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PIVOT

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ISSI
Foundation Day Special

Pakistan's National Security- Expanding Horizons



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Institute of Strategic Studies
Islamabad



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Sector F-5/2, Islamabad

Phone: +92-51-9204423/24; Fax: +92-51-9204658
Email: strategy@issi.org.pk Website: www.issi.org.pk

Editorial Team

Patron in Chief

Amb. Aizaz Ahmad Chaudhry

Chief Editor

Dr. Talat Shabbir

Editor

Uroosa Khan

Contributing Editors

Muhammad Faisal

Ume Farwa

Muhammad Iqbal

Managing Editor

Moin Zakir Abbasi

Graphics & Layout Design

Bushra Mushtaq Khan

Network Administrator

Syed Mohammad Farhan

Contact Us

Email: pivot@issi.org.pk

Website: www.issi.org.pk

Address: Institute of Strategic Studies

F-5/2, Islamabad

Phone: +92-51-9204423-24

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5-A Abbas Centre, Fazal-e-Haq Road

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Phone: 051-2150285 - 051-2120816

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'Pakistan is the PIVOT of the world, placed on the frontier on which the future position of the world revolves.' Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, January 1948

Chief Editor's Note



Since inception Pakistan has been grappling with myriad of security challenges. For decades, the focus had been on meeting traditional security challenges. The national security of Pakistan had been defined exclusively through the lens of military defense. The concept of human and economic security was lacking. The geo-strategic location and internal and regional challenges further

strengthened the traditional security dimension to the detriment of human and economic security of the country. Given that the non-traditional security threats are dominating the policy agenda, there is a need for implementing a comprehensive national security policy which encompasses both economic and human security alongside military security. However, the shift from a narrow concept of national security to a much broader construct of security in Pakistan's newly framed National Security Policy is indeed promising.

The NSP unveiled in January 2022, pronounced that the purpose of the policy is to enhance "safety, security, dignity, and prosperity" of the citizenry. Meanwhile, economic security has been placed at the core of national security agenda. Essentially, if Pakistan and its people are economically secure, only then they can achieve right security.

Without any doubt, human security along with economic security defines and explains the country's National Security in its true spirit. However, at the moment, political stability is what is required for the country's security. The idea of expanded security within Pakistan can only be achieved through social cohesion and political stability. This would open the path towards sustainable economic development, and in the end, ensure comprehensive security of the people of Pakistan.

Talat

Dr. Talat Shabbir

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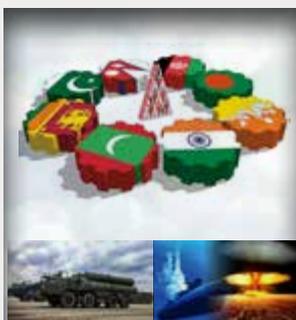
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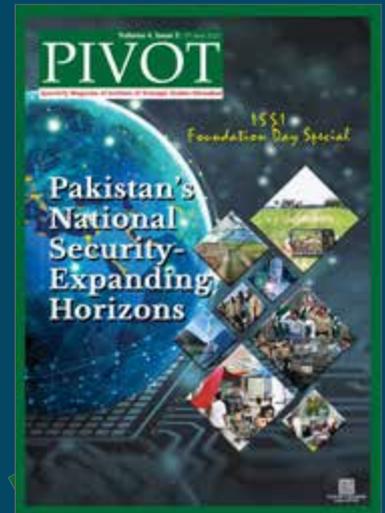
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This Issue





National Integration

An Essential Element of National Security

By Ambassador Naghmana A. Hashmi

“We are now all Pakistanis--not Balochis, Pathans, Sindhis, Bengalis, Punjabis and so on--and as Pakistanis we must feel, behave and act, and we should be proud to be known as Pakistanis and nothing else”. Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah said in a reply to Civic Address presented by Quetta Municipality on 15 June 1948

There are a number of factors that strengthen or threaten national security of a state and can take a variety of forms. These include military threats, economic inefficiency, instability of currency, imbalance of domestic forces based on religious division, political instability, ideological and cultural confusion, over-population, climate change, illiteracy, natural disasters, pandemics, bad governance, under development, lack of national cohesion as well as historical affiliations and ethnic and language factors. National security has a

number of component elements which, when individually satisfied, provide a nation with security of its values, interests and freedom to choose policy. The cohesiveness of these entities is crucial to build an integrated nation. While external threats are important, it is the eradication of internal threats to national integration and strength of the nation that make it difficult for a country to effectively face and defeat external military and other challenges.

National integration is the fundamental element on which

the edifice of national security is built. Internal cohesion and a strong sense of positive nationalism and unity, with common dreams and aspirations for the future are the foundation for building the fortress of national security. Distributive justice and inclusive economic and political development facilitate national unity.

I would in this article focus on one element of paramount importance to national security and that is the lack of national integration and its importance to ensure the security and development of Pakistan.

National integration in Pakistan has been elusive right from its inception in 1947. While during calamities and natural disasters Pakistani nation has moved in a unified manner to tackle the issue irrespective of the magnitude of the problem like we saw in the war of 1965, Kashmir earthquake of 2005 and floods of 2010. However, when the crisis is settled, the internal incompatibilities resurface.

The current internal political situation which is undermining and destabilizing peace and security of Pakistan is the result of internal disputes and after 75 years of existence Pakistan is still struggling for a unified identity to mark its political culture. This has severely affected its economic and political stability and social integration. Unfortunately, Pakistani society is fragmented along ethnic, religious and linguistic lines. Pakistan in its domestic affairs and international arena is the mixture of its economic, political, social and security paradoxes. Along with domestic issues, some foreign elements are also exploiting this internal political instability to divide the nation even further based on ethnic and sectarian fault lines.

National integration is not made by bricks and mortar, mold and hammer, but it quietly grows in people's hearts and minds through concerted efforts by society. It is a feeling of oneness that raises a nation above all narrow and divisive tendencies and makes for genuine patriotism and progress. It is a socio-psychological and educational process that inculcates this feeling of unity and harmony and develops a sense of common

citizenship and loyalty to the nation.

The region that constitutes Pakistan today has for centuries been a melting pot of civilizations and center of interaction of different religions, cultures, languages, political systems and thought processes. Each enriching the other and eventually evolving into what we today relate to as Pakistani culture and identity. The importance of national integration cannot be overemphasized in Pakistan which has a varied society and culture and a large population. Being different, we still feel that we somehow are all one nation sharing same flag and same national anthem.

WHILE EXTERNAL THREATS ARE IMPORTANT, IT IS THE ERADICATION OF INTERNAL THREATS TO NATIONAL INTEGRATION AND STRENGTH OF THE NATION THAT MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR A COUNTRY TO EFFECTIVELY FACE AND DEFEAT EXTERNAL MILITARY AND OTHER CHALLENGES

Ironically despite this underlying feeling of a nation, the conviction of being a single nation has never really taken roots in our society. Although created on the basis of two nation theory, we in Pakistan have throughout struggled to curb ideological, parochial, linguistic and sectarian differences resulting in unending grievances against the state.

Stabilization and continuation of democracy, maintenance of sustainable economic growth, dispensation of justice and provision of equal rights to all depend on prevalence of a strong sense of national integration. Pakistan faced copious problems of language and ethnicity right from its inception. Ethnic nationalism came in direct conflict with religion and language in many parts of Pakistan. The clash of religion and ethnicity created political instability and adversely affected the process of national integration particularly in East Pakistan with disastrous consequences. If we were cognizant of the extent of the sensitivities of our Bengali brethren, paid heed to their genuine demands and tried to inculcate that feeling of national integration and commonality of national interest, maybe we would not have had to face the tragedy of fall of Dhaka.

Unfortunately, we are slow at learning from history and have short memories. Claims of enhancing and strengthening national integration have been made by successive governments since 1971, but actual progress on ground is nothing much to write about. Today again we are failing to recognize the real issues impeding national integration and brewing discontent, deprivation, neglect, exploitation, alienation and even otherization in Balochistan, KPK, Southern Punjab, Urban Sindh and Gilgit Baltistan. It is the duty of every person as a citizen to oppose the forces and ideas that weaken national unity and integrity.

Pakistan today is beset with numerous challenges, yet there are many reasons to be optimistic.

The need for maintaining national unity is paramount in the face of numerous elements working to destabilize Pakistan. The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, industrial development through Special Economic Zones and military's successful fight against militancy and terrorism are some of the important factors that should propel the nation towards unity and integration. True democracy is undoubtedly the binding force for national security and integration, but cultural co-existence resulting from cultural confluence and interaction are equally important. Any programme for national integration would pre-suppose the fact that Pakistan is a multi-cultural, multi-lingual, multi-sectarian and multi-ethnic society. Its ethnicity, with proper initiatives can be transformed into a positive asset.

Education produces enlightened and informed leaders, advisors, think tanks and policy makers, who are capable of taking the country out of crisis. Good governance is another constituent component of making a proud and prosperous nation, ensuring the optimum functioning of state's institutions especially those linked with provision of public services. All the institutions of Pakistan should have close linkage, especially political, economic and security, and complement each other through their internal institutional performance. A country should provide a platform to all state's institutions to flourish and perform their functions to their optimum capacity for safe and secure society. Creating a strong sense of national pride requires equitable development and equal rights for all the communities, regions, and the federating units.

This requires visionary and good leadership. Unfortunately, today in Pakistan we are fast falling into the trap of resurgent cult personality politics. Instead of being symbols of unity and strength of the nation, political leaders, to the horror of Iqbal, have become agents for proliferation of negative and spiteful personality cults. They are dividing and compartmentalizing the country, exploiting existing political, ethnic and religious differences. This trend must be seized in its tracks as it is threatening to push Pakistan towards anarchy and pandemonium.

THE IMPORTANCE OF NATIONAL INTEGRATION CANNOT BE OVEREMPHASIZED IN PAKISTAN WHICH HAS A VARIED SOCIETY AND CULTURE AND A LARGE POPULATION. BEING DIFFERENT, WE STILL FEEL THAT WE SOMEHOW ARE ALL ONE NATION SHARING SAME FLAG AND SAME NATIONAL ANTHEM

We Pakistanis take our freedom for granted, as is reflected in the way our leaders govern, destroying our social fabric, fermenting divisions, breeding hatred, misleading youth, destroying education, encouraging incivility, coarseness, vulgarity and verbal abuse, patronizing impatience, intolerance for divergent view points and promoting physical violence against opponents. We are today a far cry from the noble and powerful portrayal of the perfect leader.

Similarly, the young Pakistanis today are endangering themselves

by a vicious mixture of trends, cults, fabricated untruths and lack of understanding and research. With fast-paced technological advancements, hate infested sloganeering and alluring promises of instant transformation and affluence, the leaders of today are attracting and misleading the populace. What is lacking in our discourse is the vital piece that links our young to their roots in the fabulous tradition of Islam that teaches peace and harmony with focus on moderation in every aspect of life.

Taking its cue from the Quaid, government needs to urgently focus on steering the process of national integration on priority as lack of internal cohesion, peace and stability is the biggest threat to national security. History is full of stories of the fall of great civilizations as a result of implosion due to fissures and corrosion in the architecture of national integration. National integration solidifies the foundation of nationhood, which is crucial for national security against internal and external challenges. In order to survive and develop, government must ensure social justice, tolerance, rule of law, good governance and democratic pluralism. For this purpose, a set of rules and policy recommendations are listed below:

◆ A well-considered plan of action is essential which takes viewpoints of all stake holders. This would ensure essential cultural, and political needs of divergent identities and minimize regional and provincial disequilibrium. This will also grant a sense of ownership to federating units supportive of process of national integration.

◆ True empowerment of Local Body system is essential to narrow

down the spread of mistrust, keep people satisfied, reduce sense of deprivation and curb separatist tendencies. In China the local bodies are the lynch pin in their development strategy and the phenomenal rise of China is the result.

❖ Power must be delegated from provinces to local bodies for uninterrupted growth of the political process, ensuring integration and participation of the local people directly into the mainstream political process.

❖ Priority must be given to projects that generate economic mergers, inter-provincial interdependency, and national integration.

❖ Inter-provincial internship and student exchange programmes must be initiated immediately. Attractive incentives be offered to qualified young professionals so they can work in provinces other than their home province.

❖ Interprovincial sports, debates, drama, literary and art societies should be set up and encouraged. State owned organizations and business community could be encouraged to sponsor inter-provincial students' activities.

❖ Implement former FATA merger plan in letter and spirit in order to address issues of judicious development in the region.

❖ Internal tourism must be prioritized and people must be encouraged to visit different parts of the country to appreciate the differences and celebrate the commonalities. This would help the people in the true essence of the concept of "Unity in Diversity".

❖ Syllabus of history and social studies needs to be strengthened. Starting history books from Muhammad Bin Qasim has deprived younger generation of rich and diverse cultural heritage that is a part of the ethos of the people of Pakistan.

MEDIA HAS A HUGE RESPONSIBILITY FOR SHAPING PUBLIC OPINION AND EDUCATING PEOPLE. IN THE ERA OF MEDIA EXPLOSION, IT CAN BE A REAL AGENT FOR PEACE AND WAR. WHAT PAKISTAN NEEDS TODAY IS SERIOUS, UNBIASED AND PATRIOTIC MEDIA PROMOTING NATIONAL INTEGRATION AND NOT FURTHER FANNING THE FIRES OF DIVISION AND HATRED

❖ Emulating system in Indonesia, the largest Muslim country, government should standardize Juma khutba by Maulvis. Islamic Ideology Council could ensure that sermons in mosques are on issues of religious and social importance with authentic interpretation and not leaning towards extremism and fundamentalism.

❖ Successive governments have taken halfhearted efforts to address the issues plaguing Balochistan, largest and most resource rich province and yet least developed and most backward area of Pakistan. Balochistan is aching, people are suffering. They need healing. They need compassion and an honest effort to resolve their genuine and urgent requirements. They are

falling victim to malicious designs of our enemies because we are failing to respond to their cries for help. A serious political dialogue and effort is urgently required to bring peace and prosperity to Balochistan. Let us not go down the disastrous path of further alienating them.

❖ Major political parties need to rise to the occasion and stop playing parochial politics. These parties must stop indulging in petty personal squabbles and animosities and pay attention to major problems facing our nation lest these become.

❖ In Pakistan we have seen a dramatic degeneration of the political and social space. A culture of narrow-mindedness, intolerance, bigotry, impatience and resorting to verbal and physical abuse, particularly in the political arena has reached perilous levels. It is therefore essential to give our youth the knowledge and skills to understand, challenge and engage with democratic society including politics and civil society characterized by mutual respect and non-violence.

❖ Last but not the least, media has a huge responsibility for shaping public opinion and educating people. In the era of media explosion, it can be a real agent for peace and war. What Pakistan needs today is serious, unbiased and patriotic media promoting national integration and not further fanning the fires of division and hatred ■



The writer is former Ambassador of Pakistan to China.



ISSI CENTRES OF EXCELLENCE



Arms Control & Disarmament Centre (ACDC) at a Glance

By Malik Qasim Mustafa

The Centre is a part of the ISSI and it was established on October 30, 2019, under the leadership of Ambassador Aizaz Ahmad Chaudhry, Director General ISSI. The Centre was inaugurated by Mr. Sohail Mahmood, Foreign Secretary of Pakistan.



- ❖ The ACDC was established with a vision “to contribute focused research and quality policy input through in-depth analysis and dialogue on issues of arms control, disarmament, nuclear safety and security, nuclear deterrence, emerging technologies and challenges to peace and strategic stability.” Malik Qasim Mustafa currently heads the ACDC and its core team consists of Ms. Ghazala Yasmin Jalil and Ms. Aamna Rafiq.
- ❖ Over two and a half years, the Centre has performed several key functions that include monitoring of regional and international developments in the fields of disarmament, non-proliferation, arms control and emerging technologies. It has organised dialogues in the form of in-house meetings, roundtable discussions, national and international seminars, conferences, webinars, panel discussions, web talks, briefings, web celebrations, review meetings, workshops and book launches on themes of relevance to Pakistan.
- ❖ The Centre disseminated information through research articles, issue briefs, special reports, monographs, news and views weekly and electronic and social media tools. It maintains a database and contacts with relevant official organisations, similar national and international think tanks, institutions, universities and centres like The United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR), Stockholm International Peace



- ❖ Research Institute (SIPRI), China Arms Control And Disarmament Association (CACDA), Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Stimson Centre, AIU, Quaid-i-Azam University, QAU and Pakistan Nuclear Society (PNS).
 - ❖ Under ISSI vision 2020-2023, the ACDC aims to promote the notion that Pakistan is a responsible and confident nuclear power; it needs to strengthen deterrence in the region; promote its narrative of peace; reinforce domestic support; extend outreach; build trust and engage and build human resource.
- Under its vision, the ACDC has covered the following major research areas and themes:
- ◆ Emerging global arms control, nuclear order and trends and its regional implications (options for Pakistan).
 - ◆ Challenges to strategic stability in South Asia.
 - ◆ Role of peaceful nuclear and space technologies towards socioeconomic development of Pakistan.
 - ◆ Appraisal of Pakistan's nuclear safety and security and strategic export control regimes.
 - ◆ Review of the nuclear non-proliferation regime.
 - ◆ Emerging issues and threats related to Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDs) and their defence.
 - ◆ Emerging technologies, outer space, cyberspace, artificial intelligence and related issues.
- ❖ Since October 2019, under its vision 2020-2023, the ACDC has successfully organised more than 50 events. The ACDC has held several discussion meetings on the above-mentioned themes and participated in two "Tuesday Dialogues" at the ISSI. The Centre, since its establishment, every year on May 28, celebrates "Youme-e-Takbeer" and on September 6 celebrates "Pakistan Defence Day."
 - ❖ The Centre regularly holds monthly and quarterly review meetings with the Director General ISSI. For guidance and policy directions, the Centre has regularly organised its "Annual Review Meetings" with ACDC Advisory Board members.
 - ❖ The ACDC has successfully organised one national and one international workshop, most notably the International Workshop on "Cyber-Technologies, Artificial Intelligence and International Security" was organised in collaboration with the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR) in January 2022.



The ACDC has organised one working session on "Strategic Stability in South Asia" in ISSI's flagship event, the "Islamabad Conclave," which was held on December 9-10, 2021. In all the above activities, the Centre had received wider recognition by national media and has ensured its presence on the relevant social media platforms.

The ACDC research team has contributed 29 Issue Briefs, 9 research articles, 3 Islamabad Confidential Briefs (ICBs) and written more than 27 events reports. The ACDC team has participated in several national and international events and represented the Centre. The Centre is working on its first edited book titled "Shifting Doctrines and Emerging Threats: Challenges to Strategic Stability in South Asia." Well-known national experts and the ACDC team members have contributed chapters to the book. The book is expected to be launched in June 2022 ■



DYNAMICS OF STRATEGIC STABILITY IN SOUTH ASIA

By Ghazala Yasmin Jalil

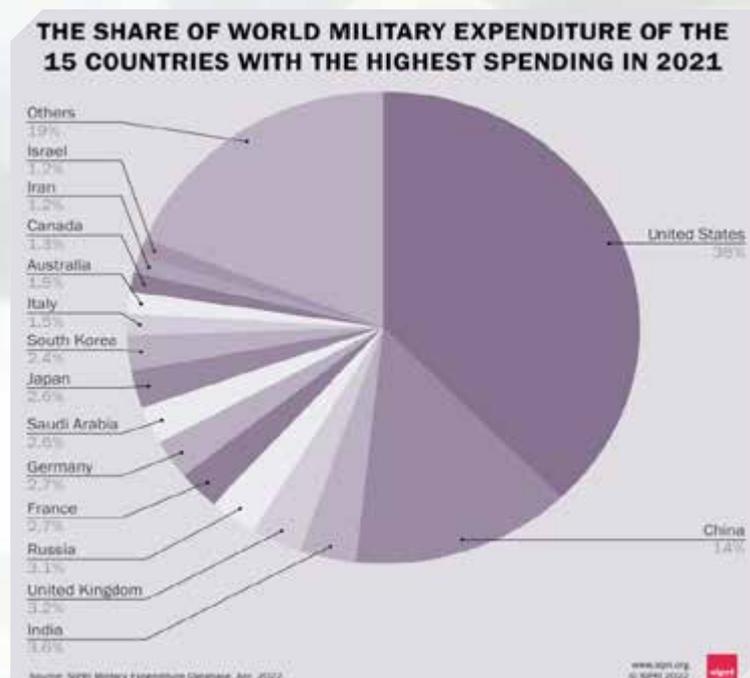
South Asian region has been a volatile one. Over the last 75 years it has seen three major wars and countless skirmishes between the two nuclear armed rivals India and Pakistan. There have been recent developments in the region that further threaten strategic stability in South Asia. These include India's rapid military build-up, a triad of nuclear forces, purchase of sophisticated weapons systems from the US, induction of S-400 missiles defence systems and development of hypersonic missiles systems. This combined



with India's doctrinal shift from credible minimum deterrence to a policy of nuclear first strike promises to further destabilize an already volatile region. This heightens Pakistan's threat perceptions which sees India

as its main security threat. It is thus imperative to assess how these developments will impact strategic stability in South Asia.

