits patiently for the state to address his and his family's basic needs and rights of life and survival as per the provisions of the Constitution of Pakistan.
12. The foregoing aspects were well covered and analysed in the three sub-topics of Session I by the speakers and the participants. My take on the issue is relatively simple. The Constitution of Pakistan circa 1973, duly amended from time to time, represents the will and aspirations of the people of all the four Provinces of Pakistan, freely expressed through their chosen representatives. It is the glue that binds Pakistan and its people firmly as a nation. The Constitution of 1973 has withstood the rigours and the pulls and pushes of 50 years of its existence. It is our precious property and we the people of Pakistan have given it to ourselves. It must continue to be handled with care and love. The lack of success you will probably agree lies not with the Constitution the document but with the people who are entrusted to run the state according to the Constitution. And here again we might find that the envisaged social contract as per the Constitution between the state of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the individual citizen remains considerably unhinged on this account as well.
13. The second topic on which I would like to comment upon is Topic-5 of Session-II "Geostrategic Competing Demands of Major Powers, Implications - Management Options."
14. Ladies and gentlemen. Pakistan's security does not exist in a vacuum. It is intrinsically linked to the regional security paradigm specific to South Asia which, additionally, like many other important regions of the world, also carries the burden of the fallout of the global big power competition. The strategic effects certainly include as a response, amongst others, the rationale for Pakistan to have taken the nuclear weapons development route.

15. When we talk of regional security especially in the nuclearized environments of South Asia, from Pakistan's perspective, a simple reading of the map makes strategic location, or geography, or geo-strategic competing demands, very clear; the strategic region of Pakistan's security interest is South Asia, I repeat South Asia, which is essentially defined by the states of Pakistan and India. Not the new term of Southern Asia that has been coined by India with a political purpose to include China. It is South Asia where Pakistan and India are located, will continue to be located, and because of adversarial relations between our two countries, that is where the nuclear dimensions, or nuclear dynamics of regional security begin, operate and end as far as Pakistan is concerned.
16. Additionally, however, again in a nuclear context, Pakistan needs to take into account the presence and deployment by our adversary of nuclear weapons at sea, or under the sea carrying elements of first and second strike capability. Since these oceanic deployments are of direct concern to Pakistan's security and are factored in our threat assessments, it is only logical that the land mass of South Asia as a region be considered as extending southwards and be referred to as the extended South Asia region. This would imply portions of the Indian Ocean per se, including the Arabian Sea, as Pakistan's area of security concern. That in essence is the area of interest of Pakistan which defines our perceptions of threat and our response to the threat the land mass of South Asia and the relevant areas of the Indian Ocean to be referred to as extended South Asia. Beyond that, strategists, scholars and academics are free to debate whether extended South Asia belongs to the Asia-Pacific Region or not.
17. However, since India has chosen to expand its security interest to the faraway Asia-Pacific region by becoming part of a grouping called Quad, or Quadrilateral Dialogue, and has generally aligned its broader security policies with the competition, confrontation and containment policies of the US and the west, it has started to enjoy not only political benefits but also tangible benefits of military equipment and advanced technology. These extraordinary tangible benefits carry direct consequences for Pakistan's security and therefore have to be factored into our threat calculus.
18. Ever since President Obama's Pivot to Asia sometime in 2011, the resultant focus of the United States to contain the rise and rise of China, is today the singular dynamic driving the international, and in the case of Asia and extended South Asia particularly, the regional geopolitical scene, with chips falling wherever they might.
19. Where does South Asia, or extended South Asia as I said, figure out in this unfolding global and regional geopolitical environment? What are the emerging challenges or competing demands for Pakistan especially because of Pakistan's traditional and strong strategic relationship with China on the one hand as well as a long history of transactional relationship

with the US on the other hand? Is a balancing act possible that would work to serve Pakistan's national interests? How should Pakistan in the context of its security interests view and respond to the clear strategic choice that the US has made in over two decades by now, of propping up India as a counter weight to China in every possible way?

20. While foreign policy choices are not always easy to make, states like Pakistan which are located in crush zones, carry the burden of making difficult choices which can border on making existential choices. These choices have to be exercised with clarity and vision as to where lie Pakistan's vital national interests. History is transient, neighbourhood is not, and national interests are permanent. Given the history of Pakistan's strategic experiences spread over the last seven decades plus, it must be clear to Pakistan that its vital national interests are inexorably linked to its strategic relationship with China. The time-tested Pakistan-China strategic relationship is deeply rooted in our common history of 75 years and standing by each other under the most challenging geo-political environments. The choice, if ever there was one, is crystal clear. Pakistan must not waver in retaining its strategic relationship with China under any circumstances. This has been done before and must continue to be done by adhering to the basic principles and understanding that have guided in the past the bilateral Pakistan-China friendship and relationship. By doing so Pakistan will remain on the right side of history and benefit from the continued rise of China, which is inevitable and starkly clear for all to see. At a multilateral forum too, Pakistan has done the right thing by becoming a member of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) thereby strategically balancing ourselves with China, Russia and the Central Asian Republics. We must also look seriously at the growing importance of the multilateral grouping of BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa), where it is quite discernible that a large number of countries especially in Pakistan's neighbourhood are showing growing interest.
21. Having said that it is also important to retain working relationships with the US and other significant powers especially in the Middle Eastern neighbourhood. The US is still very much a global super power and cannot be wished away.
22. The bottom line, however, for Pakistan to regain its ability to exercise sovereign choices in foreign policy and be able to stand firm while exercising those choices, it is absolutely vital for Pakistan to regain its economic sovereignty, which unfortunately at this point stands fairly compromised. Without economic sovereignty it will remain a challenge for Pakistan to adopt a sovereign foreign policy. If we look around our neighbourhood and see which countries are exercising relatively smart foreign policy choices, we will find that whether it is India, with Foreign Exchange Reserves of USD 600 Billion, or Saudi Arabia, UAE and Iran with their vast economic wealth, or even Turkey with a relatively stable

economy, all of these countries enjoy the luxury of aligning their foreign policy with their vital national interests. Economic sovereignty is the key, and may I repeat for emphasis, economic sovereignty is the key.

23. Before I end I would like to once again extend my sincere compliments to team BTTN, Brig Agha Ahmed Gul and Dr Zafar Khan for organizing today's Seminar in a most professional manner. I would also like to thank the eminent speakers for their expert views and the participants for generating animated discussion.

And most certainly we are honoured by the presence of the Honourable Governor Malik Abdul Wali Kakar Sahib. Sir, thank you for sparing time and being with us.

24. Thank you ladies and gentlemen.

AD NCA

MESSAGE FOR ACDC / ISSI SEMINAR - 24 MAY 2023

25 YEARS OF YOM TAKBEER: PROMOTING PEACE, STABILITY AND DEVELOPMENT

LT. GENERAL (R) KHALID AHMED KIDWAI NI, HI, HI(M)

AD NCA

Ambassador Khalid Mahmood, Chairman Board of Governors, Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad (ISSI), Ambassador Sohail Mahmood, Director General, Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad, Mr. Malik Qasim Mustafa, Director, Arms Control and Disarmament Centre (ACDC) at ISSI, distinguished speakers, ladies and gentlemen, Assalam Alaikum.

