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For Reader's Information

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Pakistan's Strategic Nuclear Policy and Implications for Deterrence Stability

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**Book Review
By
Hajira Asaf Khan**

William J. Perry, *My Journey at the Nuclear Brink*, (California: Stanford University Press, 2015), 234

“Our response need not be passivity and defeatism and illusion.”
- William J. Perry

My Journey at the Nuclear Brink is the memoirs of William J. Perry, a former serviceman of the United States Air Force, a mathematician, and an entrepreneur of defence and reconnaissance technologies. The author served as Undersecretary of Defence to Harold Brown, in the Carter Administration, as Secretary of Defence in the Clinton Administration and had previously served in the capacity of consultant with the Kennedy Administration, most notably, during the Cuban Missile Crisis.

William J. Perry has been a vocal advocate of arms control and disarmament from the very beginning of his political career. According to him, being stationed in Tokyo after the Second World War had ended, and seeing the destruction that the city had suffered from US fire-bombings left a lasting effect on him. The subsequent realization that similar destruction could now be caused by using just one nuclear bomb, developed in him the conviction that all efforts must be made to avoid the use of these weapons in future.

In his days serving as Undersecretary of Defence, he was responsible for the development of the “system of systems” which included stealth technology, smart sensors and smart weaponry, a signature development in America’s defence technology during the 70s and 80s. The importance of this work was realized later in Operation Desert Storm when it was put to use, especially stealth aircraft. Perry’s account maintains that the offset strategy of the times was the reason that Soviet superiority was met with technological advancement thus, making the possibility of a nuclear strike less likely.

The twenty-five chapters of the book cover important times in and around the life of William J. Perry which he has chronicled with a modesty, not often seen in

memoirs of the kind. It is a retelling of the experiences of his life and the part that Perry played in different capacities, as an air force serviceman, as an entrepreneur, as a civil servant and later, as a diplomat. Despite his illustrious career and many contributions that he made to the defence of his country, his account presents him as someone who was able to grasp the essence of evolving technological and political developments and used his considerable capacity to work hard to make his country and the world a safer place.

The tenth chapter begins to outline the beginning of Perry's track II career as well as his decision to enter academia, having joined Stanford University's Center for International Security and Cooperation, as a part-time senior fellow. During this time the "Star Wars" or Strategic Defence Initiative efforts were put in place by the Raegan Administration, of which, Perry was a vocal critic and published his views in newspapers and journals. It is interesting to note though, that while Perry himself is principally against the use of nuclear weapons and actively worked towards the reduction, if not, the complete elimination of nuclear weapons, his time at the Pentagon also coincided with some qualitative upgrades to delivery systems that in turn exacerbated the nuclear arms race during the Carter Administration.

His push for and the subsequent execution of the Nunn-Lugar bill and the events unfolding around that situation, from transfer of bomb grade uranium from Kazakhstan, formerly part of the USSR, and the process of chemical demilitarization is an interesting and insightful account of the time he served as Secretary of Defence in the Clinton Administration. One also finds a sense of resentment in Perry about the CTBT not having seen its ratification by the US to date. While on the subject, he expresses his doubt about the treaty being reintroduced for ratification in the Obama Administration as was the President's intent to do when he first took office. His doubts have been confirmed by President Obama's inaction in this regard.

In one of the closing chapters, he has commented on dangers emanating from countries like Iran, China, Pakistan, India and North Korea and has offered hope and advice as to how these countries' relations with the US may be improved. In the case of India and Pakistan, Perry advocates an increase in economic interdependence between the two countries. He has also criticized Pakistan's tactical nuclear weapons but at the same time has failed to comment on the active

nuclear partnership between the US and India which have exacerbated Pakistan's security concerns.

In the closing chapter titled *A Way Forward: Hope for a World without Nuclear Weapons*, the author has revisited some of the challenges recounted in the earlier chapters and makes some important observations regarding the future of disarmament. He shows appreciation for movements like Global Zero and uses the opportunity to respond to the criticism of his own approach to disarmament as based on detracting steps that undermine the demand for total elimination of nuclear weapons. His opinion, however, is that these steps are "an indispensable prelude" towards the greater goal of reducing nuclear dangers.

William Perry's role as a diplomat is covered with a sense that makes him seem "aware of his roots". His repeated assertion that his time as a part of the private defence technology development industry had given him management skills that often came in handy in his diplomatic missions and assignments. His humility and balanced sense of self is not the only thing reflected in the writing. The book is full of small anecdotes that add a more personal touch to the business of arms control and disarmament that he considered his moral duty to pursue. A personal favorite is the time a young soldier mistook him for Dick Cheney while requesting an autograph.

Overall, the book was an educating read about the life and work of a man dedicated to reducing the dangers of nuclear weapons and having succeeded in no small measure, in enforcing the demilitarization of chemicals under the Nunn-Lugar initiative. The book has a balanced approach towards disarmament effort, based on the experience of the author, both personal and professional.