According to a recent SIPRI report the annual world military



spending has surpassed \$2.1 trillion in 2021. India is the third largest military spender in the world at \$76.6 billion after US and China. This was an increase by 0.9 per cent from 2020 and by 33 per cent from 2012. This huge military budget is being used to build up Indian conventional capabilities as well augment its missile and nuclear capabilities.

INDIA IS SET TO SPEND \$ 130 BILLION ON MILITARY MODERNIZATION IN THE NEXT FIVE TO SIX YEARS TO ACQUIRE FIGHTER JETS, MISSILES, SUBMARINES AND WARSHIPS. IT IS LOOKING TO MODERNIZE ACROSS ALL THREE OF ITS ARMED FORCES. SUCH MASSIVE WEAPONS ACQUISITION IS A SOURCE OF CONCERN FOR PAKISTAN SINCE IT FURTHER INCREASED THE CONVENTIONAL DISPARITY BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN

India is acquiring a lot of sophisticated military equipment from the US including aircraft, helicopters and missiles worth \$22 billion. India is acquiring P-8I Poseidon long range maritime patrol aircraft and the C-130J transport aircraft, and 30 MQ-9 Predator-B drones worth \$3 billion.

The US cleared sale of \$155 million deal to sell India 10 AGM-84L Harpoon Block II air-launched missiles and 16 MK 54 torpedoes. US companies are also bidding for a contract worth \$15 billion to supply 114 combat airplanes for the air force. India is also buying \$14.5 billion worth of weapons from Russian. It is also buying weaponry from France and Israel. India is set to spend \$ 130 billion on military modernization in the next five to six years to acquire fighter jets, missiles, submarines and warships. It is looking to modernize across all three of its armed forces. Such massive weapons acquisition is a source of concern for Pakistan

since it further increased the conventional disparity between India and Pakistan.

India also continues to build its nuclear forces. It has a triad of nuclear forces where after land and air its it is operationalising its submarine based nuclear capability. It has plans to build 4-6 nuclear attack submarines at sea in the next decade or so. It already has two nuclear submarines operational since 2017 and added another one S4 in December 2021. It already has a range of nuclear capable missiles that are part of its naval nuclear strike capabilities including K-15 and K-4 missiles, Dhanush and Brahmos cruise missile. The US has also approved sale of 24 anti-submarine MH-60 Helicopter worth \$ 2.6 billion. This takes the nuclear competition to the Indian Ocean, forcing Pakistan to also develop its sea-based nuclear capability.

India is also developing hypersonic missiles that are incredibly fast and have the capability to maneuver during flight. Hypersonic missiles have at least a speed of Mach 5 which is five times the speed of sound. India tested High-Speed Technology Demonstrator Vehicle (HSTDV) in September 2020. It was propelled by a scramjet engine and has a speed of Mach 6. India, in collaboration with Russia is also working on a hypersonic cruise missile BrahMos-II with Mach 6 speed using hypersonic scramjet technology. India may be able to develop and field hypersonic missiles in the next five years.

This will be destabilizing for South Asian nuclear deterrence. India and Pakistan already have a short missile flight time



5-10 minutes, introduction of hypersonic missiles would shorten this time considerably. This would make South Asian nuclear theatre further unstable and would create first strike temptations on India's part confident that it can launch a first strike against its adversary and absorb a counter strike through missile defence. This poses another security challenge for Pakistan forcing it to adjust its nuclear forces and posture.

THE INDIGENOUS SYSTEMS COMBINED WITH THE S-400 GIVES INDIA THE ABILITY TO INTERCEPT INCOMING MISSILES. THIS IS DESTABILIZING BECAUSE IT AFFECTS THE CREDIBILITY OF PAKISTAN'S NUCLEAR DETERRENCE VIS INDIA

India has been working on a missile defence system. This is being augmented by acquisition of S-400 missile defence systems from Russia. India negotiated a deal with Russia to acquire five S-400 missile defence systems worth \$5.5 billion in 2018. S-400 has eight vehicle-mounted launchers each with four tubes with the ability to engage over 80 targets simultaneously. The delivery of the first S-400 systems

has begun in December 2021 and is reportedly stationed at an Indian Air Force base in Punjab. The second delivery of S-400 system took place in April 2022.

The rest of the systems are expected to be delivered by 2023 despite pressure from US which threatens countries of imposing Countering America's Adversaries through Sanctions Act (CAATSA) for making defence deals with Russia. India has resisted the US pressure. The indigenous systems combined with the S-400 gives India the ability to intercept incoming missiles. This is destabilizing because it affects the credibility of Pakistan's nuclear deterrence vis a vis India. It is likely to embolden India and give it a false sense of security that it can launch a nuclear strike against its adversary confident that it can

intercept a counter attack through its missile defence system. This is highly destabilizing in South Asian nuclear environment.

THERE ARE ALSO INDICATIONS THAT INDIA MAY BE PURSUING A POLICY OF NUCLEAR FIRST STRIKE AGAINST PAKISTAN. IT IS INVESTING IN PRECISION-STRIKE WEAPONRY LIKE HYPERSONIC MISSILES AND MISSILES DEFENCE SYSTEMS AMONG OTHER THAT MAY HELP IT OPERATIONALIZE ITS FIRST STRIKE OPTION

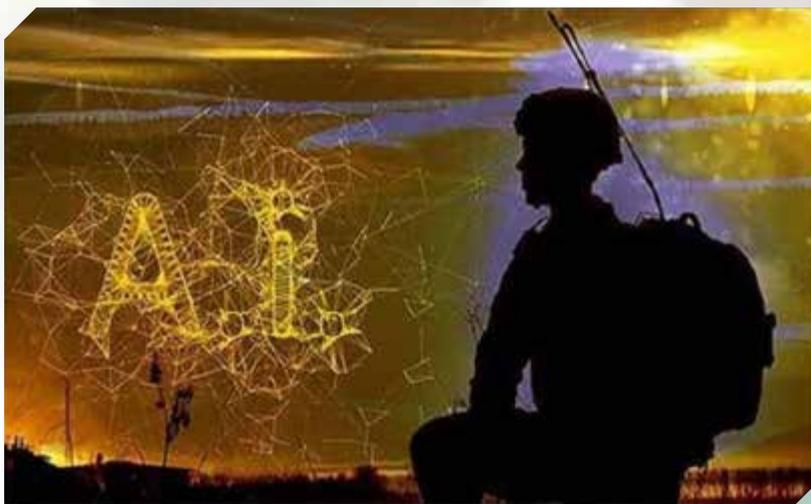
To top it all off in recent years there has been a doctrinal shift on the part of India. Its commitment to a nuclear No First Use (NFU) has always been shaky but recent statements by Indian Defence Minister and other high ranking official further indicate that India may be abandoning NFU. There are also indications that India may be pursuing a policy of nuclear first strike against Pakistan. It is investing in precision-strike weaponry like hypersonic missiles and missile defence systems among other that may help it operationalize its first strike option.



This is highly destabilizing and further heightens Pakistan's threat perception. The South Asian dynamics are further exacerbated by India's deepening strategic partnership with the US. India is an important part of US Indo-Pacific Strategy whereby it is building India up as a counterweight to a rising China. For this purpose the US is not only providing sophisticated military equipment and technology but has also signed agreements that deepen their military cooperation. These include the 2016 Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement (LEMOA) in 2016, followed by the Communications Compatibility and Security Agreement (COMCASA) in 2018, and then the Basic Exchange and Cooperation Agreement (BECA) in 2020.

THE DEEPENING STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE US AND INDIA IS FUELING INDIA PAKISTAN ARMS COMPETITION. IT IS PROVIDING TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANTAGES TO INDIA AND IT IS EMBOLDENING IT IN TERMS OF ITS NUCLEAR POSTURE AND ENCOURAGING PRE-EMPTIVE TENDENCIES. THIS DIRECTLY IMPACTS PAKISTAN'S SECURITY

During recent 2+2 exchange between US and India the two sides expressed ambition to build "an advanced and comprehensive defense partnership in which the U.S. and Indian militaries will coordinate closely together across all domains", including space, artificial intelligence (AI), and cyber. The deepening Strategic Partnership between the US and India is fueling India



Pakistan arms competition. It is providing technological advantages to India and it is emboldening it in terms of its nuclear posture and encouraging pre-emptive tendencies. This directly impacts Pakistan's security.

While India has ambitions to achieve regional and global power status, Pakistan is only concerned with ensuring its security and sovereignty. However, security and nuclear deterrence are dynamic concepts. If India keeps building its conventional and nuclear capabilities, Pakistan will be forced to keep pace to maintain a credible minimum deterrence and also to take appropriate measures to counterbalance its growing conventional disparity with India. This leads to a vicious circle of arms development that promises to keep South Asian region mired in armed competition for decades to come. The hostility between India and Pakistan needs to be mitigated. For this fundamentally the root cause of conflict, the

Kashmir issue, needs to be resolved.

THE HOSTILITY BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN NEEDS TO BE MITIGATED. FOR THIS FUNDAMENTALLY THE ROOT CAUSE OF CONFLICT, THE KASHMIR ISSUE, NEEDS TO BE RESOLVED

The focus on traditional security is holding the South Asian region hostage. South Asia is one of the poorest regions in the world where poverty, hunger, health, education, scarce water resources and environmental issues are rampant.

Spending such huge amounts on defence and arms acquisition takes away resources from much needed human development. It is time for the world, especially India to realize that weapons do not bring security it is investing in non-traditional and human security that will bring peace and stability ■



The writer is a Research Fellow at Arms Control & Disarmament Centre at the Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad.



PAKISTAN'S CLOUD FIRST POLICY 2022

A STEP FORWARD TOWARDS DIGITAL PAKISTAN

By Aamna Rafiq

Recently, Pakistan got its first-ever and much-needed Pakistan's Cloud First Policy 2022 (PCFP). The people in various sectors are calling this policy a game changer. Therefore, it is imperative to analyse the extent of this change. The public policy in any state is a purposive course of action taken or adopted by those in power in pursuit of certain goals or objectives. In order to identify these goals, it is important to analyse any public policy from three major aspects: context, text and consequences. The same model is being used here to analyse Pakistan's Cloud First Policy (PCFP) 2022.

Policy Context

Policy in general, is designated as an outcome of a specific political context. Various issues, pressures, interests and forces within the political system pave way for the policy-making. The phenomenon of cloud computing was introduced by the United States at the global political landscape in 2015. Since then, it is leading the entire development and adoption process of cloud computing. As other major countries also started to invest in cloud technology and services, it resulted in a global competition. Keep in view the total cloud spending and growth rate, the *Gartner Index 2018* divided countries in three categories.

IN NATIONAL CONTEXT, THE MAIN DRIVING FORCE BEHIND THE CLOUD POLICY IS THE "DIGITAL PAKISTAN INITIATIVE" OF THE GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN. THE OBJECTIVE OF THIS INITIATIVE WAS TO PROMOTE CONNECTIVITY, INCREASE INVESTMENT IN DIGITAL SKILLS, IMPROVE DIGITAL INFRASTRUCTURE, INNOVATION AND TECH ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN PAKISTAN

United States, United Kingdom, Canada and Australia are in the top category of leading countries

while countries like India, France, Germany, South Korea and Russia are in the category of lagging countries. Japan and Indonesia are in the category of resisting countries. Unfortunately, Pakistan does not exist on this Index, not even in the lowest category of resisting countries. This is not an isolated case as Pakistan also does not exist on many other global cloud computing indexes like the *BSA Global Cloud Computing Scorecard 2018*, the *Cloud Computing Policy Environment Ranking 2019*, etc.

In national context, the main driving force behind the cloud policy is the “Digital Pakistan Initiative” of the government of Pakistan. The objective of this initiative was to promote connectivity, increase investment in digital skills, improve digital infrastructure, innovation and tech entrepreneurship in Pakistan. Another major driver behind the new cloud policy is a major shift in conceptualisation of national security.

The National Security Policy of Pakistan 2022 - 2026 also identified emerging technologies like artificial intelligence (AI), quantum computing, data sciences, quantum computing and automation as a major driver of change in the future of economies, societies and warfare. It emphasises on the education, research initiative and entrepreneurship in these technologies to build overall capacity of Pakistan in public as well private sector. The NSP 2022-2026 also aims to ensure data and cyber security while effectively interacting with international technology ecosystem to protect and maximise national interests.

Policy Text

The policy text emphasises on the greater vision of digital transformation of Pakistan. The

vision and objectives are thorough and clearly defined in the third and fourth sections of the policy text. The policy vision talks about the effective utilisation of cloud technologies, increase investment and entrepreneurship, enhancing transparency and accountability, improving governance by efficient and fast delivery of public services. It also aims at promoting intra-government collaborations. Furthermore, the policy text clearly defines its scope. It applies to only public sector enterprises under federal government that are aiming to make new investments in this sector. However, it is just a non-binding and guiding document for private and other sectors.

THE NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY OF PAKISTAN 2022 – 2026 ALSO IDENTIFIED EMERGING TECHNOLOGIES LIKE ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE (AI), QUANTUM COMPUTING, DATA SCIENCES, QUANTUM COMPUTING AND AUTOMATION AS A MAJOR DRIVER OF CHANGE IN THE FUTURE OF ECONOMIES, SOCIETIES AND WARFARE

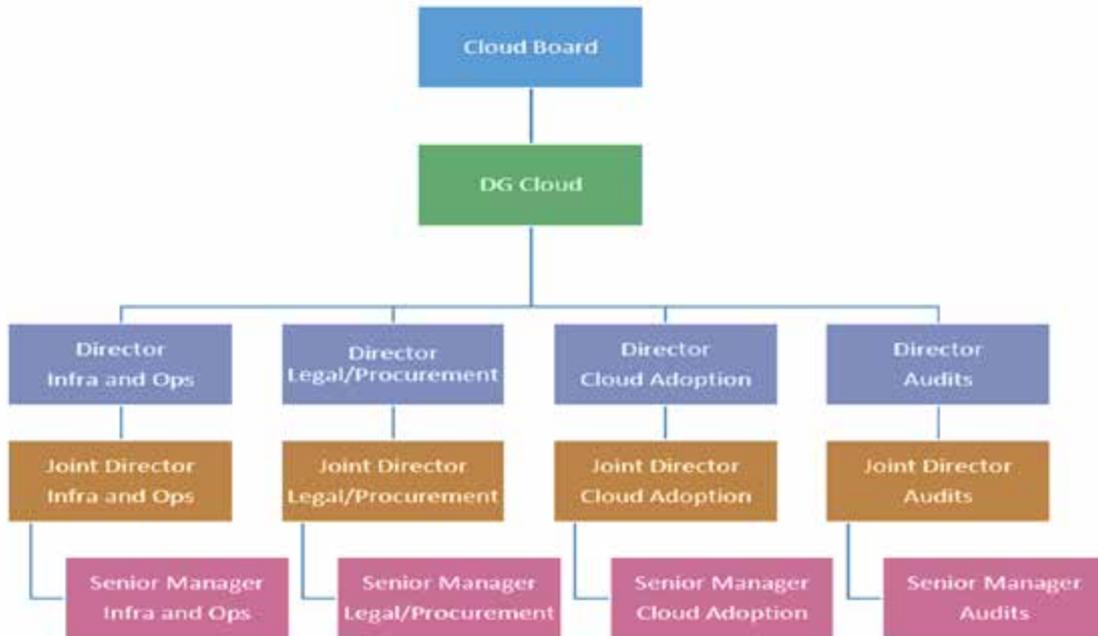
To turn this vision into reality, the PCFP requires a comprehensive and synergistic implementation plan. To meet this requirement, the government of Pakistan is planning to introduce the national cloud strategy. Moreover, the PCFP itself contain various types of implementation mechanisms. It restricts the governmental departments especially the Ministry of Planning and Development from allowing the investments in the projects that have fragmented data centres components. It also bounds the provincial governments to take

relevant measures within their jurisdiction in the light of this policy.

In order to ensure the smooth implementation, the PCFP has focused on the establishment of a mandated and well-define National Cloud Board. Secretary Ministry of Information Technology and Telecommunication (MOITT) will head the Cloud board while Chief Secretaries of all provinces or their representatives and two industry experts will be members of the board. The chief secretaries or their representatives will become part of the Cloud Board as members once respective provincial government adopts cloud first policy in line with this policy (Figure 1).

In addition to Cloud Board, the PCFP also calls for the establishment of the Cloud Offices. They will not only facilitate the provinces and federal ministries but also enforce modalities, issue NOCs and establish a classification, accreditation, registration and compliance framework based on international standards. In addition to internal audit mechanisms to ensure proper check and balances. The cloud office will also have external audits by the relevant authorities and certified third party. The PCFP also outlines the establishment of Cloud acquisition Office, investment restrictions, data classification, security framework and centralised procurement by the government to synergise the entire implementation process.

The policy can change with time and it is important to keep the history of modifications for future audits. As PCFP is the first policy of its kind, therefore, the issue of policy history is not relevant as of now. Unlike earlier policies under the Digital Pakistan Initiative, the PCFP text does not have



any well-defined mechanism and exact timeline for the policy review process in future. The review of PCFP is subject to requirement. On the other hand, the issue of policy references is significant because policies either stand on their own or achieve their objectives by extending, overriding or complementing other policies, strategies and laws. The PCFP is categorically mentioned as an important element for the achievement of objectives outlined in the Digital Pakistan Policy 2018. The PCFP made an indirect reference to the Cyber Security Policy of Pakistan 2021, when it stated that implementation process would comply with the existing national legislation on data privacy and cybersecurity.

In the international and national political context, there is no such thing as a value-free policy. States are aware of this fact and attempt to identify and attain relevant policy values. The public policy is said to be the authoritative allocation of values for the whole society. Therefore, the presence as well as the absence of certain core values in policy text reflects the actual intentions and ethics of policy-makers of that particular state.

THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE OF PAKISTAN IS NOT THE ABSENCE OF POLICYMAKING; IT'S THE ABSENCE OF POLICY IMPLEMENTATION. THEREFORE, IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO WAIT AND SEE WHEN AND HOW THE GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN WILL PAY ATTENTION TO THE IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS, AS THE POLICY IS NOT ONLY WHAT GOVERNMENTS CHOOSE TO DO

The repeated references to the integrity, privacy, transparency and accountability at various points in the PCFP text highlight the level of importance that the government of Pakistan attaches to human values. Furthermore, the usage of terms like cost-efficient, resource optimisation and innovation in the policy text indicates that policymakers have given due weight to the economic values as well.

Policy Consequences

As said earlier, the PCFP is the first policy of its kind. It is comprehensive, inclusive and well-balanced based on good faith and socio-economic values. It aims to increase the efficiency of the government, support private sector, increase investment in big data, enhance cybersecurity and data security at reduced financial cost. It looks good on paper but so do the majority of other public policies in Pakistan.

The fundamental issue of Pakistan is not the absence of policymaking; it's the absence of policy implementation. Therefore, it would be necessary to wait and see when and how the government of Pakistan will pay attention to the implementation process, as the policy is not only what governments choose to do. It is also, about what governments chose not to do and what governments failed to do ■



The writer is a Research Associate at Arms Control & Disarmament Centre at the Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad.

INFOGRAPHIC



USE OF PERSONAL DEVICES

77% of remote employees used unmanaged, insecure BYOD (Bring Your Own Devices) to access corporate systems.

Source: CyberRisk Survey

PLAN B

50% of infosec professionals had no contingency plan to face COVID-19 pandemic.

Source: BitDefender Survey



SECURE LOGIN

70% Only respondents used company VPNs to securely log in to the company network.

Source: CISO MAG Survey



500,000+ ZOOM LOGINS ON DARK WEB

The stolen Zoom accounts were published, exchanged, and in some cases, sold on hacker forums.

Source: Cyber



THE PASSWORD TICKING BOMB

93% of remote employees reused passwords across applications and devices.

Source: CyberRisk Survey



RANSOMWARE SURGE

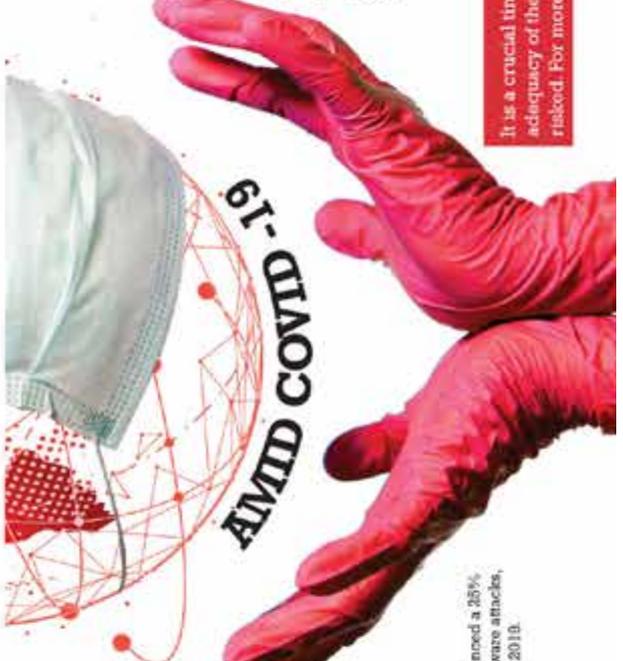
25% Q1 2020 experienced a 25% surge in ransomware attacks, compared to Q4 2019.