I am greatly honoured to have been asked by the Arms Control and Disarmament Centre of ISSI to send a message on the occasion of this important Seminar to celebrate the 25th anniversary of Yom-Takbeer. Having had the privilege of deep association with Pakistan's nuclear programme from the post-Yom Takbeer period onwards, stretching now to 25 years in itself, I shall be very happy indeed to share my thoughts on the topic that has been very well chosen to comprehensively cover all aspects of Pakistan's nuclear programme and the effects that it generates in promoting peace and stability in South Asia and development inside Pakistan.

In Pakistan's national calendar of important events that we celebrate, 28th May and 30th May 1998 are two dates in Pakistan's history that have come to occupy a special place of pride as well as dates that represent national strength, national resolve and national will to protect Pakistan. These sentiments run across the social fabric and political spectrum of Pakistan irrespective; the people and the streets of Pakistan own and support the nuclear programme. The slightest hint of danger to Pakistan's nuclear capability arouses suspicions and the people of Pakistan make it a point to make it clear that no compromises on this account will ever be acceptable. Pakistan's historic decision to respond to India's five nuclear tests of 11th and 13th May 1998 with six nuclear tests of our own, was the culmination of

a comprehensive national political, scientific, strategic and diplomatic effort going back to 1972 to preserve Pakistan's national security at all cost against external aggression. As is well known, the two events that became catalysts in forcing Pakistan's hand to choose the path of developing nuclear weapons in search of everlasting security were the humiliation of the 1971 War followed by India's testing of a nuclear device at Pokhran in May 1974. The serious strategic consequences of both these events exposed the vulnerability of Pakistan's security against an adversary that not only traditionally enjoyed the advantages of relative asymmetry in conventional forces but had also demonstrated its military capability in no uncertain terms. Its political will and intention to employ that capability in the ruthless pursuit of its political objectives were made quite clear to Pakistan on both occasions. All credit and everlasting national gratitude therefore to Pakistan's national leadership of the time for responding by doing the right thing by Pakistan and taking the right decision at the right time in the interest of Pakistan's security by proceeding on the nuclear weapons route and mind you against the greatest of odds. Any decision other than this would have been a strategic disaster, and serious dereliction of responsibility. Today, as we celebrate 25 years of Yom Takbeer, we must begin by first of all paying tribute to the founding fathers of Pakistan's nuclear programme in the political, scientific, strategic and diplomatic fields and salute those whose collective determination, political wisdom and vision, and scientific expertise allows Pakistanis today to live and breathe in an environment of relative peace and stability without fear of external aggression or a repeat of 1971. Pakistan's nuclear project can be neatly divided into two clear eras. One, the period from 1972 to May 1998 spanning 26 years, which saw the right political decisions being taken across a unified political spectrum irrespective of the personalities or governments in power, breathtaking scientific milestones and breakthroughs being achieved, and superlative diplomacy at its best in providing a diplomatic cover and shielding the national nuclear effort from external harm. Allah was clearly on our side when He provided breathing space to Pakistan's nuclear programme for nearly a decade when the USSR invaded Afghanistan in 1979, and the international focus on Pakistan's nuclear project was pushed into the background. This first era of 26 years enabled Pakistan to excel and move rapidly up a number of scientific notches from level zero to a point when in two weeks' time after the Indian tests, Pakistan's scientific community demonstrated its sound professional capabilities by celebrating success on 28th and 30th May 1998 in style. The world - and India - were stunned. Pakistan had balanced out the strategic equation for all times to come and from a strategic viewpoint, India's advantage of relative conventional asymmetry and its strategies to employ the military instrument in support of its political objectives stood compromised. India has not been able to recover ever since from the restoration of strategic balance in South Asia. While there is a vast number of silent soldiers and heroes of Pakistan's strategic scientific community who contributed in fortifying Pakistan's national security, some names from amongst the leaders must be taken to acknowledge their devotion and single minded effort in leading

their super teams to success. Professor Abdus Salam, Dr. I H Usmani, Mr. Munir Ahmed Khan, Dr. Ishfaq Ahmed, Professor Dr. Riazuddin, Dr. Samar Mubarakmand, Mr. Pervez Butt, Mr. Anwar Ali, Mr. Irfan Burney, Dr. Ansar Pervez, Mr. Naeem Ahmed, Dr. Ghulam Nabi from the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission (PAEC). The one and only Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan from the Dr A Q Khan Research Laboratories (KRL) along with his superb team which comprised of Dr. Fakhar Hashmi, Dr. Javed Mirza, Dr. Naseem Ahmed, Mr. Kareem Ahmed, Dr. Ejaz Mukhtar, Dr. Wilayat Hussain, and a host of others. These ladies and gentlemen are some of Pakistan's genuine heroes to whom we owe our deepest gratitude and respects for making Pakistan secure from external aggression. The second nuclear era of Pakistan's nuclear project commenced from the post-May 1998 tests period and can be counted till as of today spanning the next 25 years. The threads of the nuclear project were picked up from the end of the first era when the scientists proved Pakistan's nuclear capability through nuclear tests. The work in this second era was carried forward through the stages of conceiving, developing, and securing Pakistan's nuclear capability by converting it into a robust comprehensive operationalized capability based on a variety of nuclear weapons. As a consequence, Pakistan's nuclear deterrence capabilities today are based on a well-balanced triad of strategic forces based on land, air and sea based capabilities which deter aggression comprehensively. These operate under the umbrella of a strong command and control system under the National Command Authority (NCA) and the Strategic Plans Division (SPD) and are articulated through the policy of Full Spectrum Deterrence. Taking advantage of this occasion, for better understanding, I will briefly dwell upon the articulation and implications of Pakistan's policy of Full Spectrum Deterrence and how it keeps India's aggressive designs including the Indian military's Cold Start Doctrine in check thereby contributing directly to the enforcement of peace, howsoever fragile it might seem, and retention of strategic stability in South Asia. Pakistan's Full Spectrum Deterrence capability, while remaining within the larger philosophy of Credible Minimum Deterrence, comprises horizontally of a robust tri-services inventory of a variety of nuclear weapons, a triad if you may. It is held on land with the Army Strategic Force Command (ASFC), at sea with the Naval Strategic Force Command (NSFC), and in the air with the Air Force Strategic Command (AFSC). Vertically the spectrum encapsulates adequate range coverage from 0 meters to 2750 kms, as well as nuclear weapons destructive yields at three tiers: strategic, operational and tactical. India's vast eastern and southern geographical dimensions are therefore entirely covered. Specifically, the articulation of Full Spectrum Deterrence implies the following:

- That Pakistan possesses the full spectrum of nuclear weapons in three categories: strategic, operational and tactical, with full range coverage of the large Indian land mass and its outlying territories; there is no place for India's strategic weapons to hide.
- That Pakistan possesses an entire range of weapons yield coverage in terms of kilotons (KT), and the numbers strongly secured, to deter the adversary's

declared policy of massive retaliation; Pakistan's 'counter-massive retaliation' can therefore be as severe if not more.