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**Book Review
By
Muhammad Hassan
Sohail**

A.G Noorani, *The Destruction of Hyderabad* (New Dehli: Tulika Books, 2013), 388.

The Destruction of Hyderabad is a comprehensive account of the last days of Hyderabad as a princely state. The book covers behind the scene moves of protagonists leading to the final act of Indian army action on 14th September 1948 and absorption of the state in Indian Union. With this final act was unique Hyderabad culture also met a sad end to its development in which Hindus and Muslims had contributed equally. The final act of destruction of Hyderabad was precipitated by attacks of Razakars on the Hindu community which according to the author had the tacit approval of the Nizam. Razakar attacks further vitiated an already charged political situation and provided the Indian government with a pretext to move in its army and annex Hyderabad. It also caused the massacre of Muslims who were disarmed, at the hands of Hindus who were allowed to retain their weapons by the Indian Army. It may also be of interest to note that planning for moving in Indian troops in Hyderabad had begun as early as January 1948 and it was in reaction to acts of Razakars.

A.G.Noorani is a well-known Indian lawyer, historian, newspaper columnist and a dedicated researcher. He is the author of over 10 books which include *Kashmir Dispute(1947-2012)*, *Islam and Jihad and India – China Boundary Problems*.

Hyderabad was the largest and the richest among over 560 native princely states in British India. Till Partition of the Indian subcontinent in August,1947 these states were governed by Paramountcy Law which gave various degree of autonomy to rulers of the states in dealing with internal matters but states were not free to pursue an independent defence and foreign policy. On the eve of the Partition the states were given to understand by the British officials that “doctrine of Paramountcy allowed them to claim independence” at the end of British rule in India. As a result three princely states, Hyderabad among them aspired to become sovereign countries after the British had left India. According to Noorani the problem of Kashmir, Junagarh and Hyderabad was a British creation. The British

“had led the princes up the garden path, repeatedly pledging its commitment” to the treaties with princely states.

The Nizam had expected Pakistan to help him achieve sovereign status for his state but despite Quaid e Azam’s desire to support the Nizam, nascent state of Pakistan was in no position do so. Shortage of resources at the disposal of newly established state of Pakistan and lack of geographical contiguity with Hyderabad, were the two insurmountable hurdles in the way.

Noorani has documented in considerable detail the aspiration of the Nizam (Ruler’s title) of Hyderabad to attain sovereignty for his state after Partition of India. According to the author, notwithstanding Hyderabad’s large size, high level of its communications infrastructure and services as compared with other parts of India, its modern education system and its fabulous riches, Hyderabad could not have become a sovereign state for three reasons. Hyderabad state was land locked with no outlet to the world without passing through Indian territory, ninety percent population of the state comprised Hindus and Indian National Congress, the dominant political force in India, was working against giving independence to Hyderabad. Thirdly Nizam did not have a powerful backer in the international community supporting his case.

This also explains the failure of the Nizam’s efforts to secure a favorable ruling from the UN Security Council to which he had taken the case for recognition of Hyderabad’s independent status in August, 1948. The author has addressed two questions in this regard. One, the purpose behind Nizam’s move to take the case to UN, and second, why was the Security Council moved so late after the Partition. Noorani also holds Congress leaders Sardar Patel and Jawaharlal Nehru responsible for the destruction of the state of Hyderabad. Both held strong nationalist view though differed on the ideology on which their views were founded. In his views Patel was a Hindu nationalist and Nehru a secular nationalist. Patel had described Hyderabad as an “alien state” with an “alien culture” and an “ulcer in the heart of India” that needed to be removed, and Nehru could not tolerate a state within a state.

The author has extensively quoted from documents made available in recent years to researchers revealing the moves made by the British, the Indian National Congress party leaders, particularly, Patel and Nehru as well as the Nizam and

prominent officials of his court in the period just before the army operation code named "Operation Polo" called police action was taken by India's leaders.

The book does not have heroes in the commonly understood sense. In Noorani's narration the people of Hyderabad who had lost a vibrant Hyderabad culture and their distinct identity painstakingly built over many decades are the heroes. Villains of the piece in the tragedy of destruction of Hyderabad are represented by the ambiguous stance, with respect to Paramountcy Law, of the British, strong nationalism of Nehru and Patel and ineptitude of last Nizam of Hyderabad, Osman Ali Khan. He was politically and intellectually unequal to the task of dealing with the complex situation faced by his state in the last days of the Raj. The author reaches the conclusion that Hyderabad could not have survived as an independent state as powerful forces were acting against it but what makes him sad is not so much the destruction of Hyderabad as a political entity but the demise of its rich and diverse culture. The last chapter of the book titled *The Aftermath* gives reasons that made the author grieve over the destruction of Hyderabad state. The suffering of the Muslims after annexation of the state by India and loss of esteem by a majority of its residents are some of the reasons for author's sadness over the destruction of Hyderabad. Instead of resorting to army action as a result of which thousands of valuable lives were lost and a people's identity and culture were destroyed, India could have made Hyderabad a part of Indian Union by peaceful measures in the author's views.