Source: Breach



CYBERSECURITY PULSE

The COVID-19 pandemic has disrupted global health, the economy, and social systems. To add to that, it has also led to a surge in unseen threats in the digital space.



CLOUD SECURITY?

92% of security leaders were worried that their organization is vulnerable to a major cloud misconfiguration-related data breach.

Source: Progress Survey



25,000 EMAIL ACCOUNTS COMPROMISED

The compromised email accounts allegedly belonged to the World Health Organization (WHO), Gates Foundation, National Institute of Health (NIH), and other groups working to combat the Coronavirus pandemic.

Source: Washington Post



4000 COVID-RELATED DOMAINS

Over 4,000 Coronavirus-related domains were registered globally. Out of these websites, 3% were found to be malicious.

Source: CheckPoint Threat Intelligence



It is a crucial time for organizations across all industries to be alert and address the adequacy of their cyber policies, as loss of client or organizational data cannot be risked. For more information visit www.cisomag.eccouncil.org

By Pooja Tiketkar & Rudra Srinivas



ISSI CENTRES OF EXCELLENCE



Afghanistan Middle East and Africa (CAMEA) at a Glance

By Amina Khan

The Centre for Afghanistan, Middle East and Africa (CAMEA) is a part of the ISSI and it was established on March 24, 2020, under the leadership of Ambassador Aizaz Ahmad Chaudhry, Director General ISSI. The Centre was formally inaugurated by Mr. Sohail Mahmood, Foreign Secretary of Pakistan on October 15, 2020.



❖ CAMEA aims to promote and provide quality research, analysis, policy input and dialogue on issues related to Afghanistan, the Middle East and Africa. It envisions a synergy of inquiry and cooperation with these important regions in line with Pakistan's foreign policy. Building close cooperative relations with Afghanistan is a high priority and a vital component of Pakistan's vision for a peaceful neighbourhood. Cultivating closer ties with the Muslim countries in the Middle East and identifying areas of mutual interest between Pakistan and Africa in keeping with Pakistan's 'Engage Africa policy' are key priorities that underline the vision of CAMEA. For overall guidance, policy directions, preparation of the annual programme of work and annual performance review, the CAMEA has constituted its Advisory Board, which is comprised of representatives of government and official organizations, academia, think tanks, former diplomats and officials and experts. Ms. Amina Khan currently heads the CAMEA and its core team consists of Ms. Sarah Akram, Ms. Arhama Siddiq and Ms. Areeba Arif Khan.

Key functions of CAMEA are:

- To observe latest developments in Afghanistan, the Middle East and Africa and their significance for Pakistan and the international community.
- To contribute in-depth research and analysis of issues related to Afghanistan, the Middle East and Africa, particularly issues of overlapping and mutual interest to Pakistan with the aim to strengthen regional and state-level ties.
- To organize and promote dialogue and debate on political, security, economic, and social aspects of Afghanistan, the Middle East and African countries, with the focus on relevance for Pakistan.
- To identify areas of convergence through national and international seminars, conferences, roundtables and workshops.

❖ CAMEA also maintains a data bank of the salient aspects of Afghanistan, the Middle East and Africa for ready reference and focus on establishing contacts with relevant experts, practitioners, organizations and think tanks in Afghanistan, the Middle East and Africa. It also disseminates publications of the Centre widely through research projects, articles, reports, papers, monographs, books, newsletters as well as a weekly monitor of the latest developments.

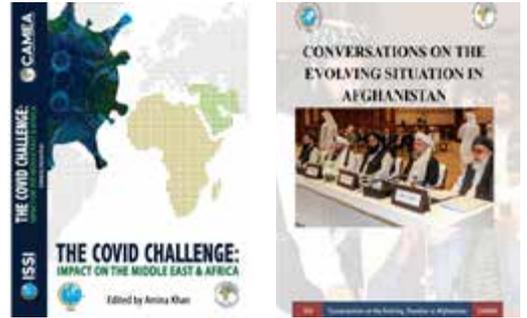
❖ One of the main objectives of CAMEA is to provide quality policy inputs to the government and relevant official departments to promote and strengthen Pakistan's economic and diplomatic ties with Afghanistan, the Middle East and Africa. Since March 2020, the CAMEA has successfully organised more than 80 events. These events include national and international seminars, webinars, in-house meetings, web talks, panel discussions, review meetings and briefings on issues related to the current situation in Afghanistan, the evolving political landscape in the Middle East and the economic development of Africa.



◆ Range of public talks were hosted by CAMEA that covered the diverse regional topics and developments. CAMEA has hosted a number of dignitaries from Afghanistan including the former Afghan President Ashraf Ghani on July 27, 2019.



◆ On January 18, 2021 Najibullah Alikhil, Ambassador of Islamic Republic of Afghanistan to Pakistan visited Ahmed Wali Masood, Chairman, Massoud Foundation of Afghanistan & Former Ambassador of Afghanistan to the United Kingdom also visited ISSI on February 19, 2021.



◆ Dr. Abdullah Abdullah, Chairman, High Council for National Reconciliation (HCNR), Islamic Republic of Afghanistan visited ISSI on September 29, 2021. Ustad Karim Khalili, Leader of Hezb-e-Wahdat-e Islami, paid a visit to ISSI on January 13, 2021.

◆ Since the world was grappling with the pandemic, CAMEA launched an edited book titled, "The Covid Challenge: Impact on the Middle East & Africa".



◆ To understand the evolving situation in Afghanistan CAMEA initiated a series of conversations on Afghanistan pre and post-Taliban takeover. The conversations began on June 30 2021 before the Taliban takeover and concluded in December 2021. These conversations covered views from all the regional countries and major powers.



◆ The role of OIC and more so, Pakistan's role in hosting (the 17th Extraordinary Session of the Council of Foreign Ministers of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) & 48th session of OIC (CFM) is commendable and in this regard, CAMEA hosted two round table sessions on the Role of OIC that covered the humanitarian and the evolving situation in Afghanistan ■





THE CURRENT SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN

CHALLENGES AHEAD

By Amina Khan

Circumstances in Afghanistan have drastically evolved and continue to do so since the Taliban came into power in August 2021, followed by the US withdrawal. Since then, the situation has resulted in unaddressed questions such as to what the Taliban's rule means for governance, political freedom, human / women rights, counter terrorism assurances and more importantly for regional peace and stability. Even within the confines of the current interim set up, the real test for the Taliban began the day they assumed office, which is by no means limited to securing power, but revolves around legitimacy, acceptance, and performance and of course recognition.

The group has been engaging independently as well as through Doha with the International Community and regional countries, and while it seeks recognition, present engagement does entail de facto recognition. Domestically, the group is struggling as it attempts to consolidate its power, formulates policies towards Afghan institutions.

Ambivalence surrounding the future of international assistance has strained the Afghan economy. The provision of

humanitarian aid to Afghanistan by certain countries, primarily regional, is certainly reassuring; however, it is not enough to stabilize the economy let alone sustain the Afghan population. This is a huge dilemma for the Afghan population and remains one of the biggest challenges.

THE PROVISION OF HUMANITARIAN AID TO AFGHANISTAN BY CERTAIN COUNTRIES, PRIMARILY REGIONAL, IS CERTAINLY REASSURING; HOWEVER, IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO STABILIZE THE ECONOMY LET ALONE SUSTAIN THE AFGHAN POPULATION

In such circumstances, the Afghan population not only continues to struggle for survival but at the same time becomes vulnerable to transnational terrorist groups - therefore this also calls for the international community to revisit the question of engagement and recognition. - this remains a major concern for the immediate neighborhood of which Pakistan is a part. In fact, if the Taliban are not able to consolidate their position, and ensure some semblance of stability, the fear is not so much of

a civil war emanating but rather of transnational terrorist elements taking advantage of the situation and filling the vacuum such as the ISKP - and in Pakistan's case the TTP. In fact, since the Taliban assumed power, there has been a major spike in attacks by the ISKP domestically and by the TTP based in Afghanistan against Pakistani security forces along the border.

While one has seen an overall improvement in the security of the country, governance remains a huge challenge which can certainly be overcome if the Taliban honour their commitments.

Moreover, while children have been returning to schools, recently, the Taliban reversed their previous decision to allow Afghan girls to return to high schools, this is both unfortunate and regrettable to say the least - and a major issue of concern for regional countries including Pakistan.

It is imperative for the Taliban to realize that although Afghanistan has been at war with itself and the international community the masses have evolved, and would do efforts for their rights to basic yet fundamental issues such as women rights, education etc. Instead, the Taliban should focus on governance, and cash in on Afghanistan's true potential as the Heart of Asia, however to achieve this, the group needs to focus on a viable, sustained, and sustainable economic development strategy. Given its enormous natural resources, Afghanistan has the potential of becoming a regional roundabout, where nations can connect for a common good.

Therefore, focus should be on regional connectivity, and integrated projects like China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and Turkmenistan Afghanistan Pakistan India Pipeline (TAPI) amongst others. Pipeline amongst others. CPEC's possible extension to Afghanistan will benefit the economies of the region as a whole, in particular Afghanistan, which is in desperate need of economic and infrastructural development. The inclusion of Afghanistan in mega projects like TAPI or CPEC would not only help bring much needed stability to the country, deny space to transnational extremist elements, but could also contribute in boosting the country's economy by providing foreign investment and businesses along with employment, and reduce its dependence on international aid. It would also help Afghanistan benefit from its untapped resources, as well as become a part of the regional trade hub by connecting China with Central Asia, as well as Pakistan.

On the bilateral front, both Pakistan and Afghanistan need to realize that the geopolitical region of today is not what it used to be. There needs to be a realization and acceptance on both sides to face and own up to the prevailing ground realities. Both countries need to focus on defining the parameters of their bilateral relationship by working further to overcome differences between the two states and work towards an organized Pak-Afghan economic partnership.

THERE IS NO QUALM THAT A PEACEFUL AND PROSPEROUS SOUTH ASIA OR IN FACT THE WORLD CANNOT BE ATTAINED WITHOUT SUSTAINABLE PEACE IN AFGHANISTAN WHICH HAS TIME AND AGAIN BEEN REFERRED TO AS THE HEART OF ASIA

While Afghanistan is being viewed as a regional issue - particularly in terms of the ongoing crisis in Ukraine, this is a gross miscalculation because as the past has proved, Afghanistan has always had global ramifications and the threat of transnational terrorist groups like the ISKP will not remain a concern for the region alone as it has global aspirations as it believes in a global caliphate, hence no conflict should take precedence over the other.

There is no qualm that a peaceful and prosperous South Asia or in fact the world cannot be attained without sustainable peace in Afghanistan which has time and again been referred to as the Heart of Asia. However to achieve this, all sides need to learn to compromise and accommodate each other and instead of viewing Afghanistan as a regional issue, it must be viewed as a collective and shared responsibility. In conclusion, one only hopes that better sense prevails amongst the Taliban - where focus is on a political set up that is inclusive, responsible, accountable and lastly, one that serves the Afghan people because Afghanistan's future greatly shapes the security architecture of the region and beyond ■



The writer is the Director of Center for Afghanistan, Middle East and Africa at the Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad.

Pakistan's Geo-Economic outreach to the Middle East

By Sarah Akram & Arhama Siddiq

Pakistan seeks to harness its geo-political and geo-economic outreach to the Middle East by actively pursuing regional connectivity, trade, enhanced economic ties, and development by maximizing its geo-political shifts so as to make its geo-economic advantage stronger. Pakistan is in dire need of economic activity as it has to cater to its domestic needs and this pushes it towards pursuing such initiatives.

While Pakistan has always maintained cordial ties with the countries in the Middle East, however trade and economic ties have not reached their true desired potential.

Geo-political shifts have altered the traditional alignment patterns shifting the tilt from politics to economy as a priority. Therefore, Pakistan by improving economic activities in the region and beyond, can build bridges and generate wealth to alleviate the impending challenges and burdens. It may be said that geo-economics will only help where geo-politics will create spaces. For instance, infrastructure investments in certain countries can help further the cause of geo-economics.

Increase in Trade Linkages and Remittances

Pakistan has always taken initiatives to facilitate and accommodate expat workers living in the Middle East, who are also a source of foreign remittances. Migrant labour in the Middle East, specifically from Pakistan, is engaged in transportation, construction, sanitation and other sectors, apart from being engaged in other white collar jobs. The onset of Covid-19 created a

dilemma for the migrant workers in the Middle East, as many were laid off and others had their salaries slashed. Ever since Pakistan's shift to geo-economics, there has been a lot of emphasis on worker rights in the Middle East as evidenced by the official bilateral engagements Pakistan has had with these countries. These are evident from the increase in remittances between FY11 and FY21 from Pakistan's top two source countries, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates - 187 and 135% growth respectively.

THERE HAS BEEN A LOT OF EMPHASIS ON WORKER RIGHTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AS EVIDENCED BY THE OFFICIAL BILATERAL ENGAGEMENTS PAKISTAN HAS HAD WITH THESE COUNTRIES

With regards to trade, the Pakistan leadership has been markedly engaging with the Gulf countries keeping economics at the forefront. Bilateral exchanges especially at the Foreign Minister level are an evidence of this. In 2021, the visits included those to Saudi Arabia, Qatar, the Emirates, Iran and Iraq. During all of these appointments, increasing trade links was a key focus. In March 2021, Pakistan's Lucky Cement in a joint venture with Al-Shamookh started cement production in Iraq. Moreover, in June 2021, in order to achieve the \$5 billion trade potential Pakistan and Iran have established three border markets - at Gabd, Mund and Chedgi- and three more are in the pipeline. In March, 2022, Pakistan and the UAE agreed to start negotiations for greater economic cooperation to achieve the Free Trade Agreement (FTA). Volume of bilateral trade had grown by 63 percent (2019).



Another highlight for Pakistan is its pavilion at the Dubai expo 2020 which was awarded the Silver Award for interior design. Many international firms including Enertech-Kuwait Investment Authority (KIA), and Korea Hydro & Nuclear Power (KHNP) expressed a desire to invest in the Pakistani industrial, food processing and energy sectors. According to officials from the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) investment board, Pakistan's province (KP) signed over 40 memorandums of understanding (MoUs) at Expo 2020 which are anticipated to bring foreign investment worth \$8 billion into the country.

To cap off the year, in December 2021, the Islamabad-Tehran-Istanbul (ITI) cargo train service between Pakistan, Iran and Turkey was revived after a 10-year hiatus. As matters stand, it envisages earnings of \$32 million per year for Pakistan – a potential which can be doubled if the ITI is connected to other railway stations (Lahore, Karachi, Faisalabad, and Sialkot) to facilitate the transport of goods to Turkey, Europe and Central Asia from Pakistan.

Increase in Religious Tourism in the Middle East

In January 2021, the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Interfaith Harmony proposed that the Economic Coordination Committee (ECC) should open Ziyarat [Religious Visit] Directorate offices in Mashhad in Iran, and Karbala and Baghdad in Iraq, as well as in Pakistan's own cities of Quetta and Taftan.

In June 2021, after consultations with the governments of Iran, Iraq and Syria, Islamabad announced a new pilgrimage policy aimed at increasing religious tourism in the Middle East. Among other things, this would encompass officially licensed tour operators operating at subsidized rates for ferry services to Iran and Iraq. In August 2021, during Iraqi Foreign Minister Fuad Hussein's visit to Islamabad, a "pilgrims' management policy" was discussed, as well as the setting up of Pakistani

consulates in the Iraqi cities of Najaf, Ashraf and Karbala to facilitate pilgrims' needs.

PAKISTANI LEADERSHIP HAS BEEN MARKEDLY ENGAGING WITH THE GULF COUNTRIES KEEPING ECONOMICS AT THE FOREFRONT. BILATERAL EXCHANGES ESPECIALLY AT THE FOREIGN MINISTER LEVEL ARE AN EVIDENCE OF THIS. IN 2021, THE VISITS INCLUDED THOSE TO SAUDI ARABIA, QATAR, THE EMIRATES, IRAN AND IRAQ

In September 2021, after a 22-year hiatus a Pakistan International Airlines (PIA) aircraft landed in Damascus and the following month the Pakistani Government announced that PIA would now operate direct flights to Syria and Iraq twice a week.

Recommendations

All in all, Pakistan's changed foreign policy outlook which now focuses on geo-economics as opposed to geo-politics is a welcome and wise step.

- Pakistan needs to broaden areas of engagement & cooperation with the GCC. In this regard, Pakistan must explore the desired effort towards entering into a strategic partnership with the GCC countries, more specifically KSA, UAE & Qatar.
- Given that more than 50 percent of Pakistan's populace comprises young people, Pakistan's manpower is considered an extremely valuable asset. Hence, the Pakistani Government must train its labor force in line with Middle Eastern needs. Specializations where demand for workers is high are engineering and medicine.
- Pakistan should create a niche for itself in different economic visions of the GCC (Saudi Vision 2030, Oman Vision 2040 & Abu Dhabi Economic Vision 2030) particularly in energy & food security.
- Pakistan must capitalize on well crafted economic policies to further enhance its relations with the GCC countries, while emphasizing on areas which have not been tapped into yet.

- Given that more than 50 % of Pakistan's populace comprises of young people, Pakistan's manpower is considered an extremely valuable asset. Focus should be on training its labor force in line with Middle Eastern needs (engineering & medicine).

- Encourage Public Private Partnerships in various sectors like Telecom, Pharmaceuticals, Sports hardware & several others.

- The opportunities in infrastructure development especially in the Gulf countries are being overlooked by Pakistan. The Government of Pakistan needs to rectify this. One way of doing this is if Pakistan signs contracts with countries in the Middle East with regard to sending Pakistani engineers and technicians to provide support in the mega project. For instance, in Saudi Arabia's NEOM city which is said to generate 380,000 jobs and will contribute US \$48 billion to the Kingdom's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) by 2030.

GIVEN THAT MORE THAN 50 % OF PAKISTAN'S POPULACE COMPRISES OF YOUNG PEOPLE, PAKISTAN'S MANPOWER IS CONSIDERED AN EXTREMELY VALUABLE ASSET. FOCUS SHOULD BE ON TRAINING ITS LABOR FORCE IN LINE WITH MIDDLE EASTERN NEEDS

- Keeping the Middle East's work towards promotion of sports-especially football- Pakistan can use its status and experience in the Sports Industry as leverage to enter in the Middle East sports market especially in terms of manufacturing of sports items.

- Middle Eastern countries are facing immense food security challenges. Pakistan being an agro-based country can help overcome this by not only attracting investment in agriculture within the CPEC's Special Economic Zones but also through export of its products ■



The writer is a Research Fellow at Centre for Afghanistan, Middle East & Africa at the Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad.



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WHERE AMERICANS STAND ON CLIMATE CHANGE

AS FIREFIGHTERS STRUGGLED to contain the wildfires that tore through the West Coast throughout September — hitting growers and nurseries in California and Oregon — the issue of climate change continues to be a hot-button topic circulating amongst politicians, news outlets and social media spheres. While there is no denying the catastrophic damage of global warming, it's important to note how Americans view important environmental issues. We rounded up some key findings from The Pew Research Center from their April 21 article, "How Americans see climate change and the environment in 7 charts." Here are some of the notable points Pew discovered:

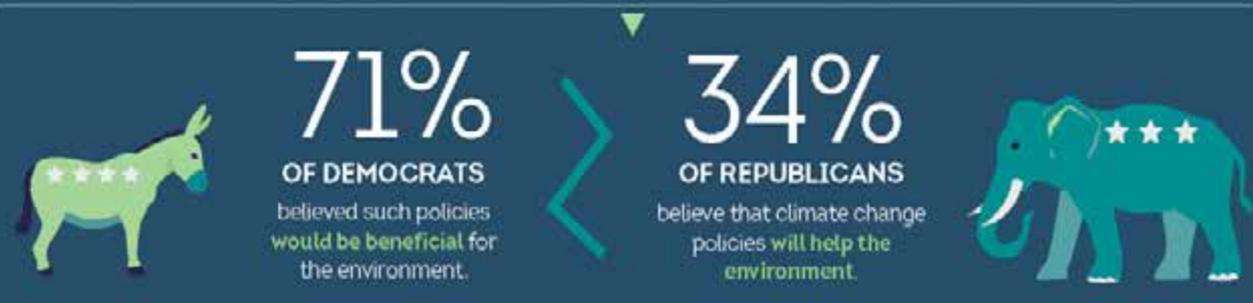


There has been an increase of support for environmental prioritization in the U.S. Since 2011, and 64% of Americans believe that environmental protection should be a high priority for the president and Congress.



PARTISAN POLITICS FACTOR INTO PLAY WHEN IT COMES TO CLIMATE POLICIES

in regard to the environment and the economy. In a October 2019 survey, Pew found that while 67% of Americans did not believe the government was doing enough to combat climate change, there were **stark divides between parties**.