- That Pakistan retains the liberty of choosing from a full spectrum of targets in a "target-rich India", notwithstanding the indigenous Indian BMD or the Russian S-400, to include counter value, counter force and battlefield targets.

With the foregoing explanation, it would be quite clear that the second era comprising of the last 25 years of Pakistan's nuclear capability should be seen as the seamless continuation of Pakistan's strategic journey that began with the first era of 26 years. Chronologically speaking therefore, the two neat time compartments, while being complimentary to each other would be: First era from 1972 to May 1998, and the second era from May 1998 to May 2023. The journey carries on nevertheless in pursuit of scientific and strategic excellence seeking qualitative improvements but clearly shying away from a mindless and quite unnecessary nuclear arms race. In the future too Pakistan's Full Spectrum Deterrence capability will continue to ensure that peace and strategic stability in South Asia will prevail and that instability will not be allowed to be introduced. If I may say, the illogical logic of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) will remain as relevant in South Asia as it does in Europe and across the Atlantic. Before I conclude I shall briefly touch upon the aspects of the use of Pakistan's nuclear capabilities in pursuit of civil applications for development. I am sure that Dr Ansar Pervez will have much more to say in his presentation later today. Pakistan's crowning success in this regard has been in the field of nuclear energy wherein in pursuit of the NCA approved Nuclear Energy Vision-2050, Pakistani scientists and engineers have delivered seven nuclear power plants which include KANUPP-1 of 120 MWs, Chasma-1, Chashma-2, Chashma-3 and Chashma-4 of 325 MWs each, and KANUPP-2 and KANUPP-3 of 1100 MWs each. If only governments would be more supportive, the Nuclear Energy Vision-2050 plans to deliver 42000 MWs of electricity by 2050; and for an academic comparison this is roughly the equivalent of ten Kalabagh Dams. Additionally, the nuclear sector has also contributed immensely in running 19 cancer treatment hospitals across all provinces, and nuclear agriculture research centres. PAEC also runs a first rate degree awarding university the Pakistan Institute of Engineering and Applied Sciences (PIEAS) in order for Pakistani students to undertake under grad, masters and PhD programmes in sensitive disciplines which otherwise would be denied to them internationally. To conclude, ladies and gentlemen, Pakistan's nuclear project has delivered in all areas of national endeavor especially so in making Pakistan secure from external aggression. The deterrence effects generated by Pakistan's strategic programme have provided Pakistan with a strategic shield for times to come and has rendered India's advantages of relative conventional asymmetry near-irrelevant. And for this no amount of homage that we can pay to all our national heroes who made this possible would be enough. Yom Takbeer must continue to be celebrated with humility and gratitude to Allah for making Pakistan safe and secure.

I wish ACDC, ISSI and all the participants a very successful Seminar.

I thank you.

STRATEGIC PLANNING TO OVERCOME THE OBSTACLES IN PAKISTAN'S SOCIAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMICAL DEVELOPMENT

ON MAY 8, 2023 AT QUETTA

INTERACTION REPORT ON BTTN SEMINAR

A Seminar was held at BUIITEMS (University) Quetta under the auspicious of Balochistan Think Thank Network (BTTN). The topic was Strategic Planning to overcome the obstacles in Pakistan's Social political and economical progress, Governor Baluchistan Abdul Wali Kakar, Brig Agha Ahmed Gul, Ambassador Qazi Dr. Syed Jaffar ahmed, Former Ambassador Ali Sarwar Naqvi, Former Governor Owais Ahmed, Mehfooz Ali Khan, Dr Sanaullah Banezai, Former ambassador Asif Durrani and Dr Jahanzaib Baloch addressed the seminar. While concluding remarks were given by Lt. Genereal @ Khalid Ahmad Kidwai Advisor Development Nuclear Command Authority.

Addressing the audience, Governor Balochistan said that this seminar has broaden his spectrum and helped him understand the local and international issues. Concerned departments will definitely consider valuable suggestions given by the learned speakers. We should work as a team for Pakistan for political and economical development, he added. He expressed his concern over climate change and emphasized the need to take some serious steps to cop up with these challenges. Otherwise, our upcoming generations will have to bear the consequences, he said.

Brig. (R) Agha Gul tracing the history of constitution said first constitution was framed on 23rd March 1956, in 1962 temporary constitution was framed and in April 1973 first unanimous constitution was passed but unfortunately it was not implemented. It was suspended by General Zialul Haq. Then for a decade from 1989 to 1999 democratic rule was seen when General Pervaiz Mushraf took over. Without respect of constitution how we can progress.

While addressing the seminar, Gen Khalid Ahmed kidwai said that right now Pakistan has to deal with multiple issues like political, social, economical and environmental, But he firmly believes that we will be out of this situation soon only if we show solidarity towards our country. We have seerat-ul-Nabi of our beloved prophet (P.B.U.H) as a guideline following which we can deal with all the difficulties lying ahead of us. We as Pakistani nation are well aware of our strategic importance and the enormity of our neighbor's negative propaganda and planning. We will surprise them even harder than 27th Feb 2019. We are just waiting for the right time, " He added.

Revisiting the historic events, Dr. Syed Jafar Ahmed said that are would have been listed as a developed nation only if we have had our law and constitution fully imposed and would have followed it. The involvement of unseen powers didn't

allow the direction of our progress to be determined. We haven't learnt our lesson from the tragedy of East Pakistan. We will reach the goals of development only through the rule of law and constitution.

Former ambassador Qazi Khalilullah was of the opinion that Pakistan's economic problems go hand in hand with political instability. Lack of priorities, governance and corruption are the root cause of all this mess. Lack of accountability system is a reason for prevailing corruption in the society. The widening fiscal deficit is due to a decline in export. We will have to bring revolutionary changes in agriculture, industries and IT sectors. Former Chief Secretary Mahfooz Ali Khan Said that the trend of paying taxes in the country is very disappointing. Our expenses are more than 9579 billion Rupees. While the tax recovery was only 46,000 Rupees. The burden of loss-making government institutions has reach 3,930 billion Rupees. Payment oof pension has become a problem like other countries, a mechanism has to be made for it. As the inflation rate has increased 35% problems of low-income community have increased. Government will have to provide relief.

Addressing the seminar, former governor Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Owais Ahmed Ghani said that we will have to recognize our political system. The eighteenth amendment has empowered the provinces many times while the local government on provincial level is kept deprived of any authority this creates on administrative crisis.

Parliament has been made a status symbol by the feudal, although these institutions are considered to protect the public's basic rights and for the legislation as well. Lack of governance has caused further destruction. It's a bitter fact "he said that as compared to democratic governments, governance has been better during material low.

Former ambassador Asif Durrani while describing the world situation said that the impact of China America tension can clearly be seen in Pakistan. China's one road one belt project, involves nearly five billion people China has improved the lifestyle of more the 80 million people who were living below poverty line. In 2019 trade between China and India was 90 million dollars which has now reached up to 130 million dollars. AKUAS and QUAD are made to keep China in its limits, the trend of military industrial complex is increasing global tension, he said,

Former ambassador Ali Sarwer Naqvi said that we have had many setbacks in last 75 years but we have also covered some great milestones. Nehro claimed at the time of partition that I bet that Pakistan won't survive more than 6 months but we proved him wrong but it's also a fact that we failed to stands as a nation which is the only reason why we have to face on these challenges.