The Destruction of Hyderabad is a treasure trove of information on the culture of the state and generosity of successive Nizams supporting Muslim educational and religious institutions not just in Hyderabad but also in other parts of India and even in Arabian Peninsula. It is an invaluable addition of source material on the state of Hyderabad, state of its cultural and economic development and final destruction of the state as a distinct political entity. Fifteen appendices comparing original documents given at the end, add further value to the book for the researchers.

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Book Review
By
Majid Mahmood

Michael Morell, *The Great War of Our Time, The CIA's Fight Against Terrorism from Al Qaida to ISIS* (New York: Hachette Book group, 2015), 362

The book titled "*The Great War of Our Time, The CIA's Fight Against Terrorism from Al Qaida to ISIS*" written by Michael Morell, former deputy director of the US's Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), is a mix of his memoir and assessments of regarding the institutional efforts of CIA in the fight against Al-Qaida as seen from the author's time of serving in the agency. The book also explains the author's views of some other political issues such as the Arab Spring, Benghazi episode of 2012 that resulted in the death of the US ambassador in Libya, dealings with Pakistan post Abbottabad raid in May 2011 and reasons for failure of American policy in the Middle East. The author's memoir also describes the relationship between the executive and the intelligence branches of the US government.

The book contains fourteen chapters and all the chapters deal with US policy and experience regarding countering its main enemy, the Al-Qaida organization. In the initial chapters, Morell highlights the buildup of the Al-Qaida threat for the US in the 1990s and challenges the main stream view, based upon his CIA experience during the time, that US was not aware of this buildup. The flaw, however, according to the author lay with the institutional lack of importance given to the terrorism related issues prior to 9/11. Michael Morell reflects on the events surrounding 9/11 events. He gives an interesting account from his position as the President George W. Bush daily intelligence briefer for one year till 2002.

The initial chapters also cover the US administration's response to 9/11 events both internal and external regarding Afghanistan.

In chapter five titled the "imperfect storm" the author discusses the intelligence failure regarding Iraq's alleged WMD program and policy implications owing to the wrong analysis. Morell describes the efforts within CIA to correctly analyze intelligence data, and a correct analysis made for US policy makers regarding Iraq's WMD program, Saddam regime's alleged links to Al-Qaida and parallel analysis

efforts in the Vice President's Cheney office which were determined to implicate the Iraqi leadership. The author dismisses the claims that the hardliners in the Bush administration forced the US intelligence community to take the position it did on WMDs as there were significant dissenting voices within the CIA and the US Department of Energy (DOE) at the time. The author also explained institutional reasons for the failure of the final analysis in the CIA regarding Saddam's alleged nuclear activities.

The subsequent chapters deal with the events leading to identification and killing of Osama Bin Laden, the chief of Al-Qaida organization in Pakistan. The chapter briefly describes US efforts to repair its ties with Pakistan and its powerful Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) organization post OBL raid. The book also includes chapters regarding the Arab Spring, the failure of US intelligence community to generate a warning despite several indicators from the region and conducive environment the Arab spring created for Al-Qaida's regeneration in Middle East. The concluding chapters include the explanation of Benghazi incident that resulted in the death of the US ambassador to Libya Christopher Stevens in September, 2012 and ISIS organization.

In surveying the issues covered, Morell's book does not add much to the existing knowledge on the topics discussed in the book. There are however some interesting observations which the author has made regarding the Arab Spring. They reflect the view of US intelligence community that the uprisings were a strategic surprise for the US and the West. Morell is of the view that the Arab spring resulted in strengthening forces of political Islam and Al-Qaida in the region.

The chapter on OBL raid repeats a familiar story that it was a unilateral US military operation and was a strategic surprise for Pakistan. The author goes on to narrate his version of planning sessions in the US regarding the preparation of attack and contingency plans if the things didn't go as planned. There are sufficient reasons to question the author's version. Through holding an important position in the CIA, he would be unlikely to be aware of all the details. Moreover, President Obama's address to the nation on the eve of May 02, 2011 revealing the news of Bin Laden's death appreciated Pakistani cooperation, in the operation, which contradicts author's claim that this was a unilateral US operation.

There is also less substance in the discussion on ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Sham) or IS (Islamic State) organization as one chapter is dedicated towards the subject covering the issue only broadly.

The book is worth studying from the angle of relationship between policy makers in the executive branch and the intelligence community in the United States. It also reflects the adaptability of the CIA as an organization to new challenges and how a critical approach towards improving the analysis helps the institution. The book might encourage researchers and analysts to dwell on this relationship further.

Michael Morell conclusion that “this war is not over yet” depicts the likely trajectory of the US policy towards Middle East. With rising support for political Islam in the Muslim world in general and Middle East in particular it seems that US will remain engaged in the region for the foreseeable future.

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CISS was established in October 2010 and has embarked on a challenging task, that of promoting a better understanding of international strategic issues pertaining to our region, both in Pakistan and abroad. We feel that there is a need now, more than ever before, for objective and impartial analyses and assessment of international issues from a Pakistan perspective.



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