SOURCE: ART ELEMENTS FROM ADOBE STOCK

PAKISTAN ECONOMIC DIPLOMACY: OPPORTUNITY TO STRENGTHEN TRADE TIES WITH AFRICAN COUNTRIES

By Areeba Arif Khan & Muhammad Murtaza Ali



ambassador's supervision and are responsible for trade and development activities.

In 2021, the Pakistan Government held a series of meetings with governments of African countries to explore the potential of political and economic ties. In this regard, the third round of Bilateral Political Consultations (BPC) meeting between Pakistan and Kenya was held in January 2021, and it featured a discussion on ways to build relations in trade, air and port linkages between Pakistan and African countries as well as security collaborations. In March 2021, similar meetings were held virtually between Pakistan and Tunisia as well. The two sides agreed that existing political ties between the two countries need to be supplemented by excellent economic ties as well.

Moreover, Pakistani also wants to strengthen its ties with coastal countries such as Djibouti and Egypt. From Djibouti, Pakistan seeks agreements for expeditious transport of its trade goods to Ethiopia as well as incentives for Pakistani private investors and entrepreneurs to invest in the Djibouti International Free Trade Zone (DIFTZ).

Developments and Opportunities under Engage Africa Initiative

Diplomatic Engagements

Under the Engage Africa Policy, the Government of Pakistan vows

With a shift from geo-politics to geo-economics, Pakistan's commitment to develop commercial linkages with different countries of the world to discover the unexplored economic potential of Pakistan has been enhanced. Africa is rightly called the "Continent of the Future" and keeping this in view, Pakistan is eager to foster bilateral ties with the African Continent by pursuing economic diplomacy under its 'Engage Africa Policy' initiated in 2018 in different areas, such as agriculture, health, technology and tourism. Pakistan already has 19 missions in Africa with the latest one in Kigali, while Ghana and

Djibouti are under nomination. Pakistan also aims to establish new missions in order to explore and foster Pakistan's economic partnership with Africa.

As a part of the practical implementation of the 'Engage Africa' Policy, new Pakistani missions are being opened up in Angola, Uganda, Ghana and Ivory Coast and Kigali (Rwanda). Moreover, six trade wings have been opened in Algeria, Egypt, Ethiopia, Sudan and Tanzania where local people have been appointed as trade development officers in various African countries where resident missions have not been established. They are working under an accredited

to increase political and military ties with African countries. For this purpose specifically, 700 Diplomats are under training in Islamabad. In fields of training and development of human capital, capacity building courses and education.

Agriculture Development

Pakistan has great potential regarding investment in the processing industry in Africa in terms of converting local agricultural raw material into value-added and export worthy products.

THROUGH 'ENGAGE AFRICA POLICY' POLICY, NEW PAKISTANI MISSIONS ARE BEING OPENED UP IN ANGOLA, UGANDA, GHANA AND IVORY COAST AND KIGALI (RWANDA). MOREOVER, SIX TRADE WINGS HAVE BEEN OPENED IN ALGERIA, EGYPT, ETHIOPIA, SUDAN AND TANZANIA WHERE LOCAL PEOPLE HAVE BEEN APPOINTED AS TRADE DEVELOPMENT OFFICERS IN VARIOUS AFRICAN COUNTRIES WHERE RESIDENT MISSIONS HAVE NOT BEEN ESTABLISHED

Pakistan's contribution to agriculture can play a vital role in developing the Pakistani market and trade in Africa. For instance, in December 2020 Millat Tractors secured an export order for 600 tractors to Angola which is an important milestone towards the practical implementation of the 'Engage Africa Policy'. Similar to this, other exporters should follow

the same example of exporting non-traditional products to the African Markets to enhance the trade activity.

Defence Cooperation

To establish multifaceted bilateral ties, Pakistan, under the 'Engage Africa' Policy, is also seeking cooperation in the defence sector with African countries. The Pakistan Navy is promoting goods to help the people through its PNS NASR's Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR) mission to African states and has been providing maritime services for a long time. Another project under the 'Engage Africa Policy' has been regarding the visit of Pakistan Navy's ships called PNS MOAWIN and PNS ASLAT which visited eight African Ports including the Ports of Morocco, and Mauritania Ghana, South Africa, Tanzania, Seychelles, Nigeria and Kenya.

Moreover, Pakistan has provided Nigeria with three JF-17 Thunder fighter jets that would result in the latter's modernization of its defence sector. Nigeria is the first African country to purchase these jets from Pakistan and its pilots have been receiving training since mid-2020.

People-to-people Interaction

Attempts to carry out people-to-people diplomacy precede the "Engage Africa Policy" initiative. An example is the "Pak-Sudan People's Friendship Association" initiated by the Embassy of Sudan in 2016. The purpose of this association is to increase people to people interaction in the fields of research, education, agriculture, food, health and trade.

African diplomats and army personnel undergo diplomatic and military training in Pakistan alongside personnel from

Pakistan and various other countries with which Pakistan has friendly ties. Diplomatic training takes place in the Foreign Services Academy of Pakistan.

THE PAKISTAN NAVY IS PROMOTING GOODS TO HELP THE PEOPLE THROUGH ITS PNS NASR'S HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE AND DISASTER RELIEF (HADR) MISSION TO AFRICAN STATES AND HAS BEEN PROVIDING MARITIME SERVICES FOR A LONG TIME

Pakistan has also remained engaged in UN peacekeeping missions in various African countries. Currently, thousands of Pakistani blue caps are deployed in Sudan, Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia and the Democratic Republic of Congo to contain civil wars, provide logistic and medical assistance and facilitate civilian governments.

Environmental Collaboration

Despite a very small-scale contribution to global warming and carbon gas emissions, both Pakistan and Africa are most vulnerable to the impacts of this phenomenon. They have to face excessive rainfalls, floods, and drought-like conditions every year which undermine the real essence of agricultural lands. With most of the people having their livelihood dependent on seasonal crops and animal farms, the phenomenon is creating multifaceted challenges in socio-cultural and economic domains which are marginalizing farmer communities in underdeveloped regions and increasing the risk of food security.

In the past Pakistan has tried to collaborate in some areas. For instance, in 2012, a collaboration between Senegal's Centre for Ecological Monitoring (Centre de Suivi Ecologique, CSE), in Dakar, and the Inter-Islamic Network on Space Sciences and Technology (ISNET), based in Karachi, Pakistan, was made to use remote sensing to boost food production in Senegal. Such cooperation in the agricultural sector supplemented by the new technology has facilitated the agricultural economies of both Africa and Pakistan.

Technical Collaboration

In the realm of technical collaboration, Pakistan has previously assisted the Somali Government in the development of the National Identification System (NIS) based on the framework of the National Database and Identification Authority (NADRA) used in Pakistan. Apart from sharing the NADRA technology, Pakistan also provided Somalia with the required software and equipment for the development of NIS. The installation of the system will help Somalia to keep the digital record of its citizens, management of elections, and biometric verifications.

Moreover, there are a number of Pakistanis who are living in different parts of Africa, for example in South Africa, Sudan, Kenya, Tanzania and Somalia. Interestingly, over the past ten years, the number of Pakistani diaspora in the African continent has increased significantly. These people are running various small and large businesses in Africa such as spaza shops, cell phone shops and food restaurants. A number of Africans are also

based in Pakistan - some for educational purposes while others are running businesses in Karachi.

BOTH PAKISTAN AND AFRICAN NATIONS SHOULD MOVE BEYOND PROMISES AND FOCUS ON ENHANCING COOPERATION AND TOWARDS PRACTICAL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE 'ENGAGE AFRICA' POLICY. THE SUCCESSFUL IMPLEMENTATION OF ENGAGE AFRICA POLICY WILL HELP TRANSLATE PAKISTAN'S FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH AFRICAN COUNTRIES INTO A MORE ROBUST ECONOMIC PARTNERSHIP

Approximately 1200 diplomats have been trained in Foreign Service Academy (FSA) and now they are serving at high-level positions in their respective countries. Furthermore, there is great potential in various areas between Pakistan and Africa which is yet to be explored (agriculture, health, information technology, skill development, education and counter-terrorism). Both Pakistan and African nations should move

beyond promises and focus on enhancing cooperation and towards practical implementation of the 'Engage Africa' policy.

Afghanistan

Regional dynamics have changed; with more challenges such as internal survival such as economic security -climate change and the urgent need for economic and infrastructural connectivity.

Middle East

- Geo-political shifts have altered the traditional alignment patterns shifting the tilt from politics to economy as a priority. Therefore, Pakistan by improving economic activities in the region and beyond, can build bridges and generate wealth to alleviate the impending challenges and burdens.

- Pakistan needs to broaden areas of engagement & cooperation with the GCC.

Africa

Both Pakistan and African nations should move beyond promises and focus on enhancing cooperation and towards practical implementation of the 'Engage Africa' policy. The successful implementation of Engage Africa policy will help translate Pakistan's friendly relations with African countries into a more robust economic partnership ■



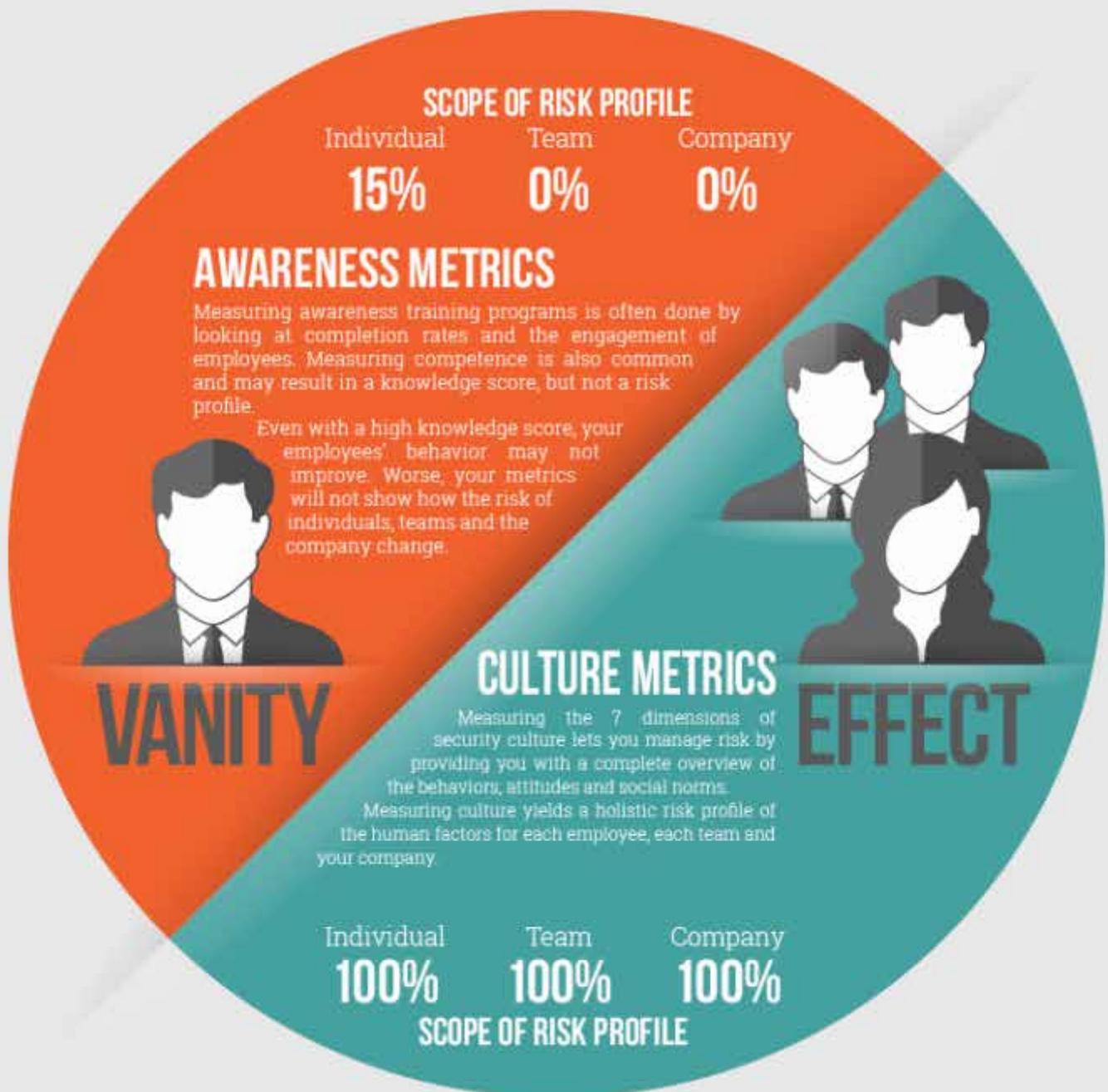
The writer is a Research Associate at Centre for Afghanistan, Middle East & Africa at the Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad.



The writer holds Master's degree in International Relations from University of Sargodha.

MEASURING HUMAN FACTORS

What are the differences between measuring **security awareness** training programs and measuring **security culture**?





ISSI CENTRES OF EXCELLENCE

China Pakistan Study Centre (CPSC) at a Glance



By Dr. Talat Shabbir

The Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad will celebrate its 49th anniversary on June 16, 2022. At this occasion, China Pakistan Study Centre (CPSC) is going to launch a Special Edition of its quarterly magazine "PIVOT" on the theme of "Re-thinking the National Security of Pakistan." To grasp this opportunity, it is important to give a brief introduction of the CPSC in the Foundation Day Special Edition of PIVOT. CPSC is the first centre of excellence at ISSI which was established in 2007. The Centre was re-invigorated in October 2018. The Regional Focus of CPSC was expanded to include Central Asia and East Asia in 2021 along with China.



Vision

The vision of CPSC is to carry out dedicated and comprehensive research on Pakistan's political, economic and security engagement with China, Central Asia and Southeast Asia. The Centre provides policy inputs to the government and relevant stakeholders on Pakistan-China relations, engagement with Central Asian Republics and ties with East Asian nations.

Areas in focus

The main areas of focus are China, BRI, CPEC, Security and Political engagement with China. When it comes to Central Asia, the Centre covers Geo-economics, Climate Change and Regional Security dynamics. On East Asia and Southeast Asia, the centre primarily focuses on Pakistan's Political, Economic and Security relations with the countries housed in the region. Besides, the centre also concentrates on working functions of the regional institutions such as ASEAN, SCO and CICA.

◆ Team CPSC

The CPSC team comprises of highly professional and brilliant scholars who have strong command on their areas of research.

- The Director of the CPSC is Dr. Talat Shabbir. He holds a PhD in International Relations from Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad. He has M.Phil in International Relations from University of Karachi, Masters in International Relations from University of Balochistan and Masters in Political Science from University of Punjab. His research areas are Pakistan, South Asia, Belt and Road Initiative, CPEC and Pakistan-China relations.
- Mr. Muhammad Faisal is a Research Fellow at the China-Pakistan Study Centre. He served as Research Associate at the Centre for International Strategic Studies (CISS). He has earned an M. Phil in Strategic Studies from the Quaid-i-Azam University (QAU), Islamabad. His areas of interest include China-Pakistan Relations, CPEC, conflict and cooperation in South Asia.
- Ms. Ume Farwa is a Research Associate at the Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad (ISSI). She earned her M.Phil degree in International Relations from National University of Modern Languages Islamabad. She is a gold-medalist in M.Sc. International Relations from National University of Modern Languages (NUML) Islamabad. She also worked as a scriptwriter at AIOU Media Broadcasting Centre. She has been working on many issues related to Pakistan and China. Her area of research is Central Asia and CPEC.
- Ms. Uroosa Khan is the Editor of Pivot Magazine at the China Pakistan Study Centre, Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad. She earned her M.Phil in English Literature from International Islamic University Islamabad. She did her BS honors in English Literature and Linguistics from National University of Modern Languages Islamabad. Her areas of interest include Post-colonial literature, Comparative Religion Studies, Post-Modernism

and Kashmir.

- Mr. Muhammad Iqbal is a Research Assistant at the China Pakistan Study Centre. He earned an M.Phil in International Relations from National Defence University, Islamabad. He did BS International Relations from Balochistan University of Information Technology, Engineering and Management Sciences (BUIITEMS). His areas of expertise are Pak-Afghan Affairs, BRI and CPEC, East Asia and Southeast Asian region.
- Mr. Moin Zakir Abbasi is the coordinator at the China Pakistan Study Centre. He earned a Master’s degree in Computer Sciences from National University of Modern Languages Islamabad.



❖ **Functions of CPSC**

- To monitor latest developments related to China, Central Asia, Southeast Asia, and ASEAN.
- To contribute to the existing body of knowledge through evidence-based research articles, monographs, reports and books on the selected issues related to China, Central Asia and Southeast Asia.
- To organize policy discourse on the issues and policies of East Asia, China, ASEAN through conferences, seminars, round tables and other public and informal events, to generate better understanding of the issues concerned.
- To establish and maintain institutional linkages with counter-part think-tanks in China, Central Asia and East Asia.
- To provide policy inputs to the government and other stakeholders to strengthen Pakistan’s narrative on CPEC, BRI and relations with countries in Central Asia and East Asia.

❖ **CPSC Vision 2020-2023:**

- To perform comprehensive research on China, East Asia and Central Asia and critically view Pakistan’s political, economic & security engagement with these regions.
- To evaluate progress on Vision East Asia and CPEC.
- To identify challenges in expanding strategic, economic and cultural engagement with East Asian countries and Central Asian Republics.
- To suggest actionable recommendations to promote Pakistan’s interests and cooperation with ASEAN, SCO, and CICA.

❖ **Publications of team CPSC in 2021-2022**

- Issue Briefs-25
- Pivot Magazine-5
- Research Papers Published-6
- Op-eds- National and International-15
- Chapters Contributed by each Researcher-4

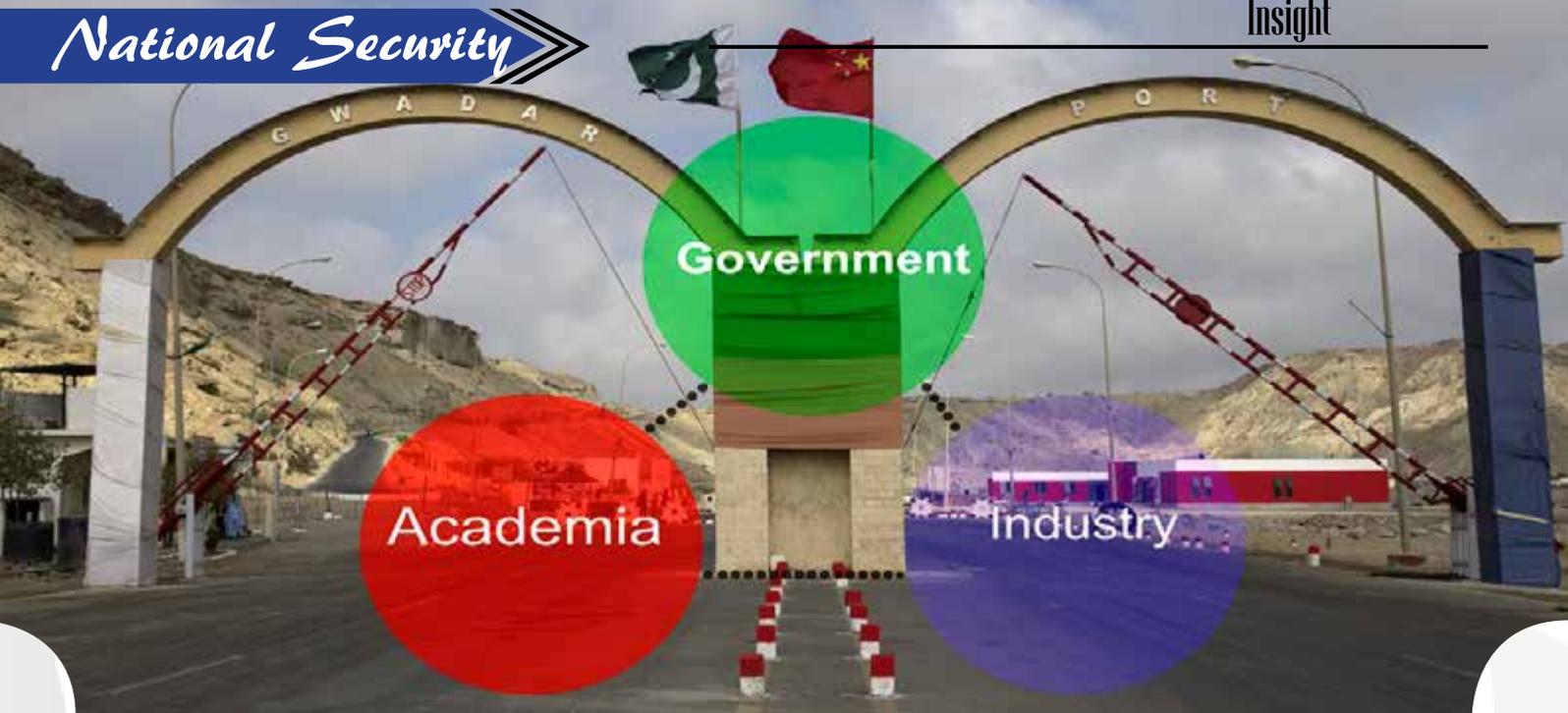
❖ **Pivot Magazine**

- Five Regular Editions of Pivot have been published on different themes and one Special Edition in 2021 and 2022 has been published so far ■

❖ **During the year of 2021, CPSC held 35 events**

Sr. No	Event	No. of Events Held
1	Seminars/Conferences	6
2	Book Launches	4
3	Public Talks/Delegation Visits	5
4	ROUNDTABLE/In-House Meetings	10
5	MoUs	5





CPEC AND KNOWLEDGE ECONOMY: APPLYING CHINA'S TRIPLE HELIX MODEL

By Ghazanfar Ali Garewal & Ume Farwa

China is a contemporary economic wonder. Within a few decades, it became a global factory that supplied its domestic products to the world markets. Since the beginning, of twenty first century, its economic rise has been ringing bells in Washington DC and other western capitals. It has become a global economic giant and is ready to replace the old one, the US. There are many reasons behind Beijing's economic miracle but a major one is hidden behind its Triple Helix Model.