Sharing his concerns about climates change with the audience Dr. Sanaullah mentioned the effects of global climate change on Pakistan, he said that Pakistan's share in overall carbon emission is only 0.05% but Pakistan has been ranked 8th in the list on 10 most affected countries.

We have to deal with unexpected rainfall in addition to this, the glaciers are melting and we haven't built any dams to store all this waters, although we have five rivers but we haven't made any efforts to improve our shortage capacity

while in contrast, the only river Afghanistan has is Kabul river on which they are constructing 21 dams in collaborations with India, Baluchistan is being affected the most due to the climates changes.

Most of its districts are comprised of dry land and desserts while Zhob, Sherani and Moosakhel are its monsoon areas level of underground water in capital city Quetta is dropping down quickly, despite of heavy rainfall we are facing waters scarcity. In Baluchistan due to lack of any proper storage system.

We should try to learn a lesson from countries like Bangkok where it rains continuously from 7 to 8 months but still, they manage to store and utilize all this surplus water by using up to the mark modern methods. Talking about the colonialism Pr. Jahanzain Baloch said that it all started with the British rule which is long forgotten but nowadays underdeveloped countries are being controlled by international organizations like IMF and World Bank.

We are facing financial deficit. We are being pressurized by the international powers due to our strategic value and importance and to avoid this, we need some serious reforms. Senior dignitaries from different departments of BUIEMS University, teachers, students and some of the attendees asked relative question from the speakers. Vice chancellor Kohlu University, journalists and people from different walks of life, also attended the seminar. Governor Baluchistan Abdul Wali Kakar was awarded with shield and the logo of BTTN while Mr. Abdul Wali Kakar also handed over some shields and mementos to Gen (R) Khalid Ahmed Kidwai, Ali Sarwar Naqvi, Dr. Syed Jafar Ahmed, Brig (R) Agha Ahmed Gul, Qazi Khalilullah and other speakers of the seminar.

POLICY BRIEF

NUCLEAR ENERGY IN THE GLOBAL & PAKISTAN CONTEXT TRENDS AND PERSPECTIVES

DR. MOHID IFTIKHAR, DIRECTOR RESEARCH IN CISSS

IRAJ ABID, RESEARCH OFFICER IN CISSS

INTRODUCTION

Alongside global climate change, big power contestation has negatively impacted the supply of energy worldwide. The Ukraine crisis has resulted in global market distortions, including price instability and supply chain disruptions of both essential and energy commodities. In turn, global growth has been severely hampered. The International Monetary Fund (IMF, 2023) estimates that global growth is expected to decline from an estimated 3.4% in 2022 to 2.9% in 2023. Guan et al, (2023) state that «Energy costs for households around the globe are estimated to have risen by between 62.6% and 112.9% since the beginning of the Russia-Ukraine conflict.»

Currently, fossil fuels account for over 75% of global greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions (United Nations, 2022). Shifting to clean energy is imperative, in order to minimize GHG emissions and achieve the target of net zero by 2050. This is crucial,

given that power consumption is expected to increase threefold by 2050 (McKinsey, 2022). The share of energy produced by fossil fuels in the global energy mix is approximately 80% (Environmental and Energy Study Institute, 2021). However, according to a Met Group (2021), fossil fuel reserves are likely to be exhausted over the next 50-115 years: oil in 51 years, natural gas in 53 years, and coal in 114 years. Such estimates are a cause for alarm.

GEOPOLITICAL CRISES AND CLIMATE CHANGE

The Ukraine crisis has severely disrupted energy markets and supply chains. Russian energy has found new consumers in Asia to replace European buyers, and US and Middle Eastern oil and gas have replaced Russian supplies in Europe. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) estimates that by the end of 2023 the global economy will face losses totaling USD 2.8 trillion as a result of the Ukraine crisis. The International Energy Agency (IEA, 2022) has stated that «Energy markets and policies have changed as a result of the Ukraine crisis, not just for the time being, but for decades to come.»

The effects of global climate change have exacerbated the impact on the energy supply chain and infrastructure. The World Meteorological Organization (WMO, 2020) states that «climate change directly affects fuel supply, energy production as well as the physical resilience of current and future energy infrastructure». Globally, the increasing frequency of heatwaves, floods, wildfires, rains and snowfall has adversely affected power generation and supply.

GLOBAL TRENDS

It is important to note that the share of nuclear energy in the national energy mix of many advanced and emerging economies is significant. For example, it is 70% in France, 52% in Slovakia, 50% in Belgium, 47% in Hungary, 40% in Slovenia, 37% in the Czech Republic, 35% in Bulgaria, 34% in Finland, 31% in Sweden, 29% in Switzerland, 28% in South Korea, 21% in Spain, 20% in the US, and approximately 20% in Russia (estimates vary) (IAEA, 2022).

One important aspect of nuclear power generation is the cost of waste management. The World Nuclear Association (WNA, 2022) notes that waste disposal and decommissioning costs are factored into operating costs. Typically, the waste management and disposal costs of nuclear power constitute approximately 5% of the total electricity generation cost. At the same time, history has shown that «in over 50 years of civil nuclear power experience, the management and disposal of civil nuclear waste has not caused any serious health or environmental problems, nor posed any real risk to the general public» (WNA, 2022). The risks associated with nuclear power plants have become of global concern due to three past accidents. In 1979, the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant accident was caused by a meltdown in part of the core of reactor which resulted in a cooling malfunction. No injuries or harmful health effects were reported as a result of the accident (WNA, 2022). In 1986, the Chernobyl accident was the result of a combination of faulty reactor design and poorly trained staff. In March 2011, the Fukushima Daiichi accident occurred as a result of a major earthquake followed by a 15-meter tsunami that disabled the power supply and

cooling system for three reactors. However, no deaths or cases of radiation sickness were reported in the wake of the Fukushima Daiichi accident (WNA, 2022). Globally, these nuclear accidents served as important lessons, resulting in significant advances in nuclear technology, training of personnel, design and safety protocols. A study by Ayoub and Sornette (2022) published in the Swiss Finance Institute concludes that new concepts introduced into the design of nuclear power plants means that accidents on the «Fukushima scale can be brought down to about one per 300 years of operation of the worldwide fleet.» Pakistan's NPPs, namely K2 and K3 (ACP-1000), are third-generation reactors. Former Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission (PAEC) chairman Ansar Pervaiz (2014) has stated that «the ACP 1000 is a generation three reactor with diverse safety systems including passive safety features that could handle extreme situations like a complete station black-out [...] the additional safety systems based on the lessons learnt from the Fukushima accident make the plant more robust against power failures, earthquakes, flooding and tsunamis.»

There is concern regarding the supply of uranium, which is the most widely used fuel source for nuclear power plants. However, Science Daily (2016) notes that «the oceans hold more than four billion tons of uranium enough to meet global energy needs for the next 10,000 years if only we could capture the element from seawater to fuel nuclear power plants. Major advances in this area have now been made». A 2014 article in Forbes also emphasizes that «common wisdom, that limited uranium supplies will prevent a substantial increase in nuclear energy, is incorrect. We have plenty of uranium, enough for the next 10,000 years». Such figures make it clear that nuclear energy is a promising option for the future.