When Deng Xiaoping introduced socio-economic reforms, China experimented with the western market capitalism. Though it was not applied in entirety, Chinese leaders introduced their own socialist flavour to it. And, after joining World Trade Organization (WTO), Beijing empowered its industrial clusters working on the model of socialist capitalism by applying Triple Helix Model of

innovation and development. It is a highly interactive and intertwined model in which industrial clusters, academia, and government policy institutions work in sync with each other to bring about the desired economic outcomes. The result is a knowledge-based economy which thrives beyond the traps of classical geo-economics.

CHINA'S TRIPLE HELIX MODEL OF INNOVATION AND DEVELOPMENT IS A HIGHLY-PRODUCTIVE EDUCATION-BUSINESS NEXUS. UNDER THIS MODEL, THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT FINANCED THE INDUSTRIAL PROJECTS THAT ARE CONCURRENT TO THE EDUCATION AND POLICY LINES OF THE GOVERNMENT

In fact, China's Triple Helix Model of Innovation and Development

is a highly-productive education-business nexus. Under this model, the Chinese government financed the industrial projects that are concurrent to the education and policy lines of the government. This step synchronized all three sectors: education, business, and the policy-making government institutions. Not only this model added economic benefits to China's national profile, it also enhanced the global ranking of Chinese universities. It is very obvious that when education sector gets this kind of concerted consideration, its profile definitely builds up. However, the biggest achievement was all three major sectors i.e., education, business, and government institutions (policy-related) started to work as one.

The same can be applied to Pakistan while conceptualizing and materializing China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). Mostly, it is a 4+1 formula project that envisions establishing energy plants and Special Economic Zones

(SEZs), building road and railway projects, and operationalizing of Gwadar Port in the Indian Ocean. Though CPEC is one mega economic project, the idea of adding knowledge economy to it is largely missing. If applied by adapting to Pakistan's domestic environment, the Triple Helix Model can yield great benefits for Islamabad in terms of its growth in the industrial and educational sectors.

Especially in the SEZs, the Triple Helix Model stands most relevant and highly productive. These economic zones must be complimented with synchronized policies in the educational, industrial, and policy sectors. If applied in its true spirit, a highly dynamic environment of industrial collaboration along with smart entrepreneurship can be created. Along with this, an added benefit would be a highly modern infrastructure along with booming knowledge-economy that could traverse the traditional traps of classical geo-economics.

If one nation can turn the Triple Helix Model into its economic miracle, the two nations can work wonders by generating a Double Triple Helix Model of Innovation and development. Therefore, both the governments of Pakistan and China need to make the most of this model. They need to align their education sector, industrial clusters, and the relevant policy institutions to formulate a one-vision CPEC policy framework.

There must be a procedural mechanism for materializing this common vision of economic prosperity. Pakistan's Ministry of Education, particularly its Higher Education Commission (HEC), and China's Ministry of Education must be on same page regarding the implementation of industrial projects in the SEZs. It will facilitate both the countries

to learn from each other's social and human capital while, at the same time, getting the opportunity to continuously build these two essential national assets.

As the two countries have a different business environment and working norms, the Double Triple Helix Model in Pakistan-China relations will also help them in reducing these natural frictions. When the two governments will facilitate B2B interactions, the businesses community from both sides will have better clarity on 'who gets what' and they will be in a better position to chart a roadmap to get past any bumps that come along the way.

THOUGH CPEC IS ONE MEGA ECONOMIC PROJECT, THE IDEA OF ADDING KNOWLEDGE ECONOMY TO IT IS LARGELY MISSING. IF APPLIED BY ADAPTING TO PAKISTAN'S DOMESTIC ENVIRONMENT, THE TRIPLE HELIX MODEL CAN YIELD GREAT BENEFITS FOR ISLAMABAD IN TERMS OF ITS GROWTH IN THE INDUSTRIAL AND EDUCATIONAL SECTORS

Developing an education-business nexus is critical for both the countries. It is especially relevant for generating a knowledge-based economy and sustaining a thriving economic development with regard to CPEC. This model will strengthen the educational, economic, and government linkages among the people. This will pave the way for touching a deeper level of Pakistan-China friendship.

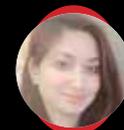
By applying this model, Beijing and Islamabad can bring their people closer to each other

and realize the dream of building a community of shared destiny. The cultural linkages have always played a crucial role in bringing the two nations together for a common dream. Europe and the US is an example before us. Pakistan and China, too, have to work on this aspect. Pakistan's education sector also needs to take initiative in this regard.

For instance, National University of Modern Languages (NUML), has established its centre in Xinjiang Normal University to teach Urdu language. However, if applied under Triple Helix Model, the outcomes could be amazing. Furthermore, it will also help them achieve the goal of building a shared future of innovation together. It will incentivise the commercialization and promote tourism industry. Both the countries will have the opportunity to redefine the destiny of the region. By enhancing people-to-people linkages, the idea of building a civilizational network along the entire route of Belt and Road Initiative can be visualized. China made tremendous progress in economic development and a developing country like Pakistan can draw many lessons from it. Beijing's consistent policies, synchronization of education, economic and policy sectors can work wonders for Islamabad. It will initiate the much-needed reforms at the policy level and encourage the industrialization that the Pakistani people have been dreaming of for so long ■



The writer is a Lecturer of International Relations at National University of Modern Languages Islamabad.



The writer is a Research Associate at China Pakistan Study Centre at the Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad.



ENERGY INFRASTRUCTURE UNDER CPEC PROGRESS AND FUTURE OUTLOOK

By Muhammad Iqbal

China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) has been moving in a full swing ahead and witnessed remarkable progress in all sectors. Despite the COVID pandemic, the work on energy sector saw impressive growth, especially, timely completion of power plants initiated under the ambit of CPEC phase I. After the successful implementation of the phase I, CPEC has entered into its second phase where nine Special Economic zones (SEZs) are planned to be constructed in order to strengthen the industrial sector, promote trade, employment and economic growth of Pakistan. The completion of the energy projects was inevitable before the commencement of phase II of CPEC because the essence of the 2nd phase is industrial cooperation and availability of sufficient amount of energy is one of the essential component for the development of industrial sector.

Pakistan experienced an acute energy crisis in past. Electricity shortage exceeded 7,000MW in the year of 2011. The energy shortage emerged because Pakistan had lagged behind in the power generation capacity. The energy shortfall emerged largely due to the failure of attracting the investment at a level required for expansion and maintenance of power generation on pace with the growing demand.

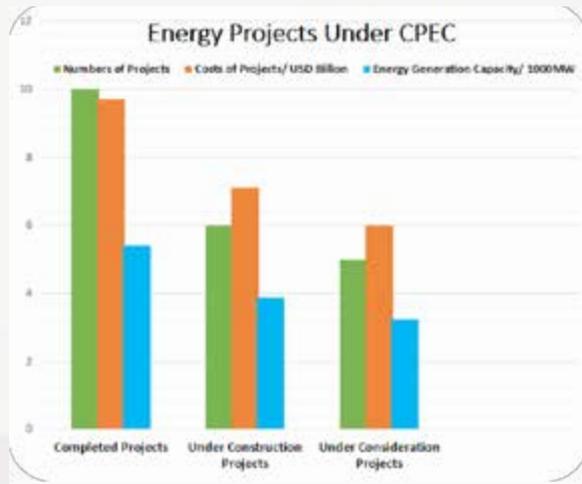
However, after the launch of CPEC in 2014, Pakistan has constructed new power producing plants funded by China, largely based on coal fired, drastically enhancing the country's energy generating capacity. Today, Pakistan has acquired the capacity to produce more electricity than its requirement. According to the statistics of Pakistan Economic Survey 2019-2020, Pakistan acquired the installed capacity of 35,972MW in 2020. In the same year, Pakistan's consumption

capacity stood by 25,000MW mainly consumed by Household, Industry, Commercial, Agriculture and others. The primary structural problem of power sector was expansion of power generating units, which has already been addressed under the CPEC energy framework. The CPEC energy projects have resolved the power generation issues.

CPEC'S ENERGY PROJECTS

In total, around 12,000 megawatts of energy would be generated through 21 energy projects envisioned under the ambit of CPEC energy infrastructure. The 21 energy projects cost around USD \$ 25 billion. At the moment, 10 energy projects have been completely and have operationalized in their full capacity. The completed energy projects cost around USD \$ 9.7 billion. Out of 10 completed energy projects, 9 projects are power generating plants which have been contributing around 5420MW to the National Grid and one project is Matiari-Lahore energy transmission line. The transmission line has the

capacity of 4,000 MW evacuation with the length of approximately 900 km.



Under the CPEC energy sector framework, six energy generating projects are under construction which cost around USD \$ 7.1 billion with the power generation capacity of 3870 MW.

DESPITE HIGH ENERGY PRICES IN THE REGION, THE ENERGY SECTOR IS MIRED IN HUGE LOSSES AND GIGANTIC CIRCULAR DEBT ISSUES. DURING THE FIRST SIX MONTHS (JULY-DECEMBER) OF THE FY 2021-2022, PAKISTAN'S ENERGY SECTOR RECORDED ALL TIME HIGH CIRCULAR DEBT INCREASED TO PKR 196 BILLION

Apart from that, five energy projects are under consideration and in the approval phase. Estimated costs of these under pipeline projects are USD \$5.912 billion with Power Generation Capacity of 3244.7 MW.

CHALLENGES AND ISSUES

With the implementation of CPEC energy projects, Pakistan has successfully built up the capacity of producing surplus energy, but still the country is facing load shedding and unannounced power cut across the country especially in the summer season. In rural areas across the country, the load shedding is in

between 12 to 16 hours. In the case of Balochistan, 60% of the province is not connected with the National Grid and the people have been living in darkness for decades. The energy requirements of the rest of Balochistan connected to National Grid is around 2000MW, but the current transmission line infrastructure has the capacity of 1200 to 1400MW.

Despite high energy prices in the region, the energy sector is mired in huge losses and gigantic circular debt issues. During the first six months (July-December) of the FY 2021-2022, Pakistan's energy sector recorded all time high circular debt increased to PKR 196 billion dollar and the overall circular debt, broke all the previous records, and reached to PKR 2476 billion. CPEC has done little to address the issues of circular debt in power sector which is swelling with every passing day.

There are a number of reasons behind all these issues and challenges. Poor transmission networks, technical issues and power theft are the root causes contributing to further cripple the energy sector. Besides, the issue of pending bills is also a matter of serious concern. According to DISCOs, recovery of less bills alone costs PKR 171 billion to the national exchequer in 2019.

WAY FORWARD

Pakistan needs some serious measures and massive reforms in its energy sector, both of short term and long term. First and foremost, the country should set an objective to go for renewable sources of energy. It requires enormous investment and time. The available avenues should

be utilized to achieve the goal of renewable power sector. The energy cooperation under the auspices of CPEC, attractions of FDI, negotiations with regional and international institutions for further investment in Pakistan's power sector and harnessing the available national resources could not only address the issues of power sector but, to some extent, it will also be helpful to resolve the problems of climate change as Pakistan has already witnessed unprecedented sufferings from rising temperature.

THE DIRECTION OF THE ENERGY COOPERATION UNDER THE UMBRELLA OF CPEC SHOULD BE BENT IN A MANNER THAT ADDRESSES THE LOOPHOLES OF ENERGY SECTOR AND BEST SERVES THE INTEREST OF PAKISTAN. ISLAMABAD NEEDS TO RENEGOTIATE THE 6 UNDER CONSTRUCTIONS AND 5 UNDER CONSIDERATION POWER GENERATING ENERGY PROJECTS

The direction of the energy cooperation under the umbrella of CPEC should be bent in a manner that addresses the loopholes of energy sector and best serves the interest of Pakistan. Islamabad needs to renegotiate the 6 under constructions and 5 under consideration power generating energy projects. At the moment, Pakistan is not facing power-generating deficit, instead, there is a need to invest on the technical side which includes power distribution system, ensure complete recovery of bills and stop power theft by learning from Chinese experience ■



The writer is a Research Assistant at China Pakistan Study Centre at the Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad.



Gwadar

More than What Meets the Eye

By Irfan Shahzad Takalvi

The completion of Eastbay Expressway is yet another step in the overall scheme of establishing Gwadar as a busy port city. Part of the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), the new avenue links the port infrastructure with the Makran Coastal Highway, without having to pass through the city dwellings.

That indeed is a very good news as far as operationalization of the Deep Sea Port is concerned. It will facilitate smooth and faster flow of trucks loaded with goods to and from the port, with minimal interruption in the city's normal life and movement.

But that is only one side of the picture; there is more to it than what meets the eye. Locals - fishermen in particular - say that the 20+ kilometres long Expressway has effectively blocked their access to the eastern bay of Gwadar, impacting their livelihoods

in a negative way. Yes, the port administration presents the argument that bridges have been built which the fishermen can use to access the sea, but the locals maintain that it is not the same as before. It never remains that same, as a matter of fact, when a country goes for a project as big as Gwadar. We have talked to the port administration, the fishermen, civil society, political leadership, media and academics. Overall picture that emerges is a complex one.

Gwadar is not simply the name of a port - to be Pakistan's third commercial one. Gwadar means the master-plan for a whole new city having all the ingredients of a busy, bustling, metropolis, in years ahead. The port itself, the deepest in the region, is worth boasting. So far, 5 berths have been built in the first phase with a total length of the port being 602 meters. But in the coming phases it is extendable to over 4 kilometres, towards the east,

under the shadows of Kok-e-Batail - the iconic hill overlooking the sea and the port. Such a big change on the map of the city would certainly bring a lot of transformation for the way the people used to live there; it is quite normal.

GWADAR IS NOT SIMPLY THE NAME OF A PORT – TO BE PAKISTAN'S THIRD COMMERCIAL ONE. GWADAR MEANS THE MASTER-PLAN FOR A WHOLE NEW CITY HAVING ALL THE INGREDIENTS OF A BUSY, BUSTLING, METROPOLIS, IN THE YEARS AHEAD. THE PORT ITSELF, THE DEEPEST IN THE REGION, IS WORTH BOASTING

The question however is: did we really prepare the locals for this change, and more importantly, did



we assure them that it would all be positive for them.

A general, and totally wrong perception is that locals are not getting due share in the jobs being created at the port. First, it is initial phase and not enough jobs have been created as of now. But whatever the opportunities have been created for employment, locals have been accommodated to the best of the possibility. For instance, out of 17 staff working at Gwadar International Terminals Limited (GITL) - one of the three subsidiaries of China Overseas Port Holding Company Limited (COPHC), the concession holder of the port - 16 are locals, we were told. It may not be the ratio everywhere but we have to be clear that technical jobs need matching skills, expertise, training and education and being a local does not qualify anyone automatically for such a job.

Let us not forget that COPHC is running a number of initiatives for uplifting of the locals including women development, goat and chicken farms, a modern tissue culture lab and a water desalination plant. These initiatives would gradually make positive impact

on the lives of the locals in years ahead. China-assisted hospital and technical training institution - aimed at preparing the locals for jobs to be created in future - are separate.

COPHC IS GENERATING ITS OWN POWER AND EXCESS CAPACITY TO SUPPLY TO THE CITY, IF SO ARRANGED. ITS GENERATION COST IS VERY HIGH, COMING TO THE TUNE OF RS.49 PER UNIT, AND THUS COPHC IS BEARING THE COST OF INEFFICIENCY OF PAKISTANI AUTHORITIES WHO HAVE SO FAR FAILED TO PROVIDE ELECTRICITY FROM THE GRID

It is important to note that COPHC is generating its own power and excess capacity to supply to the city, if so arranged. Its generation cost is very high, coming to the tune of Rs.49 per unit, and thus COPHC is bearing the cost of inefficiency of Pakistani authorities who have so far failed to provide electricity from the grid. In fact, much of Gwadar is reliant on Iranian power even now. A desalination plant of 0.2 MGD capacity is already working and it is to be enhanced up to 1.2 MGD. Simply, the concession holder is already doing its bit, rather more, so to say.

Although progress is slower, some companies are already functioning and more are about to start soon, enhancing the prospects of employment generation. A state-of-the art Business Centre equipped with modern residential, conference and logistics facilities is in operation.

Yes, the city and its people are facing a lot of troubles. Lack of

proper education, health, water and sanitation facilities is evident. But building of the port is not the reason for these issues. The port and related infrastructure actually promises to eradicate these issues. Gradually though, it will take time. This needs to be conveyed to the people.

Locals need to be communicated in a convincing manner that wherever such a large scale infrastructure project is built, some people have to be relocated. Those with vested interests must be stopped from making it a humanitarian issue, for their own political and personal objectives.

Fishermen complain of the large, modern, heavily equipped fishing trawlers operating without any restriction and understandably impacting their catch, thus livelihoods. This is big business. The trawlers are not only from China but also from other countries as well as from Pakistan's own large-scale fishing-mafia based in Karachi. It becomes clear that such practices are not possible without the involvement of state functionaries at various levels. Yes, fishermen's grievances need to be addressed. But it is also a reality that local fishermen have failed to adjust their local fishing practices and lifestyles to the fast-changing realities of this very important field. The blame does not lie entirely on the outsiders. Still, not much is lost and can be recovered.

Gwadar is set to grow, so are its complexities. Pakistani and Chinese authorities involved will have to keep this in mind and adjust their policies accordingly ■



The writer is a policy analyst and focuses on China-led connectivity and development initiatives



ISSI CENTRES OF EXCELLENCE



Centre for Strategic Perspectives (CSP) at a Glance

By Dr. Neelum Nigar

Established on September 14th, 2020, the Centre for Strategic Perspectives (CSP) is the 5th Centre of Excellence at the Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad. The Centre was established with the vision to monitor global and regional trends of strategic importance and their implications for Pakistan through quantitative and qualitative analyses and dialogue sessions with a view to formulate tangible inputs. The Centre further seeks to provide an analysis of Pakistan's relations with major powers, including the United States and Americas, Russia, and Europe and on issues dealing with international political economy. CSP also overlooks trends in multilateralism and security both in terms of traditional and non-traditional threats including coercive diplomacy, water, energy and food security, climate change and environmental degradation.



- The main functions of the Centre are;
 - Monitor - Regional and international developments pertaining to the research area
 - Organize - Dialogue through meetings, seminars, conferences & workshops
 - Disseminate - Information through research, reports, & social media tools
 - Provide - Policy inputs to government and relevant departments
 - Maintain - Database and contacts with experts, organizations and think tanks



- The areas that come under the focus of the Centre include;

Pakistan US Relations, Americas, and United Nations

- ❖ Security Partnership
- ❖ Strategic Dialogue
- ❖ International Organizations

- Russia and Europe

- ❖ Politics
- ❖ Economy
- ❖ Security



- International Political Economy and Non-Traditional Security Challenges

- ❖ Climate Change
- ❖ Water Security
- ❖ Food Security
- ❖ Population Bulge



- In order to pursue overarching guidance, the Centre has anchored distinguished and renowned national and international personnel including representatives of government and official organisations, academia, think tanks, former diplomats and officials and experts as its advisory board members. The advisory board members along with the Director General ISSI Ambassador Aizaz Ahmad Chaudhry provide overall guidance, as well as policy and work trajectory for its annual road map for the programme of work. The Centre works under the captainship of Dr. Neelum Nigar as the Director along with a team of experts consisting of Ms. Mahrukh Khan, Mr. Ahmad Naeem Salik, Mir. Sherbaz Khetran and Mr. Taimur Fahad Khan.

- In the last one and a half years; since its establishment, the Centre has performed multiple functions that include monitoring international and multilateral trends, and strategic and bilateral relations with major powers. Also, the Centre has increased its focus on Pakistan's non-traditional security challenges which include climate change, food and water security along with other dimensions of human security. In its short span of time, the Centre has organised multiple and diverse tiers of dialogues, debates and discussions ranging from the national and international levels on multiple platforms such as Tuesday Dialogues, In-house Meetings, Webinar, Panel Discussions, Ambassadors Platform, Distinguished Lecture Series, Roundtable Discussions, Chatham House Debates, and book launch.