Today, there is renewed interest at the global level in nuclear power generation, as it offers an attractive alternative for dealing with the repercussions of geopolitical crises and the devastation caused by climate change. At present, there are 410 operational NPPs, while a total of 57 nuclear power reactors are under construction worldwide (IAEA, 2023). The share of total power generation produced through nuclear energy may increase to 14% by 2050 (IAEA, 2023). Some experts, including Mignault (2022), estimate that the share of nuclear energy may double (to 20%) by 2050. Such projections are made based on factors such as climate conditions, regulatory frameworks, and the drive for clean energy.

Given the many benefits of nuclear energy, which is clean, affordable and reliable, it seems clear that developing countries such as Pakistan need to take a closer look at their energy mix and consider enhancing their share of nuclear power.

PAKISTAN PERSPECTIVE

Pakistan's energy market has long faced structural problems such as low investment, reliance on imported energy commodities, depreciation of the rupee, aging power infrastructure, and controversy surrounding the development of dams. The high cost of imported energy commodities is a major contributor to Pakistan's balance of payments crisis, which poses a grave challenge to the

overall economic stability of the country. The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC, 1992) advocates clean sources of energy in order to minimize global GHG emissions, and to «limit the temperature increase to 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels». In the case of Pakistan, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP, 2023) suggests that in order to achieve a 50% reduction in its overall GHG emissions by 2030, Pakistan must achieve a 15% reduction from its own resources and a 35% reduction subject to the provision of international grant finance. Renewable energy sources such as solar, wind and hydro are clean and affordable sources of energy. However, renewable energy sources are also dependent upon several factors, such as climatic conditions, geopolitics and pandemics that may adversely affect the supply of their essential components and parts (Solaun and Cerdá, 2019). Nuclear energy merits attention as a baseload source of power for assured economic development, given that the fuel supply for NPPs is not dependent upon market conditions (OECD-NEA, 2011). Pakistan has more than 50 years' experience in nuclear power generation. The IAEA has commended Pakistan's safety record and the quality of the human resources in its nuclear power sector (IAEA, 2021). Pakistan currently operates six nuclear power plants (NPPs), which collectively produce approximately 3,500 MW of electricity. Four NPPs are located in Chashma (C-1, C-2, C-3 and C-4). The two largest NPPs (K-2 and K-3), located in Karachi, produce 2,200 MW. K-2 and K-3 are third-generation NPPs, fitted with highly sophisticated multilayered safety mechanisms (IAEA, 2023). Pakistan's energy policies, namely the «National Power Policy 2013», the «Power Generation Policy 2015», the «Alternative and Renewable Energy Policy 2019», and the «National Electricity Policy 2021», are aimed at promoting affordability, a consumer-centric approach, reducing reliance on imported fuels, and encouraging economic growth and public-private partnership (PPP) in the energy sector. Pakistan's wealth of experience in nuclear power generation, coupled with energy-friendly policies, constitutes an ideal environment for new investments in NPPs. Numerous studies, such as Kirikkaleli et al. (2020), have identified a positive association between nuclear energy consumption and economic growth. In this regard, the Planning Commission of Pakistan (2022) estimates that electricity generation in Pakistan would increase from its 2021 level of 143,589 GW to 230,176 GW by 2030. However, in the context of power generation the primary concerns are cleanness, affordability and reliability, and nuclear energy performs well according to all these metrics. According to the Nuclear Energy Institute (NEI, 2000) «Uranium is an abundant metal and is full of energy: One uranium fuel pellet creates as much energy as one ton of coal, 149 gallons of oil or 17,000 cubic feet of natural gas». A joint report by the OECD Nuclear Energy Agency and the International Energy Agency (2020) estimates that the levelized cost of energy (LCOE) of «nuclear in 2025 will range from about USD 55-95 per MWh as compared to almost USD 100 per MWh for coal and about USD 80 per MWh for gas». Nuclear energy, therefore, is an attractive non-fossil fuel option for Pakistan, given its reliability, affordability and environmental friendliness.

With regard to nuclear waste management, the PAEC has adequate measures in place for its six NPPs. The United Nations notes that the «IAEA's Safety Standards reflect an international consensus on what constitutes a high level of safety for protecting people and the environment from the harmful effects of ionizing radiation». According to Bill Gates (2023): «The waste problems should not be a reason to not do nuclear [...] Say the US was completely nuclear-powered it's a few rooms worth of total waste.

So no, it's not a gigantic thing [...] the cost of storing and sequestering nuclear waste underground is not a huge problem [...] it can be put into deep boreholes underground [...] where it stays geologically for hundreds of millions of years [...] I'm involved in that where the countries that are committed to nuclear prove it out and show that economic safety, waste management is handled». The Pakistan Nuclear Regulatory Authority (PNRA) states that «Currently, Pakistan has one spent fuel dry storage facility in operation whereas another facility is under construction phase». Jalil (2022) highlights that the share of nuclear power in total electricity generation in Pakistan has increased from 1% in 1990 to 12% (estimates vary) in 2022. In December 2022, the share of nuclear energy in total power generation was 27.1%, as a result of a decline in power generation from other sources (Business Recorder 2023). This situation has led to significant savings for the country. According to the National Electric Power Regulatory Authority (2023), the total nuclear fuel cost for the 22,227 GWh generated by six NPPs in 2022 was USD 112 million. It would have cost (after adjustments for nuclear fuel costs) USD 3.0 billion if generated by using furnace oil, USD 2.2 billion by RLNG, and USD 1.6 billion using imported coal (these figures represent net savings). Nuclear energy is, therefore, a promising option. Investment in new NPPs could help to substantially reduce Pakistan's energy import bill of USD 27 billion. The installation of NPPs through public-private partnership (PPP) is also an option. The PPP model for NPPs has been implemented successfully in Canada and the US. In May 2021, India's Department of Atomic Energy (DAE) announced that it will be constructing the country's first research reactor on the PPP model (Hindustan Times, 2021). Pakistan is also in a position to explore the option of investing in NPPs through the PPP model. The option of small modular reactors (SMRs) in remote areas can also be explored through the PPP model. SMRs are advanced nuclear reactors that have a power capacity of up to 300 MW(e) per unit (estimates vary). Due to their smaller size, they are easier to install at locations unsuitable for larger NPPs. SMRs are cost effective and can be built relatively quickly (IAEA 2021).

At the global level, nuclear energy is being considered in the context of the electric vehicle (EV) market. According to Durham (NEI, 2022):

Carbon-free energy like nuclear is needed to power these stations to deliver on clean energy targets [...] Nuclear energy is the most viable option for a steady stream of reliable, affordable, carbon-free electricity that can power EV charging stations 24/7/365. Nuclear reactors are responsible for over half of all carbon-free energy produced in the US, and nuclear energy pairs well with renewables, like wind and solar, to create a cleaner grid [...] Nuclear energy is essential to ensuring

EVs succeed in helping reach decarbonization goals, meet increasing electricity demand, and keep electricity costs low [...] EV manufacturers, battery manufacturers and recharging stations can all harness nuclear technology to power clean transportation. That way when you plug in your next EV, you know that your choice is truly making a difference.

Pakistan's EV Policy aims to boost the market share of EVs to 30% by 2030 (International Council on Clean Transportation, 2020). Based on global trends within the EV industry, nuclear power generation has the potential to help facilitate Pakistan's EV Policy.

CONCLUSION

In order to achieve economic growth, Pakistan must have an affordable and reliable supply of electricity, while at the same time minimizing the country's dependence on imported fossil fuels. It is therefore important that the government of Pakistan focuses upon implementation of its Nuclear Energy Vision for 2030 and 2050, with the aim of generating 8,800 MW and 42,000 MW, respectively.

It is encouraging to note that, at the inaugural ceremony for K-3 NPP in Karachi on February 2nd 2023, Prime Minister Shehbaz Sharif spoke in favor of enhancing cooperation with China in the field of nuclear energy (Business Recorder, 2023). During his visit to Pakistan in February 2023, Rafael Mariano Grossi, the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), stated that «Pakistan has technical and engineering capacity for new nuclear power plants including small modular reactors (SMRs), which indicates a promising future for nuclear energy and achieving Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)» (Radio Pakistan, 2023).

According to PAEC (2019), the viability of SMRs in Pakistan's context in «far-flung areas [that] require small power plants [and the] modular design of SMRs will allow customized NPPs for different regions [...] Northern areas face severe winter hence, district heating could be provided through the deployment of SMRs [...] Desalination using nuclear energy through the deployment of SMRs is viable [...] Hybrid energy systems based on SMRs could be deployed in wind corridors and sun-rich areas [...] Ship-based SMRs are also a feasible option for coastal areas». These statements and various scientific assessments point to a promising future for nuclear energy in Pakistan, where nuclear energy has the potential to help the country to absorb exogenous shocks resulting from climatic threats and geopolitical crises, as well as to achieve an affordable and reliable supply of clean energy for Pakistan's future electricity needs and economic development.

CONFLICTS OF INTEREST

The authors have no conflicts of interest to declare.

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FOUAD HAFEEZ, HINDUTVA THE RISE OF THE FOURTH REICH, (VANGUARD BOOKS; LAHORE: 2022)

SAFIA MALIK, RESEARCH OFFICER IN CISSS

Hindutva is extremist ideology of radical Hindu nationalists in India. The impact of Hindutva was never so pronounced and offensive for minorities as has been under the Modi-led BJP government. Mr. Fouad Hafeez's book *Hindutva: The Rise of the Fourth Reich* provides irrefutable evidence and reads like a damning report on the manifestation of Hindutva in its ugliest form since the assumption of office by Narendra Modi in 2014. The author stresses that Hindutva has turned India into Hindustan. The book brings out similarities between Hindutva and Nazism and its impact on the domestic politics in India. The book is divided into eleven parts. At the outset, the author, inspired by Charles Dickens's novel *A Tale of Two Cities* emphasizes that India and Hindustan have become two different countries just like Paris and London are two different cities with different standards of living. He has underlined that India with 1.3 billion population and area of 3.2 million sq km, is a melting pot of civilizations and cultures and a mixture of various ethnic groups including Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs and Christians. Whereas Hindustan is meant for radical Hindu nationalists who thrive on communal violence and ethnic cleansing which is alarming for non-Hindu citizens of India. The author has quoted 2002 Gujrat carnage and 2014 communal tensions in Uttar Pradesh during elections as evidence of brutalization of minorities in India. A number of separatist movements are underway in India including in Manipur, Mizoram, Tripura, Meghalaya and Assam. India has also been brutally suppressing the struggle for right to self-determination in Indian Illegally Occupied Jammu and Kashmir (IIOJK) for the last seventy-five years. The author has argued that this makes India and Hindustan two separate countries and both are in conflict with each other.

The author is of the view that Hindutva shares doctrines, belief systems and radical mindset with Nazism (p. 14). Vinayak Damodar Savarkar's book titled *The Essentials of Hindutva* describes Hindustan as a nationalist or racial entity. Hitler believed in the concept of *Lebensraum*, which means to capture the territories of neighbouring countries through use of force and consolidating the hold through ethnic cleansing and forced migration of the natives. Savarkar advocates the application of *Lebensraum* as part of the concept of *Akhand Bharat* which envisions a Pan-Indian empire with the inclusion of today's Pakistan, Bangladesh, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan and Myanmar. Although the subcontinent

was ruled by various empires that had nothing to do with "Indianness" or "Hinduness", the concept of Akhand Baharat was implemented by India during the annexation of the state of Junagadh in 1947, Kashmir in 1947, Hyderabad in 1948 and Goa in 1961. Savarkar was influenced by Hitler's ideology as he draws analogies between Germany's Aryan majority and Jew minority and between India's Hindu majority and Muslim minority. He stated in 1938, "If we Hindus in India grow stronger in time, these Muslim friends will have to play the part of German Jews" (p. 18). Mr. Hafeez also compares Nazi German Schutzstaffel (SS) with Hindu nationalist group Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS). SS was a small paramilitary security force that used to provide security during political party meetings. Organizational changes, ideological refueling and the emergence of radical leaders turned this small organization into a deadly one (p. 29). At the same time, RSS was taking birth in the subcontinent to target Indian minorities, especially Muslims and Christians. The author has referred to Shakha and Sangh, two branches of RSS that are infamous for instigating hatred, violence and disseminating radical Hindutva ideology among the masses (p. 32). The establishment of the Bhartiya Janta Party (BJP), a political face of RSS, gave Hindu nationalists a license to abuse Indian minorities with impunity. The author also compares the task assigned to the Third Reich of the SS for rounding up Jews from all the territories occupied by Nazi Germany and transporting them to concentration camps in Poland for extermination with the RSS-led Hindutva ideology and describes it as Fourth Reich. He recalls the address of Pakistan's first Foreign Minister Dr. Zafarullah Khan to UN Security Council in January 1948 during which he exposed the systematic extermination of Muslims during partition. He also referred to violence by Hindus and Sikhs in Ahmadabad, Bombay, Calcutta and Bihar against Muslims during partition (p. 34). In this context, the author has referred to August 1947 edition of Daily Telegraph London, which states that only in Jullundur, 100,000 Muslims out of 200,000 residents were brutally killed and 20,000 were forced to evacuate (p. 38). The author traces the record of systematic violence by radical Hindus not only against Muslims but also against Christians. He is of the view that if extremism against Muslims by Hindutva-driven RSS Hindu zealots is compared with the murderer of Mahatma Gandhi, Nathuram Godse, the latter would appear to be a Desh Bhakt (Patriot). The author has further underlined a number of cases of violence against Muslims including Indian state-sponsored terrorism: (i) 1948 Hindu Mahasabha and RSS-backed violence in Hyderabad that left 27000 people dead; (ii) 1969 communal riots in Gujrat that left 430 Muslims killed; (iii) 1980 Muradabad killings that left 284 people dead; and (iv) 1983 Nellie Massacre, which was carried out against Muslim immigrants and left 2,191 dead. According to the author, instances of systematic use of violence against Christians include the killing of missionaries and priests, sexual assault, burning of bible and forcible religious conversion. He has stressed that violent activities of Bajrang Dal and Sangh Pariwar targeting the Christians had Indian government's patronage.