- The Centre has also successfully published and disseminated analysis and inputs in the form of book chapters, research articles, issue briefs, special reports, and weekly news bulletins to the relevant stakeholders. Keeping in pace with the current electronic and social media trends, the Centre is active on multiple social platforms and in touch with national and international audiences. In its one year and a half, the Centre has established Memorandum of Understanding (MoUs) and working institutional linkages with multiple national and international organisations and is in regular consultations with Ambassadors and policymakers within Pakistan and abroad.
- The Centre for Strategic Perspectives has been a proud partner of the Islamabad Security Dialogue held in 2021 and 2022 in partnership with the National Security Division. The Centre also successfully conducted the working session V, at ISSI's flagship annual event, Islamabad Conclave 2021, titled "Addressing Pakistan's Non-traditional Security Challenges," with top tier national and international intellectuals.
- For the Year 2022, CSP is focusing its activities on the overarching theme of the year at ISSI 'Pakistan's National Security Policy- Beyond the Horizon.' The Centre has divided the year into two main streams Economic Security and Human Security, leading to a book project in the latter half in sync with the overall year's theme. Besides, the Centre is also conducting corresponding research according to the event calendar to synergize its research, dialogues and events.



- In its attempt to contribute towards the ISSI's 49th Foundation Day, the experts at the Centre for Strategic Perspectives are contributing researched analysis on issues of pressing importance ranging from Geo-economics to relevance of the United Nations and the security dilemma in the Indo-Pacific ■



IS UN STILL RELEVANT IN THE CURRENT GEOPOLITICAL ENVIRONMENT

By Mahrukh Khan

In the midst of a global geopolitical and geo-strategic reflux, the United Nations (UN) is caught in a dilemma of the relevance of its existence and the ability to lead as a global organization. The mere conception of the UN was to save future generations from the scourge of war, however, for many nations, it has failed to achieve that.

The world has entered a new era of global politics where different existing and rising powers are in competition against the post-World War II multilateral order after which the UN was created and was considered an anchor. Today the UN is facing multi-faceted challenges from all directions including politics encompassing bilateral relations. The world is going through a rapid transformation with increasing palpable shifts in the geo-political environment as well as multiple other threats including a raging pandemic, and climate change.

The United Nations stands at a crossroads bedeviled by a litany of

challenges, coupled with the weak role of the UN Security Council (UNSC) resulting in the decline of the UN's authority.

PAKISTAN HAS PLEDGED GENDER PARITY BY INCREASING WOMEN OFFICERS AS STAFF AND MEDICAL OFFICERS, AND FORCES NURSING SERVICES ALONG WITH THE EXCHANGE OF WOMEN INSTRUCTORS, HOSTING INTERNATIONAL WOMEN SEMINARS AND FEMALE MILITARY OFFICERS COURSE

The present geopolitical realities have created conditions for the UN to limit its role in the settlement of multiple issues like that of Kashmir and Palestine and more recently the Ukraine crisis. It has come face to face with unprecedented strain on its international organs and institutions that initially were created to undertake global cooperation on multilateral issues as well as manage international

conflict. Against the backdrop of the global pandemic, the spectre of climate change, and active conflict on continents across the globe; the legitimate debate over criticism and questions surrounds the UN on its relevance and need for reforms.

Pakistan and the UN

Pakistan has a long history with the United Nations and has been one of the most proactive contributors to its peacekeeping missions throughout the globe in the shape of troops and police. Over the decades' Pakistani personnel have served in over 41 peacekeeping missions in 23 countries across the globe and is active at multiple levels including; Infantry Battalion, Logistic Battalion and Level 2 hospital to Rapid Deployment Level as well as Engineer and Signal Company, Aviation, Air, Explosive Ordnance Disposal Unit (EOD), and Tactical Unmanned Aerial System Unit (TUASU) and Three Formed Police Units; Canine and Riverine Platoon and 50 Military observers and Staff Officers to United Nations Headquarters.

Pakistan currently serves in 7 UN operations and contributes one of the largest uniformed personnel to the UN. Furthermore, Pakistan has pledged gender parity by increasing women officers as Staff and Medical Officers, and Forces Nursing Services along with the exchange of women instructors, hosting international women seminars and Female Military Officers Course; whilst also increasing its training of officers in Observer, Staff Offices and Protection of Civilian Courses, IED Courses, as well as increased provision of training teams to other Troop Contributing Countries and the UN Training Centres.

Challenges and Recommendations:

The most daunting challenge for the UN is to maintain the relevance of its already established systemic mechanisms for peace and conflict resolutions and not let it fall victim to the geopolitical changes and transitions. Due to the shift in the global power politics and the emergence of new conflicts, the function of the UN fall on a loss and is becoming a stage for conflicting interests of emerging and existing super powers. Due to the power politics UN is increasingly losing its role as an overarching neutral and humanitarian body bringing the very premise of the UN will become a question. It is falling short on effectively performing its role and responding to multiple crises that have engulfed the world un-abling it to resolve long-standing issues like the Kashmir dispute, the Palestine conflict and most recently the Russia and Ukraine crisis; further exposing flaws

in the UN ability to cope with rising conflicts and challenges that involve one or more major powers.

The politicization of the UN at an internal level also comes through the budgets funded by countries which result in discord over priorities and actions and organizational outcomes. Currently, the United States at 22 percent is the single largest financial contributor to the UN followed by China at 12 percent leading to increased influence on organizational processes and the ability to conduct diplomacy at other organs in the UN.

DUE TO THE SHIFT IN THE GLOBAL POWER POLITICS AND THE EMERGENCE OF NEW CONFLICTS, THE FUNCTION OF THE UN FALL ON A LOSS AND IS BECOMING A STAGE FOR CONFLICTING INTERESTS OF EMERGING AND EXISTING SUPER POWERS

◆ The quality of peace and conflict resolution cannot merely be achieved by deploying peacekeeping forces or by displacing violence and crisis to a certain category. The UN as a global organization has to gauge back to a holistic endeavor instead of giving in to internal tensions and maintain a neutral outlook to conflicts, parties involved, and the global security order.

◆ The UN should task itself and its organs of reviving the principles of multilateralism to address the most urgent threats faced today including; climate

change, nuclear proliferation, and mitigation of conflicts driven by food insecurity and drought.

◆ In the present world, the definition of security has changed and evolved as non-traditional issues like climate change and the Covid-19 crisis have taken over the traditional security threats. In fighting a pandemic or addressing ongoing human migration, food insecurity, or the global conflicts that require peacekeepers, the organization remains an effective operation that must continue its mission of security and development worldwide.

◆ Global issues should now reflect more on contemporary global realities which are different from the ones created in the aftermath of World War II.

◆ All member states in the UN should adhere to proper and adequate resourcing of the UN and its organs to deemphasize the influence of one, failing to do so will lead to the continuation of the current status quo.

◆ To be relevant, it is important to maintain relevance through multiple and genuine reforms while keeping in mind the current geopolitical dynamics and the most pressing challenges.

◆ More inclusive, representative, transparent, and effective, reforms should be undertaken at the Security Council level to demonstrate greater cooperation and consensus building ■



The writer is a Research Fellow at the Centre for Strategic Perspectives at the Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad.

The New Geo-Economics Policy of Pakistan

By Mian Ahmad N. Salik

Pakistan has untapped potential of diversifying its economy and becoming more integrated with the global economy. A relationship built on the foundations of economic cooperation and integration can serve as a much more robust and sustainable basis for bilateral engagement. Therefore, Pakistan must begin prioritising and marketing its economic potential instead of banking on its geostrategic location alone. However, to convince the world to view it from a new lens, the country will need to give a concrete direction to this new strand of thought. The state needs to adopt a more attractive profile worldwide to attract investors and increase trade volume. The most fundamental is domestic economic strength.

By virtue of its geographical location, Pakistan holds geo-strategic significance on the world map. The country possesses direct access to the warm waters of the Arabian Sea. It is the shortest route to the Indian Ocean for land-locked countries in Central Asia. Pakistan has the potential to offer crucial geo-economic location, encouraging regional connectivity, along with flourishing consumer market, and skilled population to its investors.

To take full advantage of its position, Pakistan aims to shift its focus from geo-politics to geo-economics based on enhancing connectivity and paving the path for all-encompassing development. The reflection of the envisioned economic policy of inclusive growth and development can be witnessed in Pakistan's civil, military leadership's initiatives.

In a fast-changing global and regional environment, economic security is key to human security and without human

security, ensuring national security would be extremely challenging. Therefore, to strengthen Pakistan's economic security, it is necessary that an effective economic diplomacy strategy is formulated and pursued relentlessly. However, to achieve geo-economics foray Pakistan's must progress to become a regional bridge of connectivity by encouraging transnational economic pursuits.

SUSTAINED ECONOMIC GROWTH MERGED WITH ECONOMIC INTEGRATION WITHIN THE COUNTRY AND WITH ITS FRIENDLY NEIGHBOURS IS THE SUREST PATH THAT WILL UPLIFT PAKISTAN, CONTRIBUTE TOWARD THE WELL-BEING OF ITS PEOPLE, AND ENHANCE ITS DEFENCE CAPABILITIES

The scope of Pakistan's geo-economic policy should encompass the all-key international economic interactions of a state including, but not limited to, policy decisions designed to influence exports, imports, investments, lending, aid, free trade agreements, etc. The policy must further entail guidelines that lead to specific goals and objectives including enhancing Pakistan's exports and share in the international market, both in sectors of its comparative advantage and nascent fields.

Objectives of geo-economic policy:

- ◆ Engage the private sector by integrating manufacturing and industrial base into the global value chain,
- ◆ Attract FDI through greater ease of doing business,
- ◆ Forge partnerships in strategic sectors of the economy,
- ◆ Overcome economic headwinds by helping create the fiscal space needed for long-term policy

adjustments,

- ◆ Work through the lawful migration corridors by securing and expanding employment opportunities for Pakistanis abroad, and
- ◆ Ensure seamless inflow of remittances by facilitating affordable and expeditious banking channels.

Sustained economic growth merged with economic integration within the country and with its friendly neighbours is the surest path that will uplift Pakistan, contribute toward the well-being of its people, and enhance its defence capabilities. A weak economy limits options in foreign and economic policies. Global politics centres largely on the economy and influences relations between countries. It is in Pakistan's vital interest to make the economy the centrepiece of its foreign and national policy by navigating geopolitical challenges along while strengthening its economy through constructing a policy with overarching strokes that combines Pakistan's geo-economic ambitions with economy.

The shift in policy direction is reflective of the fact that policy makers in Pakistan have the realization that to uplift its economy and, concurrently enhance its global stature, it would have to offer the world something more than its geostrategic location. Finally, the BRI initiative could help in realizing Pakistan's geo-economic potential. The BRI initiative, especially the CPEC contributes to activating Pakistan's potential of a trading nation along the most important trade routes. However, it is important that this policy direction is meaningfully implemented for the better future of Pakistan ■



The writer is a Research Fellow at the Centre for Strategic Perspectives at the Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad.

QUAD: A RECIPE FOR CONFRONTATION OR STABILITY?

By Sher Baz Khetran

China's remarkable economic growth enabled her to modernize its military, and enhance its economic, political, and diplomatic clouts in Asia-Pacific and Indo-Pacific regions, resulting in the creation of predicaments for the Quad countries - a Quadrilateral Security Dialogue. It is a group of four democracies, the US, India, Japan and Australia, first proposed in 2007 by the Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe.

Overtime Quad became an umbrella construct to thwart Chinese presence through collective effort of Quad's shared interest by means of cementing a rules-based order in the Indo-Pacific (IP) region. The mode further reiterated Quad as an inclusive group, and welcomed other like-minded democratic countries for cooperation on same principles. The US under Quad accentuated a slogan of the "free and open" IP region in order to contain China. The Quad further paved way established within its Ministry of Defence, a new division to accelerate coordination on Association of Southeast Asian Nations ASEAN as well as the Pacific Islands.

Like Tokyo, New Delhi also intends to reduce China's ascendancy in the IP and is in heed to reduce the Beijing's political and economic clout in the ASEAN and the East the African coastlines in the West as well as deter China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). Regardless of the exertion India seems to be on a weaker foot to singularly counter China and in order to meet the needs Quad has become an increasing line of attack to bulwark against China.

Australia is deeply suspicious of Beijing's increasing influence in its domestic issues, ranging from politics to real estate and educational

institutions. Canberra is committed to reduce its excessive dependence on China through partnering with the Quad - "like-minded democracies" - to stop China's expansion and aggression.

For the Biden administration, Quad has become an important strategic tool to impede China's rapid assertiveness in the IP region. It further indicates the pivotal position of Quad as a key component in the US Indo-Pacific strategy at the same time encouraging crucial cooperation between its members.

CHINA BELIEVES THAT THE US'S INDO-PACIFIC STRATEGY (IPS) IS BASED ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF AN EXCLUSIVE REGIONAL GROUP TO OPPOSE BEIJING AND IS EQUALLY APPREHENSIVE OF ITS AGGRESSIVE IMPLEMENTATION

India has become an essential point for all Quad members as it neighbours China. In this regard, both Japan and Australia welcome the US Indo-Pacific Strategy and consider it as a tool to support and preserve their presence and interest in Southeast Asia.

The 2018 US, Strategic Framework for the Indo-Pacific (SFIP) a ten pager document lays down the framework to furtherance of the US dominance in the region, through bolstering economic and strategic ties with Southeast Asia in order to reduce region's reliance on China.

China believes that the US's Indo-Pacific Strategy (IPS) is based on the construction of an exclusive regional group to oppose Beijing and is equally apprehensive of its aggressive implementation. Beijing believes that the US strategy will

pose a serious threat to it in three broader perspectives for instance in the domain of regional economic cooperation, strategic extension and protection of vital regional interests. Through IPS, the US intends to contain China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and counter Beijing in South China Sea (SCS). Quad members regard China's String of Pearls strategy as an existential threat to their national interests in the oceans across the world. At the same time, Wang Yi, Chinese Foreign Minister, had termed the Quad as an "Indo-Pacific NATO" through which the US had been striving to contain Beijing. Yi further said that, the genesis of the Quad was based on the Cold War mentality, stirring up confrontation, aimed at stoking geopolitical competition to perpetuate the US hegemonic system in the world.

The IP region has increasingly become an epicentre of the world's attention, connecting an extensive swath of the globe and becoming a major theatre among global and regional players. Any threat and event could, subsequently, have huge impact not only on the Quad countries or China but across the globe and Pakistan is no exception. The countries of Quad have repeatedly demonstrated their intentions of countering China in the Indo-pacific as they consider China as an expansionist power.

In international politics, this trend is highly detrimental to the global peace and prosperity. At a time when the world is moving towards multi-polarity, democratic alliance against China becomes a recipe for confrontation instead of stability ■



The writer is a Research Fellow at the Centre for Strategic Perspectives at the Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad.



THE ROLE OF GEO-ECONOMICS IN NATIONAL SECURITY

By Dr. Abdul Rauf

In today's world, foreign policy and geo-politics is largely influenced by geo-economics and is going to be more dominant in the times to come. It is thus important to understand and utilize geo-economics instrument in pursuance of geopolitical objectives. Leading geo-economics' instruments are trade and investment policy, economic and financial sanctions, financial and monetary policy, financial aid, energy and commodities, and cyber. China has risen, as the most prominent practitioner of geo-economics, demonstrating biggest manifestation of using economic tools to project power.

Economy, sanctions, aids have also become very effective coercion tools in today's diplomacy. The US is effectively using economic sanctions as a weapon as US led economic sanctions have greater impact due to preponderance of the dollar and US dominance of the international financial system.

The US has presently economic sanctions against Iran, North Korea, Syria, Cuba, Venezuela, Russia, and Belarus. In case of Russia-Ukraine conflict, the US and Europe is imposing economic sanctions against Russia, but sanctions are not proving to be very effective as EU is getting 75% of Russian gas exports, half of its oil exports and one-third of its coal. EU is not finding any quick alternative to Russian gas so is still forced to buy from it. Increased prices of oil and gas is causing more money to flow into Russia and thus benefitting Russia in a way. Russia has been preparing to work with sanctions since 2014 once sanctions were initially imposed on Russia by the US, following its annexation of Crimea, by reducing reliance on SWIFT banking system and Master / Visa Card payment system. Russia is also improving its economic ties with China and increasing its hydrocarbons and other exports to China. This shows the importance

of economic resilience developed by Russia which is critical in geo-economics. Contrary to this situation in our case, imbalances in our foreign trade and our external dependencies for the import of hydrocarbon fuel, edible oil, machinery, steel, vehicles, ICT equipment, pharmaceuticals, chemicals, etc. have made us very much vulnerable.

CHINA HAS RISEN, AS THE MOST PROMINENT PRACTITIONER OF GEO-ECONOMICS, DEMONSTRATING BIGGEST MANIFESTATION OF USING ECONOMIC TOOLS TO PROJECT POWER

The biggest challenge to the foreign policy of any country is 'relevance', which in our case under present circumstances, is difficult to achieve just because of our geopolitical significance alone. At the same time, we need to critically review our foreign policy as what we have

achieved in long-terms from our past policies. We have been talking about our geostrategic location, but the real question is as what we have achieved so far from this gift of God. Our foreign policy, in the past was pivoted on geo-politics but the policies at global level are already governed by geo-economics instead of geo-politics alone, so to remain aligned with the rest of the world we must shift our focus to geo-economics. During the Cold War (1945-1991) era, once our policies were pivoted on geopolitics, despite of our inherited geostrategic location instead of getting some real long-term benefits we actually suffered. Today we are living in an era of new challenges arising from economic cold war where we can only survive if there is some real shift in our understanding, policies, strategy and above all, a real on-ground implementation. We have to set our priorities straight by focusing on our own national interests and not safeguarding the interests of any other country.

Current National Security Policy of Pakistan (NSP) 2022-2026 encompasses economic security along with traditional security. Geo-economics is linked with geopolitics and as we cannot change our geography, our biggest challenge is how to handle geo-economics in the best possible way, keeping in view our present geography and other geopolitical factors. The geo-economic setup under the policy is aimed towards projects which are more focused on regional connectivity. Although regional trade, which is an essential component of geo-economics, and economic security has serious challenges in our case. We have a long outstanding dispute with India, as India is continuously doing serious human rights violations, denying the right of self-determination to Kashmiri people, and not conducting the UN-mandated plebiscite in the Illegally

Occupied Jammu & Kashmir. Afghanistan is not settled since long; the government is yet to be recognized by the international community and we have continuous interference from our western border making the law-and-order situation worst in the adjacent areas. Situation in Afghanistan is also affecting the exploitation of opportunities available to us from landlocked Central Asia, a region rich in much needed energy resources too. Iran also has surplus oil and gas which we direly need but Iran is presently under the US sanctions, so it is difficult to have trade and business freely with Iran. Iran-Pakistan (IP) gas pipeline project is presently stalled for the same reasons.

AT POLICYMAKERS' LEVEL, OUR BIGGEST AND REAL CHALLENGE IS THE SHIFT OF OUR GEOPOLITICAL MINDSET TO EMBRACE THE IMPORTANCE OF GEO-ECONOMICS. WE ALSO NEED TO STRENGTHEN OUR ECONOMY WHICH IS PRESENTLY NOT IN A VERY GOOD SHAPE

Train route to Turkey via Iran exists but is not fully functional and utilized. We have strong relations with China which is an economic superpower, but we are sandwiched in US-China rivalry. Chinese CPEC plans are clear, and we are aiming to integrate our plans aligned with the Chinese strategy but at the same time are trying to safeguard our interests. Gwadar port, besides being pivotal to CPEC, can provide us stronger naval transport links with the Gulf states, Africa, and rest of the world. Thus, under the present circumstances, in our case, regional trade that integrates the economic interests and economic security of the states, may not be very easy to achieve, unless we accept the ground realities and carefully

develop an effective geoeconomic strategy.

At policymakers' level, our biggest and real challenge is the shift of our geopolitical mindset to embrace the importance of geo-economics. We also need to strengthen our economy which is presently not in a very good shape. The country needs to understand the shift in global politics towards geo-economics and must concentrate on economy. Our economic growth will dictate our standing in the international politics. International community is going to look at our economic situation to decide on their relations with us. Once we are convinced that economic development is key to our success in international politics then we can focus on the measures essentially required for a strong economy. Economic development has certain key enablers which needs to be focused onto like, business friendly policies, ease of doing business, connectivity (physical and digital), emerging disruptive technologies, digitization, cyber etc. Pakistan has realized the importance of geo-economics as geo-economics tools will be used more effectively to advance the country's strategic interests. This is evident from our policies, however clear implementation of these policies is needed now. Due importance to geo-economics is required but without ignoring the geopolitics as the two are still closely linked with strong implications in our case. The US policies towards India and Iran, Indian interests in unstable Afghanistan, US-China and US-Russia balance are the aspects we need to consider. Economic stability and strength will transform our security landscape resulting into more secure and prosperous Pakistan ■



The writer holds PhD in Telecom Engineering from University of Sheffield, UK and is a faculty member at NUST.



ISSI CENTRES OF EXCELLENCE



India Study Centre (ISC) at a Glance

By Dr. Arshad Ali

To celebrate the “49th Foundation Day” of the Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad (ISSI), it is important to highlight and contribute the performance review of one of the ISSI Centres of Excellence, i.e., the India Study Centre (ISC). The Centre is a part of the ISSI, and it was established on February 7, 2020, under the leadership of Ambassador Aizaz Ahmad Chaudhry, Director General ISSI. The Centre was inaugurated by Air Chief Marshal Sohail Aman, Former Chief of the Air Staff of Pakistan Air Force.



- ❖ The ISC was established with a vision:
 - To conduct research and analytical studies on multi-dimensional aspects of India, and promote policy discourse on India's foreign, security and socio-economic policies and implications for Pakistan and the region as well as India-Pakistan relations.

- ❖ The ISC does the following as well:
 - **Monitor** latest developments related to India's regional and global policies.
 - **Contribute** to the existing body of knowledge through evidence-based research articles, monographs and books on the selected issues related to India studies.
 - **Organize** policy discourse on the issues and policies of India through conferences, seminars, round tables and other public and informal events, to generate better understanding of the issues concerned.
 - **Establish** and maintain a data bank on the key facets of India's polity.

- ❖ The ISC held:
 - 14 events
 - signed 2 MoUs,
 - produced 26 Issue Briefs,
 - 10 Research Papers (National as well as International),
 - 1 Islamabad Paper, 20 Op-Eds (National as well as International),
 - Produced an edited book entitled "India's Relations with Neighbours: Cooperation or Confrontation?" in 2021.

- ❖ The ISC Team comprises of dedicated yet highly educated and capable individuals having commendable research experience in Social Sciences.
 - The Director ISC Dr. Arshad Ali received his Ph.D. from the University of Otago (New Zealand). Previously, he graduated from S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) in Nanyang Technological University (Singapore), and from Quaid-i-Azam University. He authored the book *Pakistan's National Security Approach and Post-Cold War Security: Uneasy Co-existence* (Routledge, 2021). He has actively participated as a presenter, discussant, mentor, and organizer in various national and international conferences including the International Studies Association (ISA), Mid-West Political Sciences Association (MPSA), and International Political Science Association (IPSA).
 - Ms. Mahwish Hafeez is a Research Fellow at the ISC, she has over 16 years of experience and is a graduate of Fatima Jinnah University with a Masters in Defence and Diplomatic Studies.
 - Ms. Misbah Mukhtar is a Research Associate at the ISC, she is a graduate of New York University (USA), and Government College University, Lahore. She has number of research publications to her credit.
 - Mr. Muhammad Ali Baig is serving as a Research Associate at the ISC. He is a Ph.D. scholar at the Quaid-i-Azam University, and a distinguished graduate of National Defence University, and University of the Punjab. He has published internationally with Routledge, Sage, and De Gruyter publishers.
 - Mr. Syed Kasim Masood is a Research Associate at the ISC. He is a graduate of Tufts University (USA), and Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS). His published dissertation was "Social Justice and Development During the Age of Hindutva and Neoliberalism: The Indian Muslim Experience."



THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHALLENGES FACED BY INDIA'S MUSLIMS

A Case for a New Sachar Committee?

By Syed Kasim Masood

It is the duty of any responsible government to not only guarantee the rights and liberties of its citizens but to also ensure the existence of an economic system predicated on equal opportunities for all. In this regard, it is essential for modern states to institute programs geared towards social justice for those who have been historically deprived of these opportunities. The Indian constitution laid the framework for one of the oldest affirmative action programs in the world, which created a system of reservations for those sections of society that have been historically marginalized. B.R. Ambedkar and other architects of the Indian constitution won the support of the Constituent Assembly to institute quotas for those who came under the categories of Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs). Later, the Government of India would also institute quotas for those communities that were defined as Other Backward Classes (OBCs).

While reservations in India have indeed uplifted certain historically marginalized classes,

the categories listed above also leave out a significant proportion of 'backward' members of Indian society. The debates of the Constituent Assembly highlight how the Partition of India had compelled legislators to adopt such a strong adherence to secular principles that they refused to entertain the notion of reservations for Indian Muslims and Christian Dalits.

THE NOTION OF 'MUSLIM APPEASEMENT' HAS BEEN A PROMINENT PART OF INDIAN POLITICAL RHETORIC FOR OVER THE LAST SEVERAL DECADES. IN THEORY, THE SACHAR REPORT SHOULD HAVE QUASHED THE LEGITIMACY OF SUCH ARGUMENTS, BUT THEY CONTINUE TO BE A PART OF THE PUBLIC'S POLITICAL IMAGINATION DUE TO MISINFORMATION AND A LACK OF AWARENESS

While some Muslim communities are included in the ever-changing

list of OBCs, SCs are exclusively those members of the Hindu caste hierarchy that have been historically marginalized and faced untouchability. Similarly, Scheduled Tribes are given reservations based on their geographical isolation. Those communities that have faced socio-economic injustices and do not fall into either scheduled list are categorized as Other Backward Classes. It should be noted here that Article 25(2)(b) of the Indian constitution clumps Sikhs, Jains, and Buddhists under the umbrella term of 'Hindu' and they are eligible to access reservations for SCs. In fact, according to the 2011 census, the highest proportion of SCs reside in Punjab (31.94% of the state's population).

In 2005, the then Prime Minister of India, Manmohan Singh, instituted a committee headed by the former Chief Justice of Delhi, Rajinder Sachar. The commission, which is informally referred to as the Sachar Committee, published its findings in 2006 and highlighted how India's Muslims lagged in several socio-economic

indicators and were only slightly better off than SCs and STs in certain indicators. One of the most concerning findings of the report, which has later been backed by several academic publications, was that Muslims had the least 'inter-generational' mobility. This can be considered to be a direct consequence of a lack of reservations as OBCs, STs and SCs are able to utilize educational and employment quotas in order to ensure social mobility for their children.

The notion of 'Muslim appeasement' has been a prominent part of Indian political rhetoric for over the last several decades. In theory, the Sachar Report should have quashed the legitimacy of such arguments, but they continue to be a part of the public's political imagination due to misinformation and a lack of awareness. There also needs to be a greater public realization of the fact that casteism is not only endemic to Hinduism or India but is a problem that is prevalent throughout South Asia. Over the last few years, several Muslim groups in India have protested the domination of the Ashraf classes over the Ajlaf (converts from low Hindu castes) and Arzal (Dalit converts). According to some estimates, Ashrafi Muslims constitute only 15% of India's total Muslim population. However, according to one report, 340 of the 400 Muslims elected to parliament between 1951 and 2004 have been from the Ashraf class (The Milli Gazette, 16-30 Nov 2004).

Opponents of reservations for non-Hindus argue that Muslims are already part of the OBC category and as a result, there is no need to institute a separate mechanism to provide them with educational and employment opportunities. While it is true that around 40% of Muslims fall into

the OBC category, this group only constitutes roughly 6% of the total OBC population. This significantly reduces the opportunities that these OBC Muslims can avail as they must contend with several other communities and castes. Furthermore, there are differences in the list of recognized OBC communities between states and the center, which results in an inefficacious system. According to the Sachar Report, 25.2% of West Bengal's residents were Muslim, and yet a little over 2% of government employees were Muslim (based on 2001 census).

UNDER THE CURRENT NDA GOVERNMENT, THE CONDITION OF INDIAN MUSLIMS HAS AGAIN COME INTO THE SPOTLIGHT AS IT HAD IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE GUJARAT RIOTS IN 2002

While the Sachar Committee made several key recommendations to alleviate the plight of Muslims and increase their representation in higher education and public service, most of them have not been implemented properly and unlike the Mandal Commission in 1980, which focused on the plight of OBCs, a more stringent system of reservations was not prescribed as a solution. Under the current NDA government, the condition of Indian Muslims has again come into the spotlight as it had in the aftermath of the Gujarat Riots in 2002. The Congress government at the time felt that instituting a commission for social upliftment could assuage the anger of Indian Muslims in the same way that lower-caste Hindus had been placated by the implementation of certain recommendations made by the Mandal Commission. However, it is highly unlikely that the BJP-led government would take steps to address

the grievances of India's Muslims in a holistic manner, rather than focusing on certain denominations, castes and regions as has been done in the past. While the BJP has often accused its political opponents of appeasing Muslims, it is important to remember that as far as socio-economic conditions are concerned, the story of Indian Muslims and their abysmal economic standing is one of continuity rather than a recent phenomenon. However, the rise of housing discrimination, mob violence, state-sanctioned destruction of property and other forms of human rights abuses under the BJP are added pressures on the Muslims of India.

Considering the political and socio-economic plight of India's Muslims, one can argue that while the Sachar Committee has made an immense contribution to Indian society, its work remains unfinished, or even abandoned in a sense. Little has been done to address the concerns raised by the report in 2006. More than 15 years have passed, and it is becoming increasingly clear that it is necessary for a new independent commission that not only considers the socio-economic conditions of Muslims but also juxtaposes them with the political rights they should be guaranteed in the Indian constitution. Such a commission should formalize a quota-system for Muslims and seek to protect them from state repression that is entrenched in Islamophobia and notions of Hindu supremacy. Perhaps such a step could not only lead to equitable development in India but also formulate a blueprint for other states in South Asia to take steps to address casteism and social discrimination within their own societies ■



The writer is a Research Associate at India Study Centre at the Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad.

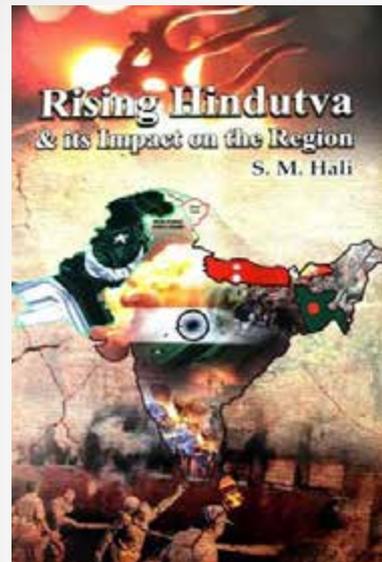
Rising Hindutva and its Impact on the Region

By Mahwish Hafeez

Grappaling with the term, “Hindutva” The book “Rising Hindutva & its Impact on the region” by a renowned scholar S. M. Hali is your perfect answer to understand various facets of the term. It is a detailed account of origin and rise of Hindutva ideology in India, which is taking its toll not only on the religious minorities of India but also has the potential to pose a serious threat to regional peace and security.

The term ‘Hindutva’ was first coined by Vinayak damodar Savarkar in order to create a collective Hindu identity as an essence of Bharat. However, in order to understand Hindutva, it is important to understand Hinduism, which in broad terms can be described as a way of life as it does not follow any one set of religious rites. Hence, Hindutva has nothing to do with Hinduism as a faith but to quote the Indian Member of Parliament Shashi Tharoor, “but rather a badge of cultural identity and an instrument of political mobilization”.

The book then takes an interesting peek into the past thousand years to find the root of Hindutva ideology. The colonial economy played a vital role in shaping Hindutva ideology as Muslims and other weaker groups of society started educating themselves. The fears in the minds of the upper class Hindus led them to come up with the idea of Hindu Nationalism where ancient Brahminic era was glorified. Subsequently, movements like Arya Samaj and Brahmo Samaj and establishment of Banaras University and Aligarh Muslim University were all result of the communal atmosphere that was favourable towards spread of Hindutva



Author : S. M. Hali
Publisher : Rumi Academy
Pages : 342

ideology. Interestingly, the advocates of Hindutva forces were not religious people.

THE COLONIAL ECONOMY PLAYED A VITAL ROLE IN SHAPING HINDUTVA IDEOLOGY AS MUSLIMS AND OTHER WEAKER GROUPS OF SOCIETY STARTED EDUCATING THEMSELVES. THE FEARS IN THE MINDS OF THE UPPER CLASS HINDUS LED THEM TO COME UP WITH THE IDEA OF HINDU NATIONALISM WHERE ANCIENT BRAHMINIC ERA WAS GLORIFIED

The book discusses in detail the political evolution of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) culminating in the formation of Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). To take advantage of the general dissatisfaction of the masses with the Congress government, BJP with the help of Sangh Parivar (a term used for a collection of Hindu nationalist parties) raised the slogan of Ramajanma Bhumi which ultimately saw the demolition of the Babri Mosque.

The extent of violation of Indian constitution by members of Sangh Parivar is another subject that was touched upon in detail in the book. Since India is a multi-religious and multi-cultural country, the constitution of India has spelled out number of guarantees to ensure equal status for all its citizens. However, since its inception in 1949, RSS had been demeaning the "democratic-secular" constitution and with the arrival of Modi, democratic institutions are being destroyed as was envisioned by Golwalkar in 1940.

The author also drew a very interesting parallel between Hindutva and Fascism. RSS took great inspiration from Nazi Germany and Fascism in Italy. Besides attempts to militarise Hindu society, on the ideological level, Hindu nationalism developed its own concept of diversity and transforming diverse people into enemies. The repeated references to Germany's racial policy and comparison of Jewish people in Germany to Muslims in India evolved the concept of internal enemy along fascist lines.

As Hindutva ideology took roots in Indian society and increasingly young men tilted towards it, the Indian military establishment also got affected as is evident by the activities undertaken by Lt. Col Shrikant Prasad Purohit, former Indian Army Chief General Vijay Kumar Singh who later joined BJP and was made Minister of State for External Affairs or Lt. General (R) Premnath Hoon. This book also makes a spine-chilling revelations that Mumbai attacks were an inside job which aimed to not only malign Pakistan but also to silence Anti-Terrorism squad officer Hemant Karkare who was about to expose the linkages between RAW and terrorists.

The book makes a strong case that by every definition of the word terrorism, the Indian state driven by its Hindutva ideology should be considered as a "terrorist state". Hindutva and its followers never accepted the creation of Pakistan and have always dreamt of uniting Bharat Ma and hence, every possible effort - be it false flag operations, aiding insurgency

in Balochistan, or spreading fake news against Pakistan, was made to destabilise Pakistan.

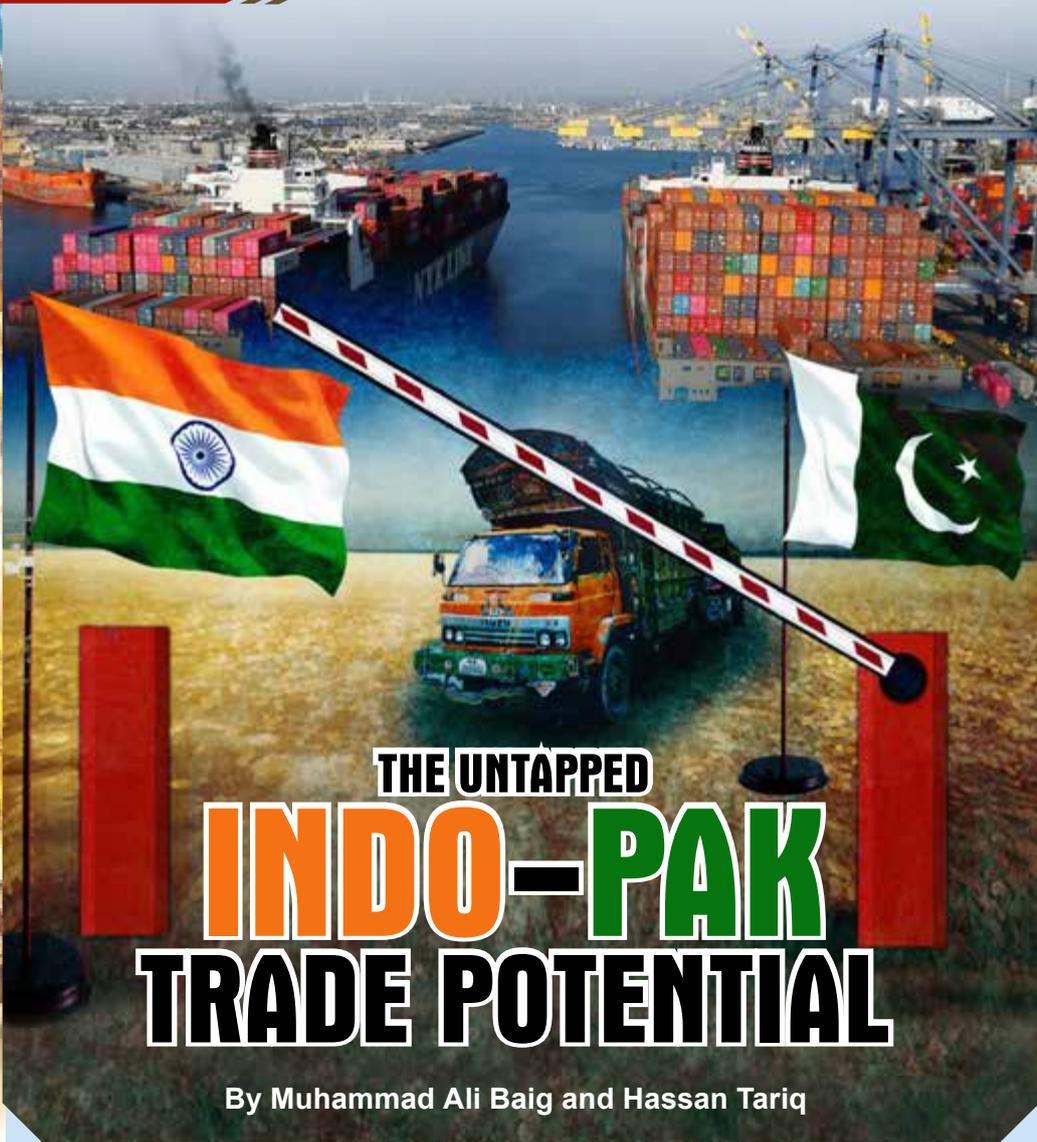
Author argues that India's claim of being a secular and largest democracy of the world is a sham as is evident by the treatment the upper caste Hindus mete out to lower caste Hindus and religious minorities. The followers of Hindutva dreamt of converting the Indian secular republic into a Hindu state by 2021 and therefore, since 2014 when Modi came to power, violence against minorities has multiplied manifold.

THIS BOOK ALSO MAKES A SPINE-CHILLING REVELATION THAT MUMBAI ATTACKS WERE AN INSIDE JOB WHICH AIMED TO NOT ONLY MALIGN PAKISTAN BUT ALSO TO SILENCE ANTI-TERRORISM SQUAD OFFICER HEMANT KARKARE WHO WAS ABOUT TO EXPOSE THE LINKAGES BETWEEN RAW AND TERRORISTS

Towards the end of the book, the author has presented a number of recommendations in order to control the "genie" of Hindutva. Since the Modi government, driven by ideology of Hindutva, pose a serious challenge to the security of South Asia and especially to Pakistan given the hatred followers of Hindutva have in their hearts for Pakistan, this book will help Pakistan's policy makers a great deal. Apart from policy makers, it is an interesting read for the students, academia and intelligentsia alike ■



The writer is a Research Fellow at India Study Centre at the Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad.



THE UNTAPPED
INDO-PAK
TRADE POTENTIAL

By Muhammad Ali Baig and Hassan Tariq

Trade diplomacy breaking barriers among states

Over the centuries, trade has served as a mode of communication between two or more parties and an effective instrument in bringing people closer. It would not be ambitious to argue that the economic integration among states play a crucial role in establishing and promoting peace and stability, as the opportunity cost of interdependence between states reduces the likelihood of an armed conflict. A study entitled “Trading Away from Conflict: Using Trade to Increase Resilience in Fragile States” conducted by Massimiliano Cali for the World Bank concluded in 2015 that when trade leads to higher incomes, states

are less likely to engage in conflicts. Keeping the importance of trade at its highest priority, China is establishing global trade routes to bolster regional integration and global peace.

History is a witness that before the formation of the European Union, the continent was overshadowed by unrestricted struggle for power resulting in little or no connectivity. After fighting two world wars and bearing the loss of millions of innocent lives, the European people decided to end the conflictual nature of their mutual relations through multilateral economic and trade cooperation. In 1950, French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman proposed the foundation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) comprising of only 6 member states (Belgium, West

Germany, Luxembourg, France, Italy, and the Netherlands). No one could expect at the time that this would become the largest platform of economic cooperation among European countries resulting in the formation of the European Union of 27 countries in 1993.

Contemporarily, both India and Pakistan are regarded as South Asia's economic and political behemoths. Both states have been at odds for more than four times since 1947, and even in the times of peace, the political and strategic relations remained quite tense. The security issues have frequently dominated Indo-Pak relations, with comparatively little attention paid to the two countries' untapped trade potential.

HISTORY IS A WITNESS THAT BEFORE THE FORMATION OF THE EUROPEAN UNION, THE CONTINENT WAS OVERSHADOWED BY UNRESTRICTED STRUGGLE FOR POWER RESULTING IN LITTLE OR NO CONNECTIVITY

Due to mutual animosity, the intra-regional trade in South Asia remained hampered. Consequently, the Indo-Pak trade has been abnormally low. It is worthy to note here that according to a 2018 World Bank report, India-Pakistan trade has the potential to increase from USD 2 billion to USD 37 billion, if both countries were willing

to improve bilateral relations. It was hypothesised to view trade in integrated regional context, exploit untapped trade and investment possibilities, and work as a natural trading partner with a common border. Fulfilling the estimated conditions, the substantial trade potential was estimated to be 10 times the current level.