PAKISTAN RUSSIA GROWING TRADE RELATIONS

INTERACTION DESK

Russia is widely referred to as an “energy superpower” and is the world's leading natural gas exporter and second-largest oil exporter. Russia, like any other oil/gas producer, needs to find new markets for its energy products. Pakistan is facing a gas shortage, and has already established itself as a viable energy consumer. According to reports, Pakistan has a gas shortfall of 1.5 billion cubic feet per day, which is expected to double by 2025. Authorities have estimated that domestic gas supplies will drop from 3.51 bcf/d in 2019 to 1.67 bcf/d in 2028, necessitating an increase in LNG imports to meet demand. The country began importing LNG in 2015 to mitigate a growth in consumption and to reduce oil imports. It is also reported that over a mere six years, Islamabad has become the world's ninth-largest LNG importer. Qatar is presently Pakistan's biggest gas supplier, and the latter is still looking for more energy partners to cooperate with. In June 2021, Pakistan secured US\$4.5 billion (S\$ 6.12 billion) worth of financing from the Islamic Trade Finance Corporation to cover the cost of importing crude, petroleum and LNG. With the signing of a “shareholders' agreement” in July 2021, Russia and Pakistan have outlined the roadmap for future cooperation, including the construction of a US\$2.5 billion (S\$3.4 billion) natural gas pipeline in Pakistan. This project is a part of a Russian investment package worth of US\$14 billion (S\$18.7 billion) in Pakistan's energy sector promised in 2019. Russia's determination to establish long-term economic and trade relations with Pakistan demonstrates strong political decision making by President Putin and his team. Pakistan's pursuit in energy and trade sectors remains the most crucial element as it is rapidly establishing its economic footprints in partnership with China's Belt and Road Initiative. Russia's strategic need to structure a balanced trajectory of relations with all its neighbors in Asia brings the two countries together. The news that has been in the newspapers with the heading or columns “Pakistan buys Russian oil but sees diversified future” Pak-Russia energy diplomacy, Fast track development on Russo-Pak Energy corridor used for Pak's economic stability and the President SAARC chamber of Commerce and Industry Mr. Iftekhhar Ali Malik hails govt's decision of importing crude oil from Russia in currencies of friendly countries as mutually agreed by the two countries. This action will ease dollar's pressure on Pakistan as Pakistan would like to import 35% of its total crude oil requirement from Russia. Mr. Iftekhhar further said that recent decision of the government was also a good one for direct settlement and clearing in RMB between China and Pakistan which will help balance greatly the possible trade fluctuation caused by changes in US dollars. Development communication net work's Pakistan Executive Director Munir Ahmed said: A comprehensive Russo-Pak Energy Corridor is very crucial for both countries at this point. Strangely, overlooking the sacrifices of about seventy years, the US has left Pakistan in isolation for siding with China in the new US-NATO

cold war against Pakistan's iron friend. Russia, on the other hand, is facing a difficult battle to defend a Moscow-leaning Ukraine that has been seized by US-puppet presidents since the so-called "Revolution of Dignity," prompted by US touts. That revolt compromised the honor of common Ukrainians. While the Russian Federation defends its friends in Ukraine, the US and the West have destroyed Ukraine and frozen \$330 billion in the Russian government and citizen assets. Munir Ahmed said that the time is ripe for both the countries to think about the larger and more comprehensive Russo-Pak Energy Corridor (RPEC), similar to the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). Both corridors can help Pakistan have historic economic growth and prosperity, while the country can also play its backbone role in the regional economic bloc. Whoever takes it up will be the hero of the nation and the region too. In Pakistan, it seems that time has come for growing Pakistan and Russia trade relations on faster track.

A NUCLEAR COLLISION COURSE IN SOUTH ASIA THE BUDDING ARMS RACE AMONG CHINA, INDIA AND PAKISTAN

ANDREW F. KREPINEVICH, JR.

In the summer of 2021, the world learned that China was dramatically expanding its nuclear arsenal. Satellite imagery showed Beijing building as many as 300 new ballistic missile silos. The Pentagon now projects that China's stockpile of nuclear weapons, which had for years rested in the low hundreds, could spike to 1,500 warheads by 2035, confirming suspicions that Beijing has decided to join Russia and the United States in the front rank of nuclear powers. Security experts are only beginning to sort through the implications of China's nuclear breakout. They would do well to consider Ashley Tellis's new book, *Striking Asymmetries*, which assesses the implications of Beijing's actions from the vantage point of the rivalries between South Asia's three nuclear powers: China, India, and Pakistan. In a work that should be required reading for senior political and military leaders, Tellis presents a compelling case why this tripolar nuclear system, which has for decades remained remarkably stable, may be on the verge of becoming far more dangerous. Tellis draws upon decades of experience in South Asian security affairs, unique access to senior policymakers and military leaders in the three rivals' defense establishments, and a remarkable ability to make seemingly abstract technical concepts readily understood by those with even a passing interest in the subject matter. The result is the most comprehensive, informed, and accessible assessment to date of this nuclear rivalry and one that cannot be ignored.

THE RACE IS ON

China and Pakistan have a long and close relationship, in part built around their mutual view of India as a rival. India finds itself sandwiched between these two often hostile powers. Yet despite a history of wars and persistent low-grade conflict between India and its two rivals, a general war has been averted since

India and Pakistan became nuclear powers a quarter century ago. Moreover, the three countries have not found themselves caught up in a nuclear arms race. Until recently, they viewed their nuclear weapons primarily as political instruments, not as tools for actual warfighting. All three adopted a “minimum deterrent” nuclear posture, maintaining the lowest number of nuclear weapons necessary to inflict unacceptable damage to their adversaries' key cities even after suffering a nuclear attack. In keeping with this strategy, the three Asian rivals avoided maintaining a significant portion of their arsenals on high alert. Instead, they stored their weapons in caves, in deep underground facilities, or in other concealed locations. Rejecting American and Russian notions that “retaliation delayed is retaliation denied,” the three countries, especially China and India, forswore the need for a swift response to a nuclear attack. To be sure, they would respond eventually in days, weeks, or even months but they did not accept the imperative of immediacy. As a result, these countries have avoided making heavy investments in early warning systems while retaining centralized control over their arsenals. But the prospects for sustaining this era of minimum deterrence appear increasingly shaky. The tripolar rivalry has not been locked in amber: Tellis describes strongly held beliefs among top security officials in China, India, and Pakistan that their nuclear postures are inadequate. Led by China and Pakistan, with India following in their wake, the three rivals are now on a course that will result in a dramatic expansion of their nuclear arsenals, even if Russia and the United States pursue substantial cuts to theirs.