Keeping in view the estimations made by the World Bank, the Indo-Pak bilateral trade in South Asia can alleviate poverty and strengthen human security, as the region is home to more than 24 percent of the global population, with 42 percent of its poorest people. Therefore, it is not difficult to assume that the economic integration is crucial for the social and economic uplift of almost one quarter of the global population.

Breaking the Barriers and Trade Liberalization

Pakistan's economy has been plagued with serious macroeconomic challenges in recent years. In order to rescue its economy, regional trade liberalisation is crucial as it will help to overcome the economic crunch. In this regard, a case study of Vietnam can be helpful in undergoing various economic reforms. From 1985 to 2020, a series of political and economic reforms strengthened Vietnam's economy, and these initiatives increased its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita by 12 percent. In the meantime, the poverty rate also dropped sharply, from 70 percent to

below 2 percent. The internal and external trade liberalisation likely will improve Pakistan's trade balance with India.

BESIDES TRADE LIBERALIZATION, PAKISTAN HAS TO MAKE IMPROVEMENTS IN ITS EXPORT SECTOR ACCOMPANIED BY ENHANCED DOMESTIC PRODUCTION AND PRODUCTIVITY. TO MAKE THE LABOUR FORCE MORE PRODUCTIVE, IT IS ESSENTIAL TO INVEST IN HUMAN CAPITAL, WHICH WILL BE A MAJOR DRIVER FOR PRODUCTIVITY

Besides trade liberalization, Pakistan has to make improvements in its export sector accompanied by enhanced domestic production and productivity. To make the labour force more productive, it is essential to invest in human capital, which will be a major driver for productivity. Higher innovation and diversification would be an enabler to access not only Indian markets but international markets as well.

Avenues to discover trade potential between India and Pakistan

India is Pakistan's immediate neighbour, and trade liberalisation would reduce business costs. Pakistan spends a lot of money on buying products from Latin American

and African countries. Despite the current period of relatively low bilateral relations, trade is still taking place between both countries but through circular means with third party interference, which results in a revenue loss for Pakistan and an increase in the price of imports. Pakistan can initiate free trade with India in selective domains as an alternative means to those products that Pakistan is taking from Europe, Africa, and Latin American countries. For instance, Pakistan imports tea from Kenya at a high cost because of the huge distance between both countries, it can alternatively get it from India at a much cheaper rate. Likewise, Pakistan can also replace Brazilian and Australian iron ore with much cheaper Indian iron ore.

INDIA IS PAKISTAN'S IMMEDIATE NEIGHBOUR, AND TRADE LIBERALISATION WOULD REDUCE BUSINESS COSTS. PAKISTAN SPENDS A LOT OF MONEY ON BUYING PRODUCTS FROM LATIN AMERICAN AND AFRICAN COUNTRIES

Lower transportation costs and the absence of circular trade would mutually benefit India and Pakistan. The latter can also benefit from the Indian automobile and pharmaceutical industries. It will also reduce Pakistan's over-reliance on multinational corporations, which provide poor quality products at a much higher

rate. Pakistan's automobile industry contributes 2.8 percent to its GDP and almost 30 billion rupees to the national exchequer in terms of taxes and duties. The availability of cars at lower costs would save national revenue. Pakistan imports 80 percent of its tyres from China and trades in dollars, resulting in a revenue loss for the country. Trade liberalisation allows both countries to trade in similar currencies, which can help both countries in saving money. Pakistan is also experiencing supply shocks in food items ranging from tomatoes to sugar, which is causing price increases in Pakistan. In these cases, readily available options can be used. It will also aid in the fight against hyperinflation.

Pakistan imports 98 percent of its spices from China and Thailand (67 percent from China and 31 percent from Thailand), at a much higher rate with comparatively substandard products. Indian spices are famous globally because of their finest quality and nominal rate. Pakistan can also export dry fruits, salts, minerals, tropical fruits, and textile products, but all will be associated with liberalised trade, investment in human capitalization, and improved productivity and quality of the products.

Conclusion

There is a dire need for trade liberalisation and the Pakistani policymakers must play their role in exploring the untapped potential of Indo-Pak trade. The incumbent Prime Minister of Pakistan H.E. Mian Muhammad Shehbaz Sharif has recently appointed trade councillors and (Minister) Trade and Investment in Pakistan's various trade missions abroad and indeed, such a move is need of the hour.

THE INCUMBENT PRIME MINISTER OF PAKISTAN H.E. MIAN MUHAMMAD SHEHBAZ SHARIF HAS RECENTLY APPOINTED TRADE COUNCILLORS AND (MINISTER) TRADE AND INVESTMENT IN PAKISTAN'S VARIOUS TRADE MISSIONS ABROAD AND INDEED, SUCH A MOVE IS NEED OF THE HOUR

However, now India must move a step forward and should reciprocate Pakistan's genuine gesture of goodwill. It has to be remembered here that the post-Covid world needs regional integration and connectivity in combating the numerous challenges which are perhaps unprecedented and of unparalleled scale ■



The writer is Research Associate at India Study Centre at the Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad.



The writer is a Research Officer at Inter-Services Public Relations (ISPR), Pakistan Army.

6 Common Types of Cyber Attacks

01
MALWARE
Software programs designed to damage or do unwanted actions on a computer. Common examples include: viruses, worms, trojan horses, spyware, and ransomware.

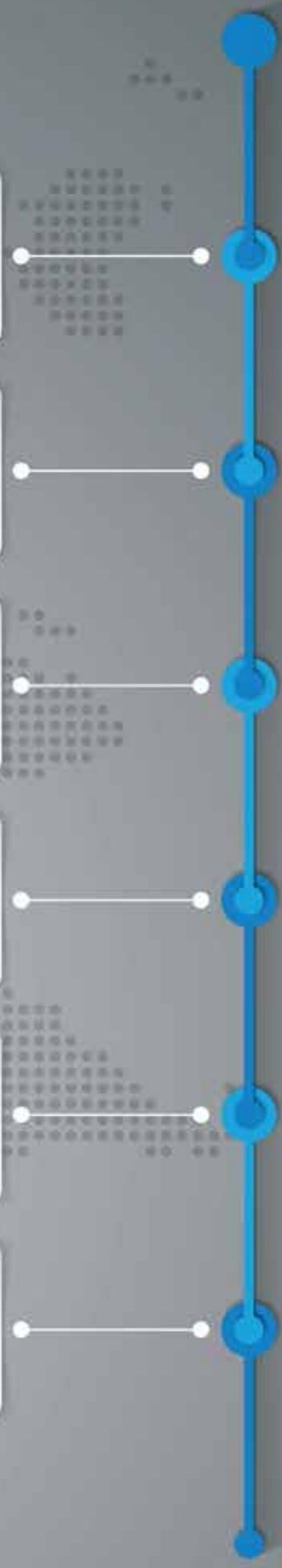
02
PHISHING
Attacks sent via email and ask users to click on a link and enter their personal data. They include a link that directs the user to a dummy site that will steal a user's information.

03
PASSWORD ATTACKS
Involves a third party trying to gain access to your systems by solving a user's password.

04
DENIAL OF SERVICE ATTACKS
Attackers send high volumes of data or traffic through the network until the network becomes overloaded and can no longer function.

05
MAN IN THE MIDDLE (MITM)
Information is obtained from the end user, and the entity the user is communicating with by impersonating the endpoints in an online information exchange (i.e., connection from smartphone to website).

06
DRIVE-BY DOWNLOADS
A program is downloaded to a user's system just by visiting the site. It doesn't require any type of action by the user to download.



SOURCE: totalprosource.com

PAKISTAN'S NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY: PURSUING PEACE WITH INDIA

By Dost Muhammad Barrech



The former Prime Minister of

Pakistan Imran Khan on January 14, 2022, unveiled

Pakistan's National Security

Policy NSP. The policy is considered in various academic and political circles as a fresh approach aimed at refurbishing the conventional thought process involved in imagining Pakistan's National Security Framework. NSP will primarily remain citizen-centric, cementing the economy, developing cordial ties with India and coping with the non-traditional threats.

SIGNIFICANT ELEMENT OF PAKISTAN'S NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY OF THE BILL WHICH HAS SPARKED A WELL-ANTICIPATED DEBATE IS PAKISTAN'S TAKE ON HOW IT IS GOING TO RETHINK ITS RELATIONS WITH INDIA

The unique aspect of NSP are the areas of prioritization the previous government manifested its willingness to focus on. Unlike the security policy frameworks of the past, NSP has shifted its emphasis from geostrategic to geo-economic domain. However, one particular element of the bill which has sparked a well-anticipated debate is Pakistan's take on how it is going to rethink its relations with India.



The elephant in the room is Pakistan's relationship with its eastern neighbor India. India



determines a wide array of Pakistan's strategic and military posture, the former has gradually developed a belligerent attitude towards the latter. The recent past has witnessed that India has been accelerating its capabilities to counter both China and Pakistan in the region. Despite this, NSP specifically stresses Pakistan's commitment

to developing cordial ties with India. Arguably, imminent non-traditional threats to both states such as climate change, water scarcity, food scarcity and Covid-19 are bigger than imaginary traditional threats.

A positive gesture of Pakistan is exceedingly commendable; India should jump at the opportunity by making friendly relations with Pakistan to tackle non-traditional threats.

The potential benefits that lie in the cooperation of these two countries are not going to benefit a single party but would be mutually fruitful. Both countries are grappling with non-traditional security threats. Droughts and late monsoon floods have started to cause low yields and human security issues. Both India and Pakistan ought to be prepared in the foreseeable future for the non-traditional threats like pandemics and climate-change caused by the prevailing exploitive capitalist system of the world that goes against the law of nature.

Nature certainly will take revenge on us in the shape of pandemics





and climate change. More than 600 million Indians struggle with drought and Indian groundwater is depleting by leaps and bounds. The country remains the largest user of groundwater in the world. By 2030 more than 40 per cent of Indians will not have access to drinking water. Alarmingly, more than 200,000 Indians die every year due to undrinkable water. Meanwhile, Pakistan will become water-scarce country by 2025 and the country is the 7th most vulnerable country to climate change. Exploding populations and gradual degradation of the environment will cause imminent challenges. Both countries faced further repression amid Covid-19. The economic repression has also resulted in increasing unemployment simultaneously facing an unusual health crisis.

Both countries need to start climate diplomacy. The Indus-Water Treaty IWT needs to be revised and re-negotiated in a way that would also incorporate the factor of climate change and pollution on the Indus River. For this very reason, the government of Pakistan has realized the exigency of having a friendly relationship with India through the NSP. Collective efforts and agreements between India and Pakistan are needed, much like the Sino-Japanese environmental cooperation, to devise ways to address climatic challenges. Both countries can cooperate on matters like reforestation and switch to green economies by relinquishing inefficient fuel sources. Both can work together to domestically establish alternative efficient energy sources. India has yet to

realize the untapped potential of its trade with Pakistan. According to a 2018 World Bank report, Pakistan-India trade has the potential to increase from USD 2 billion to USD 37 billion.

It is possible only if both countries take steps towards removing tariff and non-tariff barriers such as sensitive lists, strict visa policies, strict quality standards and lengthy procedures and waiting periods at the border. Ironically, the trade by other means (illegal trade practices like smuggling) is huge between the two and is estimated to be around USD10 billion dollars annually. Stephen Cohen in his classic book "Shooting for a Century: The India-Pakistan Conundrum" has drawn a pessimistic picture of Indo-Pak relations. He placed the mutual rivalry between both among the 5% conflicts in the world which cannot be resolved. He also states that this region is among the least economically integrated regions in the world. Let's hope that NSP will morph Cohen's pessimism into optimism.

THE 74 YEARS OF ENMITY OF INDIA AND PAKISTAN IN THE CONTEXT OF NSP CAN BE RE-CONSTRUCTED INTO DURABLE FRIENDSHIP. IN LAST, NSP IS EFFECTIVE AND INSTRUMENTAL FOR BOTH COUNTRIES. INDIA SHOULD NOT MISS THE BUS AND UTILIZE THIS VITAL OPPORTUNITY FOR GREATER GOOD OF ITS OWN AND OF THE REGION

Trade also has the potential to act as a confidence- building measures CBMs forming established channels of communication. The opening of the Kartarpur Corridor in 2019 by Pakistan was a positive step in this direction. Nearly 45,000 Indian Sikh pilgrims have been visiting Kartarpur since its opening on November 9, 2019. Both countries can also

capitalize on opening another such corridor in Sindh to exploit the Sufi shrines of Sindh for Indian Muslims. Indians should be allowed to visit Mohenjo-Daro Larkana, the largest city of the Indus civilization, which remains one of the favorite places for them. Visiting Mohenjo-Daro is an unfulfilled dream of Indians that could be fulfilled under a new corridor in Sindh.



If China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and Kartarpur Corridor are possible, why cannot Pakistan and India initiate economic corridor to nip the hostility in bud?

Arguably, threat perception in international politics, by and large, is socially constructed. Alexander Wendt rightly says that "Anarchy is what states make of it". According to constructivists, enmity, friendship and sovereignty of the states is socially constructed. Traditional security in the lexicon of constructivists is man-made and imaginary that can be altered into friendship. Let's construct a new chapter of friendship. The construction of enmity gave us wars, destruction, hatred, poverty and left us far behind in the era of science & technology. The 74 years of enmity of India and Pakistan in the context of NSP can be re-constructed into durable friendship. In last, NSP is effective and instrumental for both countries. India should not miss the bus and utilize this vital opportunity for greater good of its own and of the region ■



The writer is a Lecturer at the University of Balochistan, Quetta.



Kung Pao Chicken

By Zainab Sajid

*If you combine good flavors, food turns into an orchestra. -
Joey Fatone*

Kung Pao Chicken or Gōngbǎo jīdīng is a flavorsome chicken entrée that has gained soaring popularity locally in the recent years. So much so, that it has beat the previously reigning champion, Chicken Manchurian, in my observation. The shift is partially due to the monotonal flavor of the latter and the contrastingly nuanced flavor profile of the former. Kung Pao like other Sichuan-inspired dishes provides a deeper umami piquancy over the sweet and sour ketchup flavor.

Our newer Pakistani versions of such entrées take more inspiration from Americanized take-out Chinese cuisine than from the original Chinese cuisine. This might be another reason for our breaking away from the traditional Chinese cuisine style, involving slow-cooked gravies with family-size serving. The current adaptation is all about single-serve glazed meat or minimal gravies with the use of a variety of colorful vegetables and nuts.

Kung Pao Chicken with tossed Sichuan peppers, roasted peanuts, and the special sauce is a perfect amalgamation of tender and juicy meat with a salty, mildly spicy, and extravagantly nutty taste. Traditionally, made using boneless thigh meat with Sichuan peppers, leeks, and green onions is a widely cherished dish throughout China with varying regional adaptations.

Our version substitutes thigh meat with breast meat, Sichuan peppers with local dried red chilis, and raw peanuts fried and toasted in the oil with store-bought roasted shelled peanuts. The vegetables are added to give an additional crunch and make the meal more filling. But using onions and peppers make the dish, a well-rounded one. The resulting aromatic deliciousness is best served over garlic fried rice or simple noodles. The recipe is simple, but the result is divine.

Ingredients:

Chicken (breast meat diced in small cubes) - 250 gms	
Capsicum (1-inch cubes) - 1 medium size	
Roasted peanuts - ½ cup	Vinegar - 1 tbsp
Dried long red chilies - 7-10	Green onions (sliced) - ¼ cup
Garlic (minced) - 2 tbsp	Soy sauce - 3 tbsp
Ginger (minced) - 1 tbsp	Oyster sauce - 1 tbsp
Onions (1-inch cubes) - 1 medium size	Water - ¼ cup
Brown sugar - 1 tbsp	Cornstarch - 1 tbsp
Sesame oil - 2 tbsp	Cooking oil - 3 tbsp
White pepper - 1 tsp	Salt - to taste

Method:

1. In a bowl, mix water, soy sauce, oyster sauce, vinegar, sesame oil, brown sugar, and cornstarch.
2. Heat the cooking oil in a wok, add the chicken and red chilies and cook on medium to high flame.
3. Once the chicken starts to caramelize on the outside, add garlic, ginger, and white pepper. This should take around 3-4 minutes in total.
4. Add the cut onion and capsicum. Cook for 2-3 minutes.
5. Pour in the sauce. The sauce will start to thicken immediately, keep mixing everything.
6. Add in the roasted peanuts and mix everything.

Note: At this stage, taste the sauce and add in salt if need be. The sauces and peanuts contain salt, so you need to adjust them according to your preference.

Note: At this point, the chicken would have cooked for about 12-15 minutes which is the perfect time to keep the chicken tender and juicy.

9. Add the green onions to finish the cooking.
10. Serve with fried rice, boiled rice, or noodles.



The writer is an anthropology graduate from LUMS and is working in the field of food anthropology. She maintains a food blog on Instagram, [fooddays_withzainab](#).



China withdraws as 2023 football Asian Cup host due to pandemic

China withdrew as the 2023 Asian Cup host because of the coronavirus as the country battles its worst outbreak since the early days of the pandemic. The Asian Football Confederation (AFC) praised Chinese officials for making “this very difficult but necessary decision in the collective interests of the AFC Asian Cup”. China’s withdrawal could let Qatar or Saudi Arabia step up as hosts while both are bidding in a contest to host the 2027 edition. India and Iran are also candidates for the 2027 edition. China did host the 2022 Winter Olympics in Beijing though, under a strict lockdown for athletes. China is pursuing a strategy of stamping out the virus entirely, which includes rapid lockdowns and mass testing.

ALJAZEERA, May 14, 2022

China says Washington’s ‘divisive’ Indo-Pacific strategy doomed to fail

Beijing has rejected Washington’s Indo-Pacific initiatives as tools to contain China that are “doomed to fail”, as US President Joe Biden prepares to unveil the latest US strategy to step up regional engagement.

Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi’s withering assessment that the United States is creating division in the region came one day ahead of Biden’s launch of a raft of Indo-Pacific economic initiatives in Tokyo. The Indo-Pacific Economic Framework (IPEF) revolves around four pillars – supply chain resilience, infrastructure and clean energy, tax and anti-corruption, and trade – aimed at boosting US cooperation with Japan, Australia and India as part of the informal security alliance known as the Quad.

“The ‘Indo-Pacific strategy’ is concocted by the United States under the banner of ‘freedom and openness’, but it is indeed keen to form cliques to create ‘small circles’ with the aim of changing China’s surrounding environment in an attempt to contain China, using Asia-Pacific countries as ‘pawns’ for US hegemony,” Wang said in his meeting with Zardari.

“Facts will prove that the so-called Indo-Pacific strategy is essentially a strategy for creating divisions, inciting confrontation, and for destroying peace. No matter how it is packaged, it will ultimately be a failure.”

Wang said China had become the largest trading partner for most countries in the region. “Trying to use a framework to isolate China will ultimately isolate themselves.”

South China Morning Post, May 23, 2022



Pakistan, China agree to firm up strategic ties

Pakistan and China agreed that amidst profound regional and international changes, the importance of China-Pakistan strategic relations has assumed even greater significance. “As All-Weather Strategic Cooperative Partners, China and Pakistan share ironclad mutual trust and friendship, which is a source of peace, stability, and prosperity for the region and beyond,” said a 15-point joint statement issued at the conclusion of the maiden visit of Foreign Minister Bilawal Bhutto Zardari to China, on special invitation of his Chinese counterpart Wang Yi. Both the foreign ministers met in the Chinese city of Guangzhou. The visit coincided with the 71st anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic ties between China and Pakistan.

The News International, May 23, 2022

Chinese scientists work on hypersonic missile that can hit moving car

China is developing a heat-seeking hypersonic weapon that will be able to hit a moving car at five times the speed of sound, according to scientists involved in the project. The research team, led by Yang Xiaogang from the PLA Rocket Force University of Engineering in Xian, said “important progress” had been made towards solving the main problem of how to pinpoint a moving target at extreme speeds. Yang and his colleagues from the university’s College of Missile Engineering have been given a deadline of 2025 to come up with solutions to the seemingly intractable challenges of hypersonic technology.

South China Morning Post, May 17, 2022





PREMIUM REAL ESTATE DEVELOPER OF PAKISTAN

10+

HIGH RISE PROJECTS
IN TWIN CITIES

**10
MILLION**

SQ.FT COVERED AREA PROJECTS
IN TWIN CITIES



MALLS

CORPORATE TOWERS

HOTELS

RESIDENTIAL COMPLEXES

HOUSING SOCIETIES



INVEST IN HOTEL PROPERTY

BIGGEST 5 STAR HOTEL NETWORK

KARACHI

MURREE

KALAM

NARAN

GILGIT

ISLAMABAD

SKARDU

HUNZA

MULTAN

SIALKOT

SWAT

LAHORE

MUZAFFARABAD

SIGNATURE
HOTELS