TWO AGAINST ONE

At the core of Tellis's assessment are the differences “asymmetries” driving the tripolar rivalry. One fundamental difference is that China and Pakistan are revisionist powers seeking to alter the existing order, while India remains content with the status quo. China possesses the most formidable nuclear arsenal of the three, followed by Pakistan, with India trailing. There is also an asymmetry in the three powers' strategic focus. Pakistani security officials are obsessed with India, while India's focus is overwhelmingly on China. China's sights, however, have shifted beyond regional to global rivalries, principally with the United States. It is this competition with Washington that is driving Beijing's nuclear breakout. For China, India's deterrent is rapidly assuming a peripheral role, similar to that played by China in American nuclear planning during the Cold War. Beijing's support for Pakistan's nuclear weapons program, which includes providing Islamabad with blueprints for a bomb and fissile material, has further complicated India's position. Pakistan's leaders are looking to abandon minimum deterrence in favor of “full-spectrum deterrence,” where their nuclear forces cover multiple contingencies in the event of war with India. There are three central factors spurring Pakistani officials to adopt this more aggressive posture. First, Islamabad is aware that its conventional forces are weaker than India's and believes it has no alternative but to employ, if need be, its nuclear forces to offset this asymmetry. Second, given that India is far larger than Pakistan, Islamabad believes it must be able to inflict greater destruction on India in a retaliatory strike than India will inflict on it. This

requires Pakistan to maintain a larger nuclear arsenal to target India's population and economic hubs in the event of war. Third, Pakistan also hopes that its nuclear forces prevent India from undertaking large-scale military action against it in response to Islamabad's ongoing support for militant groups in the disputed region of Kashmir. Tellis shows that accomplishing full-spectrum deterrence will require Pakistan to expand its arsenal substantially. For instance, he notes that stopping a major advance of Indian conventional forces into Pakistani territory would require scores of so-called tactical nuclear weapons, weapons that Islamabad currently lacks.

A FRAGILE PEACE

Although Tellis argues that Beijing's and Islamabad's nuclear provocations do not automatically portend growing instability in the region, the evidence he presents suggests otherwise. He finds that Beijing's growing arsenal will not necessarily place India's security at greater risk but describes a set of highly plausible Chinese actions that, in combination with a superpower-sized arsenal, risk undermining India's confidence in its own nuclear deterrent. To begin with, Beijing is seeking the capability to launch nuclear reprisals far more quickly than ever before. This requires China to maintain a portion of its force on heightened alert, which may not have posed a threat to India when China possessed a few hundred weapons. But if Beijing placed a significant percentage of its expanded arsenal of 1,000 or more warheads on high alert, the strategic ground would shift considerably. India would now face a neighbor capable of launching a large-scale attack with little or no warning. India's ability to withstand a nuclear strike and retain the capacity to inflict catastrophic destruction in response is closely tied to the security of its underground nuclear storage sites. China currently lacks the ability to destroy them even assuming it knows their locations. That could change, however, once China's arsenal has more than 1,000 warheads, especially if China improves the accuracy of its weapons. Such a development, combined with Beijing's adoption of increased alert levels for its nuclear forces, would set alarm bells ringing in New Delhi; Indian officials could conclude that China has the capacity to disarm India's nuclear weapons arsenal. China may also enhance its air and missile defenses, making matters even more precarious for India. These defenses would minimize the threat posed by any "broken-back" Indian nuclear retaliation in other words, an attack that uses whatever weapons survive a disarming Chinese strike. But New Delhi would surely know that employing the remnants of its arsenal to retaliate against China would leave it vulnerable to Pakistani nuclear blackmail. Put simply, India would risk being left with no credible nuclear deterrent to resist coercion by Islamabad. Tellis is correct to note that China's development of these capabilities is not assured. Yet during Beijing's decades-old conventional military buildup, it has sought to match every significant U.S. capability, including stealth fighters, military satellite constellations, aircraft carriers, and cyberweaponry. Tellis recognizes that even if China creates such a set of capabilities, it must still know the location of India's storage sites in order to target them and have high confidence that its intelligence is accurate and

comprehensive. This uncertainty could restrain Beijing. But at the same time, New Delhi may not feel comfortable simply trusting that its nuclear sites have not yet been unearthed by Chinese intelligence or presuming that Chinese leaders are wary of taking big risks.

NEW DELHI'S DILEMMA

How might India respond to China's and Pakistan's nuclear provocations? Tellis points out that India is not without options but that each path has its pitfalls. First, he shows that if India wanted to, it could easily match China weapon for weapon. Yet he believes New Delhi would prefer to maintain its minimum deterrent strategy, emphasizing its ability to inflict severe damage on its adversaries' cities. This stems in no small part from the expense India would incur by following Beijing in its quest to match America's nuclear arsenal. Still, Tellis acknowledges that India's arsenal will have to expand its nuclear holdings to possess the warheads needed to inflict unacceptable damage on both China and Pakistan. And as India increases its arsenal, Pakistan is sure to do the same completing the regional chain reaction triggered by China's nuclear expansion. Tellis rejects the "more of the same" option of expanding India's underground storage facilities, showing persuasively that it would prove costlier to accomplish than it would for China to simply expand the number of weapons needed to destroy them. Rather, he argues, India's solution is to be found in stealth and mobility. This could be achieved by creating a nuclear ballistic missile submarine force and by shifting more of India's arsenal to mobile road and rail missile launchers. As for China's air and missile defenses, Tellis points out that India might address the problem by deploying penetration aid decoys on its missiles. These decoys are designed to present themselves as actual warheads to missile defense radars, thereby inducing the defender to expend precious interceptor missiles engaging false targets. This would offset, if only partially, New Delhi's need to expand its nuclear arsenal. Yet even if India were to pursue these actions, it would still face significant challenges. The threat of a Chinese preemptive strike may compel India to develop an effective early warning system to enable it to reduce its arsenal's vulnerability by sending its weapons out to sea and flushing its land-based missiles from their silos. New Delhi would also have to establish a new command-and-control system to direct the actions of its nuclear submarines. Yet while India is in the process of constructing nuclear-powered ballistic submarines, it still has a long way to go in building a significant force and overcoming the technological hurdles necessary to create a credible seaborne nuclear deterrent. Tellis notes that among these challenges, New Delhi is experiencing problems with its naval nuclear reactor designs. Then there are India's nuclear weapons. New Delhi has only conducted a handful of nuclear tests not enough to validate its thermonuclear designs to offer high confidence that these weapons will perform as designed. Its most reliable weapon has a yield of 12 kilotons, whereas China's weapons have yields as much as 100 times greater. Addressing these shortfalls may require India to resume testing and risk incurring sanctions from the United States and other nations. Tellis hints at a tantalizing solution to India's problems.

The United States could provide India with a reliable thermonuclear weapon design. The trilateral security pact among Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States that is known as AUKUS, which will assist Australia in acquiring nuclear-powered submarines, could be expanded to include India. Might the Americans also share their nuclear reactor designs with New Delhi? But for this to happen, India, which has kept the United States at arm's length practically since its birth, would have to finally and firmly close ranks with the leading Indo-Pacific democracies and formally forsake the nonaligned strategic autonomy it has long enshrined at the heart of its foreign policy.

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Courtesy: Foreign Affairs.
